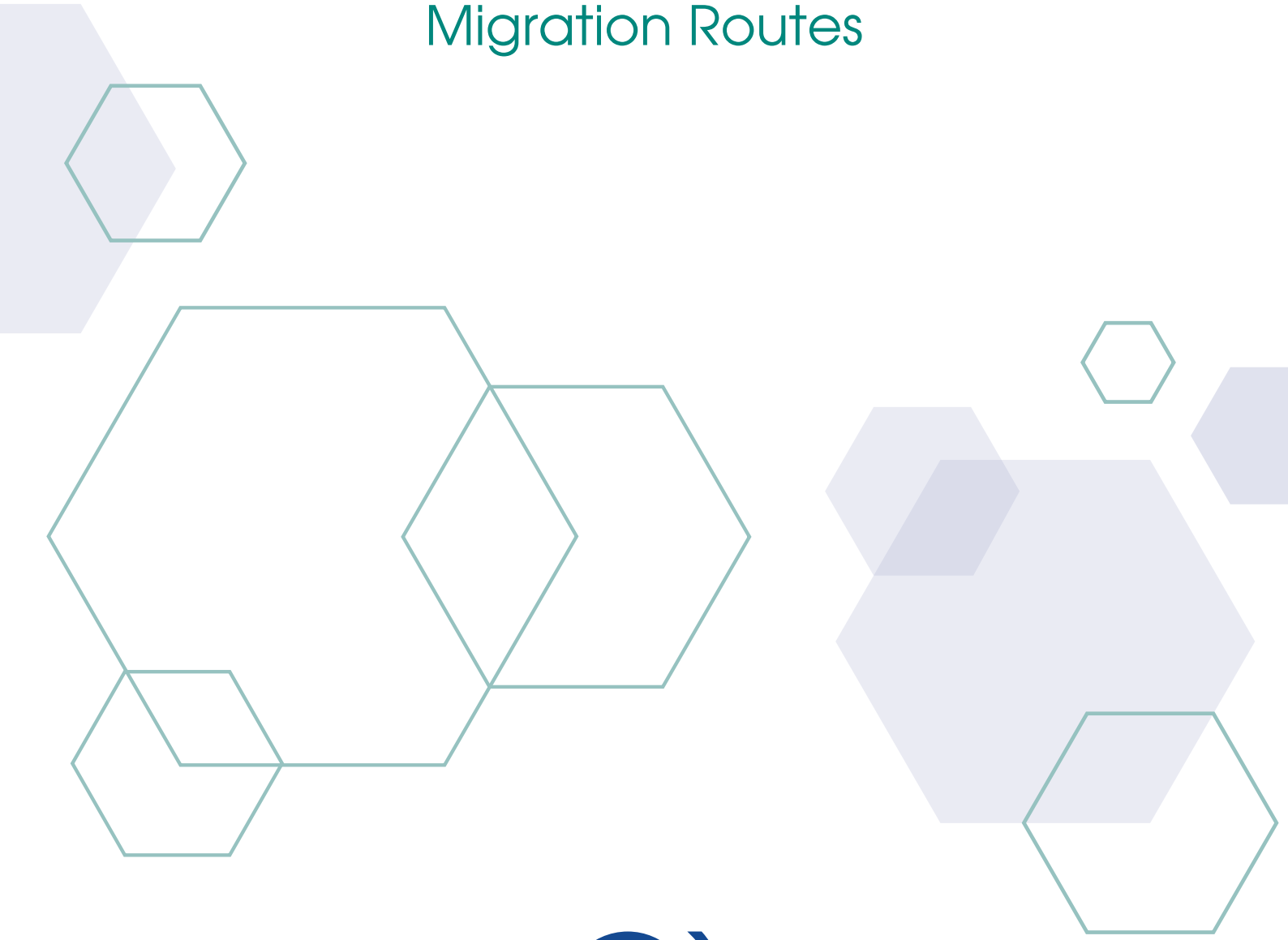
Migrant Vulnerability to Human Trafficking and Exploitation:

Evidence from the Central and Eastern Mediterranean Migration Routes



International Organization for Migration (IOM)
The UN Migration Agency

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All data, figures and citations refer to information available until 15 March 2017.

All surveys were anonymous. Names from the stories shared by migrants are not real, and other details provided by them have been changed to prevent identification.

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International Organization for Migration (IOM)

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About IOM

Established in 1951, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) is the leading intergovernmental organization in the field of migration, working closely with government, intergovernmental and non-governmental partners. As of September 2016, IOM is a Related Organization to the United Nations.

With 169 Member States, a further 8 States holding observer status and offices in over 100 countries, IOM is dedicated to promoting humane and orderly migration for the benefit of all. It does so by providing services and advice to governments and migrants.

IOM is committed to the principle that humane and orderly migration benefits migrants and society. As an intergovernmental organization, IOM acts with its partners in the international community to assist in meeting the operational challenges of migration, advance understanding of migration issues, encourage social and economic development through migration, and uphold the human dignity and well-being of migrants.

IOM routinely generates statistics relating to its operational programmes and projects in over 133 countries. These cover a range of different migratory movements including repatriation and resettlement of refugees, and the voluntary returns of such migrant categories as highly qualified persons, victims of trafficking, stranded transit migrants, internally displaced persons, unsuccessful asylum seekers and soldiers as part of demobilization programmes. In addition, data are collected on cases of redressing consequences of forced displacement through the claims and compensation programme.

Foreword

We live in a world on the move. Today, one in every seven of us around the world is a migrant. While most migration is by choice and has a largely positive impact on migrants and societies, IOM's experience and data have shown that many other migrants may also endure the most gruelling of pathways in search of opportunity and a better life. With population movement comes great capacity for social innovation and economic growth; however, large-scale migration also presents a unique set of challenges.

Migrants' motivations are as varied as their means and modes of travel. Avenues for regular migration are limited; thus, migrants may turn to irregular and unsafe migration routes, which can increase their vulnerability to violence, abuse and exploitation, including trafficking in persons. Many who start their journeys by willingly placing themselves in the hands of smugglers can also become victims of trafficking along the way. What is distinctive about these movements is that regardless of the migration driver, migrants travelling irregularly along certain routes are vulnerable to similar dangers and risks during their journey. These dangers are evidenced by the over 7,000 reported deaths of people who were in the process of moving towards an international destination, recorded by IOM's Missing Migrants Project in 2016. This only illustrates that global migration governance has not kept pace with the growing challenges of international migration, with the result that many migrants continue to be vulnerable to significant rights violations in transit, at their destination, and during or following their return.

As we address these priorities, it is heartening to bear in mind that in September 2016, world leaders gathered at the United Nations General Assembly for the Summit on Refugees and Migrants. The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, adopted by Member States as a result of the Summit, put the international community on a new path of cooperation and action towards safer, more orderly and regular migration, which will culminate in the adoption of the global compact for migration in 2018. States also committed to consider the development of non-binding guiding principles and voluntary guidelines on the treatment of migrants in vulnerable situations.

There is limited data available on the proportion of the world's 258 million international migrants who could be considered vulnerable, however the hundreds of thousands of migrants that IOM and our partners assist each year, increasingly on dangerous migration routes and in challenging contexts, hints at the scale of the issue. Gathering high-quality data on the types of vulnerabilities migrants face, and the factors that either put them at risk or protect them from harm, is a growing imperative. This publication, which draws on the survey of some 16,500 migrants who travelled the Eastern and Central Mediterranean routes to Europe, aims to fill this evidence gap. IOM's Flow Monitoring Surveys conducted along these routes have allowed an in-depth analysis of migrant vulnerabilities to trafficking and other exploitative practices. The results of the survey will make a valuable contribution to global policy discussions and evidence-based policy responses, and lead to lasting solutions to protect the rights of all migrants regardless of their status.

The international community recognized in the 2030 Development Agenda and in the New York Declaration that migrants make an overwhelmingly positive contribution to both host and home societies. Reaching sustainable solutions to today's migration challenges, including human trafficking, and preventing future ones, require that we seize the global compact for migration as an opportunity to facilitate and support migration as a matter of choice and not a necessity.

William Lacy Swing
IOM Director General

Eritrean man rescued in the Central Mediterranean, Pozzallo, Sicily, Italy. © IOM 2016 (Photo: Elda Goci)

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DTM interview at a transit centre, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. © IOM 2016

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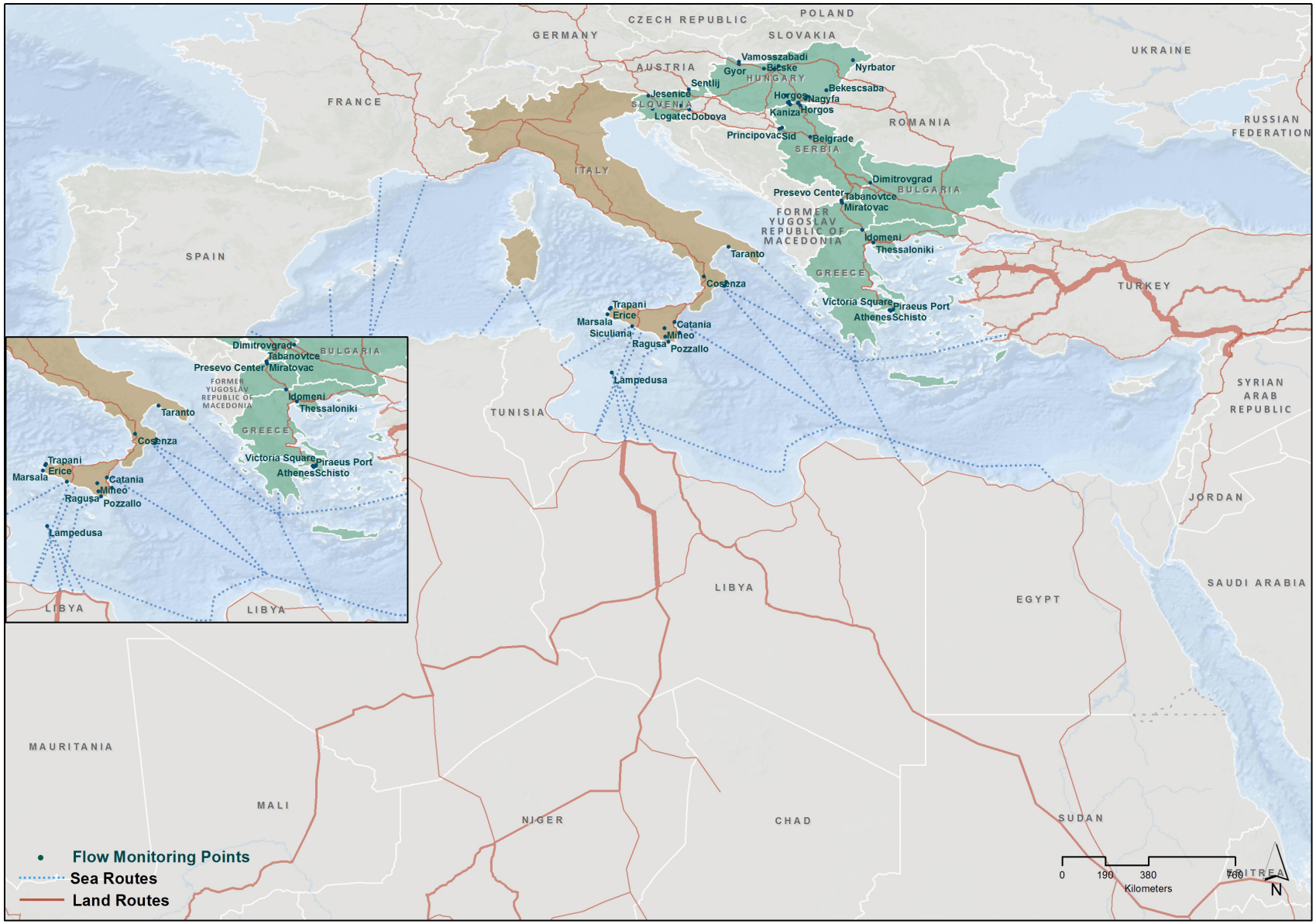
List of acronyms

DTM	Displacement Tracking Matrix
FMS	Flow Monitoring Survey
FMP	Flow Monitoring Point
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
Eurostat	Statistical Office of the European Union
GMDAC	(IOM) Global Migration Data Analysis Centre
IOM	International Organization for Migration
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
TiP	Trafficking in Persons
VoT	Victim of Trafficking
UNSMIL	United Nations Support Mission in Libya

Hotspot in Trapani, Sicily, Italy.
© IOM 2016 (Photo: Silvio Majorino)

Figure 1: Migration routes and Displacement Tracking Matrix flow monitoring points on Central and Eastern Mediterranean routes



Source: DTM operations in the Mediterranean and beyond (2015–2016).
Note: The country names and boundaries indicated on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by IOM.

Executive summary

Over the past years, public attention has gradually turned to the experiences of migrants along the precarious Mediterranean routes to Europe. A large number of migrants continue to risk their lives crossing the Mediterranean Sea on the way to Europe, often enduring long and perilous journeys.

In 2015 and 2016, there was a large increase in arrivals of migrants and refugees fleeing protracted conflict, poverty and persecution, and seeking security and economic opportunities in Europe. The largest number of recorded migrant arrivals to Europe in 2015 occurred on the Eastern Mediterranean route. Also, the largest number of recorded migrant arrivals on the Central Mediterranean route occurred in 2016, which was also considered the deadliest and most dangerous year on record for sea crossings to Europe.

A growing body of evidence is beginning to highlight the scale and scope of exploitation experienced by migrants along these routes, including human trafficking. In particular, the abuses endured by migrants in Libya – the main departure point for sea crossings to Europe – have been well documented.

This report examines migrants' vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation by exploring risk and protective factors associated with unsafe migration, through the systematic evidence collected by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) Displacement Tracking Matrix operations in 2016. It presents the results from the largest existing set of survey data on the vulnerability of migrants to abuse, exploitation and human trafficking on the Mediterranean routes to Europe. Data derive from interviews conducted over a one-year period with more than 16,000 migrants in seven countries, namely, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Serbia, Slovenia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

In the context of the analysis, migrants' vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation is operationalized as the positive response to at least one of the five key questions included in the survey that refer to an individual experience during the journey. The key questions are related to potential human trafficking for labour exploitation, forced marriage and other experiences that could signal coercion (such as being held against one's will) in a possible human trafficking scenario. The survey did not collect information on potential human trafficking for sexual exploitation or on other forms of gender-based violence. More information on the choice and implications of the questions included in the survey can be found in the Methodology (Chapter 2).

Definitions related to key terms, such as vulnerability and human trafficking, can be found in the Methodology and Appendix 1.

The analysis of the IOM survey data shows that more than one third (37%) of all interviewed migrants had a personal experience that indicated the presence of human trafficking or other exploitative practices along the route. Seventy-three per cent of migrants interviewed along the Central Mediterranean route presented at least one indicator of exploitation, along with 14 per cent of migrants interviewed along the Eastern Mediterranean route.

The analysis in this report goes beyond describing the correlates of vulnerability, and it explores whether potential predictors can be associated with vulnerability when statistically controlling for the effects of other variables. Advanced statistical analysis (a set of multilevel logistic regression models) was undertaken to identify factors that predict migrants' vulnerability during the journey. The Methodology (Chapter 2) and the Analysis (Chapter 3) give additional details about the statistical model used and the way vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation is measured.

Key findings:

- **Migrants travelling along the Central Mediterranean route are more vulnerable to exploitation and human trafficking than migrants travelling on the Eastern Mediterranean route. The profiles of migrants and the characteristics of the journey on each route explain some of the difference in vulnerability.** After accounting for all observable differences between migrants on the two routes and the observable differences in their journeys, 48 per cent of migrants who take the Central Mediterranean route are predicted to be vulnerable to exploitation or human trafficking, compared to 31 per cent of migrants taking the Eastern route. This difference between migrant experiences on the two routes is both substantively large (17 percentage points) and statistically significant. Compared to the large gap between the two routes in terms of the rates of positive responses (71% of migrants on the Central route and 13% of migrants on the Eastern route), statistical analysis shows that some of the difference can be explained by the differences in sociodemographic profiles of migrants travelling on the two routes and the characteristics of the journey.
- **Specific sociodemographic characteristics predict higher vulnerability to exploitation during the journey to Europe.** For example, men (compared to women) and those individuals with no education or primary or higher education (compared to those with secondary education) are more likely to be vulnerable to the kind of exploitative practices recorded by the survey. These findings should be considered with the caveat that vulnerability to sexual exploitation on the route is not measured because, while the survey included a question on forced marriage, it did not provide information on sexual exploitation and other types of gender-based violence.
- **West African migrants are the most likely to be vulnerable to exploitative practices on the migration journey, while North Africans appear the least likely to be vulnerable to such practices on both routes.** Gambian and Guinean migrants are the most vulnerable to exploitation on the Central Mediterranean route. Afghan and Bangladeshi migrants have the highest predicted probability to respond positively to the survey questions on exploitation on the Eastern route. Anecdotal evidence and qualitative narratives from previous research point to discrimination and racism as a factor in the experiences of sub-Saharan African migrants on the route.
- **Other characteristics of the journey, such as travelling alone, secondary migration movements, the duration and cost of the journey, also predict vulnerability.** A lengthy journey increases vulnerability: the longer the journey, the higher the predicted probability that a migrant suffers an experience indicating human trafficking or other exploitative practices. Furthermore, migrants whose journey to Europe occurs after longer periods spent in countries of temporary residence (such as Libya or Turkey) are more vulnerable to exploitation and human trafficking than respondents who travel directly from their country of nationality. Travelling alone also makes migrants more vulnerable than migrants who travel in a group.

- **The presence of conflict in the country of departure can be a significant predictor of migrants' vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation during their journey to Europe.** Migrants travelling on the main routes to Europe and who departed from a country with an intermediate or a high level of armed conflict are more likely to be vulnerable to exploitation than migrants coming from countries with a low level of conflict. Migrants who reported war, conflict or natural disasters as the main reason for leaving their places of origin are predicted to be more vulnerable to exploitation and human trafficking on the journey than migrants who left for other reasons.
- **The vulnerability of children travelling without their families is predicted by factors similar to those that predict the vulnerability of adults.** Approximately 13 per cent of all migrants interviewed were children aged 14–17 years, and 86 per cent of them reported to be travelling without their families. Tragically children are exposed to similar risk factors as adults but are less able to address their own vulnerabilities.
- **Children are more likely than adults to report being held against their will by entities other than State authorities.** More than half of the children travelling along the Central Mediterranean route reported being held against their will. On the Eastern Mediterranean route, the percentage of children who were held against their will was twice as large as the percentage of adults travelling on the same route.

In the case of both adults and children, the findings indicate that Libya – as a transit country or an initial destination – is the country where migrants are most vulnerable to potential human trafficking and other exploitative practices. Libya stands out as a particularly unsafe country for all migrants, and as a driver of further migration towards what they perceive to be safer destinations.

These findings are discussed and contextualized in the Discussion (Chapter 4) and the Policy implications (Chapter 5).

Recommendations:

1. **Early identification and protection during the migration journey should not be prejudiced by assumptions** that certain categories of individuals are always more vulnerable than others. The journey itself can represent a risk for migrants and can be more important in predicting their vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation than their demographic profile or the circumstances in their places of origin or departure. All types of migrants may find themselves in a vulnerable situation and can have protection needs that must be addressed.

2. **The design of programmatic interventions and the proactive identification of vulnerability to human trafficking on the route should be gender-sensitive, and pay particular attention to the different risks that men, boys, women and girls may face during their journey, as well as to the different types of exploitation they may be subject to.** Protective services must be age- and gender-sensitive and respond to the different protection needs that men, women, boys and girls may have as a result of their experience.

3. **Outreach to migrants and potential migrants should be reinforced.** Effective, evidence-based information and communication strategies should be adopted to inform migrants and potential migrants about the risks they may face en route, means of self-protection, available assistance on the journey and safer migration avenues. Information strategies should make use of multiple communication channels, including social media.

4. **Efforts are needed to strengthen legislative frameworks, including anti-trafficking legislation, as well as to support their effective implementation.** This requires working with law enforcement agencies, including border guards.

5. **Data collection and analysis must be expanded to inform evidence-based advocacy, policymaking and programming.** Data collection and analysis should be rigorously and continuously undertaken to provide systematic evidence on the specific experiences and vulnerabilities to human trafficking and exploitation of boys, girls, men, and women during the migration journey and the factors at the individual, household, community and structural level that impact or predict vulnerability, as well as those that protect them from harm. Better data are also necessary to support the monitoring and evaluation of responses.

6. **Counter-trafficking responses should be incorporated in preparedness and humanitarian relief operations to better prevent and protect crisis-affected communities from human trafficking and exploitation.** Counter-trafficking activities should be undertaken from the onset of a crisis, be it a conflict or natural disaster.

7. **Safe and regular migration channels, including family reunification and labour migration schemes, should be leveraged and expanded.**

The implications for policy and interventions of this report's findings are further detailed in Chapter 5.

Boat used to cross the sea to Europe, Lampedusa, Sicily, Italy. © IOM 2016 (Photo: Laura Bartolini)

1. Introduction

1.1. Global context

Global migration flows are growing in complexity and scope, with some individuals travelling along migratory routes who are frequently risking their lives making dangerous journeys that often traverse numerous countries. Numbers of migrants going missing or perishing while trying to cross international borders reached record highs in 2016,[1] and forced displacement also reached its highest level since World War II (Human Rights Council, 2015).

The 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) reflect a growing international awareness of the impact and importance of current global migratory movements, and mark the first inclusion of migration in the global development framework. The goals reflect a consensus regarding the need to pay more attention to the risks encountered by all types of migrants moving along dangerous routes, often irregularly, and to the measures needed to manage these movements. The 2016 World Humanitarian Summit in Turkey also reflected this growing global awareness of the dynamics between migration, displacement and crisis situations. The need to address displacement and the vulnerabilities of migrants formed part of its five core responsibilities (WHS, 2016), and the SDGs also recognize the negative impact of forced displacement and humanitarian emergencies on the development of countries and their citizens.

Sustainable Development Goal 10 focuses on reducing inequalities. Through Target 10.7, States in the international community aim to "facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies" (UN, 2015). Along with the focus on "safe migration" and "well-managed migration policies", three other goals potentially relate to "unsafe migration", particularly with regard to trafficking in persons (TiP), exploitation and abuse of migrants:

- SDG 5.2: Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation.
- SDG 8.7: Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour, end modern slavery and human trafficking and secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour, including recruitment and use of child soldiers, and by 2025 end child labour in all its forms.
- SDG 16.2: End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children.

1 See http://gmdac.iom.int/gmdac-data-briefing-8

These particular goals build upon existing international instruments, such as the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC) and the subsequent Palermo Protocol (UN, 2000), which provide an international legal framework designed to combat trafficking, smuggling and exploitation. The international community has been slow to agree on guidelines for the application of this framework to the situation of vulnerable migrants in line with existing human rights norms (Betts, 2010), although recent years have seen an increased focus from international organizations and treaty bodies. The creation and implementation of legislation designed to assist victims of trafficking (VoTs) is inconsistent across States and regions, particularly if VoTs are moving irregularly.

Although SDGs 5.2, 8.7 and 16.2 do not explicitly mention migration, they reference trafficking, which thus links to an international commitment to address unsafe movements. At the recent UN summit for refugees and migrants (September 2016), Member States stressed their commitment to the implementation of the SDGs in the sphere of migration management and explicitly acknowledged the link between migration and vulnerability to dangers such as exploitation and trafficking: "We recognize that refugees and migrants in large movements are at greater risk of being trafficked…", and that "migrants in vulnerable situations …who do not qualify for international protection …may need assistance" (UN, 2016). The resulting New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants expresses Member States' willingness to protect the rights of refugees and migrants worldwide, and marks the beginning of a process to form a global compact on safe, orderly migration in 2018. Furthermore, going beyond the dichotomous distinction between "economic" and "other" migrants, the UN summit also recognized that migration flows were made up of different groups of "migrants, refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs)" who might need assistance or protection.

However, the SDGs leave questions as to how the concepts of safe migration and vulnerability should be defined in the migration context and which indicators should be adopted to properly measure them. Although there is no concrete definition of "safe migration", its use in conjunction with "regular" and "orderly" suggests that it should be linked to well-managed migration policies aimed at facilitating regular migration. Furthermore, in the 2016 UN summit, ensuring safe migration was linked to concrete policy options, such as "employment creation, labour mobility at all skill levels, circular migration, family reunification and education related opportunities" (UN, 2016).

People are making increasingly dangerous journeys while migrating, and high rates of dead and missing migrants recorded globally illustrate this pervasive danger (GMDAC, 2016a). Unsafe conditions and circumstances are inextricably linked to the notion of "vulnerability", as unsafe migratory conditions render migrants vulnerable to dangers such as violence, exploitation and trafficking. Given that the notion of "well-managed and safe migration" is at the heart of the development targets, unpacking the meaning of this concept is crucial. The link made with "vulnerable migrants" means that in order to build a thorough definition of "safe migration", it is necessary to question what constitutes "unsafe migration" and thus produces vulnerability. In the current SGDs, the indicator that measures the "number of victims of human trafficking per 100,000 population, by sex, age and form of exploitation" (16.2.2)[2] is the one that should capture migrant vulnerabilities. However, it still needs international standards to be agreed on, and a methodology for prevalence estimates has to be developed (Cook and Galos, 2016).

As achieving the targets means addressing "unsafe migration", it is necessary to unravel how migration processes result from or can generate societal risk and put individuals in situations of vulnerability. Given the commitment at the 2016 UN summit to consider developing "non-binding guiding principles and voluntary guidelines on treatments of vulnerable migrants who do not qualify for international protection and who may need assistance", it is important to bring to the fore the ways in which migrants are vulnerable and under which circumstances.

2 See http://unstats.un.org/sdgs/iaeg-sdgs/metadata-compilation/

1.2. Vulnerability

The meaning of vulnerability depends heavily on the context in which it is being used, and it is an "imprecise and contested concept" (Peroni and Timmer, 2013). There is some debate as to the way vulnerability should be defined, revolving around the question of whether concrete "categories" of vulnerable people can be identified, or if the focus should be on "contexts" that produce vulnerabilities. For example, "vulnerable populations" are often referred to as specific groups, such as immigrants, refugees or the homeless (Ruof, 2004). The term "vulnerability" has been increasingly used as an "innovative way of mobilizing equal protection" (Flegar, 2016) in international human rights regimes. Incorporating the notion of vulnerable groups into human rights law has strong potential to "address inequalities in a substantive manner" and yet such efforts must avoid fixing the characteristics of certain groups in an essentializing manner (Peroni and Timmer, 2013). In the growing literature on vulnerability, there have been calls to avoid "labelling" specific subpopulations as vulnerable, in order to make way for a "layered" understanding of the term that incorporates the social, economic, cultural and political conditions that produce vulnerability (Luna, 2009).

Focusing on intersections between different factors and circumstances that affect vulnerability forces both practitioners and researchers to understand how individual migrants can become vulnerable beyond their belonging to one particular group. This approach also requires reimagining what the relevant "vulnerable" groups to consider might be, in view of both contextual and individual factors and their intersections in the production of different levels of vulnerability. For example, while children and women are more vulnerable in certain situations, the intersectional approach allows for any individual to be considered vulnerable, including men.[3]

In the context of migration, IOM defines vulnerability as "the diminished capacity of an individual or group to have their rights respected, or to cope with, resist or recover from exploitation, or abuse" (IOM, 2016a). It is characterized by "the presence or absence of factors or circumstances that increase the risk or exposure to, or protect against, exploitation, or abuse." The definition encompasses both individuals and groups, regardless of migration status. In including the potential absence of risk factors, the definition makes room for the concept of protective factors. Just as there are certain factors that can contribute to making an individual more vulnerable, there are certain protective factors that can potentially contribute to reducing harm, exploitation and abuse. Understanding protective elements is important in order to go beyond a disempowering definition of vulnerability that denies an individual's agency to address his/her own vulnerabilities. Furthermore, such an understanding helps elucidate the ways in which individuals can be more or less vulnerable regardless of their membership of a particular group; women, children or refugees, for example.

IOM's approach is intended for practitioners, to structure the assessment of risk and protective factors that affect vulnerability so as to inform the development of interventions at the individual, household, community, and structural levels. There are factors at all these levels that can increase or decrease vulnerability to certain situations, depending on the context, and the framework can help practitioners identify and assess the importance of these different factors and thus the vulnerability of individuals or groups. For example, on an individual level, gender may affect vulnerability, as could unemployment, which could leave someone with fewer resources and social networks to draw upon. However, such factors could be risk or protective depending on the situation. Assessing factors on individual and contextual levels helps not only to identify assistance needs but also to inform practical interventions in different country-specific contexts. Given its comprehensive scope, the tool also helps address the need for more "robust" evaluations of intervention approaches (Zimmerman and McAlpine, 2016), and can contribute to an understanding of what reduces risk and increases protective factors.

3 The European Directive on standards for the reception of applicants for international protection (Directive 2013/33/EU) provides a non-exhaustive list of vulnerable persons: "such as minors, unaccompanied minors, disabled people, elderly people, pregnant women, single parents with minor children, victims of human trafficking, persons with serious illnesses, persons with mental disorders and persons who have been subjected to torture, rape or other serious forms of psychological, physical or sexual violence, such as victims of female genital mutilation […]" (EU, 2013).

The basic socioecological model of vulnerability, which IOM's approach draws heavily upon, does not make assumptions about the types of things that the subject of assessment might be vulnerable to. While this flexibility is in some senses a strength, it also means that the model requires a certain amount of adaptation and further elaboration to apply it to specific threats. IOM's framework is primarily concerned with vulnerability to human trafficking, exploitation and abuse, which means that risk and protective factors are assessed regarding vulnerability to potential perpetrators and predators with agency. This means that interaction models between potential perpetrators and potential victims need to be considered. This is the type of vulnerability that this research is concerned with and that IOM's migration Flow Monitoring Surveys (FMSs) are designed to track.

The basic socioecological model has limitations in that it does not deal well with certain types of change and how a deviation from "normal circumstances" can impact different risk and protective factors at various levels. For example, having a higher disposable income might act as a protective factor for an individual or a family in normal circumstances, but it may also put that individual or family at higher risk of violent robbery in other circumstances. The IOM vulnerability framework aims to address this problem by inviting practitioners to consider situational factors as factors or situations that can change quickly and can increase the exposure of individuals, families, and communities to exploitation, abuse and/or violation of their rights. This report looks specifically at vulnerability to trafficking, abuse and exploitation, and the ways that particular migration contexts associated with irregular migration across the Mediterranean can affect risk and protective factors. In the remainder of this section, two types of situations affecting vulnerability that are relevant to migration and the analysis of this publication are discussed.

1.3. Migration and situations affecting vulnerability

There are many ways vulnerability can arise in a migration context and an understanding of vulnerability in a migration context should not be limited to those qualifying for international protection as refugees. Individuals also "often do not fit neatly into the category of either 'refugee' or 'voluntary, economic migrant'" (Betts, 2010). Even when initial motivations for leaving differ, migrants whose departure was sudden, unplanned and/or in modalities beyond their control might have more exposure to certain risk factors. Compare, for example, people escaping severe food insecurity with people escaping armed conflict. By finding themselves in insecure migration settings, people escaping severe food insecurity, those fleeing from conflict and those who might fall victim to trafficking networks may all share a common level of vulnerability during the journey itself, as they are using the same routes, means and modes of movement. Such individuals may require protection by virtue of human rights violations suffered en route, even though they do not come under the 1951 Geneva Convention definition of and requirements for international refugee protection (Crisp, 2008). Immigration status can also have an impact on an individual's vulnerability or lack thereof, and undocumented persons are often found as susceptible to "multiple dimensions" of vulnerability (Hilfinger et al., 2015).

Along the Mediterranean migration route, individuals migrate for very different reasons but along the same routes and use the same means and modes of transport. The migrants who make up these flows are often travelling irregularly, which can make them vulnerable to specific risks along the route regardless of their initial motivations for migrating. Migrants can be vulnerable to violence, exploitation and trafficking, by virtue of moving through situations where these types of practices are prevalent. The prevalence, in turn, being explained by the fact that there are not sufficient protective factors on the journey to ensure migrants' safety and that pre-existing risk factors may become more important.[4]

4 Protective factors are resources and capacities that can be mobilized and built upon to improve resilience to and mitigate risk. Conversely, risk factors are those that make people more susceptible to harm.

Increased vulnerability may also be present when migrants are transiting from or through crisis-affected areas, and thus there are protection needs that can arise at different points in a migrant's journey which are not necessarily dependent on which "category" a migrant fits into at the point of departure from his/her country of origin.

Irregular migration and vulnerability-producing interactions

Irregular migration, particularly if it involves smuggling, tends to take place within an unregulated and clandestine market context. Such situations frequently involve transactions between people in a vulnerable situation and those who might prey upon them, with overarching formal and informal institutions affecting the dynamics of interaction between potential victims and perpetrators of exploitation and abuse. Migrants travelling along certain routes are often at the mercy of organized criminal networks, merely by virtue of paying a smuggling gang to be transported across borders. This process places migrants outside traditional institutional contexts and they may become unable to seek the help of law enforcement, particularly if there has been a breakdown of such institutions. They may also be unable to back out of a particular transaction, or threaten a smuggler with any penalty, particularly if they have paid in advance. In these kinds of situation, migrants may be forced to rely more on informal networks and agreements to regulate their transactions and attain their migration objectives in this otherwise unregulated market. There are limits as to how far informal networks can police such transactions, particularly when the demand for migration is high and the supply effectively static or monopolized, which means smugglers may care far less about their reputation and the possible consequences of their malfeasance. These basic dynamics of the migrant–smuggler relationship lead to worse outcomes on average for migrants and make them vulnerable to abuse, exploitation and trafficking. When push factors are high and regular migration is not possible, a steady supply of dependent vulnerable individuals for organized criminal groups to prey upon is likely to be produced (Sanchez, 2014 and 2017).

Due to its clandestine nature, irregular migration is difficult to measure. Although IOM's Missing Migrants Project strives to record the death of any one who is migrating to an international destination, it is telling that the data collected have been primarily of people who have died or disappeared while migrating through irregular channels. States may hesitate in their responsibilities towards "transit" migrants who do not intend to stay in their territory. Often, it is the mode and means of transport used along migratory routes rather than irregularity itself that increase vulnerability risk factors and cause protection needs to accumulate. The dangerous practices of criminal networks in transporting migrants mean that the fact of movement itself across certain routes can be a health risk. However, having irregular migration status can be a risk factor in itself. For example, individuals may possess documents that pass as "legal" (Chauvin and Garcés-Mascareñas, 2014), which enable them to work in or travel to a particular country, but they may have obtained those documents from organized criminal networks that are involved in their transportation and settlement in the destination country. This situation exposes an individual to blackmail and being controlled by criminals who may threaten to inform the authorities about that individual's situation.

Vulnerability in crisis

Research and operational experience has shown that migrants transiting through crisis areas, as well as stranded migrants and displaced population, are at a particular risk of trafficking and resort to unsafe migration (IOM, 2015). During a crisis, there is an increase in the number of people whose protective factors are diminished, leaving them more vulnerable to risks such as exploitation and abuse. A demand for these vulnerable populations, combined with a breakdown of State institutions, provides criminal groups with the opportunity for exploitation. Situations of crisis can transform individuals who would not normally be seen as at risk of being targeted into vulnerable ones. The problem of trafficking, however, is often overlooked in crisis situations.

Although crisis settings increase vulnerability to trafficking generally, migrants are identified as being particularly vulnerable to trafficking in crisis-affected communities, due to a range of factors including lack of documents, lack of social and economic networks, and lack of inclusion in crisis preparedness plans. Crisis responses often do not take stock of this additional vulnerability, which leads to uninformed assumptions about risk factors for trafficking (Zimmerman and McAlpine, 2016). Crucially, there is also an absence of baseline data on trafficking that takes place in crisis-affected areas and the influence a crisis-affected area has on subsequent vulnerabilities migrants in transit are exposed to. There is therefore a protection gap existing within responses to crisis situations, and evidence-based approaches to combatting trafficking in crisis are needed.

Risks such as migration in a crisis context, dangerous migration routes and risky methods of travel all contribute to an environment in which migrants can easily become vulnerable. The very means and mode of movement can create an environment of unsafe migration, thereby reducing the resilience of those travelling along such routes. The global rhetoric on managing migration articulated through the SDGs needs to be reflected in a full analysis of what migrants can be vulnerable to and to remedy these vulnerabilities. This requires reliable data that support evidence-based policy responses that give voice to the work being done to identify risk and protective factors during migration. Mainstreaming counter-trafficking into humanitarian responses is progressively providing evidence to contribute to measures and indicators for safe migration. Furthermore, movements along treacherous routes, such as those into Europe through the Mediterranean, potentially place migrants in conditions of vulnerability, regardless of their situation before departing their countries of origin. People in transit in complex migratory settings and as part of mixed migrations flows are likely to be at higher risk of becoming victims of trafficking (Klaffenbock, Todorova and Macchiavello, 2017). In conditions where such large migratory flows exist, there is a need for reliable data that can inform evidence-based policy responses to protect vulnerable groups and individuals and to combat trafficking.

Nigerien migrant child who did not manage to continue the journey beyond Algeria. © IOM 2016

2. Methodology, survey sample and operational context

This report investigates the vulnerabilities and risks to exploitation and abuse that migrants arriving in Europe face throughout their journey.

The quantitative analysis is based on data collected through IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) flow monitoring operations in the Mediterranean. These operations monitor populations on the move through the Mediterranean and Western Balkan routes to Europe as well as along the Central Mediterranean route through North Africa to Italy. The FMS started in October 2015, initially implemented in Croatia and subsequently in Greece, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia, Hungary, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Italy. Together with the surveys, the DTM also registers baseline data on arrivals through consultations with national authorities such as ministries of interior, coast guards, police forces and other relevant actors, and provides analysis of trends of migration flows across the regions.

All data and information gathered by DTM in the Mediterranean are key to devising appropriate and effective measures for humane management of migration, including protection and assistance to migrants. The primary purpose of the DTM FMS is to develop knowledge and information products for the development of evidence-based planning and response by IOM and its partner organizations and governments.

For the surveys conducted in the abovementioned countries in 2015–2016, the target population was that of migrants of 14 years of age or older, whose origin was from a non-European country and who had arrived in the survey country no more than one year prior to the interview.

The Displacement Tracking Matrix

IOM's Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) is a system to track and monitor displacement and population mobility. It is designed to regularly and systematically capture, process and disseminate multilayered information to provide a better understanding of the movements and evolving needs of displaced populations in many countries all over the world, whether on site or en route.

Conceptualized in 2004 in Iraq, for assessment and monitoring of IDPs, the DTM has been continuously refined and enhanced through years of operational experience in both conflict and natural disaster settings. It has been playing an essential role in providing primary data and information on displacement, both in-country and at the regional and global levels, in support of clusters, sectors, humanitarian partners, national authorities and other stakeholders. Past and present implementations include conflict, natural disaster, and complex emergency settings, from small and short-term to large and protracted cases of displacement and migration.

Please check the global DTM portal for more information: www.globaldtm.info/

2.1. Survey content

DTM FMSs are designed to regularly and systematically capture, process and disseminate information on migrants' profiles and their evolving needs in the countries where the surveys are carried out and during the journey. This report makes use of and is limited to the analysis of a selection of the FMS: the baseline module, which captures data on the demographic profiles of respondents, the circumstances and routes of their migration journeys, the reasons for migration and their intended destinations; and a second module, which includes questions aimed at tracking individual experiences of human trafficking and other exploitative practices.[5]

Data collection on human trafficking, as defined by the Palermo Protocol,[6] is difficult to undertake in the context of the busy migration routes to Europe. Ascertaining the presence of the act, means and purposes – which are the three main elements of human trafficking[7] – often requires a wide range of different questions and discussions.[8] The FMS is not designed to conclusively ascertain all the elements of the Palermo Protocol and identify an individual as a victim of trafficking. This type of quantitative survey work is not the most appropriate method to do that. Rather, the FMS questions capture certain instances or manifestations of one of the elements of the Palermo Protocol.

In doing so, the experiences described in the questions aim at giving a good understanding of the overall vulnerability to abuse, human trafficking and exploitation of migrants during their journeys. The use of these questions allows to construct standardized measures of migrants' experiences of human trafficking and other exploitative practices en route that are comparable across countries, time and different populations. At the same time, the FMS operations do serve as an entry point for further referral to IOM and its partners in protection operations. If, while conducting interviews, data collectors come across people with protection needs who express the willingness to be assisted, those people are referred to the relevant protection actors in the field, including IOM staff.

5 DTM FMSs in the Mediterranean include also questions on observed/witnessed experiences of migrants during the journey, as well as a set of questions on intentions of migrants regarding returns.

6 Article 3 of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (Palermo Protocol). The whole document can be found here: www.unodc.org/unodc/en/organized-crime/intro/UNTOC.html

7 In the Palermo Protocol, *human trafficking* is defined as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the 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". Further information about the elements of the crime can be found here: www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/what-is-human-trafficking.html

8 While DTM survey questions are aimed at gathering anonymous information on migrants' profiles and experiences during the journey, identification of victims of trafficking is carried out through more in-depth screening and referral for appropriate assistance by IOM Protection staff, guaranteeing the safety, security and privacy of the referred migrants. For more on field cooperation and referral, please see footnote 21.

In particular, the FMS questions on human trafficking and other exploitative practices capture information about whether or not the respondent during the journey has personally:

1. worked or performed activities without getting the expected payment;
2. been forced to perform work or activities against his/her will;
3. been approached by someone offering employment opportunities; [9]
4. been approached by someone with offers of an arranged marriage (for the respondent or anyone in his/her family);[10] or
5. been kept at a certain location against his/her will by persons other than the relevant authorities.[11]

Fully anonymous and voluntary, the surveys provide convincing evidence of the kind of enabling environment within which trafficking and associated forms of exploitation and abuse thrive. These primary data, upon which this report is based, are triangulated with information from IOM operations in countries of origin and countries of transit, and in particular with DTM data collection and reporting activities in Libya, Niger and Nigeria (for the Central Mediterranean route), and in Afghanistan, the Syrian Arab Republic and Turkey (for the Eastern Mediterranean route). Moreover, quantitative findings from the surveys were contextualized with qualitative information gathered through two open questions in the survey for comments by data collectors, through discussions with relevant stakeholders, observations from IOM staff in the field and few in-depth interviews with migrants.

2.2. Survey sample

The final sample consists of 16,524 valid responses provided by migrants of 58 different nationalities. On the Central Mediterranean route, 6,485 valid interviews were conducted, which represent roughly **6 per cent of all arrivals by sea in Italy** during the survey period, from late June to November 2016. On the Eastern Mediterranean route, 10,039 valid interviews were conducted, which also represent approximately **6 per cent of all arrivals by sea in Greece** from January to November 2016.

The survey was conducted in 11 languages (Arabic, Dari, English, Farsi, French, Kurdish, Italian, Pashto, Somali, Tigrinya and Urdu) and it was run by teams of trained data collectors of both sexes with a mixed cultural and linguistic background. It was implemented in seven countries: Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Serbia, Slovenia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on the Eastern Mediterranean route (December 2015 to November 2016); and Italy on the Central Mediterranean route (from June to November 2016). Interviews were conducted in more than 110 selected flow monitoring points (FMPs) of DTM operations. Each DTM FMP is profiled by distinguishing among entry point, exit point, spontaneous transit point and organized transit point.[12]

9 This is a proxy indicator to show how frequently people are seeking out migrants at specific transit points. As migrants can find themselves in situations of extreme vulnerability and desperation while in transit, migrants taking up work under such circumstance are unlikely to be able to ensure that work conditions are decent. Such work is more likely to be exploitative and it is unlikely that migrants are able to leave their exploitative situtation.

10 The question was designed to capture both personal and family experiences to allow for men to report events that happened to, or offers concerning, women and girls travelling with them.

11 A sixth question asked whether they were aware of instances where migrants en route had been approached by people offering cash in exchange for blood, organs or other body parts. Blood, organ and body part trafficking is heavily underreported, difficult to detect, has a relatively low prevalence and is a sensitive issue to discuss. Respondents were therefore asked whether they were aware of such offers being made to anyone travelling with their groups. This question was not considered in the analysis presented in this report.

12 *Entry points* are locations of (official or unofficial) border crossing points or points close to the borders, from where people enter the country; *exit points* are locations from where respondents are likely to leave the country of survey through (official or unofficial) border crossing; *spontaneous transit points* are unofficial transit points without an established system of humanitarian services and/or presence of the authorities within the survey country; *organized transit points* are official sites with an established system of assistance run by the government or a humanitarian organization. Organized transit points can be distinguished in *open reception centres* (from which people can go outside, respecting certain established rules) and *closed reception centres* (from which people are not allowed to exit).

Of all FMPs in which DTM has operations, data collectors conducted interviews in those where the turnover of migrants was considered high during the survey period, and monitored the flows of migrants and their compositions in terms of nationality, sex and age. In Italy, the survey was conducted at entry and transit points – including the four hotspots[13] in Lampedusa, Pozzallo, Trapani and Taranto – in Sicily, where 68 per cent of all 2016 arrivals by sea disembarked,[14] and to a lesser extent in Calabria and Apulia.[15]

In Greece, all surveyed locations were on the mainland and not on the islands, and represent a mix of official sites or camps managed by the national authorities and IOM premises in Athens. In the case of Balkan countries, the interviews were conducted both in spontaneous and organized transit points, including in official reception centres run by national authorities.

The aim was to obtain a stratified sample based on nationality, sex and age, but due to the dynamic and difficult environment, sampling varied with the context and location in each country, and throughout the year. In all locations, data collectors approached respondents in an ad hoc manner to explain the purpose of the survey and to obtain the explicit consent to be interviewed. Whenever it was possible considering the crowded nature of some of the flow monitoring points, migrants were interviewed in a separate/private area in order to ensure privacy.

In Italy, the coverage of many entry and transit points in the south of the country allowed to build a purposive sample covering the main nationalities arriving by sea. Purposive sampling was also done on the Eastern Mediterranean route in the first months of 2016. While in the sampling phase some quotas by nationality were planned to cover only the main nationalities in each of the two routes, fieldwork operations turned out to be more efficient in terms of reaching more migrants if no nationality was excluded a priori. An overview of the top national groups interviewed by month is available in Appendix 3.

On the Eastern Mediterranean route, changes in policies at the regional and country levels throughout the year – such as the EU–Turkey statement – affected the composition of the migrant flows. Moreover, it impacted upon the routes that migrants took, migrants' availability for interviews and the ability of IOM staff to reach migrants. For example, migrants' movements northwards became increasingly limited, which also changed the nature of sites or camps and locations surveyed. After March 2016, when the number of stranded migrants increased in the Balkan countries and in Hungary, the number of interviewed Syrians and Iraqis started to decrease relative to other nationalities.

13 Hotspots are dedicated places close to disembarkation areas for the initial screening of migrants arriving by sea. These have been created in Italy and Greece following the Agenda on Migration adopted by the European Commission in May 2015 (EC, 2015), which also describes the coordination between national authorities and the European Asylum Support Office (EASO), Frontex, Europol, and other agencies in order to identify, register and fingerprint migrants arriving by sea.

14 Italian Ministry of Interior (2016).

15 DTM data collectors were granted access to all official entry and transit points and reception centres for asylum seekers (such as the ex-CARA in Mineo and Crotone) by the Ministry of Interior. The survey was also conducted in other 32 FMPs (official reception centres, unofficial points of gathering and transit) in 8 different provinces of Italy.

Figure 2: Arrivals by sea and land, and number of IOM surveys conducted by country, January–November 2016

Source: IOM and national authorities.

Notes: The map shows in brown Italy for the Central Mediterranean route, and in green Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Serbia, Slovenia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for the Eastern Mediterranean route.
The country names and boundaries indicated on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by IOM.

As reported by many other recent works (Altai and IOM, 2015; MHub, 2015b), current Mediterranean migration flows occur for a variety of reasons. Indeed, respondents reported to have left with mixed motivations. One fifth of all respondents (22%) appear to have left their countries of origin due to economic , and the rest appear to have experienced other kinds of push factors in the country of origin that are normally associated with forced migration.[16]

Current flows are also very diverse in terms of nationality. This is also reflected in the survey sample, which includes 58 different nationalities. Afghanistan is the most common country of nationality in the sample (19% of total respondents), followed by the Syrian Arab Republic (17%) and Pakistan (8%).[17] The main nationalities differ on the two migration routes. The Central Mediterranean subsample has 40 different nationalities, and many national groups are quite large: 14 of them have more than 100 respondents. The top 5 reported nationalities on the Central Mediterranean route are Nigeria (18%), Eritrea (14%), the Gambia (9%), Guinea (8%) and Senegal (6%). Migrants in the Eastern Mediterranean sample have nationalities of 51 different countries. This subsample has only a few large national groups, and many smaller ones, with over half of respondents being either Syrian or Afghan. The top 5 reported nationalities are Afghan (30%), Syrian (27%), Pakistani (12%), Iraqi (11%) and Iranian (6%), which make up 86 per cent of the total, and seven national groups have over 100 respondents. The full list of nationalities by number of observations on both routes and in total can be found in Appendix 3.

The average age of the respondents from the whole sample is 26 years old. The average migrant on the Central Mediterranean is younger (22 years) than the one on the Eastern Mediterranean route (28 years).

Women make up 17 per cent of the whole sample, with no large differences between the two migration routes.

Almost two thirds of respondents are single (64%), while 34 per cent are married.[18] The percentage of men who reported being single is double (70%) than the percentage of women (33%).

Most respondents have secondary education (51%), 27 per cent have primary education, 12 per cent have attained tertiary education, and 9 per cent have no formal level of education.

On key demographic indicators, the survey sample is **representative of arrivals by sea in Italy and Greece in 2016**. It compares well to the population on observable covariates (age, sex, nationality), considering the sample selection challenges in the context of migrant arrivals by sea, the large movements of people by land on the Eastern route and the various migration management policy changes. The sample is large enough to conduct secondary statistical analysis on migrants with different demographic profiles. Table 1 presents baseline data on the reference population as provided by IOM and the national authorities of Italy and Greece.[19]

The percentages of men and women in the IOM sample and the population are similar on both migration routes. The cases of under-/overrepresentation are discussed in the Limitations section.

16 Respondents reported that their reason for departure was related to war, conflict or political instability, or natural disaster (73%). A small percentage (3%) of all respondents reported to have left for other reasons, and a few others, which account for under 1 per cent, mentioned limited humanitarian services or limited basic services as reason for their departure. The original survey only allowed migrants to choose one option among a set of four possible reasons, which limits our ability to understand their complex and multiple motivations for moving. Nevertheless, this gives an account of a self-reported main factor for moving.

17 The large percentage of Syrian and Afghan migrants in the sample is also related to the larger sample from the Eastern Mediterranean route, where the survey has been implemented for a longer period than on the Central route.

18 The rest of the respondents are divorced, widowed or with unknown civil status.

19 IOM's DTM harmonizes official data from the national authorities of Italy and Greece (e.g. Ministry of Interior, Coast Guard, port authorities), which provide monthly figures on arrivals by sea (disembarkation from search-and-rescue operations and detected autonomous landings). Greek authorities also provide data on arrivals by land, which are estimates based on irregular border crossings detected at the Greece/Turkey border. This report uses only arrivals by sea as reference population, since: (1) arrivals by land are a minority of the total in Greece; (2) a comparable estimate for entries at the land borders of Italy is not available; and (3) all interviewed migrants in Italy and almost all interviewed migrants in Greece arrived by sea.

Table 1: Comparison between Central and Eastern Mediterranean samples with reference population

	Central Mediterranean route (arrivals by sea in Italy)		Eastern Mediterranean route (arrivals by sea in Greece)	
	Sample (June–November 2016)	**Population (July–November 2016)**	**Sample (December–November 2016)**	**Population (January–November 2016)**
Share of men and women among adults	Male: 86% Female: 14%	Male: 84% Female: 16%	Male: 80% Female: 20%	Male: 66% Female: 34%
Share of children of the total sample	24% (Children between 14 and 17 years of age)	15% (Children below 18 years of age)	5% (Children between 14 and 17 years of age)	37% (Children below 18 years of age)
Nationality	Nigeria (18%) Eritrea (14%) Gambia (9%) Guinea (8%) Senegal (6%) Bangladesh (5%) Mali (5%) Sudan (5%) Côte d'Ivoire (4%) Somalia (4%) Others (21%)	Nigeria (24%) Eritrea (11%) Bangladesh (7%) Guinea (7%) Côte d'Ivoire (6%) Gambia (6%) Mali (5%) Senegal (5%) Sudan (4%) Somalia (3%) Others (22%)	Afghanistan (30%) Syrian Arab Republic (27%) Pakistan (12%) Iraq (11%) Islamic Republic of Iran (6%) Morocco (5%) Algeria (2%) Somalia (0.6%) Bangladesh (0.5%) Egypt (0.5%) Others (5%)	Syrian Arab Republic (47%) Afghanistan (24%) Iraq (15%) Pakistan (5%) Islamic Republic of Iran (3%) Other (5%)

Source: IOM and national authorities.

2.3. Limitations

As previously mentioned, the primary purpose of the DTM data collection activities is to monitor migration flows, and the research design and analysis for this publication has been developed after the data had already been collected. Hence, few limitations of the collected data are worth mentioning.

First, while the sample should represent the reference population in terms of baseline demographic features, the structure of the reference population of all migrants arriving in Europe is not completely known. Basic demographic information such as sex, gender and nationality can be compiled from several data sources for what concerns arrivals are by sea, but more difficult is having an estimate of the number of migrants arriving by land and a more detailed picture in terms of age structure.[20]

From the information available on arrivals by sea, children are underrepresented in the Eastern Mediterranean subsample while they are slightly overrepresented in the Central Mediterranean subsample. This may be the result of the fact that if children travel accompanied, IOM data collectors tend to interview the adults accompanying the children. On the Eastern route, more children travel with their families than on the Central route; hence, in the Eastern route sample there are fewer children (526) than in the Central route sample (1,563). On the Central route, unaccompanied migrant children are more frequently held in first transit and reception centres upon arrival for longer than adults – as authorities need to find a place for them in dedicated facilities – which makes them more accessible to IOM data collectors. With regard to the Eastern Mediterranean

20 For example, figures from Italy's Ministry of Interior do not distinguish the sex of children and do not provide any age group other than the distinction between children and adults.

subsample, women are underrepresented relative to the total number of women arrived, as they are more often to travel with their husbands who are more likely to respond to the interview. In addition, women on both routes tend to decline to participate more often than men.

As a second point, limitations arise from different attitudes of migrants being interviewed depending on the location, the overall context and the specific migrant characteristics. Women interviewed on both routes provided a lower rate of positive responses than men to the questions related to human trafficking and other exploitative practices, with the exception of the one on arranged marriage. This might be due to the overall lower propensity of women than men to share their stories, and also from the fact that the survey did not include questions on sexual exploitation or gender-based violence, apart from the one on arranged marriage. Hence, respondents did not have the chance to report such abuses. Existing literature and data show that sexual abuses are disproportionally reported by women and girls. DTM exercises are focused on trends and they are conducted to gain a better understanding of the situation and of the needs of displaced and mobile populations. The non-inclusion of sexual exploitation indicators was a deliberate decision in the development of the survey questions to avoid situations in which data collectors who are not protection experts ask sensitive questions and thereby risk further harm to respondents.[21]

Instead, the survey includes questions that indicate potential human trafficking for labour exploitation, forced marriage and organ removal. Moreover, the question on being held against will was aimed at capturing a particular element of potential human trafficking – the means through it might have occurred, regardless of the exploitation type. Therefore, sexual exploitation is not excluded despite the fact that the survey does not include any specific indicator.

Although data collectors were trained before and throughout the data collection phase, the above-mentioned selection bias cannot be completely ruled out. Also, migrants' willingness to share their experiences may depend on issues such as:

- the sensitivity of talking about experiences of violence and abuse, which can be traumatic;
- the different cultural norms, level of trust, and/or interest or fear of sharing personal stories;
- the possible fatigue among the targeted migrants with interviews about their stories (especially among those already integrated in asylum processes);
- the specific conditions of each centre/camp where the survey was conducted, in terms of overall management and physical space to allow privacy; and
- the gender and the language spoken of both migrants and interviewers.[22] This was addressed through the availability of a large number of languages in which the interview was translated and conducted, as well as through the use of cultural mediators in some cases.

21 Fieldwork was often carried out in locations where IOM Counter-trafficking Teams work in order to identify actual and potential victims of trafficking. Operationally, this means speaking with victims of trafficking to inform them of their rights and of the possible ways to be put under protection, gaining their trust with repeated meetings and talks. IOM DTM data collectors did not interview migrants who had already been identified as the most vulnerable and in serious cases, in order to avoid placing a double burden on migrants sharing their experiences.
In order to address this gap in vulnerability indicators, Phase II of the DTM FMS, which started in February 2017, includes pilot questions related to physical violence and sexual exploitation, which will allow to fine-tune the questions and survey methodology.

22 Interviewers in Italy conducted interviews mainly in English, French, Tigrinya and Arabic. Additionally, the paper copies of the questionnaire were also available in Somali and Italian. Interviewers along the Eastern Mediterranean route conducted interviews in English, Arabic, Farsi and Greek. Furthermore, the paper copies of the questionnaire were also available in Kurdish, Dari and Pashtu.

2.4. Ethical and data protection principles

The FMSs with the counter-trafficking module were conducted in accordance with the IOM Data Protection Principles (IOM, 2009) and the IOM Data Protection Manual (IOM, 2010).[23] Therefore, IOM took all reasonable and necessary precautions to preserve the confidentiality of personal data and the anonymity of migrants interviewed. All personal data were collected, used, transferred and stored securely in accordance with the IOM Data Protection Principles.

In all selected FMPs, data collectors approached migrants to explain the purpose of the survey and to obtain their explicit consent to participate. The participation in the survey was on a voluntary basis and migrants could terminate the interview at any time.

All migrants were explicitly asked for consent to be interviewed at the beginning. In the case of children between 14 and 17 years of age, parents or other relatives accompanying them or the legal guardian when children were unaccompanied, were asked for consent. In some cases where the legal guardian was not appointed yet (especially in transit locations in the Balkans or at centres close to disembarkation points in Italy), the management of the reception centre was informed. In all cases, children were addressed only if they showed some interest in sharing their stories.

Please refer to Appendix 2 for more information on ethical and data protection standards upheld in all flow monitoring operations from which data presented in this report originate.

2.5. Methods of analysis

This subsection details the choice of variables included as factors in the regression model and the coding decisions for such variables.

Migrants' vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation is operationalized as a binary variable that is equal to 1 when a migrant responds positively to at least one of the five individual human trafficking and other exploitative practices prevalence indicators, and 0 otherwise.

A set of multilevel logistic regression models[24] was used to identify, through statistical control, which characteristics significantly predict migrants' vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation. More specifically, the predicted probabilities and the marginal changes in predicted probabilities of responding positively to at least one trafficking or exploitation indicator are presented, holding other variables at their average value. The hierarchical models are estimated for the complete sample of more than 16,000 respondents (Model 1), and separately for the two subsamples for the Central and Eastern Mediterranean routes (Model 2 and Model 3). Additionally, a fourth model has been estimated for the subsample of children travelling without their families on both routes. Both the effects of individual- and country-level predictors are tested. The individual respondents are nested within the countries of origin they belong to (second level).[25]

23 The IOM Data Protection Manual provides practical guidance on how to implement the 13 IOM Data Protection Principles, which include lawful and fair collection, specified and legitimate purpose, data quality, consent, transfer to third parties, confidentiality, access and transparency, data security and retention of personal data (IOM, 2010).

24 To measure effects at both individual and country levels, a multilevel regression was chosen. Also known as mixed effects or hierarchical models, logistic regression models are defined with a binary dependent/outcome variable (positive response to at least one of the trafficking indicators) and a set of explanatory variables that are measured at different levels, including both individual-level characteristics of respondents and characteristics of the country from where the individual originates (nationality). Individuals are hence nested within their countries of origin.

25 This is a model in which the higher-level units are the country of origin and the country of departure of the migrant. The different individuals are nested within different combinations of higher-level units, different origin and departure country combinations. This would normally require a cross-classified multilevel model as the higher-level units are not nested within each other. The higher-level units do not represent a simple hierarchy but are more "horizontally" related: individuals are simultaneously nested in countries of origin and countries of departure. Nevertheless, the differences between the country of origin and the country of departure are small, and there is a large overlap, making the current model a good approximation of a cross-classified model. A table illustrating the extent of the overlap between the country of origin and the country of departure is available upon request.

Variable definition and coding

The full list of outcomes and independent variables (predictors) included in the regressions can be found in Appendix 4. All the standard demographic explanatory variables are included, namely, age, sex, education and civil status. This section describes only the variables included in the survey for which a coding decision was needed, or where the decision to include the variable in the regression model was based on the literature.

Age

The variable age is included in the model with a breakdown of six categories: children (aged 14–17 years) and adults aged 18–20 years; 21–23 years; 24–26 years; 27–29 years; and, 30 years and above. These age groups have been chosen to distinguish between adults and children and to have balanced groups of roughly the same size.

Country of origin

The country of origin of the respondent is defined as the country of declared nationality. The complete table of nationalities by route can be found in Appendix 1 . Single national groups are included in the multilevel logistic regressions as second-level units as long as they have at least 10 observations, together with a residual group ("Other").

When the nationality is mentioned in this publication, reference to regional groups (e.g. North Africans, Western Africans) is made. These are in line with the UN classification of geographical continents and subcontinental regions.[26]

Country of departure

The country of departure is defined either as the last country of habitual residence of the migrant or a country in which he/she spent more than one year before leaving towards Europe. This country can be the same as the respondent's country of origin or another country. In most of the sample (and particularly on the Eastern Mediterranean route), the country of origin and the country of departure overlap.

Secondary migration

For the purpose of this publication, the "secondary migration" variable refers to cases in which a respondent departed from a country where he/she spent at least one year and which is different from his/her country of nationality. This variable was included to distinguish respondents on a direct journey to Europe from those who were already migrants before they left towards Europe.

Hence, the variable serves to control whether individuals whose migration journey to Europe is a secondary migration are more vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation than those on a direct journey to Europe. Residing for more than one year in a transit country might indicate a change from the initial migration plan, an unexpected incident that forced the migrant to move again, or the presence of legal or financial impediments to pursue the whole journey at once. The "secondary migration" variable is hence included to test whether these aspects are relevant in terms of vulnerability to exploitative practices of migrants while en route.

Duration of the journey

Migrants were asked about the number of days spent in each country they passed through, from the date of first departure to the moment they were interviewed. Summing up the number of days spent in each transit country generates the total number of days spent in transit, which were included as categories in the regression, from less than one month to more than one year. For some migrants, no transit country is recorded, as they departed from a neighbouring country and the number of days in transit therefore could not be estimated.

26 For more details, see the UN classification: http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm

Cost of the journey

Migrants were asked to estimate the total costs of their journeys from departure to the country where the interview took place. The variable "cost of the journey" included in the regressions has five categories that range from "no cost" to "over USD 5,000", and "unknown". There is some anecdotal evidence that journeys that cost more – especially when facilitated by smugglers – are safer (Altai and IOM, 2015). Recent reports refer to the well-documented practice of extortion for ransom, kidnapping and abduction on migration routes towards North Africa (MHub, 2015a; UNODC, 2016). As many migrants cannot afford to purchase a journey from origin all the way to Europe, there are stops, which make them vulnerable to smugglers, traffickers and other individuals who seek to exploit them: when that is the case of discontinuous journeys, some migrants are not able to estimate the overall cost paid (which is hence recorded as "unknown"). Furthermore, it is reasonable to assume that migrants who are not paying for travelling to Europe are accumulating debts that need to be paid at some point, which may make them vulnerable to human trafficking. Hence, this variable was included to test the differences in terms of vulnerability of migrants in transit who reported different costs of their journeys.

Family in the country of intended destination

The regressions also include a variable that accounts for the presence of first-line relatives already residing in the intended destination. This is meant to account for the different kinds of information, expectations, contacts and resources at large that front runners (i.e. the first to migrate in the origin household) and migrants with relatives who have already emigrated can activate prior to and during the journey.

Unknown destination

Migrants were asked about their intended destinations. The regressions also include a variable to distinguish between migrants who had a specific destination in mind and migrants (around 6% of the total sample) who could not mention a specific country of destination. This variable has been chosen to test whether migrants without a specific plan or destination are more vulnerable to unexpected circumstances (for them) along the journey and more exposed to exploitation and abuses.

Reasons for leaving: Conflict, political, environmental issues

Two variables that account for the reasons for migration were used for the regression model. One is based on the survey question related to the main reason for leaving from the country of origin, as reported by the migrants interviewed. The second variable defines the country of departure according to a standard classification of countries in conflict, from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP).[27]

- Leaving from the country of origin due to conflict, political or environmental reasons

  A binary variable for migrants who stated to have left because of war, conflict, political reasons or natural disasters is included in the regressions. This is based on self-reported survey answers about push factors from the country of origin that are usually associated with forced migration. This variable conveys a *subjective view* on the circumstances in the country of origin. This covariate is referred to as "departure due to conflict" in the rest of the report, as most migrants mentioned it as the main push factor.

27 The Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) has been recording ongoing violent conflicts since the 1970s. A conflict, whether State-based or non-State, is considered active if there are at least 25 battle-related deaths per calendar year in one of the conflict's dyads (two armed and opposing actors). Counted as battle-related deaths is the use of armed force between warring parties in a conflict dyad, be it State-based or non-State, resulting in deaths. For the Codebook of the Battle-related Deaths Dataset, please see: http://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/brd/ucdp-brd-codebook.pdf. For a graphic visualization of armed conflicts and related deaths in 2015, please see: www.pcr.uu.se/digitalAssets/595/c_595102-l_1-k_map16.png

- Departure from a country where armed conflict is present

  The second variable included in the regression to account for the country context at the time of departure measures the level of conflict-related violence. The variable splits the countries of departure in three groups according to their average levels of violence, calculated as the aggregate number of casualties registered for 2014 and 2015 according to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) Battle-related Deaths Dataset (Melander, Pettersson and Themnér, 2016):

  - "0 to Low" intensity of violence: departure countries with 0–100 reported casualties due to armed conflict;
  - "Medium" intensity of violence: departure countries with 101–1,000 reported casualties due to armed conflict;
  - "High" intensity of violence: departure countries with 1,001 or more reported casualties due to armed conflict.

The two variables are included to take into consideration the personal motivation to move from the origin country as well as to acknowledge the potential impact that a situation of conflict and violence in the country of departure might have on vulnerability to human trafficking, as already shown by recent evidence (UNODC, 2016). IOM (2015) was among the first actors to highlight the relationship between crisis and potential increase of human trafficking. The UN Special Rapporteur on trafficking in persons highlighted the link between human trafficking and crisis situations at the seventy-first session of the UN General Assembly (UN Human Rights Council, 2015), also referring to IOM's work in this field. As other recent publications are not conclusive in establishing a link between crisis situations and individual vulnerability of migrants (GMDAC, 2016c:9), we tested these relationships in our empirical analysis.

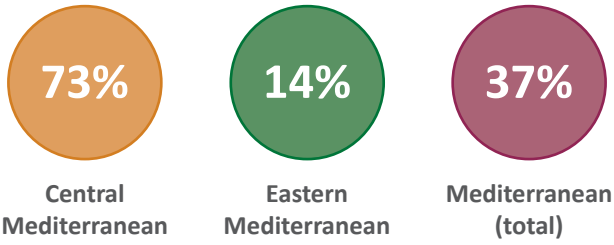
Syrian refugees crossing the Serbian–Croatian border.
© IOM 2015 (Photo: Francesco Malavolta)

3. Predictors of vulnerability

More than one third (37%) of all interviewed migrants responded positively to at least one of the five human trafficking and other exploitative practices indicators included in the survey. There is a large difference in the rate of positive responses to the human trafficking and exploitation indicators between the Central Mediterranean route (73%) and the Eastern Mediterranean (14%). A summary of the main results of the descriptive analysis of the surveys in relation to the positive responses to the questions that indicate individual experiences of trafficking or exploitation can be found in Appendix 4.

This chapter presents the estimates of the probability that an individual migrant with certain characteristics is more or less vulnerable to human trafficking and other exploitative practices during the journey. This means testing whether some factors are significantly related to responding positively to at least one of the indicators of exploitative practices included in the survey, controlling for all other attributes included in the model – such as age, civil status and length of the journey – listed in the previous chapter.

Figure 3: Share of positive responses to the indicators of human trafficking/exploitation, by route and total



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

Unless otherwise specified, the analysis included in this chapter reports all statistically significant results[28] – including the predicted probabilities and the marginal changes in predicted probabilities[29] – and the direction (negative or positive) and strength of the effects are discussed. When an explanatory variable such as sex or cost of the journey is reported as statistically significant, the effects of other variables in the model are controlled for by holding each of them at their mean.

28 Measures of statistical significance aim to illustrate how likely it is that a trend or association observed in a sample really exists within the target population. These measures are calculated based on the magnitude, the variance and the size of the sample. The larger the sample size, and the larger and more regular the trend observed within a sample, the more likely it is that the trend exists within the population. For example, when the variable "sex" is a statistically significant predictor of an outcome, then the difference between male and female respondents in the sample in relation to the outcome variable (vulnerability to human trafficking/exploitation) is so large and the outcome variable is so precisely estimated that the difference is very unlikely to have occurred by chance alone. Statistical significance is not the same as substantial significance. While the magnitude of the effect is one of the parameters that influences whether an effect is statistically significant, especially in large samples, it is crucial to also interpret the magnitude of the effect.

29 The predicted probabilities and the marginal changes in predicted probabilities are computed using the margins command in Stata, and are based on the results of logistic hierarchical regression models, holding all variables at their average/controlling for other individual attributes and journey characteristics. When the predicted probabilities are calculated in relation to nationality, then the most common attributes of the sample (the mode level of education, the mode gender, etc.) are considered. Marginal changes in predicted probabilities are the differences between two predicted probabilities. Those differences are measured in percentage points. For instance, the difference between 5 per cent and 10 per cent is 5 percentage points, but 10 per cent is 100 per cent more than 5 per cent.

The substantial results[30] are also briefly described in certain cases. The confidence intervals displayed in the graphs in this chapter always correspond to the 95 per cent confidence level. The interpretation of results provided in the next pages should be read in conjunction with Table 2, where the statistically significant results have an asterisk (*) and each independent variable is in bold face.

As explained in the **Methodology** (Chapter 2), the model is tested on the whole sample of 16,524 individuals first (Model 1), and then on the Central and Eastern Mediterranean subsamples (Models 2 and 3). The description of the statistical model (multilevel logistic regression) and the full list of explanatory variables are in the **Methodology**, while complete definitions of the terms related to the explanatory variables can be found in Appendix 1 . As discussed in the previous chapter, the two subsamples represent quite well the overall population arrived in Italy and Greece in 2016 in terms of sex and age. Moreover, although the majority of the respondents are men, the number of women and children is large enough to have relatively precise estimates for women and to distinguish them from men. Table 2 shows the average marginal effects of all explanatory variables for the three models, which are then discussed in detail in the next paragraphs.

Table 2: Average marginal effects on the probability of responding positively, total sample and by route

Variable	Mediterranean (1)	Central (2)	Eastern (3)
Female (baseline: male)	-0.110***	-0.133***	-0.0373***
	(0.0136)	(0.0195)	(0.0117)
Age (baseline: <18 years)			
18–20 years	0.00787	0.000851	0.00910
	(0.0139)	(0.0163)	(0.0156)
21–23 years	0.0280*	0.0332*	0.0160
	(0.0150)	(0.0180)	(0.0163)
24–26 years	0.00975	0.0354*	-0.0107
	(0.0151)	(0.0190)	(0.0160)
27–29 years	-0.000949	0.0233	-0.0158
	(0.0174)	(0.0225)	(0.0177)
30+ years	-0.00391	0.0178	-0.0140
	(0.0168)	(0.0221)	(0.0170)
Civil status (baseline: single)			
Married	-0.00757	-0.0136	0.00248
	(0.0121)	(0.0162)	(0.0108)
Divorced/Widowed	0.0527	0.0228	0.0530*
	(0.0324)	(0.0471)	(0.0301)
No answer	0.166***	-0.0685	0.121**
	(0.0514)	(0.203)	(0.0479)
Education (baseline: secondary)			
None	0.0338**	0.0124	0.0287**
	(0.0133)	(0.0179)	(0.0122)
Primary	0.0619***	0.0301**	0.0563***
	(0.0101)	(0.0124)	(0.0116)
Tertiary	0.0269*	-0.0276	0.0443***
	(0.0139)	(0.0226)	(0.0129)

30 Substantial results refer to the magnitude of the difference between two or more categories (such as being male or female).

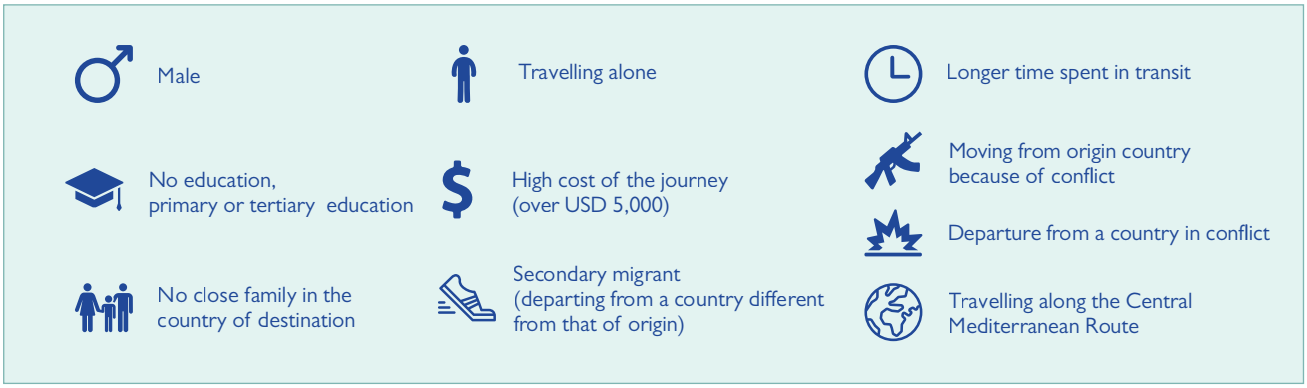
Variable	Mediterranean (1)	Central (2)	Eastern (3)
Travel mode (baseline: alone)			
With family	-0.0879***	-0.0378**	-0.109***
	(0.0129)	(0.0188)	(0.0171)
With non-family	-0.0814***	0.00420	-0.109***
	(0.0113)	(0.0146)	(0.0164)
Secondary migration (Yes)	0.0412***	0.0403**	0.00852
	(0.0146)	(0.0193)	(0.0218)
Time spent in the journey (baseline: less than 1 month)			
1–3 months	0.0531***	0.204***	0.0209**
	(0.0115)	(0.0276)	(0.00884)
3–6 months	0.180***	0.349***	0.0743***
	(0.0172)	(0.0334)	(0.0161)
6 months–1 year	0.242***	0.412***	0.102***
	(0.0201)	(0.0370)	(0.0204)
More than 1 year	0.266***	0.361***	0.222***
	(0.0294)	(0.0415)	(0.0438)
Unknown	0.196***	0.324***	0.0898***
	(0.0220)	(0.0403)	(0.0216)
Cost of the journey (baseline: no cost)			
<USD 1,000	0.0409	-0.000249	-0.0886
	(0.0257)	(0.0256)	(0.103)
USD 1,000–5,000	-0.0122	-0.0118	-0.161
	(0.0225)	(0.0225)	(0.101)
> USD 5,000	0.0562**	0.0871***	-0.117
	(0.0242)	(0.0267)	(0.101)
Unknown	0.0207	0.0348	-0.175*
	(0.0239)	(0.0235)	(0.103)
First-line family member at destination (Yes)	-0.0333***	0.0120	-0.0357***
	(0.0127)	(0.0207)	(0.0104)
Intended destination unknown (Yes)	0.00574	0.0489***	-0.0571***
	(0.0154)	(0.0175)	(0.0167)
Moving from the country of origin due to conflict (Yes)	0.0283**	0.00269	0.0222**
	(0.0111)	(0.0143)	(0.0108)
Departure from the country in conflict (baseline: low crisis)			
Medium level	0.110***	0.132***	0.0295
	(0.0222)	(0.0343)	(0.0207)
High level	0.0248*	0.00871	-0.00407
	(0.0148)	(0.0220)	(0.0223)
Eastern route (baseline: Central route)	-0.175***		
	(0.0200)		
Observations	16,524	6,485	10,039

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses, ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1

3.1. Predictors of vulnerability for all migrants interviewed

Figure 4 summarizes which migrant attributes and characteristics of the journey are more relevant in predicting vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation for the whole sample. These findings are therefore relevant for migrants travelling to Europe on the two main migration routes considered together.

Figure 4: Statistically significant predictors of vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation, total sample



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

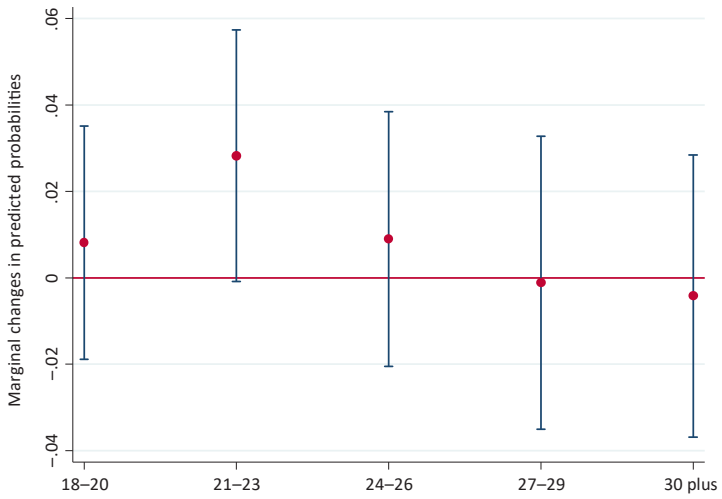
Note: This summarizes the multilevel logistic regression results for the whole sample (Model 1), as presented in Table 2.

Demographic characteristics

Migrants aged 21–23 years old are more likely to respond positively to the human trafficking and exploitation indicators than children and migrants who are 27 years or older. However, the difference is only significant at 10 per cent confidence level.

Holding all other variables at their mean, migrants aged 21–23 years are predicted to be 3 percentage points more vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation than migrants under 18. The difference between children and migrants in other age categories is not statistically significant, as well as the difference between migrants aged 21–23 and those aged 18–20 and 24–26. Overall, the differences in probabilities of positive responses to human trafficking/exploitation indicators are small among the different age groups. Figure 5 shows the change in predicted probabilities for all age categories, in comparison to children.

Figure 5: Effect of age groups on vulnerability in comparison with children, total sample



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

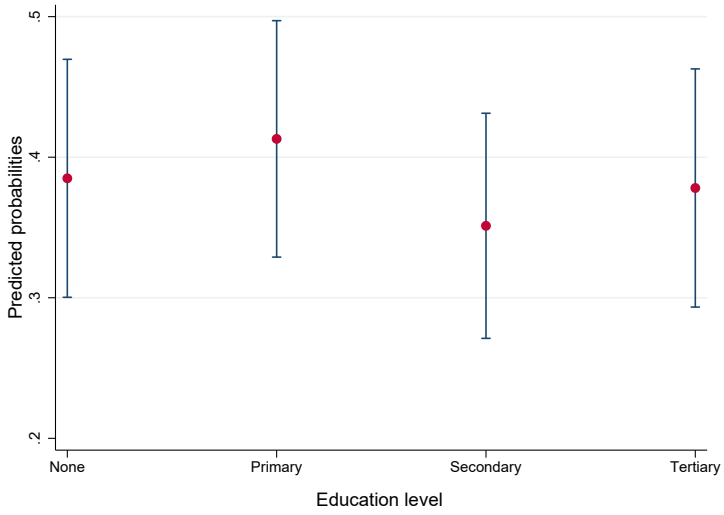
Migrant men arriving in Europe are more likely to be vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitative practices than women. Controlling for other individual attributes, sex is a significant predictor of vulnerability. The difference in positive responses of male and female migrants is not only statistically significant but it is also substantially large: male migrants are 11 percentage points more likely to respond positively to the trafficking indicators than women.

The survey did not include questions related to sexual exploitation, sexual violence or gender-based violence, which migrant women tend to experience more than men, except for the one on arranged marriage.[31] Including questions related to sexual exploitation, trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation or sexual violence might have resulted in a higher percentage of positive responses of women to at least one of the survey's human trafficking and exploitation indicators.

Female migrants are nevertheless more likely than male migrants to receive an offer of an arranged marriage during the journey. Women are 18 percentage points more likely than men to respond positively to the indicator related to marriage arrangement, with a predicted probability of 22 per cent to answer positively, while men have a predicted probability of 4 per cent.

Individuals who have secondary/vocational education are the least vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation during the migration journey. Migrants with no education and those with tertiary education all have almost identical predicted probabilities of positive responses (38%), while migrants with primary education have the highest predicted probability (41%).

Figure 6: Predicted probabilities by educational level, total sample



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

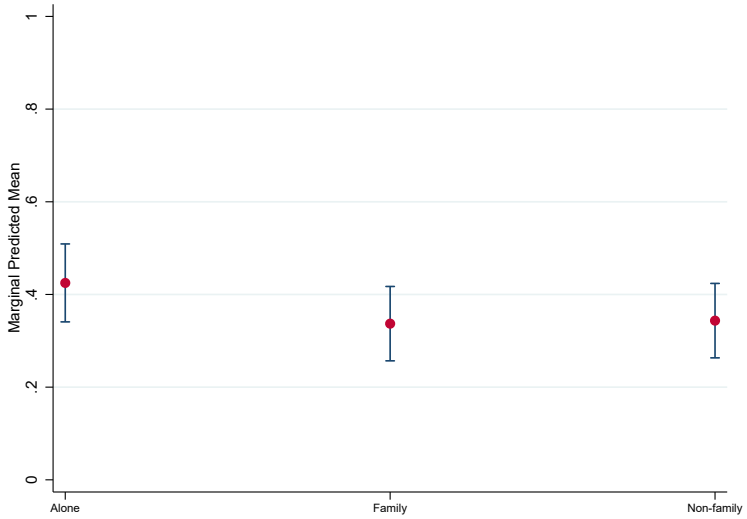
Civil status is not a significant predictor of migrants' vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation during their journeys. Controlling for other factors, there are no statistically significant differences in terms of positive responses between migrants who are single and those who are married or divorced/widowed. Migrants for whom there is no recorded information about their civil status (because either it was not shared with the interviewer or it was missing) are significantly more likely to respond positively than any other group; however, the number of respondents in this category is very small (0.5% of the total).

31 Please refer to Methodology (Chapter 2) for the rationale.

Journey characteristics

Migrants travelling in a group are predicted to be less vulnerable to exploitation and trafficking than migrants travelling alone. Migrants travelling in a group with family members have a predicted probability of 34 per cent to respond positively to the trafficking/exploitation indicators, with migrants travelling in a group without family members have a similar predicted probability. Migrants who travel alone have a predicted probability of 42 per cent.

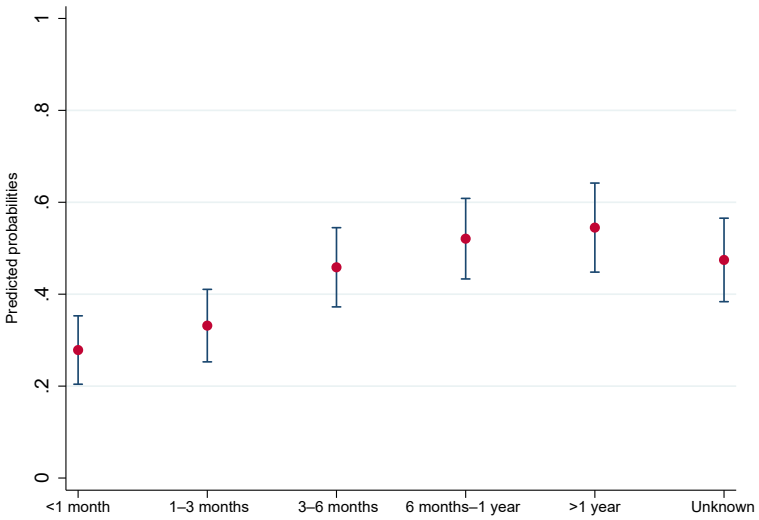
Figure 7: Predicted probabilities by travel mode, total sample



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

The longer the journey in terms of days spent travelling, the higher the predicted vulnerability. Migrants who spent over one year on the journey to Europe are 27 percentage points more likely to be vulnerable to human trafficking/exploitation on the route than migrants who spent less than one month on their journey. Twenty-eight per cent of migrants travelling for under 1 month are predicted to respond positively to the trafficking and exploitation indicators, while the predicted probability of responding positively rises to 52 per cent for migrants travelling for between six months and one year and to 54 per cent for those who spent more than one year on the journey.

Figure 8: Predicted probabilities by time spent travelling, total sample



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

Migrants who paid over USD 5,000 are more vulnerable to human trafficking/exploitation than migrants who stated to have paid nothing for the journey to Europe. The difference in the cost of the journey for other categories (migrants who paid other amounts or who could not estimate the amount) is not statistically significant. The differences between the probabilities of responding positively to the human trafficking/exploitation indicators of migrants whose journey costs differ are not substantially large. The predicted probability for all ranges of cost is around 40–43 per cent.

Migrants whose journey to Europe is a secondary migration have a higher predicted vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation than those whose last place of habitual residence was their country of origin. Respondents who undertook secondary migration movements to Europe are predicted to be 4 percentage points more likely to respond positively than those departing from their origin country, regardless of the duration of their journey to Europe. The predicted probability of a migrant who moved from a country of departure, which is other than the country in which he/she originally resided/was born, is 41 per cent. Migrants who have taken the journey to Europe straight from their origin country have a predicted probability of 37 per cent.

Having a first-line family member at the intended destination is associated with a migrant being less vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation en route, with a predicted probability of 35 per cent to respond positively. The difference in predicted probability between migrants with family and those without family in the country of intended destination is 3 percentage points.

Planning of the journey in terms of arrival to a specific destination is not a significant predictor of migrants' vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation. Migrants who have a destination in mind have a probability of 37 per cent to answer positively, while migrants who do not have a particular intended destination in mind have a probability of 38 per cent to answer positively.

Country-level predictors

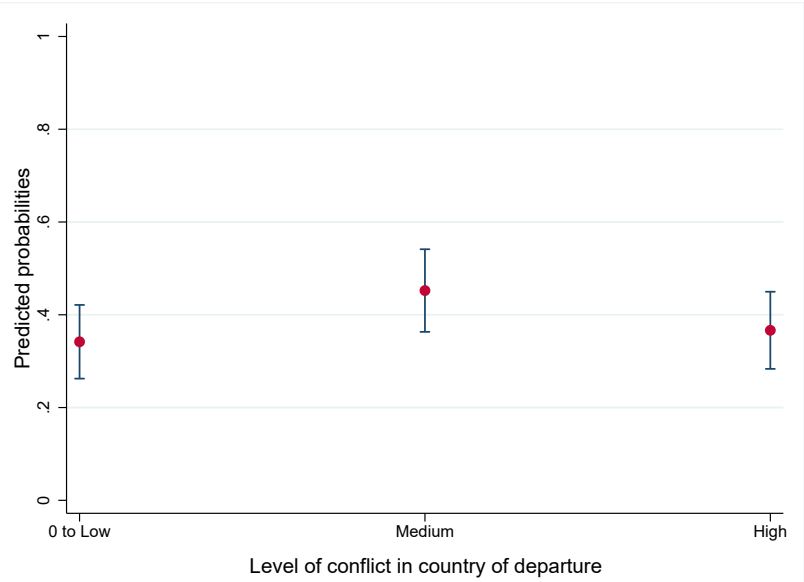
Migrants highlighting conflict as a reason for moving [32] and migrants who have departed from a country in conflict according to an international classification[33] are more likely to be vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation during their journey in the total sample.

Migrants who stated to have left because of conflict or natural disasters in the *country of origin* are predicted to be more vulnerable to exploitation and human trafficking during the journey than migrants who left for other reasons, by 3 percentage points. Also, when looking at the intensity of conflict in the *country of departure*, the difference between departing from a country with a low level of conflict and one with a medium level is 11 percentage points. Migrants who departed from a country with a high level of conflict also are 3 percentage points more likely to respond positively than migrants who departed from a country with a low level of conflict. It is important to note that migrants who left from a country with a high level of conflict are not more vulnerable to exploitation and trafficking than migrants who left from a country with a medium level of conflict.

32 This is related to the country of origin, it is self-reported and therefore subjective. The low number of responses that mention departure from the country of origin due to natural disasters (0.2% of the sample) is also encompassed in this variable that aims to capture the potential forced nature of migration and a situation of crisis. For more details, see the Methodology chapter of this report. The definitions of country of origin and country of departure can be found in Appendix 1.

33 This refers to the international classification of level of conflict in a country as defined by the UCDP/Prio (see footnote 27). This variable refers to the country of departure, which is not always the country of origin/nationality. The definitions of country of origin and country of departure can be found in Appendix 1.

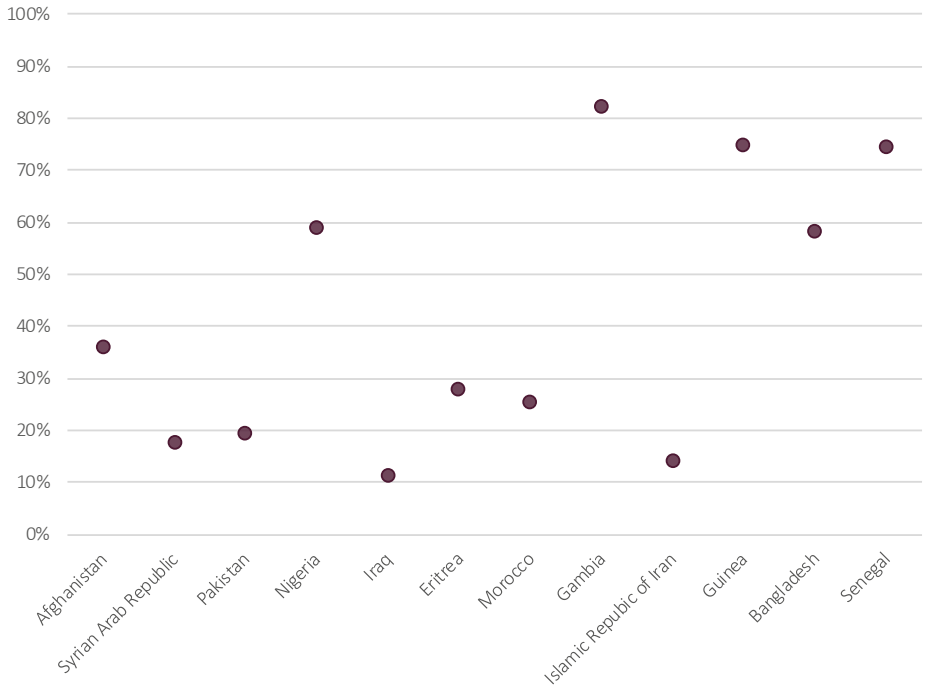
Figure 9: Predicted probabilities by level of conflict in the country of departure, total sample



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

West African migrants, among all migrants who arrive in Europe on the main migration routes, are the most vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation during their journey. In the total sample, Gambians, Senegalese and Guineans have the highest predicted probability of responding positively to the human trafficking/exploitative practices indicators. Their predicted probabilities are over 70 per cent.[34] Migrants from Nigeria and Bangladesh are also predicted to be among the most vulnerable groups to human trafficking and exploitation on their journey (see Figure 10).

Figure 10: Predicted probabilities of positive responses, first 12 nationalities, total sample



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

Note: Predicted probabilities are calculated on migrants with modal characteristics.

34 These findings refer to the migrant of a particular nationality who has the most common (average) attributes of the sample.

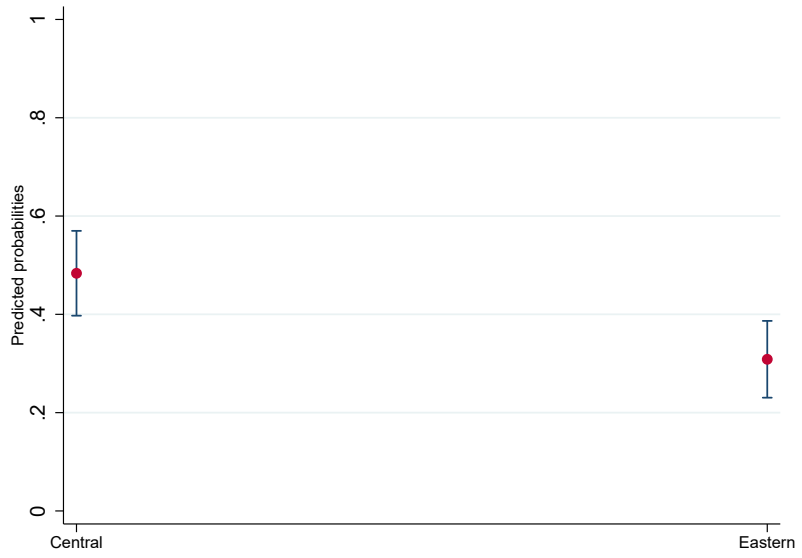
Farhana, 37 years old, male, Bangladeshi[35]

Farhana paid USD 6,000 to a broker in Bangladesh who promised him a job and a better life in Libya and organized his visa and travel in January 2015. He worked in a factory for two months while the conditions and salary were far from what was expected and promised. The salary he received was between LD 500 and LD 650 (LD – Libyan dinars), out of which he had to pay a monthly "tax" to the Bangladeshi broker (LD 100). In the third month after his arrival, the factory was partially destroyed by fighters and the owner had stopped paying. He was robbed and kidnapped twice by some armed groups. Together with some friends, Farhana finally left Libya, resorting again to the services of another broker: he paid something between LD 1,000 and LD 2,000 for the boat to Italy.

(*Note*: In some cases, Bangladeshi nationals reported paying up to USD 12,000 to reach Europe, and some even said that they paid a price between USD 33,000 and USD 40,000 (3–4 million taka (local currency)). This often involved their families selling houses and lands to invest in the "better future" of their young members. Some of them reported also that families would borrow money with interest to help them.)

Migrants travelling on the Central Mediterranean route to Europe are predicted to be more vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation than migrants who take the Eastern route. Travelling on the Central route results in a predicted probability of 48 per cent to answer positively to vulnerability indicators, while taking the Eastern route is associated with a predicted probability of 31 per cent. This difference is both substantively large (17 percentage points) and statistically significant.

Figure 11: Predicted probability of positive responses by route, total sample



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

35 Names and other details were altered to ensure confidentiality.

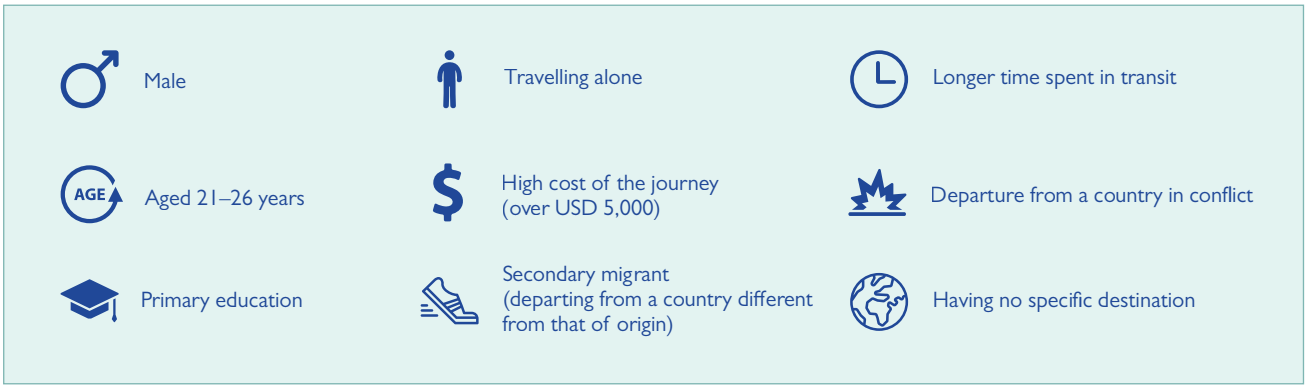
Mohammad, 25, male, Syrian

Mohammed, together with his wife and children, managed to reach Turkey from the Syrian Arab Republic, where they joined another group of 20 and agreed to pay 10,000 euros for a trip to Europe, which they were promised would be one week and less than two hours walking. After the group reached the Turkish–Bulgarian border by truck, they spent long, exhausting days walking day and night. After reaching central Bulgaria, Mohammed was separated from his family by the smugglers, who threatened to cut off his body parts unless he made a call to a relative who would pay the smuggling group. After the ransom was paid, he and other men were released one by one in the middle of nowhere. The mother and children continued walking for one day, before being detained by the smugglers for three days without enough light, food or water. The smugglers were using this time to prepare the next stage of the journey and prevent their clients from leaving alone or finding another smuggling group. After a painful three weeks' journey, the mother and children eventually reached their destination in Serbia, but were unable to find Mohammed and collect enough money to continue their journey.

3.2. Predictors of vulnerability for the Central and Eastern Mediterranean routes compared

This section compares the Central and Eastern Mediterranean routes in terms of which characteristics predict a higher level of vulnerability for migrants during their journeys. Figure 12 lists those variables that predict an increase in migrants' vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation practices on the two routes. The following paragraphs discuss the role of these variables in detail, as well as present a comparison with different migrants' attributes.

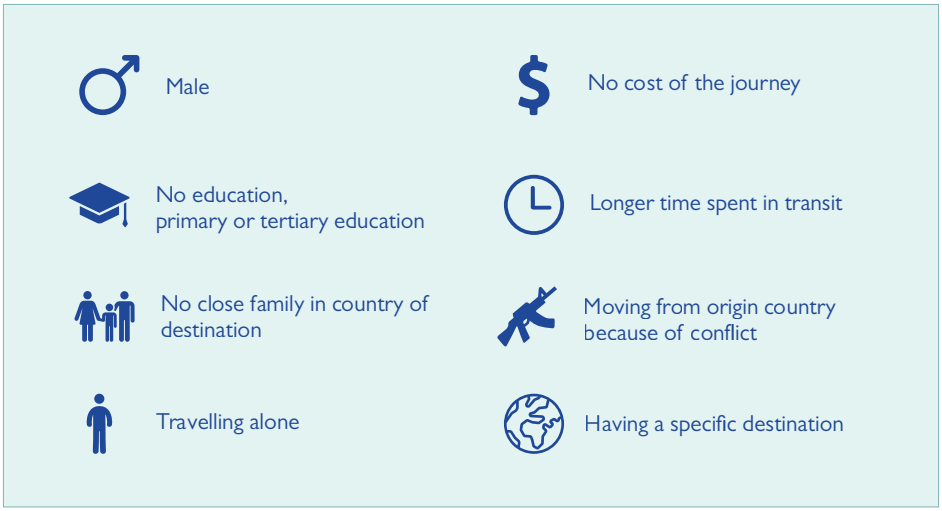
Figure 12: Statistically significant predictors of vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation, Central Mediterranean route



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

Note: This summarizes the multilevel logistic regression's results for the Central Mediterranean subsample (Model 2), as presented in Table 2.

Figure 13: Statistically significant predictors of vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation, Eastern Mediterranean route



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

Note: This summarizes the multilevel logistic regression's results for the Eastern Mediterranean subsample (Model 3), as presented in Table 2.

Demographic characteristics

Sex is a statistically significant predictor of vulnerability on both routes. Men on the Central Mediterranean route have a higher predicted probability than women to answer positively to the trafficking and exploitation indicators of 13 percentage points. This shows a difference of 4 percentage points in the probability of responding positively on the Eastern Mediterranean route.[36]

Age is a statistically significant predictor of vulnerability only on the Central Mediterranean route. On the Central Mediterranean route, migrants aged 21–23 years and 24–26 years are marginally more likely to respond positively to the human trafficking and exploitation indicators than children, and then adults in other age brackets.

Civil status is a statistically significant predictor of vulnerability to trafficking and exploitation for the widowed and divorced migrants on the Eastern Mediterranean route only. Migrants who are widowed or divorced are more likely to respond positively to the human trafficking/exploitation indicators than migrants who are single, by 6 percentage points. There are no significant differences by civil status on the Central Mediterranean migration route.

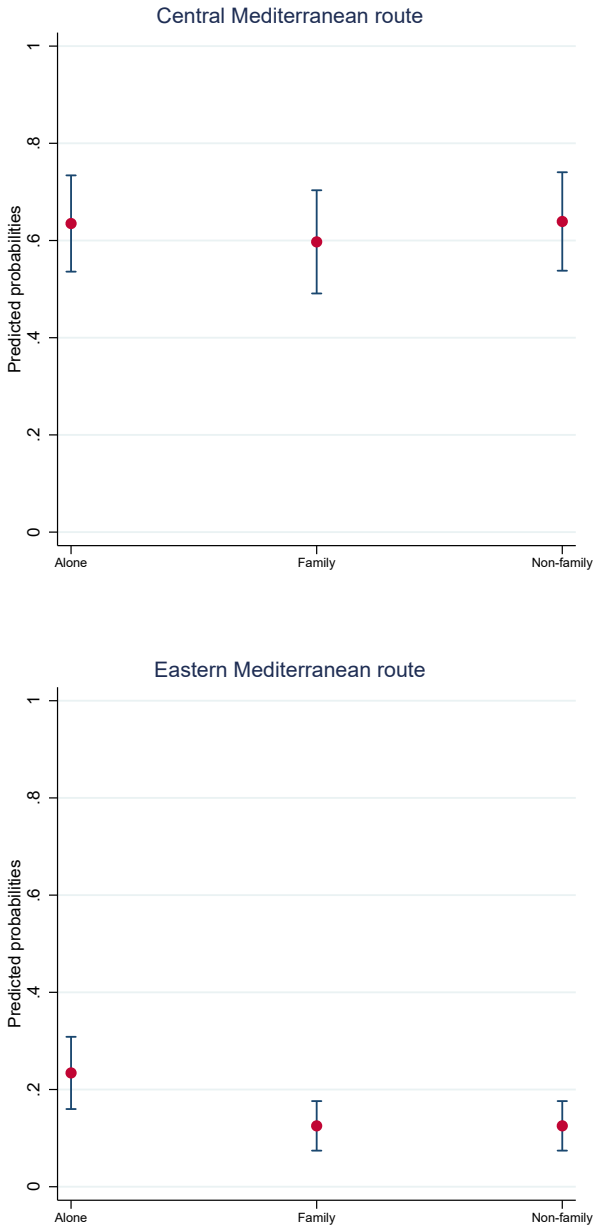
Migrants with secondary education are the least vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation on their journey, on both routes. On the Central Mediterranean route, migrants with primary education are, by 3 percentage points, more likely to respond positively to the indicators than those with secondary education. On the Eastern route, there is a highly significant difference between migrants with primary and tertiary education and migrants with secondary education. Migrants with primary education have the highest predicted probability to respond positively (18%), followed by migrants with tertiary education (17%), no education (15%) and, finally, migrants with secondary education (12%).

36 As previously mentioned, the survey did not include questions related to sexual exploitation, sexual violence or gender-based violence, which migrant women tend to experience more than men, except for the one on arranged marriage. Please refer to Methodology for the rationale.

Journey characteristics

On both routes, migrants travelling alone are more vulnerable than those who are travelling in a group with a family member. On the Central Mediterranean route, migrants travelling alone have a predicted probability of responding positively at 63 per cent, which is not statistically different from the probability estimated for those who travel with a group of non-family members. Migrants travelling with at least one family member have a predicted probability of responding positively, which is 3 percentage points lower. Along the Eastern Mediterranean route, migrants who travel alone are 11 percentage points more likely to respond positively to the human trafficking/exploitation indicators than migrants who travel in a group (either with family members or with others). Migrants who travel alone have a predicted probability of 23 per cent to respond positively, while those who travel in a group (with family members or with others) have a lower predicted probability (12%) to respond positively to the indicators.

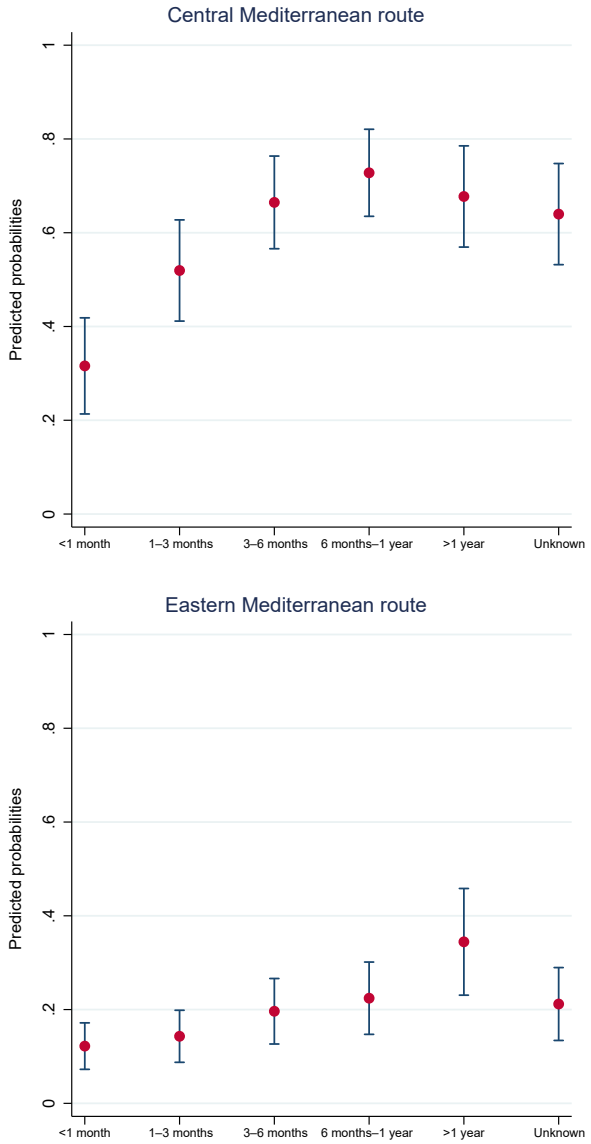
Figure 14: Predicted probabilities, by travelling mode, by route



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

The more time a migrant spends on the journey to Europe on both routes, the more vulnerable he/she is. On the Central Mediterranean route, migrants travelling for less than 1 month have a predicted probability of around 32 per cent to respond positively to one of the trafficking and exploitation indicators, which is less than half the predicted probabilities for those who travel for 3–6 months (66%), and for those who travel for more than one year (68%). Migrants travelling for 6–12 months have the highest predicted probability of responding positively (73%). On the Eastern Mediterranean route, migrants travelling for less than 1 month have a predicted probability of around 12 per cent, while those whose journey took over one year have a predicted probability as high as 34 per cent.

Figure 15: Predicted probabilities, by time spent on the journey, by route



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

The cost of the journey predicts vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation differently on the two migration routes. On the Central Mediterranean, migrants who spend more than USD 5,000 are the most vulnerable, with a predicted probability of responding positively of 70 per cent. Migrants who stated that they did not pay for travelling, those who spend less than USD 1,000 and those who spend an intermediate sum between USD 1,000 and USD 5,000 are not statistically different from each other in terms of probability of responding positively (around 61%). Migrants who do not know the overall cost of the journey have an intermediate predicted probability of 65 per cent.

On the Eastern Mediterranean, migrants who reported no cost of the journey are more vulnerable than migrants who reported between USD 1,000 and USD 5,000 spent on the journey, or migrants who did not know the cost of the journey. Migrants who said there was no cost of the journey are 16 percentage points more likely to respond positively to the human trafficking/exploitation indicators than migrants who paid USD 1,000–5,000 for their journey. Migrants who said that they did not know how to answer this question have a predicted probability of 12 per cent to answer positively to the trafficking indicator, which is close to the predicted probability of migrants who spent USD 1,000–5,000 on the journey (13%). There is no difference in the predicted probabilities to answer positively to the indicators among migrants who spent nothing, under USD 1,000 or over USD 5,000 on the Eastern route journey to Europe.

Secondary migration is a statistically significant predictor of vulnerability on the Central Mediterranean route only. Migrants on the Central Mediterranean route who engage in secondary migration movements are 4 percentage points more likely to respond positively to the human trafficking/exploitation indicators than migrants who start their journey towards Europe directly from the origin country. Secondary migration is associated with a predicted probability of responding positively of 66 per cent on this route.

Having a family member at the intended destination makes a migrant less vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation on the Eastern route only. There is a predicted probability of 12 per cent that migrants with family members at their destinations respond positively; migrants with no family at their destinations have a significantly higher predicted probability to respond positively (15%). The difference in predicted probability between migrants with family and those without family in the country of intended destination is 3 percentage points.

Not planning the journey in terms of a specific destination has different predicted effects on vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation on the two migration routes. On the Central route, a migrant with no specific destination in mind at the time of leaving is 4 percentage points more likely to respond positively than those who have a planned destination. On the Eastern route, a migrant without a planned destination is 6 percentage points less likely to respond positively to the indicators.[37]

Country-level predictors

Deciding to leave from the country of origin due to conflict or environmental disasters is a significant negative predictor of migrants' vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation on the Eastern Mediterranean route only. Migrants whose reason for leaving was war, conflict, political issues or natural disasters are not significantly associated with vulnerability on the Central route, while on the Eastern route they are predicted to be more vulnerable to exploitation and human trafficking than economic migrants, by 2 percentage points. The difference is not substantially large.

On the Central route, migrants departing from a country with an intermediate level of armed conflict – as defined by the UCDP/Prio classification – are more likely to be vulnerable to exploitation than migrants coming from countries with a low level of conflict. The difference is 13 percentage points. On the Eastern route instead, the results related to the level of conflict from the departure country are not statistically significant.

Nationality

The highest predicted probabilities of positive responses are found among migrants predominantly on the Central migration route, especially among West African nationalities. Overall, West African migrants are the most vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation in transit, while North Africans appear the least likely to be vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation. On the Eastern route, migrants from Afghanistan have a higher predicted vulnerability to the human trafficking and exploitation during the journey.

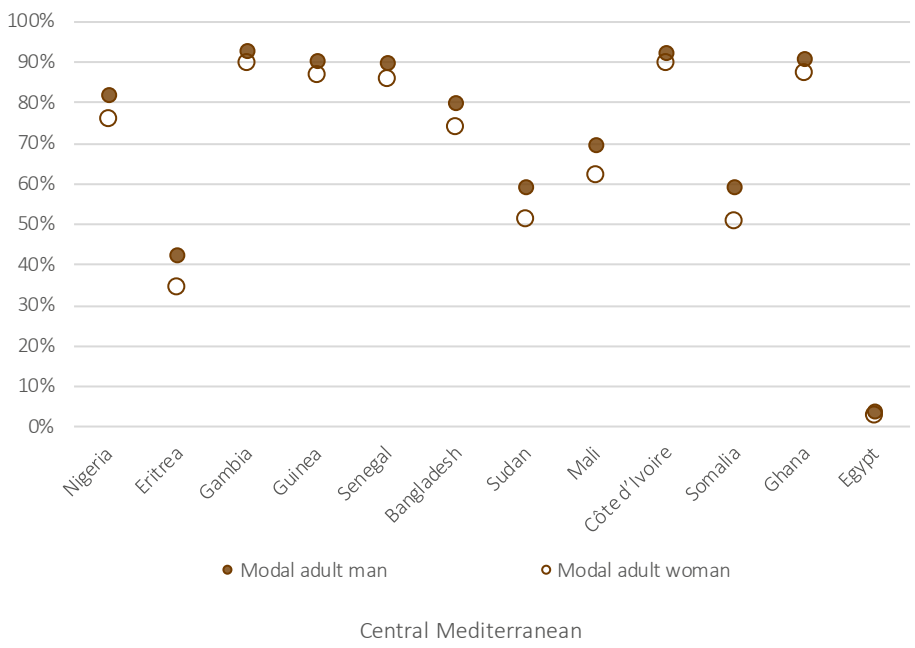
37 This destination could also include "Europe" in general.

Figure 16 presents two graphs with the predicted probabilities of responding positively to the human trafficking/exploitation indicators for male and female adult migrants of the first 12 national groups in each subsample, when every other variable is kept at the modal value.[38]

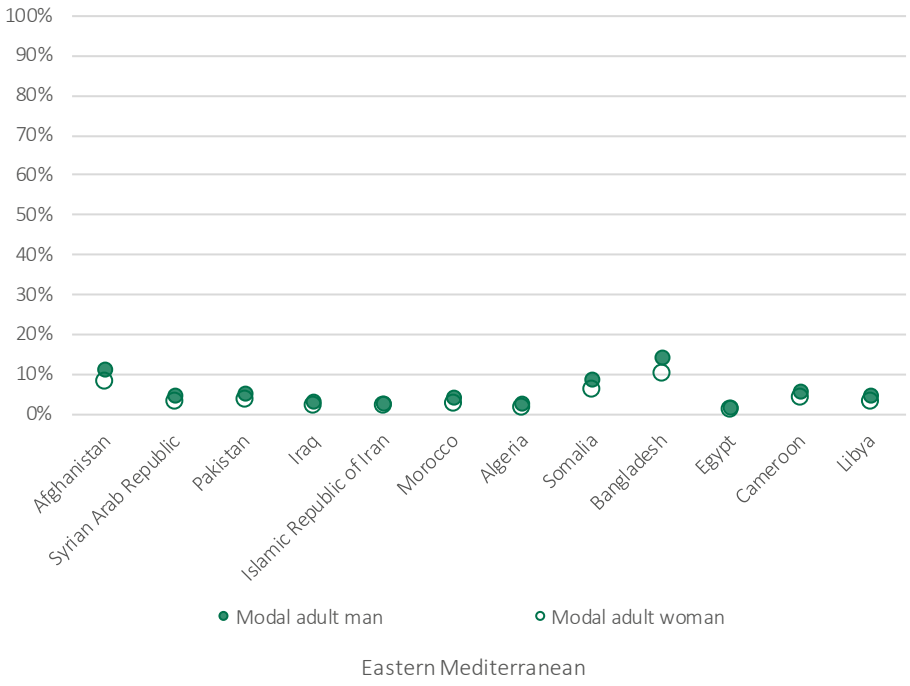
On the Central Mediterranean route, migrants from the Gambia, Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana are those with the highest predicted probabilities of responding positively (90–92%), followed by Senegalese, Nigerians, Bangladeshis and Malians (more than 70%). The predicted probabilities for Sudanese and Somali adult males are around 60 per cent, followed by Eritrean adult males (42%). The average man with Egyptian nationality has the lowest predicted probability, around 4 per cent. Moreover, noticeable differences between the average adult man and woman (mode) are observed for each nationality, with women having a predicted probability lower than that of men by 2–8 percentage points. Overall, qualitative narratives collected alongside the standard survey seem to suggest a role for discrimination and racism as a factor in the experiences of sub-Saharan African migrants on the route, in line with evidence from previous research.

On the Eastern Mediterranean route, Bangladeshi, Afghan and Somali migrants are more likely to be vulnerable than other national groups, while North Africans have the lowest probability of positive responses. The predicted probability of responding positively is 14 per cent when the nationality is Bangladesh, 11 per cent for Afghanistan, 8 per cent for Somalia. Other Middle Eastern and Asian nationalities are associated with predicted probabilities between 4 per cent and 5 per cent. The lowest predicted probability among the first 12 nationalities is that of Egyptians (1%). In all cases, the differences in predicted probabilities between the average adult men and women for each national group are not large.

Figure 16: Predicted probabilities of positive responses by route: first 12 nationalities



38 In the Central Mediterranean subsample, the modal adult man is 18–20 years old, is single, has secondary education, travels alone, has not engaged in secondary migration, originates from a country in crisis (subjective), departed from a country with a low level of conflict, has spent in transit between 6 months and 1 year, has spent USD 1,000–5,000 for the journey and has a planned destination but no family there. The modal adult woman is 18–20 years old, is single, has secondary education, travels alone, has not engaged in secondary migration, originates from a country in crisis (subjective), departed from a country with a high level of conflict, has spent in transit between three and six months, has spent USD 1,000–5,000 for the journey and has a planned destination but no family there. In the Eastern Mediterranean subsample, the modal adult man is 30 years or more, is single, has secondary education, travels with family members, has not engaged in secondary migration, originates from a country in crisis (subjective), departed from a country with a high level of conflict, has spent in transit less than one month, has spent USD 1,000–5,000 for the journey and has a planned destination but no family there. The modal adult woman is 30 years or more, is married, has secondary education, travels with family members, has not engaged in secondary migration, originates from a country in crisis (subjective), departed from a country with a high level of conflict, has spent in transit less than one month, has spent USD 1,000–5,000 for the journey and has a planned destination but no family there.



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

Note: These results are based on the average man and woman (mode) from the survey.

3.3. Predictors of a single indicator of trafficking

Being held against one's will is the survey indicator with the highest percentage of positive responses, while receiving offers of an arranged marriage has the lowest percentage of positive responses. This is consistent for both the whole sample and the two migration routes' subsamples. In addition to their personal experiences in transit, 334 migrants (nearly 2% of respondents) also reported knowing of instances in which people on the journey have been approached by someone offering cash in exchange for giving blood, organs or body parts.[39]

> Tommy, 25 years old, female, Nigerian
>
> Tommy suffered from abuse and violence by men in her family, and got pregnant at the age of 15. She found herself with the child alone, isolated by her family and the community. She left her village in Edo state with her son around three years ago to find a new life. She paid about 75,000 Nigerian naira to reach Libya. In the desert between Niger and Libya, she was caught and brought to Libya. She was kept in a closed garage and was asked to call her family to pay a ransom. "I had no one to call, and I was violated and beaten in front of my son," she recalled, adding that they were threatening her and holding a gun to her head. She escaped one night, thanks to the help of a Senegalese man, who asked her to marry him once in Italy in exchange for help. Although she refused the marriage, he helped anyway and paid for the journey for her and the child on the boat in April 2016.

39 For further data on the positive responses to the different indicators, and disaggregation by sex and age, see Appendix 4.
The issue of organ removal in the context of migration flows through North and Eastern Africa received renewed media attention in July 2016, following arrests of suspected members of an transnational organized criminal group involved in these crimes by Italian authorities (UNODC, 2016:66). IOM surveys provide evidence of instances of this kind; however, they do not necessarily refer to the individual experiences of respondents and therefore they cannot be included in the in-depth analysis in this report. Other survey indicators, such as forced labour or being held against will, are related to individual experiences.

As a robustness check, the regression model has also been run separately for each single human trafficking/exploitation indicator, in each of the subsamples. For all the five indicators considered separately, the positive association between the duration of the journey and the probability of responding positively is confirmed, and country effects remain the same.

Female migrants are less likely than male migrants to respond positively to most indicators separately, except for the question related to arranged marriages. Nevertheless, while men have a higher predicted probability than women to respond positively on the Central Mediterranean to all labour-related indicators (forced and unpaid labour), the difference is not significant for the Eastern Mediterranean subsample.[40]

On both routes, the more time is spent on the journey, the more vulnerable a migrant is to be subjected to forced labour. Furthermore, travelling with family members instead of travelling alone is associated with a decrease in the probability of reporting unpaid or forced work on both routes. In terms of the costs, while higher costs are associated with a higher probability of responding positively to the indicator of being kept against will in the Central Mediterranean subsample, higher costs predict lower vulnerability to forced labour, detention and offer of employment in the Eastern Mediterranean subsample. On one side, paying more might secure a higher protection against risks while in transit, but on the other side very high costs of the journey are the signal for bribes, extortions, and ransoms paid in order to be freed and continue the journey.

Migrants who were kept against will are predicted to also experience unpaid or forced labour. Finally, to better disentangle the relation between different indicators of human trafficking and exploitative practices, a combined indicator related to forced labour and being kept against one's will was investigated. Open-ended questions and in-depth interviews with some migrants and stakeholders reported some recurrent stories of abuses among the surveyed population. For example, migrants who had been kept against their will by entities other than the State authorities often also recorded a higher share of positive responses to either forced or unpaid work, as they needed to free themselves. In this context, it was necessary to run a separate regression predicting the probability of experiencing either forced or unpaid work only, and adding the fact of being kept against one's will as an additional explanatory variable. This suggests that for both Central and Eastern Mediterranean routes, migrants kept against their will are substantially more likely to report forced or unpaid labour (58% versus 42% on the Central Mediterranean route, 8% versus 4% on the Eastern Mediterranean route).[41]

40 See footnote 36 in this chapter, and Chapter 2 on the choice of not including questions related to sexual exploitation, sexual violence or gender-based violence, which migrant women tend to experience more than men, in the survey.

41 The regression results for these models, not shown here for the sake of conciseness, are available upon request.

3.4. Migrant children's vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation

Unaccompanied migrant children travelling towards Europe are reported to have reached an unprecedented number in 2016. Protection issues related to children on the migration routes or in reception and detention centres in the Balkans and Europe are increasingly reported by media and humanitarian organizations (see for example the recent: UNHCR, UNICEF and IOM, 2017). National administrative records from both Greece and Italy confirm that accompanied children were more frequent on the Eastern Mediterranean route than on the Central Mediterranean route in 2016 (Eurostat, 2017). In the survey samples, children on the Central Mediterranean route travel alone far more often than those on the Eastern route (75% versus 27% of the cases). Therefore, this section describes the profile of children interviewed and presents an in-depth analysis of the experiences reported by migrant children travelling without their families.[42]

Children's profile compared to adults

Approximately 13 per cent (2,089) of all interviewed migrants are children between 14 and 17 years of age. Consistent with the reference population of migrants arrived by sea in Italy and Greece during the same period, the main national groups among children in the sample are different from those among adults.[43] For example, 9 per cent of children in the sample are Eritrean, and only 5 per cent of adults are Eritrean. Three per cent of the children are Syrian, while 19 per cent of the adults are Syrian. Over half (58%) of the children interviewed are nationals of Afghanistan, the Gambia, Guinea, Eritrea, Nigeria and Egypt, while two thirds of adults in the sample (62%) are Syrian, Pakistani, Iraqi and Afghan. Compared to adults in the sample, children are more frequently male than female (92% versus 82% of adults interviewed).

A lower percentage of children interviewed departed from countries with a high level of conflict: this is the case for 32 per cent of children, compared to 60 per cent of adults. Also, 67 per cent of children reported war, conflict or political issues as reasons for migration, which is 6 percentage points less than what adults reported (73%). Sixty-three per cent of all interviewed children declared to be travelling alone, which is higher than 38 per cent of all adults. Children could not specify either the total amount paid in 18 per cent of the cases, compared to 7 per cent of the cases among adults, and reported to have paid more than USD 5,000 more often than adults (23% versus 19%). Finally, interviewed children have less frequently than adults a family member (first- or second-line) at the intended destination (23% versus 44%) and have more often than adults no specific destination in mind (12% versus 6%).

Profile of children travelling along the two routes

Looking at the differences between the two routes, children represent almost a quarter of all interviews along the Central Mediterranean route (24%), but only 5 per cent of migrants interviewed along the Eastern Mediterranean route. While the majority of children on both routes declared to have obtained a secondary education degree (47% of the Central Mediterranean route sample, 45% of the Eastern Mediterranean sample),

42 As pointed out by IOM's GMDAC *Briefing* (GMDAC, 2016b), legal definitions of migrant children travelling alone vary at the international, European and national levels. In the context of the European Union, an unaccompanied minor is a minor who arrives on the territory of a European Union Member State unaccompanied by an adult responsible or who is left unaccompanied after he or she has entered the territory of the Member States (Directive 2011/95/UE). IOM defines an unaccompanied child to be a child who has been separated from both parents and other relatives/caregivers and is not being cared for by an adult who, by law or custom, is responsible for doing so. This is in line with the General Comment No. 6 on the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/crc/docs/GC6.pdf).
The IOM's DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys do not intend to formally assess whether interviewed children (14–17 years) are accompanied or not. Hence, for the purpose of the analysis presented here, the survey question on travel mode is used as a proxy for unaccompanied children, any time a child states to be travelling alone or in a group without family members or relatives. Children who reported to be travelling with at least one family member or a relative (14% of all children surveyed) were not included in the analysis related to children travelling without their family.

43 Both along the Central and the Eastern Mediterranean routes, children are mostly found among certain nationalities and not in others. Although a precise comparison cannot be shown as age distribution among children who arrived by sea is not available, official statistics show that children who arrived in Greece were unaccompanied in 8 per cent of the cases and came mainly from the Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan and Iraq, while children who arrived in Italy were unaccompanied in 92 per cent of the cases and came mainly from Eritrea, Nigeria and the Gambia (UNHCR, UNICEF and IOM, 2017; Eurostat, 2017).

followed by an almost equal share of primary educated children (43% and 45%, respectively), 11 per cent of children interviewed in Italy declared no formal education compared with 8 per cent of children on the Eastern Mediterranean route.

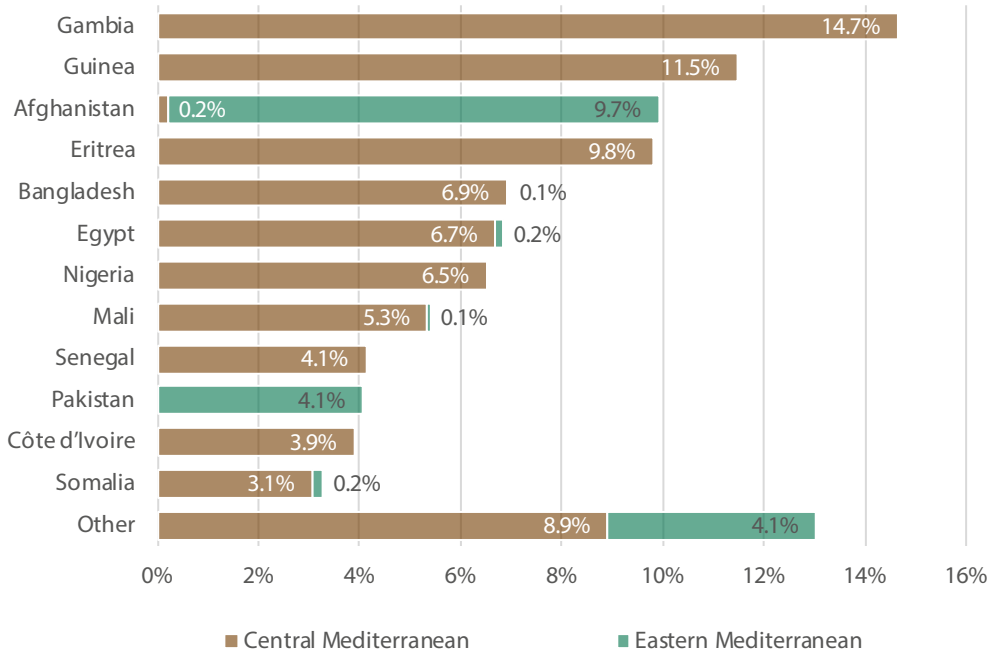
On the Central Mediterranean route, 22 per cent of children departed towards Europe from a country different from that of origin, compared to 4 per cent of those on the Eastern Mediterranean route. Fifty-nine per cent of the children whose journey to Europe was a secondary migration departed from Libya. The others were from Algeria (10%), Sudan (8%), Ethiopia (4%), Côte d'Ivoire (2%), the Islamic Republic of Iran (2%) and Morocco (2%). Furthermore, children on the Central Mediterranean recorded longer journeys from departure (more than 5 months on average spent on the journey) than children on Eastern Mediterranean who travelled for three months or less in more than 70 per cent of the cases. As for the cost of the journey, children on the Eastern route declared to have paid more than USD 5,000 in 44 per cent of the cases compared to the 16 per cent of children on the Central route. Children who arrived in Italy are more frequently unable to calculate the total amount paid than those interviewed along the Balkans (22% versus 4% respectively).

Children travelling without their family: Profile and predictors of vulnerability

Children travelling alone or with a group that does not include family members or relatives represent the vast majority of all interviewed children and a higher share than among adults (86% versus 63%). Children on the Central route are more likely to be travelling completely alone – without a group – than children on the Eastern route (75% versus 27%).

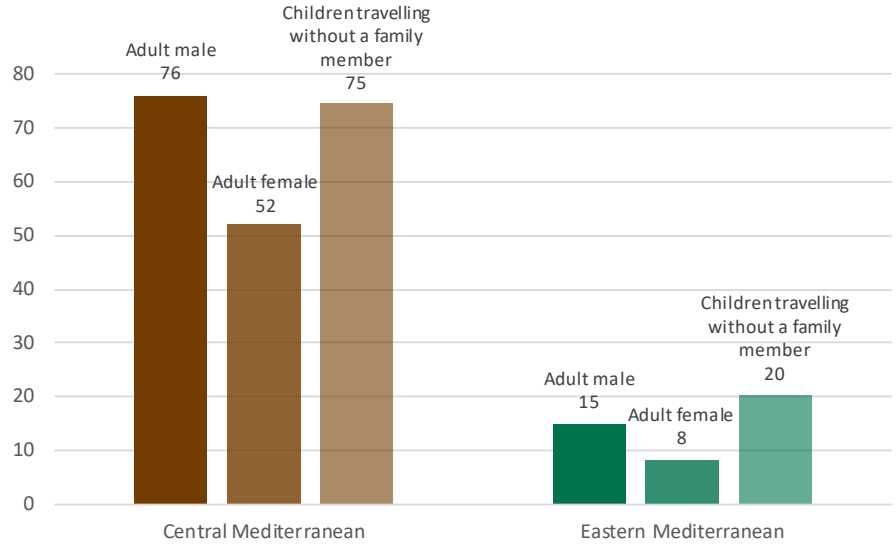
As shown in Figure 17, 80 per cent of all children travelling without family members in the sample are represented by the first 10 nationalities: while Afghan and Pakistani children were interviewed along the Eastern Mediterranean route, almost all other children without family members were interviewed along the Central Mediterranean and came from West Africa, Eritrea, Bangladesh and Egypt. On both routes, the vast majority of all children travelling without families are male (94%), 66 per cent of them are 17 years of age and virtually all of them reported to be single (99.5%).

Figure 17: Children travelling without family members: percentage of first 10 nationalities, by route



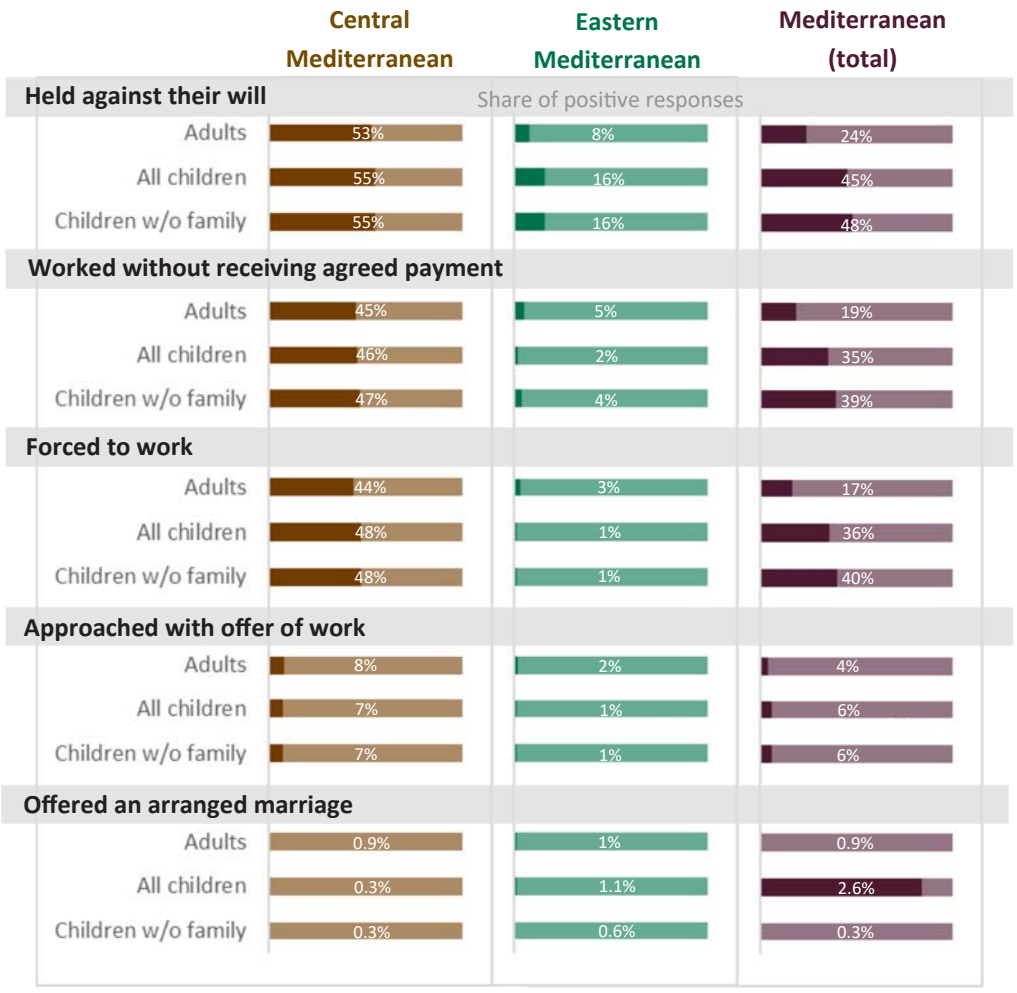
Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

Figure 18: Share of positive responses to the human trafficking/exploitation indicators, adults by sex and children travelling without family compared, by route (%)



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

Figure 19: Share of positive responses to each indicator, children travelling without family, by route and total



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

More boys (66%) than girls (50%) travelling without their families on both routes responded positively to the human trafficking and exploitation indicators. The percentage of children held against their will by individuals or groups other than the authorities on the Eastern Mediterranean route is double compared to the percentage of adults on the same route. Shares of positive responses of all children and children travelling without families are similar to those of adults on the same route, the only difference being the higher rate of children in the Eastern Mediterranean sample travelling alone who reported of having been held against their will (16% versus 8% among adults).

To test which are the most relevant predictors of vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation among children travelling without their families, a separate multilevel logistic regression on this selected subsample was run.[44] The full table with estimation results (odds ratios) can be found in Annex 2. Table 3 presents the marginal effects of single predictors on the probability of responding positively, holding all the other variables at their means.

Table 3: Marginal effects at means of single predictors, children travelling without families

Variable	Marginal effects at means
Female (baseline: male)	-0.181***
	(0.0478)
Age (baseline: 14–15 years)	
16 years	0.0175
	(0.0438)
17 years	0.107**
	(0.0423)
Education (baseline: secondary)	
None	0.156***
	(0.0429)
Primary	0.0630**
	(0.0258)
Travelling with non-family (baseline: alone)	-0.122***
	(0.0288)
Secondary migration (Yes)	0.0590
	(0.0457)
Time spent on the journey (baseline: less than 1 month)	
1–3 months	0.114**
	(0.0451)
3–6 months	0.213***
	(0.0485)
6 month–1 year	0.262***
	(0.0515)
More than 1 year	0.303***
	(0.0690)
Unknown	0.301***
	(0.0630)

44 The individual characteristics are nested within nationalities. Chapter 2 (Methodology) has more details on the statistical model and the choice of variables.

Variable	Marginal effects at means
Cost of the journey (baseline: no cost)	
<USD 1,000	-0.0571
	(0.0686)
USD 1,000–5,000	0.00950
	(0.0592)
>USD 5,000	0.0914
	(0.0646)
Unknown	0.0389
	(0.0612)
Family member at destination (Yes)	-0.0853***
	(0.0316)
Intended destination unknown (Yes)	0.0568
	(0.0422)
Moving from country of origin due to conflict (Yes)	0.0715**
	(0.0309)
Departure from country in conflict (baseline: low crisis)	
Medium level	0.00290
	(0.0606)
High level	-0.170***
	(0.0632)
Eastern route (baseline: Central route)	-0.311***
	(0.0860)
Observations	1,795

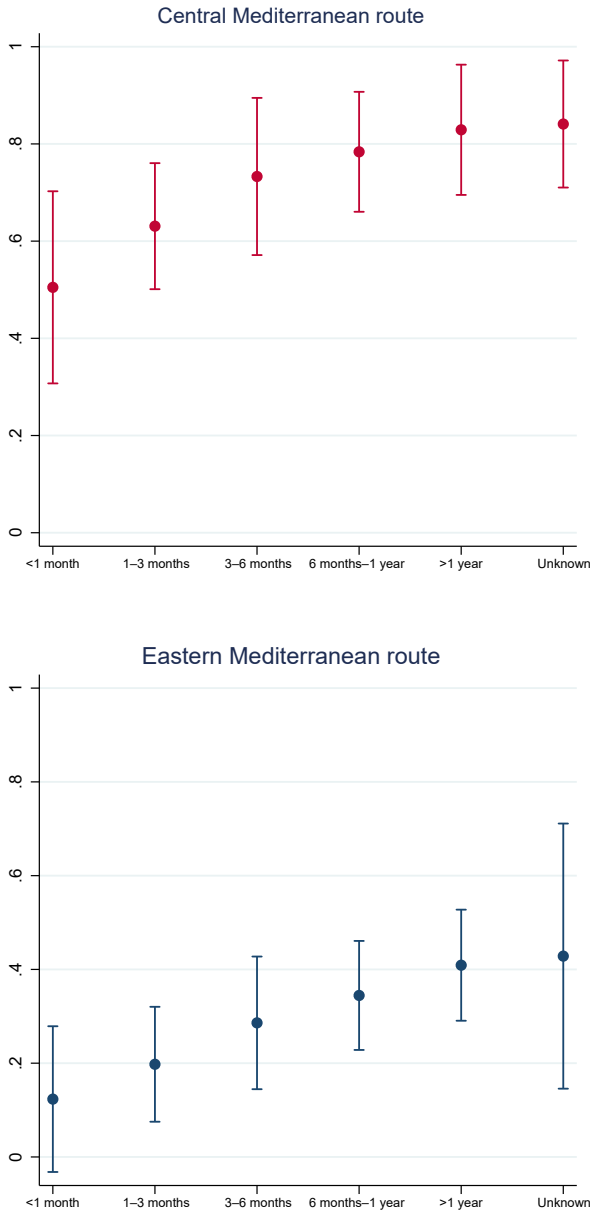
Notes: Standard errors in parentheses, ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1.

Migrant boys travelling without families are more vulnerable than migrant girls, with a difference in predicted probability of responding positively to the trafficking and exploitation indicators of 18 percentage points. This finding is similar to that found for the whole sample. Children aged 17 years are more likely to respond positively than those aged 14 to 16 years. Moreover, higher education levels are significantly associated with a lower vulnerability to trafficking and exploitation: secondary educated children have a lower probability to respond positively than those with primary education or no formal education (61%, 68% and 78% of probability, respectively).

The time spent on the journey is a strong predictor of the probability to respond positively: the longer the journey, the more vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation a child becomes. Moreover, children travelling alone are more likely than those travelling with a group of non-family people to report incidents (70% versus 56%). These patterns are valid for both routes, although on average children travelling without family members travelling with them along the Central route are more vulnerable than those interviewed along the Eastern Mediterranean route, with a difference of 31 percentage points between the two.

Having a family member in the intended country of destination appears to be a protective factor for migrant children who travel without their families. These children have a lower predicted probability to report exploitation than those without relatives in the country they intend to reach at the time of the survey.

Figure 20: Predicted probabilities of a positive response among children travelling without their families, by time spent on the journey and by route



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

The findings related to the initial reasons for moving and to the level of conflict in the departure country are mixed. Results show that children are more vulnerable to human trafficking or exploitation on their journey if they left their countries of origin because of conflict/war or natural disasters. On the other hand, children who departed from a country in conflict according the UCPD/Prio classification, and travelling without family members, appear less vulnerable than children who left more stable countries.

The most vulnerable children travelling without their family members in terms of nationality follow the same pattern observed for the combined sample, with one important difference: Afghan children appear more vulnerable to human trafficking/exploitation than the rest of Afghans interviewed. Differences between children of different nationalities might be due to unobserved characteristics that relate to the environment of origin or other circumstances prior to departure, which are captured by the estimated country-level effects. Differences may also be due to how well children of certain nationalities are perceived and treated by host communities, communities they encounter in transit, as well as smugglers and those facilitating the journey.

Certain nationalities may be better able to address their own vulnerabilities if they share culture, language, and networks association with smugglers and host communities encountered en route, for example. This may explain the low rates of positive response for Egyptian children travelling with non-family members/relatives or alone, who have the lowest predicted probability of responding positively (9% and 17%) to the human trafficking and exploitation indicators, followed by Eritrean children who – holding other variables at their mode – would have a predicted probability of 38 per cent if travelling with people who are not relatives and of 57 per cent if travelling alone. Afghan and Pakistani children show a predicted probability of responding positively between 78 per cent and 90 per cent depending on whether they travel alone or with a group of people. Hence, disregarding the route's effect (the average, modal value is "Central Mediterranean route" for all), these predicted probabilities are only slightly lower than those of Bangladeshi, Somali and West African children (from 79% to 97%). Figure 21 presents the predicted probabilities calculated for the first 10 nationalities by number of interviews, for an average child (mode) travelling alone or with non-family groups.[45]

Figure 21: Predicted probabilities of positive responses of children with modal characteristics travelling alone and travelling with non-family people, first 12 nationalities

Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

In conclusion, children travelling without families are not significantly different from adults with comparable individual and journey characteristics, and with comparable strength and direction of each predictor. **Nevertheless, the predicted probabilities for a child travelling without a family member to whom to report one of the human trafficking and other exploitative practices are very high, and should not be disregarded.** The vulnerability associated with travelling completely alone and with travelling along the Central Mediterranean route clearly points to serious protection concerns for the increasing number of migrant children that arrived in Europe in 2016.

45 The modal child travelling alone is male, 17 years old, with secondary education, not engaged in secondary migration, left because of war or conflict, departed from a country with a low level of conflict, has spent between 6 months and 1 year travelling, has paid between USD 1,000 and USD 5,000, has a specific destination in mind but no family there and has travelled along the Central Mediterranean route.
The modal child travelling with a group of non-family people is male, 17 years old, with secondary education, not engaged in secondary migration, left because of war or conflict, departed from a country with a low level of conflict, has spent between 3 and 6 months travelling, has paid between USD 1,000 and USD 5,000, has a specific destination in mind but no family there and has travelled along the Central Mediterranean route.

DTM interviews in Mineo, Sicily, Italy.
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4. Discussion

The statistical analysis in this report examined risk and protective factors predicting migrants' vulnerability to exploitation and human trafficking. Factors considered included migrants' sociodemographic backgrounds and the nature of their migration process. This chapter discusses and contextualizes the results reported in Chapter 3.

The analysis shows that, in the context of the migration journey to Europe, a large number of individuals experienced forms of exploitation that may amount to human trafficking. It also illustrates that vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation does not correspond to some assumptions that often rely on singular factors such as gender and age to identify vulnerability.

While some factors can predict vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation on only one of the two Mediterranean migration routes studied, others allow generalizations to be made about both routes.

On both the Central and Eastern Mediterranean routes to Europe, the migrants most vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation are those who are travelling alone and those who travel for longer. Migrant men are more vulnerable than migrant women to the type of human trafficking and exploitation tracked by the survey, excluded indicators of sexual exploitation. Secondary education, travelling in a group and a short migration journey are potentially protective factors against abuse, exploitation and human trafficking on the route.

1. **Sex and vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation**

It is generally considered that female migrants are more vulnerable and more susceptible to harm on their journey, that they face different risks and experiences on the journey than male migrants (OHCHR, 2016), and that they benefit from interventions aimed at addressing this perceived inequality (Peroni and Timmer, 2013).[46]

This report's findings, however, show that migrant boys and men are disproportionately vulnerable to particular types of human trafficking and exploitation during their passage towards Europe. Indeed, male migrants are more likely to respond positively to the survey indicators of exploitation and human trafficking, which refer to forced and unpaid labour, and being held against will.[47]

The indicators included in the surveys to measure exploitative practices and human trafficking can partially explain the finding. While the indicator related to marriage can be considered more relevant to the experiences of women, the survey does not include questions about experiences that are thought to affect women more than men, such as sexual violence or trafficking for sexual exploitation. Nevertheless, the survey also gathered evidence about one of the means through which a potential human trafficking experience could occur (being held against will), which does not exclude an experience of sexual violence or human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

46 These assumptions may be due to the existing datasets on human trafficking that are often cited, which contain a higher proportion of women victims of human trafficking (EPRS, 2016; UN Human Rights Council, 2015). Nevertheless, the existing datasets are based only on identified victims who might suffer from an identification bias, resulting in imperfect generalizations about the gender breakdown of the entire population of identified and unidentified victims of human trafficking.

47 See Chapter 2 (Methodology) for the choice of the indicators.

The indicators selected in the original surveys to measure exploitative practices and human trafficking can partially explain the finding. While the indicator related to marriage can be considered more relevant to the experiences of women, the survey does not include questions about experiences that are thought to affect women more than men, such as sexual violence or trafficking for sexual exploitation. Nevertheless, the survey also gathered evidence about the means through which a potential human trafficking experience occurred (being held against will), which does not exclude an experience of sexual violence or human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

In addition, women in the sample tend to have attributes that are correlated with fewer positive responses. For example, travelling alone and for longer periods is associated with a higher percentage of positive responses to human trafficking and exploitation, while migrants who travel with family or for shorter time report experiences detailed by the survey's questions less frequently. Men in the sample are more than twice as likely to migrate alone and without family members than women (21% of women and 45% of men). Female respondents also undertake shorter journeys on average than male respondents. Women are more than twice as likely as men to report being married (61% of them versus 29% of men), with respondents who say that they are married also reporting fewer exploitative incidents in transit. When age, education, civil status, level of conflict in country of departure, mode and duration of travel, engagement in secondary movement, and migration route are controlled for, there still remains a significant difference in predicted probabilities of positive responses between men and women. Therefore, this gap in predicted vulnerability between men and women in the sample is not exclusively due to the difference in other observed explanatory variables.

2. **Characteristics of the journey and vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation**

The route taken and the characteristics of the journey are more important than the sociodemographic background of the migrant.

Long journeys put migrants at risk of becoming victims of abuse, exploitation and human trafficking, with longer journey times being associated with a higher predicted probability that the migrant might have an experience indicating trafficking and exploitation. While the analysis does not allow for a strong causal interpretation of this finding (migrants with longer journeys may be different from migrants who have shorter journeys on unobserved variables), it withstands extensive statistical control for the most important observed variables included in the analysis. This is in line with other research related to the risks that migrants face when they spend a long time on their journey (Cherti and Grant, 2013; Taran et al., 2016; EC, 2017). Migrants surveyed along the Eastern Mediterranean route have an average journey length of around 62 days, with more than half of the migrants in the subsample travelling for less than one month. Migrants on the Central Mediterranean route tend to have longer journeys instead, with half of them travelling for more than six months and an average journey length of 153 days.

Long journeys are typically undertaken when regular options to migrate are not available or they are caused by the lack of sufficient resources to continue travelling. Migrants are often forced to stop at transit locations, waiting for money from their families in their countries of origin or elsewhere, or looking for some form of work to pay for their onward travel.

Migrants moving along the two migration routes end up hiding, making use of smugglers to arrive irregularly in Europe. There is a wide recognition of the blurred lines between smuggling networks and human trafficking (Carling, Gallagher and Horwood, 2015; McAuliffe and Laczko, 2016): some migration hubs in Niger or Libya, for example, are known to be dangerous due to traffickers operating in these areas (Altai and IOM, 2015). Furthermore, IOM frontline workers report that while some migrants are able to rely on one single smuggler that organizes the full journey towards Europe, in most cases migrants need to bargain with multiple smugglers at each leg of the journey, each time placing them in a position of vulnerability.

Migrants' agency plays out under specific structural conditions (of a given set of initial social, economic and political resources), through interaction with a number of intermediate factors, which include other social actors with whom to interact throughout the journey like: co-nationals and family networks at origin, transit or destination countries; smugglers; border guards and authorities of multiple locations; international organizations; NGOs; and civil society. Migrants' agency is hampered by increasingly restrictive measures of migration control, which might make them more vulnerable to different kinds and levels of abuses by both official and non-official authorities and more prone to discretionary power exercised by smuggling and trafficking networks at different transit locations. The analysis for the purposes of this report did not include a range of other interactions and macrostructural-level indicators. However, it is desirable that future statistical models on vulnerability to human trafficking include them.

3. **Vulnerability to exploitation in crisis contexts**

The presence of conflict in the country of departure plays a role in migrants' vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation. If the country of departure is affected by conflict, as defined according the to the UCDP/Prio classification, the probability that migrants respond positively to the trafficking indicators is higher. Also, migrants who mentioned the presence of conflict, political reasons or natural disasters as the main reason for moving from their countries of origin show a higher probability to respond positively to the trafficking indicators than migrants who moved for other reasons. Additionally, findings show that Libya as a transit country, as an initial destination or as a country of departure makes the journey very risky for all migrants.

The vulnerability of people who claimed to be forced to migrate due to natural disasters, conflict or political reasons can be readily explained by a wide range of factors. The urgency and suddenness of departure, for example, can mean that migrants move without appropriate resources, without taking the appropriate safeguards, and that they are forced to move at any cost, negotiating unattractive or dangerous escape options from a weak bargaining position. Vulnerability is also heightened for migrants coming from, or transiting though, crisis-affected communities or countries, because of limited access to legal protections, safety nets, social networks and other support systems, and impunity for criminal networks.

On the other hand, the relationship within the survey data between departing from a situation of conflict and migrant vulnerability is not necessarily a linear one. While migrants who departed from a country with a high level of conflict are more vulnerable than migrants who departed from a country with a low level of conflict, they are slightly less likely to experience one of the indicators in comparison with migrants from a country with a medium level of conflict. A potential explanation could be that migrants who left from a country with a high level of conflict (such as the Syrian Arab Republic) benefit from more protection on the route because they are recognized as entitled to international refugee protection.

As mentioned above, results for the total sample show that migrants who left due to conflict, political reasons or natural disasters are more vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation than migrants who left because of other reasons. However, this effect is less pronounced on the Central Mediterranean route.[48] This is likely due to the fact that the risks and dangers of the journey on the Central route are more severe to the extent that many more migrants can become vulnerable on the journey, regardless of circumstances surrounding their departure and place of origin. Indeed, more than 90 per cent of arrivals on the Central Mediterranean route departed from the coasts of **Libya**, which is the country with the highest number of incidents[49] of human trafficking and exploitation reported by all respondents (79% of the total). The risks associated with transit through Libya are significant and the high percentage of positive responses by migrants passing through the country is unsurprising. Libya as the last country on the route before arrival to Europe is reported as the location where a large number of migrants from across Western, Central and Eastern Africa and from South Asia are held and exploited. Widespread violence and abuses against migrants (especially sub-Saharans) are well documented by reports from a wide range of organizations and journalistic investigations (OHCHR, 2016; Amnesty International, 2016; HRW, 2016; MSF, 2016), including the IOM Italy Aware Migrants campaign.[50] A recent research on interviews with migrants who arrived in Italy shows that 97 per cent have experienced or witnessed at least one type of abuse, which ranges from racism to forced labour or sexual abuse, with most experiences reported to have happened in Libya (MHub, 2015a).

Table 4: 10 countries with highest percentage of reported incidents, by route (%)

	Central Med		Eastern Med
Libya	94.2	Turkey	54.9
Algeria	2.4	Bulgaria	16.3
Sudan	0.9	Islamic Republic of Iran	11.1
Niger	0.5	Greece	10.5
Bangladesh	0.4	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	2.3
Egypt	0.4	Pakistan	1.3
Mali	0.2	Albania	0.5
Nigeria	0.2	Afghanistan	0.5
Burkina Faso	0.1	Serbia	0.4
Senegal	0.1	Hungary	0.3
Other	0.5	Other	2.0

Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

Note: These percentages are calculated from the total number of incidents reported responding to the five questions on human trafficking and other exploitative practices analysed in this report.

48 When departure from a country where there is a medium intensity of armed conflict and the intensity of conflict is controlled for, individuals appear more vulnerable to exploitation on the Eastern Mediterranean route. On the Central route, the opposite is the case. On this route, in 22 per cent of cases, Libya is the country of departure, and together with Nigeria, Eritrea and Sudan, it is a departure country for over 50 per cent. When departure from a country where there is an armed conflict of medium intensity, conflict can predict more vulnerability to exploitation. The country of origin–country of departure overlap is not that large for the Central route, which shows that leaving from a country that is not that of nationality but which is in conflict predicts vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation during the journey.

49 These incidents might be related to any of the five human trafficking and exploitation indicators in the survey. Some migrants reported multiple incidents and indicated the country in which each happened.

50 See: www.awaremigrants.org/

The difference between the positive responses of migrants travelling along the Central and Eastern Mediterranean routes is very large: 59 percentage points. Holding other factors constant, migrants taking the Central route are more vulnerable to exploitation and human trafficking than migrants on the Eastern route. As Table 4 shows, estimating the effect on vulnerability of taking the Central rather than the Eastern route is similar to estimating the difference travelling through Libya and as opposed to Turkey.[51]

The differences between the testimonies of migrants on the two routes point to the **grave dangers of transiting through crisis-affected areas**. Migrants who travel through countries characterized by high levels of lawlessness and violence – where political upheavals, economic downturns or disasters have shaken the foundations of State institutions – face especially high risks of exploitation and abuse. In such contexts, law enforcement authorities may be unable to uphold law and order, and corrupt officers may be involved in smuggling operations, accepting bribes or detaining migrants until their families pay to have them released. Some parts of a country's territory may be out of the government's control, subject to armed groups or embroiled in conflict. Such contexts provide ideal conditions for human traffickers.

The findings related to nationality and vulnerability on the separate migration routes complement these results: controlling for all other factors, Afghans are predicted to be most vulnerable on the Eastern route, and they come from a country that is either considered in conflict (crisis) or where violence is widespread. On the Central route, migrants from the Gambia and Guinea are predicted to have the highest vulnerability, but while they are not coming from a country considered in conflict, most depart from Libya after having spent more than one year there.

More data at the national and subnational levels on the situation in terms of conflict and average socioeconomic conditions of the population, and also a more complex account of the multiple reasons for migration at the individual and household levels, would be useful in improving the statistical model adopted this report, in order to have more conclusive findings.

51 As presented in Chapter 2, the profiles of migrants on the two routes are different: on the Central route, the migrants are younger, they travel alone more often and there are more children travelling without family members among them, in comparison with migrants on the Eastern route. Moreover, the main national groups differ; in the Eastern Mediterranean subsample, there is a large number of Afghans and Pakistanis while in Central Mediterranean subsample there are many Nigerians, Gambians and Eritreans. Nevertheless, the regression model shows that differences in these individual characteristics are not large enough to explain the whole gap in vulnerability.

Nigerien at at the IOM Transit Centre in Agadez. © IOM 2016

5. Policy implications

There are several implications of the survey analysis and the discussion of the results in previous chapters that are relevant for policymaking and the delivery of services.

1. **Early identification and protection during the migration journey should not be prejudiced by assumptions that certain categories of individuals are always more vulnerable than others. All types of migrants may find themselves in a vulnerable situation and can have protection needs that must be addressed.**

   The journey itself can represent a risk for migrants and can be more important in predicting their vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation than their demographic profile or the circumstances in their places of origin or departure.

   Early identification of migrants who are vulnerable to exploitation during their passage could contribute to a better protection response for migrants in vulnerable situations. In order to achieve this it is important to increase governments' and civil society's capacity to identify and assist migrants in vulnerable situations, based on individual vulnerability assessments. Efforts should target high-risk locations like border crossing points, transit centres, disembarkation and landing points, as well as sectors and industries where the risk of trafficking or exploitation is high and where effective responses are urgently required, such as domestic work, construction, manufacturing and agriculture/fishing.

2. **The design of programmatic interventions and the pro-active identification of vulnerability to human trafficking on the route should be gender-sensitive, and pay particular attention to the different risks that men, boys, women, girls may face during their journey, as well as to the different types of exploitation they may be subject to.** Protective services must be age- and gender-sensitive and respond to the different protection needs that men, women, boys and girls may have as a result of their experience.

   The report's findings show a range of risk and protective factors associated with the migration journey and the socioeconomic background of migrants that may predict vulnerability and demonstrate that men and boys are disproportionately vulnerable to certain types of human trafficking and exploitation during their journey.

3. **Outreach to migrants and potential migrants should be reinforced.** Effective, evidence-based information and communication strategies should be adopted to inform migrants and potential migrants about the risks they may face en route, means of self-protection, available assistance on the journey, and safer migration avenues. Information strategies should make use of multiple communication channels, including social media. These activities should be regularly monitored and evaluated to ensure their relevance and impact.

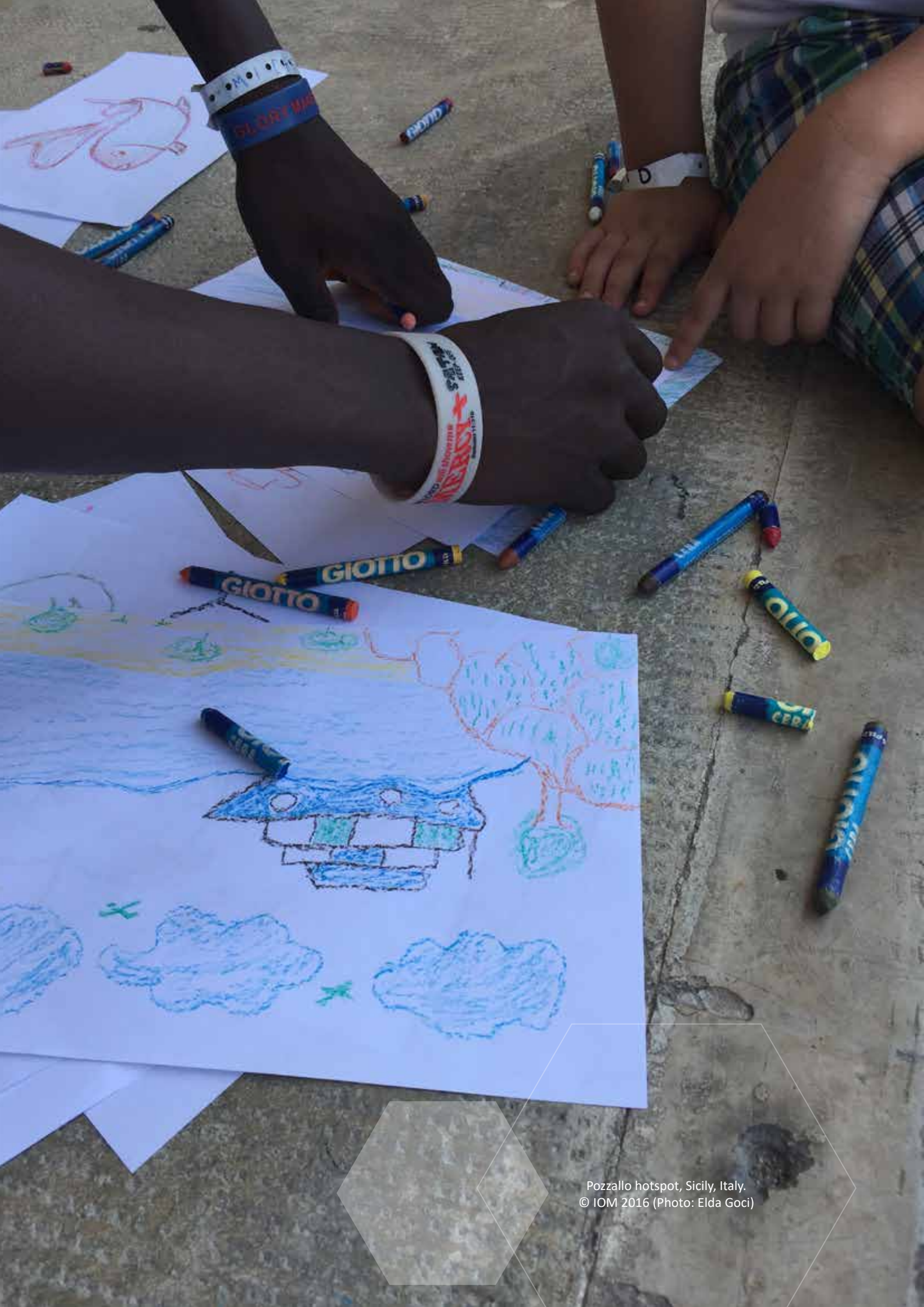
4. **Greater efforts are needed to strengthen legislative frameworks, including anti-trafficking legislation, as well as to support their effective implementation.** This requires working with law enforcement agencies, including border guards. Countries along the migration routes should ensure that the national legislative framework criminalizes human trafficking and related phenomena, such as forced labour and forced marriage, and includes protection mechanisms in a manner that upholds basic principles of non-discrimination and the primacy of human rights.

5. **Data collection and analysis must be expanded to inform evidence-based advocacy, policymaking and programming.** Data collection and analysis should be rigorously and continuously undertaken to provide systematic evidence on the specific experiences and vulnerabilities to human trafficking and exploitation of boys, girls, men, and women during the migration journey and the factors at the country and community levels that impact or predict vulnerability, as well as those that protect them from harm. Better data are also necessary to support the monitoring and evaluation of responses.

6. **Counter-trafficking responses should be incorporated in preparedness and humanitarian relief operations to better prevent and protect crisis-affected communities from human trafficking and exploitation.** Counter-trafficking activities should be undertaken from the onset of a crisis, be it a conflict or natural disaster. This includes the deployment of counter-trafficking experts and improving coordination within the humanitarian system and between the humanitarian system, law enforcement, border agencies and existing protection systems. This report shows that the level of armed conflict in a country of departure and migration that is reportedly driven by war, conflict, security or political reasons can predict vulnerability to human trafficking and exploitation. The link between situations of crisis and migrant exploitation and human trafficking should be acknowledged and further researched.

7. **Safe and regular migration channels, including resettlement, humanitarian admissions, family reunification, and labour migration schemes, should be leveraged and expanded.** Among those who arrived in Europe by sea in the past years, a great many have the right to international protection and non-refoulement by meeting the criteria defined by the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees or subsidiary protection defined by EU law. For many of these people, factors pushing them to migrate are so compelling that they have no option but to engage unscrupulous smugglers and risk life-threatening journeys. Strengthened regional and international cooperation to provide safe and regular migration channels will reduce the demand for smugglers and prevent violence, abuse, and exploitation.

   It is important that new arrivals with the right to stay in the EU are able to avail themselves of their right to family life under EU law. This would reduce the number of people having to risk their lives to re-join their loved ones. More than 17 per cent of the migrants from the sample already had at least one immediate family member in the European country of destination and many of these family members would likely have had the right to have their families join them in the EU. Almost half of those with an immediate family member in the country of destination are Syrian nationals, for example.



Pozzallo hotspot, Sicily, Italy.
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Lampedusa hotspot, Sicily, Italy.
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Appendix 1: Definitions

1.1. Definitions of terms relevant to the survey and to the regression models

Term	Definition
Country of departure	The last country of habitual residence of the migrant or a country in which he/she spent more than one year before leaving towards Europe. This country can be the same as the respondent's country of origin, or another country. In most of the sample (and particularly on the Eastern Mediterranean route), the country of origin and the country of departure overlap.
Country of origin	The country of nationality of the survey respondent. This information is self-reported and IOM data collectors did not verify any official documents
Family member	A person married to a migrant or a national, or having with them a relationship that, according to applicable law, produces effects equivalent to marriage, as well as his/her dependent children or other dependent persons who are recognized as members of the family by applicable legislation or applicable bilateral or multilateral agreements between the States concerned, including when they are not nationals of the State. *Source*: Adapted from Article 4 of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, 1990 (UN, 1990).
Migrant	A person who is not a national of the country of survey implementation, regardless of the reasons for moving. Refugees, asylum seekers and persons who entered the country in search of economic or study opportunities are included. *Note*: This definition is used for the purpose of the Flow Monitoring Survey in the Mediterranean in 2015–2016. It deviates from the official IOM definition, which considers a migrant any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of: (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is.
Protection	All activities aimed at obtaining full respect for the rights of the individual in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the relevant bodies of law, namely human rights law, international humanitarian law and refuges law. *Source*: Handbook for the Protection of Internally Displaced Persons (Global Protection Cluster (GPC), 2010).
Secondary migration	The movement of a migrant from his/her first country of destination to another country, other than the country in which he/she originally resided and other than the person's country of nationality.

Term	Definition
Stranded migrant	A migrant who is unable or unwilling to return to his/her country of origin, cannot regularize his/her status in the country where he/she resides and does not have access to legal migration opportunities that would enable him/her to move on to another State. The term may also refer to a migrant who is stranded because of humanitarian or security reasons both in the country of destination and in his/her home country, preventing him/her to return home while he/she is also unable to go elsewhere. *Source*: Adapted from the background paper of the Global Migration Group (UNHCR and GMG, 2010). *Note*: In the absence of an international definition of "stranded migrant", some authors consider that the term can apply to nearly every group of migrants, with the only commonality being that they cannot move out of the situation in which they find themselves.
Transit	A stopover of passage of varying length while travelling between two or more States.
Unaccompanied children	Children, as defined in Article 1 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, who have been separated from both parents and other relatives and are not being cared for by an adult who, by law or custom, is responsible for doing so. *Source*: Adapted from the General Comment No. 6: Treatment of Unaccompanied and Separated Children Outside Their Country of Origin (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC), 2005, p. 6). *Note*: In the context of migration, children separated from both parents and other caregivers are generally referred to as unaccompanied and separated children.

Note: IOM regularly updates its official glossary to keep it updated, aiming at creating a common understanding of migration trends. A new version of the glossary will be released soon. For more, please consult: www.iom.int/key-migration-terms

Appendix 2: Survey implementation

2.1. Ethical principles in the implementation of the Flow Monitoring Survey

- **Consent**
  - All operations during the fieldwork ensure the voluntary participation of all respondents to the survey, free from external pressure and based on a proper understanding of the research project and purposes. Respondents were informed (including by signing a written form in a language they understand) of the aim of the interview and of the study, and were granted anonymity and confidentiality. The consent to participate was the precondition for starting the interview: interviewees could interrupt it at any time or could avoid answering one or more questions.
  - Interviews with children – aged between 14 and 17 years – were conducted after obtaining permission from either the parents or in cases of unaccompanied children, the legal guardians or the manager of the reception facility whenever possible. The best interest of the child was taken into account during the interview process, as well as their level of maturity.
- **Confidentiality**
  - All interviewees met in the countries of focus were allowed confidentiality of information, privacy and anonymity: no names, family members' names or addresses were collected. Migrants were interviewed in a separate/private area in order to ensure privacy wherever this was possible. Especially at organized entry and transit points, data collection was undertaken only after the initial administrative procedures for identification and registration of arrivals was completed by the relevant authorities.
  - Interviews were conducted one-to-one by DTM data collectors, sometimes with the support of an intercultural mediator/translator. While anonymity of respondents has always been a pre-requisite for conducting an interview, given the possible limits of camps' and centres' conditions, the setting was as private as possible. In some cases, migrants offered to help as translators for a friend or a relative, in others some felt more comfortable being interviewed with a friend or relative aside.
- **Do not harm**
  - Data collectors refrained from approaching migrants when by going ahead they could potentially cause harm to the interviewee. Moreover, in all cases migrants requested, data collectors provided information/referral to existing assistance mechanisms either directly or through IOM specialized teams (mobile, psychosocial, legal, orientation, counter-trafficking). This is essential in dealing/ with migrants in a vulnerable situation – and in particular in the case of traumatized and abused individuals. No photos or video recordings were taken.

- **Objectivity**
  - The study should be impartial, independent and credible. In order to check for the validity of the collected information, details such as ages, locations and times of events were asked through the survey in a way that was meant to help migrants recall facts in an orderly way. Furthermore, to provide the data collectors and the data analysts with checks on inaccuracies or inconsistencies, the questionnaire involved some repetition or clarification in different stages of the interview. Nevertheless, it was not possible to check testimonies against independent sources.
  - The provisional draft of this report was checked with IOM staff in the field of each relevant Country Office, and experts on trafficking and protection within the Organization.

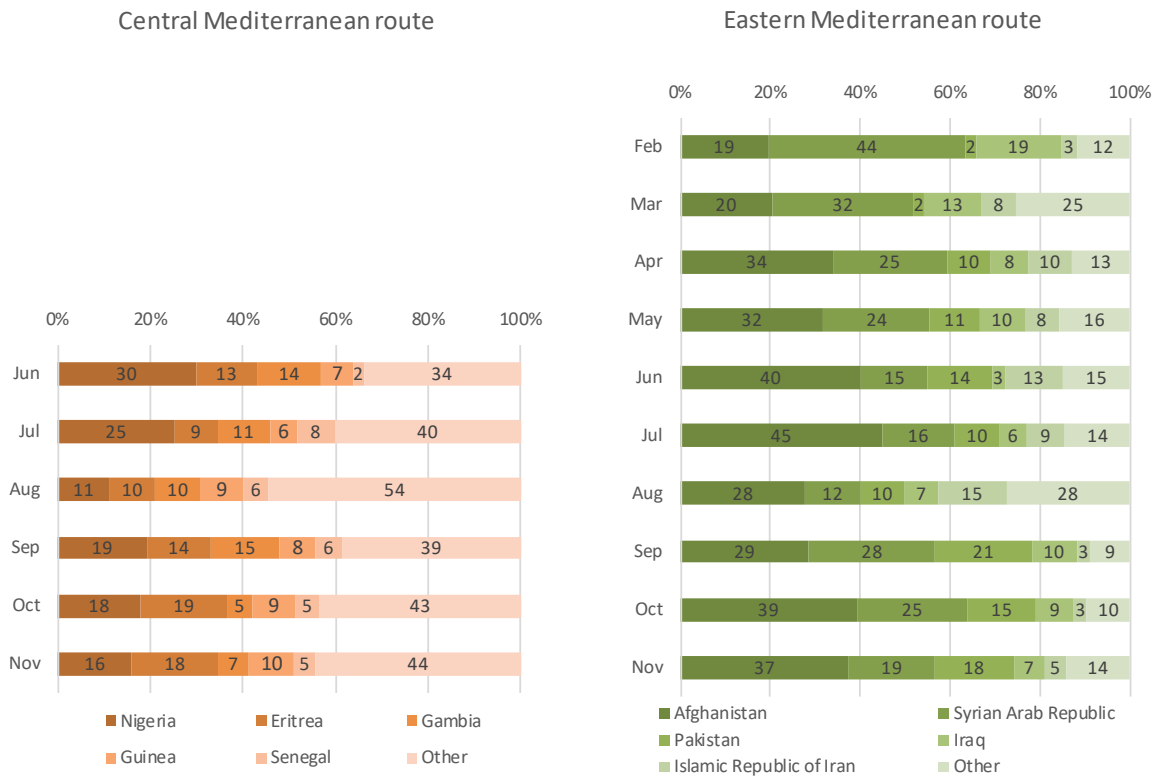
Appendix 3: Description of the sample

Table 5 describes the fieldwork presenting the number of interviews carried out in each of the country where the DTM Flow Monitoring Survey was implemented and used for the analysis in this report.

Table 5: Number of interviews, by country and route

Country	Central	Eastern	Total
Bulgaria		1,947	1,947
Greece		4,036	4,036
Hungary		889	889
Italy	6,485		6,485
Serbia		494	494
Slovenia		86	86
The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia		2,587	2,587
Total	**6,485**	**10,039**	**16,524**

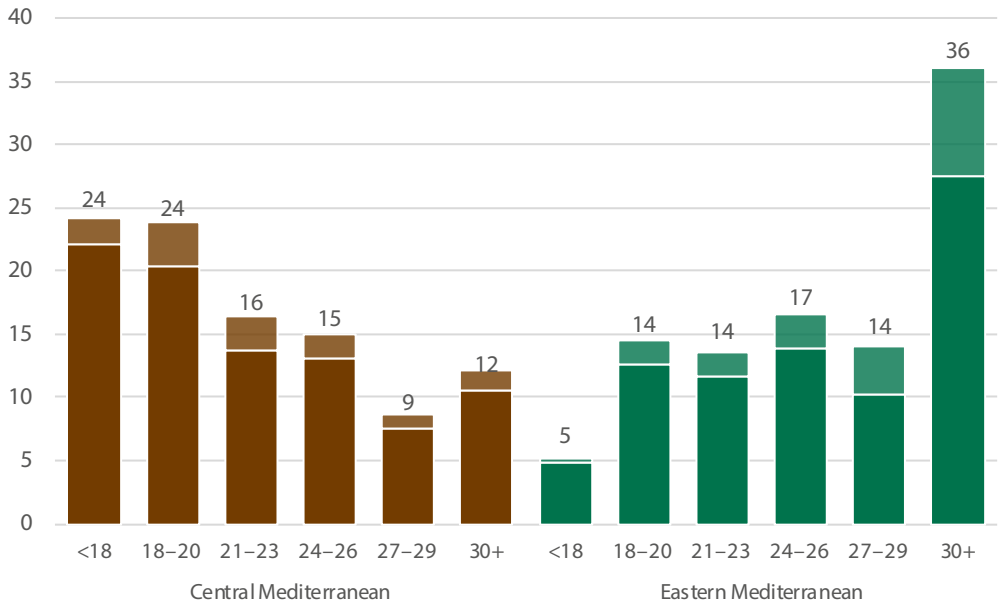
Figure 22: Share of respondents, top 5 nationalities and other, by interview month and route



Source: IOM DTM Flow Monitoring Surveys, December 2015–November 2016.

Note: No surveys were conducted in January 2016 and very few interviews were done in December 2015. These two months are excluded from the graphs.

Figure 23: Sample composition, by sex, age and route (%)



Note: Lighter colours are for female migrants.

Figure 24: Civil status by route (%)

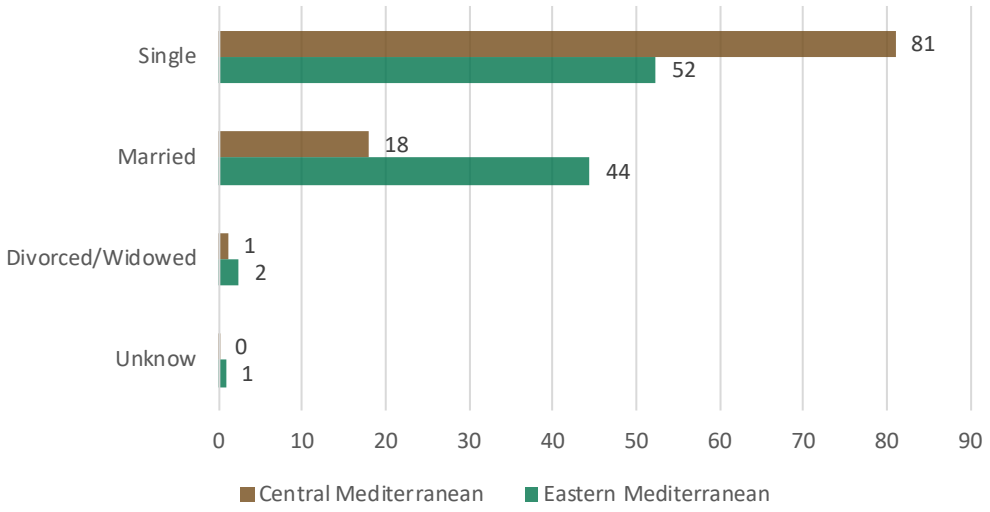


Figure 25: Education level, by route (%)

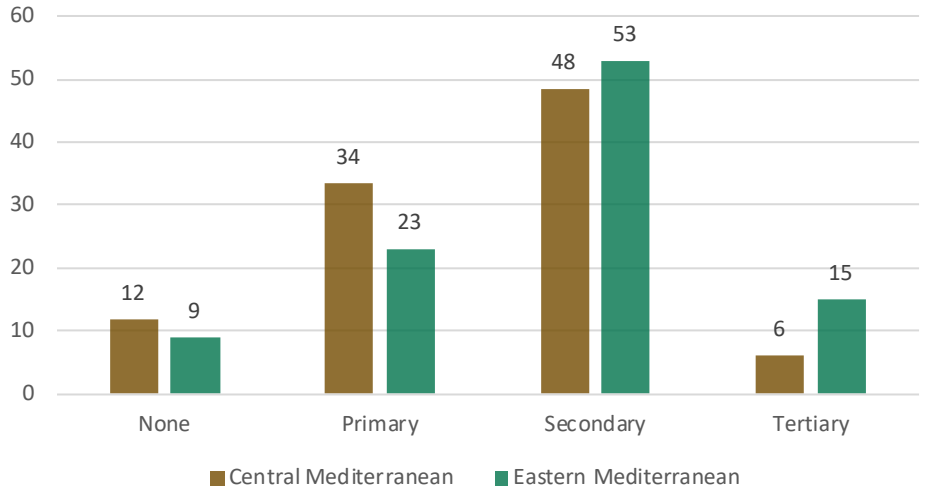


Figure 26: Days spent in transit, by route (%)

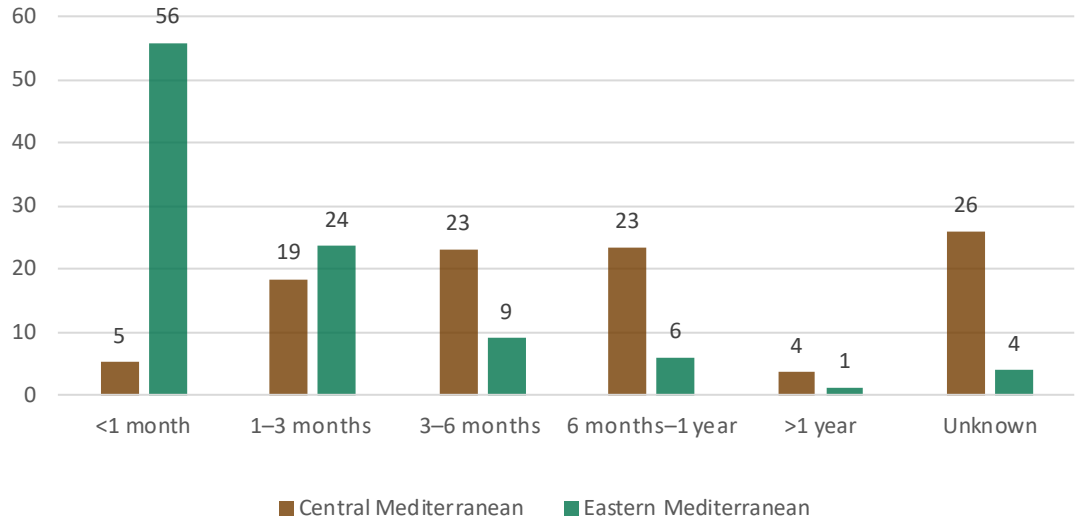


Figure 27: Estimated cost of the journey, from departure to the place of interview, by route (%)

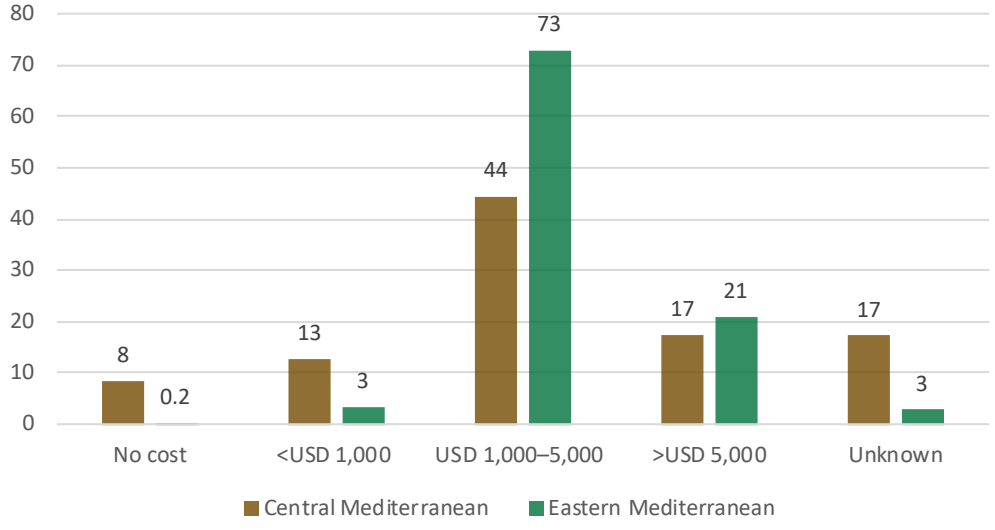


Figure 28: Reasons for leaving, by route (%)

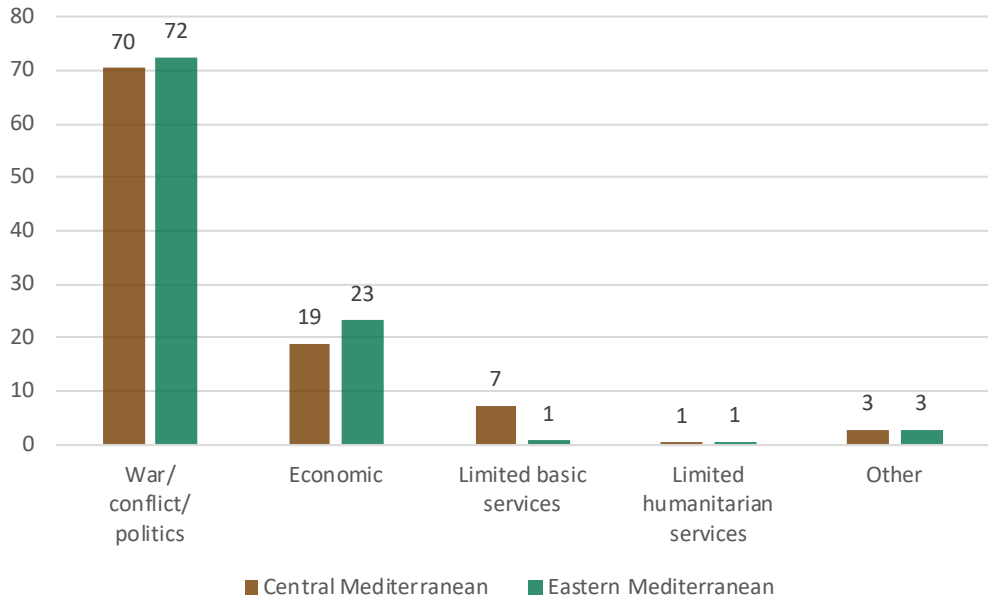
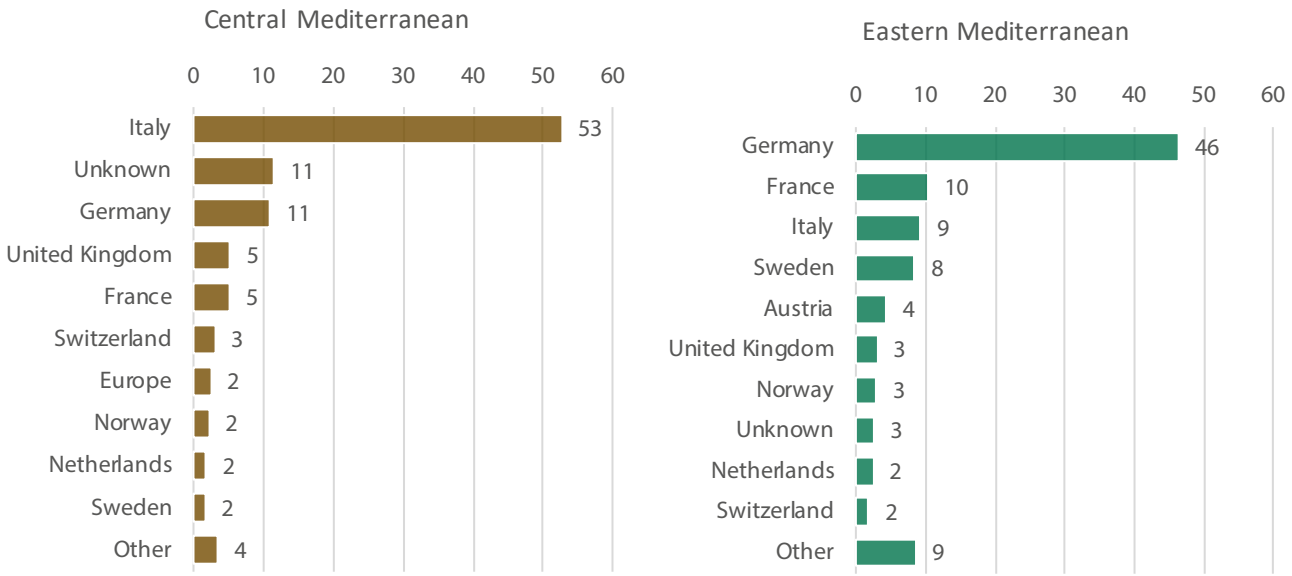


Figure 29: Intended destination at the time of the interview, by route (%)



Appendix 4: Technical note on regression models

Table 6 lists all the variables included in regressions. Table 7 reports the estimation results (odd ratios) for the model run on the Central Mediterranean subsample, on the Eastern Mediterranean route and on the whole sample. It shows the odds ratios for the estimated fixed effects and the estimated variance components, nested within each country of origin cluster. Table 8 presents the estimation results for a multilevel logistic regression run on the subsample of children travelling without family only.

Table 6: List of variables included in the logistic regression models

	Variables	Type
Outcome variables	HT tot: Positive response to at least 1 indicator out of 5 HT1 – unpaid work: Positive response to having worked or performed activities without getting the payment they expected; HT2 – forced work: Positive response to having been forced to perform work or activities against one's will; HT3 – employment offer: Positive response to having been approached by someone offering employment; HT4 – arranged marriage: Positive response to having been seen approached by someone with offers of an arranged marriage; HT5 – kept against will: Positive response to having been kept at a certain location against their will.	0=No 1=Yes (dummy)
Predictors/ Covariates	Sex	Male/Female
	Age classes	• 14–17 years • 18–20 years • 21–23 years • 24–26 years • 27–29 years • 30+
	Education level	• None • Primary • Secondary • Tertiary
	Civil Status	• Single • Married • Divorced/Widowed • No answer provided
	Travel mode	• Alone • With family member(s) • With non-family member(s)
	Cost of the journey	• No cost • <USD 1,000 • USD 1,000–5,000 • >USD 5,000 • Does not know

	Variables	Type
Predictors/ Covariates	Length of the journey/days spent in transit	• <1 month • 1–3 months • 3–6 months • 6 months–1 year • More than 1 year • Unknown
	Secondary migration: Departure country is different from origin country	0 = No 1 = Yes (Dummy)
	Moving from country of origin because of conflict: reason for leaving is war/conflict/political reason or natural disaster.	0 = No 1 = Yes (Dummy)
	Departure from a country in conflict: actual intensity of violence according to the UCDP/Prio definition of armed conflicts and related casualties in 2015.	• 0= 0 to Low • 1= Medium • 2= High
	Family at destination: at least 1 first-line relative in the intended destination country	0 = No 1 = Yes (Dummy)
	Route	1 = Central Mediterranean 2 = Eastern Mediterranean (Dummy)
Cluster variable	Country of origin/nationality	Categorical

Table 7: Multilevel logistic regressions – estimated odd ratios, total by and route

Variable	Mediterranean (1)	Central (2)	Eastern (3)
Female (baseline: male)	0.505***	0.422***	0.689***
	(0.0374)	(0.0436)	(0.0758)
Age (baseline: <18)			
18–20 years	1.048	1.006	1.084
	(0.0862)	(0.109)	(0.152)
21–23 years	1.179*	1.253*	1.150
	(0.103)	(0.151)	(0.165)
24–26 years	1.059	1.273*	0.905
	(0.0951)	(0.163)	(0.133)
27–29 years	0.994	1.171	0.861
	(0.103)	(0.178)	(0.141)
30+ years	0.977	1.127	0.877
	(0.0978)	(0.168)	(0.137)
Civil status (baseline: single)			
Married	0.956	0.912	1.024
	(0.0686)	(0.0991)	(0.104)
Divorced/Widowed	1.357*	1.170	1.562**
	(0.249)	(0.385)	(0.352)
No answer	2.568***	0.637	2.489***
	(0.730)	(0.828)	(0.717)

Variable	Mediterranean (1)	Central (2)	Eastern (3)
Education (baseline: secondary)			
None	1.223***	1.088	1.322***
	(0.0944)	(0.132)	(0.141)
Primary	1.439***	1.229**	1.669***
	(0.0790)	(0.101)	(0.131)
Tertiary	1.175**	0.833	1.513***
	(0.0961)	(0.122)	(0.151)
Travel mode (baseline: alone)			
With family	0.595***	0.777**	0.413***
	(0.0416)	(0.0945)	(0.0381)
With non-family	0.619***	1.029	0.413***
	(0.0372)	(0.103)	(0.0346)
Secondary migration (Yes)	1.273***	1.318**	1.081
	(0.105)	(0.170)	(0.210)
Time spent in transit (baseline: less than 1 month)			
1–3 months	1.410***	3.816***	1.232**
	(0.0986)	(0.595)	(0.101)
3–6 months	2.961***	9.924***	1.920***
	(0.227)	(1.579)	(0.200)
6 months–1 year	4.194***	15.85***	2.341***
	(0.343)	(2.641)	(0.276)
More than 1 year	4.801***	10.86***	4.821***
	(0.685)	(2.527)	(0.993)
Unknown	3.239***	8.342***	2.148***
	(0.349)	(2.046)	(0.289)
Cost of the journey (baseline: no cost)			
<USD 1,000	1.271	0.998	0.565
	(0.192)	(0.170)	(0.342)
USD 1,000–5,000	0.929	0.925	0.308**
	(0.124)	(0.138)	(0.182)
>USD 5,000	1.387**	1.845***	0.454
	(0.198)	(0.328)	(0.268)
Unknown	1.130	1.267	0.267**
	(0.160)	(0.200)	(0.164)
First-line family member at destination (Yes)	0.819***	1.086	0.704***
	(0.0621)	(0.154)	(0.0669)
Intended destination unknown (Yes)	1.034	1.405***	0.529***
	(0.0936)	(0.168)	(0.103)
Departure from country in conflict (baseline: low crisis)			
Medium level	1.904***	2.509***	1.291
	(0.238)	(0.578)	(0.224)
High level	1.161*	1.058	0.962
	(0.104)	(0.152)	(0.202)
Eastern route (baseline: central route)	0.358***		
	(0.0346)		
Var (Country of origin)	8.584***	34.46***	3.218***
	(4.630)	(34.50)	(1.420)

Variable	Mediterranean (1)	Central (2)	Eastern (3)
Constant	0.438***	0.163***	0.477
	(0.128)	(0.0669)	(0.313)
Observations	16,524	6,485	10,039
Number of groups	41	33	29
Country level	YES	YES	YES

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses, ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1

Table 8: Multilevel logistic regressions – estimated odd ratios, children travelling without family

Variable	Children travelling alone (4)
Female (baseline: male)	0.327***
	(0.0903)
Age (baseline: 14–15 years)	
16 years	1.114
	(0.299)
17 years	1.974***
	(0.499)
Education (baseline: secondary)	
None	2.878***
	(0.837)
Primary	1.496**
	(0.241)
Travelling with non-family (baseline: alone)	0.461***
	(0.0757)
Secondary migration (Yes)	1.477
	(0.446)
Time spent in transit (baseline: less than 1 month)	
1–3 months	2.007**
	(0.544)
3–6 months	3.713***
	(1.040)
6 months–1 year	5.149***
	(1.494)
More than 1 year	6.909***
	(3.005)
Unknown	6.815***
	(2.764)
Cost of the journey (baseline: no cost)	
<USD 1,000	0.702
	(0.300)

Variable	Children travelling alone (4)
USD 1,000–5,000	1.062
	(0.397)
>USD 5,000	1.831
	(0.758)
Unknown	1.283
	(0.499)
Family member at destination (Yes)	0.583***
	(0.110)
Intended destination unknown (Yes)	1.458
	(0.416)
Moving from country of origin due to conflict (Yes)	1.581**
	(0.302)
Departure from country in conflict (baseline: low crisis)	
Medium level	1.020
	(0.421)
High level	0.344***
	(0.135)
Eastern route (baseline: central route)	0.142***
	(0.0762)
Var (Country of origin)	21.17***
	(24.54)
Constant	0.443
	(0.294)
Observations	1,795
Number of groups	21
Country level	YES

Notes: Standard error in parentheses, ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.1

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