

## **Male Human Trafficking as an Unrecognised Problem**

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## Male Human Trafficking as an Unrecognised Problem

By: Jessica Jackman

### BACKGROUND

The past decade has shown a significant increase in both the prevalence and awareness of human trafficking. President Barack Obama even went so far as to label it “modern day slavery”.<sup>1</sup> The International Labor Office (ILO) published its first global estimates of forced labour in 2005 indicating approximately 12.3 million people are trafficked yearly. In less than ten years, the new report—released in 2012—indicated that the number had increased by almost 70 per cent to 20.9 million people; 55 per cent of those were women and girls while the other 45 per cent were men and boys.<sup>2</sup> Although 98 per cent of victims of sexual exploitation in the private sector remain female, the majority of labour exploitation victims in the private sector are male (60 percent.)<sup>3</sup>

Under Article 3, Section (a) of the UN’s *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children*, the UN defines “trafficking in persons” as: “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipts 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

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<sup>1</sup> Obama, Barack. United States Government. *Clinton Global Initiative Speech*. Politico, 2012. Web. <<http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0912/81655.html>>.

<sup>2</sup> The increase likely has some to do with more sophisticated methodology and better data sources in combination to an actual increase in the number of people being trafficked. There are also numbers of State-imposed forced labour that are not address in this paper as there is not enough space to do so.

<sup>3</sup> International Labour Organization. Special Action Programme to Combat Forced Labour. *ILO Global Estimates of Forced Labour Results and Methodology*. 2012. Print.

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”.<sup>4</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

Since the creation of the UN’s definition of “Trafficking in Persons” in 2000, there has been significant improvement in methodology and data collection on human trafficking. Although there remains a great deal of work to be done on this front, the improved techniques have shed light on the growing—and arguably pre-existing, but not previously considered—trend of male human trafficking. Although this is starting to be recognised in the international community, it is generally only tacitly mentioned in most reports and rarely considered in prevention or response programs. This is evident in the title of the UN’s protocol that specifically states “especially women and children”. The UN is not alone in focusing on mostly women and children; most international agencies addressing human trafficking pay special attention to women and children in their dialogue and mention men in passing. While it is true that women comprise the majority of known cases of human trafficking, numbers are increasing for men. Indeed, it is very likely that the real numbers are drastically higher for both men and women. The ILO’s methodology in its most recent report on human trafficking indicates that the standard error for global estimates of

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<sup>4</sup> United Nations. UN General Assembly. *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Article 3 (a)*. 2000. Print.

trafficking victims in 2012 was 1,400,000.<sup>5</sup>

Various reasons could explain the underestimates and exclusion of men from the dialogue on human trafficking. This paper will focus on two primary reasons: (I) the difficulties inherent in identifying and recognising trafficking victims under forced labour exploitation, (II) and Hegemonic Masculinity as an explanation for the lack of recognition and response; particularly in societies that adhere to a more strict definition of traditional gender roles. This paper will then look at Moldova as a case study and end with policy recommendations for narrowing the gender gap in addressing human trafficking.

## **SECTION (I)**

In the past, human trafficking was mostly associated with sexual exploitation. With recent studies showing that labour exploitation comprises a growing amount of human trafficking, there has been a broadening scope among international organisations and scholars as to what constitutes labour exploitation. Many of the terms that have more recently been introduced, such as ‘forced labour’, ‘slavery’, ‘labour exploitation’, and ‘other forms of exploitation’ are defined in different ways among different countries, organisations, and those responding to human trafficking. Only some of the terms have been defined internationally.<sup>6</sup> The dynamics of smuggling people and human trafficking are often interlinked but do not always coincide. Distinguishing between ‘bad working

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<sup>5</sup> ILO. (2012)

<sup>6</sup> Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women. GAATW Working Paper Series. *More 'Trafficking' Less 'Trafficked' Trafficking for Exploitation Outside the Sex Sector in Europe*. 2011. Print.

conditions' and 'labour exploitation' is unclear at best and, more importantly, these distinctions vary widely between different countries—particularly in countries where 'bad working conditions' are seen as normal by both the authorities and potential employees. This will be addressed further in the section of this paper looking at Moldova. Unclear definitions of trafficking provide those collecting data and assisting victims with difficulties that lead to reduced insight into the size and scope of the problem.<sup>7</sup> Although this lack of insight also applies to sexual exploitation, it is a more extensive problem within the confines of labour exploitation as it is only more recently being examined and acknowledged as a problem.

As addressed in the beginning of this paper, the majority of victims affected by the labour exploitation component of human trafficking are men. It stands to reason that if this particular sector is lacking in the ability to measure the size of the problem, then many of the victims being missed are men.<sup>8</sup> The ambiguity of the term leaves many of those affected by labour exploitation to be seen as victims not of human rights violations but rather only in the context of issues pertaining to irregular migration status. As will be shown however, migrant issues and human trafficking are so intertwined that it is virtually impossible to separate the issues and the vague labour terms further complicate the matter.

The advent of globalisation, increased mobility, and the number of places affected by

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<sup>7</sup> GAATW (2011).

<sup>8</sup> While the lack of an unambiguous term for human trafficking is a major problem, the scope of this paper does not allow for suggestions of new terminology; rather it recognises this as a problem.

conflict have led to an increase in migration. Migration and human trafficking have a strong link, in that conflict—post or otherwise—creates unstable environments that force or lead people to seek out options to migrate to a more stable environment that will provide them with more security.<sup>9</sup> Regions that are in the midst of, or recovering from, conflict offer traffickers an easier route to transport goods because of the lack of security inherent in the hectic nature of conflict. This can be seen in the numbers of trafficked victims coming from and going to conflict-affected regions, as will be seen in the case of Moldova. Studies by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) show that men are more likely to go abroad to find jobs than women and therefore men make up a large percentage of migrants. Studies also demonstrate that the extent of exploitation of migrant workers is extensive and the ways in which this is done often constitutes human trafficking.

Further studies suggest that one of the main reasons why male victims of human trafficking are never identified is because they are treated as irregular migrants and deported. This is due to both the lack of ability to define them as victims of trafficking and pre-existing expectations of what a victim looks like under traditional gender norms. In Moldova, of the 80 male migrants interviewed by USAID, 52.5 percent were victims of forced labour. In Ukraine, of the 161 migrants interviewed, 30.5 percent were victims of forced labour. Furthermore, it is estimated that with the current estimates of illegal labour migration into Russia, there may be up to one million labour migrants experiencing some form of exploitation similar to trafficking.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The term security means different things among different populations. For the purpose of this paper, security refers to safety and economics.

The link between migration and human trafficking has profound implications for men being trafficked. Although women and men are trafficked under the guise of migration for employment purposes or otherwise, the perception that exploitation outside of the sex sector is 'less serious' can lead to indicators of labour exploitation being missed by authorities, or viewed as 'just bad working conditions'. Those trafficked outside of the sex sector are often not recognised as trafficked and are therefore more exposed to legal consequences as 'illegal immigrants', as opposed to trafficking victims, when identified by authorities. While women trafficked for exploitation in the sex industry are more readily viewed as victims, those trafficked outside of the sex sector are seen as having more agency—particularly men. With this 'agency' comes the perception that these actors have played an active role in their 'migration' process.

When that migration is illegal, they are seen as having been active participants in committing a crime and are either held liable for the consequences or are classified as being smuggled; neither of which acknowledges the reality of having been trafficked.<sup>11</sup> This difference in the way in which men who have been trafficked are viewed and treated can be directly linked to the ideals of hegemonic masculinity.

## **SECTION (II)**

Hegemonic masculinity refers to the concept of a culturally normative ideal of male

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<sup>10</sup> USAID. Final Report. *Trafficking of Adult Men in Europe and Eurasia Region*. 2010. Print.

<sup>11</sup> GAATW (2011).

behaviour. The theory suggests that society strongly encourages men to embody this preferred type of masculinity. Although a range of masculinities exist, this 'ideal' version is not only expected of most men, but pressures them to conform. Although this "ideal" may not be the most prevalent form of male expression in the hierarchy of masculinity, it is the most socially-endorsed and this leads to the oppression of non-hegemonic forms of masculinity and women. The hierarchy is not simply a pattern of domination based on force—though sometimes it does encompass more aggressive behavior, particularly in times of conflict—but it embodies cultural consent, institutionalisation, and the delegitimation of alternatives. Otherwise, it is ingrained in the way people are treated and brought up in their family, how they are taught and treated in school, expectations and interactions within employment, etc. According to Cockburn, the sex/gender hierarchy shapes human social structures, institutions, and relational processes. Together they establish positions of relative power, through laying down the possibilities and probabilities for individuals and groups to inhabit them in various ways.<sup>12</sup>

One of the main components of the theory is that hegemonic masculinity exists along a continuum and is subject to change and alteration.<sup>13</sup> This suggests that there are some societies in which hegemonic masculinity is more observable and prevalent than in others. Generally, these societies function along more traditional lines of gender—particularly during and following conflict.

Although hegemonic masculinity is prominent in many regions of the world, the scope of

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<sup>12</sup> Cockburn, Cynthia. (2010)

<sup>13</sup> Conell, R.W, and James Messerschmidt. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender and Society*. 19.6 (2005): 829-859. Print.



this paper focuses on Europe and Eurasia. Certain hegemonic ideals of masculinity are so ingrained within their societies and cultures that it is a possible explanation for why the prevention of, identification of, and response to, male victims of human trafficking is very limited in relation to the scope in which it has been shown to be occurring. Gender stereotyping infiltrates all aspects of trafficking, from prevention and identification, to response. One study in Russia noted that Russian mentality is based on a strong admiration of strength, of the ability to cope and endure. While it is acceptable and expected that women, children, and the elderly manifest some weakness, adult men are expected to be strong all of the time. Similar observations have been made in the wider region, in many of the former Soviet Union countries.<sup>14</sup> Although men are more likely to go abroad to find work, they are less likely to be identified as victims. Gender stereotypes are prevalent among law enforcement, immigration officers and border guards, health care professionals, and labour and safety inspectors. They are much less likely to identify men as being trafficked in comparison to women. There have been documented cases in which rings of forced labour have been discovered and the males were categorized as illegal immigrants and deported, while the females were treated as victims and given temporary residence cards.<sup>15</sup>

Because these gender stereotypes are so immersed within the culture, they also exist within institutions such as law enforcement. Men are expected to be strong and self-reliant, therefore the reality that they could be trafficking victims is beyond the perspective of many of the authorities that could in fact offer recognition and assistance. This directly

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<sup>14</sup> Surtees, Rebecca. "Trafficking of Men-A Trend Less Considered. The Case of Belarus and Ukraine." *International Organization for Migration*. (2008): 1-128. Print.

impacts on the ability to collect data and gain a better grasp on the true number of male trafficking victims.

Prevention measures are also ridden with gender stereotypes, whether implicit or explicit. Women are still seen as being the most vulnerable to trafficking. Almost all campaigns focus on the sexual exploitation component of trafficking and ignore the labour exploitation component. Even in regions that have begun to recognise the issue of men being trafficked, the prevalent imagery of women and children as victims still excludes men.<sup>16</sup> This reinforces the notion that men are not victims of trafficking. The message is spread among institutions and local populations, raising concerns of another pervasive gender-related issue that hinders our ability to provide appropriate services and help to male victims.

This other gender-related issue is the fact that men do not see themselves as having been trafficked or exploited. Theories suggest that one reason for this is the idea that having been trafficked or exploited means you are a victim. The term “trafficking victim” is often problematic for men in areas that have pervasive ideals of what it means to be a man.<sup>17</sup> To be a victim indicates that you are weak and unable to care for yourself or your family and this goes against the cultural meaning of what it means to be a man. In this context, men often refuse to see themselves as trafficking victims, and so fail to identify themselves in cases where authorities may be able to help them, or even after they return home.

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<sup>15</sup> USAID (2010)

<sup>16</sup> USAID (2010)

<sup>17</sup> Surtees, Rebecca. "Trafficking of Men-A Trend Less Considered. The Case of Belarus and Ukraine." *International Organization for Migration*. (2008): 1-128. Print.

Men will sometimes stay longer in trafficking situations because their need to earn money and return home as a “breadwinner” and strong man that can care for his family outweighs the fear of the shame of returning home empty-handed and “less than a man”.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, even when men are willing to seek help after such a traumatic event, there are very few resources to assist them. Almost exclusively, programs designed to help trafficking victims are extremely gendered, and designed around women victims having been sexually exploited. Although men and women have similar needs, the ways in which these resources are provided and implemented may need to differ if these programs are to be successful.

Secondly, the way in which men and women experience being trafficked may differ drastically and this is not currently recognised in the programs available to assist trafficking victims. Many service providers have been trained to identify only victims of sex trafficking that can often lead them to overlook victims of labour trafficking or other forms of trafficking.<sup>19</sup>

Combined with gender norms that are prevalent in certain regions of the world and protracted or recent conflicts, these regions become prime targets for traffickers. The concept of hegemonic masculinity is particularly noticeable in conflict settings in which the conflation of masculinity along with the use of violence and weapons becomes an enduring fusion.<sup>20</sup> In times of conflict the military often relies heavily on the hegemonic masculinity

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<sup>18</sup> Surtees, Rebecca. "Trafficking of Men-A Trend Less Considered. The Case of Belarus and Ukraine." *International Organization for Migration*. (2008): 1-128. Print.

<sup>19</sup> Surtees, Rebecca. "Second Annual Report on Victims of Trafficking in South-Eastern Europe." *International Organization for Migration*. (2005): 333-396. Print.

<sup>20</sup> Theidon, Kimberlee. "Reconstructing Masculinities, the Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Columbia." *Human Rights Quarterly*. 31.16 (2009)

ideals in the construction of soldiers as protectors over a nation; the 'enemy in war is portrayed as he who will rape and murder 'our' mothers, daughters, and wives'.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, those roles seep into the idea that the masculine role is to be strong, the head of the household, and to uphold the values of a family.

War magnifies the distance between femininity and masculinity and enhances men's authority.<sup>22</sup> In societies characterised by a patriarchal gender regime, we see masculinity associated with authority, coercion, and violence. Masculinity not only serves militarism, but also specifically seeks and needs militarisation and war for its fulfillment. This produces patriarchal gender identities.<sup>23</sup> These war gender relations also create a paradox in which men are portrayed as being masculine creatures even while the nature of conflict often changes the reality of gender roles. Women are often left to not only care for the home and children but to be the "breadwinners" while their husbands are out fighting. These shifting roles can leave men feeling more vulnerable and reinforces traditional gender roles when the conflict subsides and they return home.

## **MOLDOVA**

While this is evident in many regions, Moldova is a prime example.<sup>24</sup> Despite its small

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<sup>21</sup> Stiehm, Judith. "The Protected, the Protector, and the Defender" *Journal of Women Studies*. (1982)

<sup>22</sup> Cockburn, Cynthia. "Gender Relations as Casual in Militarization and War." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. 12.2 (2010): 7.

<sup>23</sup> Cockburn, Cynthia (2010), p. 15

<sup>24</sup> Moldova was chosen as a case study as opposed to other options because it is a prime example encompassing disproportionate numbers of human trafficking, a protracted conflict, and traditional gender norms that seem to be magnified in Eastern Europe and Eurasia.

population, Moldova is one of the biggest countries of origin for human trafficking. Moldova declared independence in August of 1991. The period following the fall of the Soviet Union significantly affected the living standards of Moldovans, leaving it one of the poorest countries in Europe and leading a large number of Moldovans to migrate.

It is not uncommon for Moldovans to seek employment abroad as a way to supplement their income. It is estimated that of a population of four million, 600,000 Moldovans reside outside of the country. The majority of these are men. One third of Moldovan immigrants have an illegal status in their countries of destination. These factors contribute greatly to their vulnerability to be trafficked.<sup>25</sup> According to a report on trafficking victims in South Eastern Europe, migrants from Albania, Romania, Bulgaria, Kosovo, and Moldova comprise 90 per cent of victims assisted between 2000-2004, 91.5 percent in 2003, and 89 percent in 2004.<sup>26</sup>

Further compounding the problem is the protracted conflict between Moldova and Transnistria.<sup>27</sup> The area of Transnistria is known to be a major route for trafficking and smuggling.<sup>28</sup> A disproportionate number of victims come from Transnistria and due to the conflict, central authorities do not operate in the region which further complicates the challenges in both assisting victims and controlling known illegal activities. The chaotic environment of protracted conflict leaves Moldovans particularly vulnerable to trafficking.

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<sup>25</sup> Kontula, Anna, and Elina Saaristo. International Organization for Migration. Mission to the Republic of Moldova. *Countering Trafficking in Moldova*. 2009. Print.

<sup>26</sup> Surtees, Rebecca (2005)

<sup>27</sup> Transnistria is a break-away region of Moldova. It has been in a protracted conflict claiming independence from Moldova since 1990. The area bordering Ukraine has not been controlled by central Moldovan authorities since the region declared its independence. Transnistria remains under the administration of the authorities in Tiraspol the "capital" of Transnistria.

Additionally, as already described, trafficking victims do not always identify themselves as such. Corruption is also endemic in the region, as with most areas affected by conflict.

Often victims do not trust that authorities will address the issue and fear reprisal from traffickers. Differentiating between trafficking and labour code violations can also prove to be difficult. Local organisations working within Moldova report that differentiating between a migrant and a trafficking victim is difficult for the justice system because of the skewed definitions.

Additionally, the majority of migrants are willing to work in sub-standard conditions as the “normal” working conditions within Moldova are often already difficult. This leads to Moldovans not always identifying their situation as exploitive. An example of this provided by the IOM was of a school student responding to an anti-trafficking seminar. He pointed out that the conditions described as trafficking situations were normal in Moldova, therefore, why not attempt to find work abroad—even if it is risky—as the worst-case scenario is similar to the current circumstances.<sup>29</sup> Even when people are warned of the risks of migrating, the warnings are unlikely to be heeded unless there are other viable options. In other words, the structure of the initial problem that motivated people to leave remains in place. Finally, the IOM reports that traditional gender roles inherent within Moldovan culture hamper the ability to identify the actual number of men trafficked. It is assumed by the IOM and local organisations that the number of men trafficked for labour purposes in Moldova are much higher than the current numbers indicate.

Moldova is further along than some of its counterparts in recognising and addressing the

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<sup>28</sup> Kontula, Anna and Saaristo, Elina. (2009).

issue of human trafficking with both men and women, but is nevertheless heavily gendered. Services are built and designed around assisting women victims. Although the quantifiable numbers of male victims are small, experience suggests that the way to deal with their victimisation is very different. Gender stereotypes dictate that men should be strong, therefore the stigma of human trafficking is more associated with a failure in being a man than with the exploitation itself.

Men reportedly seek services more associated with legal reparations and compensation for work done. As organisations are currently set up to respond to the victimisation of women, it is likely that this decreases the number of men counted in the numbers of those assisted.<sup>30</sup> In the case of Moldova, local authorities and international organisations have put significant effort into addressing the issue of human trafficking, as it is one of the countries most affected. However, even with current efforts, there remains a major gap in addressing the issue as it pertains to men. If this is true in a country such as Moldova where the issue has attracted significant attention, then the response would be equally, if not more, inadequate in the case of Moldova's counterparts. Specifically, if the gender biases are not recognised on an international level then they are certainly not addressed on a local level, where gender roles are often more heavily reinforced.

## **Conclusion**

The first phase of a new response to this issue, which has begun to emerge, is to recognise

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<sup>29</sup> Kontula, Anna and Saaristo, Elina. (2009)

<sup>30</sup> Kontula, Anna and Saaristo, Elina. (2009), pg 22

the gender gaps in human trafficking. However, this alone is not sufficient; gender needs must be considered in identifying the vulnerability of trafficking victims and post-trafficking needs. This identification process needs to begin with further research from the perspective of men and boys.

Currently, much of the anti-trafficking funding targets only women and girls. This leaves a large gap in understanding men's vulnerability in being trafficked and their specific needs in assistance following the event.<sup>31</sup> The IOM, Surtees, and USAID identify a need for donors to fund not just research on trafficking as it pertains to women and children but also men and boys to help fill this gap.

Additionally, further research will assist the design of better prevention tactics. Prevention of trafficking needs to be carried out in practical terms, taking into account gender issues and other aspects of social and economic development.<sup>32</sup> This includes not only identifying why men migrate versus women, but also creating reasons for them to choose not to migrate, such as employment opportunities with good working conditions. Even in the cases where people are educated about the risks of being trafficked when migrating, the potential benefits outweigh the risks if there are no motivating factors for them to remain in their country of origin.

The identification of victims is also extremely important. USAID's study of trafficked men

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<sup>31</sup> Surtees, Rebecca. "Trafficking of Men-A Trend Less Considered. The Case of Belarus and Ukraine." *International Organization for Migration*. (2008): 100. Print.

<sup>32</sup> Kontula, Anna, and Elina Saaristo. *International Organization for Migration. Mission to the Republic of Moldova. Countering Trafficking in Moldova*. (2009): 23. Print.



in Europe and Eurasia articulates the necessity of distinguishing more thoroughly between the different forms of trafficking in order to identify its causes and contributing factors. Sex exploitation vs. labour exploitation can be very different. The mechanisms by which they operate are different.

Additionally, differences in the classification of forced labour and labour exploitation from country-to-country make it difficult to identify the pressure points. USAID point out that once clearer definitions are available, it will be easier to create tools that specialise in developing preventive and response programs.<sup>33</sup> It is not realistic to expect viable solutions to be developed in response to a “non-existing” problem.

Clearer definitions will make it easier to construct training programs for authorities to better identify male victims. Part of this training needs to include deconstructing the idea that trafficking is mainly an issue affecting women. The IOM’s report on Moldova identified that the main destination countries of Moldovan traffickers are specifically known to be poor at identifying and assisting victims. These countries include Russia, Turkey, and Cyprus.<sup>34</sup> Additionally, these countries generally adhere to more traditional gender roles and likely fail to identify many men being trafficked because of dominant notions of masculinity in these countries. As noted earlier in this paper, Russia is one of the largest destination countries for labour trafficking, yet it continues to have some of the poorest identification rates.

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<sup>33</sup> Surtees, Rebecca. "Second Annual Report on Victims of Trafficking in South-Eastern Europe." *International Organization for Migration*. (2005): 14. Print.

Lastly, we need to address assisting male victims in post-trafficking. This includes not only recognising the differences in how men and women are tangibly victimised but also in how they experience this victimisation. As noted before, the stigma attached to the term ‘victim’ can mean very different things for women and men. The term itself may prevent men from seeking help. Surtees suggests that the way in which assistance is offered should be framed in a manner that avoids labeling them as ‘victims’.<sup>35</sup> Secondly, the types of services that men need may be different to those needed by women. Studies in the Ukraine and Belarus by Surtees suggest that while men and women might benefit from similar programs, men tend to look down upon counseling as it categorises them as victims, while women are more likely to seek it out.<sup>36</sup> Women and children are also often in need of shelter while men are more inclined to ask for legal assistance and help in seeking compensation for lost wages. Confidentiality is reportedly another issue of great concern. If men do seek help, they are often afraid of the implications—both from the traffickers and from the stigma it carries in their communities and families. They were also more likely to accept help if it was provided by another man. It was important to men they not appear weak in front of women, even if the women were not personally associated with them.<sup>37</sup>

The key to more thoroughly understanding the issue of the trafficking of men is to deconstruct the stigma and stereotypes surrounding the issue. Deconstructing these

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<sup>34</sup> Kontula, Anna, and Elina Saaristo. International Organization for Migration. Mission to the Republic of Moldova. *Countering Trafficking in Moldova*. (2009): 23. Print.

<sup>35</sup> Surtees, Rebecca. (2008) p. 11

<sup>36</sup> It is suggested among a myriad of authors that counseling for men would also be useful, however this entails a larger discussion on changing the structures within these societies to remove the stigma that a man receives from attending counseling sessions. The scope of this paper will not further detail this as it is a detailed long-term issue that also needs to be tackled.

<sup>37</sup> Surtees, Rebecca. (2008)

stereotypes will help us to better identify those that are more vulnerable to trafficking, but also to identify those whom have already fallen prey to traffickers. The consequences of these stereotypes can be seen across all steps of the trafficking process. This is not to say that women and children are not of equal value in the investigation and continuation of services. Rather, this paper seeks to shed light on a sector of the population that—up until recently—has been virtually excluded from the conversation. If we do not adequately address this missing link, then the problem of human trafficking will continue to grow.

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