Combating human trafficking

A case study of trafficking in children from Haiti

Haitians at the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

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Abstract

Human trafficking is an important international issue it is one of the most heinous and lucrative offences of our time. States and international community view trafficking in human beings as one of the most serious and acute problems of our time (Jansson 2015, 1). It is estimated that Haiti is the location of the world's third largest human trafficking industry (digital media 2013). This thesis aims to explore the causes of human trafficking of children from Haiti. It looks at the push and pull factors (structural factors) for this kind of exploitative migration, as well as the initiatives taken to prevent the criminal human trafficking from Haiti.

The first objective of the thesis is to examine the conditions of human trafficking in Haiti. The second objective is to examine the impact of structural factors and initiatives to prevent human trafficking and the conditions for human trafficking in Haiti. The thesis shows that the conditions exist for human trafficking of children from Haiti, and these conditions consist both for national and international trafficking, but it also shows that the anti-trafficking initiatives have had an impact on the conditions of human trafficking.

Haiti has made progress in combating human trafficking, especially of children. Haiti's progress consists of Law enforcement, border controls on the border from Haiti to the Dominican Republic, care centers where children can be children and be safe and get off the street where children are very vulnerable for recruitment into gangs or are at risk of human trafficking where they will be exploited, education systems where it should be possible for all children to attend and be safe, and projects to make it possible for families to obtain an income, which might relieve them from extreme poverty. Even with the current progress Haiti still faces huge amounts of problems where combating human trafficking further is one of them. As long better living opportunities exist in other places of the nation or in the Dominican Republic or other places in the world, human trafficking will still exist in Haiti. Moreover, human trafficking will exist as long as it is profitable to exploit another person.

Contents

List of Abbreviation

BPM   Brigade for the Protection of Minors

IBESR   Government's Social Welfare Ministry

NGO   Non-Governmental Organizations

Restavek   Children slaves

SOS   SOS Children's Villages

UNICEF   United Nations Children's Emergency Fund

UNODC   United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

US/USA   United States of America

Introduction:

Human trafficking is an important international issue; it is one of the most heinous and lucrative offences of our time. Human trafficking has been described as one of the main forms of organized crime, actually the third largest illegal industry worldwide, following illicit drugs and arms trafficking (Jansson 2015, 1). Additionally, estimates suggest that more than 50 per cent of trafficked people are children, and more than 80 percent of human trafficking exists with the intention of sexual exploitation, meaning that many of the people who are trafficked internationally are children who are being forced to participate in the illegal sex trade (globalization 101 2015). The reality is that wherever we may live, regardless of city or nation, some forms of human trafficking exist. As for 2005 this global phenomenon reaped an annual worldwide profit of $44.3 billion and affected more than 12.3 million persons (Hepburn and Simon 2013, 1). The international community even defines the phenomenon of human trafficking as a modern form of slavery (Jansson 2015, 1).

States and international community view trafficking in human beings as one of the most serious and acute problems of our time. Although the practice has been addressed in international law and numerous states have criminalized it, the problem not only persists but also seems to be growing (Jansson 2015, 1). According to international expert organizations such as the United Nations Office on drugs and crime (UNODC), traffickers profit from inadequate national criminal legislation as well as from a lack of international cooperation (Jansson 2015, 2). In this context, harmonization of national laws has been presented as a first step toward dealing with the trafficking problem. Harmonizing the relevant laws of the state is the aim of the most important international document on trafficking in human beings, the Palermo Protocol. The protocol creates an internationally binding definition of human trafficking in article 3 (Jansson 2015, 2).

Human trafficking is one of the fastest growing types of transnational crime worldwide (Haerens 2012, 17). One of the reasons that human trafficking is booming is globalisation. As countries become integrated into global networks connected by technology, trade, culture and economics, disparities deepen (Ibid.). With the increasing demand for cheaper goods and services, human trafficking has cemented its position as one of the most common transnational crimes in the modern era (Ibid. 18).

Human trafficking is conceptualised as a contemporary form of slavery, marked by forced labour, debt bondage including a variety of crimes associated with the recruitment, movement, sale and receipt of people (including body parts), into a range of hyper exploitative conditions all around the world (Lee 2012). Human trafficking is a global phenomenon that is gaining considerable attention through media coverage, academics, politics and an international framework of laws and instruments designed to combat one of the greatest challenges of modern day slavery in human beings (Lee 2012).

Trafficking can take many different forms and thus be seen from various perspectives. From the point of view of the victims, it is all about finding better living opportunities by means of migration (Jansson 2015, 49).

Problem area

Human trafficking takes place all over the world, and as long as there are poor countries whose inhabitants have little hope for improving their standard of living due to unemployment, lack of housing, sub-standard health, education, water and sanitation services etc., poor people will seek new horizons in other parts of the world, in more developed countries that offer them opportunities to work and earn money for a better life. Children and young people are also part of this reality (UNICEF 2004). A family that is mired in poverty seeks new horizons for its sons and daughters, with the false belief that they will have a better life despite being far away from their family, but as they cannot migrate legally because of their poverty, they resort to illegal immigration and fall victim to trafficking. It is not easy to pinpoint the number of trafficked minors because they are difficult to identify, and there are no registers or indicators, no legal processes on the matter, and there are seldom complaints and reports of this type of offence (UNICEF 2004). Studies made by UNICEF has pointed to the existence of a set of factors in both countries, political, cultural, legal as well as socio-economic, that create the conditions for trafficking, such as: the economic crisis, poverty, some cultural and traditional practices that do not respect children's rights, complicity between the border authorities in both countries, the demand for child labour, and others (UNICEF 2004).

Globalisation, economic crises, political instability, conflicts, civil wars, ethnic cleanings, social inequality, the development of market economy, gender discrimination, the wider processes of transformation, especially the last ten years, made a solid saoil for huge wave of migration in the world, and for its mutated form- trafficking in human beings (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012,

174). Globalization has changed the way many people see the world. As people become more aware of living standards and lifestyles in other parts of the world, for example through television or the stories (and sometimes wealth) of returning expatriates, their understanding of their ''relative'' poverty has increased, and their expectations have changed. This motivates people to migrate to secure greater income. There is also evidence that young people in particular consider migration because they want to escape the drudgery of subsistence living and see ''the bright lights of the big city'' (Ibid.). After the end of the Second World War the number of Earth inhabitants was dramatically increased. In1945 it was 2 billion people, today it is 7 billion. Most of the countries that had the biggest increase of their population today are the countries in which trafficking in human beings has founded its "home" (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 174).

Haiti is estimated as the location of the world's third largest human trafficking industry. The 12 January 2010 a magnitude 7,0 earthquake completely destroyed Haiti. Thousands of children were left in extreme poverty without homes or families making them easy targets for traffickers (digital media 2013). The number of people involved in human trafficking in Haiti has skyrocketed since the earthquake; over 300.000 Haitian children are being sold into the trafficking industry every year. Children often sell themselves, or are sold by their parents because they feel as if they have no other choice (digital media 2013).

This thesis sets out to explore the causes of human trafficking of children from Haiti. Its aims to look at the reasons for the human trafficking from Haiti to the Dominican Republic and the push and pull factors (structural factors) for this kind of exploitative migration as well as the initiatives taken to prevent the criminal human trafficking from Haiti.

Problem formulation

How do structural factors and preventions initiatives impact on human trafficking of children from Haiti?

Clarification of concepts

Structural factors

The structural factors are the factors that regulate the push and pull effect, in other words the structural factors are those that compose the push and pull model which will be explored later in the project. The structural factors consist of mainly of four factors;

economic, cultural, social and political factors. These factors will also be explored further in the project.

Preventions initiatives

The prevention initiatives are anti-trafficking initiatives which aim to reduce human trafficking with these initiatives. The prevention initiatives that will be elaborated late in this project include Law enforcement, Border control, Residential care centres, Education projects and Projects out of poverty.

Delimitation

In this section a description of the delimitations for this research paper will be presented.

The focus in this project is on the influences of structural factors (economic, social, cultural and political factors) on human trafficking from Haiti of children, and this focus limits the research area. The limitation excludes focus on e.g. the demand and supply of people and an understanding on how the actual trafficking is structured.

The focus on Haiti also excludes a focus on other countries in the region and other regions in the global world e.g. the trafficking/smuggling from Africa to Europe that we have seen increase recently.

The project is time limited in its focus. The main timeframe of focus is from the devastating earthquake in January 2010 in Haiti until today 2015.

Another limitation for the project is the few statistics on the subject. This limits the quantitative data collection and leads the focus on the project into a more quantitative direction.

Structure

This work begins with an introduction will aim to give an overview of the topic in this project. It will give a quick introduction to the different subjects that will be elaborated further in the paper. The chapter will also present the problem statement that this project is aimed to answer. In the second chapter the methodological approach applied in this project will be explained through accounting for the method orientation, research methods, research design, the choice of data types and how the theory will be used to analyse the data. The following chapter will present and explore the migration theory of the neo-classical push-pull migration model the chapter will furthermore specify economic, social, cultural and political factors of the human trafficking issue.. The next chapter looks at phenomena of human trafficking. It will furthermore consider global views on human trafficking. This is followed by a chapter which examines the prevention initiative and the connection to the structural factors, in order to analysis the impact on human trafficking of children in Haiti. The final chapter will summarise the project and conclude on the problem statement.

Methodology

In this section the methodological approach applied in this project will be explained through accounting for the method orientation, research methods, research design, the choice of data types and how the theory will be used to analyse the data.

Philosophy of science

Social science theory involves many questions and disciplines. Philosophically, theories are related to the basic assumptions about the world, society, the individual, knowledge, language, the relationship between theory and empirical data, etc. (Olsen & Pedersen 2008; 137). Various general approaches, theoretical framework, and knowledge foundations are possible in social science. The basic assumption about the world can be "structured around the opposition between objectivism and perspectivism, that is, between, on the one hand, theories that seek and argue for objective knowledge, and on the other, theories that accept and claim that all viewpoints are dependent on certain standpoints and perspectives" (Olsen & Pedersen 2008; 139). This project is based on the thinking of perspectivism, and the thinking in the project is also following the hermeneutic way of thinking, which means thinking that makes use of interpretive methods of understanding the social reality. The hermeneutical method is used when a researcher wants to interpret human behavior. The hermeneutic approach would mean that our interpretation is based on prior knowledge as we confront our understanding. In the hermeneutical method, we try to clarify pre-understanding as a basis for further understanding (GDSD 2015). This projects aims to create an understanding of human trafficking and the economic, cultural, social and political issue that follows within human trafficking which is in line with the basic assumption of perspectivism.

Research strategy

This section will focus on the various research strategies that are used in this project.

The research strategy is a general plan that helps the researcher in answering the research questions in a systematic way (Saunders 2003). Research strategies are helpful for the researcher to collect the valid and reliable data and information to achieve the aims and objectives of research (Saunders 2003). Research strategy is also helpful for the researcher to use specific data collection methods to support the arguments (Saunders 2003).

The various research strategies that will be in focus in this project are qualitative and quantitative research strategies. "Qualitative research is a research strategy that usually emphasizes words rather than quantifications in the collection and analysis of data" (Bryman 2012: 380). "Qualitative research operates with a flexible design, because the most important categories of the inquiry have not been predetermined by the researcher. On the contrary, categories are developed as a function of the actual research undertaken" (Dahler-Larsen 2008: 25).

The use and collection of quantitative data in this project are few because few statistics exist on the subject that is the focus of the project. The use and collection of qualitative data comes from reports, project descriptions, articles, movies etc.

Research design

The research design is an expression of the combination of approaches through a theoretic perspective which the researcher/scientist chooses to ensure that the collected data fulfil the prerequisites to illuminate and answer the problem formulation (Nielsen 2007). The research design is the part which ensures a solid and manageable basis for analysis in the research. The resources available for the project, such as the time limit, experience, persons, access to source, technology and economic resources, has an important influence on the approach in the project and the choice of research design (Nielsen 2007).

The case study design is characterized by being concerned with the complexity and particular nature of the case in question, and the basic case study design entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case (Bryman 2012). When the research issue is the investigation of phenomena, decisions and/or relations, the case study design is an appropriate research design. The case study can be accomplished at all analytic levels, from the individual level over group level to the organizational level and the level of society (Nielsen 2007).

The research design for this project is the case study design. The case is children from Haiti; the study is to research human trafficking and factors as economic, social, cultural and political factors that has an influence on human trafficking.

Theoretic framework

Theoretic framework is a group of related ideas that provide guidance to a research project or business endeavour (Business dictionary 2015). A theoretical framework describes complex systems of interaction between factors on a process of learning and social organisation set up to support it (Desjardins 2010). It is a logical structured representation of the concepts, variables and relationships involved in a scientific study with the purpose of clearly identifying what will be explored, examined, measured or described (Desjardins 2010).

The theoretical framework in this project will be migration. In this project the focus will be on the migration theory of push and pull factors which include political, culture, social, and economy factors.

Sources

This section will give an outline of the type of data which are going to be used in this project in order to conduct the research. Both primary and secondary data will be applied in order to be able to carry out the research, as both types of data are relevant. Below the two types will be thoroughly explained

The broad view on primary data is that "qualitative researchers typically rely on four primary methods for gathering information: participating setting, observation directly, interview in depth, and analysing documents and material culture with varying emphases (Marshall and Rossman 2011, p. 137). Other scholars as Alan Bryman has another view on primary data, Bryman defines primary data as "records which have been collected directly from first-hand experience" (Bryman, 2012, p. 312). Secondary data is viewed as the analysis of information which has already been collected by other researchers (Bryman 2012, p. 312). This project contains both primary and secondary data in form of interview, books, articles by scholars, news media broadcast, statistics etc.

One of the primary qualitative data collections was a structured interview with UNICEF Denmark. A structured interview entails the administration of an interview schedule by an interviewer. The goal of this style of interviewing is to ensure that interviewees' replies can be aggregated and this can be achieved reliably only if those replies are in response to identical cues. The structured interview is the typical form of interview in survey research (Bryman 2012, 210). In this project the structured interview was carried out

through e-mail with a spokesman from UNICEF because it was not possible to find a date and time that fit with the interviewee. Furthermore, the e-mail respond was collected late because of the earthquake that happened in Nepal which affected the work for the interviewee and to some extent the answers due to the little time the interviewee had to answer the questions.

Theory

Migration is a common and essential characteristic of life. Throughout time, entire societies have been developed and destroyed as a result of movements of people. Nevertheless, the people migrating irregularly today are in vulnerable situations. Being under the radar of their host countries makes them especially susceptible to various forms for exploitation such as being trafficked (Jansson 2015, 50). People have been migrating in search for better life, work or even refuge from wars or natural disasters for ages. In that sense, migration is not a new phenomenon. However, its flows have even during the last decades undergone some important changes. There are several reasons why migration today differs from past movements (Ibid.). One of the main reasons is its international nature which is said to be the result of globalisation. Globalisation affects the way that people become aware of conditions existent in other countries as well as the way that people travel. It is also said to increase the number of possible countries origin and destination (Ibid.).

Different theorists attribute different factors to the cause of trafficking depending on their theoretical approach to the trafficking itself. A migration-based approach, for example, will focus on such issues as policies on migration and migrant labour, availability of work opportunities in various countries, globalisation of the economy and development strategies (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 179).

The neo-classical migration theory was the first analytical framework made in terms of a push and pull model that explained migration factors. In neo-classical theories, the push factors are attributed to the causes of migration, that is, the migrant's motivation for emigrating from the country of origin. The pull factors are defined as the attraction to certain destination countries (Castle & Miller 2009, 21).

Origin and Destination Factors and Intervening Obstacles in Migration

Based on Everret Lee's *A Theory of Migration*, 1966

Castles and Miller argue that the push-pull model has its limits since the push-pull model cannot explain why certain group of migrants goes to one country rather than another. The model can only explain what push-pull factors that countries have for migration (Castles and Miller 2009, 23).

Migration and settlement are closely related to other economic, political and cultural linkages being formed between different countries in an accelerating process of globalization. International migration in all its different forms must be seen as an integral part of contemporary world developments. It is likely to grow in volume in the years ahead because of strong pressure for continuing global integration (Castles and Miller 2009, 47).

It seems crucial to reconceptualize migration as a complex process in which economic, political, social and cultural factors all work together. Concentration on push or pull factors is simplistic and misleading (Castles and Miller 2009, 26). Migration decisions are influenced by a wide range of conditions in both sending and receiving areas. These conditions are not static, but in a process of constant change, linked both to global factors and to the way these interact with local historical and cultural patterns. Migrations are collective phenomena, which should be examined as sub systems of increasingly global economic and political systems (Castles and Miller 2009, 26).

Push-pull theories construe the cause of migration as lying in a combination of pull factors: impelling people to leave the areas of origin, and pull factors: attracting them to certain receiving countries. Push factors include demographic growth, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities and political repression, while pull factors include demand of labour, availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedoms (Castles and Miller 2009, 22). The theory of push and pull factors are a strong link and connection between the situation in countries of origin and the one in the countries of destination (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 180).

Push and Pull factors are forces that can either induce people to move to a new location or oblige them to leave old residences; these forces can be economic, political, cultural, and environmentally based. Push factors are conditions that can drive people to leave their homes, they are forceful and relate to the country from which a person migrates Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 181). A few examples of push factors are: not enough jobs in your country; few opportunities; "primitive" conditions; desertification ; famine/drought ; political fear/persecution ; poor medical care; loss of wealth and natural disasters. Pull factors are exactly the opposite of push factors; they are factors that attract people to a certain location. Examples of these push factors are job opportunities; better living conditions; political and/or religious freedom; enjoyment; education; better medical care and security (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 182).

According to Vesna Ristanovic the groups of factors are a "bridge" between the two groups of countries. By mapping the main channels of trafficking in human beings movement, we may conclude that this phenomenon is always market oriented, moving from countries with supply to countries with even bigger demand: East – West, from developing countries to developed ones, from war torn countries to developed ones, from poor to less poor countries, even from poor to war torn countries (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 178).

Trafficking in human beings as a social phenomenon is usually explained in terms of specific push factors in the countries of origin and pull factors in the countries of destination. The push factors on the one hand are connected to the concept of supply, i.e. the supply of victims depends on the existence of specific push factors. These are found in the countries of origin (Jansson 2015, 45). The push factors are a result of the society's changes in the countries of origin. They are economic, social, political, cultural factors, factors connected with militarization and war conflicts. Their framework includes the disintegration and falling apart of the multicultural countries, religious and ethnic conflicts, natural disasters,

economic situations, uncontrolled increase of the population, wide differences between the economic possibilities of the countries and the number of its inhabitants (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 180). Pull factors, will on the other hand are to be found in countries of destination. They include demand but also other factors that influence the decision of migrants and traffickers (Jansson 2015, 45). The pull factors include lack of workers, good social measures, positive economic situation, democratic system, political and social stability, historic connections between the countries, common language (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 180). In addition to factors in the countries of origin that influence the supply of victims, organised crime, etc., there are also factors in the countries of destination that influence trafficking patterns (Jansson 2015, 48). Finally, to complete the picture it is necessary to underline that some facilitating factors exist, such as globalization of labour and markets, the modernization of travel systems associated to the reduced costs of travelling, the boost in international migrations, the spread of new technologies are all elements that can help us understand the reasons why, in the last decades, human trafficking has become such a serious issue that, as a virulent disease, is infecting every country of the world (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 180). These so-called pull factors are usually described as antonyms to the push factors. Obviously, one of the main incentives to move abroad is to improve one's financial situation, so countries with healthy economies and generous welfare systems might be prioritised, but there are also other factors that might entice people to migrate (Jansson 2015, 49)

Economic factors:

Economic factors are directly addressed in the Protocol of Palermo which mentions poverty, weak development and lack of equal possibilities for everyone as one of the roots of modern slavery. Economic factors, also includes the unemployment and the lack of job opportunities as some of the reasons for an increased migration movements, which also may make the migrant more vulnerable to human trafficking (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 182).

In many developing countries, the economy has been in state of depression since the 1970s without an end in sight. As a consequence, trafficking in women and children from developing countries to more advanced countries for the purposes of prostitution, housekeeping, housemaid services, babysitting, child pornography, slave labour, and sexual slavery became an alternative, illegal moneymaking mechanism (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 182). In more advanced countries, greed drives the rich and powerful to get richer by utilizing the cheap labour of illegal aliens and that

of women and children, by housing girls two or three times their age as personal sex slaves, and by providing apartments hidden from their wives for these young girls (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 183).

Poverty encourages families to identify means to secure additional income. It also encourages them to find ways to reduce costs, for example reducing childcare costs by sending children away. Poor families may employ their children in the fields because they need additional labour, they do not see the benefits of education, or the opportunity cost of sending a child to school is too high. Absence of education, a direct result of poverty, can lead to greater vulnerability to recruitment by traffickers (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 184). The absence of education as a direct result of poverty is also sometimes seen in combination with other factors, such as gender discrimination. There have been serious national and regional crises since the 1980s that have had a visible and direct impact on human trafficking (Ibid.). The wealthy in the developing world can usually weather these financial crises, but the poor often face disaster as the cost of basic necessities multiplies, leading to starvation or untenable debt, conditions ripe for exploitation by human traffickers. Also, economic insecurity may cause political instability, corruption and bad management, and we all know that those are the basic problems that push people in search of better life in another place (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 184).

Social factors:

Social exclusion has always been connected with the lack of respect for social rights and inability to gain the guaranteed social benefits and protection. Marginalization of some groups is a result of other more complex factors, as gender, ethnic origin and the status of some groups in society. It includes discrimination in the area of education, job opportunities and unavailability of medical services, social protection and information (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 184). This kind of exclusion is very important, especially in cases of prevention of re-victimization and re-trafficking. Victims of trafficking in human beings have many obstacles when they go back to their countries of origin. Two important demographic forces have contributed to human trafficking: population growth and the increasing imbalance between the numbers of men and women in many countries (Ibid.). In the last forty years, the world's population has nearly doubled with the growth confined almost entirely to the developing world. Unemployed or underemployed youth and street children in the teeming cities of the third world are exploited by traffickers for labour and sexual exploitation (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 184).

Cultural factors:

In many societies in Africa, Latin America, and parts of Asia, fewer resources are provided for the education, medical care, or overall welfare of female children. Females are the first to be pulled out of school in financial crises such as occurred in the late 1990s and again starting in 2008. As a consequence, female children have fewer options (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 189). Frequently, girls and women can obtain employment only in sectors where they are most vulnerable to labour and sexual exploitation, including as domestic servants, carpet weavers, and child care providers. In some countries, the route to prostitution is more direct as girls are viewed as a means for a family's economic advancement (Ibid.). Close with gender discrimination is the discrimination based on ethnic origin, and in some countries on caste affiliation. These people are without basic economic and educational possibilities, health care, social rights, and many other basic human rights. Trafficking are most frequently occurs in societies where women lack property rights, and do not enjoy equal protection under the law (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 189).

Political factors:

In addition to economic, social and cultural factors, political instability, war and conflict may contribute to human trafficking. This is particularly the case in transitional societies where civil unrest, loss of national identity and political instability may create a favorable environment for organized crime, including trafficking in persons (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 184).

Political and legal push factors can also influence the patterns of trafficking. Regional conflicts (like those in the Balkans or Caucasus) aggravate the situation by fuelling political instability and economic regression (Jansson 2015, 48).

Trafficking law of many countries of origin are either non-existent or flawed, or the implementation is poor. Corruption plays an important role as some officials are either directly or indirectly involved in the illegal trade. The combination of the elements of organised crime, flawed laws and poor law enforcement creates prospects for illegal migration to thrive (Jansson 2015, 48).

Structural factors help us to understand the reasons for persons to becoming vulnerable for trafficking. Furthermore an understanding on which condition leads to trafficking in human beings although we must conclude that those are not the only ones that influence the phenomenon. The process of trafficking of human beings is also connected to the so called proximate factors which deepen the understanding of modern slavery (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 180). Structural factors include issues of economic deprivation and market downturns, the effects of globalization, attitudes to gender, the demand for prostitutes and situations of conflict. Proximate factors include

lax national and international legal regimes, poor law enforcement, corruption, organized criminal entrepreneurship and weak education campaigns. The overarching argument is that the interaction between structural factors or variables (such as economic deprivation and market downturns, social inequality, attitudes to gender, demand for prostitutes) and proximate factors (such as lax national and international legal regimes, poor law enforcement, corruption, organized criminal entrepreneurship, weak education campaigns) is key to understanding why some individuals are vulnerable to trafficking through the use of deception and coercion (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 180).

Through the many factors that influence the trafficking process, there is a close connection between every area of society. They are not the main ones that are "guilty" of trafficking resurrection, but surely they give their contribution to the crime. Using this theory, countries of origin can detect which are their weaknesses and try to find solutions for those problems and build long time policies for trafficking suppression and prevention. On the other side the countries of destination, which in most of the cases are rich countries, using this theory can detect in which areas migrants are most wanted working force and not try to stop migrants from entering in their countries, but try to improve their status on their soil and to build new strategies that will improve law enforcements and other organizations' work with trafficking prosecution, its prevention and its victims protection (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 194).

The phenomenon of human trafficking

This section will outline different ways of how human trafficking can be defined. Furthermore, the section will look at what human trafficking includes and the general theoretical perspectives of human trafficking in form of global views on economic, social , cultural and political factors that have an influence on human trafficking.

Definition of human trafficking

As with all transnational criminal projects it is necessary to begin with the definition of the prohibited conduct which states are obliged to criminalise in their national legal system. In order to launch a coherent and cohesive multi-pronged attack on human trafficking there is a need to reach consensus as to what human trafficking actually is in a legal sense (Elliott 2015, 2).

Approximately 800,000 people, mostly women and children, are trafficked annually across national borders, not including the millions who are trafficked within their own countries. At least 80% of the victims are female and up to 50% are minors; 75% of all victims are trafficked into commercial sexual exploitation; almost two-thirds of the global victims are trafficked intra-regionally within East Asia, the Pacific, Europe and Eurasia (Index mundi 2012).

According to history and many scholars human trafficking has been described as a form of trade that is as old as trade itself. Human trafficking has historical parallels with the traffic in and exploitation of black Africans in previous centuries (Lee 2012, 1).

Today, we live in a world in motion, and this world is characterised by an unprecedented scale of migratory movement. Migration typically involves movement from less developed or less stable nations to more developed or stable ones in search of better economic opportunities or to escape life-threatening conflicts including genocide, war and famine (Lee 2012, 1).

The trafficking of human beings has attracted considerable public and political concern in recent years. It is commonly understood to involve a variety of crimes and abuses associated with the recruitment, movement and sale of people (including body parts) into a range of exploitative conditions around the world (Lee 2011,1).

Human trafficking has been variously understood as the white slave trade, transnational organised crime, an illegal migration problem, a threat to national sovereignty and security, a labour issue, human rights violation or a combination of the above (Lee 2011, 2). Global and regional responses to the problem have been phenomenal, so much so that trafficking has arguably been transformed from a poorly funded, NGO women´s issue in the early 1980s, into the global agenda of high politics of the United States Congress, the European Union and the United Nations (Lee 2011, 2).

Migrants driven by war, persecution, violence and poverty often find themselves in search of better opportunities. They sometimes accept the services of traffickers of their own free will. However, many are deceived by promises of good jobs and salaries into accepting traffickers' services. Possibilities for legal immigration have declined, and anti-trafficking legislation is often absent or deficient with inadequate enforcement (Castles and Miller 2009, 204).

Human Trafficking is defined in the Trafficking Protocol as "the recruitment, transport, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a person by such means as threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud or deception for the purpose of exploitation." (UNODC 2015). Human trafficking is also defined as an organized criminal activity in which human beings are treated as possessions to be controlled and exploited as by being forced into prostitution or involuntary labour (Merriam-Webster 2015).

In late 1990s, efforts against transnational organised crime were undertaken at the international level. States agreed that organised crime was becoming increasingly internationalised, which required international response. To this end, the Palermo documents were drafted (Elliott 2015, 2).

According to the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, which supplements the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, trafficking in persons is defined as follows:

> (a) "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of

exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;

(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used;

(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article;

(d) "Child" shall mean any person under eighteen years of age.

(Appendix A, United Nations 2000, Article 3a)

The Trafficking in Persons Protocol also states that the consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation is irrelevant once deception, coercion, force or other prohibited means have been used. Consent, therefore, cannot be used as a defence to absolve traffickers from criminal responsibility (Elliott 2015, 2). In trafficking cases involving children, the Trafficking in Persons Protocol states that the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involve any improper means such as deception, coercion etc.

The Palermo documents consider trafficking to be a multi-layered offence, one that can be divided into three constituent parts. The definition of trafficking in the Palermo protocol is also comprised of these three elements: the action, the means and the purpose, all of which must be present in order for the activity in question to constitute human trafficking (Elliott 2015, 3). In other words, a conduct can only be described as trafficking if combined with certain means and carried out for a specific purpose (Jansson 2015, 82).

Action

The 'action' element is characterised by the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons (Elliott 2015, 3).
There is a wide range of possible methods that the trafficker can use. They often vary depending upon the cultural context and the geographical settings as well as in the

individual circumstances of the potential victim and the financial possibilities of the trafficker. In most cases, however, the conduct starts with some sort of recruitment (Jansson 2015, 81–82).

Means

The 'means' element is made up of threat, use of force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, the abuse of power or the use of a position of vulnerability, as well as giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person who has control over another person, for example parents and legal guardians (Elliott 2015, 3).

According to Dominika Jansson, in order for an act to be considered as trafficking in human beings, one of the means set forth in Article 3 of the Palermo Protocol and stated above must be employed by the trafficker unless the victim is a minor (Jansson 2015, 82). Article 3, subparagraphs (c) and (d) of the Palermo Protocol stipulate that no improper means need be established when persons under eighteen years of age are involved. Due to their age and immaturity, children are considered to be more easily persuaded or lured into trafficking than adults, and therefore the use of force or other improper means is not necessary for the offence to be considered trafficking (Jansson 2015, 91).

The preparatory work to the protocol states that in instances where the victim of trafficking is a minor, the prosecution must, in order to be able to have an act qualified as trafficking, prove action such as recruitment or transportation of underage victims for the purpose of exploitation, but no improper means. The Article 3 states that it is forbidden to give or receive payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person for the purpose of exploitation. This part of Article 3 primarily applies to parents or legal guardians and children, who are controlled by other people (Jansson 2015, 91).

Purpose

the third requirement for the conduct to be considered trafficking in human beings is the purpose should be exploitative, the exploitation implies exploitation of prostitution, sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery, servitude, or the removal of organs (Jansson 2015, 84). The purpose is the reason why any of the acts have taken place, the purpose of exploitation the meaning of which is expanded upon within the provision of article 3 of the Palermo Protocol (Elliott 2015, 3).

Human trafficking is an imprecise and highly contested term. The conceptions of human trafficking are slavery, prostitution, organised crime, migration and human rights.
The movement of trafficked persons is based on deception and coercion the purpose of which is exploitation. The profit in trafficking comes not from the movement but from the sale of the trafficked person's sexual services or labour in the country of destination (Castles and Miller 2009, 202).

The international society with the United States as the main actor has created a ranking system categorizing how well countries combat human trafficking. The United States Department of State elaborates a report each year called "Trafficking in person" (TIP) (TIP 2014b, 40). The report entails the trafficking situation and governmental action to fight trafficking based on thorough research that included meetings with a wide variety of government officials, local and international NGO representatives, officials of international organizations, journalists, academics and survivors. The U.S. Department of State prepared this Report using information from U.S. embassies, government officials, non-governmental and international organizations, published reports, news articles, academic studies and research trips to every region of the World. These are information on how a countries government progress in addressing trafficking (TIP 2014b, 37).

The Department places each country TIP Report onto one of four tiers, as mandated by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act's (TVPA). The Tier rankings and narratives in the TIP Report reflect an assessment of the enactment of laws and implementation of human trafficking laws, criminal penalties for human trafficking offenses and victim protection efforts (Appendix B, 40). This placement is based more on the extent of government action to combat trafficking than on the size of the country's problem. The analyses are based on the extent of governments' efforts to reach compliance with the TVPA's

minimum standards for the elimination of human trafficking which are generally consistent with the Palermo Protocol (Ibid.). While Tier 1 is the highest ranking, it does not mean that a country has no human trafficking problem or that it is doing enough to address the problem. Rather, a Tier 1 ranking indicates that a government has acknowledged the existence of human trafficking, has made efforts to address the problem, and meets the TVPA's minimum standards. Each year, governments need to demonstrate appreciable progress in combating trafficking to maintain a Tier 1 ranking. Indeed, Tier 1 represents a responsibility rather than a reprieve. A country is never finished with the job of fighting trafficking (TIP 2014b, 40).

Tier Placement is as follows:

TIER 1:
Countries whose governments fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking.

TIER 2:
Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards.

TIER 2 watch list:
Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards, but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards, and for which:
   a) The absolute number of victims of severe forms of trafficking is very significant or is significantly increasing;
   b) there is a failure to provide evidence of increasing efforts to combat severe forms of trafficking in persons from the previous year, including increased investigations, prosecution, and convictions of trafficking crimes, increased assistance to victims, and decreasing evidence of complicity in severe forms of trafficking by government officials; or
   c) the determination that a country is making significant efforts to bring itself into compliance with minimum standards was based on commitments by the country to take additional steps over the next year.

TIER 3:

Countries whose governments do not fully comply with the TVPA's minimum standards and are not making significant efforts to do so (TIP 2014b, 43).

The TVPA lists additional factors to determine whether a country should be on Tier 2 (or Tier 2 Watch List) versus Tier 3. First is the extent to which the country is a country of origin, transit, or destination for severe forms of trafficking. Second is the extent to which the country's government does not comply with the TVPA's minimum standards and, in particular, the extent to which officials or government employees have been complicit in severe forms of trafficking. And the third factor is the reasonable measures that the government would need to undertake to be in compliance with the minimum standards in light of the government's resources and capabilities to address and eliminate severe forms of trafficking in persons (TIP 2014b, 43).

The basis for human trafficking in Haiti

Before analysing what can be done to help with the problems of human trafficking it is necessary to illuminate if the conditions for human trafficking are present in Haiti.

Facts about Haiti

Haiti is a very young nation with around half of its population under 18 years old and the life expectancy is 61 years old. Haiti has a long history of permanent political, social and economic crisis (Beers 2013).

Haiti is the location of the world's third largest human trafficking industry. Human trafficking is a form of modern-day slavery. The 12 January 2010 a magnitude 7,0 earthquake completely destroyed Haiti. Thousands of children were left in extreme poverty without homes or families making them easy targets for traffickers. Everything they knew was demolished in a matter of seconds (digital media 2013). The number of people involved in human trafficking in Haiti has skyrocketed since the earthquake, over 300.000 Haitian children are being sold into the trafficking industry every year, children often sell themselves, or are sold by their parents, because they feel as if they have no other choice. "Five minutes from here, in broad daylight, I can buy a slave, a boy or girl, as young as 7. I can use them for sex, domestic labour or anything else". Haiti's government has done very little to put an end to trafficking in their country (D. Masci quoted in digital media 2013). Many government officials and law enforcement officers aid traffickers for profit. Freedom is something we take for granted; there are thousands of individuals in the trafficking industry who have no concept of the privilege of freedom. People are priceless, stop human trafficking in Haiti (digital media 2013).

For many years Haiti has been facing a grave situation, many under age children are discreetly crossing the border to go work like animals in the Dominican Republic, some of them are sent by their parents, other just run away, but others are sold to smugglers, this kind of traffic generates a lot of money (UNICEF and Panos Caribbean 2011).

In some parts of Haiti there is no university or trade school for young boys and girls to attend after high school, as a result they are jobless. Without a job and if they have no relatives in a major city like Port-au-prince or Cap Haitian to help them, their dream then is to go to the Dominican Republic. "When I look around, I see I can't go to school, I see that I can't expect anything from my own country. There's only one activity here for children,

working in the field". "The reason why all these children are victims of this situation is because their parents are poor. Perhaps someone comes and lures them with promises and take them to the Dominican Republic, from there, they are sold (UNICEF and Panos Caribbean 2011).

"If you look around, especially in the area called "Ravine Trompéte" you'll find the type of young people who tend to leave. When asked why they like so much to go away, they answer that they go to look for a better life."

Haiti is the least developed and most densely populated country within the western hemisphere. Centuries of repression, conflict, recurrent disasters, political instability and economic adversity have brought grinding hardship and undermined Haiti's potential for economic growth (Vigo 2013, 3). Even before the January 2010 earthquake, Haiti's development indicators were comparable to some of the most vulnerable African and Asian countries; three quarters of Haiti's population of 10 million people were already surviving on only US$ 2 per day, and half on US$ 1 per day (UNICEF 2013, 10). According to World Bank 2012 data, Haiti is ranked poorest country of the world (77 per cent), with more than half of its population living on less than $1 a day, while about 80 per cent of the country lives on less than $2 a day. Moreover, Haiti is one of the most unequal societies in the world, with a vast wealth gap and social inequalities; 70 per cent of national income goes to the richest 20 per cent of the population, while the bottom 20 per cent receive less than 1.5 per cent (UNICEF 2013, 10). The poorness and the bad conditions create a mindset in the parents that promotes giving up their children for adoption. "There is in the minds of a great number of Haitians who abandon their children to allow them to be adopted a firm belief that their child will become economically enriched and one day return to help out the originating family that made their ultimate sacrifice" (Vigo 2013, 3).

The conditions have been bad for several years, but the earthquake that hit Haiti in 2010 increased the problems for Haiti. The earthquake hit three million people, of whom many already were extreme poor and marginalised. In 2010, Haiti's already vulnerable population was dealt a series of devastating blows through a succession of natural and other disasters (Vigo 2013, 3). On 12 January 2010 an earthquake measuring 7.3 on the Richter scale – the strongest in Haiti in over 200 years – rocked the impoverished nation, striking Haiti's most densely populated centre. Its impact on the already vulnerable population was catastrophic; over 220,000 were killed, a further 300,000 injured, and 1.3 million forced into displacement. A total of three million people, or 30 per cent of Haiti's

population, were directly or indirectly affected; their lives changed forever, with the loss of family members, friends, homes, colleagues, offices and livelihoods. A quarter of all civil servants died in the earthquake (UNICEF 2013, 10). The total value of damages and losses is estimated at US$ 7 billion (120 per cent of Haiti's GDP in 2009), and when relating the scale of the damage to Haiti's population and economy, it has been confirmed as the most destructive natural disaster in recent time, more so than the Indonesian tsunami of 2004 (UNICEF 2013, 10).

In the wake of the 2010 earthquake in Haiti came a series of disasters. The outbreak and rapid spread of cholera which cost that over 655.300 suffered of cholera and over 8.053 fatalities. Also the Hurricane Tomas in November 2010 led to further deaths, mudslides and flooding in two departments, deteriorating the already fragile food security situation and accelerating the transmission of cholera. More recently, Tropical Storm Isaac in August 2012 and Hurricane Sandy later in November caused over 60 deaths cumulatively, destroyed over 6,000 homes and displaced thousands (UNICEF 2013, 10). These crises hit not only one of the most economically and socially vulnerable countries in the world, but also one crippled by insecurity, socio-political instability and lack of the rule of law (UNICEF 2013, 10).

Even before the tremor, malnutrition was a silent crisis for children: one fifth of children under the age of five were underweight, almost one third suffered from chronic malnutrition, and 35 per cent of under-five deaths were caused by the underlying factor of malnutrition. While results from the country's fifth Demographic and Health Survey show that acute malnutrition has been reduced by half since 2005 (from 10 per cent to 5 per cent of children under five years old), malnutrition still causes 33 per cent of all deaths of children under age five, and over a fifth of all children still suffer from chronic malnutrition (UNICEF 2013, 11).

The confluence of emergencies in 2010 undoubtedly presented a huge threat to the reduction in child mortality. Children's right to health suffered following the destruction of 50 hospitals and numerous health centres, as well as disruptions in the continuity of health systems such as routine immunisation. Currently, 59 children for every 1,000 born in Haiti die before reaching their first birthday, 31 die in the first month of life and 29 die between one month and one year. The under-five mortality rate in Haiti is 88 deaths for 1,000 live births (UNICEF 2013, 11).

Furthermore, the impact of the earthquake on women, families and the health sector as a whole exacerbated challenges and delays in access to life-saving skilled attendance at birth, prenatal care, and emergency obstetric care (UNICEF 2013, 11).

In 2012 The United States Department of Homeland Security indicates that access to improved drinking water sources remained stagnant at 65 per cent of households in Haiti and that there has been some good progress made in terms of increasing coverage of sanitation – but indicators are still low, underlining the vulnerability of communities to disease transmission. National averages for improved sanitation increased over 100 per cent from 14 per cent to 26 per cent, and there was a little progress in rural areas from 14 per cent to 17 per cent – but this still leaves almost three quarters of the population, or around 7.5 million people, at extreme risk. The rate of people who defecate openly, without a sanitation solution, decreased from 50 per cent in 1990 to 23 per cent in 2011 (UNICEF 2013, 11).

Even before the earthquake, some 1.2 million Haitian children were estimated to be generally vulnerable to multiple forms of violence and abuse, including physical and emotional abuse, domestic violence, armed and sexual violence. Much of this exploitation was seen to be triggered by poverty, with children for example having to work to assist their families in the overall pursuit of escaping poverty. The earthquake added additional threats by further exposing or exacerbating preexisting sources of vulnerability, particularly for children, women and youth. At the same time it devastated the country's already fragile social and child protection systems and structures, eroding the capacity of caregivers and other actors that have the duty to uphold children's rights (UNICEF 2013, 12).

Haiti has a large number of children and youth separated from their families. While many children were orphaned and separated in the earthquake, close to 40 per cent of the 5,000 children without family care registered after January 2010 were in fact separated before the tremor, underlining the deep-seated historical challenges that exist in the country. Out of the 7,206 children registered between January 2010 and May 2011, only 1,870 (26 per cent) were reunited with their immediate or extended family members. In 2012, a total of 563 children were reunited with their families (UNICEF 2013, 14).

Sometimes encouraged by what has become an unscrupulous business for some Haitians, a number of struggling families have placed children in residential institutions with the

belief that they will be better cared for. As with many forms of child exploitation and abuse, studies have indicated that poverty is the trigger for children to be abandoned in this way, with previous political turmoil having 'broken' the social system, leaving poor families with very limited alternative options (UNICEF 2013, 14).

A 2011 study showed that there are at least 3,380 children and youths living on the streets of Port au Prince alone, 89 percent of them boys, and 11 per cent girls. One fifth of the girls were found to be mothers to at least one child. A third of the street children and youths interviewed are aged between 8 and 13 (UNICEF 2013, 14).

Children who are not registered at birth are not legally recognised as citizens of their country and as such are not subject to the rights and responsibilities that this implies and unable to obtain any other legal paperwork or certification. In Haiti, this is the case for at least 28 per cent of the population. In other words, 72 per cent of the population are said to have a birth certificate. However, this statistic is optimistic, as it refers only to the level of issuance of birth certificates (when forms are initially completed and issued), but not all issued birth certificates are sent to the national archives, and as a consequence are not validated. And even these optimistic statistics show a declining situation, with a downward trend in birth registration in recent years. Furthermore, even for children who do have a birth certificate, only one in 10 are registered with the civil authorities (UNICEF 2013, 15).

The situation of child labour is grave in Haiti; more than twice (21 per cent) as many Haitian children aged between 5 and 14 find themselves caught in some form of child labour compared to the regional average of 10 per cent (UNICEF 2013, 11). An estimated 225,000 Haitian children work as domestic servants in non-family households or with extended family. These child domestic workers are known locally as 'restaveks'. Although statistics are not available, it is thought that the majority are girls. These children are often sent to live with and work for a host household because the parents/caregivers lack the resources required to support the child, and the children generally move with parental permission (UNICEF 2013, 13). Traditionally, most children in domestic service came from the countryside and are sent to live with other families with the hope of a better life. However, after the earthquake, in a climate of exacerbated vulnerability, more restaveks are coming from poor semi-urban and urban families – recent survey findings show that the metropolitan area is currently the largest single recruitment source. Many parents/caregivers of children placed with other families believe that the move will offer the child better opportunities and a chance for an education. However, in reality the

move often lands children in a situation of unpaid domestic service, working long hours, subjected to abuse and denied the right to an education. In reality, the move often lands children in a worse situation (UNICEF 2013, 13).

In 1995 Haiti ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which means that the rights of children in Haiti will be translated into Haitian laws, this will include all elements of children's rights to education, nutrition, health etc. as well as protection. However, the children's code has not yet been adopted by Parliament. As a result, focusing on child protection, Haitian law does not currently provide a protective framework for children's rights (UNICEF 2013, 12).

Until 2010, progress was insufficient to ensure that all children were in school, given that half of all Haitian children were out of school before the earthquake which then proceeded to cripple the education system, reducing some 3,978 educational establishments to rubble, causing the death of an estimated 1,500 teachers, and interrupting education for around 2.5 million students. The right to education was denied for thousands of metropolitan girls and boys for much of 2010; by the time of the back-to-school campaign in early October, some children could no longer afford to enroll as their parents had lost their livelihoods. However, by the end of 2012, a marked improvement was noted, with almost 85 per cent of children of primary school age (6-11 years) attending school. While this is a positive outcome for earthquake-affected children, gaps in access to education throughout the country, particularly in rural areas, remain stark (UNICEF 2013, 11). Ensuring that all girls and boys complete a full course of primary schooling cannot be achieved without eliminating the barriers that keep children out of school. Reaching the hard to reach –including children affected by HIV/AIDS, orphans, children with disabilities, and those who are trafficked or live in institutions – is critical to achieving education for all. The school environment needs to be safe, protective and free of violence and sexual exploitation and abuse in order for children to attend, remain, and excel in school. Additional pressures on girls to support domestic chores can cause many to drop out of school early and have lower achievement. Child labour, including placement of children in domestic servitude, prevents many from going to school (UNICEF 2013, 12).

In June 2012, the Haitian Government ratified the Hague Convention on International Adoption, a first critical step towards protecting children from the threat of international trafficking (UNICEF 2013, 17).

Haiti has long been an important country of origin for international adoption with 1,000 adoptions per year on average over the past decade. If the requirements governing procedures have long been the subject of questions, the earthquake in 2010 and the accelerated procedures that ensued highlighted the urgency to reform the entire child protection system, and in particular the system related to adoption. Indeed the number of children adopted internally doubled after the earthquake according to figures from The Hague Conference -1,238 children in 2009, 2,601 in 2010. The inter country adoption process in Haiti had long been renowned for its systemic failures which included corruption, lack of transparency and an inexistent monitoring system, and this system only further deteriorated in the earthquake that affected the state of Haiti (UNICEF 2013, 13).

A 2002 IOM/UNICEF study found that annually more than 2.000 children, mainly from three geographical departments of Haiti (North, North- east and North-west), are trafficked to the Dominican Republic. Many of them are exploited for the purposes of both labour and commercial sex. There is also anecdotal evidence of the sale of children by orphanages, either into illegal (and potentially exploitative) adoptions or, more gruesomely, for organ retrieval or child prostitution. The problem was serious in Haiti before the earthquake because of the overall lack of basic human rights, a weak criminal justice infrastructure, and generalized societal violence. The potential for exacerbation of this situation following the earthquake heightens the urgency (Global centurion 2012).

Prior to the 2010 earthquake, Haiti has been a country of origin for many forms of trafficking e.g. labour and sex trafficking. There are three serious forms of human trafficking in Haiti: first, the *restavek* phenomenon in which children are at high risk for both labour trafficking and sexual exploitation, sexual exploitation including child sex tourism, and child sex trafficking. Second, persons compelled by economic pressures to immigrate to the Dominican Republic in search of work. Many of the Haitians working in the "Bateyes", the sugar plantations of the Dominican Republic, are trapped in conditions of slavery (Global centurion 2012).

Haiti is a source, transit, and destination country for child trafficking. The principal purpose of child trafficking is for forced domestic servitude as well as economic and sexual exploitation. It was estimated before the earthquake that 2,000 children were trafficked per year to outside the country (for example to the Dominican Republic and other countries) or within Haiti; it is believed that this number has increased since the

earthquake. For example, in 2010, of the 11,774 children screened by the Brigade for the Protection of Minors at Haiti's border checkpoints and at the national airport in Port au Prince, 2,509 (21 per cent of the total checked cases) were travelling without legal documents, and 459 (4 per cent) were identified as victims of trafficking. For the total period 2010-2012, 20,500 children were screened by the Brigade for the Protection of Minors, and in 2012, approximately 500 were identified as victims of trafficking. Trafficked children are commonly victims of mistreatment, sexual abuse, forced labour and criminal exploitation. In a July 2011 visit to Haiti, the UN Deputy High Commissioner for Human Rights, Kyung-wha Kang, noted the reports of trafficking, praised the work of the authorities and their partners to prevent and respond to the practice, but also stressed the need to devote additional resources to institutions responsible for protecting children and to strengthen the legal framework. As mentioned above, since the earthquake an increasing number of women and girls have been forced into prostitution by their loss of livelihoods or separation from their families or caregivers (UNICEF 2013, 13). According to UNICEF about 2.000 children a year were trafficked from Haiti before the earthquake hit in 2010, and UNICEF estimates that each year 3.000 children were trafficked out of Haiti in 2013, and approximately 300.000 Haitian children are restaveks, also called child slaves (Vigo 2013).

The ethnic composition of the Haitian population is 95% is black and only 5% is composed of mulatto and other minorities. This ethnic composition in Haiti makes Haitian more vulnerable for exploration in the Dominican Republic. The development of social classes in the Dominican Republic is based on race. Darker-coloured Dominicans are usually found in the lower class, while lighter skinned Dominicans are found in the middle and upper class. Most Haitians are darker-skinned with little non-African admixture. In the Dominican Republic there is a stigma against dark-skinned residents. People with darker skin are usually associated with poor, uneducated Haitians because of their past connections with slavery (Howard 2001, 50).

Dismissed and runaway children, many whom were former restaveks, as well as many restaveks displaced by the 2010 earthquake, make up a significant proportion of the large population of street children, who end up forced into prostitution, begging or street crime by violent gangs in Haiti (TIP 2012).

Especially in the poorer urban neighbourhoods, children and youth are recruited as gang members, or are tortured, kidnapped, sexually and physically abused, abandoned and

traded by gangs. Following the January 2010 earthquake, and the escape of thousands of detainees from Haitian prisons and the damage sustained by the Haitian National Police and MINUSTAH increase in violence among gangs. Armed gangs seek to control territory and recruit children as fighters, spies, informants, and gun and drug carriers. Approximately 1,000 children are working as messengers, spies and even soldiers for armed gangs in Port au Prince, and girls who are raped by gang members are recruited to provide sex, shelter, food and protection. Once recruited into a gang, these youth engage in frequent acts of violence and criminality, ranging from petty street crime to more organised forms of kidnapping, along with violent turf battles with neighbouring gangs. Children, women and youth are particularly at risk of these types of abuse. Vulnerability can be highly contextual, and limited resources must be targeted well among and within communities. While all children, youth and women could be considered "vulnerable", the following categories of children, youth and women who are among the most vulnerable in Haiti (UNICEF 2013, 14).

Summary

In the previous we have explored that there are people in Haiti that is in a venerable situation for trafficking and to be exploited.

Example – gang recruitment with use of means with the purpose for exploitation of children in criminal activity or sexual exploitation.

Analysis

This chapter aims to explore prevention initiative and structural factors in the context of human trafficking from Haiti. This section seeks a combination of different anti-trafficking initiatives, the structural factors and the basis for human trafficking from Haiti.

In the previous chapter of this project it has been concluded that there is basis for human trafficking in Haiti. The aim for this project is to perform research on aspects that has impact on human trafficking. The impacts can be looked at in the following of the introduced model of push and pull factors. It will be a challenge to look at the pull factors, or the challenge would be to change the strength of the pull factors without changing them into push factors. Therefore, this section will mainly focus on the push factors because the initiatives to prevent human trafficking has a strong connection to the push factors which have an effect on the balance of power between the push and pull factors.

Human trafficking constitutes a highly lucrative business. People all over the globe are being sold, bought and maltreated against their will. Various organisations give different estimates as to the scope of trafficking. The lack of exact statistics has promoted some states to act in accordance with the saying "out of sight out of mind"; they deny that they have a trafficking problem. It has been said that it is only by understanding the depth and scope of human trafficking that we can address the issue of how to counter it (Jansson 2015, 42). Although trafficking statistics will never be entirely precise due to the phenomenon's clandestine nature, other factors can be used as indicators. The statistics of countries of origin concerning emigration can e.g. be used as an indicator of trafficking (Jansson 2015, 42).

Create activities that can stop the child trafficking phenomenon. The government is really the one that can stop this phenomenon here. The government has a great responsibility in this problem, it should take the lead to assist those children. Children are the future (UNICEF and Panos Caribbean 2011).

Political initiatives

As mentioned before in this project political factors as political instability, corruption, flawed law and poor law enforcement may create a favourable environment for human trafficking (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 184). In that sence initiative that may create a less favourable environment for the political factors is a step in the right direction in order to combat human trafficking.

The political situation in Haiti has changed for the better in relation to combat human trafficking. The political willingness of reforms that benefit children was bigger than ever after the earthquake, which is a unique possibility to create a children friendly Haiti (UNICEF 2012). The bureaucracy in Haiti is still in 2015 slow and heavy, and there are complaints of corruption in the government and in general in Haiti's official institutions and political system (UNICEF 2011 and The Real News 2015). The willingness to reform created development within education, nutrition, health and security of children (UNICEF 2012). The initiatives below show the progress Haiti's political system has made in order to combat human trafficking.

A massive physical destruction in the wake of the 2010 earthquake, including the destruction of governmental buildings, equipment, and loss of personnel, and the continued lack of fundamental infrastructure throughout the government, severely limited the government's ability to function in many areas, including in areas of law enforcement, social services and border control. This had a similarly limiting effect upon the government's ability to address trafficking in persons. The extreme impact of the earthquake on the operational capacity of the Haitian government persisted throughout 2010 and into 2011. Twelve out of the 13 ministries collapsed in the earthquake, none of which have been rebuilt. Hundreds of civil servants and technocrats were killed, taking with them institutional knowledge and experience, and files were lost or destroyed, and the justice system was largely non-functional. The slow pace of reconstruction after the earthquake and the lack of government infrastructure obstructed basic government efforts to address trafficking in the country. In a positive step, Haitian officials recognized that human trafficking, including the exploitation of *restavek* children, is a serious problem in the country; however, the lack of legislation prohibiting all forms of trafficking was a major obstacle to progress (TIP 2011).

Law enforcement:

The absence of a comprehensive anti-trafficking law also contributed to confusion regarding the difference between the crimes of human smuggling, human trafficking and illegal adoption among elements of the Haitian government and some of its international donors. In addition to the absence of solid law, other impediments to combating human trafficking include widespread corruption, the lack of quick responses to cases with trafficking indicators, the slow pace of the judicial branch to resolve criminal cases, and scant funding for government agencies and low government capacity in general (TIP 2013, 188).

The government passed a law in 2014 criminalizing human trafficking, but did not prosecute or convict any trafficking offenders. Despite large number of identified victims, a national plan to combat human trafficking was also passed in 2014 (TIP 2014a, 196).

Border control:

The objective in the border inspections is basically to identify children who were cross the border of Haiti and the Dominican Republic and to register separated children, not accompanied children and companied children that were not with their guardians. After the earthquake UNICEF and two national government instances, the Brigade for the Protection of Minors (BPM) and the government's social welfare ministry (IBESR),two instances in Haiti who protected children in general, created a system of inspection procedure to protect children from being trafficked. Before the earthquake the actual procedure was not in place, and anyone could cross the border with children from Haiti going into the Dominican Republic without any inspection procedures, therefore a new system needed to be introduced. The reason for starting this new system was because many children were noticed on the border working, for example as clothing sorter, trash collector, porter e.g.

The border inspection includes checking if the adult accompanying the child carries the child's birth certificate and passport in order to cross the border with the child.

Many children crossed the border with adults, and due to the earthquake's destruction of government buildings and the official documents stored within, border authorities permitted people to exit Haiti without any form of identification. The situation became politically charged and required heightened sensitivity following an attempt by a group of

American missionaries to smuggle 33 children out of Haiti without having any legal guardianship of the children.

These challenges endanger children and threaten to permanently separate families seeking to reunify. Separated children who are taken across the border without identification by well-meaning relatives may lose the chance to reunify with their families if they are not identified and registered. In the case of orphaned children who are being transported across the border by adults without legal guardianship, the children are at high risk for exploitation and/or abuse.

Child Protection Brigades is identifying children who are at risk of becoming child trafficking victims. These professionals improve the safety of children by enhancing the capacity of government officers to safely and appropriately deal with separated children they identify at border posts.

Between February 2010 and August 2011, 15,877 children were screened, 130 were registered as potential victims of trafficking, 120 were reunited with their families and 203 were provided psychosocial support.

According to World Vision research, over half of the children registered at official border check points year 2011 were travelling in dangerous conditions, without documents, hidden in vehicles, or clearly handled by smuggles. Many of these children are at risk of sexual or labour exploitation (SOS 2012).

In 2009 more than 2.000 Haitian children were trafficked into the Dominican Republic. With families thrown into disarray and many made poor by the 2010 earthquake, the temptation to send children to Haiti's wealthier neighbour in search of work has become even stronger.

From May 2012 to January 2013, the BPM registered 52 trafficking cases at four posts on the border of the Dominican Republic (TIP 2013, 188).

To address the problem of massive internal displacement following the earthquake, NGO programs created, reinforced, and maintained community-led initiatives to promote leadership and empowerment of vulnerable groups within internally displaced communities. This project focused on developing safe spaces for children while also taking a holistic approach to empowering displaced persons. Over 14,400 people benefitted from this program.

Brigade members have the authority to search vehicles and prevent children without papers from crossing the border. In December 2010, police stopped a truck with four men and seven children in a suspected trafficking situation and worked with the NGO to reunite the children with their families (TIP 2011).

Economic, cultural and social initiatives:

Previous in the project the political, economic, cultural and social factors were explored with the purpose to achieve an understanding for conditions that leads to human trafficking (Stanojoska and Petrevski 2012, 180). Above, the political factors have been elaborated. In the following the economic, cultural and social factors will be explored. The main actor in the political factors is the political system in close relation with NGOs, but with political actors as the main participants. In the other factors as economic, cultural and social factors the main actor is often an NGO in close relation with actors from the political system. The economic, cultural and social initiatives to combat human trafficking are closely related and difficult to separate, political initiatives are also closely related with the other three, but can also be separated from the other initiatives. The economic, cultural and social initiatives to combat human trafficking are elaborated below.

Residential care centers:

Residential care centers driven by NGOs such as UNICEF and SOS Children's Villages provide many services. Residential care centers include orphanages[1], creches[2], and other institutions established for adolescents and children. Children and adolescents usually live and sleep in residential care centres, but occasionally the centres also provide daytime activities for additional members of the community. Some of the centers provide food, shelter, healthcare, medical care, educations and courses and child-friendly spaces, though emotional and psychosocial support (SOS 2012). One year after the catastrophic earthquake three times as many people were living in these centers as before the earthquake (SOS 2011a).

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[1] caregivers or guardians

[2] creche is a residential care centre for children under the age of six which deals almost exclusively with children to be adopted internationally.

IBESR removed a total of 95 children from situations of forced labour in 2012 and continued to close harmful residential child care centres, removing 756 children from environments where they were exposed to a high risk of human trafficking. A total of 656 of these children were reintegrated into families or foster families, while the remaining 100 stayed in IBESR transition centres awaiting sustainable reintegration (Trafficking in Persons 2013, 188).

Education projects:

The earthquake impact on the already vulnerable population was catastrophic, a total of three million people, or 30 per cent of Haiti's population, were directly or indirectly affected; their lives changed forever with the loss of family members, friends, homes, colleagues, offices and livelihoods. Also the official system was affected: thirteen of the fifteen ministry buildings were reduced to rubble. The education system collapsed as 4000 schools were wrecked. The earthquake caused the death of an estimated 1.500 teachers as well as students. Furthermore the earthquake interrupted the education for around 2,5 million students (UNICEF 2013, 11).

After the earthquake the whole education system needed to be built up from scratch. The idea behind the new education system was to educate the people more so they can stay in their country. 0nly through education is it possible to build a better Haiti where the Haitian people can be protagonists in their own spiritual, social and cultural development (UNICEF 2015). The situation was perfectly described by the SOS in their article "*Most vulnerable must not be forgotten*" when they said the children of Haiti needed more than just something for their stomachs after the earthquake; they also need something for their brains, that is, education. (SOS 2011b).

Gabrielle, a principle at the local school in the small town of McDonald, believes that making children attend and stay in school is the key for Haiti to get out of poverty, "we try to teach them that here is the best place for them now and later they can have a better life if they accept to stay and receive something for their minds here, that can help them during their life" (Beers 2013).

In 2005 only half of the children between 6 and 11 years in Haiti were attending school, and the right to education was denied for thousands of metropolitan girls and boys for much of 2010; by the time of the back-to-school campaign in early October, some

children could no longer afford to enroll as their parents had lost their livelihoods (UNICEF 2013, 11). With an ambitious plan from the government in Haiti to make all children in Haiti attend school, over 77% of the children of 6-11 years of age are attending school in 2015 (UNICEF 2015). For the first time in Haiti's history the Ministry of Education with support from UNICEF is working to provide important learning and development opportunities for children in pre-school and school age (UNICEF 2015). Louverture Cleary School (LCS) expects that this June they will graduate their 20th class of servant-leaders who will go on to prove that education works (LCS 2015).

Projects out of poverty:

Poverty and exclusion can contribute to child abandonment and the separation of children from their families, as children are sent to work on the streets. Children might end up in foster or institutional care arrangements, which can lead to marginalisation and decrease their chances of breaking the cycle of poverty (UNICEF 2013, 11).

NGOs and care centers provide services that make possibilities for families to increase or obtain an income. Some care centers give education in human rights and teach where it is possible to learn how to sew and weave; these courses are creating the basis for an income so that the family can take care of themselves (SOS 2013). NGOs such as UNICEF also have programs that create that basis for an income. These programs may include investment on behalf of the NGO for creation of small businesses or animals to start farming in small communities as McDonald (Beers 2013).

Even with programs and projects from the NGOs, Haiti still has great problems with unemployment. The unemployment rate is between 60% and 80%, and where 84% of professionals leave to find opportunities elsewhere, over 90% of Louverture Cleary School (LCS) graduates remain in Haiti to further empower their communities, earning 10-20 times the per capita income of Haiti (LCS 2015).

Almost 95% of those living in camps have been able to return home and find new lodgings. This is largely the result of return and resettlement programmes, including a cash grant programme that has provided more than 75,000 families with money to rent new homes. That more families move from the camp into their own home or housing indicates economic progression, which resulted in more and more people/families being able to afford to live without or with less emergency and/or financial support.

Structural factors

Trafficking in human beings as a social phenomenon is usually explained in terms of specific push factors in the countries of origin and pull factors in the countries of destination. The factors of push and pull include economic, social, cultural and political factors. In the case of Haiti the economic factors are mainly poverty. The social and cultural factors consist of cultural status and class and also discrimination. The political factors include law enforcement, corruption and political instability. All these economic, social, cultural and political factors in Haiti pushed Haitians to migration before the earthquake, because the inhabitants in Haiti had little hope for improving their standard of living due to unemployment, lack of housing, sub-standard health, education, water and sanitation services etc. As it had been explored above Haitians now have more opportunities for improving their living conditions, which also has affected that they are not as compelled to migrate as before the earthquake.

In the above some prevention initiatives have been examined. The initiatives can make a difference in many ways, the initiative might aloes affect change in the basic norms and values of a society or nation. These norms and values are part of the cultural and social factors which include class, cultural status, discrimination etc. Women and girls in Haiti lack the same social and legal protection and benefits as men. They continue to have fewer opportunities and lower achievement in education, and despite the fact that women represent the majority of the informal work sector, they continue to have significantly less access to formal employment and its greater social and economic benefits. They also remain significantly under-represented in local and national government despite the advancement of a woman as a final candidate in the 2011 presidential election (UNICEF 2013, 11). The groups most at risk of trafficking were Haitians without documentation and from the lowest income background. Women and children are particularly vulnerable to exploitation, also persons living in internally displaced persons camps were at an increased risk of sex trafficking and forced labour (TIP 2014a, 195). Without documents to prove birth registration, children and families often cannot access health, nutrition, education and other social services (UNICEF 2013, 11). One Haitian government report estimated that the birth of more than 10 % of Haitians was not registered (TIP 2013, 187).

The initiatives of care centres and protection programmes might have a positive effect on the problem with the recruitment to gangs for the purpose of exploitation. These initiatives get the children off the street where, as it had been explored earlier, children are at high risk and vulnerable for being a victim of trafficking. Many of the initiatives not only limit the number of children living on the streets, but also give children other possibilities for making progress in life with e.g. education, which gives other future prospects for the children.

Conclusion

The situation of human trafficking will not change as long as there are poor countries whose inhabitants have little hope for improving their standard of living due to unemployment, lack of housing, sub-standard health, education, water and sanitation services etc. Poor people will seek new horizons in other parts of the world in more developed countries that offer them opportunities to work and earn money for a better life (UNICEF 2004).

It has be explored that human trafficking is not a new phenomenon in Haiti, in the wake of the earthquake international society has expanded their investments in Haiti and focus on help to make Haiti a better place. This expansion can be looked at as a positive side effect of the earthquake for Haiti. The positive effect for Haiti is the possibility to create a basis for better life opportunities for the average Haitian with e.g. education, better health conditions etc. these opportunities might not have happened as quickly had the earthquake not attracted the focus of international society. NGOs such as UNICEF and SOS Children's Villages have worked and struggled to achieve change in Haiti before 2010 without big results, but after the earthquake and with the focus and pressure from international society to make changes in Haiti, the above mentioned NGOs have achieved a lot of results e.g. creation of a system for border control of children crossing the border to the Dominican Republic, a new educational system, and it has also been possible for the NGOs to build more care centers. All of these changes have made it difficult for human trafficking to grow and the life more difficult for the traffickers.

Haiti has come a long way in order to better the living situation. Furthermore, many initiatives and structural changes have helped to bring Haiti in a better condition, but the work is not finished in Haiti. Haiti is still a very poor country with a huge amount of problems that still need to be solved in the development process of Haiti. Even with the initiatives to prevent human trafficking, it still exists in Haiti, and as long as better living opportunities exist in other places of the nation or in the Dominican Republic, human trafficking will continue. Moreover, human trafficking will exists as long as it is advantageous to exploit another person.

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Appendix A