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Nodes, guardians and signs: Raising barriers to human trafficking in the tourism industry



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HIGHLIGHTS

- Trafficking in human beings (THB) as a criminal activity in the tourism sector.
- Criminology theories and symbolic interactionism offer a THB prevention framework.
- Trafficked victims' journeys in a hotel are mapped.
- Signs, guardians and critical intervention points identified to disrupt THB.
- Potential barriers that can disrupt THB crimes in a hotel are proposed.

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ABSTRACT

Trafficking in human beings (THB) is a growing criminal activity involving the movement of victims by force or coercion for sexual or labour exploitation. THB is often facilitated unwittingly by tourism businesses. This study sought ways to disrupt the opportunities for THB in the hotel sector through the application of criminology theories. A qualitative study was conducted in three European countries (UK, Finland and Romania), employing semi-structured key stakeholder interviews, a survey of hotel managers and focus groups. Using concepts primarily from crime pattern theory, hotels were confirmed as THB activity spaces and 'crime journeys' were mapped with the nodes where offenders and their victims converge with different 'guardians' (hotel employees and managers). Warning signs and critical intervention points where THB opportunities can be disrupted were also identified. The resulting framework of the trafficked victim's journey can be used by any tourism business wishing to help prevent this crime.

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1. Introduction

Trafficking in human beings (THB) is a form of modern day slavery affecting almost every country in the world (Europol, 2016). It involves the movement of victims through force, psychological coercion or abuse, predominantly for the purposes of sexual or labour exploitation. THB is a rapidly growing criminal activity despite concerted efforts worldwide to address it. Hopper and Hidalgo (2006) maintain that the victims' physical and psychological erosion through chronic fear become the "invisible chains" (p. 185) that bind them into slavery. While there is great disparity between the number of estimated victims, e.g., 21 million by the

ILO (2017) and 45.8 million by the Walk Free Foundation (2017), there is consensus that official statistics reflect only the "tip of the iceberg" (Di Nicola, 2007, p. 53). The Palermo Protocol, the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons (2000), is the most globally adopted legislative framework (UNODC, 2016), requiring signatories to make THB a criminal offence (Hernandez & Rudolph, 2015).

Researchers acknowledge that THB often involves the use of legitimate businesses, which, knowingly or unknowingly, are enablers of THB (Aronowitz, Theuermann, & Tyurykanova, 2010; Skrivankova, 2010), providing opportunities for the crime to take place. Tourism businesses, by their very nature, facilitate the movement and accommodation of traffickers and their victims and thus are potential THB enablers. There are numerous examples of airlines, travel agencies and restaurants being used by traffickers for their crimes (Bulman, 2017; Carolin, Lindsay, & Victor, 2015; Deutsch, 2016; Donovan, 2010). A growing recognition of THB

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within the tourism industry has led to many commendable initiatives such as the introduction of the Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism. However, the majority of these efforts to date have focussed on increasing the awareness of THB and particularly of child sexual exploitation (CSE). There is arguably a need to increase awareness of other types of sexual and labour trafficking and to identify measures to disrupt the business of THB within the tourism industry.

Tourism researchers have thus far considered human trafficking within broader studies of sex tourism (Cansel, Ekiz, & Bavik, 2009; Chang & Chen, 2013; Uzama, 2011) and labour exploitation, mainly of migrant workers (Hjalager, 2008; Joppe, 2012; Robinson, 2013). Child exploitation has been of particular attention (Brackenridge, Rhind, & Palmer-Felgate, 2014; Magablih & Naamneh, 2010) with researchers suggesting prevention practices in the travel and tourism (Richter, 2005; Tepelus, 2008) and hotel sectors (Kalargyrou & Woods, 2015). Researchers have also highlighted the potential for mega events to provide opportunities for sex trafficking (Brackenridge et al., 2014; Matheson & Finkel, 2013). However, there is currently no research that offers a more in-depth study of THB as a crime in the tourism sector and that proposes a methodology for identifying critical intervention points where a tourism destination or tourism businesses can raise barriers to disrupt this crime.

This paper contributes to this gap by combining theories of criminology and social science to understand THB patterns and the behaviour of traffickers and victims within tourism industry and identify ways to disrupt this criminal business. It reports the findings of a hotel study partly funded by the European Commission's Directorate of Home Affairs under the Internal Security Fund's targeted call for Trafficking in Human Beings. The hotel industry, was deemed an appropriate research context given its susceptibility to both sexual and labour trafficking (Annison, 2013; Tuppen, 2013). In doing so, it answers calls for further research on the prevention of THB (Birkenhager, 2014; Kabance, 2014) and the involvement of the private sector in its prevention (Friesendorf, 2007; Rogoz, 2016).

The research makes two distinct contributions to our understanding of THB. Firstly, it identifies critical intervention points within hotels where trafficking for sexual and labour exploitation can be disrupted. Secondly, it identifies potential warning signs at each of these intervention points that can alert staff members to potential THB incidents and practical measures that can be implemented to erect barriers to effectively disrupt THB. Whilst the framework is hotel-specific, the overall approach of mapping a trafficked victims journey, of identifying critical intervention points, and of recognising warning signals, may be applied by any tourism business or destination management organisation.

The paper begins by defining THB and examines it as a business opportunity to identify the reasons for its prevalence. Criminological theories and concepts are then used to examine the opportunities for THB generally and then within the hotel sector. The

research design is presented next, before the findings of the study are discussed. A hotel-specific framework which depicts the trafficked victims' journey is then developed. The conclusion identifies the implications and limitations of the study and directions for future research.

2. Trafficking in human beings (THB)

Although there are different definitions of THB adopted globally (Wylie & McRedmond, 2010), the Palermo Protocol (2000) applies the following definition.

The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs or other types of exploitation. (Article 3, para. (a)).

This definition identifies the three major elements of THB: (a) the act (what is done); (b) the means (how it is done); and (c) the purpose (why it is done) as depicted in Table 1. Victims of THB include both adults and children; male and female. While Table 1 identifies different purposes or types of exploitation, the majority (79%) of victims are trafficked for sexual exploitation and 18% for labour exploitation (UNODC, 2016). This definition and the elements of THB clearly highlight why it is a human rights crime. The following section however, examines THB as a business opportunity, albeit a criminal one.

2.1. THB as a business opportunity

There are numerous factors that underpin the growth of THB, with some scholars (e.g., Simmons & Lloyd, 2010) arguing that THB represents the dark side of globalisation. These factors can be divided into those that 'push' victims and those that 'pull' victims into THB (Wheaton, Schauer, & Galli, 2010). Victims might be 'pushed' into falling prey to traffickers due to poverty and unemployment, limited social support (Bales, 2005), poor or limited education (Kelly, 2002), an unstable family life, domestic violence, war or civil unrest (Hughes, 2000) and underlying cultural attitudes and practices (Ejalu, 2006). Accordingly, Aronowitz et al. (2010) advise that victims share the common trait of being vulnerable or being in a vulnerable situation within their countries of origin. Victims are also 'pulled' into trafficking by environmental factors in destination countries where there are job or educational opportunities, higher wages, political stability and the demand for sexual services and foreign labour (Kabance, 2014). These pull factors increase the willingness of victims to migrate, making them more susceptible to traffickers (Hernandez & Rudolph, 2015).

The Three Major Elements of Trafficking in Human Beings (THB). Adapted from United Nations (2000) The protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations convention against transnational organized crime. GA res, 55, p.25 (November 15).

Act of THB	Means of THB	Purpose of THB
Recruitment	Threat or use of force	Sexual exploitation
Transport	Abduction	Prostitution of others
Transfer	Coercion	Forced labour or services Modern slavery
Harbouring	Deception	Servitude
Receipt of persons	Fraud	Removal of organs
	Abuse of power	Other types of exploitation (e.g. forced criminality, begging, marriage)
	Vulnerability	
	Payments or benefits to person in control of another person	

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