

EU Grant Agreement number: 290529
Project acronym: ANTICORRP
Project title: Anti-Corruption Policies Revisited

Work Package: WP9 Organised crime and impact on vulnerable groups

Title of deliverable:
D9.3 Four case study reports
Corruption and trafficking in women. The case of Italy.

Due date of deliverable: 30 April 2016

Actual submission date: 29 April 2016

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Project co-funded by the European Commission within the Seventh Framework Programme		
Dissemination Level		
PU	Public	X
PP	Restricted to other programme participants (including the Commission Services)	
RE	Restricted to a group specified by the consortium (including the Commission Services)	
Co	Confidential, only for members of the consortium (including the Commission Services)	

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Corruption and trafficking in women. The case of Italy.

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Date: 29 February 2016

ABSTRACT

This report analyses both recent and more established trends in the relationship between human trafficking and corruption in Italy, starting from an overall and empirical assessment of the trafficking business, and of its relationship with corruption. The analysis draws on both crime and judicial statistics, which also include information on offenders and victims of sexual exploitation (2007-2013). The statistical analysis is combined with evidence collected through the Human Trafficking and Corruption (HTC) database, which provides information about 54 events related to corruption and human trafficking in Italy from 2000 to 2015, including data about the actors involved and their characteristics, the modalities and resources of corruption exchanges between traffickers and public officials. The examination of the cases is triangulated with in-depth information gathered through interviews of experts and victims. Data collected for this study bring some counterintuitive findings for the analysis of the link between corruption and trafficking in destination countries. In fact, as opposed to the hypotheses proposed in the literature, corruption is not such a pivotal factor in the development of human trafficking in Italy. The sporadic enforcement of immigration and work regulations in the country makes corruption a limited occurrence in comparison to the size of the prostitution market. However, some emerging trends show an increased role of corruption in the organisation of prostitution in Italy. First, there is significant evidence that human smuggling tends to be transformed into trafficking when smuggled migrants having reached Italy are not properly protected by receiving authorities in immigration centres. The creation of large immigration centres, the outsourcing of control and detention functions to private companies, and the substantial lack of public supervision and monitoring over their activities have opened new opportunities for the trafficking business and for concealing corruption offences. Second, data show that the marginalisation and concentration of foreign minorities in some parts of the countries has favoured the development of trafficking for sexual exploitation, sometimes as a result of other forms of organised exploitation, such as forced labour. Third, private actors are progressively playing a more pivotal role in the corruption exchanges with traffickers. As far as Italian mafia-like groups are concerned, they do not generally seem to engage directly in trafficking in persons but collaborate with traffickers indirectly, especially by offering illegal protection under the payment of a racket fee. Therefore, foreign and transnational criminal groups more likely create and manage human trafficking networks for sexual exploitation.

KEYWORDS

corruption, organised crime, trafficking of women, Italy

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ACRONYMS

ANSA – Italian news agency archive
HTC - Human Trafficking and Corruption database
ISTAT - Italian National Institute of Statistics
LIA - Labour Inspection Authority

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Italy and the human trafficking problem

Italy is a destination and transit country for women, children, and men subjected to sex trafficking and forced labour (Monzini 2002; Calzaretti, Carabellese, and Catanesi 2005; Di Nicola 2006). This is mainly due to its geographical location and extended coastline, which make Italy stand out as a particularly significant hub of migration flows and point of entry for smuggled or trafficked people from North Africa. The large local demand in both prostitution services and forced workforce especially in the agricultural, garment and construction sectors also facilitates the trafficking business to flourish in the country. Concerning the territories of origin, identified victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation who are forced to engage in street prostitution are mainly women and girls from Bulgaria, Hungary, Nigeria, Romania and Ukraine and, in smaller numbers, North Africa. The trafficking of Chinese women for the purpose of forced indoor prostitution in apartments and houses is also growing, as shown by several investigations in cities like Prato and Milan (Calzaretti, Carabellese, and Catanesi 2005; Monzini 2002).

Victims of labour exploitation are mainly adult men, trafficked for forced and exploitative labour in the agriculture and construction sectors (CGIL, 2014). Trafficked men generally come from Asia (China, India and Pakistan), North Africa and, to a lesser extent, sub-Saharan Africa (Okojie et al. 2003; Carling 2006; Cabras 2015). The geographic distribution of trafficking for sexual exploitation in Italy is quite similar to other ordinary crimes, presumably due to its market-based nature, whereas trafficking for labour exploitation is more likely concentrated in districts with higher demand for low-paid workforce. This is the case of the two largest Chinese districts in Italy (in Prato and Milan), where research has shown many Chinese-run factories ignoring basic safety standards and imposing the systemic exploitation of Chinese labourers (Pieraccini 2011; Savona and Riccardi 2015). Likewise, in districts where labour-intensive cultivations exist (e.g. oranges, tomatoes), there is large-scale trafficking for labour exploitation in unsafe working conditions which often lead to casualties related to machine operation (CGIL 2014).

Children subjected to sex trafficking in Italy are from Romania, Nigeria, Brazil, Morocco, and Italy, specifically Roma and Sinti boys who may have been born in Italy. Roma children from Italy are subjected to forced labour in begging or petty theft (Ambrosini 2002; Bettio and Garofalo 2005). A growing number of persons are trafficked to Italy from Latin America and Asia. Depending on the amount paid for transportation, victims arrive by sea, land or air, sometimes transiting through other European countries. The Arab uprisings in Egypt, Libya, Syria and Tunisia have further exacerbated the inflow of undocumented migrants, migrant smuggling and trafficking in persons, predominantly for labour and sexual exploitation (IOM 2015).

2. Organised crime and human trafficking

It is difficult to determine the scope and characteristics of trafficking by organised crime in Italy. According to a recent study by Transcrime, sexual exploitation remains the third largest illegal sector in terms of revenues in Italy (€4.6 billion), after drugs (€7.73 billion) and extortion (€4.76 billion). However, only part of the illegal activity is directly run by mafia type organisations. Regarding sexual exploitation, according to the estimates provided by Transcrime, it produces 8% of the annual revenues of these organisations estimated between a minimum of €8.3 billion and a maximum of €13 billion (Calderoni 2014; Savona and Riccardi 2015).

The Department for Equal Opportunities reported that 189 assisted victims had been trafficked by organised crime between 2011 and 2012. The victims are mainly from Romania and North Africa, especially Morocco, and are forced into selling drugs. The limited information available on this form of

trafficking indicates that traffickers and victims are usually from the same country. In fact, only a part of the human trafficking business is directly carried out by Italian mafia-like organisations. The more traditional Italian crime organisations do not generally seem to engage directly in trafficking in persons but collaborate with traffickers indirectly (Alexis A. Aronowitz 2001; Cabras 2015), especially by offering illegal protection under the payment of a racket fee (Direzione Nazionale Antimafia, 2014). Therefore, foreign and transnational criminal groups more likely create and manage human trafficking networks for sexual exploitation, as the data collected for this study will show.

3. Counter-trafficking policies in Italy

Italy has a comprehensive legal framework for combating human trafficking in the country (Musacchio 2003; Grassi 2010; Caneppele and Mancuso 2013; GRETA 2014). Since 1998, victims of trafficking have been allowed to receive a residence permit in order to be involved in assistance and social integration projects.¹ The 1998 Italian Immigration Act (legislative decree No. 286/1998) established the policy framework to combat trafficking and guarantee the protection of victims, and it incriminated both recruitment for prostitution and sexual or labour exploitation and the exploitation of minors in illicit activities. Law No. 228/2003 introduced new measures in the fight against trafficking in persons, by incriminating both internal and cross-border trafficking activities and covering all forms of trafficking, including slavery and servitude. More severe punishment is envisaged for these types of offences, especially when criminal organisations are involved. Because of it, law extends the application of existing legal provisions on mafia, terrorism and subversion to human trafficking and slavery, on the assumption that they have similar characteristics. The trafficking of children is often prosecuted under articles 600-*bis* of the Criminal Code (child prostitution), 600-*ter* (child pornography) and 600-*quarter* (possession of pornographic material), as well as under Law No. 228/2003. Penalties are increased by between one-third and a half when victims are minors, destined for prostitution or intended for organ-harvesting. More recently, a new crime relating to the exploitation of minors for forced begging was introduced by Law No. 94/2009; the offence had previously been treated as a misdemeanour. Most recently, Legislative Decree No. 24/2014 transposing Directive 2011/36/EU amended the criminal law provisions on trafficking and slavery, and provided for the adoption of a national anti-trafficking action plan and the setting up of a state compensation fund for victims of trafficking. The provision of assistance to victims of trafficking is organised at the local level by civil society organisations, in cooperation with the local or regional authorities, and with funding provided principally from the state budget.

Although Italy has a comprehensive legal framework to counter human trafficking, the judicial response to this crime seems to be not so effective, as admitted by the same judicial authorities. According to the latest official reports of the Direzione Nazionale Antimafia, which coordinates the work of antimafia district prosecutors' offices, "the outcomes of the implementation of the anti-trafficking legislation are not so good. In fact, being so widespread a phenomenon, only few judicial cases have been started under art. 600, 601, 602 of the Criminal Code, sporadically a criminal association crime has been also recognized (art. 416/6 e 416 bis p.c.), and judicial requests have almost never been sent to foreign authorities" (Direzione Nazionale Antimafia, 2012). This statement finds support also in judicial data, which clearly show the low number of final convictions for trafficking crimes, as compared to other crimes related to trafficking and slavery, such as exploitation, aiding and instigating prostitution (see Figure 1).

Concerning the legal framework for prostitution, Law No. 75/1958 on Prostitution and the Fight against the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others is the main applicable legislation. This law decriminalises prostitution, while the control and exploitation of those in prostitution remains a criminal offence. Forced

¹ Under Art. 18 of law no. 286/1998, a six-month temporary "social protection" residence permit can be granted to victims identified and can be renewed for one year and converted into a long-term work or student residence permit (GRETA 2014).

labour was incriminated in 2011, when the Law 148/2011 was adopted introducing in the Criminal Code the crime of “unlawful intermediation and labour exploitation” (intermediazione illecita e sfruttamento del lavoro), a phenomenon known in Italian as *caporalato*. The crime is defined as “the act of conducting an organised activity of intermediation, recruiting manpower or organising its work, characterised by exploitation, through violence, threat or intimidation, taking advantage of the workers’ situation of need or want” (Art. 12).

However, the effective enforcement of this legal framework has long been undermined by the strict migration policy adopted in Italy. After the introduction of the Bossi-Fini Law (no. 182/2002), which prohibited irregular migration, laws 92/2008 and 94/2009 led to the criminalisation of aiding and abetting irregular migration, including providing housing or employment to irregular migrants, and the definition of the status of irregular migrant as an aggravating circumstance for other criminal offences. According to Amnesty International (2012: 12), this legislation also dampens an effective implementation of the anti-trafficking framework, in fact, “the criminalization of ‘illegal entry and stay’ in effect creates significant obstacles to the enjoyment of the human rights of migrants, both in regular and irregular situation. This is because the criminalization of ‘illegal entry and stay’ triggers the existing obligation on the part of public officials, police and judicial authorities to report, investigate and prosecute crimes, including the crime of ‘illegal entry and stay’”. In April 2014, the Italian Parliament voted in favour of abolishing the provisions on the crime of irregular entry and irregular stay, but the Renzi government has recently stopped its decriminalisation.

4. The link between corruption and human trafficking in Italy

There is abundant literature on human trafficking, including both qualitative and quantitative assessment of the problem in Italy (Monzini 2002, 2004, 2007; Bettio and Garofalo 2005; Pastore, Monzini, and Sciortino 2006; Di Nicola et al. 2009; Cabras 2015). However, there is little existing research on the link with corruption, though many studies recognise that corruption plays a significant role in both human trafficking and smuggling operations, particularly when criminal networks and organisations are involved. Scant data and publicly available evidence mainly explain the lack of in-depth analyses about this link, but other reasons can also justify such a gap in the literature. As this report will show in the next sessions, corruption might become a marginal component in human trafficking schemes in those destination countries where the enforcement of immigration policy and border protection measures are particularly weak. For example, regarding human smuggling, a recent UNICRI study showed that a large proportion of smuggling of Filipinos to Italy took place without bribing of public officials, but that nevertheless several cases of smuggling of larger groups of migrants involved organised crime and collusion with public officials (Aronowitz 2003).

5. Methodology

This report has adopted a mixed approach in three steps, combining an extensive strategy of data collection with an intensive one. The aim of that approach was to create evidence-based measures of the link between corruption and human trafficking activities. These measures incorporate both available evidence (legal proceedings/ investigations/ official files) and expert opinions (interviews with prosecutors, police investigators, policy experts, anti-trafficking activists and former victims of trafficking) to fill gaps in the knowledge about the link between the trafficking and corruption. The first step includes an empirical assessment of the link, by using crime statistics on human trafficking and other variables that might correlate with these activities (such as corruption, organised crime, mafia-type organised crime). This analysis drew on a unique dataset recently provided by the Italian National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT), which also includes information on offenders and victims of human trafficking (2007-2013). In the second step, we collected information about events related to corruption and human trafficking. All the information

was entered into a Human Trafficking and Corruption (HTC) database. The core focus of HTC was the collection and coding of events where a link between corruption and human trafficking activities emerged. The information was collected by using the Italian news agency archive (ANSA), from 2000 to 2015. For every event, some basic information was gathered, and then coded in the HTC events dataset (see Table 5). In the third step of the research, we conducted an in-depth study of the link, based on the analysis of a limited number of cases (Prato, Castel Volturno and Mineo). The collection of qualitative evidence was carried out through two fieldwork missions (Castel Volturno and Prato) and interviews with policy experts (1), prosecutors (2), journalists (1), anti-trafficking activists (4) and former victims (1).

II. LINKS BETWEEN HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND CORRUPTION

Like other forms of crime and especially organised crime, human trafficking flourishes where corruption is able to neutralise law enforcement and immigration regulations (Agbu, 2003). Experience shows that there is a strong association between the two phenomena, although this link has never been explored in depth by analysing how, for instance, it varies across country types (origin, transit or destination) or level of organisation of the trafficking business (disorganised, organised or network-based groups). Several questions remain answered, such as when is corruption a necessary condition for trafficking to emerge and flourish, or, by contrast, what local conditions can allow traffickers to develop their business without protection by public officials. To analyse the relationship between trafficking and corruption in the case of Italy is interesting for at least three reasons. First, Italy is a destination country with one of the largest prostitution markets in Europe. Second, Italian illegal markets are usually more structured and organised as compared to other countries in Europe due to the presence of indigenous mafia-like criminal organisations, which usually exercise a strong territorial control over illegal activities. Third, according to Transparency International Italy is ranked amongst the most corrupt countries in Europe, although it is political corruption more than other types of corruption (police, public services, judicial corruption) that contributes to this ranking (TI, 2015).²

These three local conditions are interrelated and mutually reinforcing. As far as trafficking is concerned, the literature would suggest that the combined effect of these three factors would directly favour the flourishing of sexual exploitation in the country. However, the data collected for this study bring some counterintuitive findings for the analysis of the link between corruption and trafficking. In fact, as opposed to the hypotheses proposed in the literature (Zhang and Pineda 2008; Vandenberg 2002; UNODC 2011), corruption is not such a pivotal factor in the development of human trafficking in Italy. Conversely, the sporadic enforcement of immigration and work regulations in the country makes corruption a limited occurrence in comparison to the size of the prostitution market.

Even in the presence of organised crime groups operating territorially in different illegal markets, corruption can emerge to facilitate a trafficking business, but mostly due to economies of scale rather than a specific contribution made by corruption. Based on these conditions, corruption is a relevant enabler of the trafficking business, rather than a pivotal driver of it. However, according to the evidence collected, some emerging trends show an increased role of corruption in the organisation of prostitution. First, the massive and seemingly never-ending immigration flow from Northern and Central Africa and the Middle East through the Mediterranean to Italy has created new opportunities for traffickers to recruit their victims in the destination countries, rather than in the transit countries or countries of origin. There is significant evidence

² Italy has moved up a few places in the 2015 corruption perception ranking of Transparency International but continues to receive low marks compared to most other European countries. Italy received a score of 44 in the 2015 ranking, placing it 61st among 168 countries. That is up slightly from its score of 43, and 69th position ranking, the preceding year. Within Europe, however, Italy is only perceived as being less corrupt than Bulgaria, which scored 41 and came in 69th in the 2015 ranking. Romania and Greece, two countries typically associated with high levels of corruption, come out better than Italy, tied with a score of 46 and a 58th place ranking (TI, 2015).

that in some cases human smuggling tends to be transformed into trafficking when smuggled migrants having reached Italy are not properly protected by receiving authorities. Because of this, recruitment is more often carried out in Italy, which was typically a destination country, leading to new corruption opportunities for public officials. Second, since the control and detention functions in immigration centres were recently outsourced to private companies, trafficking-related corruption has progressively become more hidden. In fact, although contracts and general laws bind private actors, outsourcing has made migration difficult to control and curtail, especially when the implementation of these policies has been affected by political corruption in the public procurement stage. In this case, the substantial lack of public control and monitoring over the activities of private companies providing immigration services has opened new opportunities for the trafficking business and for concealing corruption offences. However, an overall assessment of corruption linked to trafficking in Italy should also consider other more established trends facilitating the emergence of this link. Experience shows that the marginalisation and concentration of ethnic foreign minorities in some parts of the countries has favoured the development of trafficking for sexual exploitation, sometimes as a result of other forms of organised exploitation, such as forced labour. In this section, we analyse both recent and more established trends in the relationship between trafficking and corruption, starting from an overall and empirical assessment of the trafficking business, and of its relationship with corruption, drawing on crime statistics. The findings of this quantitative analysis are combined with the evidence collected through the HTC database, which provides information about 54 cases of the trafficking-corruption nexus in Italy since 2000. The examination of the collected cases is triangulated with in-depth information gathered through interviews to experts and victims.

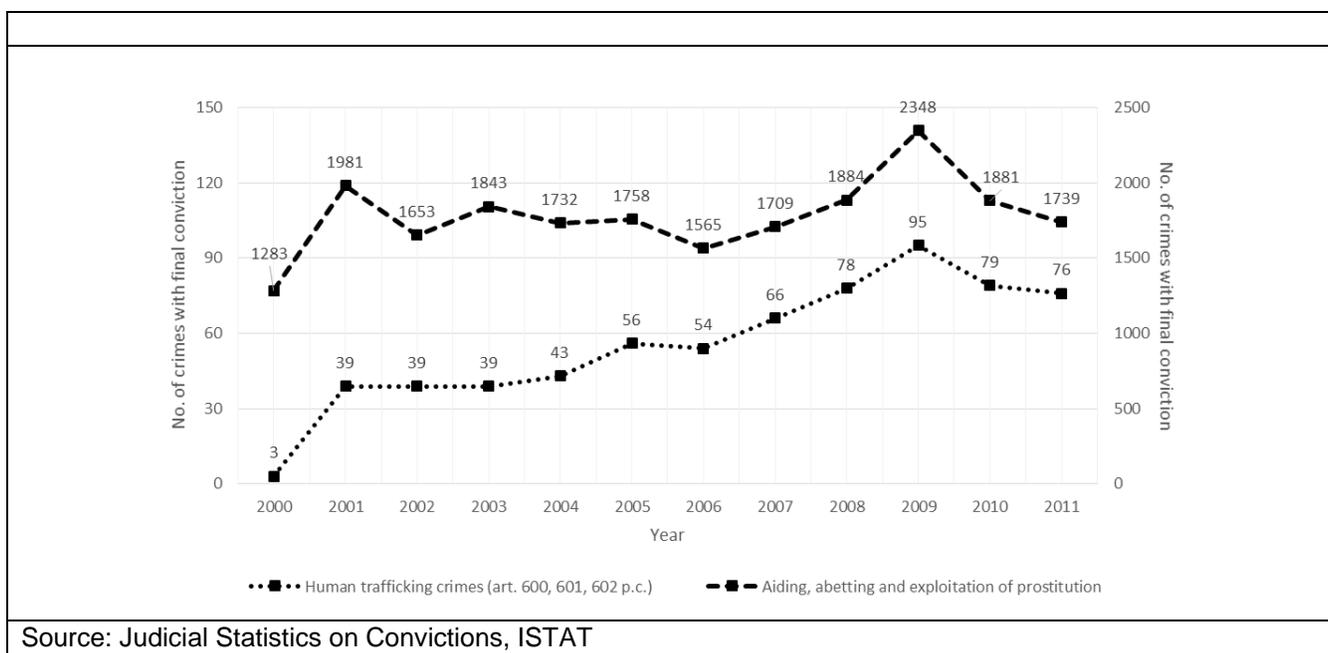
1. Human trafficking and corruption in Italy: some empirical evidence

Different sources are available to measure a phenomenon which is illegal, thus invisible, and which poses serious obstacles to its monitoring and analysis. In this section, we will use crime and judicial statistics, compiled by the National Italian Statistics Institute (ISTAT), to assess empirically the business of human trafficking and sexual exploitation in Italy and to evaluate the link between trafficking and corruption. It is important to note that both crime and judicial statistics have distinctive problems and sources of error, but a major one they share is the underestimation of the actual spread of crime. In general, this measurement problem is the result of the difficulties that both law enforcement and judiciary have in detecting human trafficking cases, whereas similar cases are often handled as less serious prostitution crimes. In fact, “there is not enough awareness about the seriousness and real scope of the phenomenon in both judicial and law enforcement authorities. [...] Most of them are not adequately equipped to identify ‘red-flags of trafficking,’ and thus to understand that behind less serious crimes, such as exploitation of prostitution or abetting clandestine migrants, there might be the much more serious crime of human trafficking. [Moreover] there are not yet sufficient court rulings that can clarify the interpretation of art. 600 and 601 of the Criminal Code” (Direzione Nazionale Antimafia, 2012). In order to control for this measurement problem, we use judicial statistics on convictions for crimes strictly related to human trafficking (art. 600-603-*bis* of the Criminal Code) and those related to exploitation of prostitution. In the latter case, we also use crime statistics related to offences for exploitation of prostitution reported by police forces to the judiciary, by restricting the analysis to those involving foreigners as either perpetrators or victims³. Although these statistics capture two different phenomena – trafficking and prostitution – which are interrelated but distinct, data show that these various measures generate similar distributions of crime, meaning that there is convergence rather than discrepancy in their depictions of the characteristics and correlates of these crimes. Figure 1 shows that both trafficking and sexual exploitation crimes are not independent but correlated over time. The actual size of the human trafficking problem is clearly underestimated in judicial

³ This case selection is determined by the fact that both the illegal provision of prostitution services in Italy is largely carried out by foreign people, who are more vulnerable to trafficking operations than Italians are. Data presented here clearly support this case selection strategy.

data – as Figure 1 shows –with the average number of convicted people for trafficking per year (2000-2011) being 56, whereas for abetting and exploitation of prostitution it is about 1,780. By looking at the variation over time, it is quite surprising to observe a decrease in the number of convicted people for both crimes in the latest available years (2010-2011), despite the sharp increase of migration flows from North Africa in the same years. In fact, although we need to consider that these are judicial data, which usually refer to events occurred at least two years before final convictions are issued, we would expect a progressive increase in the conviction rate with an effective implementation of the anti-trafficking legal framework. Data presented here do not show a positive trend, and recent data seem to confirm it (2011-2013). According to a report of the Minister of Justice, in the period 2011-2013, there were 54 first instance decisions under art. 600,⁴ 18 decisions under art. 601⁵ and 2 under art. 602⁶. Conviction rates were higher for art. 600 and 601 (respectively 69% and 67%), whereas in the case of decisions under art. 602 the rate was lower (50% of conviction). In 20% of the cases, defendants were acquitted. On average, 67 cases were addressed in Courts of Appeal, where the conviction rate was higher (79% of cases). If we look at the breakdown by types of trafficking crime (see Figure 2), there have been no final convictions for trafficking/slavery for labour exploitation (the offence was introduced in 2011), whereas about 85% of cases is related to trafficking/slavery offences (only 4% for child trafficking despite the growing concerns about the scope of the phenomenon).

Figure 1. People convicted for human trafficking and exploitation of prostitution crimes in Italy, 2000-2011



By using data from a representative sample of 15 Tribunals in Italy (including 136 ongoing cases related to trafficking/slavery crimes), the same report sheds light on the characteristics of both perpetrators and victims of trafficking and on the actual effectiveness of anti-trafficking legal instruments. Human trafficking remains a phenomenon involving mainly foreign persons, perpetrators are men in 66% of the cases, and women play a more prominent role as traffickers in comparison with other ordinary crimes (theft, for instance). Conversely, victimisation data confirm that 2/3 of victims are women (see Table 1). Romanian nationals lead both rankings for perpetrators and victims, followed by Albanian for perpetrators, and

⁴ Placing or holding persons in conditions of slavery or servitude.

⁵ Trafficking in human beings.

⁶ Sale and purchase of slaves.

Nigerian for victims. In the first two cases, these data are also explained by the fact the both Romanian and Albanian communities are the largest ones in Italy, whereas data on Nigerian citizens show that this foreign group is more targeted by trafficking operations than others (the Nigerian community is only the 19th largest one in Italy). Quite surprisingly, Chinese migrants who represent the fourth largest foreign community in Italy are at the bottom of the trafficking ranking, despite the abundant evidence about forced labour cases in some regions of the country (in Prato, Tuscany, for instance).

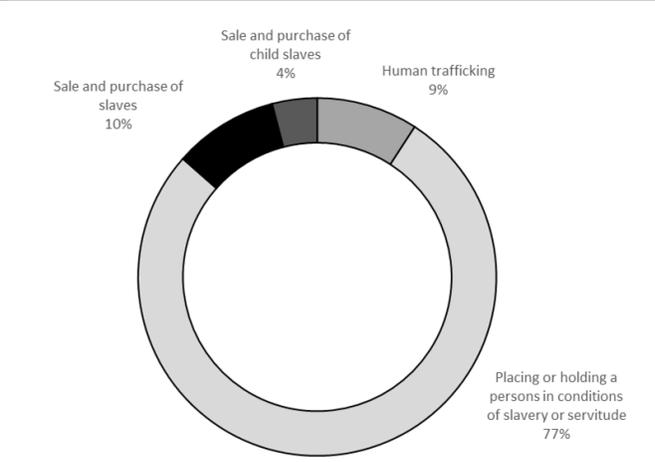
Table 1. Perpetrators and victims of trafficking /slavery in Italy per country of origin, nationality and gender (2011-2013)

Country		Trafficking/Slavery	
		Perpetrators	Victims
<i>Romania</i>		45.2%	51.6%
<i>Albania</i>		14.0%	8.6%
<i>Nigeria</i>		10.%	19.0%
<i>Bosnia</i>		7.4%	1.8%
<i>Bulgaria</i>		3.7%	7.7%
<i>Serbia</i>		3.7%	1.4%
<i>Sri Lanka</i>		2.7%	n.d.
<i>Croatia</i>		2.1%	1.7%
<i>Kosovo</i>		2.1%	n.d.
<i>China</i>		1.6%	3.2%
<i>Ghana</i>		1.6%	n.d.
<i>Poland</i>		1.6%	1.8%
<i>Moldova</i>		n.d.	1.8%
<i>Other</i>		3.3%	1.8%
<hr/>			
<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Italian</i>	12.6%	3.1%
	<i>Foreigner</i>	87.4%	96.9%
<hr/>			
<i>Gender</i>	<i>Male</i>	66.6%	22.5%
	<i>Female</i>	33.4%	77.5%
Source: Ministero della Giustizia, 2015			

In the majority of cases in Italy, recruitment occurs where victims usually migrate in the attempt to find a job (84.5%). Family reunifications can also result in trafficking (about 3% of cases), although in some cases victims were aware that they of entering Italy to carry out prostitution activities (5.8%), or they were trafficked to Italy by force (4.4%). Three out of four women are exploited in the prostitution business as they reach Italy, whereas men are exploited for forced labour (48.3%), for committing theft (36.2%) or forced bedding (29.3%). As regards minors, girls usually become victims of sexual exploitation (68%) and boys for committing theft (46.1%). One third of victims have no knowledge about traffickers/exploiters as they leave their country of origin, whereas in some cases perpetrators are relatives or partners (15%). Regarding recruitment, in 56.9% of cases victims are deceived by the same persons whom they had contacted for protection and help. Violence and threats are also used by traffickers, respectively in 39.8% and the 31.4% of cases. Victims, suffering mental or physical disorders, represent about 11.7% of cases. Differences exist across nationalities. Women from Eastern Europe are usually trafficked and involved in prostitution by deceit, whereas Nigerian women are usually trafficked by force or under threat. According to this sample of cases, traffickers (organisation or individuals) are also often responsible for the trafficking of victims from their countries of origin or transit. Regarding the strategies of entering into Italy, victims usually pass the borders by car (26.1%), van (21%) or bus (20.2%). Moreover, on average the first victimisation related to trafficking occurs three months after arrival in Italy, lasting for an average period of 14 months – though in some cases it had been 10 years long. Regarding the revenues related to trafficking, according to the

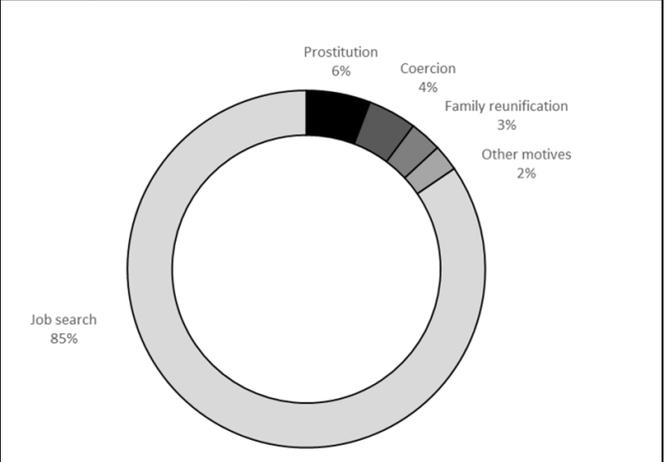
cases analysed, daily revenues are €220 on average, which are at the disposal of traffickers in 97.8% of cases.⁷

Figure 2. Breakdown of human trafficking offences with final conviction by types in Italy



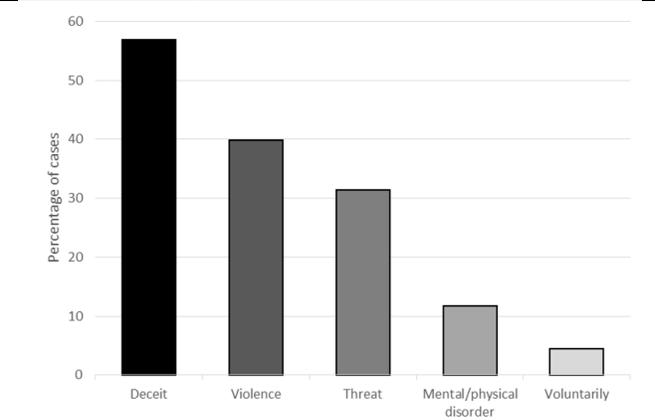
Source: Judicial Statistics on Convictions, ISTAT

Figure 3. Motivations of victims of trafficking to migrate to Italy



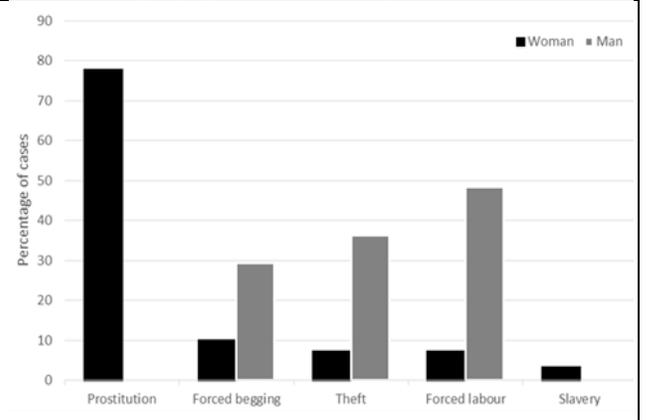
Source: Ministero della Giustizia, 2015

Figure 4. Modalities of trafficking according to victims in Italy



Source: Ministero della Giustizia, 2015

Figure 5. Forms of exploitation related to trafficking by gender in Italy



Crime statistics can also be used to measure the phenomenon. As compared to judicial data, crime statistics (offences reported by police forces to the judiciary) are typically a count of events occurring once they are reported or detected. Although they still capture a small portion of all criminal events and might be biased, as compared to data on convictions they are less affected by the problem of redefinition or loss, as a result of operational rules, classification decisions, decisions of either prosecutors or courts. As statistics on human trafficking are not recorded, we used data on reported offences for exploitation, abetting and instigating prostitution (including information about both perpetrators and victims) as a measure of exploitation and trafficking. We considered only offences committed by foreigners to better capture trafficking operations. As shown in the presentation of judicial data, these two measures (exploitation of prostitution and trafficking) are strongly correlated, and are committed mostly by foreigners.

⁷ This data is partially biased by the fact that according to the applicable laws the victim needs to have been denied income, assets and freedom of movement for a case to qualify as trafficking-related. In fact, as some respondents confirmed, exploitation is becoming more subtle. There have been cases in which trafficked prostitutes were receiving a sort of salary, although the pay was ridiculously low, in order to avoid anti-trafficking legislation.

Tables 2 and 3 show the number of perpetrators and victims of trafficking per area and country of origin. Difficulties in the collection of data concerning victims might explain the gap between the number of perpetrators and the one of victims. However, this kind of information is quite uncommon and unique for the Italian case, since neither police nor census authorities usually collect victimisation data. Concerning nationality, the majority of both perpetrators and victims come from the European Union (Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary) and Central and Eastern Europe (Albania, Serbia, Moldova and Ukraine), followed by South Central America (Brazil, Colombia and Dominican Republic) and Eastern Asia (China and Taiwan). Five countries (Romania, China, Albania, Nigeria and Brazil) make up 50% of trafficking business in Italy.

Table 2. Perpetrators and victims of sexual exploitation in Italy per regions of origin (2007-2013)

<i>Regions</i>	<i>Trafficking for sexual exploitation</i>			
	<i>Arrested persons</i>		<i>Victims</i>	
<i>European Union</i>	4,857	36.1%	2,046	48.1%
<i>Central and Eastern Europe</i>	2,461	18.3%	258	6.1%
<i>other European countries</i>	21	0.2%	1	0%
<i>Northern Africa</i>	371	2.8%	73	1.7%
<i>Western Africa</i>	1,141	8.5%	294	6.9%
<i>Eastern Africa</i>	28	0.2%	16	0.4%
<i>South Central Africa</i>	12	0.1%	4	0.1%
<i>Western Asia</i>	57	0.4%	83	2.0%
<i>South Central Asia</i>	191	1.4%	99	2.3%
<i>Eastern Asia</i>	2,353	17.5%	628	14.8%
<i>Northern America</i>	5	0%	2	0%
<i>South Central America</i>	1,974	14.7%	751	17.6%
<i>Oceania</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>Stateless</i>	0	0%	0	0%
Total	13,471	100%	4,255	100%

Source: Crimes reported by the police to judicial authorities, ISTAT

A comparison of the information on perpetrators with those on victims from the same country of origin reveals that important gaps exist between the two. These gaps might reveal a different organisation of the trafficking business across foreign groups. For instance, some foreign groups (from Albania, Bulgaria, China) are usually able to create more structured operations for the trafficking of victims from other countries. By plotting this information, there appear some outliers in the distribution of countries for the number of victims and perpetrators. Countries, like Romania and Albania, clearly stand out with numbers of perpetrators significantly higher than the number of victims. Conversely, there are groups of countries showing higher share of victims, whereas their trafficking is usually organised by other foreign groups. In order to evaluate whether trafficking is correlated with the presence of organised crime groups, we correlate data on traffickers with mafia-type and ordinary criminal association crimes, and with other crimes strongly associated with organised crime, such as extortion and racketeering (see Table 4). Figure 6 shows that trafficking for sexual exploitation is weakly and positively correlated with criminal association crimes committed by foreigners, thus higher exploitation crimes are associated with higher organised crime activities. This relationship becomes stronger by using another organised crime-related measure of criminal business, such as extortion. Figure 7 shows that trafficking and extortion are strongly and positively correlated. In other words, the presence of racketeering is associated with a larger sexual exploitation business. This is also consistent with evidence showing that in some cases traffickers are organised in small groups licensed (and extorted) by indigenous criminal organisations. In any case, given the methodological quality of crime statistics for these phenomena, the presence of more organised groups of traffickers is an important variable to consider as we try to evaluate the link with corruption. According to

the literature, organised trafficking is usually obtained through systemic corruption (Vandenberg 2002; Zhang and Pineda 2008; Holmes 2009; UNODC 2011). This is a hypothesis we are going to test below using Italian data.

Table 3. Perpetrators and victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation in Italy per country of origin (2008-2013)

Country	Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation			
	Arrested persons		Victims	
Romania	4,142	30.7%	1,742	40.9%
China	2,187	16.2%	574	13.5%
Albania	2,088	15.5%	115	2.7%
Nigeria	1,064	7.9%	271	6.4%
Brazil	745	5.5%	314	7.4%
Colombia	471	3.5%	197	4.6%
Dominican Republic	368	2.7%	121	2.8%
Bulgaria	229	1.7%	137	3.2%
Hungary	207	1.5%	98	2.3%
Morocco	163	1.2%	54	1.3%
Taiwan	115	0.9%	49	1.2%
Serbia	100	0.7%	17	0.4%
Ecuador	87	0.6%	39	0.9%
Peru	74	0.5%	17	0.4%
Moldova	70	0.5%	33	0.8%
Ukraine	52	0.4%	42	1.0%
Afghanistan	44	0.3%	83	2.0%
Spain	44	0.3%	21	0.5%
Russian Federation	43	0.3%	26	0.6%
Venezuela	31	0.2%	13	0.3%
Poland	31	0.2%	16	0.4%
Iraq	19	0.1%	55	1.3%
Syrian Arab Republic	19	0.15	13	0.3%
Other countries	1,078	8.0%	208	4.9%
Total	13,471	100%	4,255	100%

Source: Crimes reported by police forces to judicial authorities, ISTAT

Table 4. Correlation matrix of crimes committed by foreigners in Italian regions (2007-2013)

	Trafficking for sexual exploitation	Criminal association crimes	Mafia-type association crimes	Extortion
Trafficking for sexual exploitation	1.0000			
Criminal association crimes	0.2103** (0.0126)	1.0000		
Mafia-related association crimes	-0.1573* (0.0635)	0.0841 (0.3232)	1.0000	
Extortion	0.5626*** (0.0000)	0.1399* (0.0992)	-0.0132 (0.8768)	1.0000

Note: The table shows correlation between yearly recorded crime rates per region (2007-2013). P values are presented in parentheses. *, ** and *** equal to 0 at 10%, 5% and 1% significance levels, respectively.
Source: ISTAT

Figure 6. Exploitation of prostitution and criminal association crimes committed by foreigners in Italian regions (2007-2013)

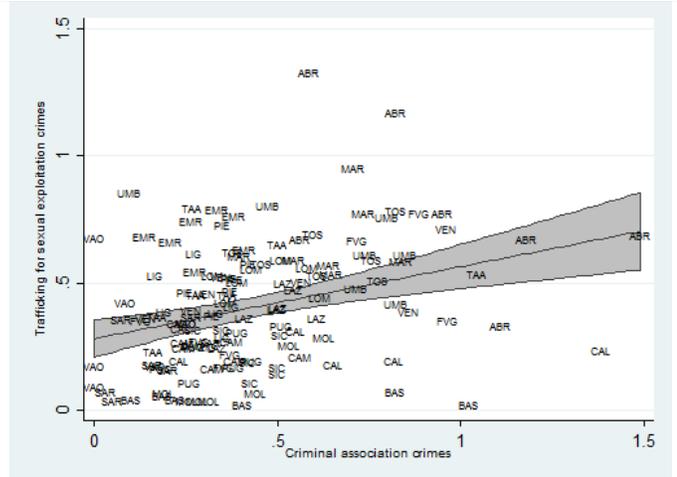


Figure 7. Exploitation of prostitution and extortion crimes committed by foreigners in Italian regions (2007-2013)

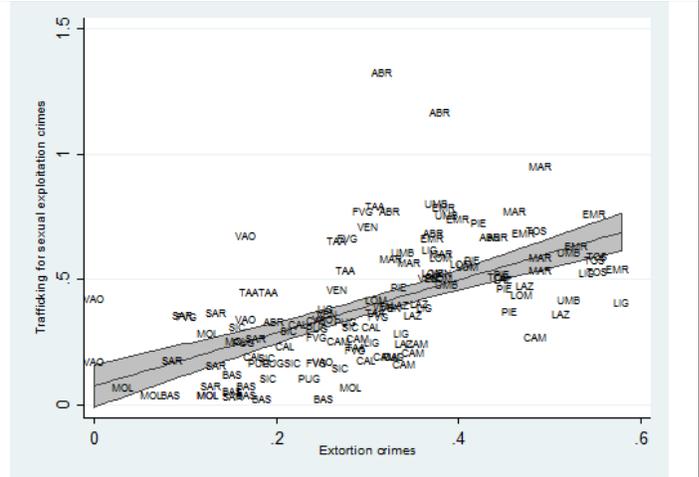


Figure 8. Exploitation of prostitution and mafia-type criminal association crimes committed by foreigners in Italian regions (2007-2013)

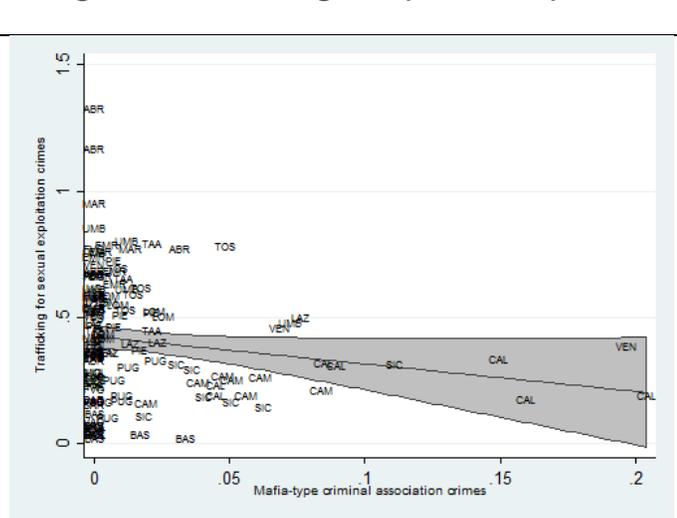
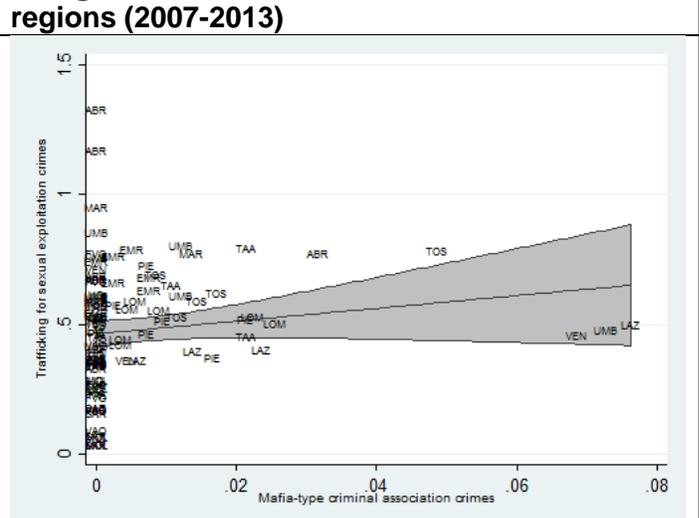


Figure 9. Exploitation of prostitution and mafia-type criminal association crimes committed by foreigners in Central and Northern Italian regions (2007-2013)



Source: Crimes reported by the police to judicial authorities, ISTAT

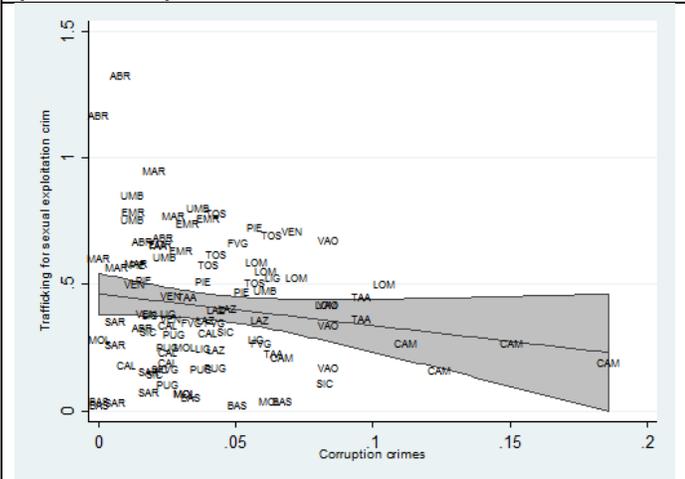
In the second section, we approach the analysis of the link between corruption and human trafficking in order to test whether any significant correlation exists between the general levels of corruption (measured using statistics on corruption crimes)⁸ and the extent of trafficking in persons (measured both as number of offenders and victims). Data are available also at the regional level from 2007 to 2013. By taking into account the potential caveats regarding the use of crime statistics to analyse hidden phenomena, we try to question the widely accepted hypothesis that organised trafficking requires systemic corruption. The analysis concludes that although organised crime-related activities have shown a significant relationship with trafficking for sexual exploitation, corruption does not come close to statistical significance. Figure 5 shows that trafficking and corruption are not significantly correlated, and even the sign of the relationship tends to be negative. Findings hold true also when we use data on victims of trafficking (see Figure 6). The

⁸ Corruption is measured as the number of convicted persons for corruption crimes (Judicial Statistics – ISTAT). Therefore, data include cases of public officials convicted for embezzlement, malfeasance and crimes against public administration. A breakdown for public officials' categories (i.e. police, judiciary, elected official, etc.) is not available.

hypothesis that trafficking in persons is strongly linked with corruption finds no empirical evidence, at least in the data we were able to use for this study.

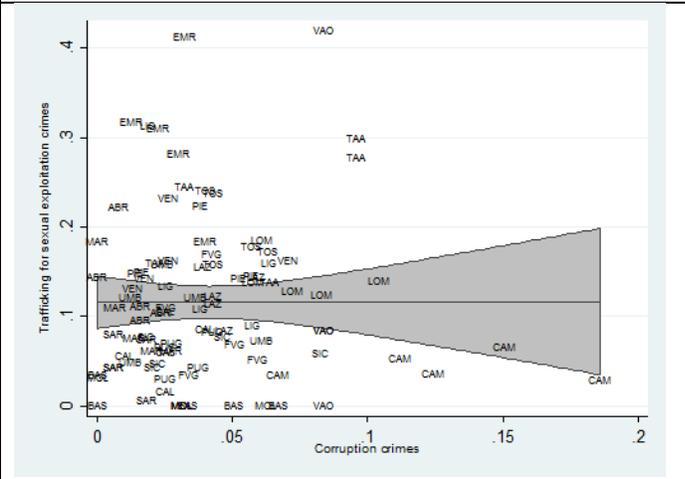
Based on this empirical finding we can conclude, acknowledging the limitations of crime statistics, that corruption does not play such a pivotal role in explaining human trafficking in a destination country, such as Italy, being less visible as opposed to countries of origin or transit. According to one respondent, “it is quite unlikely to observe full participation and complicity of public officials at all stages of trafficking in Italy.” Firstly, Italy remains a destination country, thus especially the early stages of the trafficking, such as the recruitment, usually take place in a foreign country (Balkans, in the case of trafficking from Central and Eastern Europe). Secondly, despite that large-scale organisations of traffickers may exist in their countries of origin, they are less likely to operate in Italy using the same criminal model. Rather, they would prefer small and more network-based groups that remain less visible and vulnerable to Italian law enforcement agencies, and thus they do not require corruption to be employed, at least in Italy. Thirdly, rather than participating in and organising trafficking, public officials would ignore and tolerate these activities. Therefore, the payment of bribes is not so systematic and widespread especially in the case of street prostitution. By no coincidence, as the HTC events database will show, corruption often emerges as a response to more effective and strict law enforcement operations in order to avoid arrests and prosecution (IT-WP9-01).

Figure 10. Exploitation of prostitution (perpetrators) and corruption crimes rate committed by foreigners in Italian regions (2007-2013)



Source: Offences reported by the police to judicial authorities, ISTAT

Figure 11. Exploitation of prostitution (victims) and corruption crimes rate committed by foreigners in Italian regions (2007-2013)



Source: Offences reported by the police to judicial authorities, ISTAT

Although there are important caveats and limitations to the use of crime statistics in assessing illegal and hidden phenomena, such as human trafficking, the findings of this quantitative assessment of the link seem to undermine the hypothesis that systemic corruption is a sufficient condition for organised trafficking to flourish. Moreover, these results do not exclude the possibilities that both phenomena are interrelated and that reciprocal mechanisms occur between the two. In fact, a more in-depth analysis of real cases can provide more insights about the modalities and mechanism of interaction, showing also how other local conditions can affect this correlation.

2. Human trafficking and corruption in Italy: evidence from the events-based HTC database and fieldwork

Although the quantitative analysis undermines the hypothesis of a systematic link between corruption and human trafficking in Italy, the analysis of case-based evidence can help in understanding how this relationship can be more hidden and indirect in a destination country such as Italy. In many cases, we can observe a strong relationship between the two. In this section, we provide a more in-depth overview of the link, including information about the actors involved, modalities and resources of exchange, mechanism of interaction. This analysis draws on the data collected in the HTC dataset, corroborated by the evidence collected through interviews.

Concerning the HTC dataset, it is worth emphasising again that it provides information only on the cases on which ANSA has gathered information since 2000. Although some case selection bias should be taken into consideration, we can argue that this data collection strategy covers at least the most relevant cases. In addition, we have mainly gathered information on events related to human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Consequently, few events have been collected on trafficking for forced labour exploitation, because of increased difficulty in identifying the right keywords in order to capture news events. Data allow us to provide a comprehensive picture of the link between corruption and human trafficking in Italy, but not to make final generalisation about the interacting mechanisms between the two. The data are described and analysed along two dimensions: actors (type of actor, nationality of victims, human trafficking organisation) and nexus (motives, exchanges resources). Table 4 summarises the most important findings.

The HTC dataset provides information about 54 events from 2000 to 2015, in which some corrupt exchanges took place between public officials and traffickers. In some of the collected cases, exchanges did not occur due to public officials' refusal. Almost 20% of the events are cases of attempted corruption in which bribes were offered to public officials but were not accepted. Although this evidence shows that corruption is not systematic and remains a risky option for traffickers, it might also reveal that this strategy is likely to be successful in many circumstances if traffickers/exploiters take the risk to commit another crime by offering a bribe. Attempted corruption cases are significantly correlated with less organised type of human trafficking, such as small-scale and street prostitution, aimed at avoiding the arrest of the victim/offender of trafficking. This evidence is consistent with the fact that more organised forms of human trafficking likely look for and buy protection from police or public officials in a more structured way, by creating a network of trusted partners.

The police are responsible for enforcing anti-trafficking legislation and more than 70% of cases show the involvement of police forces in corrupt transaction with traffickers/exploiters. Data collection also provides information about the type of police forces, by distinguishing local from other national police agencies. In fact, we would have expected a broader involvement of local police officers due to reasons such as lower level of professionalization, lower costs in being captured by local traffickers, higher exposure to corruption because of their tasks in enforcement of local regulations concerning nightclubs' licenses and traffic laws (which might relate to street prostitution). Although it is true that local police usually deal with petty crimes, in larger cities they cooperate with the national police force to prevent and repress major crimes.

In contrast with this hypothesis, according to the collected evidence only in 9% of cases municipal police officers play a role in corruption transactions, while national police forces (Carabinieri and Polizia di Stato) show up in 57% of cases. This is mainly due to the source we used, which most likely provided information about most visible cases. In fact, according to some interviews, the role played by national police might be overestimated. Since only serious corruption crimes usually emerge, their severity is also strictly linked to the involvement of police forces at higher level such as national law enforcement agencies, which have important tasks that might affect the business of trafficking. This is the case of police officers working in

immigration offices, and issuing residence and immigration permits (20% of cases). In the cases collected in the database, the presence of this type of police actors is significantly correlated with more structured forms of trafficking and their participation is more stable and internalised in the trafficking network.

Concerning other categories of actors, judges can also be a relevant node in the trafficking business (9% of cases). However, in the majority of the collected cases, they were prosecuted for having profited of sexual services, rather than for having manipulated judicial investigations or obstructing justice. In one case, a prosecutor of Rome was arrested for extorting sexual services from prostitutes and victims of trafficking in exchange of custody or temporary licences. A respondent said: “Judicial corruption is really a marginal phenomenon at least in the case of human trafficking. This holds true in Italy, but in countries of origin or transit, we often observe the involvement of corrupt judicial officials. In the case of a criminal group operating from Albania, we found the complicity of an Albanian judge in obstructing justice, sheltering the operations of the trafficking rings. However, it was not possible to prosecute him, due to the weaknesses in the mutual legal assistance mechanisms and the lack of cooperation of national authorities” (IT-WP9-01).

Other public officials can contribute to the development and persistence of trafficking operations. In 20% of collected cases, officers working at the Labour Inspection Authority (LIA) participated in trafficking networks by issuing and manipulating work permits for non-EU residents. Again, their participation correlates with more organised types of sexual exploitation businesses, especially those using nightclubs as front activity for exploitation operations. “Like border-control officers, LIA officers have a lot of discretion and a lot of one-to-one communication, not necessarily supervised” (IT-WP9-11). Concerning politicians, they rarely emerge in our data collection, but their contribution becomes crucial as we consider human trafficking as an enabler of political corruption. In most of the corruption scandals that erupted in the last five years in Italy, sexual exploitation services remain an important “resource” that is offered in exchange of political protection and contracts.

According to some of our respondents and to some recent corruption cases, the role of private actors is increasing also in the link between corruption and trafficking, especially due to the recent outsourcing of health and social services for immigrants to NGOs, non-profit or for-profit cooperatives managing immigration centres. In fact, some recent investigations in the largest immigration centre in Southern Italy have revealed the existence of sexual exploitation both inside and outside the camp, involving primarily Nigerian women exploited by a group of Tunisian traffickers. Although clear evidence of the collusion of employees of the cooperative managing the camp has not been found, “it is unlikely that local operators are not aware of what is going on in the camp. [...] People from nearby cities are ready to protest against the ‘immoral presence’ – as they say – of prostitutes on the Caltagirone-Catania road, without considering that these women are not free to decide or that some fellow citizens have been discovered renting their flats for indoor prostitution” (IT-WP9-04 , IT-WP9-05). Investigations started after reports on the spontaneous abortion rate in the camp were released, showing that in 2014 the rate was 16.6 per one thousand migrants/refugees in the camp, whereas in 2013 the overall regional rate in Sicily was 5.76 abortions per one thousand inhabitants (IT-WP9-03). Another respondent also confirmed that “in the sexual exploitation phase a crucial role is more frequently played by private agencies providing website hosting services through which clients can meet online and negotiate arrangements with prostitutes. Taxi drivers, restaurant and hotel owners and receptionists often are “gatekeepers” favouring the clients who want to meet foreign prostitutes (victims of sexual exploitation), occasionally underage. Also in the recruitment phase, “[...] (fictitious or real) travel agencies sometimes play an intermediation role in bribery. Another instance of corruption emerged via the mediating role of lawyers and other professionals who were paid bribes in order to get pimps in touch with elderly people to manage fake marriages necessary for exploited women to get residency permits. In a case of sexual exploitation involving foreign prostitutes victims paid bribes from €3,000 to €10,000 to entrepreneurs operating in the hotel, restoration and agricultural sectors to obtain fictitious employment contracts to get to Italy with a residency permit” (IT-WP9-06).

Concerning the drivers of corruption, two criminal goals are more relevant than others, i.e. obstructing investigation (43%) or avoiding arrest (44%). Conversely, police or judicial protection of the recruitment process is not so relevant in a destination country like Italy. In fact, we have found only few cases in which police forces helped the recruitment of new victims. In one case, traffickers used some police officers on the payroll to intimidate victims of sexual exploitation and to “recruit” other illegal migrants who had been arrested for other petty crimes. However, in the cases in Italy where evidence of recruitment activities has progressively emerged, such as in one immigration centre in Southern Italy, corruption is supposed to play a pivotal role in facilitating the **transformation of a human smuggling emergency** – such as the recent immigration flows from Northern Africa – **into a human trafficking one**. As stated in one of our interviews, “the recent refugee crisis has created new opportunities for traffickers to organise recruitment also in Italy. This is due the fact that the distinction between smuggling and trafficking of human beings has become more blurred than in the past. [...] In other words, women smuggled to Italy as asylum-seekers can then become victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation while they are hosted in refugee camps during the asylum process. Activities are carried out both within and outside the camp, but for those occurring outside camps it is more likely to find the passivity of camps’ employees and, in areas controlled by organised crime, the protection by local Mafiosi” (IT-WP9-01). This is the case of a migration camp in Sicily, where some evidence seems to show that smuggled migrants have been forced into prostitution to pay smugglers back, to reach a new destination in Europe or on the promise to see their asylum request positively examined by Italian authorities. Prostitution is still carried out both inside and outside the camp, without any monitoring by the company managing the camp, at least until human rights activists denounced it.⁹ However, corruption is not necessarily the leading factor. According to one of the activists interviewed, “[...] passivity more than corruption explains the success of human trafficking business in the country. Traffickers and exploiters do not look for public officials either. Sporadically they might need someone who can actively obstruct investigations, prosecutions and judicial proceedings. However, when they need it it means that it is already too late because their activities have been discovered and it would be quite costly and risky to alter the course of justice. The causes of passivity are quite diverse, but the lack of awareness about the dramatic impacts of trafficking upon victims, more than the lack of capacities and skills, leads to it” (IT-WP9-10).

Concerning border control, only a single case emerged in the dataset. This is consistent with some of the information we collected in our interviews, but also with the fact that a large majority of victims of trafficking come from EU member states (Romania, Bulgaria and Baltic states) or can freely enter the country without any visa permits (for instance, Albania and Brazil). In addition, according to one respondent: “In a country like Italy, where tacit tolerance of illegal migration is widespread, the process of transfer and transport, such as crossing of borders without any checks or with the cooperation of airline staff and immigration police does not require necessarily the complicity of corrupt officials. The largest majority of the people who have come to Italy in the last years are either qualified as refugees/asylum-seekers or as tourist visa holders. In fact, they become illegal migrants only when their asylum requests are not accepted or their visas expire. You know about the US, where there are the so called ‘sanctuary cities’ where municipal authorities de facto do not enforce federal immigration laws, Italy can be considered a kind of ‘sanctuary country’” (IT-WP9-11). This might explain why corruption has never been such a prominent driver for human smuggling and trafficking in the country as compared to other destination countries.

In other circumstances, the payment of bribes was required in the case of the work permit system when victims needed to receive work permits they were not allowed to, or in the case of the local commercial licencing system when traffickers paid to getting nightclub licences. But again, this is the case of more

⁹ Condorelli, Antonio. 2015. “La Tratta Delle Prostitute Al c.a.r.a. Di Mineo.” *L’aria Che Tira*. La7; Zaniti, Alessandra. 2013. “La Vergogna Al Cara Di Mineo: ‘Costrette a Prostituirsi per Cinque Euro.’” *La Repubblica*, December 24; Barresi, Angelo. 2015. “Fuga Dall’inferno per Diventare Schiave Del Sesso Sui Marciapiede Della Sicilia.” *La Sicilia*, September 28.

institutionalised forms of trafficking. No evidence in the events database has emerged about corruption aimed at laundering of the proceeds of trafficking activities. According to one of the respondents, “[...] usually Italian traffickers would also corrupt officials to hide money-laundering activities. Conversely, foreign groups of traffickers would not launder their proceeds in Italy but in their country of origin or transit. They typically utilise the trafficking routes used for human beings to transfer their criminal proceeds. [Moreover], it is not even easy to detect victims’ proceeds, when they have some (!!), since these are usually transferred as remittances via money transfer services that are typically more difficult to trace” (IT-WP9-11).

The drivers which emerge in the sample of the analysed cases regard corruption mainly as an **enabler of human trafficking**, since the former is a principal component in the creation, preservation and development of the latter. This is the most common approach in looking at the link. However, as some cases of the HTC dataset and interviews show, this is only part of the problem. In a second scenario, trafficking (especially for sexual exploitation) is the **enabler of political corruption**. In this case, trafficking is not the result of corrupt exchanges, but it is conducive to other types of illegal transactions, such as political corruption exchanges. Several cases of political corruption show that sexual services can be used as a resource to be exchanged in corrupt transactions in a more systematic way. Recent developments in the organisation of corruption networks reveal the existence of brokers/entrepreneurs, whose role is precisely the recruitment and exploitation of prostitutes having public or elected officials as clients. As stated by one of our respondents, “political corruption networks have become more institutionalised than in the past, and, more importantly, their internal mechanisms of regulations do not require necessarily cash payments as a form of bribes, but other rewards are used to strengthen the relationships in the network, such as offering sexual services” (IT-WP9-11).

Money is usually the resource used to reward police and public officials (65% of cases), although sexual services are also often used in this type of corrupt transactions (59% cases). Other types of benefits, such as protection from other criminals, electoral support, or information are also resources offered by traffickers in exchange of police protection. Sexual services are usually offered in cases of occasional corrupt transactions (37% are petty corruption cases), but cash remains the less risky way to reward corrupt officials who occasionally protect traffickers/exploiters. In other cases, where more organised groups operate, public officials receive a regular “salary” from the criminal organisation. However, also in this scenario, sexual services are used to reward them, not only because similar favours might be demanded, but this practice also discourages victims of trafficking to approach and cooperate with state authorities. Therefore, like in other cases, where corruption is not as obvious as the payment of money for services rendered, in human trafficking cases corruption can also become more subtle, being based on long-standing relationships of mutual benefit. This is especially true when sexual exploitation is an enabler of political corruption. In this case, it becomes one among many other favours exchanged among people in useful positions.

Enough information was available to distinguish between outdoor or indoor prostitution. Data show a correlation between the type of prostitution business and the modalities/resources of the corruption exchange. Indoor prostitution – which typically includes in our data cases of nightclubs/massage centres used as front-activities to hide a sexual exploitation business – is usually associated with more established forms of corruption, which involve not only police officers but also immigration or labour inspection officers. Therefore, instead of occasional petty corruption exchanges, we could find public officials “on the payroll.” According to evidence collected through the interviews, there is no correlation between the presence of organised crime groups and a type of prostitution (Cabras 2015).

As far as the organisation of the business is concerned, the data unfortunately did not include detailed information about the type of criminal group or individuals involved in the business. Only in few cases,

references to the presence of organised crime group were made. However, according to the evidence collected through the interviews and judicial proceedings, the organisation of the criminal network creating and promoting the prostitution ring seems to predict also the type of corrupt transactions. When a single crime network acquires, transports, and exploits trafficking victims, the same network more likely creates strong ties with police officers, who usually are on the payroll of the group, and not simply involved in petty corruption transactions. In our sample of cases, those involving the participation of Albanian mafias see a closer participation of police officers. As abundant evidence and reports show, Albanian groups usually acquire women throughout Eastern Europe, transport them to Western Europe, and force them into sex slavery in clubs or brothels operated by the same crime group. This “industrial” organisation of trafficking rings might deserve a sustainable partnership with corrupt local law enforcement authorities at least for two reasons. First, these organisations might become more detectable by the authorities than other “disorganised” forms of trafficking. In addition to it, although these groups are transnational, their realm of operation is really local and less likely they re-sell their victims on the market as compared to other groups. By doing it, they face lower risks of detection from national police forces, and they are more likely to become visible to local authorities (IT-WP9-01; IT-WP9-06; IT-WP9-007).

III. CORRUPTION AND TRAFFICKING - IMPACT ON THE VICTIMS

According to the evidence collected, corruption can exacerbate the already dramatic impacts of trafficking. As far as Italy is concerned, three important impacts have been evaluated. First, corruption of police officers strengthens victims’ distrust of public authorities, thus worsening their condition of slavery and exploitation. Traffickers are aware of it and strategically use corruption to foster their control and exploitation of their victims. In some of the cases analysed for this research, traffickers have also used corrupt police officials to test the loyalties of their victims. For instance, in agreement with traffickers, corrupt officials had the opportunity to “secretly” meet victims of trafficking promising freedom in exchange of information. Most of the victims pass this type of test without providing information to the police agents, but in some cases, some victims received severe punishments when they did. In any case, this peculiar strategy to test victims’ loyalty created overwhelming distrust in the victims of police authorities (IT-WP9-9, IT-WP9-10). “Before being helped by the police, I thought that corruption was in all law enforcement agencies in Italy, and that Italian authorities were not so dissimilar from the ones I experienced in Nigeria. To be honest, also, the way Italian police used to treat me, did not help me realise that I was a victim to be protected rather than a criminal to be arrested” (IT-WP9-08). This statement supports the idea that further victimisation can occur when police forces or other public officials treat victims with in a degrading way, by regarding them as perpetrators in the sex industry (Holmes 2009). In at least two cases, victims of trafficking were exploited by corrupt the police officers who arrested them, whereas the real traffickers were left free (also in IT-WP9-10). However, these were quite unique cases in comparison with the large majority of collected evidence, in which passivity of the police, rather than collusion, makes trafficking flourish.

Third, the impact of corruption is also economic. As stated by many respondents, corruption increases the costs of trafficking especially for the victims (IT-WP9-01, IT-WP9-06, IT-WP9-10). There are higher costs if there are stringent visa or work regulations to be bypassed in the destination country. A respondent said in relation to a woman coming from Eastern Asia that “traffickers make it possible for the woman to reach Italy, organising a trip illegally, and, more importantly, to obtain a work permit that she was not allowed to get.” This illegal intermediation had a cost, in fact, “the cost of the bribe was immediately added to the victim’s debt towards the trafficker” (IT-WP9-11), lengthening the period of slavery and exploitation.

Table 5. Events analysis of cases showing a link between trafficking for sexual exploitation and corruption in Italy (2000-2015).

Case			Actors							Motives							Resources			Corruption type		Sexual exploitation		Nationality						
ID	Year	Province	Police forces				Judge	Politician	Public Official	Private	Avoid Arrest	Dampen Investigation	Recruitment	Migration Permits	Political Corruption	Attempt	Children Trafficking	Money	Sexual services	Other Utilities	Petty	On-payroll	Street	Nightclub	EU	Central and Eastern Europe	South Central America	Eastern Asia	Western Africa	Northern Africa
			Police	Prison Police	Immigration Office	Local Police																								
IT01	2000	CT	X						X	X						X	X				X	X								
IT02	2001	MI						X				X				X				X	X									
IT03	2001	FI				X				X					X						X	X			X					
IT04	2001	VA	X		X					X		X				X				X	X									
IT05	2001	UD	X							X						X	X				X	X								
IT06	2002	PD	X							X	X						X				X	X			X					
IT07	2002	TR	X							X					X		X			X	X		X					X		
IT08	2002	RN			X											X	X	X		X	X		X		X					
IT09	2003	TO						X						X			X	X		X	X		X			X				
IT10	2003	GE	X								X						X	X		X	X				X					
IT11	2003	IM	X							X	X					X	X			X	X		X		X					
IT12	2004	PC			X			X					X			X					X	X					X			
IT13	2004	LI	X				X			X					X		X				X	X								
IT14	2004	VA			X							X				X	X				X	X		X	X			X		
IT15	2004	SS	X		X				X	X	X					X	X				X	X		X	X					
IT16	2005	BG	X		X			X								X	X				X	X								
IT17	2005	LI			X							X				X	X				X	X								
IT18	2005	AP	X							X					X		X	X		X	X		X				X			
IT19	2005	NA					X							X			X				X	X								
IT20	2005	TP	X		X					X	X	X			X		X	X			X	X							X	
IT21	2005	BN						X		X	X	X				X	X				X	X		X						
IT22	2005	BO	X							X	X					X	X				X	X						X	X	
IT23	2005	TO	X							X					X		X			X	X		X				X			
IT24	2005	BN						X			X					X					X	X		X	X					
IT25	2006	MN	X							X					X		X			X	X		X				X			
IT26	2006	TP			X							X					X	X			X	X							X	
IT27	2007	CE	X							X					X			X		X	X		X							
IT28	2007	GO	X							X					X		X				X	X					X			
IT29	2007	CB					X	X						X			X	X	X		X	X						X		
IT30	2007	VA	X							X	X		X			X	X				X	X					X			
IT31	2008	VE	X							X					X		X				X	X					X			
IT32	2008	BO	X				X			X	X					X	X				X	X			X					
IT33	2009	AN	X							X	X					X	X				X	X		X		X				
IT34	2009	RM				X				X						X				X	X		X				X			
IT35	2009	MI			X					X						X	X				X	X				X				
IT36	2009	CT				X				X						X				X	X		X							
IT37	2010	PE	X					X			X					X					X		X							
IT38	2010	PI	X							X						X					X		X							
IT39	2010	SR	X																			X								
IT40	2011	TP						X			X					X	X	X			X		X							
IT41	2011	RM	X							X	X					X	X				X	X					X			
IT42	2011	FI	X							X					X			X			X		X				X			
IT43	2012	RN																				X								
IT44	2012	SO			X					X							X				X	X								
IT45	2012	PR	X			X		X	X	X	X					X	X				X	X		X	X	X				
IT46	2013	RM				X				X	X										X	X		X	X					
IT47	2013	PO	X							X					X						X	X					X			
IT48	2013	RM				X				X	X		X				X				X	X								
IT49	2013	BA	X							X						X					X									
IT50	2014	CE				X				X							X				X		X		X					
IT51	2014	VA		X						X							X				X		X		X					
IT52	2014	AN	X							X							X				X		X							
IT53	2015	CE				X			X					X			X				X	X				X				
IT54	2015	MI	X							X						X					X	X				X				
Percentage			57%	2%	20%	9%	11%	4%	19%	4%	44%	43%	9%	20%	7%	22%	4%	65%	59%	9%	37%	48%	65%	35%	20%	24%	9%	17%	6%	6%

Source: MIDA News Archive, ANSA

IV. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) To adopt a more comprehensive and effective national strategy against trafficking in human beings in the country, based on the monitoring of new emerging trends in the recruitment of victims and on a comprehensive and up-to-date analysis of the characteristics of the trafficking market (both for sexual exploitation and forced labour). The plan should clearly define the objectives, initiatives and stakeholders responsible for the implementation of the anti-trafficking strategy. A national plan against trafficking should also cover corruption issues, including designing codes of conduct, guidelines, and conflict of interest regulations for the most vulnerable categories of public officials and putting in place instruments to monitoring sectors at risk.

(2) To enforce effectively anti-trafficking legislation through pro-active investigations and prosecutions based on those legal instruments already used in the fight against mafia-like organisations, such as prompt and effective protection of victims and witnesses of trafficking.

(3) To strengthen the fight against trafficking for labour exploitation, since it is strongly interrelated with the sex industry. The creation of ghettos of illegal and forced workers is more likely to create new opportunities for traffickers to develop the sexual exploitation industry.

(4) To foster the implementation of anti-trafficking policies by increasing possibilities for victims to return and to obtain compensation, in order to avoid any re-victimisation and re-trafficking.

(5) To reform the system of governance of asylum-seekers camps' management, where evidence shows also the emergence of trafficking inside and outside the camps. An alternative reception model should be implemented. Rather than invest in the creation of large immigration centres, the system needs to be decentralised, built around small and medium-sized centres, equally distributed across all provinces, and adequately monitored. This model would make it possible to support all migrants in building a network of social relations with the region and its services, facilitating the development of their autonomy and improving their access to health care, psychological, social and legal services existing in the area. It will also facilitate the prompt identification and the provision of adequate assistance to the most vulnerable individuals.

(6) Given that passivity is a pivotal driver of victimisation from trafficking, a more effective campaign on human trafficking needs to be conducted in Italy through awareness-raising initiatives at regional and local level. Such initiatives should target, on one side, public officials responsible for the implementation of anti-trafficking and immigration policies, and, on the other side, the demand as a root cause of human trafficking;

(7) The effective abolishment of the crime of illegal immigration for individuals residing in Italy without authorisation, an offence introduced by the Berlusconi government in 2009 as part of the Maroni security package. Immigrants entering or residing in Italy without authorisation should no longer be committing a criminal offence, but the offence should return to its previous administrative status and be punishable by an expulsion order but not arrest. This policy can incentivize victims of trafficking to cooperate with justice, especially when they have no residence permits, or at least contribute to fostering trust on anti-trafficking authorities.

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V. ANNEXES

Annex 1. Codes and details of interviewees

Code	Position	Place of work	Age	Gender
IT-WP9-01	Prosecutor	Tribunal of Caltagirone	n/a	M/F
IT-WP9-02	Activist/Psychologist	Anti-trafficking Association - Catania	60 (?)	F
IT-WP9-03	Doctor	Caltagirone Hospital	n/a	M
IT-WP9-04	Activist	MEDU (Medici per i Diritti Umani)	36	F
IT-WP9-05	Activist	Rete Antirazzista (Antiracism Network)	n/a	F
IT-WP9-06	Academic expert	University of Trento	n/a	M
IT-WP9-07	Police investigator	Commissariato di Caltagirone	n/a	M
IT-WP9-08	Victim	Castel Volturno	41	F
IT-WP9-09	Anti-trafficking Activist	Castel Volturno	n/a	M
IT-WP9-10	Journalist	Castel Volturno	n/a	M
IT-WP9-11	Prosecutor	Prato	n/a	M



This project is co-funded by the
Seventh Framework Programme for
Research and Technological
Development of the European Union



Project profile

ANTICORRP is a large-scale research project funded by the European Commission's Seventh Framework Programme. The full name of the project is "Anti-corruption Policies Revisited: Global Trends and European Responses to the Challenge of Corruption". The project started in March 2012 and will last for five years. The research is conducted by 20 research groups in fifteen countries.

The fundamental purpose of ANTI-CORRP is to investigate and explain the factors that promote or hinder the development of effective anti-corruption policies and impartial government institutions. A central issue is how policy responses can be tailored to deal effectively with various forms of corruption. Through this approach ANTI-CORRP seeks to advance the knowledge on how corruption can be curbed in Europe and elsewhere. Special emphasis is laid on the agency of different state and non-state actors to contribute to building good governance.

Project acronym: ANTI-CORRP

Project full title: Anti-corruption Policies Revisited: Global Trends and European Responses to the Challenge of Corruption

Project duration: March 2012 – February 2017

EU funding: Approx. 8 million Euros

Theme: FP7-SSH.2011.5.1-1

Grant agreement number: 290529

Project website: <http://anticorpp.eu/>