



TRACE

T**R**afficking as A Criminal Enterprise



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report stands as Deliverable 1.2 of the TRACE (Trafficking as A Criminal Enterprise) project: a two-year EU funded research project on human trafficking.¹

The deliverable offers a review of the way in which, human trafficking is framed within the news media - incorporating case studies from the United Kingdom, Cyprus and Poland. Tacking stock of press articles over the course of the years 2010 – 2014 the report summarises the findings and answers three central questions: (i) How does the news media frame human trafficking? (ii) Is there much discourse on European policy and legislation? (iii) What perception of human trafficking is the public likely to retain? To answer these questions 212 articles from ten newspapers were analysed.

The report begins by discussing the methodology used, namely qualitative media analysis. Subsequently there is a literature review of what the academia and other reports have had to say on the topic. In brief, the literature suggests that there is an imbalance between the way human trafficking is portrayed in the media and the reality on the ground. In particular, it is suggested that there is a preference in focusing on human trafficking for sexual exploitation and reliance on ‘shocking’ stories that draw in the readers. Following on from the literature review is a discussion of the results of the qualitative analysis. A review cannot be realised however, without understanding the background to the case study (what is the state of human trafficking in the given country and what is the news press context) as such an analysis of the situation of human trafficking along with the state of the media within the case study country precedes each analysis. The report concludes with a discussion of key findings and comments on the possible implications of these findings.

Overall the report finds that the dominant discourse surrounding human trafficking in the press concerns a focus on sexual exploitation, and particularly prostitution. While the case study of Cyprus did not show this, the British and Polish media also framed human trafficking as a matter of immigration. In the tabloid style press we also observed a heavy reliance on sensational stories such as arrests and court cases with a common thread of high level of detail about anything that may shock or outrage the reader. Our findings show that articles exploring the social issues and complex underlying problems of human trafficking were few and far between. The explicit mention of the European Union, in any context (whether legal or policy related), was also scarce. Without presenting the public with an in-depth discourse on human trafficking (that captures more than just ‘shocking’ stories surrounding sexual exploitation) the public's understanding of the extent and nature of the problem relating to the human trafficking is likely to be inaccurate, and may as a consequence have little impact on the fight to combat human trafficking. However, we also noted that the amount of articles in all three countries combined with the sensationalist style of writing could have a positive affect on raising awareness of the fact that human trafficking is a prominent issue in Europe.

¹ TRACE, <http://trace-project.eu/>, accessed 18th September 2014

1 INTRODUCTION

Trafficking in human beings (THB) has become a prominent topic for governments, international organisations, civil societies and citizens. Within Europe responses to the increasing numbers of human trafficking cases have come in the form of a surge of policy and legal developments at a national and Union level. Whilst Deliverable 1.1 (A review of the implementation of the EU strategy on human trafficking by EU Members: D1.1) of the TRACE project scrutinises these policy and legal progressions, this deliverable aims to compliment the research from D1.1 by examining how human trafficking is framed within the European news media. This study uses the European Union definition of human trafficking as found in Article 2 of Directive 2011/36/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council:²

The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or reception of persons, including the exchange or transfer of control over those persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.

Scholars have for some time occupied themselves with understanding the role of the news media in society. Some perceive journalists as the ‘guardians of the public interest’³ who seek the truth and portray the news objectively. This school of thought falls within the traditional concept of the media as the fourth estate; indicating that journalism is an independent sphere of social influence reporting facts fairly and acting as an influence for social good.⁴ On the other end of the spectrum, Chomsky and Hermann find that aside from rare evidence, there is little to prove such statements.⁵ However, given the demand for delivering news to citizens, it is arguable that whether truthful, objective and pluralistic or biased and unfair, the media are able to steer discussions, and consequently yield the power to influence public opinion and policy.

When developing a news item, each news story includes elements such as: background information, facts, sources, opinion and tone. The decisions with regards to each of these elements will have a potentially powerful consequence on how the issue (in this case that of human trafficking) is discussed and understood by the readers. Schnell and Callaghan argue that: ‘By selectively choosing to cover one side or both sides of an issue, putting forth their own interpretation, simplifying events or stories, or by simply allocating greater coverage to one issue over another, the media act as gatekeepers, advocates, and interpreters of political themes and information. Journalists and editors draw maps or internal story patterns for their readers, and these maps or frames cognitively serve to structure the public debate, influence readers’ level of

² European Parliament and the Council, Directive 2011/36/EU of 15.04.2011 on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims, and replacing Council Framework Decision 2002/629/JHA,

³ Sparrow, Bartholomew H.. *Uncertain guardians: The news media as a political institution*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1999.

⁴ Stockwell, S., “Beyond the Fourth Estate: Democracy, Deliberation and Journalism Theory”, *Australian Journalism Review*, Vol. 21, No.1, 1999, pp. 37-49.

⁵ Chomsky, Noam. and Edward Hermann, *Manufacturing discontent: The political economy of The mass media*, Pantheon, New York, 1988.

information, and attribute policy responsibility.’⁶ It is because the media is such a key influence in society that this report is devoted to this topic in an entirety.

The control exercised by the media leads to questions about their power in determining the discourse on human trafficking, and on issues of EU and national policy in fighting this crime. Moreover, acknowledging the presence of the topic of human trafficking in news media, it is key to examine the framing in order to highlight any positive or negative developments.

As such this report aims to, by use of qualitative media analysis, scrutinise how the image of human trafficking is portrayed to the public by the news media. The precise questions for analysis include:

- i. How does the news media in Europe frame human trafficking?
- ii. Is there much discourse on European policy and legislation?
- iii. What perception of human trafficking is the public likely to retain?

The study is designed to provide evidence-based conclusions about the media portrayal of THB, upon which stakeholders, including police makers and academics, can draw. The deliverable should be particularly useful to policy-makers, scholars and also the media themselves. Human trafficking is one of the most clandestine crimes, the more visibility it gets the higher the chances of rescuing victims and preventing the wrongdoings associated with THB; as such it is in the policy maker’s interest that the crime receives appropriate visibility in the media. In addition the news media offer scholars a source of data that may provide a different picture to the official channels and may shed light on issues not undiscovered by formal government and NGO reports. Lastly, this deliverable can provide a starting point for future research, which could include further case studies and analysis of a wider range of news media sources in order to gain a broader picture.

The report is divided into a number of chapters; it begins by discussing the methodology used. Subsequently, there is a literature review of what the academia and other reports have had to say on the topic. A discussion of the results of the qualitative analysis follows the literature review, including a brief overview of the problem of human trafficking in each of the case studies (including the scale of human trafficking and the laws adopted to fight it), as well as an overview of the presence of the press in the case study (including types of available papers, styles and relation to government). Finally, the report draws conclusions that a dominant discourse surrounding human trafficking in the press concerns a focus on sexual exploitation. In addition, “sensational” stories are disproportionately reported at the expense of educational and through provoking discourses. Little comment is made on EU policy and legislation.

⁶ Schnell, Karen and Callaghan, Frauke, “Assessing the Democratic Debate: How the News Media Frame Elite Policy Discourse”, *Political Communication*, Vol. 18, 2001, pp183-212, p.187

2 METHODOLOGY

The present chapter describes the methodology used in this deliverable. The research process chosen is a qualitative media analysis method, also known as qualitative document analysis. David Altheide, a sociologist specialising in qualitative methodology, expansively advances this methodology in his work⁷ and encourages the approach in the study of documents or content. Such documents include media news and deal with the symbolic representations that can be analysed. In brief, this methodology allows for a detailed description of the news media, coupled with a scrutiny of the meaning embedded within the documents.

Figure 1: The process of qualitative data analysis.

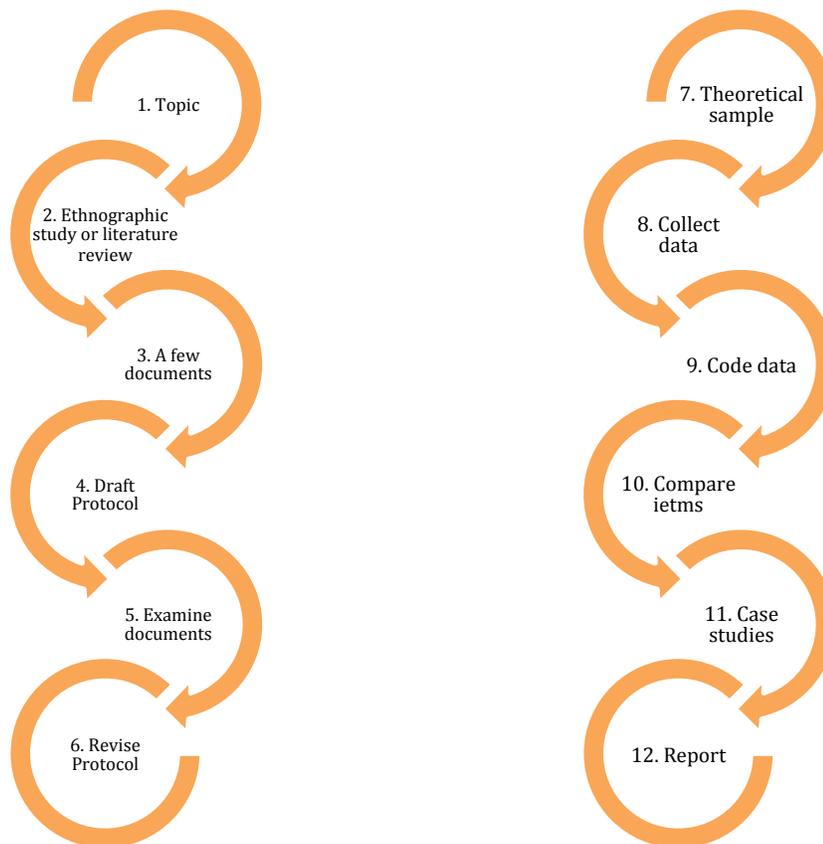


Figure 1 summarises the 12 steps used in the analysis. **Steps one, two and three** required us to select the problem, become familiar with the process and the context of information source and lastly select a unit of analysis. **1. Topic:** As already outlined above the research problem is made up of three questions: (i) How does the news media frame human trafficking? (ii) Is there much discourse on European policy and legislation? (iii) What perception of human trafficking is the public likely to retain? **2. Ethnographic study or literature review:** Involved the examination of various newspapers and video clips in order to explore the sources. Consequently, and as part

⁷ Altheide, David L., *Qualitative Media Analysis*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California, 1996

of step **3. A few documents**, the unit of analysis was chosen to be individual articles – the availability and accessibility of these data sources contributed to this decision.

Steps four, five and six involved building a protocol: “in general terms, a protocol is a way to ask questions of a document; a protocol is a list of questions, items, categories, or variables that guide data collection from document”.⁸ The protocol was drafted as part of step **4. Draft protocol** and the final version is included in Appendix 1. As part of step **5. Examine documents** and step **6. Revise Protocol**, the protocol was tested and revised. For example, we originally included the name of the author of each article analysed however it was then noted that this was: (a) unnecessary and (b) not always available, and consequently changes to the protocol were implemented.

Of importance to answering the protocol questions was to define the term “frame”. ‘Frames are like the border around a picture that separates it from the wall and from other possibilities.’⁹ In other words, a frame is the lens through which one views an issue. An example of framing is treating human trafficking as a subject of human rights, organised crime, immigration or prostitution. By presenting an issue in the news, journalists often place the topic in a recognisable framework so that the audience can comprehend the story.

In completing step **7. Theoretical sample**, we arrived at theoretical sampling where we selected materials. The first phase of this step included narrowing the focus:

Geographical focus area

We selected three European Union countries: United Kingdom, Cyprus and Poland. Cyprus was chosen because of its presence in the most notable human trafficking case: Rantsev V Cyprus and Russia. The United Kingdom is currently redrafting its legislation on human trafficking and thus makes an interesting case study. Lastly, Poland was chosen due to its status as country of origin and its geographical positioning (it has external borders to the EU). The three countries were also selected according to: a country of origin, transit and destination – this is consistent with the remainder of the project, which seeks to develop a broad understanding of the THB problem and thus includes analysis of case studies of countries with different associations to human trafficking.¹⁰

Date range

The research was conducted for the period 2010 – present day. We selected the year 2010 as a start date because of its significance in the domain of human trafficking: on 7 January 2010 the European Court of Human Rights issued a historic first judgment concerning cross border human trafficking in Europe. Aside from the decisive case the year 2010 also preceded Directive 2011/36/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 April 2011 on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Protecting its Victims.

The second phase included the selection of articles for analysis using the date range explained above. For the UK case study we used a sample of news reports from two broadsheet newspapers and one tabloid: The Guardian, The Telegraph and The Mirror. All three papers have a high circulation and reach a wide audience, however they attract different audiences. The relevant articles were obtained by conducting a search in the publishing’s search facility. The

⁸ Altheide, David, L., and Christopher Schneider, *Qualitative Media Analysis*, Sage, Los Angeles, 2013. [p. 44]

⁹ Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁰ TRACE, “Objectives”, available at <http://trace-project.eu/objectives/> accessed 2nd September 2014.

keywords used included: human trafficking, forced labour, child trafficking and slavery. In total, a sample of 77 articles was examined according to the protocol in Annex 1.

For the Cypriot case study, we studied three daily newspapers namely, Politis, Phileleftheros, and Cyprus Mail. The former two are published in Greek, whereas the latter is published in English. This selection was based on the degree of readership; the noted newspapers are reported to receive the highest percentages of readership (from Greek and English speakers respectively) on the island. In all, 58 articles were examined according to the protocol in Annex 1. In order to reach these articles, we accessed the archives of the three newspapers for the interim between 2010 and 2014, and searched their databases by entering the eight following key terms: human trafficking, sexual exploitation, forced labour, prostitution, pimping, child trafficking and forced marriages.

For the Polish case study we analysed three national daily papers: Gazeta Wyborcza, Rzeczpospolita and Fakt. In addition we also analysed Newsweek, a national weekly magazine. The selection was based on the broad readership. The keywords used were: human trafficking, forced labour, child trafficking and slavery (in Polish). In total, a sample of 75 articles was examined according to the protocol in Annex 1. The papers selected in the three countries were similar in that they attract a wide readership, have an online presence and their spectrums represent different political sides.

As part of step **8. Collect data**, we collected the data in line with the protocol – this included attaching an empty copy of the protocol to each article and filling out the protocol accordingly. This fed into step **9. Code data**, through which we aimed to understand the documents, what characterises them and what they represent. In step **10. Compare items** we compared and contrasted the articles. Completing steps nine and ten allowed us to conclude and integrate our findings into this report, which make up step **11. Case studies** and step **12. Report**.

We acknowledge limitations encountered in the use of the above-described method. Firstly, we sampled three out of 28 EU countries, which prevented us from obtaining a full picture of the ways in which the news media portray human trafficking across the European Union. Furthermore, due to licencing restrictions we were limited to use the search archives of newspapers and relied on key words; this meant that same stories appeared several times, when they were covered multiple times. In addition some stories could turn out to be irrelevant or very short. Owing to language barriers we relied on three researchers who could read and code articles written in different languages; this could have acted as a limitation. Relying on one analyst would have provided him/her with an opportunity to get an overall “feel” of the style of framing across all case studies. However, relying on the protocol and asking the same questions has meant that this limitation was rectified to a certain extent. With regard to the protocol itself, some limitations may have arisen due to the specific information we chose to code; which could potentially lead to arbitrary information concluded. However, the topics chosen for coding are frequently discussed with human trafficking issues, thus reducing the arbitrariness of the protocol. All in all, we appreciate there can be a margin of error in our analysis of the manner in which the European news media portray THB however, this is likely to be small and the conclusion still provides interesting and important findings.

3 LITERATURE REVIEW

In 2010 Gulati presented a content analysis of human trafficking related articles from the American, British and Canadian press.¹¹ He concluded that the media conceptualised the trafficking problem in terms of sex trafficking and commonly do not represent the various viewpoints on the issue, relying almost exclusively on government officials and law enforcement personnel as sources. Other scholars echo Gulati's concerns. In 2002 Cheng studied the Fox I-team report, which exposed the U.S.A military in Korea as being actively involved in a transnational network of trafficking women into sexual slavery.¹² In his article he notes that the media has a tendency to over-simplify the problem of sex trafficking. Roth also looked at the U.S.A and specified that on the whole, news outlets provide very little coverage of human trafficking issues and that when they do, coverage is scattered, piecemeal and lacking focus on solutions.¹³

Dugan, who scrutinised the coverage of human trafficking and forced labour in UK media in 2012 on behalf of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, also reported the disproportionate reporting of sex trafficking, with little focus on domestic servitude.¹⁴ In Poland the picture of human trafficking as portrayed in the press was analysed by Koss-Goryszewska, who reached a number of conclusions.¹⁵ Amongst her findings she noted that sexual exploitation is widely covered in news media, as it is an issue that arouses attention amongst readers.¹⁶ In addition in the Polish press human trafficking stories are written about in the context of criminality and migration.¹⁷ The latter, Koss-Goryszewska explains is a result of the fact that human trafficking is a transnational crime in which citizens of more than one country are often involved. She also reflected on the fact that few articles cover NGO's or international body's efforts to combat human trafficking and protect victims.¹⁸

Doezema focused on media reports regarding the trafficking of Thai women to a Toronto brothel. In her work she inclusively claims that the themes in the media coverage of human trafficking echo those of the White Slavery coverage: traffickers are portrayed as foreign mafias.¹⁹

¹¹ Gulati, J., "Media Representation of Human Trafficking in the United States, Great Britain, and Canada", July 2010. Available online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1633574>, accessed on 20 August 2014.

¹² Cheng, S., "Muckraking and stories untold: Ethnography meets journalism on trafficked women and the U.S. military", *Sexuality Research & Social Policy*, Vol. 5, Issue 4, 2008, pp... 6-18.

¹³ McCoy, Roth, M., "How Social Injustices Fail to Reach the Public Agenda: A Case Study of Human Trafficking." *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Hilton Chicago and the Palmer House Hilton, Chicago, IL, Sep 02, 2004*, available at http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/6/0/8/4/pages60841/p60841-1.php, accessed 18th August 2014, p.4.

¹⁴ Dugan, Emily, "Forced Labour And Human Trafficking: Media Coverage In 2012", June 2013, available at <http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/forced-labour-media-coverage-full.pdf> accessed 18th August 2014, p.3.

¹⁵ Maryla Koss-Goryszewska, *Wizerunek handle ludźmi I kobiety-ofiary w prairie polskiej na przykladzie Gazety Wyborczej*, Instytut Spraw Publicznych, Warsaw, 2010, available at <http://www.isp.org.pl/files/19734635060162107001278326109.pdf> accessed 3rd September 2014

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.3

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.11

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.12

¹⁹ Doezenia, J., "Loose women or lost women? The re-emergence of the myth of white slavery in contemporary discourses of trafficking in women", *Gender Issues*, Vol.18, Issue:1, pp. 23-50.

The University of Queensland, Australia found that press coverage of THB is predominantly ‘hard news’ stories that reproduce facts and figures and do not offer insight into the topic.²⁰ Part of the reason for the lack of investigative journalism and in-depth analysis, they explain, could lie in the budget cuts that the press has had to invoke due to economic recession and increased competition. The Queensland study also noted that: ‘several articles were sensationalist in their discussion of trafficking. As journalists from all mediums seek to capture the reader’s attention, headlines and lead paragraphs in particular often employ the use of buzz words such as ‘sex slaves’, and emphasise the lurid nature of the sex industry, organised crime, and slavery, rather than providing a balanced contemplation of factors such as the driving forces behind the trafficking of persons.’²¹

On considering the (available) literature it would appear that the discourses in the media overlook the serious, albeit complex, issues of human trafficking and instead, rely on held stereotypes to draw in the reader. Building on existing work discussed here, this Deliverable seeks to present findings from a study of the press in three European countries to explore how human trafficking is framed, and whether increasing emphasis on THB in the political arena has influenced this framing.

²⁰ The University of Queensland, “Human Trafficking in the Media” available at <http://www.law.uq.edu.au/human-trafficking-in-the-media#ref1> accessed 18th August 2014.

²¹ Ibid.

4 THE UNITED KINGDOM

This chapter presents our analysis of how human trafficking is framed within news media publications in the United Kingdom. At the outset we provide a brief introduction of human trafficking within the UK as well as a brief summary of the current state of the UK press.

4.1 TRAFFICKING IN HUMAN BEINGS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Figures from the National Referral Mechanism (NRM)²² from 1 April 2009 (when the NRM was established) to 30 June 2011, reveal that 565 individuals were recognised as a victim of human trafficking.²³ These victims are both foreign and UK nationals; sixty UK nationals were referred to the NRM between April 2009 and June 2011.²⁴ However, despite these figures a quarter of British nationals are unaware that human trafficking exists in the UK.²⁵

At the time of writing this report there is no single coherent UK law against human trafficking, rather, various types of the crimes involved in the act of THB are covered under an assortment of legislation. Noteworthy, the UK legislation does not provide a definition for human trafficking; however the government has cited Article 3 of the 2004 Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.²⁶

The crime of human trafficking first appeared on the statute books in 2002 with Section 145 of Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002.²⁷ This introduced a specific offence of trafficking in relation to prostitution. The 2002 law was repealed and replaced by the Sexual Offences Act 2003.²⁸ The Act covers offences of human trafficking for sexual exploitation into, within and out of the country. In Scotland, section 22 of the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2003 introduced the offence of trafficking a person for the purpose of prostitution. The Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants, etc.) Act 2004 created the offence of trafficking of persons for non-sexual exploitation.²⁹ This legislation also applies in Scotland. In addition, the UK adopted legislation to curb offences linked to forced labour; The Gangmasters (Licensing) Act created a compulsory licensing system for gangmasters and other employment agencies supplying workers for agricultural activities, gathering shellfish and related processing and

²² The National Referral Mechanism (NRM) is a framework and decision-making device for identifying victims of human trafficking and ensuring they receive the appropriate protection and support.

²³ Cherti, Myriam, Jenny Pennington and Eliza Galos, "The UK's response to human trafficking: fit for purpose?" *The Institute for Public Policy Research*, July 2012, available at <http://www.ippr.org/publications/the-uks-response-to-human-trafficking-fit-for-purpose>, p.4

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Author Unknown, "Study suggests a quarter of Brits don't know that slavery still exists in the UK" *TNT Magazine*, 13th May 2014, available at <http://www.tntmagazine.com/news/uk/study-suggests-a-quarter-of-brits-dont-know-that-slavery-still-exists-in-the-uk>, accessed 18th September 2014

²⁶ United Kingdom: Home Office, "Human Trafficking: The Government's Strategy" available at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97845/human-trafficking-strategy.pdf accessed 4th August 2014, p.5

²⁷ Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002, Chapter 41, Section 145.

²⁸ Sexual Offences Act 2003, Chapter 42, Section 57-59.

²⁹ The Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants, etc.) Act 2004, Chapter 19 Sections 4 - 5

packaging activities.³⁰ On 6 April 2010, a new offence entered into force, Section 71 of the Coroners and Justice Act 2009, which deals with slavery, servitude and forced or compulsory labour, making it a specific criminal offence in England, Wales and Northern Ireland to hold a person in slavery or servitude or to require a person to perform forced or compulsory labour.³¹

In August 2013 the British Government announced that it would introduce a Modern Slavery Bill,³² which will consolidate the offences into one Act. Moreover, the Bill will increase the penalties, including life imprisonment where there have been aggravating circumstances. The Bill will also introduce a new anti-slavery commissioner. However, for the moment the Home Office and the Home Secretary bear the responsibility for human trafficking policy. There is no National Rapporteur, but instead there is the UK Inter-Departmental Ministerial Group on Human Trafficking, which consists of 14 governmental departments that have a particular interest in human trafficking. In Scotland, the responsibility lies with the Scottish Government's Criminal Justice Directorate and the Scottish Cabinet Secretary for Justice. Together with the legislation the UK also relies on the Action Plan on Tackling Human Trafficking, first published in 2007 and updated in 2008 and 2009. In addition there is also the Human Trafficking: The Government's Strategy.³³ The strategy includes, amongst others, working with the private sector to strengthen the approach to trafficking, raising the quality of decision-making under the NRM, measures to implement the EU Directive on Human Trafficking, better cooperation with other countries and airlines and tackling the situation of trafficked children who go missing from local authority care.

4.2 THE MEDIA IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

The UK press is free from government funding and includes a wide range of types of newspapers (with different appearance frequency) with a different political position (right, left, centre, neutral) and catering to various interests (religious, environment, health, etc.). The press is national as well as local, and provides for different variety of audiences. One can find different styles, such as broadsheet and tabloid, although most publications are also available on-line. For the purpose of this analysis we looked at two newspapers and one tabloid. According to Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery 'tabloids are generally smaller in size, have short articles, use puns in headlines, tend to focus more on national stories, particularly about celebrities, sports and entertainment, and employ a more populist and informal writing style. Broadsheets are normally larger, contain more text, have more focus on international news and political analysis, and generally using more formal writing style.'³⁴ This of course is but a brief summary of the variance and in reality the difference is not as clear-cut, particularly with the growing number of news portals available on the Internet.³⁵

³⁰ The Gangmasters (Licensing) Act 2004, Chapter 11

³¹ Coroners and Justice Act 2009, Chapter 25

³² See, for example, BBC News UK, "Theresa May pledges modern-day slavery crackdown", BBC News, 25 August 2013, available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-23831304> accessed 12th August 2014

³³ Home Office UK, *Human Trafficking: The Government's Strategy*, UK Government, 2011, available at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97845/human-trafficking-strategy.pdf accessed 2nd September 2014

³⁴ Baker, Paul, Costas Gabrielatos and Tony McEnery, *Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes: The Representation of Islam in the British Press*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2013, [p.6].

³⁵ For more information see Ibid. Introduction

The news media, as shown in the Introduction Chapter, have an ability to influence how the THB phenomenon is shaped in the wider context of politics, criminal justice and public perception. Consequently, it is interesting to “measure” the strength of the news media in the UK. All in all there is a strong indication that the UK press has the ability to influence politics and general governmental matters. In 2005, in an interview with *The Independent*, Sir Stephen Lander, then director of Serious and Organised Crime Agency, said: ‘The priorities that are adopted by Britain’s elite crime fighting force will be partly based upon the number of column inches newspapers give to different types of organised criminality.’³⁶ Linton further recognised the role that *The Sun* paper played in the defeat of the Labour Party in the UK general election of 1992.³⁷ It is possible then to conclude that there is an indirect influence exerted by the press on voting and other political areas of life, which can in turn translate to affecting policy on THB.

As was shown in Chapter two, for the UK case study we analysed *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph* and *The Mirror*. *The Guardian* has an average issue readership of 1,027,000.³⁸ *The Telegraph* (daily version, Monday to Friday) has a 1,313,000 daily readership and *The Telegraph* online has 13,648,000 users a month.³⁹ *The Mirror* has a daily readership of 2,384,000 and a 569,000 daily readership online.⁴⁰

4.3 FRAMING OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING BY THE MEDIA

The following section presents results of the qualitative media analysis for the UK based on the use of the method describe in Chapter two.

4.3.1 Genesis

For this unit we analysed what inspired the writing and was the core of an article. 43% of the articles captured by our search concerned a case study – where a case study refers to an event such as an arrest, investigation, raid or a court trial/proceedings. As such we can determine that a human story, such as an arrest of a trafficking gang or an investigation, was the most discussed topic with regard to human trafficking in the UK news media. We noted an increase in articles around November 2013 as a result of the Lambeth case.⁴¹ This concerned the arrest of a couple based in London who allegedly held three women in slavery for 30 years. The Metropolitan Police, following a phone call made to a charity by one of victims, rescued the women – a 69 year old, a 57 year old and a 30 year old - and arrested the couple supposedly responsible.

³⁶ Bennetto, Jason, “Sir Stephen Lander: It’s certainly difficult to bring criminals to book. We have to think of new ways of skinning a cat”, *The Independent*, 10/01/2005, available at <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/profiles/sir-stephen-lander-its-certainly-difficult-to-bring-criminals-to-book-we-have-to-think-of-new-ways-of-skinning-a-cat-14247.html> accessed 12th August 2014.

³⁷ Linton, Martin. *Was it The Sun wit won it?* Volume 7 of Guardian lecture, Nuffield College, Oxford, 1995

³⁸ *The Guardian*, “The Guardian, our readers & circulation”, *The Guardian*, 30 April 2010, available at <http://www.theguardian.com/advertising/guardian-circulation-readership-statistics> accessed 3rd September 2014.

³⁹ *The Telegraph*, “Our audience”, *The Telegraph*, June 2014, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/advertising/audience/> accessed 3rd September 2014.

⁴⁰ Newsworks, “Daily Mirror”, 2014, available at <http://www.newsworks.org.uk/Daily-Mirror> accessed 3rd September 2014.

⁴¹ *The Telegraph*, “Slavery case is tip of an iceberg” 23 November 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/10469922/Slavery-case-is-tip-of-an-iceberg.html> accessed 14th August 2014.

The second biggest inspiration for publishing an article derived from law or policy, comprising 21% of the total: some of the examples are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1: Examples of articles on law or policy

| Paper | Title |
|---------------|---|
| The Mirror | Tougher sentences for human traffickers under draft anti-slavery law |
| The Telegraph | Loophole could allow thousands of Moldovan immigrants to enter Britain. |
| The Telegraph | Anti-slavery teams to tackle human trafficking in airports. |
| The Guardian | More penalties for prostitution won't help victims of human trafficking |

However, it should be noted that articles on policy and legislation concerned primarily the national framework and there was no direct discussion of EU legislation and policy concerning human trafficking. Although, not always the genesis for an article, the Modern Day Slavery Bill was the most mentioned legislation/policy, comprising 17% of the articles.⁴² Without suggesting this to be true in every case, we found that in general articles were not very critical of the government's approach to THB.

4.3.2 Type of human trafficking

Trafficking in human beings refers to exploitation of persons for 'sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, including begging, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude, or the exploitation of criminal activities, or the removal of organs.'⁴³ However, we noticed a trend in perceiving human trafficking parallel with prostitution and sexual exploitation: as exemplified in the article *12, 000 women trafficked to the UK for prostitution*.⁴⁴

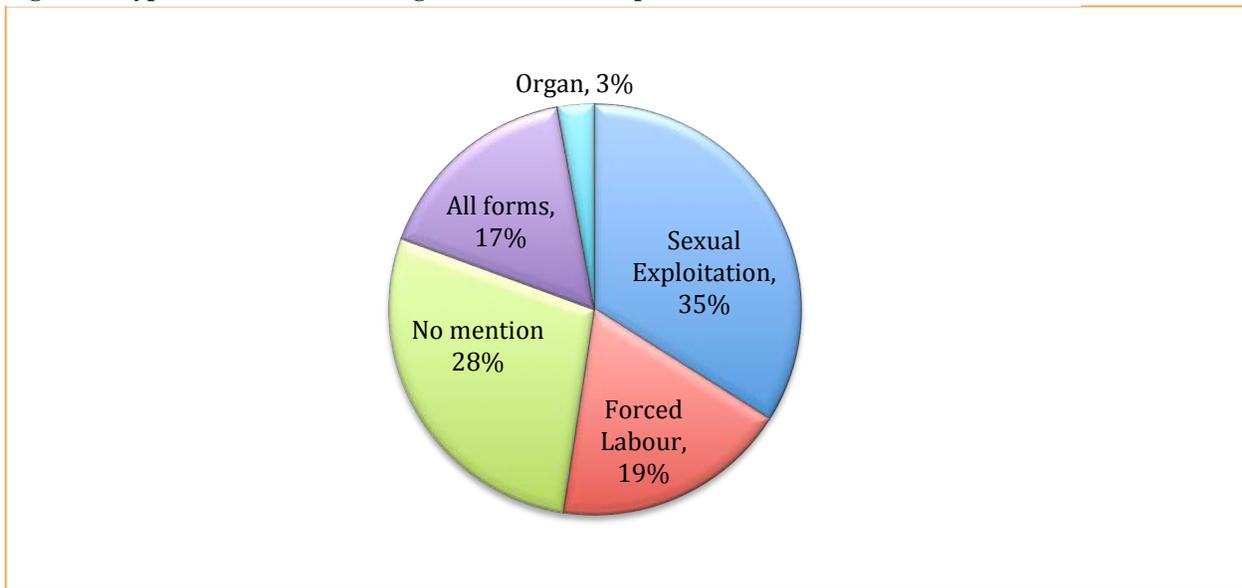
Figure 2 shows the percentage of articles that linked human trafficking to a particular form of exploitation, with sexual exploitation overshadowing other forms (35%). 28% of the articles did not mention any particular form for THB, instead they solely referred to "human trafficking" or "modern day slavery". 19% of articles reported on human trafficking for the purposes of forced labour and 17% of articles acknowledged the diverse forms of human trafficking that exist. Looking at official statistics for the UK however, we note that for the year 2013 42% of identified victims endured a form of sexual exploitation, 37% of victims were subjected to forced labour, 10% were subjected to domestic servitude and 11% were unknown. As such the coverage by the press does not reflect the reality, especially as we noted minimalist mention of domestic servitude.

⁴² See for example, Jones S., "Modern slavery bill needs sweeping changes, says report", *The Guardian*, 8th April 2014, available at <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/apr/08/modern-slavery-bill-sweeping-changes> accessed 2nd September 2014.

⁴³ Directive 2011/36/EU, Article 2 (3)

⁴⁴ Clements J., "12, 000 women trafficked to the UK for prostitution", *The Mirror*, 19 August 2010, available at <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/12000-women-trafficked-to-the-uk-for-prostitution-242399> accessed 2nd September 2014.

Figure 2: Types of human trafficking mentioned in UK press



4.3.3 Immigration

This report acknowledges that human trafficking can be trans-border and local, however with the vast number of people moved between borders human trafficking is often linked to immigration. 45% of articles mentioned immigration in some context. For example as well as including the foreign nationality of the victim and/or the trafficker, some articles included pictures of the UK border.⁴⁵ More specifically The Telegraph published an article that directly blamed Europe's free movement of people to human trafficking.⁴⁶

On review of the UK press we did not observe hostility towards the immigrant victims. This approach is in line with what Christie terms the ideal victim and what media sees as the right victim; an innocent woman or child who is enslaved by a hard foreign criminal.⁴⁷ Traditionally tabloid papers tend to be anti immigration. However we found that the tabloid newspaper, The Mirror, did not use negative language when discussing foreign victims. In fact in the article *An illegal immigrant's story - From arriving a slave to working on checkout at Tesco*⁴⁸, the authors raised awareness of the issues faced by individuals who are no longer trafficked but remain in the country undocumented. Namely lack of benefits or ability to use national services such as the National Health Service due to the fears of deportation. However, such raising of awareness was an exception rather than the rule and only two other articles provided an alternative perception of

⁴⁵ See for example: Author unknown, "Anti-Slavery teams to tackle human trafficking in airports" The Telegraph, 21 February 2012, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/10654169/Anti-slavery-teams-to-tackle-human-trafficking-in-airports.html>, accessed 14th August 2014.

⁴⁶ Hope, C., "EU free movement rules being exploited by drugs runners and human traffickers, says Government study" The Telegraph, 22nd July 2014, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/10983892/EU-free-movement-rules-being-exploited-by-drugs-runners-and-human-traffickers-says-Government-study.html> accessed 3rd September 2014

⁴⁷ Christie, N. "Suitable enemy", in Bianchi, H. and R. van Swaaningen (eds) *Abolitionism: Toward a Non-repressive Approach to Crime*, Free University Press, Amsterdam, 1986

⁴⁸ Jones R. W., "An illegal immigrant's story - From arriving a slave to working on checkout at Tesco", *The Mirror*, 1st February 2013, available at <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/real-life-stories/illegal-immigrants-story---arriving-3099790> accessed 2nd September 2014

the relationship between human trafficking and immigration. The Telegraph journalist, Dr Brooke Magnati noted in her article - *Rooting out real causes of trafficked women required thorough investigation* - that many reports blow out of proportion the amount of migrant women that are trafficked.⁴⁹ Whilst The Guardian article - *In a globalised world, there is no cure for slavery* – highlighted that the line between voluntary migration and servitude is often vague and that restrictive migration policies have contributed to THB.⁵⁰

The relationship between human trafficking and immigration is controversial, at best, and complicated by the blurred lines between human trafficking and smuggling.⁵¹ We found that in The Mirror there was some confusion with regard to the distinction. For example the article *12,000 women trafficked to the UK for prostitution* stated: ‘detectives say 2,600 women have definitely been smuggled in as sex slaves with a further 9,200 possibly having been trafficked.’⁵² Equally the article *Britain’s first known girl sex trafficked out of UK reveals her ordeal* commented that the UN ‘defines trafficking as forced exploitation, not just people-smuggling.’⁵³ In both these statements there is a margin of error.

4.3.4 Sources

Figure three (below) shows the use of sources in the articles analysed. The most common source was the government, featuring in 35% of the articles; this includes direct quotes from members of government as well as official reports. The second most common source was from civil society organisations (30%) followed by law enforcement (22%), where law enforcement includes the police, judges and lawyers.

12% of articles quoted or used information from victims. This was a surprising revelation as it is hard to establish contact with trafficked persons and to receive information on their experiences and knowledge. As stated by Gallagher many fear the risks from their traffickers, such as harm to them or their families and may also be ashamed of their experience.⁵⁴

Academics can expand the debate and provide for more than just a report on a case study however; only one article (in The Guardian) relied on an academic source. Notwithstanding, as mentioned afore, 30% article quoted relied on civil societies as a source; members from such organisations are also considered experts and can offer insight into the problem of human trafficking that differs from the criminal justice perspective. Moreover, by co-operating with

⁴⁹ Magnati, B., “Rooting out real cases of trafficked women requires thorough investigation” *The Telegraph*, 22nd August 2013, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/10259274/Rooting-out-real-cases-of-trafficked-women-requires-thorough-investigation.html> accessed 14th August 2014.

⁵⁰ Jenkins S., “In a globalised world, there is no cure for slavery”, *The Guardian*, 16 December 2013, available at <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/16/globalised-world-modern-slavery-bill-theresa-may>, accessed August 15 2014

⁵¹ For a discussion on smuggling v trafficking see Salt, J., “Trafficking and Human Smuggling : A European Perspective.” *International Migration*, Special Issue 1, 2000, available at <http://lastradainternational.org/lsidocs/538%20pdf.pdf>, accessed 14th August 2014.

⁵² Clements, J., “12,000 women trafficked to the UK for prostitution”, *The Mirror*, 19th August 2010, available at <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/12000-women-trafficked-to-the-uk-for-prostitution-242399> accessed 14th August 2014.

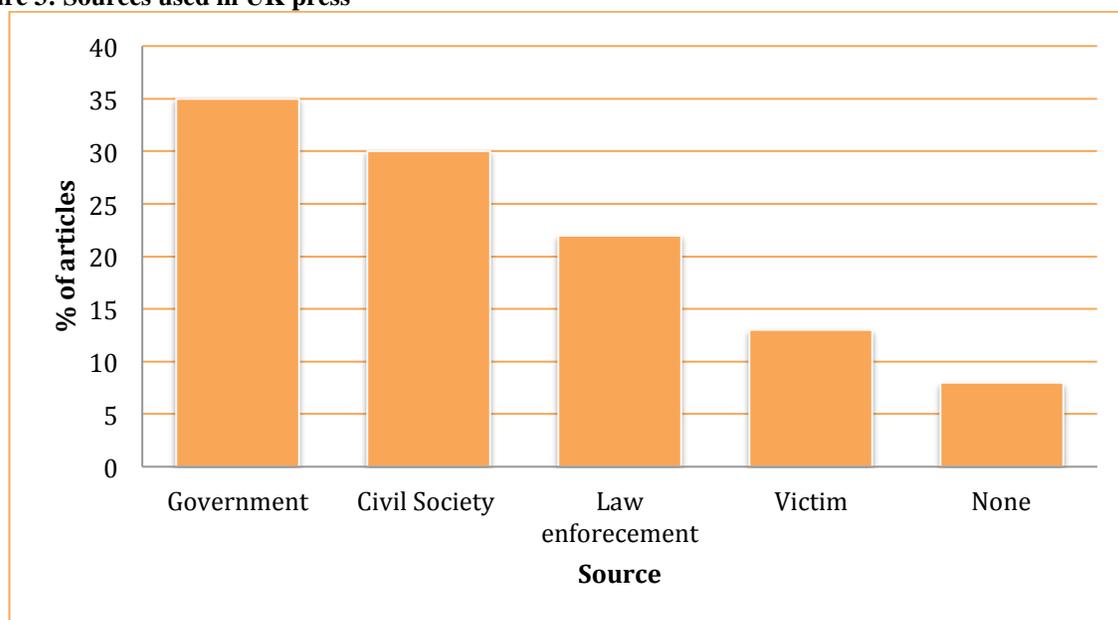
⁵³ Sunday People, “Britain’s first known girl sex trafficked out of UK reveals her ordeal” *The Mirror*, available at <http://www.mirror.co.uk/lifestyle/family/britains-first-known-girl-sex-1675010> accessed 14th August 2014.

⁵⁴ Gallagher, Anne. 2006. “Recent Legal Developments in the Field of Human Trafficking: A Critical Review of the 2005 European Convention and Related Instruments.” *European Journal of Migration and Law*, Vol. 8, Issue 1, pp.163-89

civil society bodies the news media not only have a chance to rely on their data and expertise, but can also include information on the organisation in their article, which in turn can contribute to awareness raising.

The news coverage rarely expressed “personal” opinions but instead relied on the sources to convey a message. As such, we found news reporting to be informational and narrative. In addition there was often a mix of sources relied on, giving the news a more balanced feel. 13% of articles however, did take the form of an opinion. This was either the opinion of the author as in the case of The Mirror report (*At last... a crackdown on sex traffickers*⁵⁵) or The Guardian’s article (*In a globalised world, there is no cure for slavery*⁵⁶) or the opinion of a subject being interviewed as found in The Guardian’s article entitled *Inside human trafficking: don't call it 'modern day slavery' – fix it already*⁵⁷.

Figure 3: Sources used in UK press



4.3.5 European Union

8% of articles referred to the European Union with reference to THB. The Mirror mentioned the EU in two articles. For example, one article stated that lifting EU travel restrictions made it easier to exploit vulnerable persons and in the second that the UK is part of a European fight against THB. The Telegraph referred to the EU in the context of human trafficking three times. All three articles perceive the EU’s freedom of movement as a gateway for traffickers: ‘There has definitely been an increase in people-trafficking to the UK in recent years, as criminals have

⁵⁵ Unknown author, “At last.. a crackdown on sex traffickers”, *The Mirror*, 23 March 2011, available at <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/at-last-a-crackdown-on-sex-traffickers-117943> accessed August 15th 2014

⁵⁶ Jenkins S., “In a globalised world, there is no cure for slavery”, *The Guardian*, 16 December 2013, available at <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/16/globalised-world-modern-slavery-bill-theresa-may>, accessed August 15 2014

⁵⁷ Valneti J., “Inside human trafficking: don't call it 'modern day slavery' – fix it already”, *The Guardian*, 25 April 2014, available at <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/25/human-trafficking-modern-day-slavery-prostitution-in-new-york-city> accessed August 15th 2014

taken advantage of the greater ease of travel through a borderless Europe.’⁵⁸ The Guardian was the only paper to reference the EU Directive on Human Trafficking in the article *Theresa May urged to introduce legal guardians for child trafficking victims*.⁵⁹

4.3.6 Other

In addition to the above noted trends, we discovered a number of additional features in the way the UK media portray THB, which may be of interest to the reader.

Foremost, The Guardian’s permanent online segment on human trafficking renders highlighting; the section includes a collection of articles and blogs on the topic of THB.⁶⁰ It provides an easy source of information and by devoting an entire segment The Guardian is implicitly noting the importance of the issue. Secondly, we noted that a number of papers looked at the role of the church in fighting human trafficking. Three articles by The Telegraph dealt with the church: one concerned the role of nuns in fighting human trafficking⁶¹ and two about a conference that took place in April 2014 hosted by the Vatican.⁶² The Guardian also reported the conference and included quotes by Pope Francis.⁶³

Thirdly, in writing about human trafficking the press give the UK more salience. News from other countries featured in only 14% of the published works. Some of the stories that did cover human trafficking outside of the UK linked back to issues of interest in the UK, for example the World Cup or forced labour in the Thai prawn industry fishing (important for British supermarkets). The focus on the UK is to be expected, with reports on domestic matters being of importance to a local readership. Moreover, focusing on domestic stories can have a positive impact as it eludes away any myths that human trafficking is not a UK problem. Framing human trafficking against a domestic background moreover creates visibility and can in turn mobilise financial and political support to solve it.

4.3.7 Summary of findings

By analysing a sample of British news media reports on THB, between 2010-2014 it becomes clear that THB is not a silent problem and it receives ‘publicity’. The media paint a picture of a

⁵⁸ Author unknown, “Modern-day slavery on our own doorstep” *The Telegraph*, 22nd November 2013, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/telegraph-view/10467948/Modern-day-slavery-on-our-own-doorstep.html> accessed August 15th 2014

⁵⁹ Watt N., “Theresa May urged to introduce legal guardians for child trafficking victims”, *The Guardian*, 13 December 2013, available at <http://www.theguardian.com/law/2013/dec/13/theresa-may-guardians-child-trafficking-victims> accessed 15th August 2014

⁶⁰ The guardian, “Human Trafficking”, available at <http://www.theguardian.com/law/human-trafficking> accessed August 15th 2014

⁶¹ Kington, T., “Nuns help rescue trafficked prostitutes in new police operation”. *The Telegraph*, 11th April 2014, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/10758619/Nuns-help-rescue-trafficked-prostitutes-in-new-police-operation.html> accessed August 15th

⁶² See for example, May, T., and Cardinal Nichols, “We must all play a part in abolishing slavery”, *The Telegraph*, 8th April 2014, available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/vaticancityandhollysee/10752750/We-must-all-play-a-part-in-abolishing-slavery.html> accessed August 15th

⁶³ Davies, L., “Pope Francis says human trafficking is ‘a crime against humanity’”, *The Guardian*, 10th April 2014, available at <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/10/pope-francis-human-trafficking-crime-humanity> accessed August 15th

‘modern day slavery’ that affects men and women of all ages and many nationalities, including British.

The analysis of how UK media portray human trafficking mapped out a number of trends, many of them consolidated the findings in literature. Namely that the media tend to conceptualise the human trafficking phenomena in terms of sexual exploitation and immigration; Dugan also found this.⁶⁴ In addition we support Gulati’s conclusion that the news coverage relied on reliable official sources.⁶⁵ Gulati did not however note the use of the civil society as a source, whilst our analysis found many reference to charities and other non-governmental organisations.

The use of specific language, choice of quotes and choice of images has contributed to delivering a message through a particular prism. For instance by mentioning the nationality (non-British) of perpetrators and including photos of the UK Border the press are constructing images in the public’s mind about the ‘dangerous foreigner’. This is important, as, the press can have a long-term impact on the reader as a result of repetition of images and ways of portraying an issue. Moreover, by focusing on stories of arrest and prosecution of traffickers the press build an image of human trafficking as a criminal justice issue, whilst there is room to argue that first and foremost it is a human rights issue.⁶⁶ Further, the use of the phrase ‘sex slave’ coupled with a over representation of sexual exploitation also fails to incorporate the realities and complexities involved in THB.

The failure by some articles to properly distinguish between THB and smuggling is a concern, as it will confuse two separate issues in the mind of the public.

Additionally, it was found that the press is surprisingly quiet on the role of the European Union in fighting human trafficking; no mention of policy, law or funding – bar one – was found. To an extent this is an askew version of reality; the EU plays a key role in harmonising law and policy and providing funds for fighting human trafficking.

⁶⁴ Dugan, Emily, June 2013, ob cit.

⁶⁵ Gulati, J., “Media Representation of Human Trafficking in the United States, Great Britain, and Canada”, July 2010. Available online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1633574>, accessed on 20 August 2014, p.22

⁶⁶ Obokata, T., “A Human Rights Framework to Address Trafficking of Human Beings” *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*, Vol. 24, pp. 377-409, 2006.

5 CYPRUS

This chapter sets out to analyse the news media representations of human trafficking in Cyprus. First, a brief introduction is given on the current situation of human trafficking in Cyprus, followed by a brief description of the local press. Lastly, the framing of trafficking by the local newspapers is explored.

5.1 TRAFFICKING IN HUMAN BEINGS IN CYPRUS

According to the United Nations, Cyprus is considered to be a destination and transit country for human trafficking.⁶⁷ Though the main purpose for trafficking humans has been sexual exploitation, in recent years, it has expanded to other forms such as labour, forced marriages, selling of new-borns, and petty crime (e.g., begging, and pedlary). Victims of trafficking derive from heterogeneous origins, such as Romania, Bulgaria, Vietnam, Uzbekistan, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Cameroun, Russia, Georgia, and Hungary. In 2013, the Cyprus Police identified 30 victims of trafficking, of whom 19 testified in court against their exploiters.⁶⁸

The legal framing of human trafficking has gone through marked changes, and as a result, the definition of human trafficking has become much broader. Particularly, the implementation of a new legislation (L 60(I)/2014),⁶⁹ which is in accordance with the Directive 2011/36/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 2011 on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings, defines human trafficking as:

The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or reception or sheltering of persons, including the exchange or transfer of control over those persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.⁷⁰

Yet, what is of pivotal importance is the fact that legislation L 60(I)/2014 has included a provision, which penalises ‘the exploitation of a person for the commission of any criminal offense.’⁷¹ Therefore, the crime of human trafficking is no longer restricted to sexual/labour exploitation, and human organ transplantation, but to any activity penalised by the local criminal code. Aside from harmonising domestic legislation with EU benchmarks, Cyprus has also ratified the Council of Europe’s Convention on Action Against Human Trafficking of 2005.⁷² These legislative measures have demarcated the parameters by which Cyprus embarks upon to deal with the issue of human trafficking.

⁶⁷ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2006) Trafficking in persons: Global patterns. Vienna: UNODC. Available at http://www.unodc.org/pdf/traffickinginpersons_report_2006-04.pdf accessed 17th September 2014

⁶⁸ Office of Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, Cyprus Police, *Internal Statistics*, provided to the TRACE project 15th August 2014.

⁶⁹ Preventing and Combating of the Trafficking and Exploitation of Human Beings and Protection of Victims Law, L 60(I)/2014, came into effect on 15/04/2014, available at http://www.cylaw.org/nomoi/arith/2014_1_60.pdf accessed 18th September 2014

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid. at p.4

⁷² Council of Europe, *Council of Europe Convention on Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings*, 16 May 2005,

While there is no National Rapporteur, the Minister of Interior functions as a national co-ordinator and is the head of the multidisciplinary co-ordinating group for combating trafficking in human beings, established in 2007. The multidisciplinary co-ordinating group provides the framework for the close co-operation between all competent authorities of the Republic of Cyprus, as well as with NGOs. Members of the multidisciplinary co-ordinating group include all ministries involved in anti-trafficking activities, the Law Office, the Police, the Civil Registry and Migration Department, the Asylum Service, the National Mechanism for the Rights of Women and several NGOs. In order to better combat human trafficking, the multi-disciplinary coordinating group has constituted the National Action Plan 2013-2015.⁷³ This Action Plan aims to predicate a framework, via which goals and specific actions are set out in order to confront trafficking in human beings and its corollaries. It consists of nine chapters, and each chapter focuses on the following issues: co-ordination; prevention; victims' identification; victims' support and protection; suppression; information gathering; education; international coordination; and evaluation.

The Cyprus Police, Office of Combating Trafficking in Human Beings (OoCTHB) is the competent authority to identify victims of trafficking. The Office of Combating Trafficking in Human Beings came into being in 2004, and aside from identifying victims of trafficking it is responsible for gathering, processing, analysing and utilizing intelligence regarding the trafficking in human beings. The OoCTHB also co-ordinates the actions of other police departments that are involved in the investigation of cases of human trafficking. The members of the OoCTHB take part in operations against human trafficking and have direct and continual contact with trafficking victims until their repatriation.

5.2 THE MEDIA IN CYPRUS

In Cyprus there are currently a number of newspapers, which cover a wide range of events and are published either on physical (63 in total) or electronic form (12 in total) or both.⁷⁴ Most newspapers are published on a bi-monthly or monthly basis (27 in total), followed by those published weekly (23 in total), daily (8 in total), and quarterly or occasionally (6 in total). Largely, the local press supports three main political agendas, namely the right wing, the left wing, and the centre; without of course undermining viewpoints purported by the green party, radical groups, and other organised constituencies.

Today, Cyprus enjoys full freedom of expression and freedom of the press, and currently there is a great number of written and electronic newspapers and magazines. The press in Cyprus is free and independent and operates without interference or control of any public authority. The proliferation of newspapers in Cyprus—both local and foreign—reflects a wide range of opinions and ideologies and this testifies to a pluralism of views and breadth of expression. A case in point is the criticism of officials, public figures, public institutions, and government

⁷³ Mentioned in European Commission, "Cyprus Factsheet: Cyprus 2013", available at http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/reports/docs/countryfactsheets/05.cyprus_emn_country_factsheet_2013_1.pdf accessed 17 September 2014

⁷⁴ Cyprus Press and Information Office, available at http://www.pio.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/mass_media_gr/mass_media_gr?OpenDocument accessed 17 September 2014

policies, where it occurs, is accepted as part of constructive criticism, in other words a manifestation of democracy.

Criticism on Cyprus' ineffectiveness to deal with sex trafficking has also been publicised to all its depth and breadth equally by the local and foreign press. Articles under the titles 'Cyprus: The worst record in Europe for human trafficking',⁷⁵ have in the past publicised to the rest of the world the island's inflated nexus to sex trafficking. Yet, notwithstanding the hyperbolic nature of such statements, they have proved to leverage local action in better dealing with sex trafficking. Indeed, this pressure led the authorities at the beginning of 2009 to terminate the issuance of artiste visas, and thus, drove to closure almost all domestic cabarets. To this end, the previous Minister of the Interior confidently announced: 'Cyprus cannot carry the stigma that the state tolerates human trafficking',⁷⁶ revealing the agony by which the authorities respond to international and local pressure.

5.3 FRAMING OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING BY THE MEDIA

The following section presents results of the qualitative media analysis for Cyprus.

5.3.1 Genesis and the EU

Most of the articles across all three newspapers were based on case studies. That is, police operations, court cases, and police arrests. In detail, 55% of the articles regarded case studies, 35% made reference to legislation and policies on human trafficking, and 10% involved other issues, such as evaluations of the Cypriot approach to THB by international bodies. Interestingly, the majority of articles that made reference to legislative and policy issues, also made suggestions and presented possible solutions to better the problems that stem from gaps in the anti-trafficking legislation. This was not perceived so much in the UK or Polish news press.

The media analysis concerns articles that have been published in 2010 and thenceforth. During this year a landmark court decision against Cyprus was announced and the media gained an afresh momentum on the issue of human trafficking and its linkage to the Republic of Cyprus. In January 2010, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) found the Republic of Cyprus guilty on multiple counts, in the case of *Rantsev v. Cyprus and Russia*⁷⁷ for failing to protect Oxana Rantseva, a Russian national who died in March 2001 under mysterious circumstances. Rantseva was in Cyprus on an "artist visa" and worked at a local cabaret. The Court found that Cyprus had violated Article 4, firstly, for its failure to put in place an appropriate legal and administrative framework to combat trafficking as a result of the existing regime of "artist visas", and secondly, for the failure of the Cyprus Police to take appropriate measures to protect her, despite the fact that it had reason to suspect that she was a victim of trafficking.

⁷⁵ Purposefully Scarred, "Cyprus: The worst Record in Europe for Human Trafficking", 17 January 2013, available at <http://purposefullyscarred.com/2013/01/17/cyprus-the-worst-record-in-europe-for-human-trafficking/> accessed 16th September 2014

⁷⁶ Molyva, D. "No change on visas." Cyprus Weekly, 19 February 2009, available at:

<https://www.ebos.com.cy/cyprusweekly/default.aspx?LocalNewsID=949> accessed on 2 April 2009

⁷⁷ *Rantsev v. Cyprus and Russia* (Application no. 25965/04) European Court of Human Rights 2010

Furthermore, the court found that Cyprus had violated Rantseva’s right to life under Article 2 of the ECHR, by holding her in custody without charge, placing her in the custody of her traffickers, and failing to adequately investigate the circumstances of her death.

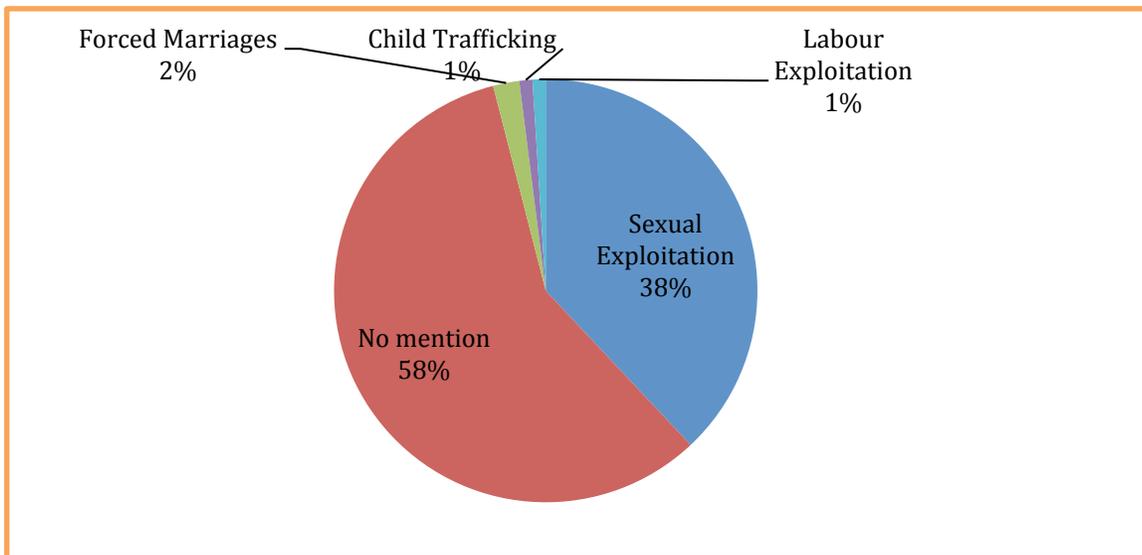
Out of the three newspapers, *Phileleftheros*, approached the issue of human trafficking rather critically, by providing detail and depth for specific cases of trafficking, often linking them to legislative gaps and ineffective policies. On the other hand, *Cyprus Mail* and *Politis* portrayed cases of human trafficking as pitiful stories and criticised the authorities for exhibiting inertia. Notably, all newspapers criticised the authorities and pinpointed the various flaws in the overall domestic approach to human trafficking, leaving thus, issues of transnational and EU law unquestioned.

From our analysis we have also identified (other than the *Rantsev v. Cyprus and Russia* case) two chronological periods in which newspapers increased their publications on human trafficking and sexual exploitation. One, in 2011 when a police constable was facing counts on sexual exploitation and human trafficking. Second, when an eponymous businessman was arrested for sexually exploiting a minor.⁷⁸

5.3.2 Type of human trafficking

Though human trafficking involves the exploitation of persons for a range of purposes the Cypriot press gravitates towards connecting human trafficking to sexual exploitation. The percentages of articles (shown in figure four below) focusing on different forms of exploitation are quite illustrative towards this extent. It is also worth noting that whilst sexual exploitation is overrepresented by the domestic press, prostitution seems to get the lion’s portion of attention (see Table 2 below).

Figure 4: Types of human trafficking mentioned in the Cypriot press



⁷⁸ See for example, Author unknown, “Underage sex suspects to remain in custody until trial”, *Cyprus Mail*, 14th May 2014, available at <http://cyprus-mail.com/tag/larnaca/page/5/> accessed 15th September 2014.

Table 2: Sample of titles concerning prostitution in the Cypriot Press

| Paper | Title |
|----------------|---|
| Phileleftheros | Trafficking gate: Cyprus, a destination of victims of economic – sexual exploitation |
| Phileleftheros | Prostitution ring, Cyprus – Romania – Ukraine |
| Phileleftheros | In the underground of prostitution: An international network between Greece, Rhodes, and Russia |
| Phileleftheros | In prostitution with her new-born |
| Politis | The stories of victims of human trade |
| Politis | 70-year-old woman was arrested in Larnaca: living on the earnings of prostitution case |
| Politis | Campaign for combating prostitution: massive arrests of foreign women |
| Politis | Two women were arrested in Limassol: Arrests for an investigated prostitution case |
| Cyprus Mail | Prostitution on the rise |
| Cyprus Mail | Police bust prostitution ring |
| Cyprus Mail | Three men remanded in prostitution ring |

Furthermore, as illustrated by the above chart, contrary to sexual exploitation (38%), labour exploitation (1%) and forced marriages (1%) are rarely mentioned in the press, and in most articles where human trafficking is concerned there is no explanation as regards the form of exploitation (58%). Interestingly, this representation falls short when juxtaposed to Police statistics, which show that 52% of the THB cases concern sexual exploitation, 36% labour exploitation, 11% forced marriages, and 1%, other forms of exploitation.⁷⁹

5.3.3 Immigration and organised crime

Arguably, EU law, policies, and practices regarding THB are primarily concerned with security and immigration control as opposed to human rights.⁸⁰ As Aradau emphatically argues, security concerns regarding human trafficking are represented through immigration and prostitution elements.⁸¹ Interestingly, and unlike in the UK and Polish press, these very issues were not reflected in the news press in Cyprus. Contradistinctively the press, aside from the focus on prostitution, which was noted above, made significant reference to the connection between THB and organised crime. In writing about organised crime the press relied on a sensationalist style, which aimed to shock the readership (see table 3). However, in doing this trafficking victims'

⁷⁹ Office of Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, Cyprus Police

⁸⁰ Askola, H. *Legal responses to trafficking in women for sexual exploitation in the European Union*. Hart Publishing, Oregon, 2007

⁸¹ Aradau, C. (2008). *Rethinking trafficking in women: Politics out of security*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

ordeals and adversarial experiences were rarely ever connected to the negative consequences of THB.

Table 3: Sample of titles in Cypriot press

| Paper | Title |
|----------------|---|
| Phileleftheros | Trafficking in humans is a global problem |
| Phileleftheros | Trafficking gate: Cyprus destination of victims of economic – sexual exploitation |
| Phileleftheros | Prostitution ring, Cyprus – Romania – Ukraine |
| Phileleftheros | The depths of prostitution: International network in trafficking of women in Greece, Rhodes, Russia |
| Phileleftheros | White slave trade from the former Soviet Union |
| Phileleftheros | International ring lies behind the operation of a brothel |
| Phileleftheros | In the underground of prostitution: An international network between Greece, Rhodes, and Russia |
| Politis | Millions of people fall victims of human trafficking |
| Politis | Human trafficking is the third most profitable business |

5.3.4 Sources

As illustrated by the figure below, most of the articles relied on law enforcement (39%) and governmental sources (33%). The third most frequent source was civil societies (12%), followed by international organisations (10%), and victims themselves (1%). These configurations substantiate the findings mentioned at an earlier point, on the paucity of articles on the stories of victims of trafficking. Also they confirm that local press gives more emphasis on issues of organised crime, hence the overreliance on government and law enforcement sources.

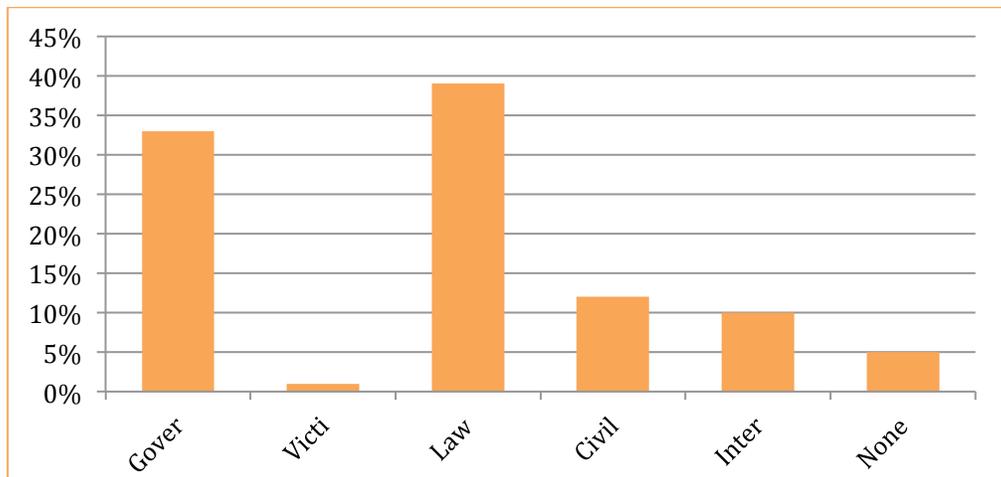


Figure 5: Sources used in Cypriot press

5.3.5 Other

All newspapers appear to host a great number of articles, which criticise the incumbent anti-trafficking policies and practices. In most cases, articles underline the gaps in anti-trafficking legislation and apply negative and caustic language for delineating the government's inability to effectively deal with trafficking in humans. In some instances, such articles draw knowledge from reports and evaluations done by international organizations (i.e. Greta, and US Department of State) in order to prove their case. Characteristically, the Cyprus Mail newspaper published such articles under the titles *More needs to be done to combat human trafficking*⁸² and *Much work to be done in combating human trafficking*.⁸³ It is worth recalling the UK case study, where the trend to comment on legislation or critique the government's approach was not noted. As will be show in the next Chapter and elaborated on in the conclusion, the Polish press is also predominantly silent on this topic.

5.4 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In all, as portrayed by the domestic press, the issue of THB is prevalent and Cyprus is reported to be a destination country. Human trafficking is disproportionately linked to prostitution and sexual exploitation, leaving thus, little space for other forms of exploitation, such as labour exploitation. As attested, local press pays little attention to victims' ordeals and this testifies to the absence of a victim-oriented approach on behalf of the media. Another issue that is worthy of note is the fact that articles rarely follow-up on cases. For instance, articles often mention the arrest of individuals involved in prostitution rings; however they rarely ever follow up on such cases. In addition, local press gives much attention to cases of prostitution and sexual exploitation (even though labour exploitation is far more prevalent), and this very fact could lead one in concluding that indeed, money, sex, and violence sell more, thereby publicized more.

⁸² No author "More need to be done to combat human trafficking" Cyprus Mail, 2011, September 14), available at: <http://archives.cyprus-mail.com/2011/09/14/more-needs-to-be-done-to-combat-human-trafficking/>

⁸³ No author "Much work to be done in combating human trafficking" Cyprus Mail, 2013, December, 11), available at: <http://archives.cyprus-mail.com/2013/01/11/much-work-to-be-done-in-combating-human-trafficking/>

6 POLAND

This chapter presents our analysis of how human trafficking is framed within news media publications in Poland. At the outset we provide a brief overview of human trafficking in Poland as well as a brief summary of the state of the Polish press.

6.1 TRAFFICKING IN HUMAN BEINGS IN POLAND

Poland is traditionally described as a country of origin as well as a destination country for human trafficking.⁸⁴ In the period 2010 – 2012 there were 527 cases of human trafficking.⁸⁵ Trafficking for sexual exploitation remains the dominant form of human trafficking, however, there are also cases of labour exploitation, trafficking for criminal activities as well as trafficking in children for begging and sexual exploitation.⁸⁶

The Polish Criminal Code criminalises all forms of exploitation indicated in the UN Trafficking Protocol. It defines human trafficking as follows:-

“Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons by means of:

1. violence or unlawful threat,
2. abduction,
3. deception,
4. misleading, the exploitation of a person’s mistake or their inability to properly comprehend the action being undertaken,
5. the abuse of a relation of dependence, taking advantage
6. of a critical situation or state of helplessness, giving or receiving of payments or benefits or its promise to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person – for the purpose of exploitation, even with the person’s consent. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others, pornography, or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, beggary, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of cells, tissues, or organs against the regulations of the article. Should the perpetrator’s behaviour concern a minor, it shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in points 1-6 of this article.⁸⁷

The Act on Foreigners⁸⁸ regulates the recovery and reflection period for foreign victims. Supporting the legislation is the National Action Plan against human trafficking, first adopted for 2003-2004 and now covering the period of 2013-2015.⁸⁹ In addition the Polish authorities have created the first regional task force, which covers the central parts of Poland. As of 2010 the

⁸⁴Ekstedt Anna, Anthony Olsson, Endrit Mujaj and Vineta Polatside, *Human Trafficking 2013- Baltic Sea Region Round-up*, The Council of Baltic States, Sweden, 2013, [p.84]

⁸⁵ Portal o przeciwdziałaniu handlowi ludzmi, “Dane statystyczne” 18 July 2013, available at <http://www.handelludzmi.eu/hl/baza-wiedzy/statystyki/6143,Dane-statystyczne.html>, accessed 1st August 2014

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Penal Code of 6th June 1997, article 115 (22)

⁸⁸ Act on foreigners of 12 December 2013.

⁸⁹ See European Migration Network, “The National Action Plan against Trafficking in Human Beings for 2013-2015 is adopted”, available at <https://emn.gov.pl/ese/news/10673,The-National-Action-Plan-against-Trafficking-in-Human-Beings-for-2013-2015-is-ad.html> accessed 18th September 2014

National Consulting and Intervention Centre for Victims of Human Trafficking (KCIK) provides an assistance programme to foreigners and Polish citizens both identified and non-identified as victims of human trafficking; the decision whether a person shall receive support is made by an employee of KCIK. This allows victims, who do not wish to co-operate with law authorities, to have the opportunity to receive support.

There is no independent National Rapporteur and it is the Ministry of Interior that co-ordinates functions and monitors implementation of the national action plan. The ministry is also responsible for raising awareness and bringing human trafficking to the attention of the public.

6.2 THE MEDIA IN POLAND

The press is an important media landscape in Poland and since the fall of communism in 1989 the market for free press has developed at a fast pace. The main post-communist press developments include: privatisation of the press and influx of foreign capital.⁹⁰ In Poland there is freedom of press and prohibition of both, preventive censorship and licensing of the press. The Polish press serves an important function in public debate; according to a survey conducted in 2009, around 80% of Poles declare that they read newspapers.⁹¹

The press market is home to papers and magazines established by private Polish and foreign publishers, however it is the foreign companies (predominantly German) that dominate with the only big domestic competitor coming from Agora S.A.

Readers are privy to over 5,400 press titles⁹² however, the main paper is the 'left-liberal daily *Gazeta Wyborcza*. Founded in 1989 as organ of the freedom movement *Solidarność*, the paper was one of the first free media in Poland.'⁹³ *Gazeta Wyborcza*, analysed in our study, is a broadsheet style paper. Like in the UK, there are number of tabloid style papers. *Fakt*, owned by a German company is one of the bigger tabloid papers and was also analysed in our study. In 2005 its average circulation came to 519,000 copies; in contrast to *Gazeta Wyborcza* it targets medium-to-low-income Poles of lower education levels.⁹⁴ Weekly magazines occupy an important segment of the Polish press market, among which a particular impact on shaping public opinions have *Polityka*, *Newsweek*, *Wprost*, and *Do Rzeczy*. In our analysis we have used articles from *Newsweek*. We also analysed the broadsheet *Rzeczpospolita* paper.

Gazeta Wyborcza, *Rzeczpospolita*, *Newsweek* and *Fakt* all report on national and international news and are affordable to the average Polish citizen, costing on average one Euro.

⁹⁰ Lara A., "The Polish Media Landscape" in: Terzis G (ed) *European media governance: national and regional dimensions*. Intellect, Bristol, 2008, pp 400–409

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Euro Topics, "The media landscape in Poland" available at <http://www.eurotopics.net/en/home/medienlandschaft/polenmdn/> accessed 4th August 2014

⁹⁴ Lara A., 2008, *ibid.*

6.3 FRAMING OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING BY THE MEDIA

The present section presents the results of data analysis on the Polish press' portrayal of human trafficking. The results are compared to that of the UK and Cyprus in the final conclusion of this deliverable (Chapter 7).

6.3.1 Genesis

The emerging trend from our analysis was that the majority of articles – 66% - were inspired by a case study (for examples see Table 4). As above, the term case study includes an event such as an arrest, investigation, raid or a court trial/proceedings. Fakt in particular used such case studies as a genesis for most of its stories, namely 90%. The exploration of arrest, police investigations and court cases can have a number of impacts. On one hand it may appear to readers as though the authorities have a firm grasp of fighting human trafficking. On the other hand, predominantly presenting human trafficking within the frame of prosecution can create a perception that human trafficking is a security issue and not for example an issue of human rights. Indeed, it was noted that in most cases details were given on what will happen to the offenders – usually a fine and prison sentence – but there was rare discussion on the needs of the trafficked persons. For example in an article by Fakt it was noted that the victims of a particular offender came from a troubled family and ranged between 16 – 26 years old and were moved from Poland to Germany.⁹⁵ However, the discussions often failed to include an objective discussion on the crime, including analysis of push and pull factors that caused the victims to encounter trafficking in the first place. Moreover, the fate of the victims after they have “escaped” their situation was not mentioned. Once the crime came to light the victim disappeared, and no mention was made of the health, legal, social and political rights that they are entitled to.

Table 4: examples of articles inspired by cases

| Paper | Title |
|-----------------|---|
| Gazeta Wyborcza | 27-letnia kobieta oskarzona w sprawie handle ludzmi (Translation: 27 year old woman accused of human trafficking) |
| Fakt | Policja w Szkocji uwolniła Polaków zmuszanych do niewolniczej pracy (Translation: Police in Scotland freed Poles in forced labour) |
| Fakt | Polacy sprzedali 16-latkę. Miała iść "na gwałt" (Translation: Poles sold a 16 year old, for rape) |
| Rzeczpospolita | Uwolniono 16 ciężarnych nastolatek z "fabryki dzieci" w Nigerii (Translation: 16 pregnant teenagers are feed from a "baby factory" in Nigeria) |

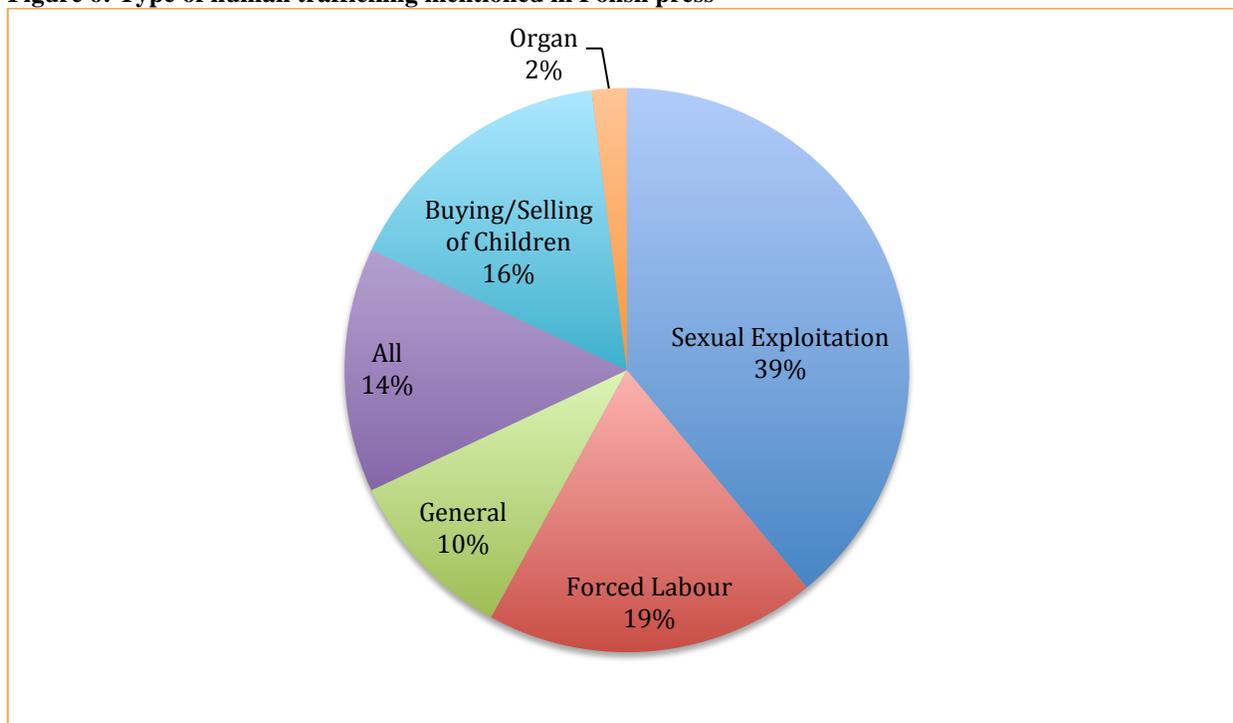
The second highest incentive for a story was a published report: governmental (foreign or national), from civil society or police.

⁹⁵ Author unknown, “Zarabiała na prostytucji. Sprzedawała Niemcom Polki i zarabiała”, *Fakt*, 13th September 2011, available on <http://www.fakt.pl/Zarabiala-na-prostytucji-Sprzedawala-Niemcom-Polki-i-zarabiala,-artykuly,114691,1.html> accessed 3rd September 2014.

6.3.2 Type of human trafficking

Figure six represents the percentage of articles that linked human trafficking to a particular form of exploitation; unfortunately there is a lack of official statistics (at Polish, NGO or EU level) on the numbers of trafficking cases per type of exploitation, which limits our ability to compare the portrayal in papers against reality.⁹⁶

Figure 6: Type of human trafficking mentioned in Polish press



The diagram shows that sexual exploitation, like in Cyprus and the UK, is the most mentioned form of human trafficking with 39% of articles linking the two together. A more detailed analysis indicated that human trafficking is often discussed parallel to laws on and cases of prostitution both in Poland and abroad. Table six exemplifies some of these articles.

Table 1 examples of articles on sexual exploitation

| Paper | Title |
|-----------------|--|
| Gazeta Wyborcza | Handel ludźmi i czerpanie korzyści z prostytucji. Aż 18 osób z zarzutami (Translation: Trafficking and exploitation of prostitution. As many as 18 people face charges) |
| Fakt | Zarabiała na prostytucji. Sprzedawała Niemcom Polki i zarabiała... (Translation: She earned from prostitution. She sold Polish girls to Germans and earned |

⁹⁶ Note for example the lack of data in: Eurostat, *Trafficking in human beings*, 2013 edition, European Commission, available at http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-is-new/news/news/2013/docs/20130415_thb_stats_report_en.pdf accessed 2nd September 2014

| | |
|----------------|--|
| | <i>money...)</i> |
| Rzeczpospolita | Zakaz prostytucji w Norwegii przynosi efekty (<i>Translation: Prohibition of prostitution in Norway brings results</i>) |

Forced labour was the second most discussed form of THB; with many articles describing cases of Polish workers going abroad to work on farms and building sites, in particular in UK or Italy.⁹⁷

16% of publications discussed the buying and/or selling of children within the prism of human trafficking.⁹⁸ The parents selling the children were usually portrayed in a manner analogous to a criminal organization, engaged in making profit from selling a human being. However, it should be noted that selling a child to a family who is unable to have children of their own is not a form of human trafficking under any of the European definitions. Only *Gazeta Wyborcza* published an article on a court ruling that notes the difference between THB and the selling of children.⁹⁹ The close proximity of human trafficking and buying/selling of children in papers can however create an incorrect public understanding that they are one and the same.

14% of articles mentioned all, or most, forms of human trafficking in their story whilst 10% referred to just human trafficking without giving examples of forms. Only 1 article focused on trafficking for the purpose of removal of organs. Through this, we can note that it is possible that the Polish public are not as aware of organ harvesting as they are of THB for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

6.3.3 Immigration

51% of articles related trafficking in human beings to immigration, this was done through either: (i) providing the foreign nationality of parties involved or (ii) describing the journey that victims take which included crossing borders. The most noticeable trend was observed in relation to Polish individuals emigrating abroad and being subjected to human trafficking; 29% of articles reported such an incident.¹⁰⁰ Although no report discussed Polish legislation and/or policy on immigration as having an impact on human trafficking, 6% of articles reported that the UK government acquaintances THB to immigration.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ See for example: Szaro G., "Jak Niewolnicy. Robotnicy z Pomorza bici i zastraszani w Londynie", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 13th February 2014, available at http://trojmiasto.gazeta.pl/trojmiasto/1,35636,15443320,Jak_niewolnicy__Robotnicy_z_Pomorza_bici_i_zastraszani.html, accessed 2nd September 2014

⁹⁸ See for example: Author unknown, "Kupila dziecko za 13,5 tys zł. W Polsce", *Fakt*, 5th August 2012, available at <http://www.fakt.pl/Sprzedala-dziecko-za-5-tys-zl-i-8-5-tys-na-wydatki-w-czasie-ciazy,artykuly,171888,1.html>, accessed 2nd September 2014.

⁹⁹ Klimowicz J., and J. Medek, "Próba kupna dziecka to nie handel ludźmi. Prawomocny wyrok", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, available at http://bialystok.gazeta.pl/bialystok/1,35241,14266109,Prоба_kupna_dziecka_to_nie_handel_ludzmi_Prawomocny.html accessed 2nd September 2014.

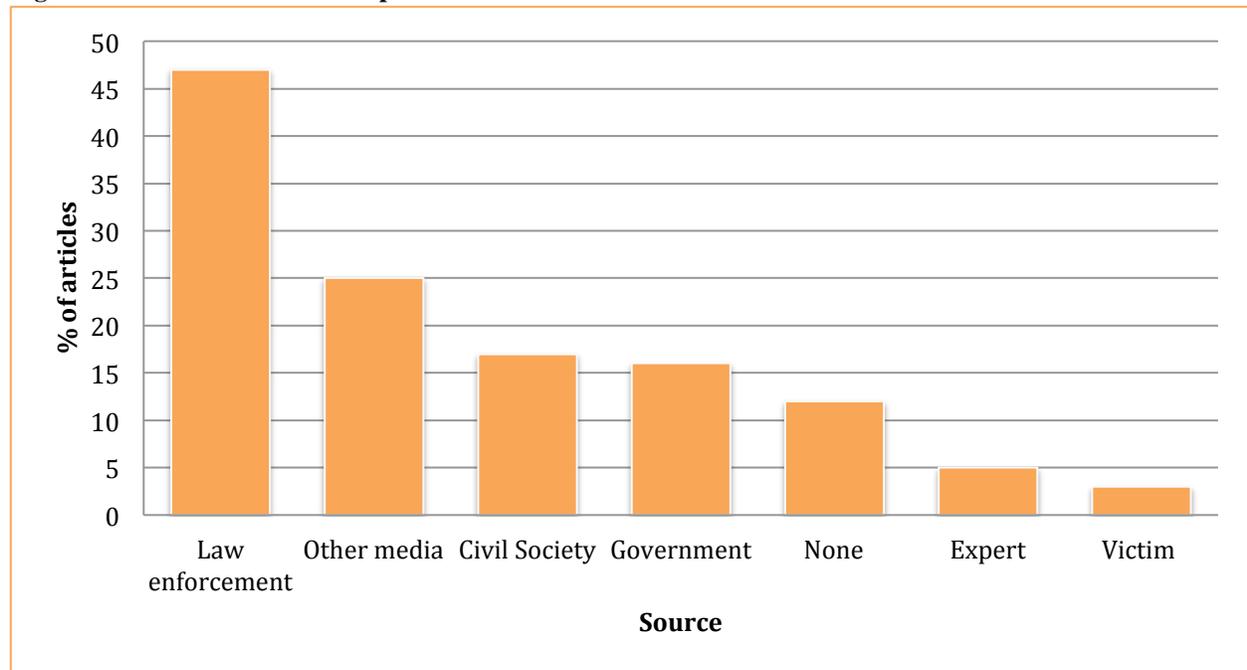
¹⁰⁰ See for example, Author unknown, "Wielka Brytania: Polacy pracowali niewolniczo przy budowie dróg", *Newsweek*, 12th September 2011, available at <http://swiat.newsweek.pl/wielka-brytania--polacy-pracowali-niewolniczo-przy-budowie-drog,81967,1,1.html> accessed 3rd September 2014

¹⁰¹ See for example Author unknown, "Londyn przymyka drzwi dla imigrantów", *Rzeczpospolita*, 15th December 2013, available at <http://www.rp.pl/artykul/1072722-Londyn-przymyka-drzwi-dla-imigrantow.html> accessed 3rd September 2014

6.3.4 Sources

Figure seven shows the use of sources in the articles analysed. The most relied on source came from the law enforcement domain (47%), including: policeman, border agents, lawyers, transcripts from court cases or police related reports. Acknowledging that the genesis for most stories related to a court case, arrest or police investigation it is unsurprising that a majority of the Polish articles used information derived from law enforcement officials. Moreover, in Poland most police units have a press spokesperson, which can easily be contacted for comment.

Figure 7: Sources used in Polish press



25% articles were based on reports from other news sources, e.g., the BBC or a news agency whilst 17% of stories used a Civil Society organisation/person for information. Only 3% of stories relied on a victim of THB; this is understandable given the sensitive position that victims find themselves in. However, it is noted that obtaining a perspective from a victim could provide valuable information to the public and policymakers. As shown above the UK press included victims as sources.

Only one article included an interview; *Newsweek* interviewed Lydia Cacho who is a Mexican journalist and author of the book entitled *Slavery: The Untold Story of international Sex Trafficking*.¹⁰² She provided accounts of meetings victims and infiltrating trafficking gangs. *Newsweek* also published an article by a journalist who undertook an investigation of sex trafficking in Cambodia.¹⁰³ Both these articles offered their readers more than a “sensational”

¹⁰² Szaniawski, P. “Seksualne niewolnice skazane na burdel”, *Newsweek*, 25th November 2013, available at <http://swiat.newsweek.pl/handel-kobietami-prostytucja-lydia-cacho-niewolnice-wladzy-newsweek.artykuly,275375,1.html> accessed 2nd September 2014.

¹⁰³ Drzyzga, E., “Kamondza. Piekło dzieci”, *Newsweek*, 2nd October 2012, available at <http://www.newsweek.pl/kambodza--pieklo-dzieci,83115,1,1.html> accessed 2nd September 2014.

report on a case; instead they explained what THB entails, how it manifests itself around the world and who falls victims. It could be derived that Newsweek targets the more educated readership and as such is more likely to publish broader and enlightening articles. Unfortunately the other three papers studied did not provide such a detailed account. In fact our analysis found that most articles on THB were less than 500 words: 78%.

6.3.5 European Union

19% of articles referred to the European Union with reference to THB, this included a mention of the European Arrest Warrant as a method of prosecuting offenders. No article was critical or flattering of EU policy/legislation on fighting THB. Only one article referred to European freedom of movement as a cause of human trafficking, however this was a reiteration of the position of a UK government document (as stated above), rather than directly criticizing freedom of movement for THB. One article discussed a harmonised EU approach to prostitution as a method of preventing THB.

6.3.6 Other

On the whole there was little “educational” value in the articles analysed (with few exceptions predominantly from Newsweek); few explained what human trafficking is, how it is caused and what are possible solutions. Instead, as mentioned afore, most reporting relied on sensational stories such as an arrest of a gang. Articles in *Gazeta Wyborcza* and *Fakt* used “punch line” like sentences for dramatic and sensational effect.

Through their coverage of various case studies many articles also provided pictures and names of offenders; it was interesting to note that many were women. For instance an article by *Fakt* detailed how a 31-year-old Polish female trafficked women to Malta for the purpose of sexual exploitation.¹⁰⁴ In addition stories reported the profits made: in an article by *Gazeta Wyborcza* it was reported that a gang from Zielona Góra, Poland, profited by around 140 000zł (33,443.00 Euro).¹⁰⁵

The study also revealed that 35% of articles focused on a story outside of Poland, thus giving the readers a perspective that THB is a worldwide phenomenon. Countries reported on included: Austria, Australia, China, Nigeria, UK, Germany, Saudi Arabia, Norway, France, The Netherlands, Cambodia, Russia, India and Somalia.

6.3.7 Summary of findings

Trafficking in human beings is a phenomenon that is publicised in the Polish press; this trend is viewed positively because there is greater likelihood that the information will reach the public, which in turn has an effect on raising awareness of human trafficking. Positively noted was also

¹⁰⁴ Author unknown, “Polka handlowała ludźmi na Malcie”, *Fakt*, 29th December 2013, available at <http://www.fakt.pl/polka-oskarzona-o-handel-ludźmi-na-malcie-i-zmuszanie-do-prostytucji,artykuly,436462,1.html>, accessed 2nd September 2014.

¹⁰⁵ Author unknown, “Handel ludźmi i czerpanie korzyści z prostytucji. Aż 18 osób z zarzutami”, 8th January 2014, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, available at http://zielonagora.gazeta.pl/zielonagora/1,35182,15238929,Handel_ludźmi_i_czerpanie_korzysci_z_prostytucji.html, accessed 2nd September 2014.

the press' focus on stories outside of Poland. At the same time however, there is concern about the information published with respect to human trafficking. The press frame THB as predominantly a problem of female sexual exploitation and organised crime, conversely few articles are dedicated to human trafficking in the context of violations of human rights, globalisation, existing law or events such as campaigns. These findings are consistent with the analysis undertaken in 2010 by Koss-Goryszewska (as laid out in chapter three). Koss-Goryszewska also noted that the press write about a particular victim, giving their age and nationality whilst no mention is made of the victim in the context of social issues or laws¹⁰⁶; this was also found in our analysis.

¹⁰⁶ Maryla Koss-Goryszewska, 2010, op. cit. p.20

7 CONCLUSION

For most citizens of Europe, information on various issues affecting their Nation State and the EU are communicated through the press, as well as other media sources and the Internet. People will look to the press to seek information, understand and interpret events. Therefore, by analysing newspaper articles this report has been able to gain an understanding on how human trafficking is understood by Europeans. At the outset of this report we presented three questions that we were concerned with: (i) how does the news media frame human trafficking? (ii) Is there much discourse on European policy and legislation? (iii) What perception of human trafficking is the public likely to retain? In this conclusion we will seek to answer them.

How does the news media frame human trafficking?

The majority of articles analysed framed human trafficking as an issue of sexual exploitation. This finding is consistent with observations made in previous research, as highlighted in Chapter 3: Literature Review. The main area of focus in the countries analysed, focused on the human aspect of human trafficking. Stories focused on the female victim and described where, by whom and how she was sexually exploited as well as the arrest/trial of the perpetrators. Rarely in any of the three countries examined did the story or subsequent articles follow up on what happened to the victim nor was there much discussion of the fundamental rights that were violated or why THB is so prevalent. Much of what the press reported on did not acknowledge that the problem of human trafficking does not begin with the traffickers but with the conditions that push the victims to migrate under circumstances that make them vulnerable.¹⁰⁷

What is the reason for framing human trafficking with the paradigm of sexual exploitation? On the one hand, the dominance of sexual exploitation as a form of THB could be a result of the fact that this type of trafficking is most reported and investigated. On the other hand is the old notion that “sex sells” and is newsworthiness. These two explanations were also provided by Koss-Goryszewska.¹⁰⁸ Ultimately, newspapers are commercial organisations and editors print articles that they hope will sell papers. However the emphasis on sexual exploitation as a form of THB further embeds stereotypes and legitimises the dominant view on human trafficking as a crime-affecting woman in the sex trade. In addition in all three countries THB was linked to prostitution. However the mixing of voluntary and forced sex work is inconsistent with legal frameworks and contributes to the stereotype of lack of agency amongst women from vulnerable backgrounds.

It can also be concluded that the focus on sexual exploitation took away from reporting on many of the other forms of THB. For as the modern legal documents highlight, human trafficking is not just sexual exploitation but also forced labour, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs or the exploitation of criminal activities. The most under-represented form was trafficking for the purpose of organ harvesting; our study thus compliments Dugan’s finding who also established that trafficking for the purpose of organ removal was the lowest documented form.¹⁰⁹ The reason for this could be that, the majority of

¹⁰⁷ See Janie Chuang, “Beyond a Snapshot: Preventing Human Trafficking in the Global Economy”, *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, Volume 13, Issue 1, 2006, 137-163

¹⁰⁸ Maryla Koss-Goryszewska, 2010, p.21

¹⁰⁹ Dugan Emily, 2013, op cit. p.13

organ harvesting cases are a one off and thus low in scale; from the perspective of the media this could be un-newsworthy. Another possible explanation is that victims may not come to the attention of the media; they may manage to escape without being 'noticed' and do not wish to prosecute those responsible and will instead return to country of origin.

In the three case studies, human trafficking was also portrayed within the criminal frame. Predominantly reporting on arrests and court cases, the papers build an image that the problem of THB is caused by organized criminal networks. In turn this creates a potentially harmful image that the appropriate solution is to focus on law enforcement responses. Where in fact, victims may benefit from more human right centred responses. Moreover, the dominance of articles in all three countries concerning arrests or prosecutions wrongly suggests that Europe is effectively prosecuting trafficking cases. However, experience from TRACE interviews with legal persons shows that most cases of THB are not prosecuted.

In the case of Poland and the UK this study revealed that human trafficking was often paralleled with immigration, thus giving the impression that immigration and THB are intertwined. No article, bar one in the Guardian, linked restrictive migration policies to causing human trafficking¹¹⁰ instead there was a common feeling that migration (in particular the free movement of people in the EU) is the cause of THB. This was usually achieved indirectly, i.e., through the repeated use of the word "migrant" or through the context of a trans border story. The consequence of focusing on the migration aspect of THB can be a difficulty for trafficked persons who will be identified in the eyes of the public, and even authorities, as irregular migrants and moreover, such a framing fails to contextualise the reality that THB can be seen as a product of restrictive migration practices. The Cypriot press did not frame human trafficking as an immigration concern, and it may be interesting to devote further research as to why this is.

Is there much discourse on European policy and legislation?

Our study revealed, little, if any attention within the news media to European policy and legislation. Despite sampling articles from 2010, around the time that the EU Directive 2011/36/EU came into force, we found no discussion on the legislation or its transcend to domestic law. Moreover, there were no discussions of EU funded projects that aim to combat human trafficking. One reason for this could be that unlike academic writers, who publish in specialised journals with an expert audience, press reporters angle their work towards the general public and often publish what they believe may sell. Long discussions of laws and their national implementation may not necessarily pull readers into reading a story. Gulati noted that journalists rely on official sources, such as government reports and quotes; there is therefore little disagreement with policy goals and it is difficult to write about alternative legislations and policies.¹¹¹ Gulati's theory was reflected in the Polish and to an extent UK press, where there was little criticism of Government policies and legislations. This is despite the fact that in both countries there are loud alternative views.¹¹² As mentioned in the Cypriot chapter, the Cyprus press was more vocal in criticising the government.

¹¹⁰ The lack of possibilities to cross borders legally causes individuals to turn to smugglers and potentially traffickers.

¹¹¹ Gulati, J., 2010, op cit. p.68

¹¹² See for example: ECPAT, "Latest assessment of human trafficking reveals gaps in Government response", 21 October 2013, available at <http://www.ecpat.org.uk/media/latest-assessment-human-trafficking-reveals-gaps-government-response> accessed 18th September 2014.

Instead of discussing legislations, Directives and politics, articles preferred to focus on reporting shocking crimes endured by victims, evoking in readers strong emotions. However, writing about human trafficking in a sensationalist manner is not necessarily a bad thing. On the one hand it does not educate the public on the realities of THB or the legal responses available, however, on the other hand, articles portraying the heinous experiences of victims are likely to lead to feelings of sympathy amongst the readership, which turn can cause readers to act by for instance donating to charities.

What perception of human trafficking is the public likely to retain?

As shown above “hard news” stories that reproduce facts and details of police and court cases, while offering little analysis of the topic, direct the public’s perception of THB. Interwoven throughout these stories are details of sexual exploitation and at times immigration. As such the perception of human trafficking that the public are likely to retain centre around human trafficking as a criminal justice and sexual exploitation issue. In addition, because of the heavy sensationalising that was found in all three case studies, the public is likely to retain the harsh and cruel images of human trafficking. With the use of wording that aims to shock the reader as to the topic of human trafficking, it is highly probable that a theme of sympathy will emerge amongst the public.

All in all, however there is room for concern as to the level of awareness that the public is likely to retain. Although the press may have educated the reader with statistics as to the global problem of human trafficking and the money that is made from it, with the exception of some UK articles, most reports failed to raise awareness of legislation or information about the philanthropic ways to help fight THB. Furthermore, the knowledge retained through reading the news media will be weak or disconnected; and as a consequence, the policies implemented by the governments can be based more on sensational information, emotions or dogmatic bias than on detailed research work. As the media is a source of information for the public, it is important to take care in shaping the content of the articles. Attention should be given to making sure that the articles reflect the realities of the crime so as not to create false images of the victims and offenders, which in turn can have an impact on the level of support and the measures taken to fight THB. Of positive news is that Human Trafficking is receiving much media attention, with The Guardian including an entire online section devoted to the issue. This means that the public are being exposed to the issue and are becoming aware that it happens in Europe. Moreover, the press are portraying THB as a problem that can happen to Europeans of all ages, and not just people from distant countries. Yet the value of detailed journalism cannot go underestimated and is further encouraged by this Deliverable.

ACRONYMS

The following abbreviations have been used in this report:

| | |
|---------------|---|
| ECtHR | European Court of Human Rights |
| EU | European Union |
| NRM | National Referral Mechanism |
| NGO | Non Governmental Organisation |
| OoCTHB | Office of Combating Trafficking in Human Beings |
| THB | Trafficking in Human Beings |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| UN | United Nations |

APPENDIX 1: PROTOCOL

- 1. Publication Title**
- 2. Date of Publication**
- 3. Details on report**
 - a. If in paper**
 - i. page in news paper**
 - ii. Under what section**
 - b. If online**
 - i. What section**
 - ii. Number of hits or comments.**
- 4. Length of report**
 - a. Under 500**
 - b. 501 – 1,500**
 - c. 1501 – 3000**
 - d. 3,001+**
- 5. Headline**
- 6. Sources used / quoted**
- 7. Topics covered**
- 8. Genesis of Report**
 - a. A case study**
 - b. Legislation**
 - c. Policy**
 - d. Other**
- 9. Language Used**
 - a. Positive**

- b. Negative**
- c. Neutral**
- d. Descriptive / Commentary**

10. Organisation Mentioned

- a. Government**
- b. European Union**
- c. Council of Europe**
- d. Experts (academic, analysis, evaluators)**
- e. Criminal Justice**
- f. Civil Society Organisation**
- g. General Public / Member of Public**
- h. Other**

11. What Frame is human trafficking placed in

- a. Human rights**
- b. Security**
- c. Prostitution**
- d. Immigration**
- e. Prosecution**
- f. Other**

12. Pictures used

13. Summary

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF ARTICLES REVIEWED FROM *THE MIRROR*

| | Source | Publication Title | Date | Website link |
|----|------------|--|------------|---|
| 1 | The Mirror | Britain's first known girl sex trafficked out of UK reveals her ordeal | 8/1/2012 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/lifestyle/family/britains-first-known-girl-sex-1675010 |
| 2 | The Mirror | Smugglers arrested as they try to sneak 200 illegal immigrants into Britain | 18/6/2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/smugglers-arrested-try-sneak-200-3720159 |
| 3 | The Mirror | Theresa May wrong on human rights blasts Tory Colleague Ken Clarke | 4/3/2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/theresa-wrong-human-rights-blasts-1743055 |
| 4 | The Mirror | 12,000 women trafficked to the UK for prostitution | 19/8/2010 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/12000-women-trafficked-to-the-uk-for-prostitution-242399 |
| 5 | The Mirror | Lambeth 'slaves' rescue: The shocking and distressing cases of modern day slavery | 21/11/2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/lambeth-slaves-rescue-10-shocking-2830139 |
| 6 | The Mirror | Child prostitutes forced to cash-in on fans at Brazil World Cup - selling sex for £1.30 | 7/6/2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/child-prostitutes-forced-cash-in-fans-3660354 |
| 7 | The Mirror | ITV's Exposure reveals UK-based diplomats were accused of 88 serious crimes over six years | 26/3/2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/tv/tv-news/exposure-diplomatic-bag-itv-reveals-3288436 |
| 8 | The Mirror | Two businessmen charged over 10 Romanians 'kept as car wash slaves' | 23/5/2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/car-wash-slaves-kershnik-avdi-3595836 |
| 9 | The Mirror | We need to stop traffickers' new tricks, warn campaigners after Sunday Mirror Romanian sex slave investigation | 23/2/14 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/need-stop-traffickers-new-tricks-3175605 |
| 10 | The Mirror | Morecambe Bay cocklepicker gangmaster freed after serving just FOUR months for each life lost | 9/2/2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/morecambe-bay-cocklepicker-gangmaster-lin-3126508#ixzz37XMi8hr1 |
| 11 | The Mirror | An illegal immigrant's story - From arriving a slave to working on checkout at Tesco | 1/2/2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/real-life-stories/illegal-immigrants-story---arriving-3099790 |
| 12 | The Mirror | Tougher sentences for human traffickers under draft anti-slavery law | 16/12/2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/anti-slavery-law-tougher-sentences-human-2932135 |
| 13 | The Mirror | Nine suspected brothels raided in crackdown on "modern day slavery" | 15/10/2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/birmingham-brothel-raids-pictures-video-2372508 |
| 14 | The Mirror | 'Slave' trafficked into country and kept prisoner in flat above shop where she was raped and beaten | 10/10/2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/slave-trafficked-country-kept-prisoner-2358097 |
| 15 | The Mirror | Oxford 'paedophile ring': 'Girls as | 15/01/2013 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/oxford-paedophile-ring-girls-as-young-1535400 |

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|----|------------|--|------------|---|
| 16 | The Mirror | Stop the traffick: 'Prostitute' flash mob in hard-hitting campaign against sale of human beings | 20/4/2012 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/prostitute-flash-mob-in-hard-hitting-campaign-801338 |
| 17 | The Mirror | "Cinderella" girl, 7, forced to work as slave by cruel family, court is told | 4/2/2012 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/cinderella-girl-7-forced-to-work-673945 |
| 18 | The Mirror | Six people freed in 'slave' raid at second gypsy camp | 17/9/2011 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/six-people-freed-in-slave-raid-154270 |
| 19 | The Mirror | At last.. a crackdown on sex traffickers | 23/3/2011 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/at-last-a-crackdown-on-sex-traffickers-117943 |
| 20 | The Mirror | Crusade to end horror of child sex trafficking: Sign our petition today | 15/3/2011 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/crusade-to-end-horror-of-child-sex-176686 |
| 21 | The Mirror | Romanian couple jailed for forcing their 7 children to beg and steal | 17/1/2011 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/romanian-couple-jailed-for-forcing-their-7-104882 |
| 22 | The Mirror | Couple traded in their daughter for a used car to another family who used her as a domestic slave, court hears | 17/11/2010 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/couple-traded-in-their-daughter-for-a-used-car-263128 |
| 23 | The Mirror | Trafficking rap for boss | 1/11/2010 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/trafficking-rap-for-boss-258712 |
| 24 | The Mirror | 12,000 women trafficked to the UK for prostitution | 19/8/2010 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/12000-women-trafficked-to-the-uk-for-prostitution-242399 |
| 25 | The Mirror | Eastern European prostitutes outnumbering Scouse women on streets - claim Merseyside sex workers | 16/2/2014 | http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/eastern-european-prostitutes-outnumbering-scouse-3152524 |

APPENDIX 3: LIST OF ARTICLES REVIEWED FROM *THE TELEGRAPH*

| | Source | Publication Title | Date | Website link |
|----|---------------|--|------------|---|
| 1 | The Telegraph | Rooting out real cases of trafficked women requires thorough investigation | 22/08/2013 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/10259274/Rooting-out-real-cases-of-trafficked-women-requires-thorough-investigation.html |
| 2 | The Telegraph | Trafficking of women for sex in UK worth £130m | 07/10/2013 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/10362256/Trafficking-of-women-for-sex-in-UK-worth-130m.html |
| 3 | The Telegraph | Loophole could allow thousands of Moldovan immigrants to enter Britain | 23/03/2013 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/9947598/Loophole-could-allow-thousands-of-Moldovan-immigrants-to-enter-Britain.html |
| 4 | The Telegraph | 'Slavery' case is 'tip of an iceberg' | 23/11/2013 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/10469922/Slavery-case-is-tip-of-an-iceberg.html |
| 5 | The Telegraph | Organ Trafficking: a deadly trade | 01/07/2013 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/10146338/Organ-trafficking-a-deadly-trade.html |
| 6 | The Telegraph | Chris Grayling launches court battle over EU rights charter | 25/02/2014 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/conservative/10597371/Chris-Grayling-launches-court-battle-over-EU-rights-charter.html |
| 7 | The Telegraph | Slavery in Britain is a feminist issue - and one I can't ignore any longer | 10/07/2014 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/10959050/Slavery-and-sex-trafficking-in-Britain-is-a-womens-issue.html |
| 8 | The Telegraph | We must all play a part in abolishing slavery | 08/04/2014 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/vaticancityandhollysee/10752750/We-must-all-play-a-part-in-abolishing-slavery.html |
| 9 | The Telegraph | Saudi princess accused of holding Kenyan servant captive in US | 11/07/2013 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/10172851/Saudi-princess-accused-of-holding-Kenyan-servant-captive-in-US.html |
| 10 | The Telegraph | I worked in the sex trade; does that make me 'trafficked'? | 18/02/2012 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/sex/9616987/I-worked-in-the-sex-trade-does-that-make-me-trafficked.html |
| 11 | The Telegraph | Can the European Parliament call a halt to prostitution as we know it? | 23/01/2014 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-politics/10591588/Prostitution-Can-European-Parliament-call-a-halt-to-it.html |
| 12 | The Telegraph | Cases of modern day slavery will increase, Home Office minister warns | 22/11/2013 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/10467020/Cases-of-modern-day-slavery-will-increase-Home-Office-minister-warns.html |
| 13 | The Telegraph | Spanish police uncover human organ trafficking ring | 13/03/2014 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/spain/10692665/Spanish-police-uncover-human-organ-trafficking-ring.html |
| 14 | The Telegraph | Nuns help rescue trafficked prostitutes in new police operation | 11/04/2014 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/10758619/Nuns-help-rescue-trafficked-prostitutes-in-new-police-operation.html |
| 15 | The Telegraph | Has sex work started to become 'socially acceptable'? This woman thinks so | 03/04/2014 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/sex/10730298/Sex-work-has-it-become-socially-acceptable.html |
| 16 | The Telegraph | 2.4 million victims of human trafficking worldwide, says UN | 04/04/2014 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/9185811/2.4-million-victims-of-human-trafficking-worldwide-says-UN.html |
| 17 | The Telegraph | Anti-slavery teams to tackle human trafficking in airports | 21/04/2014 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/10654169/Anti-slavery-teams-to-tackle-human-trafficking-in-airports.html |
| 18 | The Telegraph | Girl smuggled into Britain to have her 'organs harvested' | 18/10/2014 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/10390183/Girl-smuggled-into-Britain-to-have-her-organs-harvested.html |
| 19 | The Telegraph | Brit acquitted of sex trafficking in | 08/11/2010 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/expat/expatnews/8117753/Brit-acquitted-of-sex-trafficking-in |

| | | Bangkok | | Bangkok.html |
|----|---------------|--|------------|---|
| 20 | The Telegraph | Sex and slave labour human trafficking 'on rise' | 18/10/2012 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-politics/9616787/Sex-and-slave-labour-human-trafficking-on-rise.html |
| 21 | The Telegraph | Slavery case: two arrested ran a revolutionary Communist collective | 24/11/2013 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/crime/10471517/Slavery-case-two-arrested-ran-a-revolutionary-Communist-collective.html |
| 22 | The Telegraph | EU free movement rules being exploited by drugs runners and human traffickers, says Government study | 22/07/2014 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/10983892/EU-free-movement-rules-being-exploited-by-drugs-runners-and-human-traffickers-says-Government-study.html |
| 23 | The Telegraph | Modern-day slavery on our own doorstep | 22/11/2013 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/telegraph-view/10467948/Modern-day-slavery-on-our-own-doorstep.html |
| 24 | The Telegraph | British firms 'must make sure they do not rely on modern day slavery' | 08/04/2014 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/10753430/British-firms-must-make-sure-they-do-not-rely-on-modern-day-slavery.html |
| 25 | The Telegraph | London slaves: desperate call for help after TV charity appeal | 21/11/2013 | http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/10466771/London-slaves-desperate-call-for-help-after-TV-charity-appeal.html |

APPENDIX 4: LIST OF ARTICLES REVIEWED FROM *THE GUARDIAN*

| | <u>Source</u> | <u>Publication Title</u> | <u>Date</u> | <u>Website link</u> |
|----|---------------|--|-------------|---|
| 1 | The Guardian | Human trafficking: 'We are haunted by the horror that we have witnessed' | 14/03/2014/ | http://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2014/mar/14/human-trafficking-slavery-india |
| 2 | The Guardian | More penalties for prostitution won't help victims of human trafficking | 20/01/2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jan/20/prostitution-human-trafficking-victims-penalties-law |
| 4 | The Guardian | Inside human trafficking: don't call it 'modern day slavery' – fix it already | 25/04/2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/25/human-trafficking-modern-day-slavery-prostitution-in-new-york-city |
| 5 | The Guardian | Pope Francis says human trafficking is 'a crime against humanity' | 10/04/2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/10/pope-francis-human-trafficking-crime-humanity |
| 6 | The Guardian | London's 'shadow city' of human trafficking | 20/10/2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/davehillblog/2013/oct/20/london-shadow-city-human-trafficking-report-andrew-boff |
| 7 | The Guardian | Brides for sale: trafficked Vietnamese girls sold into marriage in China | 29/06/2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/jun/29/brides-for-sale-trafficked-vietnamese-girls-sold-marriage-china |
| 8 | The Guardian | Slavery in prawn trade: consumers urged to check source of seafood | 11/06/2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/11/slavery-prawn-shoppers-boycott-unethical-seafood-greenpeace |
| 9 | The Guardian | Modern slavery bill needs sweeping changes, says report | 08/04/2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/apr/08/modern-slavery-bill-sweeping-changes |
| 10 | The Guardian | Modern slavery will continue if corporations keep passing the buck | 27/06/2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jun/27/modern-slavery-corporations-business-sense-ethical-supply-chain |
| 11 | The Guardian | London slaves: three women freed after 30 years' captivity | 22/11/2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/21/london-slaves-freed-after-30-years-captivity |
| 12 | The Guardian | Human trafficking and south-east Asian women: it's not all about sex work | 01/08/2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2013/aug/01/human-trafficking-south-east-asian-women |
| 13 | The Guardian | Authorities failing to enforce law aimed at tackling sex with trafficked women | 19/07/2011 | http://www.theguardian.com/law/2011/jul/19/sex-law-human-trafficking-strategy |
| 14 | The Guardian | Modern slavery bill to be published | 16/12/2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/law/2013/dec/16/modern-slavery-bill-published-human-traffickers |
| 15 | The Guardian | In a globalised world, there is no cure for slavery | 16/12/2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/dec/16/globalised-world-modern-slavery-bill-theresa-may |
| 16 | The Guardian | Theresa May urged to introduce legal guardians for child trafficking victims | 13/12/2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/law/2013/dec/13/theresa-may-guardians-child-trafficking-victims |
| 17 | The Guardian | Supermarket giants in Thailand for prawn slavery talks | 30/07/2014 | http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2014/jul/30/supermarkets-thailand-prawn-slavery-seafood |
| 18 | The Guardian | UK urged to follow Nordic model of criminalising prostitution clients | 11/12/2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2013/dec/11/uk-nordic-model-prostitution-clients-buyer-sex |
| 19 | The Guardian | Scotland's human trafficking bill could make it a 'beacon to the world' | 08/10/2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2013/oct/08/scotland-human-trafficking-bill-beacon |
| 20 | The Guardian | Julia Ormond calls on businesses to do more to stamp out human trafficking | 10/09/2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2013/sep/10/julia-ormond-hollywood-human-trafficking-slavery |

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|----|--------------|--|------------|---|
| 21 | The Guardian | Media coverage of forced labour: exposing Britain's hidden crime | 24/07/2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2013/jul/24/forced-labour-britain-media-coverage |
| 22 | The Guardian | How to ... use the media to help combat human trafficking | 03/06/2013 | http://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2013/jun/03/anti-trafficking-communications-tips |
| 23 | The Guardian | Sex trafficker jailed for smuggling Nigerian orphans into Britain | 29/10/2012 | http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/oct/29/sex-trafficker-jailed-nigerian-orphans |
| 24 | The Guardian | Human trafficking: 'I never thought it could happen in this country' | 18/10/2012 | http://www.theguardian.com/law/2012/oct/18/human-trafficking-modern-day-slavery |
| 25 | The Guardian | Human trafficking to UK is rising | 18/10/2012 | http://www.theguardian.com/law/2012/oct/18/human-trafficking-uk-rising |
| 26 | The Guardian | Has the UN learned lessons of Bosnian sex slavery revealed in Rachel Weisz film? | 15/01/2012 | http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/15/bosnia-sex-trafficking-whistleblower |
| 27 | The Guardian | Inquiry launched into slavery in the UK | 12/06/2011 | http://www.theguardian.com/law/2011/jun/12/slavery-inquiry-iain-duncan-smith |

APPENDIX 5: LIST OF ARTICLES REVIEWED FROM *POLITIS*

| | Source | Publication Title | Date |
|----|---------------|---|-------------|
| 1 | Politis | Millions of people fall victims of human trafficking | 10/04/12 |
| 2 | Politis | Human trafficking is the third most profitable business | 06/04/11 |
| 3 | Politis | Human trafficking is increasing in Cyprus | 23/11/11 |
| 4 | Politis | Human trade sentences are a joke: Bodies and soles for sale | 21/11/11 |
| 5 | Politis | The stories of victims of human trade | 05/12/11 |
| 6 | Politis | Only 20 in operation out of 108 in 2007: Cuts in cabarets | 27/03/14 |
| 7 | Politis | A female suspect for pimping was arrested: Customers are running to do medical examinations | 17/09/14 |
| 8 | Politis | A 39-year-old without possessing medical certifications was arrested for prostitution | 17/10/13 |
| 9 | Politis | Campaign to suppress prostitution: Massive prosecutions of female foreigners | 12/03/13 |
| 10 | Politis | An arrest of a 50-year-old for keeping a brothel | 13/02/14 |
| 11 | Politis | Authorities on demand | 17/03/14 |
| 12 | Politis | Two women arrested in Limassol: Arrests made for a prostitution case under investigation | 22/10/12 |
| 13 | Politis | A 70-year-old was arrested in Larnaca: Living on the earnings of prostitution | 16/01/13 |
| 14 | Politis | With the involvement of Law Offices: The minister of Interior claims an industry is sustained on migration issues | 09/04/14 |

APPENDIX 6: LIST OF ARTICLES REVIEWED FROM CYPRUS MAIL

| | Source | Publication Title | Date |
|----|-------------|---|----------|
| 1 | Cyprus Mail | Much work to be done in combating human trafficking | 01/11/13 |
| 2 | Cyprus Mail | More needs to be done to combat human trafficking | 14/09/11 |
| 3 | Cyprus Mail | Tougher EU stance on human trafficking | 04/02/14 |
| 4 | Cyprus Mail | AG ordered deportation of trafficking victim | 16/03/11 |
| 5 | Cyprus Mail | Sex workers test positive for HIV, Hep B | 17/09/13 |
| 6 | Cyprus Mail | Bar owner remanded in trafficking case | 22/10/11 |
| 7 | Cyprus Mail | NGOs seek more cooperation with the state on trafficking | 23/09/10 |
| 8 | Cyprus Mail | Police waiting for green light to act on egg trafficking | 16/09/10 |
| 9 | Cyprus Mail | Man known as "the bishop" remanded for people trafficking | 17/08/10 |
| 10 | Cyprus Mail | Battle against trafficking "far from over" | 31/07/10 |
| 11 | Cyprus Mail | Underage sex suspects plead guilty | 06/04/14 |
| 12 | Cyprus Mail | House bill on sex offenders stumbles on burden of proof | 06/05/14 |
| 13 | Cyprus Mail | Lefkaritis gets 12 years for sexual exploitation | 24/06/14 |
| 14 | Cyprus Mail | Cabinet moves forward on child protection | 24/05/14 |
| 15 | Cyprus Mail | Prostitution lies made up by my ex | 29/04/10 |
| 16 | Cyprus Mail | Three men remanded in prostitution ring | 18/03/11 |
| 17 | Cyprus Mail | Police bust prostitution ring | 11/11/11 |
| 18 | Cyprus Mail | Prostitution on the rise | 29/11/12 |
| 19 | Cyprus Mail | Labour and sex trafficking investigations drop | 21/06/14 |
| 20 | Cyprus Mail | Police raid slave labour farm | 09/01/10 |

APPENDIX 7: LIST OF ARTICLES REVIEWED FROM PHILELEFTHEROS

| | Source | Publication Title | Date |
|----|----------------|---|----------|
| 1 | Phileleftheros | No woman should be forced into prostitution | 14/07/12 |
| 2 | Phileleftheros | Trafficking in humans is a global problem | 04/07/11 |
| 3 | Phileleftheros | More NGOs for human trafficking | 14/02/12 |
| 4 | Phileleftheros | Tens of trafficking victims: 35 suspects in 2010 and only one conviction | 04/06/11 |
| 5 | Phileleftheros | To friends of police association | 03/08/12 |
| 6 | Phileleftheros | Children are being sexually abused in Cyprus | 12/06/11 |
| 7 | Phileleftheros | Impregnation at a house of the elderly: Sexual abuses and deaths of people with special needs | 08/07/10 |
| 8 | Phileleftheros | Children and sexual abuse | 04/04/12 |
| 9 | Phileleftheros | Paedophiles in jail: Lefkarites and Nicolaou were convicted to 12 and 10 years in prison respectively | 25/06/14 |
| 10 | Phileleftheros | 20 euro for a drink and 80 euro for sex | 29/01/10 |
| 11 | Phileleftheros | White slave trade from the former Soviet Union | 12/09/10 |
| 12 | Phileleftheros | International ring lies behind the operation of a brothel | 20/02/14 |
| 13 | Phileleftheros | In prostitution with her new-born | 23/10/12 |
| 14 | Phileleftheros | Underage females and adult women are victims of trafficking | 27/02/14 |
| 15 | Phileleftheros | In the underground of prostitution: An international network between Greece, Rhodes, and Russia | 19/11/11 |
| 16 | Phileleftheros | “Nansi” is taken to court for prostitution | 23/03/11 |
| 17 | Phileleftheros | Prostitution ring, Cyprus – Romania – Ukraine | 03/06/10 |
| 18 | Phileleftheros | Treasured pink notebook: Revealing information contained in Nansi’s notebook | 24/03/11 |
| 19 | Phileleftheros | Trafficking gate: Cyprus, a destination of victims of economic – sexual exploitation | 29/04/10 |
| 20 | Phileleftheros | Penalisation of sex buyers: The recommendations of the Ombudsman | 15/02/14 |
| 21 | Phileleftheros | Chinese witnesses ask to leave: The ‘difficulties’ with the mafia have started coming to light | 04/02/11 |
| 22 | Phileleftheros | The Republic and society tolerate human trafficking | 13/02/12 |
| 23 | Phileleftheros | Trafficking through adoptions | 31/03/11 |
| 24 | Phileleftheros | Residents against a brothel | 30/11/11 |

APPENDIX 8: LIST OF ARTICLES REVIEWED FROM GAZETA WYBORCZA

| | <u>Source</u> | <u>Publication Title</u> | <u>Date</u> | <u>Website link</u> |
|----|-----------------|---|-------------|---|
| 1 | Gazeta Wyborcza | W Wielkiej Brytanii kwitnie handel ludźmi | 12/03/2013 | http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,13543245,W_Wielkiej_Brytanii_kwitnie_handel_ludzi.html |
| 2 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Handel ludźmi i czerpanie korzyści z prostytucji. Aż 18 osób z zarzutami | 08/01/2014 | http://zielonagora.gazeta.pl/zielonagora/1,35182,15238929,Handel_ludzi_i_czerpanie_korzysci_z_prostytucji_.html |
| 3 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Próba kupna dziecka to nie handel ludźmi. Prawomocny wyrok | 12/07/2013 | http://bialystok.gazeta.pl/bialystok/1,35241,14266109,Proba_kupna_dziecka_to_nie_handel_ludzi_Prawomocny.html |
| 4 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Burdel zamiast opieki nad dziećmi. Kolejny akt oskarżenia za handel ludźmi | 28/04/2014 | http://bialystok.gazeta.pl/bialystok/1,35241,15870578,Burdel_zamiast_opieki_nad_dziecmi_Kolejny_akt_oskarzenia.html |
| 5 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Ruszył process oskarżonej o handel ludźmi. | 12/10/2011 | http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,10458243,Szczecin_Ruszył_proces_oskarzonej_o_handel_ludzi.html |
| 6 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Policja: rosyjskojęzyczne siatki aktywne w handlu ludźmi | 21/07/2011 | http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,9987399,Lotwa_Policja_rosyjskojezyczne_siatki_aktywne_w_handlu.html |
| 7 | Gazeta Wyborcza | 27-letnia kobieta oskarżona w sprawie handlu ludźmi | 13/09/2011 | http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,10278385,Szczecin_27_letnia_kobieta_oskarzona_w_sprawie_handlu.html |
| 8 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Akt oskarżenia w sprawie handlu ludźmi trafił do sądu | 27/07/2011 | http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,10007473,Lubuskie_Akt_oskarzenia_w_sprawie_handlu_ludzi_trafil_do_sadu.html |
| 9 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Więził I wykorzystywał młoda kobiety. Ma zarzuty | 02/06/2014 | http://radom.gazeta.pl/radom/1,48201,16081417,Wiezil_i_wykorzystywal_mlada_kobiety_Ma_zarzuty.html |
| 10 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Prokuratura nie daruje "handlu dziećmi". Apelacja w głośnym procesie | 19/06/2013 | http://bialystok.gazeta.pl/bialystok/1,35241,14128387,Prokuratura_nie_daruje_handlu_dziecmi_Apelacja.html#ixzz3A5MjMtdG |
| 11 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Zarzut handlowania ludźmi dla rodziców sprzedanego noworodka | 15/09/2011 | http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,10294906,Wroclaw_Zarzut_handlowania_ludzi_dla_rodzicow_sprzedanego.html |
| 12 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Handlowali kobietami I zmuszali je do prostytucji | 13/04/2014 | http://lodz.gazeta.pl/lodz/1,35153,15792286,Handlowali_kobietami_i_zmuszali_je_do_prostytucji.html |
| 13 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Ukraińska milicja I polska policja o zapobieganiu handlowi ludźmi | 14/09/2011 | http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,10288851,Kijow_Ukraińska_milicja_i_polska_policja_o_zapobieganiu.html |
| 14 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Policka rozbila gang handlarzy ludźmi, straszacy czarna magia | 23/08/2011 | http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,10160052,Czechy_Policja_rozbila_gang_handlarzy_ludzi_straszacy.html |
| 15 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Jak niewolnicy. Robotnicy z Pomorza bici i zastraszani w Londynie | 13/02/2014 | http://trojmiasto.gazeta.pl/trojmiasto/1,35636,15443320,Jak_niewolnicy_Robotnicy_z_Pomorza_bici_i_zastraszani.html |
| 16 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Bohater serial dokumentalnego odpowie za handel kobietami | 10/10/2011 | http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,10445176,Slaskie_Bohater_serialu_dokumentalnego_odpowie_za.html |
| 17 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Londyn walczy z nowym niewolnictwem | 17/12/2013 | http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,15146990,Londyn_walczy_z_nowym_niewolnictwem.html |
| 18 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Poruszające wyniki raportu o niewolnictwie. Nie w Afryce, nie w Azji - ale w Polsce, tuż obok nas | 07/05/2013 | http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,13859578,Poruszajace_wyniki_raportu_o_niewolnictwie_Nie_w.html#ixzz3A5k8YvDh |

| | | | | |
|----|-----------------|---|------------|---|
| 19 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Stworzyli w Ścinawie obóz pracy przymusowej, grozi im do 15 lat więzienia | 20/06/2012 | http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,11975931,Stworzyli_w_Scinawie_oboz_pracy_przymusowej_grozi.html |
| 20 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Kraków. Rozpoczął się proces w sprawie handlu kobietami | 23/08/2011 | http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,10159747,Krakow_Rozpoczal_sie_proc_es_w_sprawie_handlu_kobietami.html |
| 21 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Traktowani jak niewolnicy. Wyrok za obozy pracy we Włoszech | 13/11/2013 | http://krakow.gazeta.pl/krakow/1,44425,14946582,Traktowani_jak_niewolnicy__Wyrok_za_obozy_pracy_we.html |
| 22 | Gazeta Wyborcza | 7 milionów podpisów pod petycją do ONZ ws. walki z handlem dziećmi | 29/09/2011 | http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,10381102,7_milionow_podpisow_pod_petycja_do_ONZ_ws_walki_z.html |
| 23 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Zbrodnia. Twarzą w twarz ze współczesnym niewolnictwem | 08/03/2010 | http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,7632183,Zbrodnia_Twarza_w_twarz_ze_wspolczesnym_niewolnictwem.html |
| 24 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Kuwejcki dyplomata półtora roku więził w warszawskiej rezydencji dwie służące z Filipin. Nic mu nie zrobią! | 19/05/2014 | http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,15985928,Kuwejcki_dyplomata_poltora_roku_wiezil_w_warszawskiej.html |
| 25 | Gazeta Wyborcza | Australia wyrzuca "boat people", czyli handel ludźmi na Antypodach | 02/08/2013 | http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,14380278,Australia_wyrzuca_boat_people_czyli_handel_ludzi.html |

APPENDIX 9: LIST OF ARTICLES REVIEWED FROM FAKT

| | <u>Source</u> | <u>Publication Title</u> | <u>Date</u> | <u>Website link</u> |
|----|---------------|--|-------------|---|
| 1 | Fakt | Polka handlowała ludźmi na Malcie? | 29/12/2013 | http://www.fakt.pl/polka-oskarzona-o-handel-ludzmi-na-malcie-i-zmuszanie-do-prostyucji,artykuly,436462,1.html |
| 2 | Fakt | Handlowali ludźmi w Polsce | 09/03/2012 | http://www.fakt.pl/Handlowali-ludzmi-W-Polsce,artykuly,148089,1.html |
| 3 | Fakt | Polski gang z Pabianic handlował ludźmi. Zarobił 7,5 mln zł! | 30/05/2012 | http://www.fakt.pl/Polski-gang-z-Pabianic-handlowal-ludzmi-Zarobil-7-5-mln-zl-,artykuly,160177,1.html |
| 4 | Fakt | Gang pakistańskich handlarzy żywym towarem wabi Polki | 25/08/2011 | http://www.fakt.pl/Handlarze-zywym-towarem-z-Pakistanu-wabia-Polki-,artykuly,112873,1.html |
| 5 | Fakt | Kupila dziecko za 13,5 tyz zl. W Polsce | 05/08/2012 | http://www.fakt.pl/Sprzedala-dziecko-za-5-tys-zl-i-8-5-tys-na-wydatki-w-czasie-ciazy,artykuly,171888,1.html |
| 6 | Fakt | Sadownik spod Grójca więził Afrykanke! Został zatrzymany | 03/06/2014 | http://www.fakt.pl/sadownik-spod-grojca-wiezil-afrykanke-zostal-zatrzymany,artykuly,465269,1.html |
| 7 | Fakt | Wypożyczali i sprzedawali niemowlęta | 13/12/2013 | http://www.fakt.pl/maluszki-maja-kilka-miesiecy-nie-wiadomo-z-jakiego-kraju-pochodza-i-jak-trafily-do-mafii,artykuly,434175,1.html |
| 8 | Fakt | Polickja w Szkocji uwolniła Polaków zmuszanych do niewolniczej pracy | 17/10/2013 | http://www.fakt.pl/polickja-w-szkocji-uwolnila-polakow-zmuszanych-do-niewolniczej-pracy,artykuly,424053,1.html |
| 9 | Fakt | Porwał małą Julię, by sprzedać ją Niemcom? | 06/08/2013 | http://www.fakt.pl/Porwal-mala-Julie-by-sprzedac-ja-Niemcom-,artykuly,224198,1.html |
| 10 | Fakt | Dziewczynka z Somalii miała zostać zabita dla organów na przeszczepy | 21/10/2013 | http://www.fakt.pl/dziewczynka-z-somalii-miala-zostac-zabita-dla-organow-na-przeszczepy,artykuly,424650,1.html |
| 11 | Fakt | Rencista trzymał w piwnicy niewolnice | 28/03/2013 | http://www.fakt.pl/Austria-rencista-trzymal-w-piwnicy-niewolnice,artykuly,205575,1.html |
| 12 | Fakt | Matka sprzedala dziecko za 40 zł | 07/12/2012 | http://www.fakt.pl/Matka-sprzedala-dziecko-za-40-zl-Matka-sprzedala-dziecko-do-tkalni-w-Indiach-za-rownowartosc-40-zl-,artykuly,191303,1.html |
| 13 | Fakt | W Polsce można kupić dziecko za 2 tysiące złotych! | 07/08/2012 | http://www.fakt.pl/Sprzedaja-dzieci-jak-stare-przedmioty,artykuly,224385,1.html |
| 14 | Fakt | Rodzice z Wrocławia sprzedali dziecko za 5,5 tys. zł | 15/09/2011 | http://www.fakt.pl/Rodzice-z-Wroclawia-sprzedali-dziecko-za-5-5-tys-zl,artykuly,114974,1.html |
| 15 | Fakt | Zarabiała na prostytucji. Sprzedawała Niemcom Polki i zarabiała... | 13/09/2012 | http://www.fakt.pl/Zarabiala-na-prostyucji-Sprzedawala-Niemcom-Polki-i-zarabiala-,artykuly,114691,1.html |
| 16 | Fakt | Gwałcili ją i trzymali w piwnicy, a ona im sprzątała | 13/02/2012 | http://www.fakt.pl/Sprzatala-gwalcili-ja-trzymali-w-piwnicy,artykuly,145678,1.html |
| 17 | Fakt | Zlikwidowano "ludzką farmę". Noworodki szły na sprzedaż | 03/06/2011 | http://www.fakt.pl/Zlikwidowano-quot-ludzka-farme-quot-Noworodki-szly-na-sprzedaz-,artykuly,105412,1.html |
| 18 | Fakt | Polacy sprzedali 16-latkę. Miała iść "na gwałt" | 02/06/2011 | http://www.fakt.pl/Polacy-sprzedali-16-latke-Miala-isc-quot-na-gwalt-quot-,artykuly,105280,1.html |
| 19 | Fakt | Sprzedal córkę za cztery krowy | 21/01/2010 | http://www.fakt.pl/Sprzedal-corke-za-cztery-krowy,artykuly,62445,1.html |
| 20 | Fakt | Sprzedawali kobiety do agencji | 06.11.2010 | http://www.fakt.pl/Sprzedawali-kobiety-do-agencji-FILM,artykuly,56571,1.html |

APPENDIX 10: LIST OF ARTICLES REVIEWED FROM NEWSWEEK

| | Source | Publication Title | Date | Website link |
|----|----------|---|------------|---|
| 1 | Newsweek | Chiny i Rosja bagatelizują handel ludźmi | 24/06/2013 | http://swiat.newsweek.pl/chiny-i-rosja-bagatelizuja-handel-ludzmi,105682,1,1.html |
| 2 | Newsweek | Sondaż: W Polsce przybywa niewolników | 09/08/2011 | http://polska.newsweek.pl/sondaz--w-polsce-przybywa-niewolnikow,55593,1,1.html |
| 3 | Newsweek | Współczesne niewolnictwo | 17/03/2013 | http://swiat.newsweek.pl/wspolczesne-niewolnictwo,102556,1,1.html |
| 4 | Newsweek | Skazani za handel ludźmi | 10/06/2013 | http://polska.newsweek.pl/skazani-za-handel-ludzmi,105218,1,1.html |
| 5 | Newsweek | Seksualne niewolnice skazane na burdel | 25/11/2013 | http://swiat.newsweek.pl/handel-kobietami-prostyucja-lydia-cacho-niewolnice-wladzy-newsweek,artykuly,275375,1.html |
| 6 | Newsweek | W „Newsweeku”: Noworodka tanio sprzedam | 05/05/2013 | http://polska.newsweek.pl/w--newsweeku---noworodka-tanio-sprzedam,104107,1,1.html |
| 7 | Newsweek | Serialowy bohater podejrzany o handel kobietami | 11/08/2010 | http://polska.newsweek.pl/serialowy-bohater-podejrzany-o-handel-kobietami,63058,1,1.html |
| 8 | Newsweek | Kambodża. Piekło dzieci | 10/10/2011 | http://www.newsweek.pl/kambodza--pieklo-dzieci,83115,1,1.html |
| 9 | Newsweek | Ponad 800 tys. niewolników w Unii Europejskiej | 13/10/2013 | http://swiat.newsweek.pl/raport-parlamentu-europejskiego-niewolnictwo-przestepczosc-w-ue,artykuly,272428,1.html |
| 10 | Newsweek | Wielka Brytania: Polacy pracowali niewolniczo przy budowie dróg | 12/09/2011 | http://swiat.newsweek.pl/wielka-brytania--polacy-pracowali-niewolniczo-przy-budowie-drog,81967,1,1.html |
| 11 | Newsweek | Holandia wprowadzi system obserwacji granic | 21/11/2011 | http://swiat.newsweek.pl/holandia-wprowadzi-system-obszerwacji-granic,84726,1,1.html |
| 12 | Newsweek | Niewolnicy | 09/08/2011 | http://polska.newsweek.pl/niewolnicy,14074,1,1.html |
| 13 | Newsweek | Polska i Niemcy planują wymianę policjantów | 14/11/2012 | http://polska.newsweek.pl/polska-i-niemcy-planuja-wymiane-policjantow,98410,1,1.html |
| 14 | Newsweek | Unia bierze się za prostytutki | 19/03/2014 | http://polska.newsweek.pl/prostyucja-w-europie-czy-polska-przyjmie-szwedzki-model-newsweek-pl,artykuly,282413,1.html |
| 15 | Newsweek | Polki w Szwecji pracowały jak niewolnice | 01/02/2010 | http://swiat.newsweek.pl/polki-w-szwecji-pracowaly-jak-niewolnice,52951,1,1.html |
| 16 | Newsweek | Seks po francusku, czyli rewolucja w prostytucji | 29/11/2013 | http://swiat.newsweek.pl/prostyucja-we-francji-zmiany-w-prawie-na-newsweek-pl,artykuly,275906,1.html |
| 17 | Newsweek | W "Newsweeku": Modelki czy prostytutki? | 20/01/2013 | http://polska.newsweek.pl/w--newsweeku---modelki-czy-prostyutki,100621,1,1.html |
| 18 | Newsweek | Problem z zebrzącymi dziećmi. List RPD: Nie mogą być wykorzystywane do zebrania | 05/-7/2012 | http://polska.newsweek.pl/problem-z-zebrzaczymi-dzieci--list-rpd--nie-moga-byc-wykorzystywane-do-zebrania,93741,1,1.html |
| 19 | Newsweek | „Poświęcimy więcej troski dzieciom” – Jan Paweł II | 12/03/2011 | http://blogi.newsweek.pl/Tekst/historia/554491,%E2%80%9Eposwiecimy-wiecej-troski-dzieciom%E2%80%9D-%E2%80%93-jan-pawel-ii.html |
| 20 | Newsweek | CBS buduje nową siedzibę. Koszt: 60 mln zł | 30/05/2013 | http://polska.newsweek.pl/cbs-bduje-nowa-siedzibe--koszt--60-mln-zl,104868,1,1.html |

APPENDIX 11: LIST OF ARTICLES REVIEWED FROM RZECZPOSPOLITA

| | Source | Publication Title | Date | Website link |
|----|----------------|--|------------|---|
| 1 | Rzeczpospolita | Zakaz prostytutki w Norwegii przynosi efekty | 11/08/2014 | http://www.rp.pl/artykul/1132646-Zakaz-prostytucji-w-Norwegii-przynosi-efekty.html |
| 2 | Rzeczpospolita | Ukradnij sobie służbę | 10/06/2014 | http://www.rp.pl/artykul/1116735-Ukradnij-sobie-sluzbe.html |
| 3 | Rzeczpospolita | Walka z pedofilia w turystyce | 10/06/2014 | http://prawo.rp.pl/artykul/1116827-Walka-z-pedofilia-w-turystyce.html |
| 4 | Rzeczpospolita | Straszny dzień dla przestępców na granicy polsko-niemieckiej | 15/05/2014 | http://prawo.rp.pl/artykul/1110070-Straszny-dzien-dla-przestepcow-na-granicy-polsko-niemieckiej.html |
| 5 | Rzeczpospolita | Wrocławski sąd: nie było handlu noworodkiem | 27/12/2013 | http://www.rp.pl/artykul/1075273-Wroclawski-sad--nie-bylo-handlu-noworodkiem.html |
| 6 | Rzeczpospolita | Londyn przymyka drzwi dla imigrantów | 15/12/2013 | http://www.rp.pl/artykul/1072722-Londyn-przymyka-drzwi-dla-imigrantow.html |
| 7 | Rzeczpospolita | Wielka Brytania przeciw współczesnemu niewolnictwu | 24/11/2013 | http://www.rp.pl/artykul/1067437-Wielka-Brytania-przeciw-wspolczesnemu-niewolnictwu.html |
| 8 | Rzeczpospolita | Uwolniono 16 ciężarnych nastolatk z "fabryki dzieci" w Nigerii | 04/12/2013 | http://www.rp.pl/artykul/1069935-Uwolniono-16-ciezarnych-nastolatek-z--fabryki-dzieci--w-Nigerii.html |
| 9 | Rzeczpospolita | Królikowski: Polska nie może zalegalizować prostytutki | 31/07/2013 | http://prawo.rp.pl/artykul/1034805-Krolikowski--Polska-nie-moze-zalegalizowac-prostytucji.html |
| 10 | Rzeczpospolita | Chiny: uratowano ponad 90 dzieci przeznaczonych na sprzedaż | 28/09/2013 | http://www.rp.pl/artykul/1052354-Chiny--uratowano-ponad-90-dzieci-przeznaczonych-na-sprzedaz.html |
| 11 | Rzeczpospolita | Rusza Międzynarodowy Festiwal Filmów o Handlu Ludźmi | 11/10/2012 | http://www.rp.pl/artykul/941351-Rusza-Miedzynarodowy-Festiwal-Filmow-o-Handlu-Ludzmi.html |
| 12 | Rzeczpospolita | Bracia G. skazani z handel ludźmi | 27/10/2011 | http://www.rp.pl/artykul/740556-Bracia-G--skazani-z-handel-ludzmi.html |