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Alexandra Messner, BA

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Professor Markus Kornprobst, M.A., Ph.D.



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École des Hautes Études Internationales de Vienne

I would like to thank my family for their continuous support.

Pledge of Honesty:

On my honour as a student of the Diplomatische Akademie Wien, I submit this work in good faith and pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance on it.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Markus', written in a cursive style.

Abstract

Human trafficking constitutes a violation of human rights that should have no place in today's day and age. However, it is estimated that there are 25 million worldwide in human trafficking at any given time. Two things are essential for fighting human trafficking: A functioning legal basis and the necessary political will. Presumably, the European Union can provide both. Therefore, this thesis aims to conduct if a country's accession to the European Union has a substantial effect on human trafficking and more precisely, how EU enlargement affects human trafficking in Eastern Europe. Taking both a quantitative and a qualitative approach, this thesis analyses whether a country's accession to the European Union improves the situation for victims of human trafficking or if it has an adverse effect. The quantitative approach encompasses a large-n data analysis of Europe-wide human trafficking data, and the qualitative research includes a structured focused comparison of two selected European countries, one member country, Lithuania, and the candidate country Moldova. While establishing databases on detected human trafficking victims can be helpful in determining the magnitude of the issue, it is indispensable that governments and organisations take a multi-faceted approach in fighting human trafficking. Because there are significant regional differences in terms of the victim's demography and what they are being exploited for, it makes little sense to create an EU or Europe-wide plan to fight human trafficking. Instead, each country must be evaluated individually to provide adequate care to victims and support governments accordingly.

Deutsche Version:

Menschenhandel stellt eine Menschenrechtsverletzung dar, die in der heutigen Zeit keinen Platz mehr haben sollte. Es wird jedoch geschätzt, dass sich weltweit 25 Millionen Menschen im Menschenhandel befinden. Zur Bekämpfung des Menschenhandels sind zwei Dinge unerlässlich: Eine funktionierende Rechtsgrundlage und der notwendige politische Wille. Es wäre anzunehmen, dass die Europäische Union über beides verfügt. Daher zielt diese Arbeit, sowohl einem quantitativen als auch in einem qualitativen Ansatz folgend, darauf ab, herauszufinden, ob der Beitritt eines Landes zur Europäischen Union wesentliche Auswirkungen auf den Menschenhandel hat. Der quantitative Ansatz umfasst eine Datenanalyse von europaweiten Menschenhandelsdaten, und die qualitative Forschung umfasst einen strukturierten, fokussierten Vergleich zweier europäischer Länder: Des Mitgliedstaates Litauen des Kandidatenlandes Moldawien. Da es erhebliche regionale Unterschiede in Bezug auf die Demographie der Opfer und die Art und Weise ihrer Ausbeutung gibt, ist es essenziell, dass Regierungen und Organisationen bei der Bekämpfung des Menschenhandels einen facettenreichen Ansatz verfolgen. Daher hat es derzeit wenig Sinn, einen EU- oder europaweiten Plan zur Bekämpfung des Menschenhandels zu erstellen. Stattdessen muss jedes Land einzeln bewertet werden, um den Opfern eine angemessene Versorgung zu bieten und die Regierungen entsprechend zu unterstützen.

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List of Abbreviations

EU:	European Union
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
ILO:	International Labour Organization
IOM:	International Organization for Migration
MC:	Marginal cost
MPFSC:	Missing Person's Families Support Centre
MR:	Marginal revenue
OSCE:	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PPP:	Purchasing Power Parity
UN:	United Nations
UN-CTS:	United Nations Crime Trends survey
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Fund
UNODC:	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNTOC:	United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime
USAID:	United States Agency for International Development
USSR:	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO:	World Trade Organisation
WWII:	Second World War

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Introduction

Human trafficking constitutes a violation of human rights that should have no place in today's day and age. However, the reality looks quite different. Conservative estimates put the number of people in human trafficking at any given time at 25 million worldwide¹. Human trafficking describes the capturing, relocating, and harbouring of women, men, and children for profit. In most cases, people are being trafficked for sexual exploitation (50 percent) followed by forced labour (38 percent). Worldwide, about half of all trafficking victims are women followed by men (20 percent), girls (19 percent) and boys (15 percent). However, the age and sex of trafficking victims is highly dependent on the region. In West Africa, for example, children make up almost 100 percent of trafficking victims.² Human trafficking comes at a great cost for its victims, but it also affects the rest of society. In monetary terms, it is estimated that human trafficking crimes cost the European Union ("EU") 2,7bn euros every year, with most of the money going to prevention programs, law enforcement, health and social services.³

Two things are essential for fighting human trafficking: A functioning legal basis and the necessary political will. Presumably, the European Union can provide both. Therefore, this thesis aims to conduct if a country's accession to the European Union has a substantial effect on human trafficking and more precisely, how EU enlargement affects human trafficking in Eastern Europe. Eastern European States, as defined by the United Nations, are Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Poland, the Republic of Moldova, Romania, the Russian Federation, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine.⁴ Out of these 23 countries, eleven are EU member states. The reason why this study is focusing on

¹ "About human trafficking," *U.S. Department of State*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.state.gov/humantrafficking-about-human-trafficking/>.

² Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2020," *UNODC*, p.134, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tip/2021/GLOTiP_2020_15jan_web.pdf.

³ "Study on the economic, social and human costs of trafficking in human beings within the EU," *Publications of the European Union*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/373138c5-0ea4-11eb-bc07-01aa75ed71a1/language-en>.

⁴ "Regional groups of Member States," *United Nations*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.un.org/dgacm/en/content/regional-groups>.

Eastern Europe is twofold: Firstly, these countries deplored the highest number of human trafficking victims in the past and secondly, the most recent accessions to the European Union were by Eastern European countries, therefore the newest data on the effect of EU enlargement on human trafficking can be retrieved by examining these cases. Following a review of the existing research and literature there have been case studies on individual countries and individual groups of victims and their situation post-accession. However, a holistic analysis of the impact of the EU accession on human trafficking has not yet been researched.

Whenever a country wants to become a member of the European Union, it must agree to respect a large number of conditions. These are referred to as the Copenhagen criteria. On face value, one would assume that acceptance of these would guarantee respect of human life and consideration of human dignity. One would therefore expect that when a country becomes a member of the European Union, the situation of human trafficking in the countries would improve, with fewer people falling victim to the heinous crime. The political climate in accessing countries before and after accession is, however, going to affect trafficking victims. This is because countries that are joining the EU must respect all parts of the *acquis communautaire*. This *acquis* describes the entirety of European law. However, once a country has joined the EU, they can disregard parts of the *acquis* and still be a member. There have been examples of states such as Hungary and Poland, where after they had acquired EU membership status, there was a worsening development regarding human rights. This begs the question if the human trafficking situation in a country improves with the country acquiring EU membership or if joining has an adverse effect on fighting human trafficking. Furthermore, the effect of Schengen must be considered. Schengen describes an area in Europe free from borders that “guarantees free movement to more than 400 million EU citizens, along with non-EU nationals living in the EU or visiting the EU as tourists, exchange students or for business purposes.”⁵ While not all EU countries are in the Schengen area, most are. In 2022, the Schengen area consists of 22 EU member states and four non-EU states, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, and Switzerland. Upon entering the Schengen area, a person can move around freely to other Schengen members without border controls. This leads to the

⁵ “Schengen Area,” *European Commission*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/policies/schengen-borders-and-visa/schengen-area_en.

question if the EU might in fact unwillingly help facilitate the crimes of human traffickers who, once they managed to enter Schengen, may relocate victims more easily and with lower risk of detection. Taking both a quantitative and a qualitative approach, this thesis analyses whether a country's accession to the European Union improves the situation for victims of human trafficking or if it has an adverse effect. The quantitative approach encompasses a large-n data analysis of Europe-wide human trafficking data, and the qualitative research includes a structured focused comparison of two selected European countries, one member country, Lithuania, and the candidate country Moldova.

To understand human trafficking in Eastern Europe, it helps to look at the region's past. Only then can the issue be tackled at its root. In the late 1980s the opening up of Eastern Europe to the West led to a surge of especially women being trafficked from the east to the west for sexual exploitation. As a result, human trafficking first moved into the European community consciousness. Since then, not only the media but also governments increasingly became aware of the issue. A decade later, by the end of the millennial, the United Nations assembly had dealt in detail with the different dimensions of human trafficking and on 15 November 2000, a protocol was adopted that called on all member states to implement effective prosecution of crimes connected to human trafficking. A similar call was made by the Council of Europe in their proposal with the goal of "Combating trafficking in human beings and combating the sexual exploitation of children and child pornography". Both documents define human trafficking, in simple terms, as situations in which humans are being recruited and moved for sexual or other forms of exploitation. The separate mentioning of forced labour, organ removal and other exploitative crimes is important because in the past human trafficking was often equated with trafficking in women or forced prostitution which left out a substantive amount of human trafficking crimes. Furthermore, it is important to make the distinction between migrant smuggling and human trafficking. Legally, the two crimes offend two different aspects of the law. While migrant smuggling refers to the criminalized act of facilitating a person's illegal entry into a country, human trafficking refers to the recruiting, harbouring, and moving of people with the goal of their exploitation. Whereas the former violates the integrity of state borders, the latter violates the law of self-determination of the individual. However, both are complex phenomena and often smuggled migrants are put into

such dangerous situations by their smugglers that they, too, experience human rights violations.⁶

The number of victims to the despicable practice of human trafficking has been on a steady rise in the last decades. The practice is by no means a new phenomenon. However, it has been spreading over the continents, reaching new regions. Already at the end of the 19th century, beginning of the 20th century, Eastern European women were illegally moved to Argentina and China where they were forced into prostitution. This ended in 1922 when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (“USSR”) was established, and its borders were sealed off. Travelling within the USSR was already a challenge, let alone traveling internationally. This largely put a halt on the trafficking of women from that region during the time. While this does not mean that no one was abused or exploited in the various Soviet republics, the trafficking of people with the goal of selling them in the West was massively reduced. However, after the fall of the iron curtain, the number of trafficked persons soon reached and then surpassed pre-USSR numbers.⁷

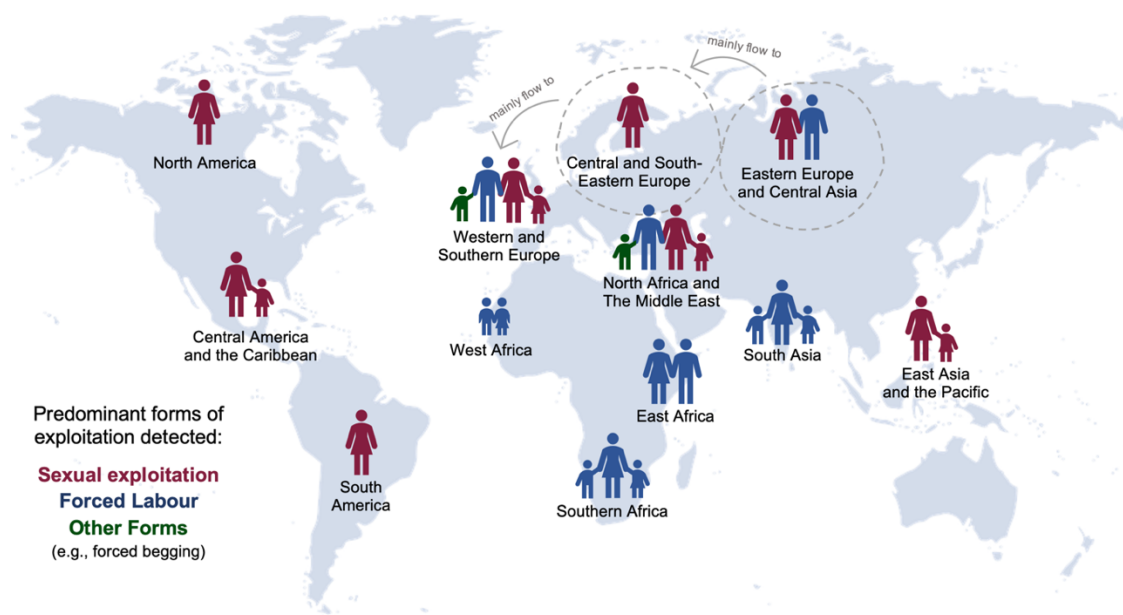


Table 1: Main forms of exploitation by region⁸

⁶ Annette Herz, *Menschenhandel: Eine empirische Untersuchung zur Strafverfolgungspraxis* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2005) p.1,6.

⁷ Sally Stoecker, Louise Shelley, Liudmila Erokhina, Mikhail Kleimenov, Olga Pyshschulina, Anna Repetskaia, Stanislav Shamkov, Elene Tiuriukanova and Beatrix Zakhari, *Human Traffic and Transnational Crime: Eurasian and American Perspectives* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), p.1.

⁸ “Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2020,” UNODC, p.17, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tip/2021/GLOTiP_2020_15jan_web.pdf.

As table 1 suggests, female victims continue to be the predominant target for human traffickers. In 2018, about half of all detected human trafficking victims were women, followed by about a fifth of the victims being girls and almost fifth being men while boys constituted about 15 percent of human trafficking victims. Human traffickers target people in marginalized and desperate circumstances. There are almost always pre-existing factors at play when it comes to the victim’s background: In 51 percent of detected cases, the victim was financially insecure; in 20 percent of cases of child trafficking, the child came from a dysfunctional family; in 13 percent an intimate partner lured the victim into human trafficking; in ten percent of cases the victim had a mental, behavioural, or neurological precondition; another ten percent were immigrants; in nine percent of cases of child trafficking, the child did not receive adequate care by their parents; in six percent the victim had very little education, and in three percent of cases, the victim displayed a physical disability.⁹ According to a study by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (“UNODC”), in 2018, 52 percent of detected trafficking victims in Eastern Europe were women, followed by 26 percent men, 18 percent girls and four percent boys*. Table 2 contrasts the age and gender of detected trafficking victims in Eastern Europe with the worldwide average. While there are comparatively many men and women in human trafficking in Eastern Europe, there is almost the same percentage of girls and a lot less boys in human trafficking compared to the worldwide average.

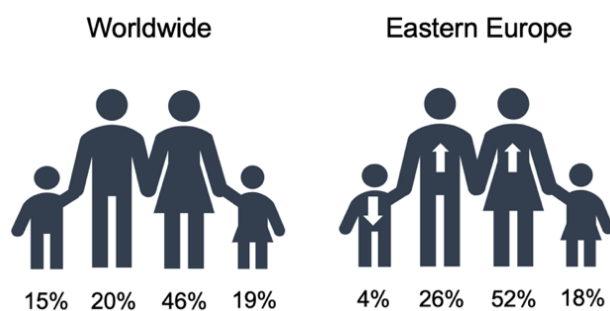


Table 2: Detected victims in Eastern Europe and worldwide, by age group and sex (2018 or most recent)¹⁰

⁹ “Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2020,” UNODC, p.9, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tip/2021/GLOTiP_2020_15jan_web.pdf.

* These percentages have been retrieved from the UNODC’s “Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2020” (see footnote above). The data combines the information from 866 victims detected in seven countries in the Eastern European part of the UN region “Eastern Europe and Central Asia” with the information from 1732 victims detected in 16 countries in “Central and South-Eastern Europe” since a combination of those two regions adequately describes the definition of Eastern Europe used in this thesis. The number of victims has been weighted accordingly when the percentages have been calculated.

¹⁰ “Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2020,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tip/2021/GLOTiP_2020_15jan_web.pdf.

In terms of the type of exploitation, Eastern Europe is almost identical to the worldwide average, as can be seen in table 3. There is a slightly higher percentage of victims that are being sexually exploited, 52 percent in Eastern Europe versus 50 percent worldwide, a little less are trafficked for forced labour purposes, 35 percent versus 38 percent worldwide and there is one more percent of victims which are in other forms of exploitation, 13 percent versus twelve percent. However, this only shows the average numbers and there tend to be country-specific trends in Eastern Europe. Croatia, for example, reports that the majority of their detected trafficking victims were being trafficked for forced criminal activity and begging. In Poland, the largest share of victims was trafficked for forced labour and Bulgaria has seen an unsettling rise in the trafficking of pregnant women with the goal of selling their babies.¹¹

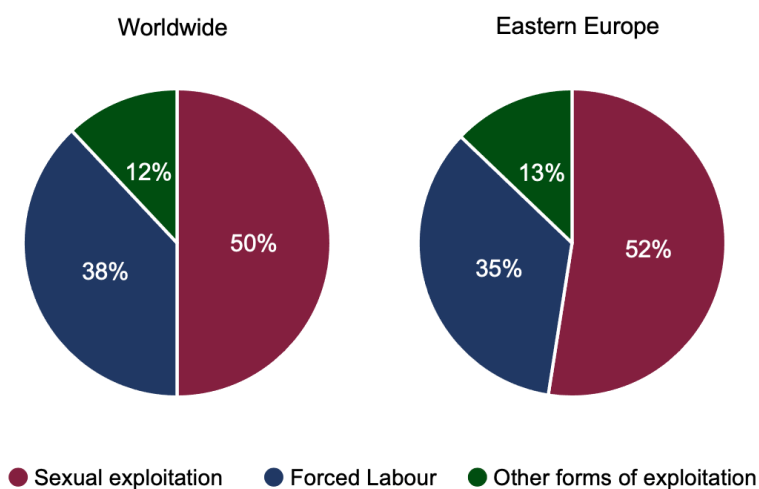


Table 3: Detected victims in Eastern Europe and worldwide, by form of exploitation (2018 or most recent)¹²

Different groups of people are being targeted for different human trafficking purposes. Unregistered migrants, for example, are most at risk for being trafficked and

¹¹ Ibid, p.139.

¹² “Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2020,” UNODC, p.9, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tip/2021/GLOTiP_2020_15jan_web.pdf.

forced into unpaid labour. So are children from low-income countries, where they make up half of all trafficking victims. Meanwhile, in higher income countries, children are predominantly trafficked for sexual exploitation, and forced begging.¹³ The diversity of trafficking victims, their backgrounds, and the purposes which they are exploited for are highly diversified in Eastern Europe. Addressing the issue of human trafficking in Eastern Europe must therefore entail a multi-faceted approach. Several proven policy options on fighting human trafficking will be discussed in the “Best Practices” section of this thesis (page 31).

Descriptive Part

EU Enlargement

To understand human trafficking in Europe and why there is such a strong flow of trafficking victims from the East to the West, it is helpful to get an understanding of the main actors in Europe. This chapter will be an introduction into EU history, its enlargement process, the Copenhagen criteria, and the *acquis communautaire*.

After the second world war (“WWII”), Europe was in ruins. A solution had to be found that would provide lasting peace and ensure that such large-scale human suffering would not return to the continent. In 1950, French foreign minister Robert Schuman proposed a plan of uniting Europe’s two biggest industries, the coal and steel industry. Thereby, the two largest economies, France, and Germany, would be bound together, preventing each of them from starting another war against the other. Schuman’s plan came into fruition a year later in 1951, when Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands signed the Treaty of Paris, thereby creating the European Coal and Steel Communities. Later, this organization would morph into the European Union. In 1973, the EU experienced its first enlargement when Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom joined the organization. This was followed by Greece becoming a member in 1981, and Spain and Portugal joining in 1986. By the fourth enlargement, which included Austria, Finland and Sweden joining in 1995, the EU comprised most of Western Europe. 2004 saw the largest number of accessions thus far. From the ten countries that joined the EU in 2004, eight were from

¹³ “Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2020,” *UNODC*, p.9, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tip/2021/GLOTiP_2020_15jan_web.pdf.

Eastern Europe¹⁴: The Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. The two remaining countries that joined were Cyprus and Malta. In 2007, Bulgaria and Romania, two more Eastern European States, joined and the EU saw its last enlargement in 2013, when Croatia, another Eastern European country, became a part of the Union. The EU's enlargement history can be seen in table 4 below.¹⁵

	Applicant	Submission	Status		Applicant	Submission	Status
1	Belgium	/	23/07/1952	15	Sweden	01/07/1991	01/01/1995
2	France	/	23/07/1952	16	Cyprus	03/07/1990	01/05/2004
3	Germany	/	23/07/1952	17	Czech Republic	17/01/1996	01/05/2004
4	Italy	/	23/07/1952	18	Estonia	24/11/1995	01/05/2004
5	Luxembourg	/	23/07/1952	19	Hungary	31/03/1994	01/05/2004
6	Netherlands	/	23/07/1952	20	Latvia	13/09/2012	01/05/2004
7	Denmark	11/05/1967	01/01/1973	21	Lituania	08/12/1995	01/05/2004
8	Ireland	11/05/1967	01/01/1973	22	Malta	16/07/1990	01/05/2004
9	United Kingdom	10/05/1967	Left: 31/01/2020	23	Poland	05/04/1994	01/05/2004
10	Greece	12/06/1975	01/01/1981	24	Slovakia	27/06/1995	01/05/2004
11	Portugal	28/03/1977	01/01/1986	25	Slovenia	10/06/1996	01/05/2004
12	Spain	28/06/9177	01/01/1986	26	Bulgaria	14/12/1995	01/01/2007
13	Austria	17/07/1989	01/01/1995	27	Romania	22/06/1995	01/01/2007
14	Finland	18/03/1992	01/01/1995	28	Croatia	21/02/2003	01/07/2013

Table 4: EU Enlargement History ¹⁶

¹⁴ "Regional groups of Member States", *United Nations*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.un.org/dgacm/en/content/regional-groups>.

¹⁵ "History of the European Union," *European Union*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://european-union.europa.eu/principles-countries-history/history-eu_en.

¹⁶ "Länder," *European Union*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries_de#beitritt-zur-eu.

The ten Eastern European states, as defined by the UN, that are not part of the European Union are the following: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, Montenegro, North Macedonia, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, and Serbia. However, eight out these ten countries are currently in some state of the EU enlargement process, as table 5 displays:

	Applicant	Submission	Status
29	Turkey	14/04/1987	Negotiating
30	Montenegro	15/12/2008	Negotiating
31	Serbia	22/12/2009	Negotiating
32	North Macedonia	22/03/2004	Candidate
33	Albania	28/04/2009	Candidate
34	Bosnia & Herzegovina	15/02/2016	Applicant
35	Ukraine	28/02/2022	Applicant
36	Georgia	03/03/2022	Applicant
37	Moldova	03/03/2022	Applicant
38	Iceland	17/07/2009	Frozen
39	Kosovo	/	Pot. Candidate **

Table 5: EU Enlargement Agenda¹⁷

** As of 2022, 97 out of 193 UN member states recognize Kosovo as a country. While the European Parliament urges all EU member states to grant Kosovo recognition, the following five EU member states have yet to do so: Cyprus, Greece, Romania, Slovenia, and Spain. Because neither the entirety of the EU nor of the UN have recognized Kosovo, this thesis will not include it in its theoretical framework. All references to Kosovo are being made in the context of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999). "Countries That Recognize Kosovo 2022", *World Population Review*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/countries-that-recognize-kosovo>.

¹⁷ "Länder," *European Union*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries_de#beitritt-zur-eu.

Copenhagen Criteria

In June 1993, the European Council met in Copenhagen in order to lay down several admission criteria that countries must meet before they may join the European Union. These requirements are laid down in the so-called Copenhagen criteria. The requirements are of a political, economic, and administrative nature. Accessing countries must provide stable institutions that guarantee “democracy, the rule of law, human rights and [the] respect for and protection of minorities”. Furthermore, they must have a solid economic structure to be able to “cope with [the] competition and market forces” within the European Union. And finally, accessing countries must provide the necessary governmental structures “to effectively implement the *acquis*”.¹⁸

There are three main advantages of EU Enlargement. The first being, that it increases security in Europe. Since accessing countries must follow the rule of law and adopt democracy, crime is bound to decrease inside the EU’s borders. Most states that currently want to join the EU are situated in the Western Balkans*. Therefore, currently the EU concentrates on fortifying the peace and security in these countries as well as invest economically in promising projects to promote financial growth in the area post-communism. Secondly, through collaboration and integration, EU enlargement helps enhance people living standards by promoting “energy, transport, rule of law, migration, food safety, consumer and environmental protection and climate change” both, within the European Union and beyond its borders. And finally, it supports and improves the European economy. This effect can be seen by comparing the EU’s Gross Domestic Product (“GDP”) in 2004, where it amassed 15 percent of the world’s GDP to its GDP in 2012 when it comprised over 30 percent of the world’s GDP. With European expansion, member states and their “companies, investors, consumers, tourists, students and property owners” profit from new opportunities. And finally, a common market attracts European and international investors alike. EU enlargement has proven to benefit both, old and newly accessing member states. Furthermore, as in the case of the Western Balkan states, the anticipation of joining

¹⁸ “Accession criteria,” *European Commission*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/enlargement-policy/glossary/accessioncriteria_en.

*** The Western Balkan are defined as Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia, Montenegro, Kosovo** and Serbia. “Western Balkans,” *European Commission*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://ec.europa.eu/info/research-and-innovation/strategy/strategy-2020-2024/europe-world/international-cooperation/western-balkans_en.

the EU in the future already acts a stabilizing factor for the economy and political landscape of candidate countries and it improves cross-border relations to other European countries and the respect for the rule of law. Merely 30 years ago, in the 1990s, the Western Balkans experienced an intense period of war and ethnic conflict. The processing of these events alongside the tackling of “bilateral issues among enlargement countries and (...) Member States, (...) under UN auspices where relevant” will be crucial for overcoming the aftermath of the recent conflict.¹⁹

“The accession process is rigorous, built on strict but fair conditionality, established criteria and the principle of own merit.”²⁰ The reason why the procedure is so meticulous is because it must preserve the EU’s integrity, promote the improvement of political, legal, and social structures of accessing countries and better the life of EU citizens in already existing member states. To ensure the quality of the enlargement process, member states, EU institutions and accessing members must continue to come together to the negotiating table to ensure the best results possible.

The implementation the rule of law is one of, if not the key difficulty for most candidate countries in the accession process. The rule of law comprises the notion that everyone, be it an individual, state or non-state actor, is “accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards”, which makes the rule of law integral for “international peace and security and political stability; to achieve economic and social progress and development; and to protect people’s rights and fundamental freedoms.”²¹ It is essential for building sustainable businesses and acts as a legal basis for national and foreign investors. Therefore, states wishing to become part of the European Union must begin with establishing the key structures and organizations to guarantee a functioning implementation of the rule of law. The recent years have shown some improvements of the rule of law in several candidate countries. Serbia and Montenegro, for example, have both taken on action plans on an array of different law issues while Albania has undertaken serious endeavours to

¹⁹ “Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2014-15,” *European Commission*, p.2-3, 11-13, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52014DC0700&from=en>.

²⁰ “Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2014-15,” *European Commission*, p.1.

²¹ “What is the rule of Law,” *United Nations*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/what-is-the-rule-of-law/>.

tackle organized crime in the country. The rule of law is a fundamental factor to tackle crime and corruption in countries. The necessary laws must be backed by an active government who implements the laws and prosecutes offenders accordingly. In order to deal with organized crime more effectively, reliable data must be aggregated to locate and tackle the roots of the problem. For newly accession countries, this means that far reaching legislative and structural changes must be made. This includes a bottom-up approach starting with the election of judges on impartiality and accountability rather than on how easily they can be swayed by the highest bidder. While there are legal structures present in most candidate country, they are often not reliable and untransparent. Corruption is another major problem in most candidate countries and especially when it comes to “public procurement and in privatisation, corrupt practices continue to divert scarce resources from national budgets, negatively affecting the business and investment climate, which needs legal certainty to thrive.”²² Furthermore, it affects citizens negatively in term to their access to state resources, such as hospitals and schools. Practices to fight corruption are being misused and there is often a lack of political will to take the necessary steps to prosecute offenders, especially if they are in high-level positions. Countries that wish to join the European Union must become proactive in their approaches and make use of those anti-corruption tools that have proven effective in the past.²³

The Acquis Communautaire

The acquis describes the sum of rights and responsibilities applicable to all EU member states. This includes “the content, principles and political objectives of the Treaties”, the therefrom arising legislation, “the case law of the Court of Justice, declarations and resolutions adopted by the Union”, including the Union’s “Common Foreign and Security Policy [and] international agreements”.²⁴ As the EU is constantly evolving, the acquis continues to be subject to change.

²² “Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2014-15,” *European Commission*, p.11, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52014DC0700&from=en>.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ “Acquis,” *European Commission*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/enlargement-policy/glossary/acquis_en.

As Grabbe (2002) states, the criteria for joining are “deceptively straightforward”. A closer look reveals that the conditions for membership are a lot more confusing than they seem. The biggest confusion lays in the vagueness of the conditions. What defines a “functioning market economy” or the “institutional capacity to effectively implement the acquis”²⁵? The European Union is as varied as its member states which have different electoral systems, and varying forms of government and civil services. This begs the question of what European examples accessing states should follow. “The European Union does not present a uniform model of democracy or capitalism, and neither has it tried to define one. Diversity is a key feature of the Union, and the principle of integration while respecting difference remains important.”²⁶ However, there seems to be a discrepancy between the structural diversity between EU member states and the accepted diversity of accessing countries with the former having greater leeway than the latter. Not only is it difficult to say what the minimum standards for accessing countries are but it is also not evident whether EU member states themselves would pass the Copenhagen criteria. After all, the criteria were introduced in 1993, when eleven of the now 27 member countries had already joined the EU. It is believed that there is currently not a single member state that fulfils more than 80 percent of the EU regulations. Therefore, it can be questioned if it is fair to expect over 95 percent compliance with EU regulations by accessing countries.²⁷

As shown in Table 3, the current enlargement agenda includes the Western Balkans, Turkey, and Iceland, and since 2022, Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova. Of the Western Balkans, Montenegro and Serbia are the farthest along in the accession process as these countries have started negotiations. While North Macedonia and Albania are official candidate countries, Kosovo remains a potential candidate**, while Bosnia and Herzegovina has applicant status. Montenegro has been showing improvement on the road to the rule of law. Before accession negotiations can start, the implemented reforms must produce substantial successes first. The start of

²⁵ “Accession criteria,” *European Commission*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/enlargement-policy/glossary/accessioncriteria_en.

²⁶ Heather Grabbe, “European Union Conditionality and the Acquis Communautaire.” *International Political Science Review*, vol.23(3), 2002, p.250.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.250.

** See comment on page16

negotiations with Serbia were a first step towards EU-Serbian relations. Nevertheless, the success of the negotiation is highly dependable on Serbia's ability to improve the rule of law. Furthermore, Serbia must strive towards a stabilization of their relations with Kosovo, including the pursuit of diplomatic talks. Albania became a candidate country as an acknowledgement of its recent implementation of progressive reforms. These developments must, however, deliver lasting effects and the state must improve political transparency, especially when it comes to the political discourse between the leading party and the opposition which must take place in the parliament and not behind closed doors. Kosovo's "Stabilization and Association Agreement" was the first step towards future cooperation with the EU. However, the country must deliver tangible results to further improve the relations. Recently, less promising news have come from North Macedonia including some setbacks when it comes to the country's respect for the rule of law and the freedom of press. Furthermore, diplomatic talks on North Macedonia's name issue must be set in motion and the leading party and opposition must start to engage in parliamentary dialogue. Bosnia and Herzegovina too, has made little progression on their EU agenda. Domestic disputes must be settled, and social and economic issues must be solved before the country can move forward.

Turkey, which has been a candidate country over 30 years now continues to make advancements such as taking on the 2013 democratization package and has shown the will to settle inner-state conflicts with their Kurdish population. However, recent years have shown democratic backsliding with attacks against fundamental rights, the judiciary, and press freedom. EU-Turkey talks on "opening negotiations on the relevant chapters on rule of law and fundamental rights would provide a roadmap for reforms in these key areas"²⁸. Meanwhile, following a change of government in Iceland in 2013, negotiations on the countries' accession to the EU have been halted.

Since Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, three more countries have applied to join the European Union. These are Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova. Currently the idea of a fast-track EU accession of these countries has been gaining support and the coming months will show whether such a method will be adapted.

²⁸ "Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2014-15," *European Commission*, p.2, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52014DC0700&from=en>.

Human Trafficking in Eastern Europe

The human trafficking situation in Eastern Europe has a strong historical dimension which is why it makes sense to begin with examining the region's past. After the fall of the USSR, authoritarian regimes ceased to exist and whole societies were left with little to no control or regulation from the state. The transformation from previously hyper-regulated USSR command economies into open, market-driven systems started with a major privatization process of former state-owned businesses. With a lacking legal and macroeconomic framework, this process of privatization often possessed a criminal character. The time was characterized by perceived a once-in-a-lifetime mentality and the former value system, which had been grounded in Soviet collectivism, was replaced by individualism, the pursuit of one's own interest and a decay of previously established social ties. Post-USSR states opened themselves up to global trade, foreign cultures, and new information. The time immediately following the fall of the iron curtain was characterized by a great optimism and while the "Westernization" of post-USSR states brought about many advancements, especially economically but also politically, with some former USSR states joining the EU. However, the transformation came not without problems. The ideological change brought about "a normative vacuum and political instability – fueled [sic] by political struggles, weak governments, ethnic cleavages, irregularities in the redistribution of property rights, and raising corruption"²⁹. While some people profited massively from the change in regime, most people were left with nothing after the revolution. For many, the period was marked by desperation, social and economic inequalities, poor health care, high mortality rates, and uncertainty accompanied by an apparent absence of the rule of law. Soon, a wide-spread pessimism replaced the initial optimism after the fall of the curtain.³⁰

While the migration situation in Eastern Europe is in some ways comparable to that of other places in the world it does also possess some unique characteristics. Firstly, the number of migrants has sharply risen post-1990. With the fall of numerous communist regimes and after the split of three federal states – the USSR, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia – the region experienced economic, political, and social

²⁹ Aleksandar Stulhofer, Theo Sandfort, Lora Wiggins, Ozren Pupovac, Brian Baer, *Sexuality and Gender in Postcommunist Eastern Europe and Russia* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 2.

³⁰ Ibid.

liberalization. Between 1990 and 2000, 10 million people have left the Balkan peninsula – so, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, and Moldova – alone; these numbers are high even by international comparisons. Another unique characteristic is that the region is both a major sender as well as receiver of migrants. While over 70 percent of Eastern European migrants move to Western Europe, a notable number of migrants are moving from Western Europe to the East (almost 3 million between 2000 and 2003), with a large number moving from Germany to Eastern Europe, especially Poland. Additionally, the early 2000s have seen a lot of ethnic-induced migration between newly established countries. While the break-up of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia remained for the most part peaceful, some regions experienced intense ethnoterritorial conflict which resulted in forced, diasporic migration becoming the primary form of migration in those places.³¹

Human Trafficking Legislature

At the beginning of the 20th century, four international agreements concerning human trafficking came into force. The first two of the agreements make use of the term “White Slave Traffic”, a term that was already controversial at the time, and is considered outrightly offensive and overtly racist now. However, the origins of “White Slave Traffic” must be examined in order to understand the basis of international law on human trafficking today: In 1873, an outbreak of sexually transmitted diseases led the British International Medical Congress to call for an end of regulated prostitution in the country. The initial decision to make prostitution legal in Great Britain came following the Age of Steam in which mass prostitution was implemented to “serve the needs of colonial troops”³².

The first time “White Slave Traffic” gained international attention in 1880 when British underage girls were illegally moved to Belgium where they worked with forged documents stating that they were, in fact, of age. Although the discrepancy between their actual age and stated age was clearly apparent, the Belgian police did not interfere when checking the girl’s documents. The scandal led to the public’s realization of the issue of child prostitution in Europe. Soon vigilante groups emerged

³¹ Ali Mansoor, Bryce Quillin, *Migration and Remittances: Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, Herndon: World Bank Publications, 2006, p.23,35.

³² Jean Allain, “White Slave Traffic in International Law,” *Journal of Trafficking and Human Exploitation*, February 2017, vol.1(1), p.2.

which incessantly pushed to bring the issue to government attention. Their work came into fruition with the 1899 “Congress on the White Slave Trade” which built the basis for ensuing legislation.³³

The 1904 “International Agreement on the Suppression of White Slave Traffic” was the first international agreement dedicated to the fight against human trafficking. Its main goal was the protection of white women and girls from entering prostitution. It was followed by the 1910 “International Convention on the Suppression of White Slave Traffic” which focused on the criminal prosecution of human traffickers. The contracting parties could not agree on a uniform definition of human trafficking. Instead, guidelines were drawn up that stipulated a legal minimum of what constituted human trafficking while the criminal persecution of offenders was left to the individual parties. The convention characterized human traffickers as anyone who “has procured, enticed, or led away, even with her consent, a woman or girl under age [sic], for immoral purposes”³⁴. The 1921 “Convention on the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children” was the first step to include children of both genders and women of age in international human trafficking legislature. This was further underlined in the 1933 “International Convention on the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age”. In 1950, these agreements were consolidated into the “Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others”. Not only did this convention oblige parties to prosecute anyone who “[p]rocures, entices or leads away, for purposes of prostitution, another person, even with the consent of that person” (Art.1) but it also classified human trafficking as a crime that violates human dignity. Previously, prostitution has been regarded as a national offense and human trafficking as an international one. This changed with the 1950 convention as Art. 2 calls for the prosecution of anyone that “[k]eeps or manages, or knowingly finances or takes part in the financing of a brothel”³⁵ or knowingly provides a location where prostitution is to take place. Furthermore, Art. 6 obliges the

³³ Jean Allain, “White Slave Traffic in International Law,” *Journal of Trafficking and Human Exploitation*, February 2017, vol.1(1), p.4.

³⁴ “Treaty Series,” *League of Nations*, No.11, Art. 1, p.86, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/LON/Volume%201/v1.pdf>.

³⁵ “Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others,” *United Nations*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-suppression-traffic-persons-and-exploitation>.

contracting parties to abolish any form of regulated prostitution while Art. 16 calls for action by public and private bodies to prevent prostitution.³⁶

This officially changed in 1948 with the United Nations General Assembly on Human Rights in which Art. 4 states that “No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.”³⁷ One of the earliest documents regarding human trafficking is the 1949 United Nations Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others which states that “prostitution and the accompanying evil of trafficking for the purposes of prostitution are incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person”³⁸. Legally, there has been no common international understanding on the criminality of human trafficking until 2000. That is when the UNODC established the yearly Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC). The goal of the convention is to introduce a criminal justice response to criminal activities based on the criminalization of organized crime in the different domestic legislatures. UNTOC is rooted in three protocols: The Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air; the Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, their Parts and Components and Ammunition and finally, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. Latter is more commonly known by the name Palermo Protocol.³⁹ Article 3 (a) of the document defines human trafficking as “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

³⁶ Annette Herz, *Menschenhandel: Eine empirische Untersuchung zur Strafverfolgungspraxis*, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2005, p.12-16.

³⁷ “1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” *United Nations*, p.10, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf.

³⁸ “Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (1949),” *OHCHR*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/traffickingpersons.aspx>.

³⁹ “United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and The Protocols Thereto,” *UNODC*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.unodc.org/documents/treaties/UNTOC/Publications/TOC%20Convention/TOCbook-e.pdf>.

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”⁴⁰. This definition can be divided into three core elements: The act, the means, and the purpose. Please see table 6 below:

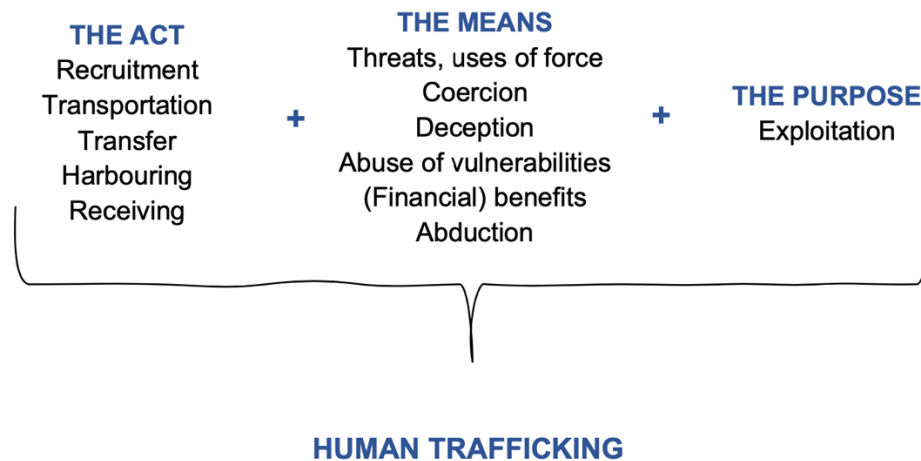


Table 6: Human Trafficking – Three Core Elements⁴¹

Theoretical Framework

This part of the thesis first explores two different theories to explain the issue of human trafficking in Europe. Taking a top-down approach, it examines the EU as a multigovernmental apparatus that demands normative standards from its member states. The theory used for this part is liberal intergovernmentalism. Then, taking a bottom-up approach it utilizes the theory of economic principles to explain human trafficking from a victim’s and exploiter’s perspective. Finally, it summarizes the findings from case studies and presents the best practices in the fight against human trafficking.

Liberal Intergovernmentalism

Developed in 1993 by Andrew Moravcsik, liberal intergovernmentalism describes a political theory on Europeanization and European integration. According to liberal intergovernmentalism, individual states engage in international cooperation

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.42.

⁴¹ “Human Trafficking: The Crime,” *UNODC*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/crime.html>.

to pursue their own liberal objectives. Concise domestic results can only be achieved when the sum of the individual parties – in the case of the European Union, the individual member states – work together towards a common goal. Moravcsik argues that the EU's power lies in the diversity of its member states who, if they act united, can profit from one another's resources. This diversity of assets should, in theory, enable the EU to master most international crises. Meunier et al.'s (2018) examination of the EU's international power shows that it holds all the tools to become an actual superpower but remains in the position of a potential superpower. Their reasoning for this twofold: While the EU has the access to the necessary resources and in theory also the institutions to bundle and employ these resources, which as Moravcsik argues, marks the cornerstone for global power, the EU fails when it comes to the "formal transfer from national competences to EU institutions"⁴², an issue has been traditionally understated by the liberal intergovernmentalism. Meanwhile, the rise of populist regimes poses a challenge for the applicability of liberal intergovernmentalism which requires individual European states to bring their national goals to the European negotiating table. If some states represent non-liberal ideals the negotiating process will change fundamentally. Whereas before discussion focused on common policies and their execution, the EU now must concern itself with the very nature of its own identity. The therefrom arising discord has direct influence on the EU's global power. In terms of hard power, combined efforts to tackle foreign threats, such as, for example, sanctions against Russia, will be harder to coordinate and in terms of soft power, the EU risks losing its normative allure with outside countries no longer regarding it as a model of democracy, human rights, liberal values, and the rule of law.⁴³

With the fall of communism in Europe, the EU influence on international politics grew. Newly democratic, post-communist states followed the example of the EU by joining international organizations, adopting common currencies, opening their economies for free trade, and establishing common border policies. With the turn of the millennium the EU experienced not only a considerable enlargement, but it also became a figurehead for democracy, the rule of law and economic and intellectual

⁴² Sophie Meunier, Milada Vachudiva, "Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Illiberalism and the Potential Superpower of the European Union," *Journal of common market studies*, Vol. 56(7), November 2018, p.1632.

⁴³ Ibid.

wealth. However, this picture somewhat changed since the early 2000s: The 2008 financial crisis crushed Europe's economy and brought about political instability which in turn facilitated the rise of right-wing populist regimes across Europe. Poland and Hungary which had been posterchildren of European integration and considered among the biggest profiteers of the EU's liberal and democratic advancements post communism, yet they elected authoritarian, populist leader whose narratives were further strengthened in 2010 when Euro crisis ensued and five years later, when Europe experienced a massive refugee crisis. In 2016 Donald Trump became president of the United States and the United Kingdom decided to go through with Brexit and leave the EU.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, the European Union suffered from numerous Islamic terrorist attacks which further assaulted the Union's values and created fear amongst its citizens. In 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic hit Europe. Not only did the virus claim the lives of almost two million Europeans, but it showed how fast, when faced with a situation of danger, the individual European countries were to implement protectionism measure, for example, the closing of borders and the procurement of vaccines and other medical supplies. The pandemic had far-reaching economic implications as it halted world trade and interrupted supply-chains. Europe was on its way to recover from its COVID-19 induced losses, when on 24 February 2022, Russia invaded Ukraine. Not only is this war going to bring about unrepresented human suffering and the biggest European war since WWII, but the ensuing energy crisis and economic stagflation signal a new era of political instability and economic deterioration in Europe.

The theory of liberal intergovernmentalism becomes useful as it explains why individual states push for cooperation. The reason being that they thereby pursue their own liberal objectives. Concise domestic results can only be achieved when the sum of the individual parties – in the case of the EU, the individual member states – work together towards a common goal.⁴⁵ In the case of human trafficking, there is an EU-wide consensus that human trafficking is harmful. However, the EU does not have a common approach when it comes to tackling the issue. Prostitution, for example, often

⁴⁴ Sophie Meunier, Milada Vachudiva, "Liberal Intergovernmentalism, Illiberalism and the Potential Superpower of the European Union," *Journal of common market studies*, Vol. 56(7), November 2018, p.1631.

⁴⁵ Hans-Jürgen Bieling, Marika Lerch, *Theorien der europäischen Integration* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2012.)

goes hand and hand with human trafficking offenses and is extremely difficult to regulate. However, several EU states allow legal prostitution, these are Austria, Germany, Latvia, and the Netherlands. In other EU states, such as Romania and Croatia, prostitution is illegal. Meanwhile, the rest of the EU is somewhere in between. In Spain, Poland and Finland for example, there is no regulation of prostitution, but it is also not illegal and in other countries, such as France and Sweden, the clients commit a crime but not the prostitutes themselves.⁴⁶ The persistent numbers of human trafficking victims that end up in sexual exploitation in Europe make it clear that there is a desperate need for an EU-wide initiative and common legislature on the regulation of prostitution.

The Economic principle

The exploiter's perspective: Theory of the firm and profit maximisation

Businesses, whether they are legal or not, follow economic principles. Human trafficking is no exception to this. The logic behind the functioning of human trafficking can be easily explained with the "Theory of the firm". This theory, which stems from neoclassical economics, contains several assumptions which explain functioning of the economy. One of these assumptions is that firms strive to maximise their profits.

According to the theory of the firm, the following rationale defines the trade of human trafficking as "firms" and the decision-making bodies of its entities as "managers". For firms to survive in the free market – and there is a free market within the European Union – they must compete with their competition. Simplified this means, that in the long term a firm must be able to ensure that the firm's revenue is higher than its costs. Otherwise, in the long run, the firm will not be able to finance its operational activities and keep its daily business running. If the managers ignore the potential of cost-effective cash distributions on the inside and potential investors and financial contributors from the outside, the firm will eventually go bankrupt. Any firm that wants to profit from trade in the EU, must follow the principles of the free market. Firms of organised crime are no exception to this. If the firm's managers want to

⁴⁶ "Trend in Richtung Kriminalisierung," *ORF*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://orf.at/v2/stories/2209076/2209087/>.

maximise profits in the long run to benefit from cash outtakes of such a firm, they must follow the following economic principle⁴⁷:

$$\text{Profit} = \text{Total Revenue} - \text{Total Cost}$$

To maximise profit, the manager will have to find the perfect combination of a maximized revenue and minimised costs. Let us assume, for reasons of simplicity, that an organisation only offers one good or service and one price for it. In this case the total revenue can be calculated by multiplying quantity with the price charged. Consequently, by either increasing one, service or price, or both, service and price, the revenue will increase. Assuming that the human trafficker does not follow any moral standards and that they do not have any consideration of the law, undertaking human trafficking makes sense in economic terms as long as it increases one of the two variables. Taking the illegal organ trade as an example, when either the price per organ or the quantity of organs traded goes up, the firm's revenue increases, too. The highly illegal and dangerous practice of human trafficking means that there is a limited supply of goods –economically speaking. Whenever goods are heavily limited in their supply compared to their demand, the firm selling the good can drive up the price drastically. This is especially the case whenever the good is something that customers desperately need, which applies to the life-saving organs in the illegal organ trade. Assuming that a firm only offers one product or service which it acquires or produces at a constant price, and that there are no fixed costs whatsoever, then the total costs of the firm can be calculated by unit costs multiplied by quantity. Decreasing one variable, unit costs or quantity, or both variables, unit costs and quantity, would lead to a decrease in total costs, resulting in profit maximization. The quantitative part of this thesis will analyse whether a country's GDP per capita or the country being an EU member state affects human trafficking numbers in a country. Then the qualitative part conducts a structured focused comparison of two countries, Lithuania, and Moldova to analyse whether in those countries, an EU membership or the economic situation or an additional factor is the most determining when it comes to the prevalence of human trafficking in a country.

⁴⁷ William Anderson and Ronald Ross, "The methodology of profit maximization: An Austrian Alternative," *The Quarterly Journal of Austrian Economics*, Vol. 8(4), p.31, 33.

Marginal cost equalizing marginal revenue:

Another principle in economics is that firms can maximise their profits at the point where marginal revenue equals marginal cost ($MR = MC$). Marginal revenue refers to the additional revenue a firm makes by producing one additional unit and marginal cost describes the amount of money it would cost the firm to produce another unit. The reason why this is the optimal point is because if marginal cost would be greater than marginal revenue ($MC > MR$), producing another unit would not make sense in terms of profit maximization; the additional costs would outweigh the additional revenue and total revenue would decrease. Simultaneously, marginal revenue being larger than marginal cost ($MR > MC$) is also suboptimal for the firm, because producing more units would be a better choice than staying at the current level of output. Consequently, the firm should increase its quantity.

Because human trafficking is illegal, it is an unregulated trade. This means that increasing the price and/or decreasing unit costs is a lot easier which means that it is also easier to shift the equilibrium towards a point where the total revenue would be higher than before. Finally, the question why someone takes on human trafficking depends on a utility comparison between the perceived disadvantages and advantages. The party will compare the negative aspects of the trade – such as a disregard of one's own moral standards, the risk of being caught, and the effort that comes with human trafficking – with the positive aspect, the economic benefits. Because the monetary aspect plays such a significant role in why people enter human trafficking, it makes sense to examine the crime from an economic perspective and explore the financial mechanisms behind it.

Perspective of the victim: Utility expectations and information asymmetry

When it comes to the victim's perspective and the question of what leads someone to enter human trafficking, there are several different factors which come into play. The following example will explore these. Let us assume that there is a person from a country which has a GDP per capita lower than the EU average. This person meets someone who offers them a job in an EU country with a GDP per capita that is higher than the EU average. Following only economic principles and letting all other factors such as family ties, visa issues and so on out of regard, any rationally acting person would take the opportunity and pursue the job. This phenomenon can also be explained by the theory of utility expectations which "(...) interprets utilities as measuring comparisons of objective betterness and worseness, rather than personal

preferences: to say that AA has a greater utility than BB is to say that AA is objectively better than BB, or that a rational person would prefer AA to BB."⁴⁸

It is important to realize that human trafficking victims are exposed to a significant information asymmetry when they are making their decisions meaning that the moment the victim meets its trafficker, there is an imbalance between what the trafficker knows and what the victim knows. The trafficker has all the information and is clearly in the dominant position, putting the victim in the submissive position from the get-go. Any economically rational acting person, would agree to take the financially beneficial option, given the information it has and especially, given the information the person does not have. The quantitative part of this study looks at the interplay between GDP per capita and human trafficking victims; see Table 5 in the annex for detailed data. Coming back to the example. The victim who has by now entered human trafficking will quickly realize that it has been deceived, and the information asymmetry will be largely dissolved. The human trafficker will use different techniques to keep the victim in its position of exploitation. These techniques include threatening the victim or its loved ones, trying to break them physically, psychologically, and/or sexually, involving the victim in illegal activities so that they themselves become criminally liable and withholding their official documents so that the victim cannot leave the situation of abuse.⁴⁹

Having said that, every case of human trafficking is unique. Some cases may involve a conscious decision by a victim while in other cases the victim does not have the gets forcefully put into the situation from the start. Consequently, factors such as for example information asymmetry would be in some cases less important. In the next part, additional scenarios of human trafficking will be displayed. At the end of the chapter, there will be a short summary of best practices used to combat these types of human trafficking.

⁴⁸ "Normative Theories of Rational Choice: Expected Utility", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/rationality-normative-utility/>.

⁴⁹ Paolo Campana and Federico Varese, "Exploitation in Human Trafficking and Smuggling," *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, Vol. 22(1), August 2015, p.94.

Best Practices

The crime of human trafficking varies a lot from case to case and there is not one way to tackle all cases. It takes a multi-faceted approach to fight human trafficking. This section of thesis explores several different practices that have proven effective in the past.

A data analysis by Hernandez et al. (2015) examining human trafficking inflows of 13 Europe countries has shown that human traffickers commonly make use of the already established smuggling routes of migrants and refugees. Furthermore, trafficking victims tend to be moved to countries with weak institutional and law enforcement structures, and to those places where no visa are required for short term visits. Meanwhile, the legalization of sex work does not seem to influence trafficking flows.⁵⁰

Petrunov's (2014) analysis of human trafficking in Bulgaria reveals that while people are predominantly being trafficked for sexual and forced labor, the trafficking of pregnant women with the aim of selling their babies makes up a striking six percent of trafficking cases (state 2010).⁵¹ A study by Dimitrova et al (2016) on child trafficking among Roma communities, conducted in seven EU member states, has shown that the lack of data makes it near impossible to draw representative results from the data. Furthermore, since the data from non-EU countries is also largely inconclusive, a comparison will not be indicative of the real picture. When it comes to the data, there is especially a lack of the socio-economic and ethnic background of the victims as well as in the general indication of victims which has to do with the difficult detection and prosecution of human trafficking crimes. Nonetheless, in limited parts of the data there has been a moderate improvement in the last five year of when the study was conducted. Often, Roma children that are being forced to beg have strong attachments to their families, both emotional and in term of their loyalty. This makes it especially difficult to identify victims as these children often do not consider themselves victims of forced child labour. The populations tendency to ignore the issue of child begging and its inclination to accept it as Roma culture and their way of survival further hinders the prosecution and appeal of these crimes. When it comes to the crime of child

⁵⁰ Diego Hernandez, Alexandra Rudolph, "Modern Day Slavery: What drives human trafficking in Europe?," *European Journal of Political Economy*, Vol.38, May 2015, p.118.

⁵¹ Georgi Petrunov, Sheldon Zhang, Ronald Weitzer, *Human Trafficking in Eastern Europe: The Case of Bulgaria*, Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2014, p. 166.

pickpocketing it is especially difficult to find the connection between the child performing the act and the exploiting adult that incited the crime. Prosecutors can only begin to go after the exploiter once the child has committed the crime and has been caught. Often, the coercion the child has previously experienced from its exploiter will lead to the child being prosecuted instead of the punishable adult behind the organization of the criminal activity. A bottom-up approach which would start in the communities and families is also unlikely since Roma communities are very closed towards outsiders which entering the communities very difficult. Boys and transgender people fall outside the traditional cadre of typical trafficking victims. This makes them especially vulnerable to becoming victims, this in no exception to boy and transgender people with Roma origin. When it comes to the protection and help of child trafficking victims, several weaknesses were detected in terms of the allocation of data, risk assessments, determining the best practice, and the overall cooperation between the different parties involved. Furthermore, all seven EU member struggled with the financing of structures that helped child trafficking victims. People who are working on the ground were facing difficulties especially when it came to establishing the trust of children that were being exploited for begging and pickpocketing. This is largely because the children themselves often do not perceive themselves as victims because they have seen the lived example from their families and to them, child begging and pickpocketing seems normal and acceptable. Roma communities are very fenced off to the rest of society and they are hard to enter which makes it especially challenging to tackle the situation of child trafficking and child exploitation within the Roma. Because there is lacking coordination between the different stakeholders and lacking individual assessment of each victim's situation, child trafficking victims are at a high risk of re-entering human trafficking at a later time.⁵²

An analysis of different human trafficking prevention programs by the United States Agency for International Development (“USAID”) has shown that there are four categories of programs. The first focuses on the structural context in which human trafficking occurs (e.g., the social, political, economic, and legal environment) and aims at changing it. The next addresses factors that make a person more susceptible to

⁵² Kamelia Dimitrova, Slavyanka Ivanova, Iva Alexandrova, *Child Trafficking Among Vulnerable Roma Communities: Results of Country Studies in 7 EU Member States*, Sofia: Център за изследване на демокрацията, 2016, 43-44.

trafficking, e.g., their family and socio-economic status and lack of information. The third category focuses on the criminals and discouraging them by introducing an effective justice system and finally, the fourth category concentrates on the creation of early warning systems to recognize possible human trafficking cases before their occurrence in order to permit timely intervention. Programs may address two or more categories and prevention measures may serve several purposes.⁵³

There are three major international organizations that aim to combat human trafficking. These are the International Labour Organization (“ILO”), the UNODC, and the United Nations Children’s Fund (“UNICEF”). The 1998 Rome Statute which constitutes the International Criminal Court declared human trafficking as a crime against humanity. However, there are many states that either do not have the necessary legal basis or resources to address the issue. Others might simply not be interested in tackling the crime. If this incapability or unwillingness to combat human trafficking persists, it is not likely that the situation will improve for human trafficking victims.⁵⁴

One way of bringing the issue to the public’s attention is through the media. The representation of human trafficking in the media shapes the way in which human trafficking is dealt with internationally. In recent years, there has been a surge in celebrities who act as ambassadors for human trafficking victims. This popularization of the issue has both good and bad sides. While it brings attention to the problem, it often simplifies and minimizes what human trafficking constitutes. This skews with the reality of human trafficking. Statistics, maps, etc. become unreliable and most cases of human trafficking do not find themselves represented in the media.⁵⁵

Dimitrova et al. (2016) recommend EU states to further their existing programs and obligate all member states to collect the data on human trafficking victims to be able to make informed policy decisions based on concise statistics and databases. These databases must be continuously updated to ensure their reliability. With ongoing political changes and the emergence of new technologies, the crime of human

⁵³ Charles Scott, Alexander Chase, *Human Trafficking in Europe, and Eurasia: Prevention, Protection and Victim Assistance*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2011, p.4.

⁵⁴ Corneliu Bjola and Markus Kornprobst, *Diplomacy: Theory, Practice and Ethics*, London: Taylor and Francis, 2018, p.72.

⁵⁵ Christiana Gregoriou, *Representation of Transnational Human Trafficking*, Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018, p.4.

trafficking is subject to change; with the criminals reacting to the changing environment, new groups will likely become at risk for exploitation. Social and law enforcement personnel must be trained to detect and effectively tackle dangers before new groups fall victims to the crime of human trafficking. The collected data must be centrally allocated and periodically evaluated. National record-keepers should be appointed to keep an overview of the developments and confer with the national rapporteurs of other states. It is indispensable to make policy recommendations considering the ethno- and socio-economic backgrounds of victims as this kind of information will be decisive to making decisions corresponding to the unique situations of victims. Drawing from the effects that different demographic indicates have, policy makers will be able to identify risk factors and establish which groups are most vulnerable to the crime.⁵⁶

Methodology

In order to find out how an accession to the European Union affects the number and situation of human trafficking victims in Eastern European countries, this thesis follows a mixed methods design, undertaking both a quantitative as well as a qualitative analysis. The quantitative analysis looks at data on the number of detected human trafficking victims and compares the pre-accession data with the post-accession data in order to find out whether there has been a trend towards less human trafficking in newly accessed Eastern European countries. The qualitative analysis comes in the form of expert interviews which will be conducted with experts in the field of Human Trafficking at the UNODC in Vienna.

Quantitative research must do satisfy three requirements: It must measure, sample and control. In order to be able to even begin the measuring process, the hypothesis has to be operationalized. Operationalizing describes the process of finding indicators that make an abstract concept empirically measurable. Measuring has to provide both, reliability and validity. In order for the measuring to be reliable, it has to be consistent and in order for it to be valid, there has to be an accurate transfer from the concept to the operationalization. Moving on to the sample, there has to an

⁵⁶ Kamelia Dimitrova, Slavyanka Ivanova, Iva Alexandrova, *Child Trafficking Among Vulnerable Roma Communities: Results of Country Studies in 7 EU Member States*, Sofia: Център за изследване на демокрацията, 2016, p.45-46.

adequate amount of data to represent the group of people one wants to make an assumption about. Furthermore, there has to be a clear correlation between the independent variable and the dependent variable with the independent variable has to precede the dependent one. Finally, the correlation between both variables has to stand even if a control variable is being introduced.⁵⁷

Research Question:	How does the EU's enlargement change the situation for victims of human trafficking in Eastern Europe?
Hypothesis:	The situation for victims of human trafficking in Eastern Europe improves once a state is included in the EU's enlargement agenda $H1 = IV \rightarrow DV \uparrow$
Independent variable:	Eastern European state's inclusion in the EU's enlargement agenda
Dependent variable:	Situation for victims of human trafficking
Null hypothesis:	The situation for victims of human trafficking in Eastern Europe does not improve once a state is included in the EU's enlargement agenda $H0 = IV \rightarrow DV \emptyset$
Control variable:	Eastern European states that are not yet included in the EU's enlargement agenda
Measurement:	Data on Trafficking Victims Structured Focused Comparison

Quantitative Data Analysis

The definition of Europe in general and European regions in particular has many times been the subject of disagreement. Rather than arguing for or against a certain definition, this thesis follows the United Nation's definition of European regions whereby Eastern Europe consists of Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia

⁵⁷ Bianca Krol and Silvia Boßow-Thies, *Quantitative Forschung in Masterarbeiten: Best-Practice-Beispiele wirtschaftswissenschaftlicher Studienrichtungen*, (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2022), p.3.

and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Poland, the Republic of Moldova, Romania, the Russian Federation, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine.⁵⁸ Out of these 23 states, eleven are EU member states.

This thesis' quantitative analysis looks at the numbers of detected human trafficking victims in different European states based on the detected victim's citizenship. Since it is the goal to find out how EU enlargement effects numbers of human trafficking victims, it makes sense to look at the origin of the victim rather than their destination. This will paint a better picture of the magnitude of human trafficking in a country than looking at the number of detected victims in a country regardless of their place of origin. The data for this analysis stems from the yearly issued UNODC human trafficking report. In the next step, the analysis examines whether there has been an increase or a decrease in trafficking victims once a country has joined the EU. Unfortunately, the examples to look at are rather limited since the UNODC only published data from the years 2005 to 2017. Additionally, the years 2005 and 2006 are not adequately representative due to lack of information provided by the countries. Therefore, this analysis sampled data provided from 2007 to 2017, which unfortunately limited the scope of observation even further. The UNODC has gathered the information via the United Nations Crime Trends survey ("UN-CTS"), which is a questionnaire that is being sent out to national authorities of each of the countries. All states were requested to report the number of human trafficking victims detected in the country, including their nationality.⁵⁹

The human trafficking numbers include trafficking victims from and to the countries listed below, reflecting a more accurate overview of the situation over the years. Interestingly, Bulgaria did not report any numbers, nor did Moldova. However, although Bulgaria, for example, did not report any numbers, other countries have reported human trafficking victims from Bulgaria, drawing a shocking picture in relation to the high number of victims reported. The real figure, however, due to unreported cases, will always be difficult to determine. Since the UNODC report is based on data

⁵⁸ "Regional groups of Member States," *United Nations*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.un.org/dgacm/en/content/regional-groups>.

⁵⁹ "Detected Victims by Citizenship," *UNODC*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

collected from national authorities, the graphs below represent the official numbers reported.⁶⁰

In an additional step, the numbers of human trafficking victims originating from a certain country each year were contrasted with the countries' GDP per capita/PPP per capita in that same year. This step was taken to determine if there was a connection between the country's economic performance and its number of human trafficking victims. The GDP reflects the economic performance of a country, taking into account the market value of goods produced and services rendered throughout the year. This number gives a good indication of a country's wellbeing on a macroeconomic level, however, as it does not take into account the cost of living or the inflation rate, the GDP does tell little about the standard of living of the population in a country. For this specific comparison the GDP per capita at purchasing power parity ("PPP") was used, resulting in a better reflection of the living standards of each countries' population. The PPP is calculated based on various goods and services compared to another country's prices. It is therefore not as straight-forwardly calculated as the nominal GDP and may vary dependent on the source used.⁶¹ For this analysis, data provided by the World Bank has been utilized, with US Dollar ("USD") being the base currency of the World Bank's database.⁶² The retrieved data has then been converted into Euro ("EUR") with the EUR/USD exchange rate as of 31 December of each of the years and subsequently set into comparison with the human trafficking numbers of the UNODC report. It is worth noting that the overall trend of the GDP PPP is stable throughout the sample period from 2007 to 2017. In contrast to the reported human trafficking numbers, there is no deviation on the economic strength among the countries. The reported human trafficking data on the other hand does vary greatly and does not show a consistency throughout the years for any of the countries.

Findings: The highest rates are among Bulgarian and Romanian citizens. Although both countries have joined the EU in 2007, no improvement may be observed

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ "PPP Calculation and Estimation," *World Bank*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/programs/icp/brief/methodology-calculation#:~:text=The%20basic%2Dheading%20PPP%20for,C%20%3D%20PPP%20B%2FA>.

⁶² "GDP per capita, PPP," *World Bank*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

throughout the sample period. The GDP PPP has constantly increased, while the number of human trafficking victims remained high throughout the years, indicating that a country’s wealth does not necessarily correlate with less human rights violations. In comparison, the average number of all cases from countries in this sample throughout the years is fluctuating between 80 and 180 cases per year. Bulgaria and Romania, however, are almost consistently five times higher (in the case of Bulgaria) and ten to 15 times higher (in the case of Romania) than other countries every year. The median, on the other hand, varies around 70 to 90 cases per year, showing a very different picture of the situation in Eastern Europe.

Table 7: Bulgaria – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)⁶³⁶⁴

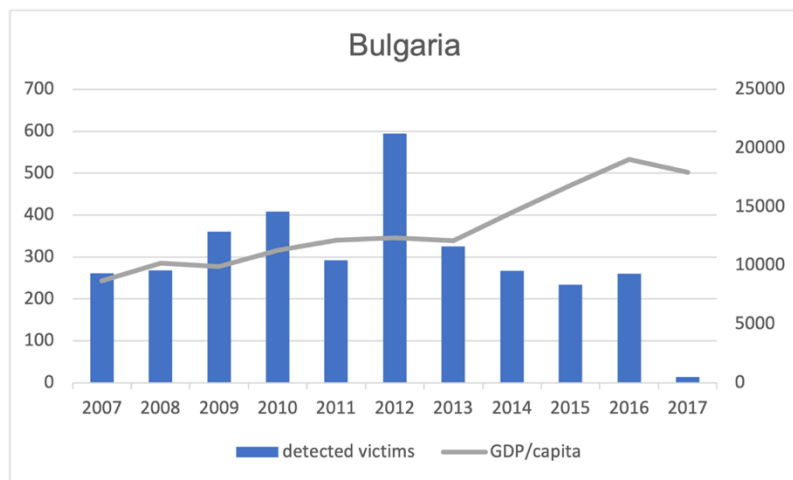
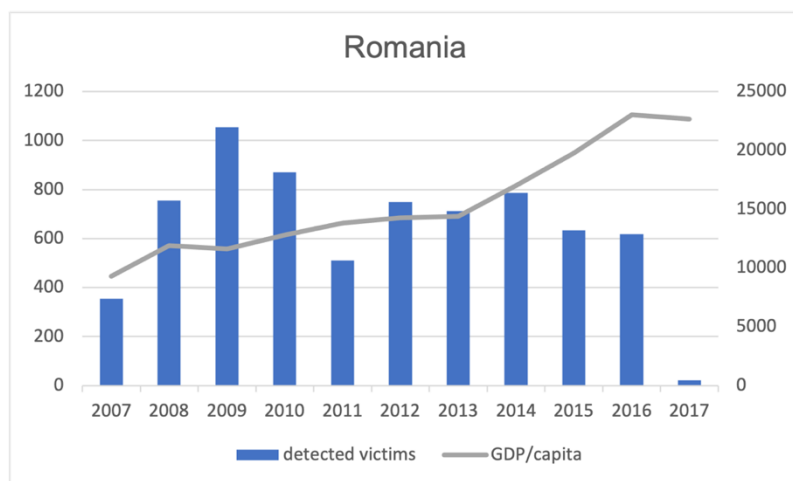


Table 8: Romania – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)⁶⁵⁶⁶



⁶³ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

⁶⁴ “GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

⁶⁵ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

⁶⁶ “GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

Looking at the countries above the Median of 70 to 90 human trafficking victims, a tendency towards lower GDP PPP countries may be observed. In particular, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia and Ukraine mostly reported human trafficking numbers above the Median of the sample group. It should, however, be noted that also several countries with a high GDP PPP, such as the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia are reporting high numbers of human trafficking victims. Not to the extent of Bulgaria and Romania, but significant enough to leave an impression on the charts and to further conclude, that a high GDP PPP does not always represent a lower number in human trafficking victims. The tables of all examined countries can be retrieved from this thesis' annex (Tables 6–22).

Furthermore, out of the database provided by the UNODC, listing all human trafficking victims detected throughout the years, several countries have not reported many cases. Estonia and Montenegro have reported very low numbers, ranging from zero to around 30 at maximum. Montenegro, just like Albania and Serbia, do have an outstanding application to join the EU, however, in contrast to Albania and Serbia, who have reported high numbers above the Median, Montenegro has mostly reported zero or one case per year, which gives reason to doubt the accuracy of the numbers and the country's credibility in terms of reporting the cases.

Due to the data's limitation in terms of when the data collection process started, there is only one country, which is Croatia, where some sort of process tracing could be done. This is because Croatia was the last country to join the EU. Table 9 below shows how after joining the EU, the number of detected human trafficking victims raised. In the case of Serbia, the moment when the country applied for EU membership signalled a decrease of detected victims (table 10). However, to reiterate the point from before, the data seems to be somewhat unreliable, which should be kept in mind, when viewing the tables below.

Finally, looking at the sample, it may also be noted that Moldova was the only country in Eastern Europe for which no data was available. No victims were reported by the Moldavian government, nor were any Moldavian victims reported by any other country. Researchers agree that Moldova constitutes one of, if not the country that produces the most trafficking victims per capita in Europe. The fact that there is no data on Moldova further underlines that the data is lacking completeness and needs revision. Since the UNODC stopped publishing data on detected trafficking victims after 2017, the organisation is likely aware of the gaps in their research.

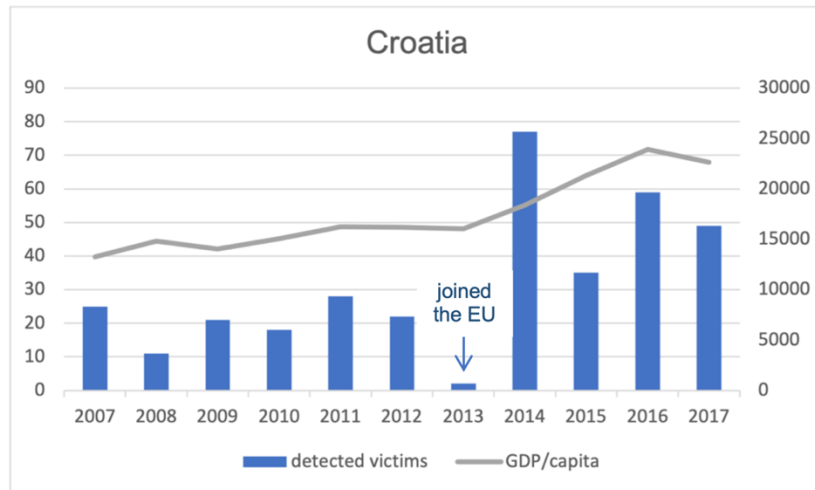


Table 9: Croatia – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)⁶⁷⁶⁸

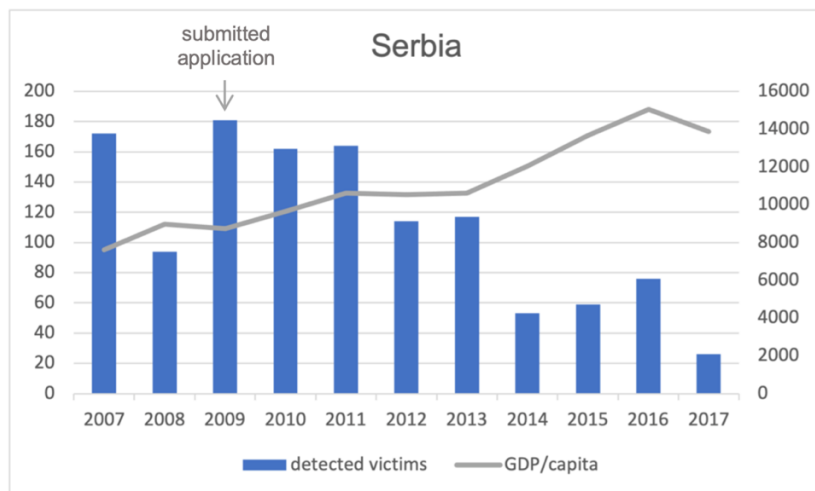


Table 10: Serbia – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)⁶⁹⁷⁰

Of course, it is understandable that countries with struggling economies, high levels of poverty, corruption, and crime and inner-state conflicts may not be in the position to adequately contribute to ongoing human trafficking research. However, it should be in the international interest to fund research in those countries since human trafficking is

⁶⁷ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” *UNODC*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

⁶⁸ “GDP per capita, PPP,” *World Bank*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

⁶⁹ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” *UNODC*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

⁷⁰ “GDP per capita, PPP,” *World Bank*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

an issue that affects all of us and does not stop at national borders. Because the findings of the quantitative analysis were inconclusive, a qualitative analysis has been conducted, too, which can be found in the following section.

Structured Focused Comparison

This chapter comprises a structured focused comparison of the human trafficking situation in one EU and one non-EU state, namely Lithuania and Moldova. The reason why these two countries have been chosen is because they are both Eastern European states, they are comparable in terms of their population, and they both experienced a similar recent history, being former Soviet republics, which experienced the fall of the Soviet Union.

The term “structured focused comparison”, coined by Alexander George, describes a qualitative, small-n research method in the social sciences. Following general research questions, the method examines cases or aspects of cases and compares them with one another. It was originally developed to analyse past events to generate a comprehensive understanding for current policy problems. The goal was to keep decision makers from relying on just a single historical example when making important policy decisions.⁷¹ The method of structured, focused comparison follows three phases. The initial phase comprises the objectives, design, and structure of the research. The second phase analyses each case following the previously developed research design and in the final phase, results are being drawn up and analysed to determine whether they contribute to the research’s objectives.

PHASE 1: Designing Case Study Research

The initial phase, which comprises the design of the case study research, is made up of five parts. In the first part, the researcher must determine the nature of the research question and the research’s objective. According to George et al. (2005) there are six types of theory-building research objectives. This study follows the theoretical or configurative idiographic type which describes “case studies [which] provide good descriptions that might be used in subsequent studies for theory building, but by themselves, (...) do not cumulate or contribute directly to theory”⁷². The goal is

⁷¹ Alexander George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, (Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2005), p.67.

⁷² Ibid, p.75.

to find out whether there has been improvement in the situation of human trafficking victims when a country has become part of the EU enlargement agenda. Since the results from the quantitative data analysis have been proven to be rather inconclusive and most likely not very reliable, this part of the thesis will conduct a qualitative of Lithuania and Moldova to give an insight into the effect EU accession has on human trafficking in a country. This study and its findings do not seek to provide an overarching theory for all EU or non-EU states or EU accession in general but provide the reader with a typology of findings on human trafficking in two European states.

The second part of the research design focuses on the development of a research strategy. If we consider the initial hypothesis, that “The situation for victims of human trafficking in Eastern Europe improves once a state is included in the EU’s enlargement agenda”, then we must define, and operationalize the dependent variable, which is describes the improvement of the “Situation for victims of human trafficking”. In the literature review, the section on policy recommendations offers several indicators to measure an improvement in the situation of victims. These recommendations concentrate on an array of aspects such as law enforcement structures and tackling the criminals, social and economic structures, that make groups of people particularly vulnerable or state structures that analyse the problem and raise awareness.

Part three looks at the case selection. The selection of which cases are being analysed should not be determined by what cases seem especially interesting or easy to research. Instead, the main objective should be to find cases that are most suited to the answering of the research question. This objective holds regardless of the nature of the types of theory-building research objectives. For the scope and research objective of this thesis, it makes sense to conduct a controlled comparison of two cases. Controlled meaning that most aspects of the cases are similar, and they mainly differ in terms of the independent variable, which in this case it the “Eastern European state’s inclusion in the EU’s enlargement agenda” – Lithuania is an EU member state, Moldova is not. Other than that, the two countries share a number of similarities as they are located in the same region, they have a comparable population size, and they share historical similarities as both have been former Soviet states.⁷³ Table 5 below

⁷³ Alexander George and Andrew Bennet, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, (Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2005), p.81.

provides some further information on the political, social and economic development of the two countries:

	Lithuania	Moldova
Total Population (2020)	2.800.000	2.630.000
Population Growth (2020)	0,02%	-1,68%
GDP/capita (2019, in US\$)	23.472,87	4.377,54
Urbanization (2020)	68,05%	42,85%
Inflation Rate (2020)	1,06%	3,77%
Unemployment Rate (2020)	8,43%	4,71%
CPI (2021)	61	36
PISA Test (2018)	480	424

Table 11: Lithuania and Moldova – key indicators⁷⁴

Part four of the research design describes the variance in variables. Defining the variance is an important step towards reaching the research objective. A failure to adequately set the variance may lead to potential causal relationships being overlooked. Often, it makes sense to define the variance of variables during the investigative process as the researcher becomes more and more familiar with the examined cases. A continual review of the variance during the investigative and evaluating process is therefore recommended. The way in which variance is being described is highly depended on the examined cases and the research objective. For this study, it makes sense to describe the variance in terms of qualitative types of outcomes. When it comes to the categories, in this case, it pays to trade-off the parsimony of dichotomous cases and take-on an array of different categories. The dependent variable of this study, the improvement of the situation for victims of human trafficking should not simply be answered by whether there is improvement or not. Instead, it makes sense to explain different categories to identify different types of improvement. This will lead to a more differentiated explanatory theory, and it paths the way for future policy recommendations.⁷⁵

The last part of the research design looks at the formulation of data requirements and general questions. The specification of data requirements can be

⁷⁴ "Statista," Statista, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.statista.com>.

⁷⁵ Alexander George and Andrew Bennet, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, (Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2005), p.85.

acquired by asking general questions of each case. By asking the same questions, comparable data can be obtained from each case which is essential for case comparison. In terms of standardized data requirements, case study methodology is no different to large-n quantitative data studies. The questions asked should not be overly specific but more general. Asking the same, general question of each case does not prevent the researcher from diving into the specifics of each case. Instead, it allows for all aspects of a question to be taken in and if one case has in-depth specificities in a certain area, the researcher has the possibility to explore those. A frequently encountered problem with case studies is that data on a certain question is missing in one or the other case. Here it becomes especially important not to apply the method of structured focused comparison in a rigid manner but to adjust the questions along the way.⁷⁶

Category	Question
(1) Structural	(1.1) What is the nature of human trafficking in the country?
	(1.2) What does the data collection process look like?
	(1.3) What preventative measures are in place?
(2) Victim-centered	(2.1) What care is being provided victims of human trafficking?
(3) Exploiter-centered	(3.1) What is the legal basis for prosecuting human traffickers?

Table 12: Structured focused comparison – general questions

PHASE 2: Carrying out the case studies

In phase two the questions which were established in the last step of phase one, are being answered. These answers will later constitute the data, which is being used for the analysis in the final phase. Finally, the findings will be contrasted to the research objective.⁷⁷ After having reviewed the literature of interest, the researcher draws up explanations for the outcomes of the different cases. Here, social scientists will have to familiarize themselves with the method of historical analysis. George et al.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p.86.

⁷⁷Alexander George and Andrew Bennet, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, (Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2005), p.89.

(2005) offer several points of advice when it comes to the explanatory part of case studies: Firstly, case explanations must retain a provisional character; they can never be universal statements. The research findings will be subject to critique from other researchers and if the findings have been ascribed a universal character by their researcher, disproving the findings automatically disproves the researcher's theory. Furthermore, case explanations must be plausible. To enforce their plausibility, the researcher must prove that they have considered all alternative explanations but that those alternative explanations did not explain the outcome as well as the explanations that have been chosen. Moreover, it is the researcher's obligation to adequately follow the rules of qualitative analysis and to assist the reader in understanding and evaluating if the presented case explanations are appropriate and have met methodological requirements.⁷⁸

CASE 1: Moldova

Moldova is a small country of about 2.6 million people, located between Romania and Ukraine. After having been part of the Soviet Union for over fifty years, the country gained its independence in 1991. A year earlier to Moldova's independence, two autonomous Soviet regions were declared: one to the south of the river Dniester and one to the east; this region is known as Transnistria. In 1995, the southern region, Gagauzia, accepted the territorial autonomy which by the Moldovan central government in Chisinau. In the eastern region of Transnistria, however, a military conflict erupted between the emerging Moldovan army on the side and the Transnistrian, Soviet-backed army on the other side. Supported first by the Soviet Union and later by Russia, a self-declared, internationally not recognized authoritarian pseudo-state, the so called Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, or short Transnistria, emerged on the left side of the river Dniester. The region comprises 550.000 inhabitants out of which about 70 percent are Russian. Financially, Transnistria can only survive due to massive subsidies from Russia. In 1992, a ceasefire agreement was concluded between the Republic of Moldova and Russia. However, to this day there is no peace treaty. Twenty years after its independence, Moldova constitutes a weak state. As a result of the Transnistrian war and the presence of Russian troops in

⁷⁸ Alexander George and Andrew Bennet, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, (Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2005), p.90, 91, 106.

the country, Moldova has neither its territory nor its borders under its full control. This has negative consequences for state and nation building, the economic and social system and the country's international relations.⁷⁹

The economic transformation from a hyper-regulated communist system to an open market-economy lead to a massive economic crisis.⁸⁰ Before its collapse Moldova had one of the Soviet Union's most active economies, supplying it with wine, vegetables, and fruit. Today, it is one of Europe's poorest countries. Along with the economic downturn, Moldova faced political instability, and trade barriers. The country's low levels of industrialization and lacking social policies led to food insecurity and wide-spread poverty and by the year 2000, almost three fourth of the country lived below the poverty line and over a million people had left Moldova in hopes of finding work and a better life elsewhere.⁸¹

Since the turn of the millennium, life has somewhat improved for Moldovans, with the percentage of people living under the poverty line declining from 30,2 percent in 2006 to 9,6 percent in 2015. However, the Gini index, which measures economic inequality in a country, as well as unemployment has started to slightly rise again on recent years.⁸² While this affects the society as a whole, it is especially people living in the previously wealthy, agrarian regions of the country that are most vulnerable to downward developments. With Moldova's level of urbanization being at about 43 percent in 2020, this applies to more than half of the country's population.⁸⁴

Since the 1990s, Eastern Europe, especially the states of Belarus, Bulgaria, Moldova, and Ukraine, have been a stable source of human trafficking victims. While it has been proven difficult to retrieve conclusive, quantitative data, it is believed that

⁷⁹ Anneli Gabanyi, „Der Konflikt in Transnistrien im Kontext der europäischen Sicherheitspolitik,“ *Strategie und Sicherheit*, Vol.1 2012, p.358.

⁸⁰ Ludmila Bogdan, „Public perception of human trafficking: a case study of Moldova,“ *Comparative Migration Studies*, Vol.8(1), October 2020, p.2.

⁸¹ Susanne Lundin, „Organ economy: organ trafficking in Moldova and Israel,“ *Public Understanding of Science*, Vol. 21(2), February 2012, p.229.

⁸² „Gini Index Moldova,“ *World Bank*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI?locations=MD>.

⁸³ „Unemployment, total (% of total labor force) (modeled ILO estimate) – Moldova,“ *World Bank*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS?locations=MD>.

⁸⁴ „Moldova: Urbanization from 2010 to 2020,“ *Statista*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/513318/urbanization-in-moldova/>.

Moldova produces the highest number of trafficking victims per capita. Failed economic, social, and political reforms worsen the situation for the people most vulnerable to the heinous practice. These people predominantly live in the rural areas of the country. The ongoing conflict in Transnistria, the Eastern part of the country, further impedes on the fight against human trafficking.⁸⁵ In Moldova, young men between the ages of 18 and 30 years constitute a group of people that are especially vulnerable to the illegal organ trade. Due to the criminal nature of the trade, there is mainly anecdotal evidence which gives an insight into the process behind illegal organ removal in Moldova. In her book, Lundin (2012) interviews victims of the heinous practices. According to them, organ brokers lure young Moldovans abroad with the promises of well-paid jobs. Instead, their passports are being withheld until after they agreed or have been forced into kidney surgery. If they survive the surgery, they are being released with little to no money. Under normal circumstances, recovering from a well-performed kidney surgery takes several weeks. However, people that are being operated for the illegal organ trade face badly healing wounds, infection, and life-long health issues. Selling an organ for money constitutes a reason for shame in the Moldovan society and there are indications that this shame is not only of an emotional and physical nature but that it also affects the men's sexual identity as kidney selling is seen as a form of male prostitution.⁸⁶

Next to the national NGOs LaStrada and the Renal Foundation, it has been especially international organizations like specialized UN agencies, ILO, the International Organization for Migration ("IOM"), and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe ("OSCE") that have been issuing reports on the human trafficking situation in Moldova, people's vulnerabilities, and policy recommendations.⁸⁷ Since the country's substantial human trafficking issue has made headlines in the past and continuously leads human trafficking statistics, Moldova has become the object of investigation in several studies.

⁸⁵ Ludmila Bogdan, "Public perception of human trafficking: a case study of Moldova," *Comparative Migration Studies*, vol.8(1), October 2020, p.3.

⁸⁶ Susanne Lundin, Organ economy: organ trafficking in Moldova and Israel, *Public Understanding of Science*, February 2012, vol21(2), 231-232.

⁸⁷ Ludmila Bogdan, "Public perception of human trafficking: a case study of Moldova," *Comparative Migration Studies*, vol.8(1), October 2020, p.3.

For a long time, it has been assumed that a lack of information is the driving factor for people ending up in human trafficking. However, the example of Moldova shows that that is not necessarily the case: A case study by Bogdan (2020) suggests that people living in rural areas who have been the subject of extensive awareness raising campaigns by both national and international organisations, know more about human trafficking than the average population. But despite their knowledge about the crime, it is them that continues to be the predominant victims of human trafficking in Moldova. So, while there are preventative measures in place, “(...) counter-trafficking organizations have to revise their anti-trafficking efforts and re-conceptualize the targeted population for their work to be more efficient in tackling this problem.”⁸⁸

Survivors of human trafficking that have managed to leave the circle of abuse need assistance to gain back their independence. This assistance must be multi-faceted as victims have suffered not only physically and psychologically but also socially and in terms of their finances. There are several organisations that actively work on providing care for survivors of human trafficking in Moldova. While the IOM works on establishing survivor’s financial independence by providing food, clothing, and housing free of charges⁸⁹, other organisations such as the CONCORDIA, concentrate on specific subgroups, such as children, and aid their case management, psychological trauma, and re-integration into society⁹⁰.

In terms of prosecuting traffickers, Moldova has been making improvements. However, the country still does not meet the necessary standards to adequately address the problem. The Prosecutors General Office has been increasing prosecutions of suspected traffickers in recent years and adopted new guidelines and technologies and the Superior Counsel of Magistrates extended the mandates of judges specialised in trafficking offenses from one to five years which helps increase their experience and allows for a more victim-centred approach in trials. Survivors of trafficking must no longer bear their legal costs in these trials as they are for by the government. Meanwhile, the State Labour Inspectorate started expanding regulation on business and regularly inspects them to ensure no exploitation is taking place.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ “Preventing Trafficking and Protecting Victims in Moldova,” *IOM*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.iom.int/preventing-trafficking-and-protecting-victims-moldova>.

⁹⁰ “Crisis Centres: Republic of Moldova,” *CONCORDIA*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.concordia.or.at/en/how-concordia-helps/safe-home/concordia-crisis-centres/>.

However, there are still high levels of corruption in government and law enforcement which obstructs the execution of trials and while more suspected traffickers have been arrested in recent years, there have been fewer sentencing. Traffickers continue to intimate survivors into not going to court and in court, many trafficking survivors, especially children, experience insufficient care. Finally, survivors are at an increased risk of re-entering human trafficking because the government offers little help when it comes to the re-integration of trafficking survivors into society.⁹¹

CASE 2: Lithuania

While still considered a small country, Lithuania constitutes the biggest of the three Baltic States. In 1990, it gained its independence from the USSR and has since shown impressive economic and political progress. Although the first years following independence were difficult for the country and it had to completely dismantle its economic and legal system in order to adapt to Western capitalism, Lithuania soon started to make progress and has since been able to maintain a transparent, open market, which is attracting foreign investors. When it came to international norms, the country was quick to adapt and soon cooperation with international organisations started: In 2001, Lithuania became a member of the World Trade Organisation (“WTO”) and the OSCE⁹². From the start Lithuania, unlike Estonia and Latvia, granted citizenship to all its minorities which made it easier to abide to the EU’s minority right principle and join the EU, which it did in 2004. However, after the country’s accession to the EU there have been some backward developments in terms of minority rights and especially problems of the Polish minority remain unsolved.⁹³

While the Moldovan case has been extensively studied in the past due to the high prevalence of human trafficking in the country, the literature on human trafficking in Lithuania is somewhat limited. In the case of Lithuania however, it makes sense to conduct some additional process tracing. Process tracing describes a method in the social science that takes a single case and makes a longitudinal cut across it to

⁹¹ “2021 Trafficking in Persons Report: Moldova,” *U.S. Department of State*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-trafficking-in-persons-report/moldova/>.

⁹² “OECD Reviews of Foreign Direct Investment: Lithuania 2001”, *OECD Reviews of Foreign Direct Investment*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/1085>.

⁹³ Karolis Dambrauskas, “Minority Response to Ethnic Democracy. Poles in Lithuania after EU Accession,” *Intersections*, 2017, Vol.3 (4), 67.

compare the before and after of a single case. For Lithuania the before would look at the human trafficking situation before its accession process and subsequent accession to the EU started and the after looks at the human trafficking situation in Lithuania as an EU member state.

In the 1990s, the Lithuanian public became increasingly dissatisfied with law enforcement's efforts to combat human trafficking. As a result, in 1996, the NGO Missing Person's Families Support Centre ("MPFSC") was established. Today, the organisation is a corner stone of Lithuania's fight against human trafficking, and it receives funding from the Lithuanian government, the European Structural Funds, other international organisation, and international ministries.⁹⁴ Through the NGO's investigative work, it quickly became clear that many missing women in Lithuania had become the victims of human traffickers and the first step to fight human trafficking in the country was to raise awareness among the Lithuanian public. Previously, Lithuania had treated human trafficking cases almost exclusively as cases of missing people. Because of the illegal nature of the crime and victim's unwillingness to come forward, it is difficult to put out actual numbers, but it is estimated that every year 1.000 to 2.000 women and girls are entering human trafficking in the country. Most victims are under the age of twenty-one, with an estimated 37 percent being between 14 and 18 years old and an additional 15 percent being 19 or 20 years old. Because trafficking victims in Lithuania are predominantly young women or girls, a strong emphasis lies on prevention programs that centre around awareness-raising. Lithuania is a country of origin, transit, and destination for trafficking victims. Lithuanian women and girls, which constitute the largest group of victims, are most often trafficked to London, where they make up about a fifth of arrested sex workers.⁹⁵

Helping survivors of human trafficking is entirely carried out by the MPFSC in Lithuania. There is no responsible government structure and while the NGO receives funding from the state, this funding tends to come in irregular intervals which makes an even distribute among victims difficult. The integration process proves to be difficult in Lithuania as the general public tends to blame victims for falling prey to exploiters instead of offering help and compassion. This negative attitude also expands to public

⁹⁴ Ona Gustiene, "Human Trafficking in Lithuania and Prevention Programs," in: *Sex Slavery and Human Trafficking*. Connie Gunderson (ed.) Berlin: Lit-Verlag, 2013, p. 67

⁹⁵ Ona Gustiene, "Human Trafficking in Lithuania and Prevention Programs," in: *Sex Slavery and Human Trafficking*. Connie Gunderson (ed.) Berlin: Lit-Verlag, 2013, p.69-70.

institutions such as hospitals, social service structures, employers, law enforcement facilities and so on. The MPFSC works on bringing back survivors of human trafficking that have been detected abroad. They are met at the airport by social workers, the police, and international organisations like the IOM. To ensure that they are not being re-traumatized by the negative attitude of government structures and society, the NGO provides them with the necessary medical, psychological, and legal care and whenever they must enter government structures or public institution, the NGO personnel offers to accompany the survivors.⁹⁶

After Lithuania had joined the EU, it started to receive considerable amounts of funding. This is partly due to the EU's innate responsibility to help poorer member states, but it also has to do with Lithuania's geographical situation. Lithuania's eastern border constitutes one of the EU's external borders. To the east of Lithuania lies Belarus, which in the past has used people as political instruments by forcefully pushing migrants over the Belarussian-Lithuanian border. Following a visit by commission officials in 2021, the EU pledged additional 36.7 million euros in emergency assistance under the Asylum, Migration, and Integration Fund.⁹⁷

PHASE 3: Drawing up the Implications of Case Findings for Theory

Before implications from the case studies can be drawn up, it is helpful to revisit the initial research question: "How does the EU's enlargement change the situation for victims of human trafficking in Eastern Europe?" The hypothesis was that the situation for victims of human trafficking in Eastern Europe improves once a state is included in the EU's enlargement agenda. When we look at Lithuania, we see a country that underwent an incredible transformation since it gained its independence in 1990. By 2001, so three years before the country joined the EU, it was already part of the WTO and the OSCE and due to its low labour costs and functioning market, it was attractive to foreign investors. While the country was economically and politically on a promising path, some social problems remained. This can be seen by the country's response to human trafficking, which was largely inexistent. To this day, there are no appropriate governmental structures that are delegated to fight human trafficking and aid victims.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 73, 74.

⁹⁷ „Lithuania Receives €29.6 Million From EU Commission in Support of Migration Management,” *Schengen Visa Info*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://www.schengenvisainfo.com/news/lithuania-receives-e29-6-million-from-eu-commission-in-support-of-migration-management/>.

Instead, an NGO provides these services. There are indications, such as irregular payments of promised funding, which suggest that human trafficking is not on the forefront of the government's agenda. Via the EU, Lithuania receives significant funding, which supports the NGO's work and aids in the fight against human trafficking in the country.

Meanwhile, in Moldova, the situation looks quite different. A massive economic crisis combined with a proxy-war that to this day has not been resolved, stalled the country's economic, political, and social development. High levels of corruption and an unstable political situation in the country make it unlikely that the country will join the EU any time soon. Moldova constitutes one of Europe's poorest countries while simultaneously producing one of the highest levels of human trafficking victims per capita. The fight against human trafficking is largely carried out by national NGOs and international organisations. However, the economic situation in the country is so precarious that established prevention programs do not seem to have much effect. Despite people's knowledge about human trafficking, they often see no other way than to enter with hopes to provide some economic benefit for themselves and their families.

In summary, the two cases are quite different from one another, and it is fair to say that the fight against human trafficking in Lithuania has been more effective in terms of prevention programs and victim detection. However, some similarities persist such as the high engagement of local NGOs and the support from international organisations. The question of if the EU has had a significant effect on the human trafficking situation in Lithuania cannot be answered with absolute certainty since there is no way to predict what the human trafficking situation in Lithuania would have looked like if the country had never joined the EU. However, extensive EU funding and the EU's special attention to migration at its external borders has supported the work of NGOs and thereby directly benefitted human trafficking victims, at least in the case of Lithuania. At this point, it is not feasible to generate a theory from the case studies findings. However, the comparison set out what it meant to do which was "provide good descriptions that might be used in subsequent studies for theory building"⁹⁸.

⁹⁸ Alexander George and Andrew Benet, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2005), p.75.

Conclusion

Human trafficking continues to be a considerable problem in Eastern Europe and beyond. It kills people, destroys lives, tears families apart, and costs states millions in prevention programs, law enforcement, health, and social services. While establishing databases on detected human trafficking victims can be helpful in determining the magnitude of the issue, it is indispensable that governments and organisations take a multi-faceted approach in fighting human trafficking. Because there are significant regional differences in terms of the victim's demography and in terms of what they are being exploited for, it makes little sense to create an EU or Europe-wide plan to fight human trafficking. Instead, each country must be evaluated individually to provide adequate care to victims and support governments accordingly.

A comparison of the human trafficking situation in Lithuania and Moldova has shown that adequate funding of anti-trafficking organisations constitutes a cornerstone in the fight against human trafficking. Other supporting factors are a functioning legal basis, a transparent government and the public's willingness to understand the crime and support the victims. Because the fight against human trafficking costs governments a lot of resources, it is in their best interest to tackle the problem at the root. For countries with a functioning economy and low levels of unemployment this means funding awareness programs. In the case of poorer countries where unemployment is high, the effectiveness of awareness programs seems to be limited, as can be seen in the case of Moldova. With the inner-state conflict of Transnistria persisting in Moldova, the country will likely see little improvement of its human trafficking situation. Further research is needed to establish how best to help people in situations where they feel like they have no other option than to enter human trafficking.

And finally, with Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Europe can expect to deal with a far-reaching humanitarian crisis in the coming months and years. Human trafficking numbers have already started to increase, which is a development that is likely to continue. International organisations and governments alike must prepare themselves for the future and put necessary structures and programs into place to minimize the suffering of victims and address exploiters accordingly.

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Annex

Table 1: Detected Victims in Individual Eastern European countries, by Citizenship (2005-2017)⁹⁹

Origin	Destination	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Albania	Albania				108	94	97	84	92	92				
Albania	Others									3				
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Bosnia & Herzegovina			30	31	58	21	29	27		46	35	43	
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Bulgaria					1			1					
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Croatia			1		2	1	1			1			
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Cuba												1	
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Gambia												1	
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Germany						1		1					
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Iraq			1										
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Kosovo under UNSCR 1244							1			1			
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Republic of Moldova			1										
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Romania			2		1								
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Serbia			4		6	2	2	10				2	
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Sri Lanka										1			
Bosnia & Herzegovina	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia							1						
Bosnia & Herzegovina	Ukraine			2	2								1	
Bosnia & Herzegovina	United States of America							1						
Croatia	Afghanistan												3	
Croatia	Bosnia & Herzegovina			2	2		1	1			3	2		8
Croatia	Croatia			9	4	4	4	13	8		32	14	22	19
Croatia	Hungary											1		
Croatia	Kosovo under UNSCR 1244						1							
Croatia	Nigeria													1
Croatia	Pakistan												2	
Croatia	Philippines												1	
Croatia	Republic of Moldova			1										
Croatia	Romania						1		2		1			1
Croatia	Serbia			3	1	3								
Croatia	Thailand												2	
Croatia	United States of America									1				
Czechia	Armenia							1						
Czechia	Brazil				3									
Czechia	Bulgaria						14	6	15		2		1	
Czechia	Congo						1	1						
Czechia	Czechia			5	4	3	11	14	9		1	2	2	5
Czechia	Honduras						1							
Czechia	Hungary						2							
Czechia	Kazakhstan							1						
Czechia	Latvia						1							
Czechia	Montenegro							1						
Czechia	Nigeria						1	3	6					
Czechia	Philippines								2					
Czechia	Poland						1							
Czechia	Republic of Moldova						1	2	1					5
Czechia	Romania				6		2	2	2		39		7	
Czechia	Russian Federation			3				1	1					
Czechia	Slovakia						3	6	1		1	1	2	1
Czechia	Sri Lanka							1						
Czechia	State of Palestine							1	1					
Czechia	Suriname						1							
Czechia	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia			2										
Czechia	Ukraine			3	7	8	14	9	10			1	2	5
Czechia	Uzbekistan								1					

⁹⁹ "Detected Victims by Citizenship," UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

Czechia	Viet Nam			2			3	1														
Estonia	Estonia													3	11	7	9					
Estonia	Romania												1									
Georgia	Uzbekistan															1	1					
Hungary	China																					6
Hungary	Denmark																					1
Hungary	Hungary			27	8	9	28	101	35													
Hungary	Iran (Islamic Republic of)																					1
Hungary	Poland																					1
Hungary	Romania			1	2								1	1	1							
Hungary	Slovakia																					2
Hungary	Thailand												1									
Hungary	United Kingdom																					2
Hungary	United States of America												1									
Latvia	Latvia				5	12	9	11				1			2	11	4					
Latvia	Lithuania														1							
Latvia	Tajikistan																					2
Latvia	Thailand				3																	
Lithuania	Colombia																					1
Lithuania	Latvia					1																
Lithuania	Lithuania			23	25	13	15	21	14						14	10						
Lithuania	Poland							1														
Montenegro	Bosnia & Herzegovina														1							
Montenegro	Kosovo under UNSCR 1244						1					1	1									
Montenegro	Montenegro										4				3	2						
Montenegro	Serbia									1												2
Poland	Bangladesh						7															
Poland	Belarus						1		2													
Poland	Bulgaria					10	7	7	13	11				6	1							
Poland	Cameroon							1														
Poland	Congo																					1
Poland	Czechia											1										
Poland	Kenya							1	1	1	2											
Poland	Morocco														2							
Poland	Nepal						5															
Poland	Nigeria																					1
Poland	Philippines													36								
Poland	Poland					83	81						4	3	2	70						
Poland	Republic of Moldova										1											1
Poland	Romania					7	12	35	9	9	2	1										
Poland	Russian Federation							1														
Poland	Serbia																					1
Poland	Slovakia												1									
Poland	Sri Lanka							1					12	9								
Poland	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia												8									7
Poland	Ukraine						3	2	60	16	50	36	129	22								
Poland	Viet Nam						1			1	5	31	2									
Poland	Zimbabwe																					2
Romania	Bangladesh							5														
Romania	Bulgaria					1																
Romania	Colombia				1																	
Romania	France				1																	
Romania	Greece						1															
Romania	Honduras				13																	
Romania	Hungary							1														
Romania	Republic of Moldova				3				1	4												

(Table 1, Part 2)

Romania	Romania				157	145	1.152	1.041							
Romania	Serbia							1							
Serbia	Albania			21											
Serbia	Bosnia & Herzegovina				5				1		3	1			
Serbia	Bulgaria								1						
Serbia	Croatia						1								
Serbia	Czechia					1									
Serbia	Dominican Republic					2									
Serbia	Former Yugoslavia			1											
Serbia	Montenegro							1	2						
Serbia	Republic of Moldova						1		1						
Serbia	Romania			2	1	3			1						
Serbia	Serbia			69	41	79	73	72	39	50	16	17	26	2	
Serbia	Thailand								1						
Serbia	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia						1								
Serbia	Turkey			2											
Serbia	Ukraine			1	1			1							
Slovakia	Bulgaria								1						
Slovakia	Cameroon								1						
Slovakia	Hungary													1	
Slovakia	Kenya									1					
Slovakia	Philippines											1			
Slovakia	Republic of Moldova							1							
Slovakia	Romania												3		
Slovakia	Slovakia				17	25	28	30	1	2	1	2	7	19	
Slovakia	Ukraine									1				1	
Slovakia	Viet Nam												1		
Slovenia	Albania				3										
Slovenia	Bosnia & Herzegovina						1						1	6	
Slovenia	Bulgaria						2	1			1	1	2	4	
Slovenia	Czechia						3	1	1			7			
Slovenia	Dominican Republic					1	6		2	2		1			
Slovenia	Germany				1										
Slovenia	Ghana					1	1								
Slovenia	Hungary						9					2			
Slovenia	Iran (Islamic Republic of)				1										
Slovenia	Kazakhstan						1	1							
Slovenia	Kosovo under UNSCR 1244													4	
Slovenia	Others												6		
Slovenia	Republic of Moldova												7		
Slovenia	Romania				1		1	1		35				1	
Slovenia	Serbia							2	1		1	11	4	16	
Slovenia	Slovakia					1	3	1	2		1	2		2	
Slovenia	Slovenia				10	2	2	8	2		1	2	3	2	
Slovenia	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia										1	3			
Slovenia	Ukraine				8	1	4	3	7			17	4		
Ukraine	Belarus				1			2							
Ukraine	India				1										
Ukraine	Lithuania					1									
Ukraine	Pakistan							4							
Ukraine	Philippines					2									
Ukraine	Republic of Moldova					4		4	46						
Ukraine	Russian Federation					1	12	11		2					
Ukraine	Ukraine				45	32	52	118	73	139	84	9	12	24	58
Ukraine	Uzbekistan					7		1	10	3					
Ukraine	Viet Nam									24					

(Table 1, Part 3)

Table 2: Total detected victims per country of origin, Eastern Europe (2007-2017)¹⁰⁰

Destination	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Albania	38	118	114	126	91	165	206	57	88	49	7
Bosnia and Herzegovina	73	91	127	48	66	76	0	107	78	114	14
Bulgaria	261	268	361	408	292	595	325	267	234	260	14
Croatia	25	11	21	18	28	22	2	77	35	59	49
Czech Republic	79	52	65	135	93	96	42	79	47	54	22
Estonia	0	1	3	4	8	4	1	7	29	14	18
Georgia	12	11	10	4	3	5	1	6	5	3	3
Hungary	115	113	125	249	410	393	268	140	141	124	19
Latvia	0	15	37	42	39	14	36	17	11	47	28
Lithuania	70	60	51	94	55	90	61	51	87	45	0
Montenegro	0	0	0	1	3	10	1	3	7	4	2
Poland	79	65	68	276	335	264	159	310	295	332	168
Romania	355	755	1055	871	511	749	712	787	634	619	22
Serbia	172	94	181	162	164	114	117	53	59	76	26
Slovakia	27	69	120	155	87	66	74	130	82	64	46
Slovenia	0	35	8	35	26	17	37	7	50	30	37
Ukraine	129	116	159	329	200	437	233	119	115	251	147

Table 3: PPP per capita, Eastern European countries (2007-2020)¹⁰¹

Country	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Albania	7 283,34	8 228,35	8 813,03	9 628,72	10 207,77	10 526,26	10 570,96	11 259,27	11 658,91	12 078,84	12 770,96	13 498,12	13 998,03	13 412,10
Bosnia and Herzegovina	8 196,50	9 028,86	9 028,63	9 348,27	9 976,49	10 304,02	11 016,55	11 433,19	12 010,76	13 072,18	13 753,84	14 918,48	15 711,39	15 591,63
Bulgaria	12 811,36	14 335,71	14 181,15	14 956,49	15 747,09	16 327,87	16 647,01	17 616,91	18 391,93	20 074,38	21 469,95	23 015,86	24 497,63	24 564,26
Croatia	19 493,24	20 921,54	20 149,51	19 967,21	21 014,74	21 397,49	22 081,10	22 325,08	23 301,27	25 210,98	27 154,08	28 877,24	30 544,00	28 780,21
Czech Republic	26 282,38	27 974,49	27 761,51	27 881,97	29 001,37	29 254,73	30 818,11	32 502,48	33 899,29	36 097,71	38 824,89	41 135,49	42 847,00	41 608,03
Estonia	22 195,20	22 802,34	20 477,85	21 619,45	24 557,24	25 996,05	27 464,52	28 945,47	29 175,93	31 312,75	33 821,93	36 249,36	37 851,30	37 645,22
Georgia	6 810,19	7 132,21	6 986,01	7 564,06	8 360,30	9 826,05	10 611,77	11 575,55	12 089,17	12 858,48	13 589,71	14 595,63	15 623,15	14 732,40
Hungary	19 099,85	20 727,89	20 729,78	21 751,83	23 038,81	23 275,23	24 556,72	25 699,75	26 806,60	27 947,64	29 501,12	31 913,07	33 514,94	33 075,92
Latvia	18 236,61	19 573,16	17 023,75	17 706,89	19 248,42	21 290,46	22 639,07	23 815,80	24 972,79	26 721,73	28 673,56	30 877,04	31 883,26	31 482,68
Lithuania	19 094,64	20 721,01	18 116,73	20 096,74	22 884,82	24 703,69	26 721,58	28 184,47	28 834,43	30 925,17	33 761,87	36 376,19	38 540,78	38 880,55
Moldova	5 647,73	6 218,50	5 897,39	6 396,09	6 913,60	7 363,16	8 381,67	8 327,05	9 254,85	10 610,48	11 651,32	12 659,98	13 577,41	13 000,40
Montenegro	12 459,32	13 816,57	13 022,15	13 636,02	14 472,48	13 863,89	14 870,15	15 371,14	16 332,85	18 199,38	19 682,27	21 513,30	23 072,67	19 989,57
North Macedonia	9 350,91	10 521,90	11 009,99	11 361,01	11 689,91	11 915,69	12 727,34	13 434,84	13 888,30	15 138,00	15 706,44	16 796,27	17 546,48	16 925,52
Poland	16 802,83	18 303,35	19 239,93	21 072,53	22 827,70	23 745,70	24 567,51	25 475,50	26 862,05	28 322,11	30 064,50	31 953,04	33 797,77	34 286,99
Romania	13 700,09	16 782,23	16 631,86	16 976,26	17 896,28	18 869,57	19 781,93	20 657,67	21 605,84	24 271,47	27 141,90	29 342,04	31 867,39	32 099,41
Serbia	11 236,23	12 632,08	12 533,97	12 798,27	13 746,93	13 933,84	14 629,01	14 659,58	14 928,47	15 858,10	16 611,02	17 717,88	18 822,42	19 093,87
Slovak Republic	21 222,38	23 725,86	23 080,59	25 302,23	26 145,89	26 888,35	27 915,43	28 929,53	29 964,89	29 645,74	30 061,55	31 214,59	31 966,55	31 356,46
Slovenia	27 570,15	29 604,29	27 537,76	27 826,87	28 931,38	29 042,82	29 973,70	30 870,02	31 628,25	33 936,04	36 507,55	38 961,54	40 670,88	39 725,26
Ukraine	8 993,89	9 425,44	8 095,59	8 558,99	9 246,77	9 705,36	11 111,05	10 743,59	10 164,33	11 148,20	11 860,56	12 633,13	13 346,48	13 054,76
														No HT Data
EUR	EUR/USD as of 31.21. of each of the years listed below													
	0,67896	0,70935	0,69768	0,75455	0,77219	0,75654	0,72633	0,82262	0,91516	0,94901	0,8347	0,87356	0,81407	0,81407
Country	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Albania	4 945,10	5 836,78	6 148,67	7 265,35	7 882,34	7 963,54	7 678,01	9 262,10	10 669,77	11 462,94	10 659,92	11 791,42	11 395,38	10 918,39
Bosnia and Herzegovina	5 565,09	6 404,62	6 299,10	7 053,73	7 703,75	7 795,40	8 001,65	9 405,17	10 991,77	12 405,63	11 480,33	13 032,19	12 790,17	12 692,68
Bulgaria	8 698,40	10 169,04	9 893,90	11 285,42	12 159,75	12 352,69	12 091,22	14 492,02	16 831,56	19 050,79	17 920,97	20 105,73	19 942,79	19 997,03
Croatia	13 235,13	14 840,69	14 057,91	15 066,26	16 227,37	16 188,06	16 038,17	18 365,06	21 324,39	23 925,47	22 665,51	25 226,00	24 864,95	23 429,11
Czech Republic	17 844,68	19 843,70	19 368,65	21 038,34	22 394,57	22 132,37	22 384,12	26 737,19	31 023,27	34 257,09	32 407,14	35 934,32	34 880,46	33 871,85
Estonia	15 069,65	16 174,84	14 286,99	16 312,96	18 962,86	19 667,05	19 948,30	23 811,12	26 700,64	29 716,11	28 231,16	31 665,99	30 813,61	30 645,84
Georgia	4 623,85	5 059,23	4 874,00	5 707,46	6 455,74	7 433,80	7 707,65	9 522,28	11 063,52	12 202,83	11 343,33	12 750,16	12 718,34	11 993,20
Hungary	12 968,03	14 703,33	14 462,75	16 412,84	17 790,34	17 608,64	17 836,28	21 141,13	24 532,33	26 522,59	24 624,58	27 877,98	27 283,51	26 926,11
Latvia	12 381,93	13 884,22	11 877,13	13 360,73	14 863,44	16 107,08	16 443,44	19 591,35	22 854,10	25 359,19	23 933,82	26 972,95	25 955,21	25 629,11
Lithuania	12 964,50	14 698,45	12 639,68	15 164,00	17 671,43	18 689,33	19 408,69	23 185,11	26 388,12	29 348,30	28 181,03	31 776,78	31 374,89	31 651,49
Montenegro	8 459,38	9 800,78	9 085,29	10 289,06	11 175,50	10 488,59	10 800,64	12 644,61	14 947,17	17 271,39	16 428,79	18 793,16	18 782,77	16 272,91
Poland	11 408,45	12 983,48	13 423,31	15 900,28	17 627,32	17 964,57	17 844,12	20 956,66	24 583,07	26 877,97	25 094,84	27 912,90	27 513,75	27 912,01
Romania	9 301,81	11 904,47	11 603,72	12 809,44	13 819,33	14 275,58	14 368,21	16 993,41	19 772,80	23 033,87	22 655,34	25 632,03	25 942,29	26 131,17
Serbia	7 628,95	8 960,57	8 744,70	9 656,93	10 615,24	10 541,51	10 625,49	12 059,26	13 661,94	15 049,50	13 865,22	15 477,63	15 322,77	15 543,75
Slovakia	14 409,15	16 829,94	16 102,87	19 091,80	20 189,59	20 342,11	20 275,81	23 798,01	27 422,67	28 134,10	25 092,38	27 267,82	26 023,01	25 526,35
Slovenia	18 719,03	20 999,80	19 212,54	20 996,76	22 340,52	21 972,06	21 770,80	25 394,30	28 944,91	32 205,64	30 472,85	34 035,24	33 108,94	32 339,14
Ukraine	6 106,49	6 685,94	5 648,13	6 458,19	7 140,26	7 342,49	8 070,29	8 837,89	9 301,99	10 579,75	9 900,01	11 035,80	10 864,97	10 627,49

¹⁰⁰ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹⁰¹ “GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

Table 4: Median (2007-2017)¹⁰²¹⁰³

Country	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Albania	4 945,10	5 836,78	6 148,67	7 265,35	7 882,34	7 963,54	7 678,01	9 262,10	10 669,77	11 462,94	10 659,92	11 791,42	11 395,38	10 918,39
Bosnia and Herze	5 565,09	6 404,62	6 299,10	7 053,73	7 703,75	7 795,40	8 001,65	9 405,17	10 991,77	12 405,63	11 480,33	13 032,19	12 790,17	12 692,68
Bulgaria	8 698,40	10 169,04	9 893,90	11 285,42	12 159,75	12 352,69	12 091,22	14 492,02	16 831,56	19 050,79	17 920,97	20 105,73	19 942,79	19 997,03
Croatia	13 235,13	14 840,69	14 057,91	15 066,26	16 227,37	16 188,06	16 038,17	18 365,06	21 324,39	23 925,47	22 665,51	25 226,00	24 864,95	23 429,11
Czech Republic	17 844,68	19 843,70	19 368,65	21 038,34	22 394,57	22 132,37	22 384,12	26 737,19	31 023,27	34 257,09	32 407,14	35 934,32	34 880,46	33 871,85
Estonia	15 069,65	16 174,84	14 286,99	16 312,96	18 962,86	19 667,05	19 948,30	23 811,12	26 700,64	29 716,11	28 231,16	31 665,99	30 813,61	30 645,84
Georgia	4 623,85	5 059,23	4 874,00	5 707,46	6 455,74	7 433,80	7 707,65	9 522,28	11 063,52	12 202,83	11 343,33	12 750,16	12 718,34	11 993,20
Hungary	12 968,03	14 703,33	14 462,75	16 412,84	17 790,34	17 608,64	17 836,28	21 141,13	24 532,33	26 522,59	24 624,58	27 877,98	27 283,51	26 926,11
Latvia	12 381,93	13 884,22	11 877,13	13 360,73	14 863,44	16 107,08	16 443,44	19 591,35	22 854,10	25 359,19	23 933,82	26 972,95	25 955,21	25 629,11
Lithuania	12 964,50	14 698,45	12 639,68	15 164,00	17 671,43	18 689,33	19 408,69	23 185,11	26 388,12	29 348,30	28 181,03	31 776,78	31 374,89	31 651,49
Montenegro	8 459,38	9 800,78	9 085,29	10 289,06	11 175,50	10 488,59	10 800,64	12 644,61	14 947,17	17 271,39	16 428,79	18 793,16	18 782,77	16 272,91
Poland	11 408,45	12 983,48	13 423,31	15 900,28	17 627,32	17 964,57	17 844,12	20 956,66	24 583,07	26 877,97	25 094,84	27 912,90	27 513,75	27 912,01
Romania	9 301,81	11 904,47	11 603,72	12 809,44	13 819,33	14 275,58	14 368,21	16 993,41	19 772,80	23 033,87	22 655,34	25 632,03	25 942,29	26 131,17
Serbia	7 628,95	8 960,57	8 744,70	9 656,93	10 615,24	10 541,51	10 625,49	12 059,26	13 661,94	15 049,50	13 865,22	15 477,63	15 322,77	15 543,75
Slovakia	14 409,15	16 829,94	16 102,87	19 091,80	20 189,59	20 342,11	20 275,81	23 798,01	27 422,67	28 134,10	25 092,38	27 267,82	26 023,01	25 526,35
Slovenia	18 719,03	20 999,80	19 212,54	20 996,76	22 340,52	21 972,06	21 770,80	25 394,30	28 944,91	32 205,64	30 472,85	34 035,24	33 108,94	32 339,14
Ukraine	6 106,49	6 685,94	5 648,13	6 458,19	7 140,26	7 342,49	8 070,29	8 837,89	9 301,99	10 579,75	9 900,01	11 035,80	10 864,97	10 627,49
	11 408,45	12 983,48	11 877,13	13 360,73	14 863,44	16 107,08	16 038,17	18 365,06	21 324,39	23 925,47	22 665,51	25 632,03	25 942,29	25 526,35
Destination	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017			
Albania	38	118	114	126	91	165	206	57	88	49	7			
Bosnia and Herze	73	91	127	48	66	76	0	107	78	114	14			
Bulgaria	261	268	361	408	292	595	325	267	234	260	14			
Croatia	25	11	21	18	28	22	2	77	35	59	49			
Czech Republic	79	52	65	135	93	96	42	79	47	54	22	high HT, but high GDP		
Estonia	0	1	3	4	8	4	1	7	29	14	18	LOW HT, but low GDP		
Georgia	12	11	10	4	3	5	1	6	5	3	3			
Hungary	115	113	125	249	410	393	268	140	141	124	19	high HT, but high GDP		
Latvia	0	15	37	42	39	14	36	17	11	47	28			
Lithuania	70	60	51	94	55	90	61	51	87	45	0			
Montenegro	0	0	0	1	3	10	1	3	7	4	2	LOW HT, but low GDP		
Poland	79	65	68	276	335	264	159	310	295	332	168	high HT, but high GDP		
Romania	355	755	1055	871	511	749	712	787	634	619	22			
Serbia	172	94	181	162	164	114	117	53	59	76	26			
Slovakia	27	69	120	155	87	66	74	130	82	64	46	high HT, but high GDP		
Slovenia	0	35	8	35	26	17	37	7	50	30	37			
Ukraine	129	116	159	329	200	437	233	119	115	251	147			
MEDIAN	70	65	68	126	87	90	61	77	78	59	22			
Romania, compar	5,07	11,62	15,51	6,91	5,87	8,32	11,67	10,22	8,13	10,49	1			
Bulgaria, compar	3,73	4,12	5,31	3,24	3,36	6,61	5,33	3,47	3	4,41	0,64			
AVERAGE	84,41	110,24	147,35	173,94	141,82	183,35	133,82	130,41	117,47	126,18	36,59			

¹⁰² “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹⁰³ GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

Table 5: Merger (2007-2017)¹⁰⁴¹⁰⁵

Years	31/12/2007	31/12/2008	31/12/2009	31/12/2010	31/12/2011	31/12/2012	31/12/2013	31/12/2014	31/12/2015	31/12/2016	31/12/2017	
Albania	38	118	114	126	91	165	206	57	88	49	7	
Albania	4945	5836	6148	7265	7882	7963	7678	9262	10669	11462	10659	
Bosnia and Herze	73	91	127	48	66	76	0	107	78	114	14	
Bosnia and Herze	5565	6404	6299	7053	7703	7795	8001	9405	10991	12405	11480	
Bulgaria	261	268	361	408	292	595	325	267	234	260	14	
Bulgaria	8698	10169	9893	11285	12159	12352	12091	14492	16831	19050	17920	
Croatia	25	11	21	18	28	22	2	77	35	59	49	
Croatia	13235	14840	14057	15066	16227	16188	16038	18365	21324	23925	22665	
Czech Republic	79	52	65	135	93	96	42	79	47	54	22	
Czech Republic	17844	19843	19368	21038	22394	22132	22384	26737	31023	34257	32407	
Estonia	0	1	3	4	8	4	1	7	29	14	18	
Estonia	15069	16174	14286	16312	18962	19667	19948	23811	26700	29716	28231	
Georgia	12	11	10	4	3	5	1	6	5	3	3	
Georgia	4623	5059	4873	5707	6455	7433	7707	9522	11063	12202	11343	
Hungary	115	113	125	249	410	393	268	140	141	124	19	
Hungary	12968	14703	14462	16412	17790	17608	17836	21141	24532	26522	24624	
Latvia	0	15	37	42	39	14	36	17	11	47	28	
Latvia	12381	13884	11877	13360	14863	16107	16443	19591	22854	25359	23933	
Lithuania	70	60	51	94	55	90	61	51	87	45	0	
Lithuania	12964	14698	12639	15163	17671	18689	19408	23185	26388	29348	28181	
Montenegro	0	0	0	1	3	10	1	3	7	4	2	
Montenegro	8459	9800	9085	10289	11175	10488	10800	12644	14947	17271	16428	
Poland	79	65	68	276	335	264	159	310	295	332	168	
Poland	11408	12983	13423	15900	17627	17964	17844	20956	24583	26877	25094	
Romania	355	755	1055	871	511	749	712	787	634	619	22	
Romania	9301	11904	11603	12809	13819	14275	14368	16993	19772	23033	22655	
Serbia	172	94	181	162	164	114	117	53	59	76	26	
Serbia	7628	8960	8744	9656	10615	10541	10625	12059	13661	15049	13865	
Slovakia	27	69	120	155	87	66	74	130	82	64	46	
Slovakia	14409	16829	16102	19091	20189	20342	20275	23798	27422	28134	25092	
Slovenia	0	35	8	35	26	17	37	7	50	30	37	
Slovenia	18719	20999	19212	20996	22340	21972	21770	25394	28944	32205	30472	
Ukraine	129	116	159	329	200	437	233	119	115	251	147	
Ukraine	6106	6685	5648	6458	7140	7342	8070	8837	9301	10579	9900	
Years	Albania	Albania	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Bulgaria	Bulgaria	Croatia	Croatia	Czech Republic	Czech Republic	Estonia	Estonia
31/12/2007	38	4945	73	5565	261	8698	25	13235	79	17844	0	15069
31/12/2008	118	5836	91	6404	268	10169	11	14840	52	19843	1	16174
31/12/2009	114	6148	127	6299	361	9893	21	14057	65	19368	3	14286
31/12/2010	126	7265	48	7053	408	11285	18	15066	135	21038	4	16312
31/12/2011	91	7882	66	7703	292	12159	28	16227	93	22394	8	18962
31/12/2012	165	7963	76	7795	595	12352	22	16188	96	22132	4	19667
31/12/2013	206	7678	0	8001	325	12091	2	16038	42	22384	1	19948
31/12/2014	57	9262	107	9405	267	14492	77	18365	79	26737	7	23811
31/12/2015	88	10669	78	10991	234	16831	35	21324	47	31023	29	26700
31/12/2016	49	11462	114	12405	260	19050	59	23925	54	34257	14	29716
31/12/2017	7	10659	14	11480	14	17920	49	22665	22	32407	18	28231
Years	Georgia	Georgia	Hungary	Hungary	Latvia	Latvia	Lithuania	Lithuania	Montenegro	Montenegro	Poland	Poland
31/12/2007	12	4623	115	12968	0	12381	70	12964	0	8459	79	11408
31/12/2008	11	5059	113	14703	15	13884	60	14698	0	9800	65	12983
31/12/2009	10	4873	125	14462	37	11877	51	12639	0	9085	68	13423
31/12/2010	4	5707	249	16412	42	13360	94	15163	1	10289	276	15900
31/12/2011	3	6455	410	17790	39	14863	55	17671	3	11175	335	17627
31/12/2012	5	7433	393	17608	14	16107	90	18689	10	10488	264	17964
31/12/2013	1	7707	268	17836	36	16443	61	19408	1	10800	159	17844
31/12/2014	6	9522	140	21141	17	19591	51	23185	3	12644	310	20956
31/12/2015	5	11063	141	24532	11	22854	87	26388	7	14947	295	24583
31/12/2016	3	12202	124	26522	47	25359	45	29348	4	17271	332	26877
31/12/2017	3	11343	19	24624	28	23933	0	28181	2	16428	168	25094
Years	Romania	Romania	Serbia	Serbia	Slovakia	Slovakia	Slovenia	Slovenia	Ukraine	Ukraine		
31/12/2007	355	9301	172	7628	27	14409	0	18719	129	6106		
31/12/2008	755	11904	94	8960	69	16829	35	20999	116	6685		
31/12/2009	1055	11603	181	8744	120	16102	8	19212	159	5648		
31/12/2010	871	12809	162	9656	155	19091	35	20996	329	6458		
31/12/2011	511	13819	164	10615	87	20189	26	22340	200	7140		
31/12/2012	749	14275	114	10541	66	20342	17	21972	437	7342		
31/12/2013	712	14368	117	10625	74	20275	37	21770	233	8070		
31/12/2014	787	16993	53	12059	130	23798	7	25394	119	8837		
31/12/2015	634	19772	59	13661	82	27422	50	28944	115	9301		
31/12/2016	619	23033	76	15049	64	28134	30	32205	251	10579		
31/12/2017	22	22655	26	13865	46	25092	37	30472	147	9900		

¹⁰⁴ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹⁰⁵ GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

Table 6: Albania – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹⁰⁶¹⁰⁷

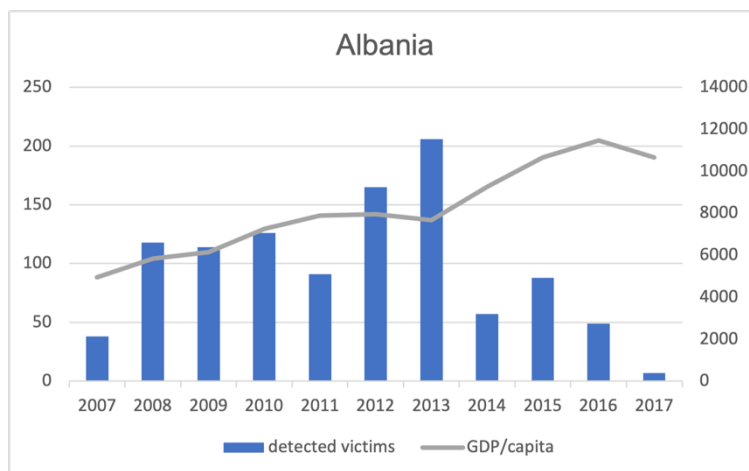
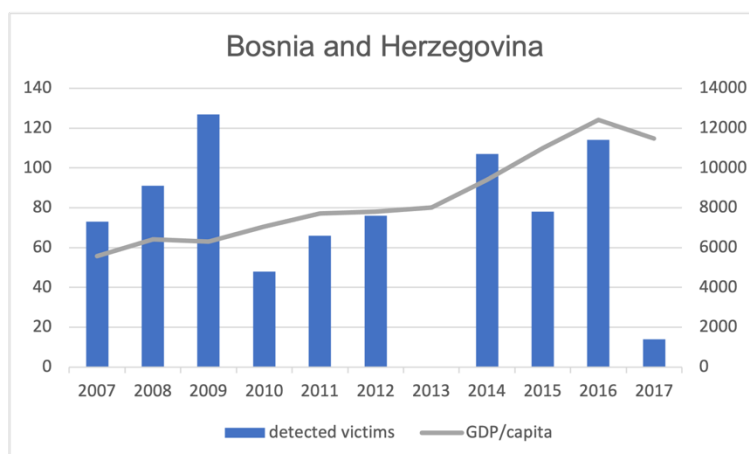


Table 7: Bosnia and Herzegovina – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹⁰⁸¹⁰⁹



¹⁰⁶ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹⁰⁷ “GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

¹⁰⁸ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹⁰⁹ “GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

Table 8: Bulgaria – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹¹⁰¹¹¹

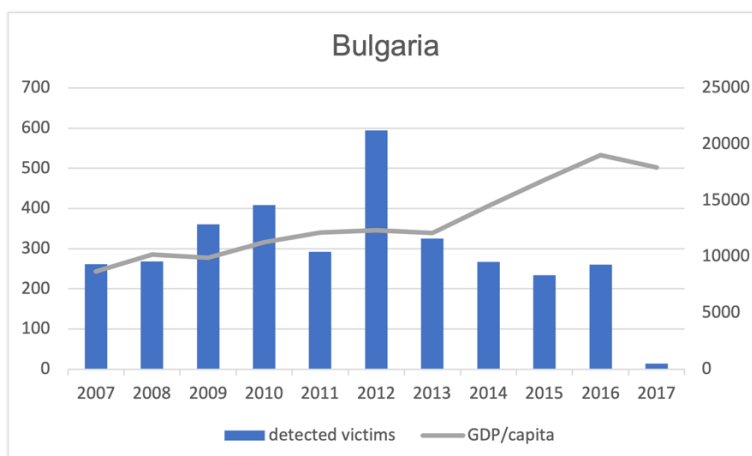
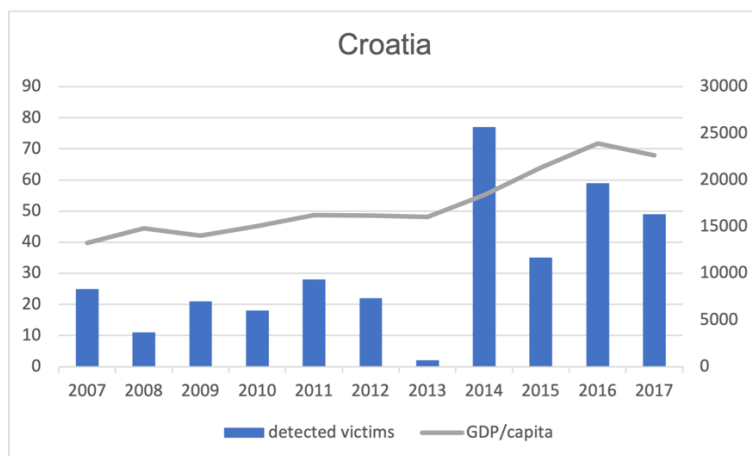


Table 9: Croatia – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹¹²¹¹³



¹¹⁰ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” *UNODC*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹¹¹ “GDP per capita, PPP,” *World Bank*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

¹¹² “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” *UNODC*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹¹³ “GDP per capita, PPP,” *World Bank*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

Table 10: Czech Republic – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹¹⁴¹¹⁵

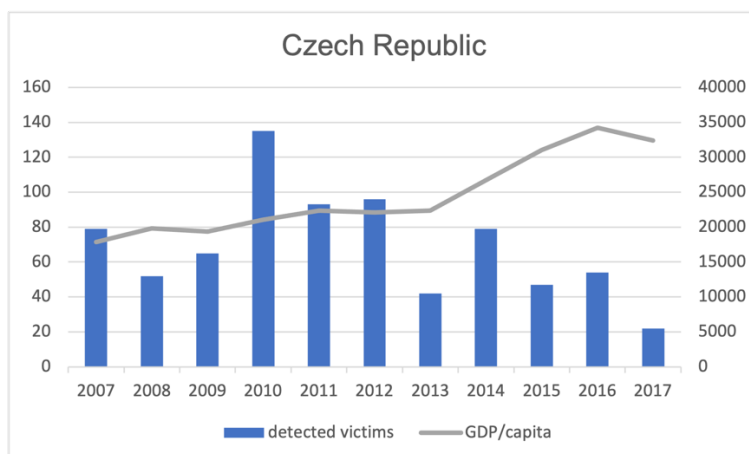
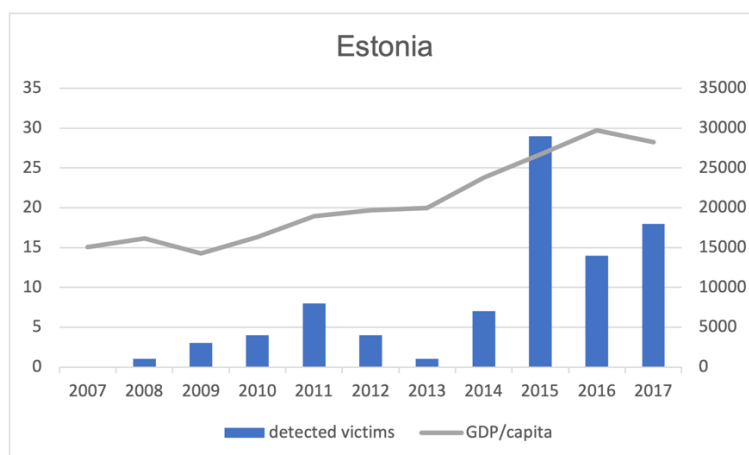


Table 11: Estonia – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹¹⁶¹¹⁷



¹¹⁴ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹¹⁵ “GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

¹¹⁶ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹¹⁷ “GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

Table 12: Georgia – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹¹⁸¹¹⁹

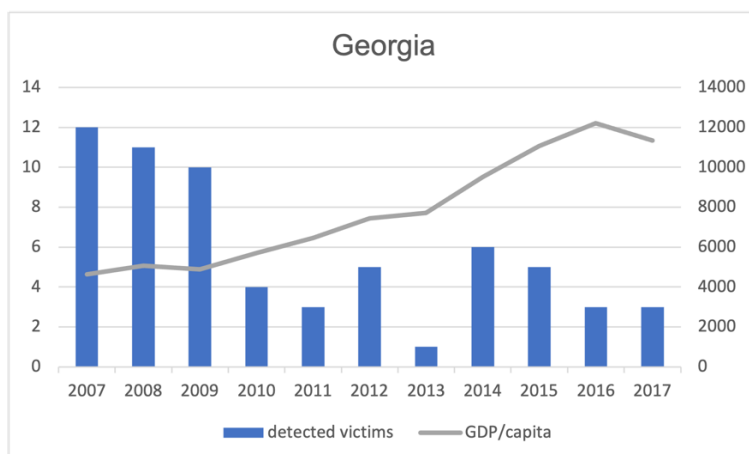
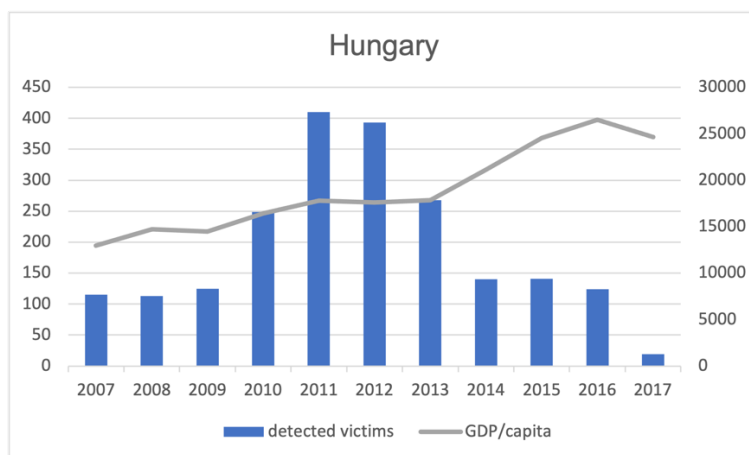


Table 13: Hungary – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹²⁰¹²¹



¹¹⁸ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹¹⁹ “GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

¹²⁰ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹²¹ “GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

Table 14: Latvia – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹²²¹²³

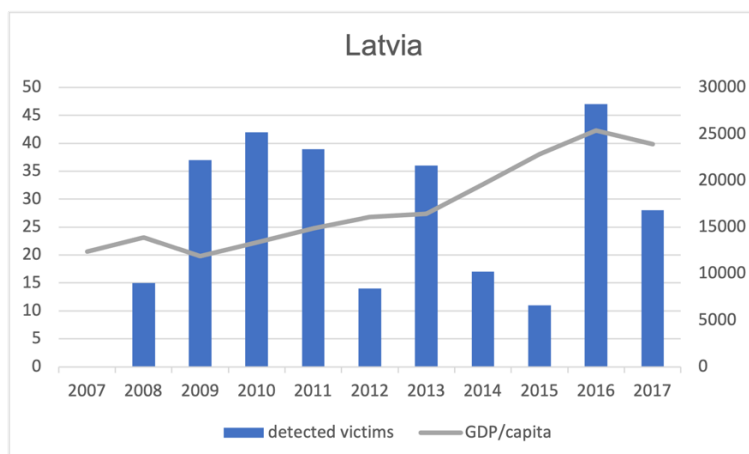
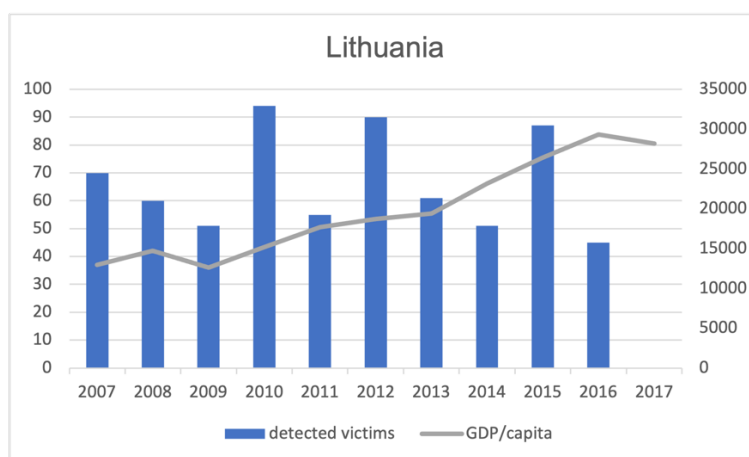


Table 15: Lithuania – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹²⁴¹²⁵



¹²² “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹²³ “GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

¹²⁴ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹²⁵ “GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

Table 16: Montenegro – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹²⁶¹²⁷

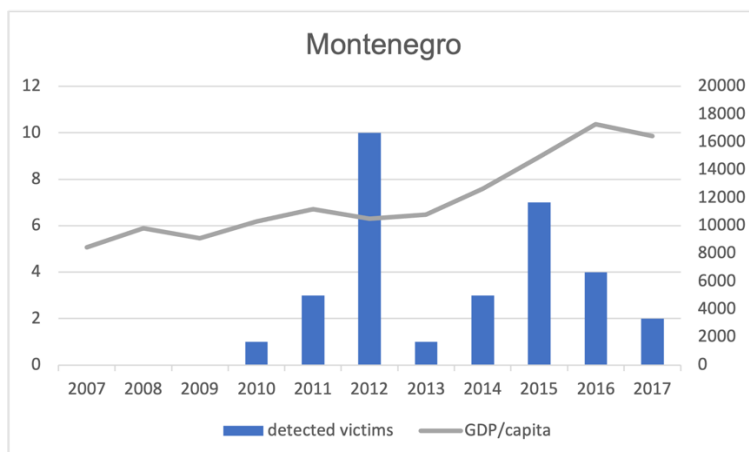
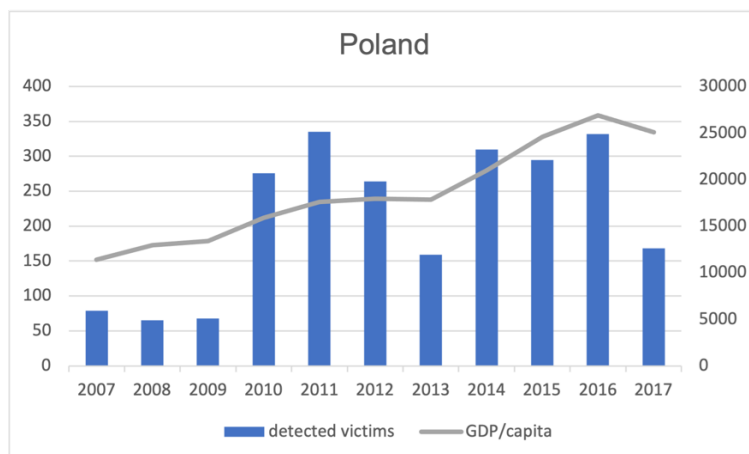


Table 17: Poland – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹²⁸¹²⁹



¹²⁶ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹²⁷ “GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

¹²⁸ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹²⁹ “GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

Table 18: Romania – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹³⁰¹³¹

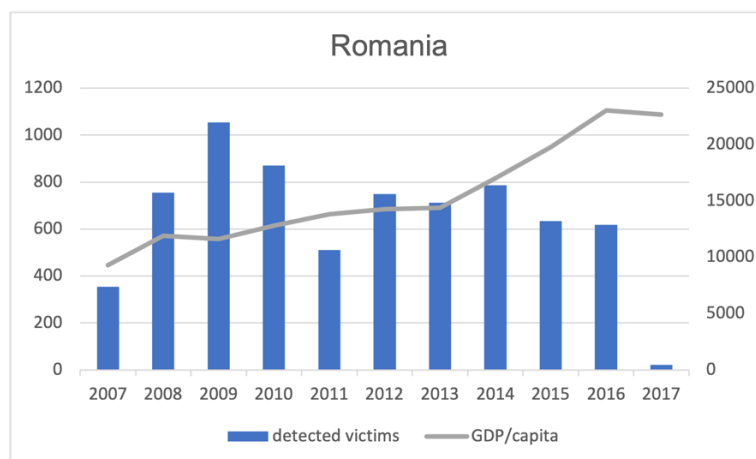
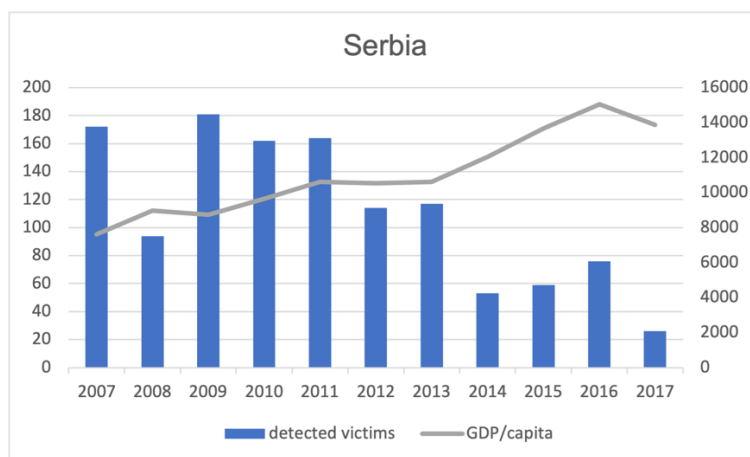


Table 19: Serbia – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹³²¹³³



¹³⁰ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹³¹ “GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

¹³² “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” UNODC, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹³³ “GDP per capita, PPP,” World Bank, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

Table 20: Slovakia – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹³⁴¹³⁵

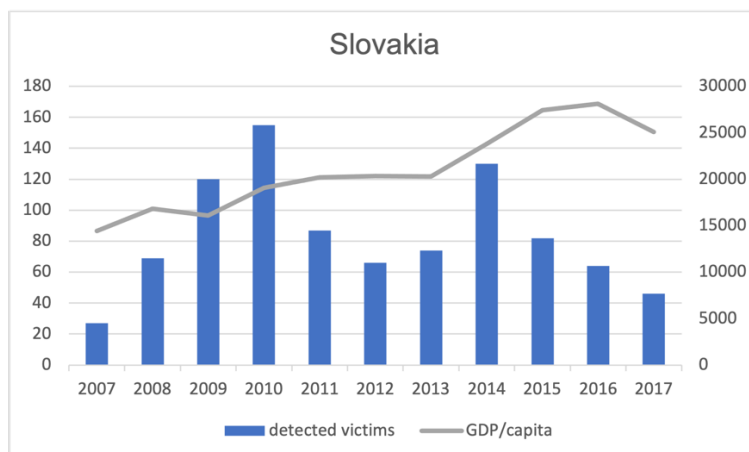
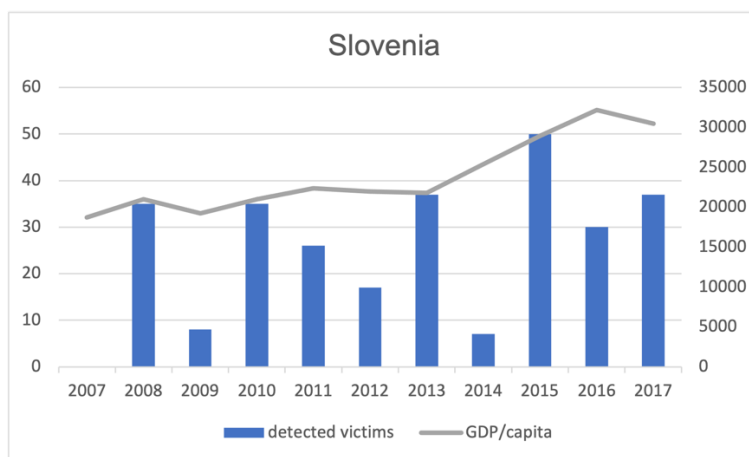


Table 21: Slovenia – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹³⁶¹³⁷



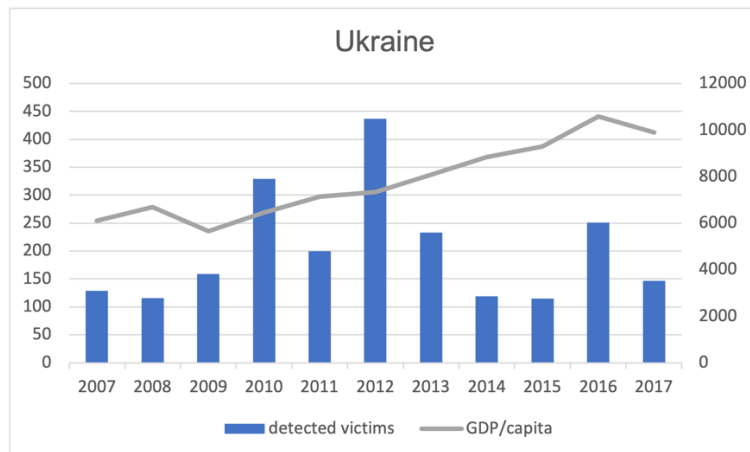
¹³⁴ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” *UNODC*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹³⁵ “GDP per capita, PPP,” *World Bank*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

¹³⁶ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” *UNODC*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹³⁷ “GDP per capita, PPP,” *World Bank*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.

Table 22: Ukraine – detected victims and GDP/capita (2007-2017)¹³⁸¹³⁹



¹³⁸ “Detected Victims by Citizenship,” *UNODC*, last accessed June 4, 2022, <https://dataunodc.un.org/data/TIP/Detected%20victims%20by%20citizenship>.

¹³⁹ “GDP per capita, PPP,” *World Bank*, last accessed June 4, 2022, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.PP.CD?year_high_desc=true.