

Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation in Spain

How Spain can improve its prevention
methods

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19/09/2016

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

With 400,000 sex workers, Spain has the biggest sex industry of Europe. It is estimated that 90 per cent of these sex workers are victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The objective of this dissertation is to gain data on sex trafficking in Spain with the aim to find weaknesses and improvement possibilities in the current Spanish prevention methods. This research has been conducted by collecting and analysing existing data on this topic. Predominantly, reports written by specialized institutions such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and the European Union have been consulted.

The first part of the results identifies the current problem in Spain and is divided into four fields of improvement: the lack of a comprehensive legal framework; data; international cooperation; and high demand. The high amount of tourists in Spain in combination with these weaknesses in the current system creates an attractive destination for human trafficking. Without a legal framework, insufficient data and a lack of international cooperation, Spain struggles in tackling sex trafficking caused by the high demand of young tourists.

The second part of the results shows current and potential prevention methods. The fields of improvement are currently not forming an effective shield against sex trafficking. However, in order to strengthen the battle against sex trafficking, the fields of improvement need to be strengthened individually. Unfortunately, the Spanish political parties do not take a stand in this debate. Therefore, it is difficult to reform the current legal framework regarding prostitution. Nonetheless, Spain has written plans of action to conduct research on the topic. In addition, Spain cooperates with the European Commission to achieve mutual goals regarding sex trafficking. Spain, however, lacks in cooperation with countries like Nigeria. Concerning demand, Spain has done campaigns to raise awareness; however, these campaigns are not focused on the target group, namely, tourists.

In conclusion, by developing and improving prevention methods based on the results, Spain would be able to achieve a comprehensive approach in the battle against human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The focus should be on collecting relevant data and improving international cooperation. In addition, Spain should develop campaigns focussed on raising awareness among young tourists. However, most methods are still in the preparatory phase. Therefore, it will take time and dedication to improve the prevention methods in the Spanish system.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Trafficking in human beings is a rising worldwide problem. It is estimated that every year 21 million people are being trafficked. Seventy-nine per cent of the victims are trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation. (UNODC, 2014) Sex trafficking affects almost all countries in the world either as origin, transit or destination. Spain is predominantly an end destination for victims of sex trafficking and with 400.000 sex workers, it has the biggest sex-industry of Europe. (Broadly, 2015) The most recent estimation states that ninety per cent of the sex workers are trafficked from abroad and sexually exploited. (U.S. Department of state, 2015) The victims are mostly trafficked from countries with limited economic opportunities, in Spain the biggest groups are from South-East Europe (Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania) and Nigeria.

Previous research conducted by, among others, the United Nations and the European Union have shown recurring weaknesses in the Spanish system. These weaknesses can be divided in four areas. First of all, Spain has a lack of relevant data. Data are necessary to discover trends and patterns, with this information Spain can determine focus areas and develop suitable programs. Secondly, the current legal framework around human trafficking and sexual exploitation does not include all aspects. Although, there are laws that prohibit human trafficking, Spain has no laws or regulations regarding prostitution. The only law concerning this subject forbids pimping, nonetheless, it is legal to own an establishment where prostitutes can gather to work. Thirdly, sex trafficking needs an international approach. Currently, the transnational cooperation between Spain and the countries of origin is not efficient enough to tackle human trafficking. Spain does participate in projects within the European Union, however, Spain and Nigeria have not established any collaboration in this field. The fourth and last area is the problem of high demand from abroad. Mainly tourists use the services offered by the victims of sex trafficking. Despite of awareness campaigns, tourists are mostly unaware of the fact that the prostitute they visit is forced into this profession. Due to these deficiencies, Spain has become an attractive destination for sex trafficking.

Previous research on this topic has helped to highlight the problem areas in Spain. However, these reports only give the advice to improve the areas without any specification on how Spain can improve these fields. Therefore, this dissertation's objective is to outline the problem areas and the potential improvements to prevent sex trafficking in Spain. This paper aims to give a comprehensive view of the weaknesses and the opportunities within the current Spanish system and will conclude with specific advice and recommendations on how Spain can improve its prevention methods.

In order to achieve this objective, research is conducted within the four fields. It was decided to mainly conduct desk- research for this dissertation because qualitative data is available in the form of reports articles and essays on all aspects of this topic. The current data on problem areas are analysed to achieve a clear insight into these problems. In addition, the current prevention methods of Spain are examined and points of improvements are determined. Furthermore, prevention methods and legal systems of other countries are investigated in order to find suitable systems for Spain. These methods of research will give a clearer insight of the current and potential prevention methods in Spain.

The current prevention methods in Spain have shown not to be sufficient to tackle sex trafficking. Therefore, this paper answers the following research question: How can Spain improve the prevention methods on human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation? The first chapter consists of general information regarding trafficking in human beings and human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The second chapter states the current situation in Spain and identifies the four fields of improvement/ the weaknesses in the Spanish system. The third chapter focuses on existing and potential solutions to strengthen the fields of improvement. A discussion on the obtained results is presented in the fourth chapter. The dissertation finishes with the fifth chapter that contains the conclusion and recommendations.

2. METHODOLOGY

The research methodology for this paper requires gathering relevant data from specific documents in order to review and analyse the information and reach a complete understanding of the current prevention methods and their improvement possibilities on human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Spain. This understanding is reached by answering the following research- and sub questions.

How can Spain improve its prevention methods of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation?

1. What is human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation?
2. What is the current situation of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Spain?
 1. What is the current legal framework?
 2. Does Spain have sufficient and relevant data of this subject?
 3. How is the transnational cooperation between Spain and countries of origin?
 4. Why is the demand for illegal prostitution high in Spain?
3. How can Spain improve its prevention methods by looking at the current and potential prevention methods?
 1. How can the Spanish legal framework become more comprehensive
 2. What can Spain do to obtain more relevant data?
 3. How can Spain improve the international collaboration on sex trafficking?
 4. How can Spain reduce the demand.

The objective of this dissertation is to obtain knowledge on the current prevention methods and the possibilities to improve and develop prevention methods regarding human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Spain. The research question is formulated in order to address all aspect of the objective in a extensive yet concentrated manner. In addition, the sub questions are structured to provide a clear process of research in order to answer the research question. Moreover, the derived sub questions support the main question in the process to achieve the objective of the research. The order of the sub questions need to have a logical continuation of information. Therefore, it is chosen, for the reader to fully understand the subject, to start this paper with the general meaning and situation of sex trafficking and continue with the second and third chapter which focus on the

situation in, and relevant information on Spain. It is decided that the third chapter comprises both the current and potential prevention methods because the potential prevention methods can be used to improve the current methods. Therefore, the combination of the current and potential methods give a complete idea for developing Spain's prevention methods. The second and third chapter are divided in four parts which represent the problem areas or improvement areas in Spain. These fields are identified as problem and improvement areas in multiple reports (among others, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women¹ (CEDAW), the United Nations (UN), and the Spanish ombudsman "El defensor del Pueblo"). Consequently, it is determined to utilise these identical results to categorise and structure the dissertation. The generated data is categorised and sorted as the primary basis of the findings. The categories are as the sub questions and the four problem areas. This theoretical analysis provides a structure for the basis of the dissertation.

This paper utilises both quantitative and qualitative data collecting. However, the main method used is qualitative data collecting because of the objective of this research. This objective needs a flexible approach to find why Spain needs to improve its prevention methods and on how it can improve its methods. It is important to investigate the totality of the situation and by gathering relevant qualitative data this is achieved. Nonetheless, the quantitative data is necessary to support and substantiate the qualitative results.

The quantitative data collection consists of existing statistics from governmental and institutional research. Combining the data from different sources leads to specified and relevant information to help answering the sub questions. Statistics given by specialized committees from the UN and the European Union (EU) such as the European Commission and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) are used to give facts and figures on human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation from a global perspective and help answering the first sub question. As a result the reader gets a clear overview of the current trends and patterns of sex trafficking in the world. Furthermore, more concentrated data of pattern and trends in Spain is found in a report written by the Spanish ombudsman and a global report "trafficking in persons report" that covers all parts of human trafficking including a specific part on Spain and the purpose of sexual exploitation. This information is used to answer the first part of the second sub question (what is the current situation in Spain?). In addition, the information from these sources is exerted throughout

¹ See box 1 CEDAW page 10

the paper in order to substantiate the qualitative data.

To generate relevant data from qualitative research, it is necessary to find the underlining meaning of the information. For this research, that is best done by the recursive abstraction method because it gives a broad yet concentrated insight in the issue of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The available data for each category is qualitatively reviewed, summarized and combined in order to obtain a clear overview from different perspectives. In addition, examples and statements are added and the quantitative results are used to support the qualitative information. The sources used for the qualitative data collection are governmental studies, institutional reports, and relevant news articles. Some of these sources are used throughout the dissertation such as ,previously noted, the findings of the Spanish ombudsman and the “Trafficking in persons report”, in addition to those, the annual reports written by the CEDAW and the “ Global report on trafficking in person” written by the UN. However, each sub question has to be approached differently. The specific qualitative methods per sub-question will be explained in the next part of this chapter. Finally, it must be noted, that with the method of recursive abstraction it is important to make sure that the conclusion of the original data is not forgotten. This report avoids this risk by citing examples and statements from the primary sources.

Human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation from a global perspective

In the first part of this dissertation, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods will be used. The qualitative generated data is used to present the totality of the situation in the world. Summarized data from governmental and institutional documents, such as reports from the UN and EU, substantiated with the quantitative data as explained above, give the reader reliable and comprehensive information on sex-trafficking from a global perspective.

What is the current situation of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Spain?

The second part is divided in 4 parts, the 4 fields of improvement. As noted in the quantitative part of this chapter, the general situation in Spain will be explained by the available quantitative data on this subject. Furthermore, chapter 2.1 needs a qualitative approach because it focusses on the legal aspect of sex trafficking and, therefore, needs qualitatively reviewed data from legal documents. Moreover, the legal documents come from two different institutions, namely, the EU directive on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and article 318 (regarding human trafficking)

and 188 (regarding pimping) from the Spanish criminal code. These documents are carefully studied and summarized to explain how the Spanish legal framework on sex-trafficking functions. To clarify, examples and statements from relevant articles will be added. Chapter 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4 benefits from the abstraction method because many sources show its concern about the lack of data, the international collaboration, and the high demand in Spain. The summary of these sources give a complete overview of the problems Spain is facing regarding these issues. These sources include: the concluding observation from the CEDAW, the Spanish ombudsman, the Spanish Ministry of Equality, and relevant articles from a.o. The New York Times and El Mundo. Again, examples and statements from the original reports and articles will be presented to make sure that the original conclusions are not forgotten.

What are the current and potential prevention methods?

The best method for the final sub question is combined qualitative data because it is necessary to combine specific data from multiple sources to answer the questions. For example: regarding the improvement of the legal framework in Spain, it is required to research the ideas and proposals from different institutions such as the Spanish ministries and NGOs, however, in addition, it is necessary to research existing legal frameworks from countries that have developed a more comprehensive framework such as the Netherlands and Sweden. (In addition, these countries are interesting to research because they both have a different approach concerning prostitution as a derived crime of human trafficking. The Netherlands chose to legalise prostitution and Sweden chose to criminalise the purchase of sex.) In order to answer this question it is not needed to give a combined summary to generate an overview of the situation it needs an enumeration of options on how to improve the prevention methods. Therefore, it is chosen not to use the abstraction method in this section. Furthermore, qualitative data is generated from evaluation reports in order to discover essential information on the improvement of the current prevention methods. The evaluation reports are not exclusively focussed on prevention methods in Spain, they will also be focussed on methods, recommendations, and projects from other countries, NGOs, and institutions. Examples of sources that are used in this section are: recommendations from the CEDAW and the Spanish ombudsman, transnational projects from the EU, Plan to combat sexual exploitation and its status report by the Spanish ministry of Equality, and The EU's strategy towards eradications of trafficking in human beings written by the European Commission. These sources contain information on the strengths and weaknesses of current prevention methods or present new ideas on preventing sex trafficking.

As every research, this paper has limitations that can effect the data collecting. First of all, most of the data regarding numbers of victims of human trafficking are an indication. The invisible victims make it difficult to give an exact number. In order to give the most accurate data, the statistics in this report are results of the most recent research and a reference to the primary source is stated. Secondly, because the lack of data (chapter 2.2) it is not completely clear were the problem and focus areas are, limitations might occur in finding suitable prevention programs for Spain. Although, the four fields of improvement are already determined, the areas within these fields are not yet discovered. For example, because there is no specific data on the particular regions where the victims come from, it is impossible to determine the transnational relations Spain should improve. However, the available data does give enough insight on the issues to determine necessary actions. Even so, these actions are not always a solution for the problem but more often a step in the right direction. Finally, it must be noted that by the time of writing Spain does not have had a parliament since December 2015. And although, Spain can be considered as a liberal country, during these insecure times, the political parties currently do not take a stand in this debate. Thus, at the moment, the Spanish government does not provide ideas and solutions. Nonetheless, the Spanish ministries and involved interest groups do show their involvement by conducting research ,and analysing and evaluating data.

Box 1**Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women**

The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) is a body consisting of independent experts that observes the application of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women per country. States that have become part of the treaty are obliged to report to the committee on how the rights have been implemented in the countries legal system. As part of the states who have signed the treaty Spain has reported on this subject including human trafficking of women and has received a report with concerns and recommendations. (CEDAW, 2015)

3. CONTEXT

To put the prevalence of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Spain in perspective, it is best to hear stories first hand. Therefore, this paper will start with citations and quotations from people who are or were by some means involved in human trafficking or sexual exploitation.

"It is a debt you pay and pay, but it seems like you're always in debt."

Iria; trafficked from Brazil at age 23 and forced into prostitution
(Caritas, 2016, p. 12)

"The journey took weeks, one of the girls kept asking for water. The men did not like it so they threw her out in the desert in Libya. We were not human beings. We were animals."

Sarah; trafficked from Nigeria at age 21 (Guerin, 2016, p. 1)

In handing down the sentence, the court described the man's behaviour as "horrific", noting the "particular cruelty" he displayed in branding the women with tattoos resembling barcodes.

Ruling of the Spanish Supreme Court on Romanian pimp who trafficked and exploited women (El Mundo, 2015, p. 1)

"We find women who think it's over, and that they can finally breathe a sigh of relief because they've arrived in a country with human rights. But they end up in a dancing bar on the side of the highway, imprisoned in a brothel and unable to escape. They don't know where to go."

Encarnación Marquez, a social worker who helps migrants in Algeciras (Frayar, 2015, p. 1)

The mayor walked over to them; one left immediately, while the other started crying when she saw the photographer. "My family does not know what I'm doing here" she sobbed.

In border town La Jonquera the mayor tries to talk with the street prostitutes (Castedo, 2012, p. 1)

"Many of the victims do not speak Spanish and are under threat, in debt, and unaware that help is available. They are also undocumented immigrants, and are afraid to go to the police."

Helena Maleno, an expert in migration and human trafficking (Benitez, 2013, p. 1)

"Sex is a service," he says. "If you want to have good sex, you must pay good money for this service."

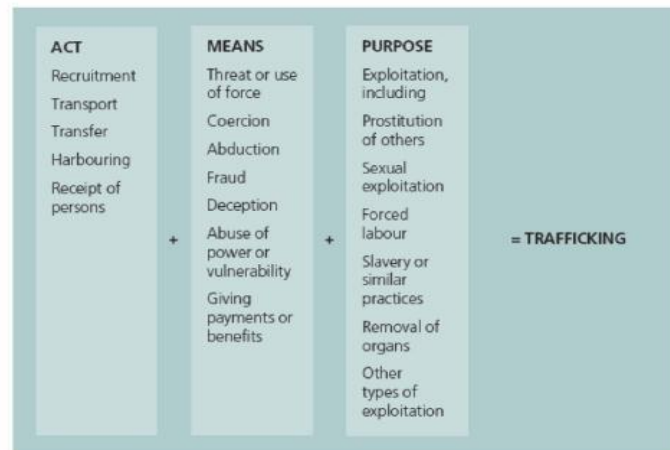
The interviewer asks a question: "What effect does that have on the girls themselves?" And the punter seems genuinely stumped. After a moment's silence, he volunteers: "I don't know, I never thought about it."

A client explaining his theory (Ditum, 2015, p. 1)

"I have a vibrator... a small one because sometimes men can be a little bit too aggressive, a little rough," she explains. A medicinal-looking tube turns out to contain genital anaesthetic: "It's like a small insurance if the pain is getting too big," she says.

A prostitute showing the contents of her bag (Ditum, 2015, p. 1)

4. SEX TRAFFICKING FROM A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE



What is human trafficking? (UNODC, 2016, p. 1)

“Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of 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.” (UNODC, 2000, p. 6)

Human trafficking is the fastest growing criminal industry worldwide. Approximately 21 million² humans are trafficked every year. This can be within national borders or international borders. Trafficking in human beings is seen as a violation of human rights by the international community³ and is, therefore, illegal in 134 states (Sorooptimist, 2012).

Sex trafficking is a divarication of human trafficking with the purpose of sexual exploitation. According to the UNODC's Global Report on Trafficking in Persons, trafficking in persons with the purpose of sexual exploitation is the most common form of human trafficking (79%). (UNODC, 2014) However, it must be noted that sexual exploitation is more frequently reported because it tends to be more visible than other forms of exploitation such as forced or bonded labour, domestic servitude, forced marriage, organ removal, and the exploitation of children in begging.

²Indication of victims according to www.equalitynow.org real number is difficult to state because of invisible victims.

³Stated in de UNODC [Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons](#)

The victims of sexual exploitation are mostly women and girls with a minor percentage of men. Almost all countries in the world are involved within the act of sex trafficking, as destination, transit or country of origin. In general, West-Europe and North-America are used as destination, and the victims are trafficked from East-Europe, Asia, Africa and South-America. In countries with low economic and educational opportunities women are tricked and forced into the illegal sex industry in the West. Poverty is a common connection between the victims. Especially in countries where women have a poor economic position, they become vulnerable for human traffickers. (Sorooptimist, 2012)

Trafficking is a form of organized crime which has been expanding over the entire globe. Noteworthy, in this form of crime more women are active than in any other form of crime, both as victims and as culprits. Most of the women became perpetrators in order to escape their own victimization. Additionally, the nationalities of the traffickers are often the same as their victim. (OHCHR, 2005) The most common technique to lure victims is with false job opportunities and dishonesties about a better future. The recruiters will approach young women and will promise them legal jobs, educational opportunities or marriages. (Sorooptimist, 2012) The girls are promised to earn enough money to support their families. Once trafficked, passports are confiscated and the victims are in debt with the traffickers. The women have to repay the traffickers for the journey by working as prostitutes. This debt is often fictional and impossible to pay off. If the women try to escape or do not pay the traffickers they often will be beaten, raped, and threatened. In many cases the family and children of the victims are threatened as well.

Human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation discards borders and is organized by transnational crime groups. For this reason, countries have been struggling to tackle this threat on human rights. International organisations such as the United Nations and the European Union have tried strengthening the international collaboration on the battle against human trafficking. (U.S. Department of State, 2010) However, the stages of human trafficking often take place through different countries and are executed by people from different nationalities. Therefore, it is difficult for the involved countries to prosecute the perpetrators. In addition, sex trafficking consist of two parts: the trafficking and the exploitation. Although, countries often have laws regarding these crimes, they lack of a comprehensive framework and approach to tackle this offence. Consequently, perpetrators are often prosecuted incorrectly. (UNODC, 2014) Nonetheless, most (European) countries have decided on a strategy to discourage forced prostitution by either legalising (e.g. Germany and the

Netherlands) or banning (e.g. Sweden) prostitution. However, Spain has, as only country in the European Union, not taken a decision regarding the framework on prostitution. (U.S. Department of state, 2015)

5. SEX TRAFFICKING IN SPAIN

According to the Global report on trafficking in person, Italy has the highest number of victims of sex trafficking in the European Union, while Spain has the second highest number (UNODC, 2014). However, Spain currently has 400,000 sex workers, which makes Spain the largest consumer sex market of the EU. The lack of a legal framework regarding sex workers gives human traffickers an attractive setting to exploit victims. Therefore, in Spain traffickers can avoid the bureaucracy that they face in countries like the Netherlands and Germany where prostitution is legalized as well as evade criminal charges in countries like France where prostitution is illegal. Ninety per cent of the sex workers are immigrants and probably trafficked or lured in with deceptions. (Broadly, 2015) Many victims are trafficked to Spain from Eastern Europe, South America, China and Nigeria. Ten per cent of the victims have the Nigerian nationality. (UNODC, 2014) The victims are recruited, trafficked and exploited by international criminal networks from different origins. (U.S. Department of state, 2015) In comparison, in the Netherlands, 70 per cent of the sex workers are immigrants. In addition, not only the victims are foreign, but the demand comes from abroad as well. Mostly tourists take advantage of the cheap sex services Spain offers. Spain currently lacks in resources to tackle sex trafficking. In the reports from the CEDAW (CEDAW, 2010), the Spanish ombudsman (Defensor del Pueblo de Espana, 2016), and the Trafficking in persons report (U.S. Department of State, 2010), the same four weak areas in the Spanish system are identified. In the reports, the sources recommend Spain to strengthen these areas in order to improve its prevention methods against sex trafficking. These four areas are: A lack of a comprehensive legal framework, a lack of international cooperation, a lack of data and research and a high demand for sex services. In the following chapters these problems will be clarified.

5.1 LEGAL FRAMEWORK REGARDING SEX TRAFFICKING AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

In order to tackle organized crime, a legal framework is a necessity. Furthermore, because sex trafficking consists of trafficking and sexual exploitation, and transcend borders it is especially difficult to tackle without clear legislation. As a Member State of the European Union, Spain has implemented the European Union's directive on combating trafficking in human beings. However, the Spanish laws regarding sexual exploitation and prostitution do not provide a sufficient framework to prosecute the crimes derived from human trafficking.

5.1.1 LAWS

The European Union has written a directive⁴ on combating trafficking in human beings. This directive is mainly focused on the prosecution process and the protection of the victims. The directive provides the Member States with common rules defining offences of human trafficking, punishing offenders, measures to prevent trafficking, and the protection of victims. For this report the most important articles are article 2, 8, and 18. Article 2 determines the offences regarding human trafficking: the recruitment; transportation; transfer; harbouring or reception of persons for the purpose of exploitation. Article 8 ensures that Member States shall not prosecute victims even if they were involved in criminal activities as a consequence of being a victim of the acts in Article 2. Article 18 provides the Member States measures regarding prevention of human trafficking. (European Parliament and the Council, 2011)

Article 2 Offences concerning trafficking in human beings

“ 1. Member States shall take the necessary measures to ensure that the following intentional acts are punishable: The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or reception of persons, including the exchange or transfer of control over those 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.” (European Parliament and the Council, 2011 p.1)

Article 8 Non-prosecution or non-application of penalties to the victim

“1. Member States shall, in accordance with the basic principles of their legal systems, take the necessary measures to ensure that competent national authorities are entitled not to prosecute or impose penalties on victims of trafficking in human beings for their involvement in criminal activities which they have been compelled to commit as a direct consequence of being subjected to any of the acts referred to in Article 2.” (European Parliament and the Council, 2011 p.1)

⁴DIRECTIVE 2011/36/EU OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 5 April 2011 on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims, and replacing Council Framework Decision 2002/629/JHA

Article 18 Prevention

“1. Member States shall take appropriate measures, such as education and training, to discourage and reduce the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation related to trafficking in human beings.

2. Member States shall take appropriate action, including through the Internet, such as information and awareness-raising campaigns, research and education programmes, where appropriate in cooperation with relevant civil society organisations and other stakeholders, aimed at raising awareness and reducing the risk of people, especially children, becoming victims of trafficking in human beings.

3. Member States shall promote regular training for officials likely to come into contact with victims or potential victims of trafficking in human beings, including front-line police officers, aimed at enabling them to identify and deal with victims and potential victims of trafficking in human beings.

4. In order to make the preventing and combating of trafficking in human beings more effective by discouraging demand, Member States shall consider taking measures to establish as a criminal offence the use of services which are the objects of exploitation as referred to in Article 2, with the knowledge that the person is a victim of an offence referred to in Article 2.” (European Parliament and the Council, 2011 p.1)

This directive came into force April 2011 and had to be transposed by the Member States in April 2013. What means that, these laws are part of the Spanish legal framework regarding human-trafficking. Moreover, Spain has had her own law regarding human trafficking since 2007, namely, article 318 of the Spanish criminal code. This law criminalises every form of involvement in human-trafficking from, in transit, and with destination Spain or any other Member State of the European Union.

Article 318

“1. Whoever, directly or indirectly, promotes, favours or facilitates illegal trafficking or clandestine immigration of persons from, in transit, and with their destination in Spain, or with their destination in another country in the European Union, shall be punished with the penalty from four to eight years imprisonment.” (Ministerio de Justicia, 2013 p.101)

Thus, in the European Union and Spain, trafficking in human beings is forbidden by law. However, the European Union does not provide a directive that prohibits crimes derived from trafficking like forced prostitution. Nonetheless, the Spanish criminal code does include an article on forced prostitution and the government often uses this article to prosecute traffickers. (U.S. Department of State, 2010)

Article 188

“1. Whosoever by using violence, intimidation or deception, or abuse of a position of superiority or of the vulnerability of the victim, causes an adult person to engage in prostitution or remain in it, is punished by a prison sentence of two to four years and a fine of 12 to 24 months (i.e. fine days set at rate depending on financial circumstances). The same penalty shall be incurred by one who profits from the prostitution of another person, even with the consent of that person.” (Ministerio de Justicia, 2013 p. 62)

This is the only law in the Spanish criminal code regarding prostitution. The law bans forcing another person into prostitution or gaining profit from the prostitution of another person, shortly said, prostitution is legal but this law forbids pimping. However, it is legal to own a establishment that gathers prostitutes for work, chapter 2.1.2 and 3.1 will elaborate on this issue. Thus, the framework of Spain concerning sex -trafficking consist of 2 parts. First the combination of the EU's directive and article 318 of the Spanish criminal code that prohibits the trafficking, and secondly, article 188 of the Spanish criminal code that forbids pimping. The framework does not include any regulations or laws regarding the rights for sex-workers and does not take into account the fact that forced prostitution is often a result of human-trafficking. Furthermore, the CEDAW has repeatedly noted its concerns on the lack of comprehensive anti-trafficking laws. In addition, it has its concerns on the limited meaning of pimping which may hinder the suitable prosecution of the exploitation of women. (CEDAW, 2015) The Spanish legal framework regarding human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation does not provide a comprehensive structure to tackle sex-trafficking. Moreover, most likely, because, Spain is currently awaiting the third elections of this year (2016) most of the Spanish political parties do not take a strong position in this debate. (Broadly, 2015) The social-democratic party, Ciudadanos, is currently the only political party with a program concerning legalising prostitution. Nonetheless, the government is coming under increased pressure from NGOs, labour unions, and the international community to develop a legal framework regarding prostitution. (Barry, 2012)



Legal framework EU Member States (Barry, 2012 P.1)

5.1.2 PROSTITUTION/SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

On the subject of prostitution or sexual exploitation there is no legislation in European and Spanish law. In contrary to other EU Member States, Spain does not have a legal framework regarding prostitution⁵. There is a large grey area with undefined laws regarding sex workers.

Prostitution is essentially legal; however, there are no laws to protect the sex-workers. For example: there are no unions prostitutes can join. A person can be a prostitute as long as it is by own choice and there is no pimp involved. Furthermore, pimping and brothels are illegal in Spain but owning a nightclub where prostitutes gather for work is legal. This creates a grey legal area and a setting for traffickers to prostitute and exploit women. (Broadly, 2015) The lack of a legal framework in combination with the high demand from tourists⁶ creates a gold mine for the criminals who traffic and exploit the victims. Although, trafficking in human beings is illegal in Spain, it is difficult to prove the actual trafficking, if the victim claims to be in this situation voluntary. (Defensor del Pueblo de Espana, 2016) The victims might not know that they are victims of trafficking in the beginning because they are still expecting a legitimate job. When the victims do realize that they have been misled, the traffickers threaten them or their families. In addition, the victims often do not speak the

⁵See image on top of the page for framework member states.

⁶See chapter 2.4 on High demand

language and do not know where to find help. Most victims get trapped in world of forced prostitution and do not know how to escape. (Defensor del Pueblo de Espana, 2016)

Because there are no laws regarding prostitution, prostitutes do not have the same benefits and protection as other workers such as health care and pension. Women who choose to offer sex as a service are being mistreated because they cannot execute their job without being socially or legally discriminated. And the traffickers, who force their victims into prostitution, have an easy access without any legislation or bureaucracy into the sex industry.

In addition, in some regions prostitution is regulated. For example, in Catalonia the government could give licenses “to gather people to practice prostitution”. This makes it legal to own an establishment where prostitution takes place as long as the owner or his employees do not gain profit from the prostitute. (Fotheringham, 2010) However, in practice, former brothel owners open clubs or hotels where the prostitutes are “gathered to work”.

5.2 LACK OF DATA

Relevant data is necessary to find the trends and patterns of a problem. With the knowledge of the trends and patterns, suitable actions can be developed and priority areas can be discovered. Without relevant data and research it is difficult to structure potential measures, especially regarding transnational sex trafficking. Not only does a lack of data and research hinders the development of potential solutions it also hinders the evaluation of the prevention methods. Evaluation is necessary to discover the flaws and the strengths in order to determine how effective the methods are and how these can be modified. Without analysing the outcome of current methods it is difficult to decide the readjustments for suitable actions against sex-trafficking.

Multiple reports on human trafficking, announce its concern in the lack of the data and research regarding human trafficking and sexual exploitation. According to a worldwide report on human trafficking, (U.S. Department of State, 2010) Spain has insufficient data and research to form suitable policies. Moreover, the CEDAW expresses its concern of the absence of data and research on all aspects of this matter in their concluding observations in 2009 (CEDAW, 2010) and again in their concluding observations of 2015 (CEDAW, 2015). The “Defensor del Pueblo”, the Spanish ombudsman, also notes its concern about the lack of the data and research on this area (Defensor del Pueblo de Espana, 2016). According to the three sources, Spain lacks in collecting and analysing data regarding human trafficking and forced prostitution. Spain does not provide data concerning the

victims of human trafficking and sexual exploitation in all stages. The government has no specific guidelines when it comes to identifying potential victims. In addition, there is a minimum of data available regarding the numbers of sex trafficking victims because there is no disaggregation in data concerning human smuggling and human trafficking. Moreover, the government does not provide sufficient data concerning identified victims. It is unclear how many identified victims were referred to NGOs for help and protection. (UNODC, 2014) Furthermore, the Spanish ombudsman highlights the shortcomings on the identification of the victims when they enter the country for the first time. (Defensor del Pueblo de Espana, 2016)

5.3 LACK OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Although this report focuses on how Spain can prevent human trafficking, it is important to note that human trafficking will never disappear without international cooperation. This chapter will show the weakness in the Spanish transnational cooperation on sex trafficking.

Human trafficking and sexual exploitation are often part of huge networks,⁷ that operate over the continent or even over the world. These international organized crime groups are hard to tackle. The groups consist of Spanish and foreign nationalities, the Spaniards being the exploiters as owners of the establishments. The women (often exploited themselves) part of these networks, are normally in charge of controlling the women and have the same nationality as the victims. Their network spreads from countries of origin, transit and destination. (Defensor del Pueblo de Espana, 2016) To tackle these organizations, international/European cooperation is necessary. However, countries in Europe do not share their data concerning human trafficking, which makes it difficult to conjoin in the battle against human trafficking. The cooperation between the countries of origin and destination are essential to tackle the criminal gangs. (U.S. Department of State, 2010) International cooperation means the collaboration between governments, NGOs, and police forces.

Currently in Spain, each municipality have to handle the gangs with its own forces. For example: in 2015 the Catalan Police Headquarters have arrested the leaders of the Nigerian based group in charge of a human-trafficking ring in Barcelona. (Guerin, 2016) Nevertheless, it is not possible to tackle an international problem locally. Removing prostitutes and madams of the street, barely solves anything, tackling the human traffic organizations needs a global response. (Guerin, 2016)

⁷For biggest networks in Spain see box 1 and 2

Although the CEDAW and the Spanish ombudsman have recommended Spain to increase their cooperation with countries of origin and transit, and to increase their cooperation with Spanish and foreign NGOs, Spain has not yet act upon these recommendations.

Box 2**Nigerian networks in Spain**

The Nigerian human trafficking network consists of multiple chains. The process starts with the recruiters in Nigeria. His or her job is to recruit young women offering them fake jobs in Spain. This happens through direct approach or through their families. However some women will approach the recruiters themselves with the knowledge that they will become prostitutes. The young Nigerian women have seen girls come back from Spain who had made a lot of money being prostitutes. Unfortunately the girls are not aware that violence, rape, and slavery are included in the job. After being recruited the women are taken by so called “coyotes” on a hazardous journey to Spain. The Nigerian members often get the women pregnant before the journey. Pregnant or with a child, the women will have a better change to obtain a visa and the child can be used to threaten the women. Once the women arrive in Spain they have to pay their debts they inquired working as prostitutes. This debt (can vary from 30,000 to 60,000 euros) is based on the costs the traffickers had to make in order to get the women in Spain. If the women do not earn enough money per night their madam will beat them. (Guerin, 2016)

Box 3**Romanian networks in Spain**

Since the accession into the EU in 2007 Romania has become the biggest supplier of prostitute in the European Union. They have become the biggest source of sex trafficking victims in Western Europe including Spain. (Sheahen, 2015)The recruiters are often people known by the victims as friends or acquaintances. The recruiters can also be public persons respected by the community. The victims are seduced with false promises of jobs or education. The recruiters will present beautiful stories to convince and manipulate the victims and often their families. In Romania (and other parts of East-Europe as Bulgaria, Hungary, and Albania) unemployment is high among young people and especially young women. If these women are approached by reliable-looking men with job offers abroad, the women will listen and often accept. Once trafficked away from their families, the victims are sold into prostitution. (Eliberare, 2015)After arriving in Spain, the Romanian victims (as the Nigerian victims) have to pay off the “debt” they made with the traffickers. However this debt is often fictional and impossible to pay back. Evidence suggests that it is even possible to order new victims. For example, if a club owner in Barcelona needs new prostitutes he could contact his connections and the order will be placed. A few weeks later the “order” will have been recruited, trafficked and delivered. (Sheahen, 2015)The Romanian network does not only traffic in Romanian victim, their business also includes trafficking victims of other East-European countries, and trafficking in and trading of victims from South-America and China.

5.4 HIGH DEMAND

The reports mentioned in the previous chapters, mainly focus on the legal and political roots of the sex trafficking matter in Spain. However, another reason why sex trafficking has become such a profitable business is the demand for sex services.

The sex industry works as every other industry; it is an interaction between supply and demand. The reason that the supply of victims of sexual exploitation is high is because the demand for sexual services is high. Organized crime organizations take advantage of the high demand by offering sexual services performed by their victims of trafficking and sexual exploitation. (Daley, 2012) Because it is seamlessly easy to traffic and exploit the victims, the trafficker can offer the services for extremely low prices⁸ what makes the demand even higher. (Broadly, 2015)

According to a UN report in 2009, 39% of the Spanish men have visited a prostitute at least once. (UNODC, 2016) However, the domestic demand is nothing compared to the demand from the outside of Spain. Most clients who seek sex services are foreigners. Tourism and prostitution go hand-in-hand in the Spanish sex industry. This enormous group includes: businessmen, tourists, city hoppers, groups of friends, and men from neighbouring countries who sometimes cross the border for less than an hour⁹. Mostly young men travel from other European countries and enjoy the cheap anonymous sex services in cities as Madrid, Barcelona and Ibiza. (Barry, 2012) Often the clients are from countries where buying sex is illegal or expensive such as France, the United Kingdom and Norway. In addition, the clients who seek cheap sex services are often not aware of the fact that the prostitutes are being exploited. The clients often think the prostitutes enjoy their work and do it by their own choice. (Ministerio de Igualdad, 2009) Their unawareness is one of the main reasons why this business is so booming in Spain. Information on the unawareness of the potential clients will be elaborated in chapter 3.4.

⁸20€ for sex (Daley, 2012) In Spain, Women Enslaved by a Boom in Brothel Tourism

⁹See info box 4 La Jonquera

Box 4**La Jonquera**

La Jonquera used to be a shopping destination for the French; nowadays it is a supermarket for sex. You can find all kinds of prostitutes, on the roadside or in a giant club called Paradise whose owner obtained a license to gather prostitutes while facing criminal charges. The town opposed the 'brothel' but the supreme court forced them to award the license. (Castedo, 2012) More than 100 women work on the streets and most are from Eastern-Europe. The prostitutes claim not to be forced to sell their bodies.

However mayor Martinez believes the opposite. "Their pimps are checking them from nearby bars or call them on their cell phones constantly." (Broadly, 2015) Generally French men drive (sometimes for a couple of hours) to La Jonquera to enjoy the sex services. The ground from the nearby woods is covered with condoms and wipes.

6. CURRENT SOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There are many reports available with recommendations on how to improve the battle against human and sex trafficking. In 2009, the Ministry of Equality of Spain has written a Plan to Combat Sexual Exploitation. This report includes a plan of action against human trafficking and sexual exploitation. (Ministerio de Igualdad, 2009) The United Nations has written reports with general recommendations, which include the increase of international cooperation and advice for local governments. Furthermore, the CEDAW provides advice on a regular basis per country. In all these reports the importance of international cooperation and relevant data is highly noted. The country specific reports also note the lack of a legal framework in Spain. Although the issue of high demand is recognized in most reports, the solutions and recommendations on this matter are limited.

6.1 LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Currently Spain has no comprehensive legal framework regarding human trafficking and sexual exploitation. Although Spain has implemented the European directive on human trafficking and has its own laws regarding human trafficking and sexual exploitation, these laws have shown not to be sufficient enough to prevent or even decrease the numbers of forced prostitution. (U.S. Department of state, 2015) Contrariwise, the number has been increasing over the past years. Therewithal, in the Plan to Combat Sexual Exploitation, little is noted on legalizing or regulating prostitution. (Ministerio de Igualdad, 2009) Even though, the European Union and the United Nations have recommended the Spanish government to agree upon a more all-embracing legal framework. (UNODC, 2014) The opinions on how to structure the legal framework differ. Some interest groups lobby for the legalization of prostitution or for a ban of prostitution. Others focus on the current mistakes in prosecutions. (In many cases human trafficking is prosecuted as other crimes.) (Ditum, 2015)

By regulating sex work, the sex workers will be given protection and basic rights. Supporters believe legalization will make prostitution a socially accepted job with social security as healthcare and pension. There are many theoretical benefits when prostitution will be legalized. Legalized prostitution will be observable for the government and prostitutes will have to pay taxes. This will help to distinct legal prostitution from forced prostitution and consequently, it will help to find and prosecute perpetrators of human trafficking and sexual exploitation crimes. Therefore, with the legal restrictions on prostitution, Spain will become a less attractive destination for sex-traffickers. (Snelling, 2013) However, there are many opinions and strategies on how to execute this option. Firstly, the point of view of the voluntary prostitutes will be presented. Their primarily goal is to get

the same rights as other workers. The sex workers want a legal status, including the possibility to work for a boss (pimp). (Broadly, 2015) As was written before, it is estimated that ninety per cent of the 400,000 sex workers in Spain are trafficked and exploited. Therefore, there are many (feminist) groups who claim this small group does not represent the sex workers in Spain. (Fotheringham, 2010) The second option is to give prostitutes legal rights. According to Rhut Mestre, a legal researcher who works with migrants, women, and sex workers: "this does not mean regulating and legalizing the whole sex-industry." (Wood, 2016, p. 1) She wants to recognize the rights for prostitutes without giving more power to pimps or owners of brothels.

On the other hand, it must be stated that countries such as the Netherlands and Germany that have legalized prostitution, are still struggling with human trafficking and sexual exploitation. Moreover, European countries that have criminalized the purchase of sex seem to have decreased their number of trafficking victims. Therefore, there are interest groups who plea to criminalize prostitution. A clear example is Sweden; Sweden has criminalized the purchase of sex in 1999. By fining as many perpetrators of this law as possible, they have tackled the demand and consequently lowered the number of prostitutes and trafficking victims. (Thompson, 2013) Spain has implemented a similar method in some municipalities like Madrid, Barcelona, Sevilla and Valencia. Clients who seek sex services in public places in these municipalities are fined. (Marin, 2016) However, it must be noted that the number of prostitutes has been decreased from 2500 in 1999 to 1000 in 2003. Spain has to deal with 400,000 sex workers, thus it is arguable whether this strategy will work in Spain.

The recommendations from the CEDAW focus on the adoption of comprehensive legislation on sexual exploitation and prostitution. One of its focus points is the inadequate definition of pimping and those who exploit prostitution. (CEDAW, 2015)

6.2 DATA

An important part of preventing human trafficking and sexual exploitation is data sharing. To improve the battle against sex-trafficking, all data concerning this matter should be available for origin, transit and destination countries. Destination countries like Spain should share its data with origin countries such as Romania. However, there is a lack of comprehensive data concerning human trafficking and sexual exploitation in Spain. The Spanish Ministry of Equality has written a plan of action on this area in the Plan to Combat Human Trafficking. One of its objectives is to "Gain greater insight into the phenomenon of trafficking and its true dimensions from a multi-disciplinary point of view." (Ministerio de Igualdad, 2009, p. 7) Three types of studies will be conducted to accomplish this

objective namely: a study on trafficking and sexual exploitation and its relationship with migration, a study to analyse the judicial treatment, and a study on the consequences for victims. In 2010, the Ministry wrote a report (Ministerio de Igualdad, 2010) on the status of the plan and stated that research had been conducted; however, most of the research was still in the preparation phase. Therefore, the report does not present a clear outcome of the research that has been conducted. In addition, there has not been found a more recent report on the evaluation of the “Plan to Combat Human Trafficking. Thus, it remains unclear whether the Ministry of Equality has reached their objective. Moreover, despite of the government’s effort, many organizations and institutions have commended Spain to perform research on all aspects of human trafficking and sexual exploitation. (Ministerio de Igualdad, 2010) The latest reports of the CEDAW (CEDAW, 2015) suggest adopting a comprehensive approach to address the matter of forced prostitution; collect and analyse data. The Spanish ombudsman has highlighted the need of data concerning identification of potential victims and has laid guidelines to interview (potential) victims. (Defensor del Pueblo de Espana, 2016) The results of these researches could give a clearer view on the background of the victims and how the perpetrators work. In addition, the ombudsman advises the Spanish government to cooperate with NGOs specialized in forced prostitution to obtain relevant data. (Defensor del Pueblo de Espana, 2016)

6.3 INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Many researches have proved that international cooperation is necessary and should be improved to tackle human trafficking. (UNODC, 2014) The reoccurring items in all sources on international cooperation are data sharing, border control and collaboration of police forces. (European Commission, 2012)

However, there are not many concrete plans on how to accomplish sustainable international collaboration. For example, in the “Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children”¹⁰ written by United Nations Human Rights Commission, international cooperation is named as a measure. However, the only advice on this measure is to improve cooperation through border control agencies and developing channels of communication. (OHCHR, 2005) Similar advice was provided by other institutions, committees or treaties Spain is a

¹⁰ Called one the most prominent instrument for international cooperation on human trafficking in “The EU Strategy towards the Eradication of Trafficking in Human Beings 2012–2016”

part of¹¹. Although all of them recognize the fact that Spain lacks in international cooperation, the organisations only commend the state to improve their collaboration and do not give advice or guidelines. Nonetheless, Spain has taken measures to improve their transnational cooperation. Firstly, they started on conducting research to profile potential victims and located origin countries or regions. With this information Spain can determine priority areas and start cooperating with these areas to develop strategies and policies to raise awareness and prevent the recruitment in the first place¹². Secondly, Spain aims to improve the cooperation between transnational NGOs to exchange data and strategies. (O'Sullivan, 2013) This cooperation will be helpful in two ways. Firstly, specific methods can be developed for particular areas. With local involvement it will be easier to find the focus points within the regions. Secondly, it is useful to compare strategies and methods. NGOS from other destination countries like the Netherlands can inform Spanish NGOs on how they aim to prevent sex trafficking and reduce sexual exploitation and vice versa.

In addition, the European Union provides economic aid on multiple projects on conjoint forces against human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Recently the Union sponsored a conjoined project of inter alia, Spain, the Dutch Police Agency and the UK with the objective to share experiences in measures, and research and investigation techniques. This project also supports conjoint investigations and operational activities between the Member States and includes a training for 200 Hungarian policemen to teach them useful tactics and efficient victim identification. (European Commission, 2009) It is clear that an international problem as human trafficking can only be tackled with collaboration between the involved countries, not only governmental collaboration but also between police forces and NGOs. The European Union is a helpful institution for Spain regarding the victims trafficked from other European countries such as Romania because it helps sets up common laws and conjoined projects. However, Spain also struggles with a large amount of Nigerian victims. Although the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons in Nigeria (NAPTIP) has formed an alliance with Interpol (International Criminal Police Organization) and works in partnership with the European Union, unfortunately, Spain and NAPTIP do not have specific agreements to conjoin in the battle on human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. (NAPTIP, 2016)

¹¹(CEDAW/C/ESP/CO/7-8, 2015) (Defensor del pueblo, 2016) (Igualdad, Plan to Combat Sexual Exploitation, 2009) (Global report on trafficking in person, 2014)

¹²See chapter 3.2 on data

6.4 DEMAND

Without demand there will be no supply. When the demand on sex services disappears, human trafficking with the purpose of sexual exploitation will disappear as well. Therefore, it is important to raise awareness on exploited prostitution. The idea is that potential clients who are aware of the fact that prostitutes are forced, will no longer be interested in the services. However, it is unrealistic to expect that the demand for sex services will completely disappear. Prostitution is the oldest profession in the world as it is said. Therefore, this solution should be paired with a legal framework in order to give the potential clients a legal alternative. Nonetheless, as written in chapter 3.1, Sweden has reduced the numbers of sexual exploitation by tackling the demand. Instead of fining clients (although this method is also used in Spain), Spain tries to reduce demand by raising awareness. For example, a photographic exhibition called “Don’t be an Accomplice” was funded by the Ministry of Equality, to decrease demand by calling on the public to not contribute in forced prostitution. The government also aims to reduce demand by controlling media advertisements on sex services. Its objective is to stimulate the media not to publish advertisement that promotes sex services. (Ministerio de Igualdad, 2009) In spite of serious effort of the government and the media, no serious progress is made in this objective. In addition, in 2009 the ministry focused on tourism and informed potential clients by spreading coasters throughout bars, nightclubs and hotels stating that prostitutes are exploited by organized crime. (U.S. Department of State, 2010) More actions to reduce demand are developed by the European Commission. These actions are written for the years 2012-2016 in “The EU strategies towards the Eradication of Trafficking in Human Beings”. Primarily, the European Commission will fund research on reducing demand for services by victims of human trafficking. This material will be used by the Commission in an upcoming report on the legal measures on services of victims of human trafficking. (European Commission, 2012) Secondly, the Commission promotes the exchanges of practices and promotes cooperation with the private sector. It will establish a European Business Coalition against trafficking in human beings, in order to collaborate and develop guidelines and practices to reduce demand. Lastly, the Commission acknowledges the prevalence of awareness programs in the Member States; however, it notes the lack of evaluation. The Commission will analyse these programs and develop guidance for the Member States on future prevention initiatives. (European Commission, 2012) Unfortunately, by the time of writing the reflection on these actions has not yet been published, therefore, it is difficult to state the effectiveness of the actions.

Another notable action against demand is a proposal from the British parliament. In the United Kingdom, a parliamentary report proposes a new law to prosecute citizens who seek prostitution abroad. Currently, soliciting for sex in public places is illegal in the United Kingdom. With this method the United Kingdom will criminalize sex tourism and reduce the demand in Spain from the UK's citizens. (The Week, 2016)

As the results show, there are some solutions and ideas to reduce the demand on (illegal) sex-services. However, little of them are focused on making the clients aware of the fact that the services they seek is not done voluntarily. In addition, it is remarkable that only one campaign was focused on the main group of clients: the tourists.

7. DISCUSSION

In this final part of the results, the discussion is stated. The objective of this dissertation is to gain information on the current situation in Spain and its present and potential measures on human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This chapter shows the relation between the obtained results and the objective. For the comfort of the reader, the structure of the discussion is divided in three parts: the situation in Spain, the four fields of improvement, and potential measures.

7.1 THE PRESENT SITUATIONS IN SPAIN

The results from chapter 5 show that Spain has formed an almost perfect environment for international organised crime to execute human trafficking and sexual exploitation. Spain has too many weak spots in its system to properly prevent trafficking crimes. Firstly, as described in chapter 5.1, the lack of a comprehensive legal framework has created a situation where sex workers have no legal rights and are exploited by their pimps and club owners. Although, pimping and owning a brothel are illegal, it is legal to own an establishment where prostitutes are allowed to gather to work. (Defensor del Pueblo de Espana, 2016) This legal limbo makes Spain an attractive destination for sex trafficking. Secondly, as covered in chapter 5.4, the many annual tourists in Spain produce an enormous demand for cheap sex services from tourists. Every year thousands of tourists travel to Spain to use the cheap sex services in clubs, brothels, and on the streets, unaware of the fact that the prostitutes are trafficking victims and forced to work in the sex industry, the tourists keep the booming business of forced prostitution alive. (Broadly, 2015) Finally, Spain has not taken sufficient action to develop new approaches and strategies to reduce the numbers of trafficking. As the results have shown in chapter 5.2 and 5.3, several reports on sex trafficking in Spain have proved that Spain lacks in collecting and analysing data, and international cooperation. (U.S. Department of State, 2010) Because of the reasons above is it not abnormal that Spain is such an attractive end destination for sex trafficking and has the biggest sex industry in Europe with 400,000 sex workers.

7.2 FIELDS OF IMPROVEMENT

It is important to note that although the fields of improvement, as stated in chapter 6, seem four separate aspects, they, however, all correlate with one another. Currently, they are not forming a comprehensive shield to prevent human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In this section it is shown how the fields of improvement can strengthen itself and each other.

Firstly, the interpretation of the results from chapter 6.1 is shown. The complementation of the legal framework is an important step to prevent sex trafficking. Whether prostitution is legalised or

banned, Spain will become less attractive for traffickers and exploiters. In the case of banning prostitution, fines will be imposed on clients, consequently, the demand will decrease and it becomes less interesting to traffic women to that destination. When prostitution is legalised or regulated, it makes it difficult to exploit the victims because they have legal rights like other workers. Spain has enough examples on how to form a legal framework from the other European countries and has interest groups within Spain with potential proposals to reform the legal framework. (Snelling, 2013) Notwithstanding the fact that, banning prostitution has reduced the number of prostitutes in Sweden and that legalising prostitution in Germany did not mean the end of forced prostitution, the outcome of a copied framework may be different in Spain. (Ditum, 2015) In addition, a legal framework will only work in combination with collecting and analysing data from other countries on how their legal system (dys) functions in order to form a suitable framework for Spain.

Secondly, collecting and analysing data. The recommendations in chapter 6.2 clearly state that Spain needs to obtain data in order to identify priority areas within and outside its borders. (CEDAW, 2015) When the priority areas are located, Spain is able to write specific plans of actions for these areas. Furthermore, data should be obtained on the identification of the victims in the early stage to prevent trafficking before the victims enter the country. Unfortunately, the researches Spain has conducted are still in the beginning phase, thus, it will take time for Spain to collect enough sufficient data to develop guidelines and procedures based on the obtained information. (Ministerio de Igualdad, 2010) However, the European Union and the CEDAW are a useful source of information for the reason that they write country specific reports. Therefore, international collaboration in the field of collecting and analysing data is essential. With relevant data on identification of the victims and priority areas Spain will be able to take serious steps in preventing sex trafficking.

In addition, chapter 6.3 notes the necessity on international cooperation on border control and conjoined police forces. (U.S. Department of State, 2010) Border control needs detailed information on how to identify a potential victim of sex trafficking. Moreover, Spain will need agreements with origin countries as Nigeria to succeed. However, although, Nigerian prostitutes form the second largest group of victims in Spain, there are currently no conjoined programs on sex trafficking. (NAPTIP, 2016) This shows the lack of international cooperation in the current Spanish actions to prevent sex trafficking. Nonetheless, Spain has joined a project from the European Union with the objective to share experiences in measures, and research, and investigation techniques. The project also included the training of 200 Hungarian policemen. (European Commission, 2009) The results

show different outcomes, Spain is active in the transnational cooperation within in European Union, however, fails in collaboration with the origin country of the second biggest group of victims in Spain. (UNODC, 2014)

The last field of improvement is demand. From an economic point of view, as is specified in chapter 6.4, the supply will decrease when the demand decreases. Therefore, it is remarkable that there is little data available on this aspect of sex trafficking. In order to tackle demand one option is imposing fines. Another option is raising awareness. Spain has made a serious effort in raising awareness with campaigns and controlling media advertisement. However these strategies were not specifically focused on the target group: tourists. (U.S. Department of State, 2010) Sources like the last report from the CEDAW highlight the international cooperation with the countries of origin from the victims. However, none recommend the cooperation with the countries of origin from the clients. Therefore, data is needed to identify potential clients and prevent forced prostitution and trafficking by tackling the demand. Nonetheless, the demand for sex services will never disappear. However, as stated in chapter 6.2, there are women who choose to be prostitutes. This means that in combination with a legal framework, there will be an unforced alternative. In addition, the upcoming report from the European Commission will give a better insight in this subject. (European Commission, 2012)

7.3 POTENTIAL PREVENTION MEASURES

The following list shows the most useful improvements on the present prevention methods and the potential prevention methods from the results.

- The recommendations from the CEDAW focus on the adoption of comprehensive legislation on sexual exploitation and prostitution. One of their focus points is the inadequate definition of pimping and those who exploit prostitution. (CEDAW, 2015)
- Although the research has not yet completed, the researches stated in the Plan to Combat Sexual Exploitation are a good initiative to collect data. (Ministerio de Igualdad, 2009)
- The Spanish ombudsman has highlighted the need of data concerning identification of potential victims and has laid guidelines to interview (potential) victims. (Defensor del Pueblo de Espana, 2016) The results could give a clearer view on the background of the victims and how the perpetrators work. In addition, the ombudsman advises the Spanish government to cooperate with NGOs specialized in forced prostitution to obtain relevant data.
- In 2009 the ministry focused on tourism and informed potential clients by spreading coasters throughout bars, nightclubs and hotels stating that prostitutes are exploited by organized crime. Initiative like this should be developed in order to tackle the demand for legal sex services. (Defensor del Pueblo de Espana, 2016)

- The European Commission will analyse reducing demand programs and develop guidance for the Member States on future prevention initiatives. (European Commission, 2012) Although, not yet available, the report will most likely give new insights on potential programs.

In the writer's perspective, the combination between raising awareness at the source, meaning raising awareness in the origin countries of clients before they decide to visit Spain, and an unforced alternative, what means the legalization of prostitution, will be a substantial change in the prevention methods of Spain. Unfortunately, the results do not show enough evidence to support this view.

As is shown, the fields connect with each other. Especially, collecting and analysing data and international cooperation reoccur in all the fields of improvements. Spain should develop a comprehensive approach to improve all fields and strengthen its prevention methods. Nevertheless, in order to make significant changes to improve the current state of the prevention methods, the Spanish political parties need to take a stand. The absence of involvement of the political parties is an obstacle for Spain to actively participate in the national and international battle against sex trafficking.

8. CONCLUSION

The final chapter of this paper answers the research question: How can Spain improve its prevention methods on human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation? This chapter includes the concluding arguments and recommendations for further action. For the sake of maintaining a clear overview, the conclusion is stated per field of improvement followed by the comprehensive conclusion and recommendations.

Sex trafficking is a human rights issue that effects the whole world. Almost all countries are involved either as origin, transit or destination country. Spain is mainly used as destination country for the victims of sex trafficking and has the second highest number of trafficking victims in the EU. The victims are predominantly young women with limited economic opportunities from countries such as Romania, Bulgaria, and Nigeria. From the 400,000 sex workers in Spain, it is estimated that ninety per cent is sexual exploited and trafficked.

The results show that the cause of the high number of human trafficking and forced prostitution can be found in four fields namely: The lack of data, the lack of international cooperation, the lack of a comprehensive legal framework, and the high demand. Spain has numerous resources to strengthen these weaknesses in its system. There are various general and country-specific reports available with recommendations, advice and ideas. In addition, Spain has developed its own campaigns and programs to combat sex trafficking. However, it can be concluded that Spain currently struggles with implementing and executing these. Nonetheless, Spain has made efforts to improve its current prevention methods and developed new prevention methods by strengthening one weakness at a time.

Concerning comprehensive data, Spain has been inadequate collecting and analysing relevant data to discover trends and patterns. Numerous sources repeatedly requested Spain to conduct research on this topic. Despite the efforts of the Spanish Ministry of Equality, that has written a plan of action in 2009 to combat human trafficking by conducting research, recent reports of the CEDAW and the UN highlight the absence of relevant data. This data is essential to predict further developments and form suitable strategies to prevent and decrease sex trafficking. Spain should especially focus on collecting data regarding the identification of the victims in the early stage of trafficking in order to produce guidelines to detect potential victims of human trafficking before entering the country.

Thus, Spain has done unsatisfactory research in order to make a significant change on improving the field of data.

The status of prostitution in Spain being in between legal and illegal causes a grey area where traffickers and brothel owners can easily prostitute their victims. In addition, because of the grey legal area on exploited prostitution it is difficult to prosecute perpetrators of sex trafficking. The current Spanish laws have shown to be insufficient to control the current situation on exploited prostitution. Therefore, interest groups and the international community call for reformation of the framework. The choice of adopting a comprehensive frame is either legalising or banning prostitution. Legalisation of prostitution will give prostitutes legal rights and the government will gain more control over the situation. However, countries with comparable frameworks such as the Netherlands and Germany still struggle with human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. A more sufficient framework can be found in Sweden. Sweden has a total ban on prostitution and fines everybody who solicits sex services. By lowering the demand, the supply of victims of sex trafficking has lowered as well. However, the numbers of prostitutes in Sweden was significantly less than the amount of prostitutes in Spain; therefore, it is difficult to estimate whether this framework will be effective in Spain. Concerning a legal framework it is difficult to conclude which approach suits Spain. Thus, therefore, it is required to conduct further research on the reformation of the legal framework on prostitution.

Because human trafficking is organized by international crime organizations it is very challenging to tackle. Therefore, an international response is necessary to combat these internationally organized crime groups. Although Spain has several agreements with international organization that fight human trafficking as the United Nations and the European Union, this alone is not effective enough to prevent trafficking in human beings and sexual exploitation. The recurring items in all sources on international cooperation are: data sharing, border control, and collaboration of police forces. Nevertheless, Spain has been making efforts to improve the international cooperation. Firstly, they started on conducting research to determine priority areas to start joint forces with these areas to develop strategies and policies to raise awareness and prevent the recruitment in the first place. Secondly, Spain aims to improve the transnational cooperation between NGOs to exchange data and strategies. In addition, the European Union sponsors multiple projects on joint forces against human trafficking for sexual exploitation. For example, a joint project of inter alia, Spain, the Dutch Police Agency and the United Kingdom with the objective to share experiences in measures,

and research and investigation techniques. Concerning cooperation between Spain and origin countries outside Europe such as Nigeria, Spain has not yet developed concrete plans and agreements to conjoin forces in the combat against sex trafficking. Notwithstanding the fact that Spain has made serious efforts to improve and develop methods on the field of international cooperation, the results show an absence of specific agreements and programs with directly relevant institutions and countries like NAPTIP and Romania.

The high amount of young tourists in Spain has caused a high demand for sex services. The clients of the services are mostly young men from European countries who enjoy the cheap and anonymous sex services in the cities like Barcelona, Madrid and Ibiza. The clients are often not aware of the fact that the women are forced into prostitution. Therefore, Spain tries to reduce demand by raising awareness by potential clients. Controlling media advertisement and spreading awareness coasters are examples of campaigns from the Spanish government. More actions to reduce demand are developed by the European Commission. Among others, the European commission will fund research on reducing demand for services by victims of human trafficking. In the United Kingdom, a parliamentary report proposes a new law to prosecute citizens who seek prostitution abroad. With this measurement the UK will criminalize sex tourism and reduce the demand in Spain from the UK's citizens. Despite of the fact that the demand comes from young tourists, there are little campaigns specifically targeted on this group.

In conclusion, there are many ideas, solutions and possibilities for Spain to improve their methods in the combat against human trafficking and sexual exploitation. However the results show the struggle Spain experiences concerning executed and implanting these plans. The CEDAW reports show the lack of change between 2009 and 2015. In both reports the CEDAW notes its concern on the prevalence of human trafficking and sexual exploitation. More important, the recommendations have not been changed; this shows the incapability of Spain to alter her present methods.

To close the conclusion section, an answer will be given on the research question: How can Spain improve its prevention methods against human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation? In order to improve its prevention methods, Spain needs to focus on the four fields of attention. By developing a legal framework, Spain can give prostitutes legal rights or ban prostitution in total. Consequently, Spain will become less attractive for sex trafficking and will, in so doing, prevent the trafficking crimes from happening. However the political parties need to take a stand in this debate in

order to reform the legal framework. In addition, by comprehensive research on this topic, Spain can improve the identification of potential clients and locate priority areas. With this data Spain will be able to tackle sex trafficking in the early stages. Spain should pay special attention to the recommendation from the CEDAW and the Spanish ombudsman on this matter. Moreover, by collaborating on border control and police forces, Spain can improve the transnational cooperation on human trafficking. The European Union is a helpful institution for Spain to achieve this goal. However, Spain lacks in collaboration with Nigeria. Ten per cent of the trafficking victims have a Nigerian nationality; therefore, Spain needs to conjoin forces with Nigeria. In the last field, Spain has to develop procedures to reduce demand. This is already done by fining clients and awareness raising campaigns. However, the reported projects were not focused on tourists. Thus, Spain should work on developing projects focused on tourists. With the relevant data, Spain could start campaigns on raising awareness in the origin countries of potential clients. In addition, it must be concluded that Spain's current methods do not provide a comprehensive and sufficient shield in the prevention of sex trafficking. In order to achieve a functional system, the Spanish political parties need to take a stand in this debate and become more active in the fields of improvement.

With the involvement of the Spanish government and by developing and improving these prevention methods based on these results, Spain will be able to achieve a comprehensive approach on the battle against human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. However, this dissertation does not provide a complete answer on how Spain can improve its prevention methods. Therefore, further research is necessary; the writer's recommendations for further research are stated in the next and final chapter of this dissertation.

8.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

- Research should be conducted on a legal framework that suits Spain
- Research should be conducted on the transnational cooperation between Spain and Nigeria
- Research should be conducted on the identification of potential clients
- Campaigns focused on sex tourism should be developed

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