

WHAT DO WE KNOW AND HOW WE TELL IT

# DATA CULTURE IN HUMAN TRAFFICKING



**INSTITUTO  
UNIVERSITARIO  
DE ESTUDIOS  
SOBRE MIGRACIONES**



**unicef**   
para cada infancia

What do we know and how we tell it: data culture in human trafficking

© 2022 Universidad Pontificia Comillas

© 2022 The Authors

María José Castaño Reyero (Main Researcher), Clara I. Barrio Lema, Isabel Díez Velasco, Gizela Maffeis Pacheco and Almudena Olaguibel Echevarría-Torres

With the collaboration of María Teresa Pallarés Ramos

Design and layout: Seteseoito diseño gráfico

Printing: Cimapress

DOI: 10.14422/iuem.20220214

Report based on the Technical Research Report *Cultura de datos en la trata de seres humanos*.

WHAT DO WE KNOW AND HOW WE TELL IT:  
DATA CULTURE IN HUMAN TRAFFICKING

# Table of contents

Foreword	5
Introduction	7
Beyond individuals in the role of criminals harming innocent people	10
1.1. Not only human trafficking for sexual exploitation...	12
1.2. Not just organised crime...	18
1.3. A complex reality: correlation is not the same as causation	22
Data Culture and Human Trafficking	27
2.1. "Words serve the intention"	29
2.2. Beyond the tip of the iceberg: estimating the dark figure of trafficking victims	31
2.2.1. Where do we start from and where have we reached?	33
2.2.2. What is the dark figure of trafficking victims?	34
2.2.3. Statistics: an opportunity to find out the actual dimensions of the iceberg	36
2.3. Technological innovation for access to rights	37
2.4. Building ecosystems of protection and good treatment	39
Conclusion	44
Bibliography	49

## FOREWORD

Data and definitions are used to tell a story, define a prospect, and target actions. In the case of human trafficking, neither the official data nor the words that accompany them allow us to tell the whole story.

The difficulty in the identification and detection is common to all types of victims, exploited in various ways: the agricultural sector, domestic work, begging, or sexual exploitation. The distinct professional cultures and various objectives in the fight against trafficking and the care of its victims do not facilitate a homogeneous language between the actors.

Following the maxim that to improve something you must first measure it, in 2017 UNICEF wanted to reflect on the low visibility of children when considering policies and resources to combat trafficking and attention towards its victims. The low representation of boys and girls in official statistics contrasted with the news in the various media and the testimony of those who intervened with the victims. The Committee on the Rights of the Child itself had on several occasions recommended to Spain to improve its collection of data on childhood, especially children in vulnerable situations, and to ensure that these data were used for the formulation and monitoring of policies, programs, and plans.

Thus, after a process of research and interviews with the main agents, together with the University Institute for Migration Studies (IUEM) at the Comillas Pontifical University, we published the report *They are boys and girls, they are victims. The situation of child victims of trafficking in Spain*, where we advocated a focus on childhood when dealing with this issue, and an improvement in the identification and data recording.

Many challenges remain; among them, the way to obtain the necessary data to guide actions, and the difficulties that victims encounter in accessing their rights.

For this reason, this time we decided to undertake, along with the IUEM, a process to improve the culture of traffic data in our country. And not only to count but also to unify criteria and definitions, analyse trends and offer tools that can be shared and used by the different agents involved.

It is necessary to think about new ways of dealing with old problems and we have technology on our side. Technology, which so much facilitates the capture of victims and has brought new ways of exploiting them, can also be used for better registration and monitoring of exploitation cases, and for victims to have greater access to their rights.

The report that here we present reflects a work process of more than two years, enriched by the contributions of authorities, university students, experts from academia, public administrations, and entities that care for vulnerable groups. We hope that this prologue will serve as an acknowledgment and recognition of your contribution and your generous openness to this path.

JOSÉ MARÍA VERA

Director of Unicef Spanish Committee

## INTRODUCTION

“COUNTING DOESN'T ONLY MEAN KEEPING THE ACCOUNT”<sup>1</sup>

The compilation and analysis of official data related to the identification of victims by the administrative authorities that regularly publish information on human trafficking — specifically the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Public Prosecutor's Office — show that most of the victims detected are women in situations of sexual exploitation in contexts of prostitution and men recruited to be exploited in the agricultural sector. There are hardly any children, even though, as indicated by the Prosecutor's Office, people in trafficking processes are in most cases in situations of extreme vulnerability: “extreme poverty, poor training, will migrate in conditions of irregularity”<sup>2</sup>.

According to the Home Affairs Ministry, the number of human trafficking victims identified in Spain during the year 2020 is 269. Persons identified in sexual trafficking processes were 160, of which 90% were women (145) and 7.5% were men (12). In this modality — the most and best-identified trafficking situation in Spain<sup>3</sup> — recognized minors represent barely 2% of the total number of victims: 2 girls and one boy. In a labour trafficking situation, 99 persons were identified: 65 women, 33 men, and one girl. For the commission of criminal activities, 5 female and 2 male victims of trafficking were recognised. Finally, two girls and a woman were identified as victims of forced marriage trafficking, and no victims for the purpose of begging were identified<sup>4</sup>.

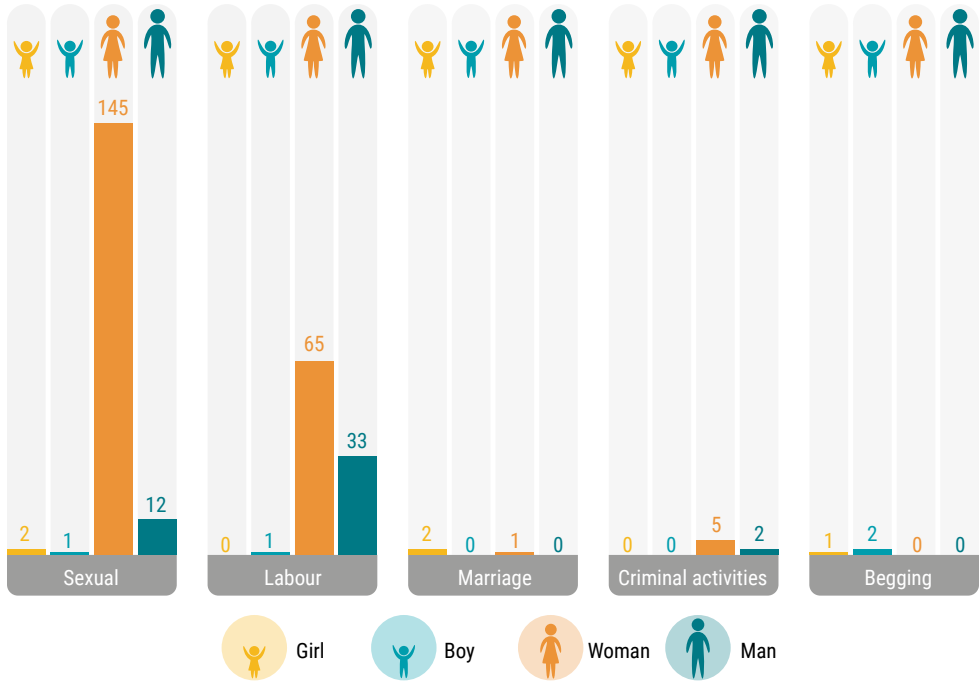
---

1 Vallejo, I. (1 de noviembre de 2020). *Contar lo innumerable*, *El País*.

2 Fiscalía General del Estado. (2021, September). *Capítulo III. Fiscales coordinadores y delegados para materias específicas*. 4. Extranjería. 4.1. Actividad de los Fiscales especialistas en el ámbito de la persecución penal: Trata de personas, in Memoria 2021.

3 GRETA. (2018). *Report concerning the implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings by Spain. Second Evaluation Round*. Secretariat of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (GRETA and Committee of the Parties).

4 Ministry of Home Affairs (2020). *Trata de seres humanos en España. Balance estadístico 2016-2020*. Intelligence Centre against Terrorism and Organised Crime (CITCO).



Source: Own elaboration based on data from CITCO (Ministry of Home Affairs)

Do the data in this chart reflect the magnitude of the phenomenon of trafficking in Spain? National and international authorities, professionals, researchers, and experts who work with this complex problem agree that the available data does not accurately reflect the social processes that facilitate the trafficking and exploitation of people in Spain. Trying to convert the stories of people who are or have been in one of these situations into data is one of the main challenges in the fight against trafficking in Spain.

At the end of 2021, numerous media outlets echoed a story about a man “arrested for the sexual assault and illegal detention of a 12-year-old girl”<sup>5</sup>. She was a missing girl from a child protection centre who had become pregnant at the age of 12 — by the age of her eldest son — by a man twice her age and with whom she had been located four years later in the Zamora region of Benavente. The investigations carried out by the agents who found her

5 EFE. (2021, December 3). [Detenido por la agresión sexual y detención ilegal de una niña de 12 años](#). El Confidencial.



indicate that this 28-year-old man held, together with her 29-year-old brother, the already 16-year-old teenager against her will. The girl had to be rescued by the Civil Guard when she was forced to flee with her two children aged 3 years and 6 months, first by hanging onto a sheet from a window and then running cross-country without warm clothing despite the low temperatures<sup>6</sup>.

Those responsible for these events are under investigation for sexual assault, gender-based violence, and illegal detention. However, even though there are more than “reasonable grounds”<sup>7</sup> that can lead us to believe that we are dealing with a person captured and taken in the mediation of a situation of extreme vulnerability to be exploited in many different ways, it is quite likely that the case of this girl will never be included in the official statistics on victims of trafficking.

---

6 Europa Press. (2021, December 3). [Dos detenidos en Zamora por agresión sexual y malos tratos a una menor, madre de dos niños](#). Europa Press.

7 The indicators in Annex 2 (non-public) of the 2011 Framework [Protocol for the Protection of Victims of Human Trafficking](#), and the 2017 Annex regarding the [Actions for the detection and care of victims of trafficking in human beings](#) (THB) minors will be regarded to determine the existence of reasonable grounds that a person is a victim of human trafficking.

# 1

## Beyond individuals in the role of criminals harming innocent people

1. Not only human trafficking for sexual exploitation...
2. Not just organised crime...
3. A complex reality: correlation is not the same as causation

Data are intended to reflect what has happened in a particular place at a particular time. However, data alone are incapable of telling the story of that reality, so they cannot replace the analysis of the problem. Or as Irene Vallejo puts it, “counting doesn’t only mean keeping the account, but telling a story”<sup>1</sup>.

«Counting doesn’t  
only mean keeping  
the account, but  
telling a story»

In this case, it is the story of people who, having completely lost control of their lives, begin to carry out acts that not only benefit others, but also condition their freedom and dignity as subjects of rights, seriously damaging their physical integrity and often endangering their lives. This is the reality of often foreign women subjected to sexual exploitation in the sex industry, but also in the domestic service; of people working in agricultural sector in subhuman conditions; of unaccompanied foreign children living on the streets who are trafficked to transport illegal material or to commit minor crimes; or girls sold into marriage. Many of these stories share common elements, such as **gender, foreigners, or precariousness**.

But others involve people who do not belong to any of the population groups traditionally described as vulnerable<sup>2</sup>. What they all have in common is an individual vulnerability exploited by traffickers for personal or financial gain. The profile of traffickers is equally diverse. Members of criminal networks involved prostitution, but also fathers, mothers, boyfriends, families who hire domestic help, etc.

---

1 Vallejo, I. *Op. cit.*

2 Barrio, C., Castaño, M. J., & Díez, I. (2019). *Colectivos vulnerables en el sistema de asilo. Una aproximación a las necesidades de la infancia, personas LGBTI+ y víctimas de trata*. Instituto Universitario de Estudios sobre Migraciones, La Merced Migraciones.

In light on these stories, it is patently naive to think that human trafficking and exploitation is just an issue of organized crime, and that we will be able to put an end to it without changing the organization of our societies and economies, increasingly dependent on the precariousness of the labour force to maintain their growth<sup>3</sup>. Furthermore, in this context, we must not forget the role that migration and border policies play in enhancing the vulnerability of people in a situation of mobility<sup>4</sup>.

## 1.1. NOT ONLY HUMAN TRAFFICKING FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION..

The United Nations<sup>5</sup>, the International Organization for Migration<sup>6</sup> or the International Labour Organization<sup>7</sup> agree in pointing out the prevalence of trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation in situations of forced prostitution, as well as in other contexts linked to the commercial sex trade: pornography, massage centres, chat rooms and erotic sites, among others.

As official figures show, in Spain there are hardly any cases of other forms of trafficking other than sexual and labour trafficking. In 2020, 54% of the victims identified by the Ministry of Home Affairs were women in sex trafficking (145) and 36% of victims were identified in a situation of labour trafficking (99), of which 24% were women (65). Although the statistical balance does not offer figures broken down by contexts or sectors of exploitation, both the Intelligence Centre against Terrorism and Organised Crime (CITCO) statistics and the Prosecutor's Office Report state that, in the case of sexual exploitation, the detection and identification of victims has been carried out in contexts of prostitution. In relation to the labour sectors, the Prosecutor's Office specifies that of the 117 Follow-up Proceedings initiated by the Immigration Unit, 10 correspond to agriculture, 7 to the care of the elderly and domestic service, and 3 to commercial establishments.

- 
- 3 Gallagher, A. (2014, November 28). [The global slavery index is based on flawed data – why does no one say so?](#) *The Guardian*.
  - 4 Castaño, M. J. (2021, December 21). [Contar no significa solo llevar la cuenta. La cultura de datos en la trata de seres humanos.](#) *Building Bridges*.
  - 5 UNODC. (2020). [Global Report on Trafficking in Persons](#). United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.
  - 6 David, F., Bryant, K., & Larsen, J. L. (2019). [Migrants and their Vulnerability to Human Trafficking, Modern Slavery and Forced Labour](#). International Organization for Migration, ENG0745(OIM\_REF).
  - 7 International Labor Organisation. (2017). [Estimaciones mundiales sobre la esclavitud moderna: Trabajo forzoso y matrimonio forzoso](#). GLO/13/21/USA (ILO\_REF).

Nonetheless, with regard to the latter, labour trafficking, there is less awareness that prevents the identification of situations of vulnerability, recruitment and means of subjugation typical of human trafficking, and which are therefore classified as abusive and exploitative conduct related to the work environment. Situations such as **the difficult working conditions** faced by women labourers in the strawberry fields of southern Spain should be the subject of a more efficient investigation by the Spanish authorities to ensure compliance with their obligations to combat human trafficking or forced labour.

“Amina and nine Moroccan women colleagues who worked on strawberry harvesting in Almonte (Huelva) denounced sexual abuse by the owner of the company. They also claimed that the boss did not pay them what had been agreed upon and that the money did not even reach them for food. The videos of her rebellion on the farm went viral on social networks and their families recognised them. And they repudiated them.

“El precio de denunciar los abusos en la fresa”  
(Martín, M., & Rosati, S., El País, 25th March 2019)

About 19,000 Moroccan women workers arrive each year in Spain to work in the farms of Huelva. They come from rural areas, and the condition is whether they are married or widowed with dependent children under the age of 14. Recruiting takes place in the country of origin and on paper there is a legal structure that protects them. On their arrival in Spanish fields, working conditions differ from those agreed. Journalists, lawyers<sup>8</sup>, labour doctors and trade unionists are documenting complaints of exploitation, harassment and sexual assault filed by some of these workers; and they underline the failures of management and control systems that “permit and perpetuate this scourge”<sup>9</sup> which almost exclusively affects women aged 18 to 45 who dishonour and the loss of their children.

8 Women’s Link Worldwide. (2020, June 3). [Women’s Link Worldwide pide a la ONU que investigue de manera urgente las vulneraciones de derechos humanos que sufren las trabajadoras migrantes de la fresa en España.](#) *Women’s Link Worldwide.*

9 Altamira, M., Badia, Q., Meseguer, D., & Tosco, P. (2020, April 27). [Sobrevivir a los campos de fresas](#) [Video file]. Proyecto de investigación periodística realizado junto a la Lafede y la Fundació Surt en el marco de la beca DEVREPORTER

In 2017, Greece was condemned in *Chowdury et al. v. Greece* on agricultural seasonal workers in the strawberry fields for violating Article 4 of the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights which forbids slavery and forced labour. The European Court of Human Rights found that Greece had failed to meet “its obligations to prevent human trafficking, to protect the victims, to conduct an effective investigation into the offences committed and to punish those responsible for the trafficking” despite the fact that “the authorities had been aware of the situation in the Manolada strawberry plantations”<sup>10</sup>.

In addition to awareness-raising, **the criminalization of the offence of forced labour in Spain is still pending**. As stated in the Palermo Protocol of the year 2000, the mere criminalisation of the crime of trafficking is not sufficient to put an end to the phenomenon. To do so, it is necessary to criminalise other offences related to human trafficking, such as slavery, servitude, forced labour, forced marriage, forced prostitution and sexual assault, among others<sup>11</sup>. The 2021 approval of a National Action Plan on Forced Labour<sup>12</sup> is an important step forward in this regard. The measures to be adopted include the specific and differentiated characterization of the final offences of slavery, servitude and forced labour as proclaimed by the 2014 Protocol Against Forced Labour<sup>13</sup>.

Reinforcing the fight against forced labour implies, as stated in the Action Plan, protecting its victims, many of whom are men who do not have the resources to be assisted and protected. Because “trafficking also has a male gender”<sup>14</sup>.

However, **other exploitive purposes** remain hidden, such as domestic employment, begging, human trafficking for forced criminality and forced marriages<sup>15</sup>. Any of those aims #AreAlsoTrafficking<sup>16</sup>.

---

10 *Chowdury and others c. Greece* (App. no. 21884/15). Judgment of the European Court of Human Rights (§ 116 and 111) (2017, June 30).

11 UNODC. (2007). *Manual para luchar contra la trata de personas. Programa Mundial contra la trata de personas*. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, p. 95.

12 *Plan de Acción Nacional contra el Trabajo Forzoso: Relaciones laborales obligatorias y otras actividades humanas forzadas* [Ministerio de Trabajo y Economía Social, Gobierno de España]. December 20, 2021.

13 *Instrumento de ratificación del Protocolo de 2014 relativo al Convenio sobre el trabajo forzoso, 1930*, hecho en Ginebra el 11 de junio de 2014. Boletín Oficial del Estado, no. 309. 2017, December 21.

14 De Gasperis, T. (2020). *La trata tiene también género masculino*. Accem.

15 Carrillo, L., & De Gasperis, T. (2019). *La otra cara de la trata. Informe diagnóstico sobre otras formas de trata que afectan a mujeres*. Accem.

16 Proyecto Esperanza, SICAR Cat. (2020, October). *Documento de Análisis e Incidencia Política*. #TambienEsTrata.

“ Only when they arrived in Bizkaia, they were informed that they had generated a 10,000-euro debt, which they had to pay with the money obtained from the domestic service work provided by the organisation itself. Most of them were sent to work as live in domestic workers (...) The victims, aged between 20 and 40, were also forced to sign a contract in which family properties in their place of origin were imposed as collateral.

”  
“Cae en Bizkaia una red que explotaba a nicaragüenses en el servicio doméstico”

(Ariza, P., Diario el Correo, 29<sup>th</sup> March 2021)

Ultimately, **official data are also insufficient to know and understand how this form of violence affects children**<sup>17</sup>. The proportion of minors registered by the Ministry of Home Affairs is barely 2% (6) of the total of 269 victims of trafficking recorded in 2020. This percentage is far from the average European rate which between 2017 and 2018 stood at 32%, or the recognition rate of neighbouring countries for the same period: 29% in Portugal (65 minors out of a total of 224 victims) and 28% in France (796 minors out of a total of 2846 victims)<sup>18</sup>.

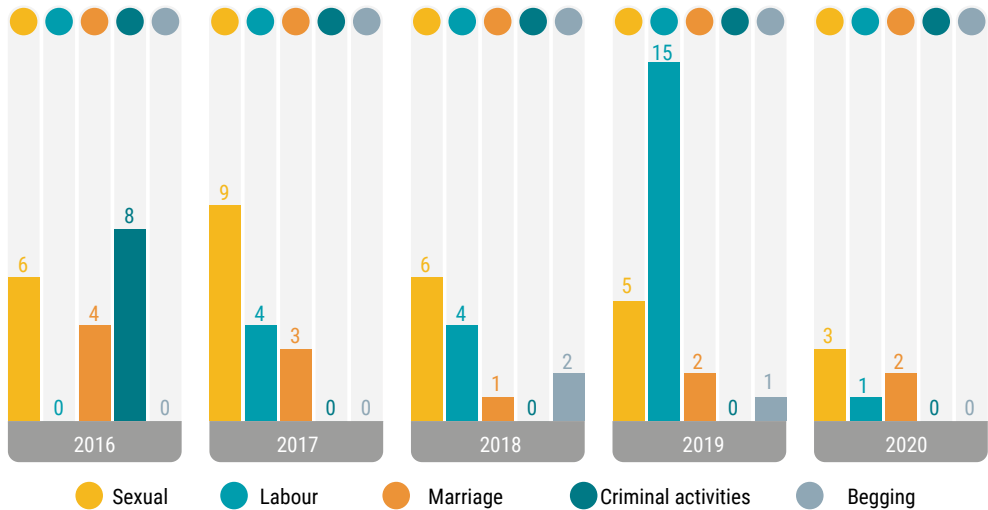
Furthermore, the evolution of the data published by CITCO concerning child victims of trafficking is — except for the year 2019 — in the opposite direction of global trends. The 2020 Global Report on Trafficking in Persons, which is produced every two years by UNODC, shows that the proportion of children has tripled in recent years<sup>19</sup>.

17 Artículo 1.1 de la [Ley Orgánica 8/2021, de 4 de junio, de protección integral a la infancia y la adolescencia frente a la violencia](#). Boletín Oficial del Estado, no. 134, 2021, 5 June.

18 European Commission. (2020). [Data collection on trafficking in human beings in the EU](#). Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs, p. 148.

19 UNODC (2020), *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

### Evolution of the identification of boys and girls victims of human trafficking in Spain (2016-2020)



Source: Own elaboration based on data from CITCO (Ministry of Home Affairs)

These data, and especially those related to trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation — 6 in 2016, 9 in 2017, 6 in 2018, 5 in 2019 and 3 in 2020 — **do not match the reality described by the victims themselves**: 62% of women trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation were initiated into prostitution when they were children<sup>20</sup>.

Nor do they match the stories reported in the media. “The Prosecutor’s Office asks for more than 100 years for ten adults for prostitution of children under guardianship in Álava”<sup>21</sup>; “Three detainees in Malaga accused of sexual abuse of three girls who escaped from minors’ centers”<sup>22</sup>; “A minor prostituted by her mother and two other women in a flat was released”<sup>23</sup>;

20 APRAMP. (2020). *Menores Víctimas de Trata y Explotación. Una realidad oculta, cada día más visible*. Asociación para la Prevención, Reinserción y Atención de la Mujer Prostituida.

21 Cadena Ser Vitoria. (2021, September 23). *La Fiscalía pide más de 100 años para diez adultos por prostitución de menores tutelados en Álava*. Cadena Ser.

22 Europa Press. (2020, July 14). *Tres detenidos en Málaga acusados de abuso sexual a tres chicas fugadas de centros de menores*. Europa Press.

23 Público/Agencias. (2021, August 25). *Liberada una menor prostituida por su madre y otras dos mujeres en un piso*. Público.



“Police raid against the prostitution of minors in Mallorca with 17 detainees”<sup>24</sup>; “The main businessman of Canarian tourism, Eustasio López, prosecuted for prostitution of minors”<sup>25</sup>; or “37 people arrested for sexually exploiting 10 minors under guardianship in Madrid”<sup>26</sup>.

These are just some of the news headlines of cases of **corruption and prostitution of children** perpetrated by individuals or networks that — taking advantage of family isolation and/or lack of parental supervision — capture boys and girls residing in child protection centers under tutelage of the administration or in dysfunctional family contexts<sup>27</sup>.

Investigators found that other minors, with whom she lived together, were in the same situation. They contacted them through social networks, gaining their trust and later using them to offer sexual services to clients to whom they supplied narcotic substances. In some cases, they were forced to distribute the drugs themselves on scooters and, after delivery, were sexually assaulted by the users themselves. At other times, the detainees transferred them to a well-known industrial estate in the capital, where they offered the drug buyers to have sexual relations with them.

“La Policía Nacional desarticula un grupo criminal dedicado a la explotación sexual de menores de edad”  
(National Police, 3<sup>rd</sup> January 2022)

**None of these conducts have been classified as human trafficking.** Those arrested in the framework of this police operation have been charged with the crimes of sexual assault, prostitution of minors, possession of child pornography, illegal detention, and crimes against public health. Oddly enough, there appear to be no “reasonable grounds” for the competent authorities — the National Police, judges, and the Prosecutor’s Office — to implement operational measures to investigate and protect the girls released in this context as victims of

24 Colom, E. (2021, September 16). *Redada policial contra la prostitución de menores en Mallorca con 17 detenidos*. *El Mundo*.

25 Vega, G. (2021, December 2). *El principal empresario del turismo canario, Eustasio López procesado por prostitución de menores*. *El País*.

26 EFE. (2022, January 3). *Detenidas 37 personas por explotar sexualmente a 10 menores tuteladas en Madrid*. *El Confidencial*.

27 Castaño, M. J. (2022). Niños y niñas en situaciones de trata y explotación. In C. Martínez García & R. Meana Peón (Dirs.), *Dignidad y equidad amenazadas en la sociedad contemporánea. Aproximación multidisciplinar* (pp. 561-592). Aranzadi.

trafficking. These girls, like those involved in the rest of the news, will not be included in the official statistics on human trafficking either.

The obligation for authorities to take operational measures to investigate and protect individuals in trafficking contexts has been analysed by the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in the case *V.C.L. and A.N. v. United Kingdom* of 2021. According to the ECHR's interpretation, these procedural obligations must be activated as soon as there are reasonable grounds to believe that there is a credible risk of trafficking and cannot rely upon the complaint or self-identification of the victim of that crime<sup>28</sup>.

## 1.2. NOT JUST ORGANISED CRIME...

From the normative definition of trafficking in human beings, trafficking is regarded as consisting of three essential elements: the action, the means, and the purpose of exploitation. The first two elements are consistent with the objective part of the trafficking offence; the third element, the purpose of exploitation, integrates the subjective type and concurs only in the mind of the perpetrator. Consequently, for the trafficking conduct to occur, there is no need for exploitation to actually take place.

<b>ACTION</b> (What it is done)	It involves recruiting, transporting, transferring, housing, or receiving individuals.
<b>MEANS</b> (How it is done)	These include threats or the use of force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power or vulnerability, or give or receive payments or benefits to obtain consent from one person with authority over another.
<b>PURPOSE</b> (Why it is done)	The purpose of trafficking is exploitation. This includes, at least, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices analogous to slavery, servitude, or the removal of organs.

Source: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2009

28 *V.C.L. and A.N. v. Reino Unido* (App. nos. 77587/12 and 74603/12). Judgment of the European Court of Human Rights (2021, February 16) (§ 5-17).

It follows from the actions of this normative concept that trafficking is a process. Ultimately, human trafficking is a mechanism by which a person is enslaved. Within this context, a distinction must be made between the process of slavery and slavery itself.

The crime of trafficking refers to the process of enslavement, a conduct that unfolds over time and consists of several phases. These phases are recruitment or capture, transportation and exploitation.

Human trafficking is perpetrated by actors with different levels of organizational structures that can be divided into two broad categories: groups that fall within the definition of organized criminal groups, and opportunistic traffickers who operate alone or in collaboration with one or more traffickers<sup>29</sup>.

An **organized criminal group** is, according to the 2000 United Nations Organized Crime Convention, “a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit”<sup>30</sup>. Most of the victims of the cases under investigation in Spain<sup>31</sup> were trafficked by criminal organizations or criminal groups<sup>32</sup>, usually for the purpose of sexual exploitation or to commit petty crimes. Although it is difficult to assess the impact of the participation of various criminal structures in human trafficking, organized crime groups are generally able to traffic more victims, for longer periods of time and with more violent means.

But sometimes trafficking is carried out by “**individual traffickers**” such as paedophiles who surf the internet, family members in the sphere of domestic exploitation or relatives of the victims themselves.

The crime of trafficking refers to the process of enslavement, a conduct that unfolds over time and consists of several phases

29 UNODC. (2020). *Op. cit.* pp. 40-41.

30 [Article 2 of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime](#). United Nations. November 15, 2000.

31 Ministry of Home Affairs. (2021, July 30). [Policía Nacional y Guardia Civil liberaron a 269 víctimas de trata de seres humanos para su explotación sexual o laboral en 2020](#). *Sala de Prensa*. And Fiscalía General del Estado. (2021 September). [Capítulo III. Fiscales coordinadores y delegados para materias específicas. 4. Extranjería. 4.1. Actividad de los Fiscales especialistas en el ámbito de la persecución penal: Trata de personas](#), in *Memoria 2021*.

32 Fiscalía General del Estado. [Circular 2/2011, de 2 de junio, sobre la reforma del Código Penal por Ley Orgánica 5/2010 en relación con las organizaciones y grupos criminales](#). Reference: FIS-C-2011-00002.

“

It is declared proven that “the defendants Mr. Benjamín (also known as Eladio, nicknamed Bicho), his wife Margarita, and their son Modesto are Bosnian nationals, of legal age and have no criminal record for recidivism. From an unspecified date, but in any case from July 14, 2015 and until November 14, 2016, the defendants formed a family structure in which, with third parties not connected to this proceedings, the main source of income was the commission of criminal offences against property, which has been the subject of the corresponding criminal proceedings. The defendant’s daughter and sister, Casilda (Bosnian national, born in DIRECCION000 Hospital, DIRECCION001 (Barcelona) on NUM010/1998, daughter of Benjamín and Margarita, and sister of Modesto), was introduced into their vital and criminal dynamics, despite being a minor. Taking advantage of the situation of superiority, with her consent but at the age of 16, she was transferred to Barcelona on 15.07.2015 by her father, Benjamín-Eladio from Rome (Citavechia) — the city where the minor lived in a gypsy settlement, in collusion with the other two defendants, Margarita and Modesto, residents in Barcelona (Spain), all three defendants guided by the intention of subjecting the minor to the commission of criminal offences against property [...]”.

”

Own translation of the Judgment of the Provincial Court of Barcelona 398/2019. 31<sup>st</sup> July 2019.

Regardless of the type of traffickers and the way in which they are organized, **the official data available on trafficking in Spain are administrative in nature and are particularly related to the criminal act.** The National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings, the authority responsible for collecting statistics<sup>33</sup>, works in the BDTRATA database which collects

33 The functions of the National Reporter on Trafficking in Human Beings in Spain have been attributed to a representative of the Ministry of Home Affairs, namely belonging to the Intelligence Centre against Terrorism and Organized Crime (CITCO, by its Spanish abbreviation) of the Secretary of State for Security of the Ministry of Home Affairs. This authority is responsible for the assessment of human trafficking trends in Spain, and the collection of statistics and information in cooperation with civil society in accordance with Directive 2011/36/EU on trafficking. Delegación del Gobierno para la Violencia de Género. (2014, 3 April). [Designación formal de relator nacional contra la trata de seres humanos](#). Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad, Gobierno de España.

“data related to police proceedings and administrative inspections. More precisely, with regard to the latter, only those data required for the criminal investigation will be collected”<sup>34</sup>.

NGOs also collect data for administrative purposes, but in relation to the health care, social services, or legal assistance they provide. This data does not transcend the services they provide in the context of their main activity. However, **the NGOs with their records are capable of reflecting situations that transcend the criminal act**. Some organizations, from a child-centred approach, also collect data on the sons and daughters of trafficked persons as victims of trafficking on their own.

“

Little or nothing is known of the situation of these children, who in the best of outcomes will stay with family members or friends of the mother and in the worst of cases, with traffickers from the gang. Others, as we shall see, end in the child protection system. Many of these are undocumented and live a parallel life to other children, they go to school, go to the doctor and play in the park without the situation of extreme vulnerability which they are in being detected, subjected to all sorts of mistreatment, abuse, and exploitation.

[...] These boys and girls are an important part of the exploitation plan, not accidental companions of the women. Their conception, as well as their integrity and fate, are decided by the traffickers, to whom they belong from the very beginning. Therefore, they must be recognised as victims of human trafficking for all purposes, be registered as such, and be provided with the protection and care provided to victims of this crime.

”

*They're children, they're victims. Situation in relation to child victims of human trafficking in Spain*

(Castaño, M. J., & Pérez, A., IUEM & UNICEF, 2017)

Research centres, universities, the private sector, or international organisations also work on the collection and analysis of data for research purposes to answer or address a specific question. All data categories play a fundamental role in creating evidence about the existence

34 Orden INT/1202/2011, de 4 de mayo, por la que se regulan los ficheros de datos de carácter personal del Ministerio. Boletín Oficial del Estado, BOE-A-2011-8382. 2011, 13 May.

of this reality and the different aspects that generally affect trafficking, and, ultimately, let us get an overall view of this complex phenomenon<sup>35</sup>.

### 1.3. A COMPLEX REALITY: CORRELATION IS NOT THE SAME AS CAUSATION

We know that there are people in Spain who are trapped in situations of trafficking and exploitation. But this reality takes various forms, largely affects hidden populations, and is notoriously hard to find, let alone quantify.

Poverty, the global economy<sup>36</sup>, corruption, racial, ethnic and gender discrimination, armed conflicts, natural disasters, the absence of legal routes for migration or the growing demand for ever cheaper goods and services are some of the underlying causes of the problem<sup>37</sup>. However, drawing general conclusions about the causal relationship between these factors and the trafficking processes in which people may be involved is clearly risky. Correlation is not the same as causation, and moreover, a person's vulnerability to trafficking is rarely determined by any one factor.

All human beings are vulnerable subjects susceptible to harm of all kinds: physical, moral, psychological, economic, within the framework of institutional structures, etc., and thus the vulnerability of the human condition is a universal reality. However, vulnerability affects each individual in a particular manner, since the different ways in which human beings are vulnerable are determined by many intersecting and mutually reinforcing variables — such as race or ethnicity, gender, low socioeconomic status or disability<sup>38</sup>.

**Vulnerability** to trafficking and exploitation refers to the individual physical, mental or social characteristics that define an individual's ability to withstand the threats that lie behind these processes. In this context, **risk** could be defined as the probability that — in light of one's vulnerabilities — each person has of adequately resisting the possibility of being recruited and transferred through the use of violence, deception or abuse of a specific situation of

---

35 Surtees, R., Brunovskis, A., & Johnson, L. (2019). *The Science (and Art) of Understanding Trafficking in Persons: Good Practice in TIP Data Collection*. NEXUS Institute.

36 Bales, K. (2000). *La nueva esclavitud en la economía global*. Siglo XXI España Editores (pp. 25-35).

37 UNODC. (2019, March). Módulo 7: Prevención de la Trata de Personas. Introducción y resultados de aprendizaje. Cuestiones clave. *Causas de raíz*, In *Serie de Módulos Universitarios E4J: Trata de personas*. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

38 Peroni, L., & Timmer, A. (2013). *Vulnerable groups: The promise of an emerging concept in European Human Rights Convention law*. *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 11(4), 1056-1085.

vulnerability for the purpose of personal or economic gain, be it sexual, labour or organ trafficking.

Knowing which elements may exacerbate vulnerability and increase the risk of people falling into trafficking or exploitation processes requires reflecting on the **risk and resilience factors** that influence the possibility of a person becoming a victim of human trafficking<sup>39</sup>.

Gender stereotypes and cultural practices of tolerance to certain forms of exploitation (such as forced marriage or child labour exploitation) would fall under the group of structural **risk and resilience factors**. The functioning of adequate national mechanisms for early identification, assistance, and support for victims, in cooperation with organizations<sup>40</sup>, would also fall within this group of factors that refer to a society's characteristics, policies and attitudes beyond the local context, and whose significance lies in its ability to mitigate or amplify the influence of other types of factors.

“

This is a figure recommended by the OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) and which several countries of our environment have (Poland, United Kingdom, Albania). This Mechanism would be responsible for registering cases, thereby homogenising the gathering of information, and would be the reference body when notifying data that will form part of international reports and statistics.

Moreover, it would also coordinate all actions related to the victims of trafficking, including their children, and would facilitate the transfer of minors between Autonomous Communities, which, as we have seen, is currently very complicated.

”

*They're children, they're victims. Situation in relation to child victims of human trafficking in Spain*

(Castaño, M. J., & Pérez, A., IUEM & UNICEF, 2017)

Social exclusion and marginalization, commonly associated with poverty and lack of options, also affect the emotional state and general risk-taking behaviour of individuals seeking to

39 European Commission. (2015). *Study on high-risk groups for trafficking in human beings*.

40 Gregulska, J., Healy, C., Petreska, E., et al. (2020). *Study on reviewing the functioning of Member States' National and Transnational Referral Mechanisms*. European Commission, Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs, 15-18.

escape this situation. Among the **socio-economic factors**, **COVID-19** has intensified existing social and economic problems: 1.45 million people aged 16-34 are already severely excluded in Spain<sup>41</sup>. “The worse the circumstances, the easier it is to abuse others”<sup>42</sup>.

In addition to the socio-economic characteristics, **family-related factors** should be considered as a very important risk factor. The need to protect and provide for their families puts people in desperate situations that are vulnerable to exploitation. Moreover, according to child protection experts, a stable family unit structure together with a good relationship between parents and children based on confidence, and a healthy level of parental or guardian supervision proves to be a powerful resilience factor<sup>43</sup>. In 2020, the Spanish protection system assisted 49,171 children and adolescents. Of these, 34% (16,991) were in protection centres isolated from their families and without parental supervision, and of these, 45% (7,746) were foreigners<sup>44</sup>. In 2020, 40% (6,589) of the disappearance complaints registered (16,528) based on the Action Protocol of the Security Forces and Bodies in Cases of Missing Persons correspond to minors who voluntarily escaped from the protection centre where they resided<sup>45</sup>.

Of the risk and resiliency categories noted, socio-economic status and family structure appear to be the underlying cause of many of the individual risk behaviours observed. In the field of **individual factors**, the meaning and interpretation that each person gives to the risks and signs of trafficking or exploitation is determined more by matters related to a situation of material need or the degree of attachment to their abuser than by the individual's own characteristics.

Although risk factors alone do not cause trafficking, the possibility of describing groups of people who share similar fundamental structural, socioeconomic, family or individual elements serves to focus on the groups that are at greater risk of becoming trafficked or exploited. In Spain, as in most countries, some of the groups at risk are people in prostitution

---

41 Fundación Foessa. (2022). *Evolución de la cohesión social y consecuencias de la covid-19 en España*. Colección de estudios, 50.

42 Europa Press. (2020, July 7). *La Fiscalía de Barcelona ve un aumento en casos de trata para explotación laboral y mendicidad*. *Europapress/Catalunya*.

43 Castaño, M. J. (2022). Niños y niñas en situaciones de trata y explotación. In C. Martínez García & R. Meana Peón (Dirs.), *Dignidad y equidad amenazadas en la sociedad contemporánea. Aproximación multidisciplinar* (pp. 561-592). Aranzadi.

44 Ministerio de Derechos Sociales y Agenda 2030. (2021). *Boletín de Datos Estadísticos de Medidas de Protección a la Infancia*. 23, Informes, Estudios e Investigación 2021, Observatorio de la Infancia, Gobierno de España (pp. 21-34).

45 Centro Nacional de Desaparecidos. (CNDES). (2020). *Informe Annual. Personas Desaparecidas 2021*. Ministry of Home Affairs. Government of Spain, pp. 35-34.



and in the sex industry, migrant workers, certain communities or ethnic minorities, or children in abandonment<sup>46</sup>.

However, **the efficacy of these approaches is limited**. They encompass too large a spectrum of people and casuistic<sup>47</sup> and, furthermore, they often fail to collect quality data that accurately reflects the social processes we want to capture. This is, for example, the case of victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation identified by the Ministry of Home Affairs. The 160 people recognized in this situation in the year 2020 come solely from investigations conducted “in a place of prostitution while exercising such activity”<sup>48</sup>.

Sometimes, despite evidence that a policy, plan, program, or action will not achieve its intended result, the authorities proceed with a particular public action, basing their decision on the hegemonic narratives around the reality that is aimed at approaching<sup>49</sup>.

**Sometimes, despite evidence that a policy, plan, program, or action will not achieve its intended result, the authorities proceed with a particular public action**

The complexity of the phenomenon and its uncertain features have determined the existence of various and sometimes polarised approaches: as matter of irregular migration, as a form of gender-based violence, or as a serious security threat<sup>50</sup>. The consequences of decision-making in this context of complexity, uncertainty and polarisation can be the creation of additional barriers to accessing assistance and protection. In Spain, the specific reference to victim protection and assistance programmes is only included in the regulation on the rights of foreigners<sup>51</sup>. While the Immigration Act may also apply to nationals and EU nationals

---

46 Delegación del Gobierno Contra la Violencia de Género. (2013). *Manual de Directrices comunes para la detección de víctimas de trata de seres humanos en Europa*. Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad, Gobierno de España.

47 ICAT. (2016). *A Toolkit for guidance in designing and evaluating counter-trafficking programmes. Harnessing accumulated knowledge to respond to trafficking in persons*. The Inter-Agency Coordination Group against Trafficking in Persons.

48 Intelligence Centre against Terrorism and Organized Crime (CITCO). *Op. cit.*

49 ICAT. *Op. cit.*

50 Barrio, C. I., & Castaño, M. J. (2020). Trata de seres humanos: una constante dicotomía entre la seguridad y los derechos humanos. In A. M. Huesca González, J. A. López Ruiz, & M. A. P. Quicios García (Coords.). *Seguridad Ciudadana, Desviación Social y Sistema Judicial* (pp. 15-27). Dykinson SL.

51 Artículo 140 de la Ley 12/2009, de 30 de octubre, reguladora del derecho de asilo y de la protección subsidiaria. Boletín Oficial del Estado, BOE no. 263. 2009, October 31.

of any of the EU Member States, in practice the programmes designed and developed by public authorities for the assistance and protection provided by non-governmental organisations, foundations or other non-profit associations, focus on the reception and protection of foreign victims of human trafficking. In addition, the subsidy for the development and implementation of these care projects focuses on victims for the purpose of sexual exploitation and it falls under the responsibility of the Government Delegation for

**In Spain, the specific reference to victim protection and assistance programmes is only included in the regulation on the rights of foreigners**

gender violence of the Ministry of Equality<sup>52</sup>. This funding **does not include implementing specific resources for child victims of trafficking** who, with rare exceptions, are accommodated and assisted at Child Protection Centres of the residential care network of the Autonomous Communities Child Protection System<sup>53</sup>.

Poor information, presented as a fact, contributes to poor decision-making and results that are sometimes detrimental and unforeseen<sup>54</sup>. Determining how and when people can lose “their condition as free beings to become commodities”<sup>55</sup> requires taking into consideration the **intersection of factors**

**and circumstances** that enhance or reduce the vulnerability of each person beyond their belonging to a specific group<sup>56</sup>.

Vulnerability, threat, and risk are intimately connected. To know, collect data, and understand the root causes of human trafficking and exploitation, we need to provide content and address this equation.

52 Delegación del Gobierno Contra la Violencia de Género. (n. d.). *Otras formas de violencia sobre la mujer. Trata de mujeres y niñas con fines de explotación sexual*. Subvenciones. Ministerio de Igualdad, Gobierno de España.

53 GRETA. (2018, June 20). *Report concerning the implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings by Spain, SECOND EVALUATION ROUND*, p. 44.

54 Gallagher, A. *Op. cit.*

55 Vallejo, I. (2019). *El Infinito en un junco*. Siruela, p. 272

56 Barrio, C., Castaño, M. J., & Díez, I. *Op. cit.*, pp. 7-9.

# 2

## Data Culture and Human Trafficking

1. “Words serve the intention”
2. Beyond the tip of the iceberg: estimating the dark figure of human trafficking victims
3. Technological innovation for access to rights
4. Building ecosystems of protection and good treatment

There are several ways of understanding data culture. In general, all of them agree that “**data culture is decision culture**”<sup>1</sup>; that is, the fundamental purpose of collecting, analysing and using data is to be able to make better decisions.

There is still the idea that talking about data implies talking about the dehumanization of those to whom the data refers. However, as we said before, “counting is not just about keeping the account” and, in fact, the fundamentals of the data culture are not the data themselves, but the attitudes and actions taken around them. Data culture is not a culture of numbers or accountability — exclusively, but of awareness. Its proper implementation translates into the alignment and interoperability of the environment that operates on a certain reality. In this context, ongoing engagement over time and appropriate processing of data will translate into information to inform decision-making.

**The fundamentals  
of the data culture  
are not the data  
themselves, but the  
attitudes and actions  
taken around them**

As noted earlier, data alone do not reflect reality and cannot replace problem analysis. Implementing an effective data culture demands changes in people’s habits, attitudes and training; but also in the resources used for knowledge generation, as data culture is currently directly linked to digital transformation. The life of data does not end with mathematical or statistical experts, but affects **all levels of organisations, authorities and society in general**.

For this reason, the various agents involved in human trafficking account for 50% of the equation when it comes to building and maintaining a data culture. Their engagement and involvement will enable to acquire knowledge, identify trends, propose concrete actions, and measure the results of these actions to promote the creation of spaces for

---

1 Henderson, A. E., & Powers, K. (2018). Developing a data culture. In *Cultivating a data culture in higher education* (pp. 3-12). Routledge.

the **protection and good treatment** for trafficked people, and also of mutual care for the agents involved in this reality.

The Data Culture in Human Trafficking project is based on the hypothesis that preventing and protecting trafficking victims requires knowledge of the scope and magnitude of the phenomenon. This hypothesis led the project to undertake numerous actions to highlight the importance of data as a tool for better understanding the reality of human trafficking and exploitation and to make better decisions in the fight against it.

## 2.1. "WORDS SERVE THE INTENTION"

As social beings, we need to transmit and exchange information in order to survive in the community in which we live. This need for communication is met by language, a shared code that reflects the way we perceive, understand and interact with the world. The meaning of words is built by collective experience in interaction with the environment inherited from generation to generation. In other words, it is living, flexible, and shifting.

The flexibility of natural language is an undeniable advantage for human communication, but it represents a major obstacle to the exercise of certain activities, particularly those which require precise and well-defined definitions, such as the identification of victims of trafficking<sup>2</sup>.

Despite the long-standing nature of the phenomenon, it was only in the year 2000, with the signing of the Palermo Protocol, that the first internationally accepted definition of trafficking was reached. The Protocol was an important step towards a shared understanding and language to describe the nature of the phenomenon.

However, barely ten years later, the Working Group of States Parties to the Protocol identified the lack of conceptual clarity as one of the major impediments to its effective implementation within the international legal framework and its application to the national regulations of each one of the States<sup>3</sup>. Some of the most problematic concepts were “abuse of a position of vulnerability”, “consent”, and “exploitation”. Likewise, despite covering a broad typology of victims — women, men, boys and girls — and forms of exploitation, the Protocol provides no definition of “victim of trafficking”.

---

2 Barrio Lema, C. I., et al. (2022). *Guía de buenas prácticas y recomendaciones sobre trata de seres humanos*. Fundación Fernando Pombo.

3 UNODC. (2013). *Issue Paper: Abuse of a position of vulnerability and other “means” within the definition of trafficking in persons*. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

In the case of Spain, the protection of victims of trafficking is incorporated into the 2000 Immigration Law, which, although it does not offer a definition of victim, it does define those subject to protection as “foreign nationals in an irregular situation and who are considered to have reasonable grounds to believe that they have been victims of trafficking”. As the Archbishop of Hita stated in the Book of Good Love, “words serve the intention”, and the obvious bias that this definition poses a priori would make it difficult for all trafficking victims who do not belong to this group to access protection.

In an attempt to reflect the continuum of trafficking and exploitation, we find **multiple expressions** that try to accommodate those who are trapped in the various stages of this process: identified victims, detected victims, victims in high-risk situations, potential victims, presumed victims, etc. However, what defines trafficked persons is the identification of the essential elements that constitute the crime, which is a complex task that quite often leave trafficked persons invisible and unprotected.

In 2010, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime developed a Model Law providing a possible definition of a victim<sup>4</sup> in order to assist States in implementing the provisions of the Palermo Protocol, as well as other documentation to clarify the most confusing concepts in the definition. Since then, legislation that has further developed the legal framework for combating trafficking, such as the 2005 Warsaw Convention or the 2011 Trafficking Directive, has failed to provide much clarification and the problem persists.

In fact, on 12 January 2022, the above-mentioned National Strategic Plan against Human Trafficking and Exploitation was presented. The plan consists of 5 priority objectives and 16 lines of action, including the promotion by the National Rapporteurship against Trafficking in Human Beings of the development of a precise **terminology framework** on trafficking in human beings in accordance with the European reference framework (Line 5.1.A).

The Data Culture in Human Trafficking project has revealed a lack of consensus on terminological accuracy and the resulting consequences. On the one hand, the phase of collecting, cleansing, and analysing the data provided revealed that requesting the same variables from all the actors does not ensure consistent data collection due to the wide variety of meanings used to answer the same variable. Likewise, the phase of interviews with key agents made it possible to reflect the dissatisfaction of those working in this field with the collection, analysis, and exchange of data in a secure and rigorous manner (Section 2.4.). On

---

4 “Within the meaning of sections 19 to 22, 25, 26 and 30 to 34 of the present Law, ‘victim of trafficking’ refers to any natural person who has been a victim of human trafficking, or with regard to whom [competent authorities, including designated non-governmental organizations, if applicable] may reasonably assume to be victims of human trafficking, even if the perpetrator has not been identified, apprehended, prosecuted, or convicted. With regard to all other sections, a victim of trafficking is any person identified pursuant to section 18, paragraph 1, of this Law”.

the other hand, the Open Innovation Community launched between January and June 2021 offered the opportunity to identify needs and proposals for improvement associated with this issue to promote the implementation of a data culture and the construction of protective environments and good treatments, specifically: **greater precision** in the meaning of the key terms which constitute the definition of trafficking and **greater consensus** on the meaning of the definitions essential to ensure common action.

A definition will only be useful to the extent that it allows us to understand the world around us, interact with it and make appropriate decisions. Perhaps, solving the dissatisfaction of professionals in the field of trafficking implies moving away from defining conceptually to defining operationally. An **operational definition** tells us what is required to collect data on a variable, and it sets out the processes or actions of a concept that are required to identify examples. Therefore, the operational definition of the variable “temperature” would be the thermometer and the selected scale (e.g., degrees Celsius).

An interesting example of this approach is that developed by the International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS), convened by the International Labour Organisation since 2013. ICLS agrees with the definitions of the basic concepts used by statisticians, which are then used globally to analyse and measure the world of work.

All of the above is summed up in what Irene Vallejo rightly refers to as the “invisible threshold of slavery”, referring to the changing nature of the different processes which turn freeborn people into commodities. From the cultured Greek slaves in ancient Rome, through the black slaves on North American plantations — subjected to cruel torture if they even tried to learn to read or write, to the girl who became a mother at the age of 12 and lived four years of captivity, the *continuum* of slavery has evolved over time and will continue to do so. Language, this shared code that enables us to structure, understand and connect to the world, must walk hand in hand, in order to respond to the new communicative needs that arise from this evolution. The point is that, “no fact or phenomenon of reality can be addressed without an adequate conceptualisation”<sup>5</sup>.

## 2.2. BEYOND THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG: ESTIMATING THE DARK FIGURE OF TRAFFICKING VICTIMS

Despite the many efforts made in recent years, we continue to witness a lack of data on human trafficking and the poor quality of the data available, which limits the development of quality and sustainable public policies for prevention and protection.

---

5 Sabino, C. (1996). *El proceso de investigación*. Lumen-Humanitas, Buenos Aires.

The Data Culture in Human Trafficking project set out to estimate how many trafficked persons remained invisible to authorities and society at large. These individuals, who will never be included in official trafficking statistics, are part of what is known as the “dark figure” of trafficking victims.

To accomplish this objective, the statistical model known as **Multiple Systems Estimation** (MSE)<sup>6</sup> was used. This model has been used in a variety of studies to estimate the dark figure of hard-to-record groups, such as those that have disappeared as a result of political unrest in Guatemala, Peru, and Colombia<sup>7</sup> or those who died in the war in Yugoslavia<sup>8</sup>. It has also been used by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) to estimate the dark figure of victims of trafficking in 4 member countries: the Netherlands<sup>9</sup>, Ireland<sup>10</sup>, Serbia<sup>11</sup>, and Romania<sup>12</sup>.

Following these examples, the Data Culture in Human Trafficking project, with the support and advice of the UNODC, initiated an interdisciplinary team and began a process of

**The Data Culture in Human Trafficking project set out to estimate how many trafficked persons remained invisible to authorities and society at large**

- 
- 6 Izquierdo, J. (2020). *Análisis de Modelos Estadísticos para la Estimación de Víctimas de Trata. Caso de Estudio: Comunidad de Madrid*. [Master's thesis, MA in Cooperación Internacional al Desarrollo (Universidad Pontificia Comillas), Madrid] and Colmenar Calvo, N. (2020). *Análisis de los métodos de recopilación de datos de trata de seres humanos. Una oportunidad para mejorar la lucha contra la trata en la Comunidad de Madrid*. [Master's thesis, MA in Cooperación Internacional al Desarrollo (Universidad Pontificia Comillas), Madrid].
  - 7 Guberek, T., Guzmán, D., Price, M., Lum, K., & Ball, P. (2010). *Los que faltan por contar: Una estimación de la violencia letal en Casanare, Colombia*. Benetech Human Rights Program.
  - 8 Zwierchowski, J., & Tabeau, E. (2010). *The 1992-95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina: census-based multiple system estimation of casualties' undercount*. Conference Paper for the International Research Workshop on 'The Global Costs of Conflict'. The Households in Conflict Network (HiCN) and The German Institute for Economic Research (DIW Berlin). 1-2 February 2010.
  - 9 UNODC, Dutch National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings and Sexual Violence against Children. (2017). *Monitoring Target 16.2 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals; A multiple systems estimation of the number of presumed human trafficking victims in the Netherlands in 2010-2015 by year, age, gender, form of exploitation and nationality. Research Brief*. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.
  - 10 UNODC, Walk Free Foundation. (2018). *Ireland - Monitoring Target 16.2 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals: multiple systems estimation of the numbers of presumed victims of trafficking in persons. Research Brief*. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.
  - 11 UNODC, Walk Free Foundation. (2018). *Serbia - Monitoring Target 16.2 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals: multiple systems estimation of the numbers of presumed victims of trafficking in persons. Research Brief*. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.
  - 12 UNODC, Walk Free Foundation. (2018). *Romania - Monitoring Target 16.2 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals: multiple systems estimation of the numbers of presumed victims of trafficking in persons. Research Brief*. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.



designing and implementing the MSE to estimate the dark figure of trafficking victims in the Autonomous Community of Madrid for the period 2015-2019<sup>13</sup>.

### 2.2.1. WHERE DO WE START FROM AND WHERE HAVE WE REACHED?

Implementing the MSE required, on the one hand, having a confined and homogeneous population and, on the other hand, **independent and**, at the same time, **interconnected databases** known as “lists”.

These two requirements were strictly necessary because the dark figure is calculated through data overlaps. That is, from the data records that coincide between the lists, the model applies probability theory to the calculation of the total population.

The data needed to calculate this dark figure had to come from at least three data sources and, ideally, from actors with different roles in anti-trafficking. Of the total number of non-governmental organizations, entities of the Public Administration, and authorities invited to participate, we finally received data from eight of them, which made it possible to develop a statistical model based on robust and reliable data.

During the process of data collection and its subsequent homogenization, a range of systemic challenges facing the anti-trafficking system have been identified and need to be considered jointly.

The collection and standardization of data on trafficking is not an easy task for different reasons. Firstly, Spain currently **lacks a body that unifies the data collected by the various stakeholders** involved in the phenomenon. This means that we have fragmented data, which prevents us from approaching the phenomenon from a comprehensive perspective. Thus, there is a *de facto* need for a system of data collection and analysis with a multi-agency approach<sup>14</sup>.

Secondly, as mentioned in previous sections, **the lack of consensus on the concepts to be used makes it difficult to collect disaggregated data, as well as further homogenisation.**

---

13 Paulo Sergio García Méndez, Mexican Senior Data Scientist.

14 International Organization for Migration (IOM), Federal Ministry of Home Affairs of Austria. (2009). *Guidelines for the collection of data on trafficking in human beings, including comparable indicators*. IOM.

This is important to be able to analyse these concepts from an intersectional approach<sup>15</sup> and, furthermore, it is a request of the European Parliament<sup>16</sup> and GRETA<sup>17</sup>.

The implementation of the MSE requires a unified data collection in terms of variables and categories, for which a consensus data-gathering form was developed through interviews with key actors who would provide the lists.

This form was designed following data protection standards, so no variables referring to personal identity characteristics were included.

Thirdly, each key stakeholder collects information for different purposes<sup>18</sup> and uses different data collection methods, which **prevents all data from being interpreted under one lens**. For instance, the Intelligence Centre against Terrorism and Organised Crime (CITCO, by its Spanish abbreviation) collects data from a set of specific indicators for purely statistical purposes, while the Public Prosecutor collects the data required to initiate follow-up proceedings and prosecute criminal proceedings, and non-governmental organizations collect the data required for the protection and assistance to victims.

## 2.2.2. WHAT IS THE DARK FIGURE OF TRAFFICKING VICTIMS?

After cleaning the data and creating the lists, we proceeded to design the algorithm which would allow us to estimate the dark figure — an algorithm that, based on the statistical model of the MSE, would be designed *ad hoc* for its implementation based on the available data. Two types of results were achieved from the implementation of the MSE: overall results and trends.

First, the **overall results** reveal that:

- ▶ The unobserved or **“dark figure” of human trafficking victims** in the Community of Madrid over the period 2015 to 2019 is **2,805 persons**.

---

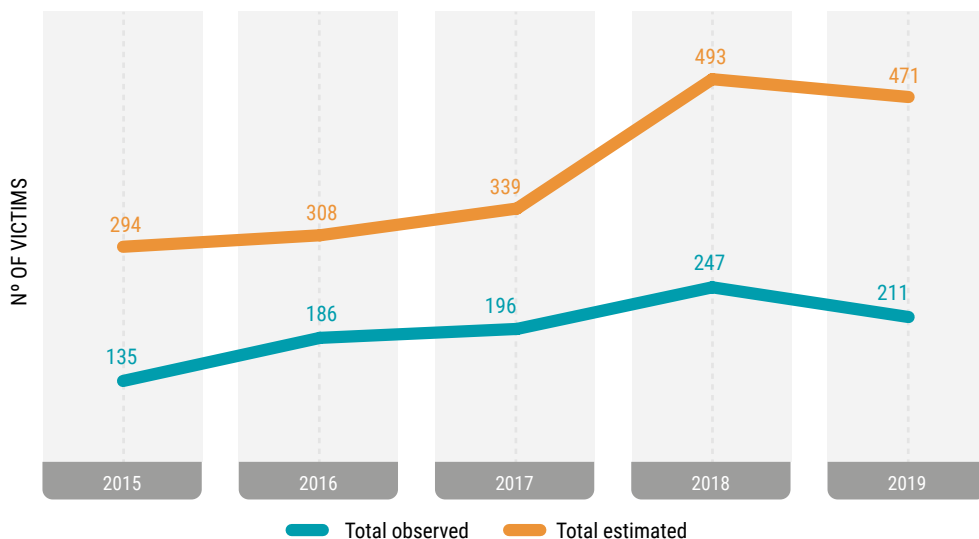
15 Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. (OHCHR) (2018). [A Human Rights-Based Approach to data. Leaving No One Behind in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development](#). pp. 9-11.

16 [European Parliament P9\\_TA\(2021\)0041](#) resolution of 10 February 2021 on the implementation of Directive 2011/36/EU on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims (2020/2029(INI)). Parr. 13 and 38.

17 GRETA. (2018). [Report concerning the implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings by Spain. Second Evaluation Round](#). Secretariat of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (GRETA and Committee of the Parties). p. 17.

18 Surtees, R., Brunovskis, A., & Johnson, L. (2019). [The Science \(and Art\) of Understanding Trafficking in Persons: Good Practice in TIP Data Collection](#). NEXUS Institute.

Estimation trends for each annual period [GRAPH]



Source: Own development based on estimates made by the Multi-system Estimation Methodology

- ▶ The **total population of victims** of human trafficking in the Community of Madrid during this period is **3,780**.

Second, the identification ratio for the same period indicates **for every 100 victims detected**, it is estimated that there is **a total population of 388 victims** of human trafficking, of which **288 would be outside the identification and detection processes**.

Thirdly, percentages of identification ratios indicate that only 26% of those involved in trafficking processes would have been observed, thus leaving **74% hidden or invisible for organisations, authorities, and society at large**.

When analysing these identification ratios for each population group for the indicated period, we were able to observe that:

- ▶ For every female victim of trafficking observed, it is estimated that there are 2.5 unobserved.
- ▶ For every child victim of trafficking observed, it is estimated that there are 5.7 unobserved.
- ▶ For every male victim of trafficking observed, it is estimated that there are 9.20 unobserved.

Fourth, the trends for each annual period represented in the following graph show, in absolute data, the trends for the total observed population and the total estimated population. The difference between both lines is the dark figure of victims of trafficking per year. A growing trend can be observed in the years 2018 and 2019 when more trafficked persons were detected.

### 2.2.3. STATISTICS: AN OPPORTUNITY TO FIND OUT THE ACTUAL DIMENSIONS OF THE ICEBERG

It is often said that the available data on human trafficking represents only the tip of the iceberg. While this is true, statistics applied to these data have shown us that **it is already possible to see the whole iceberg.**

The statistical use of the data has enabled to **estimate the dark figure of victims of trafficking** and has shown that this a priori utopian scenario was nothing more than the result of a lack of will and the absence of a system to support and promote knowledge generation.

Estimating the number of people trapped in trafficking processes in the Autonomous Community of Madrid during the period 2015-2019 has gone from being an unknown to an opportunity with the potential of being applied throughout the national territory with the participation of all the actors involved in the fight against trafficking.

This provides an opportunity not only to estimate the dark figure and obtain reliable national statistics, but also to improve and optimise the intermediate processes and adapt them to international human rights standards.

Necessary processes such as the homogenisation of concepts, the unification of data collection methods, the creation of statistics that bring together data collected by all key stakeholders, or the publication of statistical data on a disaggregated basis will make possible to analyse reality through an intersectional approach.

Human trafficking could cease to be an **invisible reality** if we do not seize the opportunity to engage in research and knowledge production that enables us, if only a little more, to tackle the whole iceberg of human trafficking and exploitation.

## 2.3. TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION FOR ACCESS TO RIGHTS

Technology tools are starting to appear as an opportunity to provide unprecedented solutions to problems that until recently were difficult to solve. This is the case of data control and the identity of people in trafficking processes<sup>19</sup>.

For organizations involved in the defence of human rights and the assistance and protection of victims of human trafficking, technological applications are already an option to address some aspects of the fight against trafficking<sup>20</sup>. Along these lines, and build on the importance of data for better decision-making in combating human trafficking and exploitation, the *Cultura de datos en la trata de seres humanos* project aimed to develop a **technological tool** for collecting, analysing and exchanging data on the protection and assistance of victims of trafficking.

The initial use case proposed a secure system for collecting and sharing data between organisations. In this way, if a trafficked person approached an organisation in search of assistance, the organisation could query the system to see whether or not the person had already been assisted by another organisation. In case of a person already identified by the system, the organizational staff could update existing information in the application, as well as refer to reports already produced, etc. All this without the need to go through a new narrative process, avoiding revictimization<sup>21</sup>.

Nonetheless, the needs and concerns identified by the key agents interviewed to explore the feasibility of the proposed application required to move away looking for a tool to solve the problems and challenges of protecting and monitoring trafficked and exploited persons, and required instead to start working as a community on a tool to help trafficked and exploited persons to manage this process<sup>22</sup> with the ultimate goal of regaining control over their lives.

The idea that emerges from this process is the creation of **a user-friendlier, safer and more flexible ecosystem within the bureaucratic environment** in which these people, foreigners in many cases, generally move. This is an environment characterized by arbitrariness — such

---

19 Castaño, M. J. (2021, July 1). *La humanización del dato*. *Knowledge Waves*.

20 OSCE Office of the Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, Tech Against Trafficking. (2020). *Leveraging innovation to fight trafficking in human beings: a comprehensive analysis of technology tools*.

21 Suja, A. (2020). *Estudio de viabilidad del uso de la tecnología blockchain para la identificación de personas en situación de vulnerabilidad en el marco del proyecto Data Culture in Human Trafficking*. [Master's thesis, MA in Migraciones Internacionales (Universidad Pontificia Comillas), Madrid].

22 Peirano, M. (2019, September 19). *Marta Peirano: "Internet no es el problema, la extracción de datos es el problema"*. *El Salto*.

as the possibility of opening or not a bank account using the “red card” (the document that identifies a person as an asylum seeker) depending on the bank branch you go to — and discrimination such as the lack of DNA test results that justify the affiliation of children<sup>23</sup>.

With this new approach and the incorporation into the project of the company Wealize as a technology partner to provide technical advice and develop the technology application, we reformulated the use case into a tool that would put the trafficked person at the centre of the application in the role of data owner and vector of the exchange of information between organisations.

The result was Inside ID<sup>24</sup>, a **decentralised platform** with blockchain technology and a wallet app for mobile phones where each person can store information related to their identification. A photograph, a birth certificate, a passport or a census certificate are some of the documents that can be verified and sent to the user and the owner of the *wallet* by the institutions and organisations that have accepted to participate in this network of mutual trust.

To access and operate with these documents on a daily basis, the user is given a digital identity in the virtual environment. Blockchain appeared to us to be the best way to ensure that people using this tool have the highest level of control over their data and their own digital identity in a self-managed manner and without the need to resort to centralized authorities.

In spite of the doubts about using a technology as immature as **Blockchain**, the resulting full decentralisation appears to **be a good solution** for scenarios such as the protection of people in trafficking processes where despite the significant mistrust among actors and/or organisations, shared and immediate access to information is needed<sup>25</sup>.

Moreover, the European Commission already has its own European Blockchain Services Infrastructure (EBSI), a network common to all Member States for the implementation of European public administration without borders. The proof of concept of Inside ID was developed on the Alastria T network, a network of public authorisations in which only known and trusted entities may participate in the application.

The aim of the proof of concept was to test with actual actors and cases that simulate the experiences that people in trafficking or exploitative situations face in their daily lives. To help us validate the feasibility and utility of the application by the organisations, these tests were performed without the intervention of the project team or technological partner. However,

---

23 Castaño Reyero, M. J., & Pérez Adroher, A. (2017). *Son niños y niñas, son víctimas. Situación de las menores víctimas de trata en España*. UNICEF, IUEM, pp. 38-41.

24 Torralba, M. (2021, August 4). *Inside ID: Identidad digital para víctimas de trata*. *Wealize/Client Stories*.

25 Suja, A. *Op. cit.*

The aim of the proof of concept was to test with actual actors and cases that simulate the experiences that people in trafficking or exploitative situations face in their daily lives

the test of the application by individuals in trafficking processes were developed within the framework of workshops on privacy and data protection organized in the framework of the Data Culture in Human Trafficking Project. Generally, the feedback received from organizations and victims of trafficking regarding the functionality and usefulness of the application was positive. Nevertheless, significant risks and improvements remain, such as the fact that people in trafficking contexts move in highly controlled environments, the need to simplify language that is sometimes too technical, or the requirement to integrate the

ID application with the organization's data collection and management systems so that both can provide feedback without having to collect the information twice.

The proof of concept developed, while limited in scope, corroborated our hypothesis regarding the need to **technologize the response to human trafficking**. Its development provides a solid foundation and a wide range of opportunities to respond to specific issues in the field of trafficking in human beings, thereby promoting access to rights and organisational interoperability.

The testing of the application by organizations and individuals in trafficking processes concludes a two-and-a-half-year journey full of trials, errors and lessons learned. In this way, it is also necessary to highlight some successes, such as having incorporated **the technological liaison** within the project to overcome the communication challenge between the technology team, the academic team and the organisations collaborating on the project. Or the opportunity to have a **multi-disciplinary team** of psychologists, social workers, engineers, and lawyers, among others, which has allowed us to include in the application test the considerations of those who are or have been in the processes of trafficking and exploitation.

## 2.4. BUILDING ECOSYSTEMS OF PROTECTION AND GOOD TREATMENT

As noted earlier, the Data Culture in Human Trafficking project was born and developed as an integrating project whose **success and sustainability** over time depended to a large extent on the participation of the different key actors involved in the phenomenon of trafficking.

With the aim of supporting and promoting such participation, we launched an Open Innovation Community. That is to say, a space for reflection in which to gather key players with different roles and skills to define and solve a common challenge: implementing **an ecosystem of protection based on *goodtreatment* and mutual care**. To this aim, we invited to participate all those key actors who directly or indirectly participate or should participate in the management of a phenomenon as complex as trafficking and the protection of the people it affects.

This Community began operations in January 2021 and developed through six sessions held between January and June of the same year. The reflection spaces generated during these meetings allowed us to address the different ways of implementing a protective ecosystem and to reflect together on a possible distribution of roles to achieve the proposed goals.

Within the framework of this initiative, the “ecosystem of protection” was defined as the conjunction of the following factors: 1) The sum of the specific protection and *goodtreatment* environments (referred to as microecosystems) generated by each of these key agents; 2) the interaction of all these protective environments according to criteria for good treatment and 3) the result of the dynamic relationship between these factors, which should be the effective protection of victims of trafficking and the materialisation of good treatment towards them and their immediate environment. This concept is inspired by the Internal Protection Systems Model<sup>26</sup> and the KREA3 Community of Practice, Learning and Open Innovation developed by the Institute for Innovation, Development and Social Impact (Iidis, by its abbreviation in Spanish)<sup>27</sup>.

In addition, the conceptualization of “**goodtreatment**” (as opposed to mistreatment, hence its spelling) was coined in order to resize it according to the needs of trafficked persons and the different actors involved in their protection. Two essential characteristics were included in its definition: it is inherent and cross-cutting, that is, relating to all peoples without exception and to all their dimensions. *Goodtreatment* begins with the recognition of others, their dignity, and the consideration of their rights, taking care of each person’s needs, singularities and vital time.

By way of reference, the steps carried out in this pilot experience for the construction of a protection and *goodtreatment* ecosystem were developed as follows:

- ▶ **January: session I:** Work was carried out on the idea that administrations, authorities, and the third sector organisations could be constituted as protective

---

26 Aller, T. (2020). La construcción de entornos protectores, de buentrato y cuidado mutuo como concreción de los derechos de los niños, niñas y adolescentes. In C. Martínez García (Dir.), *Infancia, pandemia y derechos. Treinta años de la Convención sobre los Derechos del Niño en España* (pp. 547-580). Aranzadi.

27 Iidis, [Community of Practice, Learning and Open Innovation KREA3](#).



environments based on *goodtreatment* and mutual care. With special emphasis on the implementation of a child-centered approach, the working group dialogued on the foundations, strategies and tools required to construct it; as well as on the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary to achieve this environmental transformation aimed at protecting and supporting people in trafficking processes and their families.

- ▶ **February: session II:** A thorough mapping of the key actors necessary for the construction of this protective environment was carried out. The main objective was to identify those active agents with an already consolidated role and those agents who, with a currently more passive role, could be relevant for the fight against trafficking and the protection of victims, all from an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approach.
- ▶ **March: session III:** Once all key agents and potential agents were identified and located, this mapping was transformed into a sociogram based on affinity relations. The resources required to extend the field of operations in this direction were identified and described, in order to obtain a better level of understanding of its reality, including the changes related to digital transformation. This exercise allowed us to identify four types of key agents: related agents (equal orientation and operations), different agents (equal orientation, different types of operations), outside agents (unaware or not participating in the ecosystem), and opposite agents (opposite in terms of orientation and operations). Given the limited capacity of the project at that time, only the first two types were included in the sociogram.
- ▶ **April: session IV:** The first part of the session reflected on how data can be a tool to better understand the reality we are supposed to influence, in this case trafficking, providing more effective response patterns and, therefore, generators of good treatment at all levels. In the second part of the session, we presented the preliminary results of the estimation of the dark figure of trafficked persons in the Community of Madrid for the period 2015-2019. Sharing this space for reflection made it possible to incorporate the reactions, criticisms, fears, and motivations of the key agents to the analysis that accompanies the implementation of the MSE statistical model.
- ▶ **May: Session V:** The session was framed around the implementation of technology applications as new opportunities for access to rights for trafficked people organisational interoperability. The second part of the session was dedicated to present the proof of concept of the blockchain app designed in the framework of the project — Inside ID — . Once again, the reaction, criticism, fears,

and motivations expressed by the key actors in this space allowed progress to be made in the design and development of the application. As mentioned above, technological innovation should always be aimed at solving specific problems identified by potential users of the technology in question, which is why it was possible to extract high value-added contributions from this session to the work already carried out.

- ▶ **June: session VI:** Finally, the last session was devoted to drawing up a roadmap for the creation of an ecosystem of protection and *goodtreatment* in the Community of Madrid. Once the main milestones and agreements reached in the previous sessions were recapitulated, a proposal was drawn up for low-investment, high-impact actions on which to continue working once these spaces for reflection were completed.

The implementation of *goodtreatment* in the Open Innovation Community resulted in a process in which interpersonal and organisational relations were aimed at enabling the optimal development of individuals through **participation, training and empowerment**, with a view to the **full enjoyment** and **expression of their rights**.

Working on all these elements of the concept of *goodtreatment* added to the reflection other issues such as **self-care, care for others** and **care for the environment** — social, natural and virtual, all of which are extremely important in achieving responsible, proactive, ethical and violence-free citizenship. Therefore, to speak of *goodtreatment* also meant to speak of **reciprocity**, to direct this way of understanding and doing not only towards individuals within trafficking processes, but also towards the professionals and key agents working for their protection.

The roadmap designed at the last session included the following actions to work together:

- ▶ Greater precision and consensus on the meaning of key terms.
- ▶ Increased agreement on the meaning of essential definitions to ensure common action.
- ▶ Agreement and standardisation of the data to be registered by each organisation and institution.
- ▶ Greater will and commitment towards a secure exchange of information.
- ▶ The creation of systems enabling the systematic collection and secure exchange of data by the various organisations and institutions.

- ▶ Greater communication between the different offices of the Public Prosecutor's Office, especially the Foreigners' Prosecutor's Office and the Minors' Prosecutors Office for the collection and exchange of data.
- ▶ The creation of periodic working groups to define action criteria and ensure monitoring and support for the effective implementation of a data culture.



According to current trends in identification and data collection, the 16-year-old mother of two children who spent four years in captivity will not be identified as a victim of human trafficking. She is a girl, and only 4% of identified individuals in Spain are girls or boys; she has been sexually exploited but not in a prostitution context, while all those identified as victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation in 2020 were found in prostitution locations; her exploiters were not an organised group but two individuals; and nor does it appear to be a foreign national, which is, according to Spanish data, the most common victim profile.

There are, however, more than reasonable indications to believe that we are dealing with someone who has lost control over her life: she was illegally held captive for at least four years; and she was forced to carry out acts that endangered her physical and mental integrity, such as being a mother at age 12 or living with two individuals twice her age who systematically abused her.

The perpetrators of these events are under investigation for sexual assault, gender-based violence and unlawful detention. It is most likely that this girl will be recognised as a victim of gender-based violence, but not identified as a person involved in a process of human trafficking. The consequences of this decision are significant because the protection obligations towards a trafficked person are even more comprehensive. Cases like this constitute a form of gender-based violence but are a trafficking crime in themselves, thus being the obligations of the states even more extensive. The girl should be assisted in a specific resource for victims of trafficking, where her specific protection and recovery needs will be addressed. Ultimately, not taking this girl into account would mean missing an important part of the problem, such as the fact that there are children who, as a result of their individual vulnerability, are at high risk of being trafficked.

**The perpetrators of these events are under investigation for sexual assault, gender-based violence and unlawful detention**

---

This story and its entire process exemplify several of the main obstacles still to be overcome in the fight against trafficking and in the appropriate care of its victims. Not seeing, not identifying, not treating the case properly, have consequences that prevent progress in the protection of individuals in the trafficking processes.

In recent years, **many efforts** have been undertaken by different authorities, governments, and organisations to make visible and provide resources to combat trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, in particular adult women. Bearing in mind that the crime of trafficking has only been recognized in our legal system since 2010, **the enormous results obtained** are obvious: numerous awareness campaigns, plans and programs dedicated to fighting against traffickers and providing adequate care for their victims, training of professionals for better detection and identification...

Labour trafficking has been added to this approach more recently, with police operations on displayed in the media. And also, through the efforts of many organisations that have detected sexually exploited teenagers and very young girls, the plans and resources for female victims of sexual exploitation have been expanded to include girls. The latter can be paradoxical since, according to official data that guide programs and policies, the number of victims under the age of 18 is declining.

However, in spite of these efforts, what does not seem to improve is the correct detection and identification of all victims and their registration. This is almost unanimously acknowledged by the professionals who work daily in criminal prosecution operations and assist people in exploitation processes.

The data extracted from the Multiple Systems Estimation exercise has allowed us to analyse trends and calculate ratios that evidence that some types of victims and forms of exploitation **are not identified** in the same way as others. Many organisations already warn in their reports about the poor visibility of certain victims who are outside the normal criminal prosecution circuit, but who are detected within their resources. Thus, the drafting of a future comprehensive Law against Trafficking in Human Beings is good news, but if it focuses only on certain groups (women and girls) and on one type of exploitation (sexual), many other victims will be left off the radar of detection and protection. It would be a missed opportunity to legislate on the basis of misconceptions and not to focus policies and resources more efficiently.

The victim estimation process highlighted the need to homogenize concepts and criteria for data collection and registration, which would improve reporting to international agencies

and organizations as well. We all agree that trafficking goes beyond national boundaries and borders, which is why it is necessary to operate within a common framework and to use comparable parameters and estimations from one country to another. The proposed **Multiple Systems Estimation** tool is **a good starting point** for this homogenisation; recommended by UNODC and implemented in several countries, it is also flexible enough **to respond to the reality and context of each country** through a process of adaptation.

To meet the numerous challenges presented, it is necessary to have a body or institution that coordinates all the necessary actions, and facilitates joint reflection spaces for decision-making by various decision-makers. The body of the **National Referral Mechanism**, recommended by the OSCE<sup>1</sup> (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe), already implemented in many countries in our environment, is presented as **the ideal solution for this role of advocacy, coordination, and shared reflection**. According to its definition, this Mechanism would consist of “a specialized multidisciplinary team that manages unified criteria, where all human trafficking cases arrive and is responsible for referring, promoting and managing the recovery process”<sup>2</sup>. The neutrality and reliability of this body are essential to facilitate a secure environment where trust between stakeholders, confidentiality and data protection and the identity of victims prevail.

The technological challenge faced by investigators and police forces as they pursue human trafficking crime is increasing. The capture of victims through shared social networks, the currency transactions carried out in cryptocurrencies and other ways that leave no trace, and the vast amount of illegal material on the Deep Web add to the traditional hardships of an ancient but profitable crime that has always found ways to innovate to continue to expand.

Working only with what we already know and applying always the same approaches does not work for any of the many human trafficking challenges. As a way of example, the protection of victims and their data remains a puzzle for the authorities and the organisations that assist them. The **endless bureaucracy** and **registries of information** on each step of the process makes it difficult for victims to perform daily procedures, placing them in an uncomfortable position repeatedly, since they cannot easily prove their identity and that of their children.

Technology provides us with opportunities that were unthinkable a few years ago to try to resolve those challenges. Through this project, we developed a tool to promote the self-managed identity of victims, which facilitates access to their rights and helps them regain their dignity as citizens. But this is only one of the many possibilities that technological

---

1 OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. (2007). [Mecanismos Nacionales de Derivación. Aunando esfuerzos para proteger los derechos de las víctimas de trata de personas](#). *Manual práctico*.

2 Castaño, M. J., & Pérez, A. *Op. cit.*

**It is thus necessary to bet on the development of applications and programs that already work in other fields, establishing alliances with sectors seemingly far removed from the traditional ones in this area.**

innovation offers us. The OSCE, in its recent report *Leveraging innovation to fight trafficking in human beings. A comprehensive analysis of technology tools*<sup>3</sup>, attempted to bridge the gap in the use of technology to combat human exploitation, as well as providing information on the different tools that could contribute to the different actors' work. It is thus necessary to bet on the development of applications and programs that already work in other fields, establishing alliances with sectors seemingly far removed from the traditional ones in this area.

These various challenges and recommendations will continue to be part of the joint effort to combat trafficking of the University Institute for

Migration Studies of the Comillas Pontifical University and UNICEF. We hope to continue to rely on the wisdom and commitment of all those people and institutions that have always been our allies, as well as those encountered during this project.

---

3 OSCE Office of the Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, Tech Against Trafficking. (2020). *Leveraging innovation to fight trafficking in human beings: a comprehensive analysis of technology tools*.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### REGULATION AND JURISPRUDENCE

Actuaciones para la detección y atención de víctimas de trata de seres humanos (TSH) menores de edad. Anexo al Protocolo marco de protección de víctimas de TSH [Ministerio de Sanidad, Consumo y Bienestar Social, Gobierno de España]. Aprobado en sesión extraordinaria del Pleno del Observatorio de la Infancia celebrada el día 1 de diciembre de 2017. [https://observatoriodelainfancia.mdsocialesa2030.gob.es/productos/pdf/Anexo\\_Protocolo\\_Marco\\_Menores\\_Victimas\\_TSH\\_aprobado\\_por\\_Pleno1\\_12\\_2017.pdf](https://observatoriodelainfancia.mdsocialesa2030.gob.es/productos/pdf/Anexo_Protocolo_Marco_Menores_Victimas_TSH_aprobado_por_Pleno1_12_2017.pdf)

*Chowdury and others v. Greece* (App. no. 21884/15). Judgment of the European Court of Human Rights (2017, June 30). <https://www.asylumlawdatabase.eu/en/content/ecthr-chowdury-and-others-v-greece-application-no-2188415-30-march-2017>

European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. ETS Document No. 5. Council of Europe. Rome. November 4, 1950. [https://www.echr.coe.int/documents/convention\\_eng.pdf](https://www.echr.coe.int/documents/convention_eng.pdf)

European Parliament resolution of 10 February 2021 on the implementation of Directive 2011/36/EU on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims (2020/2029(INI)). <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52021IP0041&from=EN>

Fiscalía General del Estado. Circular 2/2011, de 2 de junio, sobre la reforma del Código Penal por Ley Orgánica 5/2010 en relación con las organizaciones y grupos criminales. Reference: FIS-C-2011-00002. [https://www.boe.es/buscar/abrir\\_fiscalia.php?id=FIS-C-2011-00002.pdf](https://www.boe.es/buscar/abrir_fiscalia.php?id=FIS-C-2011-00002.pdf)

Instrumento de ratificación del Protocolo de 2014 relativo al Convenio sobre el trabajo forzoso, 1930, hecho en Ginebra el 11 de junio de 2014. Boletín Oficial del Estado, no. 309, 2017, 21 December. [https://www.boe.es/diario\\_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2017-15189](https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2017-15189)

- International Labour Organization. Protocol of 2014 to the Forced Labour Convention, 1930. Geneva, 2014, June 11 (P029). [https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/ILO\\_P\\_029.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/ILO_P_029.pdf)
- Ley 12/2009, de 30 de octubre, reguladora del derecho de asilo y de la protección subsidiaria. Boletín Oficial del Estado, BOE no. 263, 2009, 31 October. <https://www.boe.es/eli/es/l/2009/10/30/12/con>
- Ley Orgánica 8/2021, de 4 de junio, de protección integral a la infancia y la adolescencia frente a la violencia. Boletín Oficial del Estado, no. 134, 2021, 5 June. <https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-2021-9347>
- Orden INT/1202/2011, de 4 de mayo, por la que se regulan los ficheros de datos de carácter personal del Ministerio del Interior. Boletín Oficial del Estado, BOE-A-2011-8382, 2011, 13 May. <https://www.boe.es/buscar/doc.php?id=BOE-A-2011-8382>
- Plan de Acción Nacional contra el Trabajo Forzoso: Relaciones laborales obligatorias y otras actividades humanas forzadas [Ministerio de Trabajo y Economía Social, Gobierno de España]. (2021, 20 December). <https://www.sepe.es/HomeSepe/que-es-el-sepe/comunicacion-institucional/noticias/detalle-noticia.html?folder=/2021/Diciembre/&detail=Plan-de-Accion-Nacional-contr-el-Trabajo-Forzoso>
- Protocolo Marco de Protección de las víctimas de trata de seres humanos, adoptado el 28 de octubre de 2011 por los Ministerios de Justicia, del Interior, de Empleo y Seguridad Social y de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad, la Fiscalía General del Estado y el Consejo del Poder Judicial. <http://www.ces.es/documents/10180/5210145/Dic012019.pdf>
- Sentencia de la Audiencia Provincial de Barcelona 398/2019, 2019, 31 July (Roj: SAP B 14574/2019-ECLI:ES:APB:2019:14574). <https://www.poderjudicial.es/search/AN/openDocument/fcc7c35d5db26ed8/20200107>
- United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. 2000, 15 November. <https://www.unodc.org/documents/treaties/UNTOC/Publications/TOC%20Convention/TOCebook-e.pdf>
- V.C.L. and A.N. c. United Kingdom* (App. nos. 77587/12 and 74603/12). Judgment of the European Court of Human Rights (2021, 16 February). [https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/fre#%7B%22sort%22:\[%22EMPTY%22\],%22itemid%22:\[%22001-207927%22\]%7D](https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/fre#%7B%22sort%22:[%22EMPTY%22],%22itemid%22:[%22001-207927%22]%7D)

## SCIENTIFIC DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

- Aller, T. (2020). La construcción de entornos protectores, de buentrato y cuidado mutuo como concreción de los derechos de los niños, niñas y adolescentes. In C. Martínez García (Dir.), *Infancia, pandemia y derechos. Treinta años de la Convención sobre los Derechos del Niño en España* (pp. 547-580). Aranzadi.
- APRAMP. (2020). *Menores Víctimas de Trata y Explotación. Una realidad oculta, cada día más visible*. Asociación para la Prevención, Reinserción y Atención de la Mujer Prostituida. <https://apramp.org/download/menores-victimas-de-trata-y-explotacion-una-realidad-oculta-cada-dia-mas-visible/>
- Bales, K. (2000). *La nueva esclavitud en la economía global*. Siglo XXI España Editores.
- Barrio, C., Castaño, M. J., & Díez, I. (2019). *Colectivos vulnerables en el sistema de asilo. Una aproximación a las necesidades de la infancia, personas LGTBI+ y víctimas de trata*. Instituto Universitario de Estudios sobre Migraciones, La Merced Migraciones. <https://doi.org/10.14422/iuem.20191220>
- Barrio, C. I., & Castaño, M. J. (2020). Trata de seres humanos: una constante dicotomía entre la seguridad y los derechos humanos. In A. M.<sup>a</sup> Huesca González, J. A. López Ruiz, & M. P. Quicios García (Coords.), *Seguridad Ciudadana, Desviación Social y Sistema Judicial* (pp. 15-27). Dykinson SL.
- Barrio Lema, C. I., et al. (2022). *Guía de buenas prácticas y recomendaciones sobre trata de seres humanos*. Fundación Fernando Pombo.
- Carrillo, L., & Gasperis, T. de. (2019). *La otra cara de la trata. Informe diagnóstico sobre otras formas de trata que afectan a mujeres*. ACCEM. <https://www.accem.es/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/LA-OTRA-CARA-DE-LA-TRATA-NOVICOM-2019.pdf>
- Castaño, M. J. (2022). Niños y niñas en situaciones de trata y explotación. In C. Martínez García & R. Meana Peón (Dirs.), *Dignidad y equidad amenazadas en la sociedad contemporánea. Aproximación multidisciplinar* (pp. 561-592). Aranzadi.
- Castaño Reyero, M. J., & Pérez Adroher, A. (2017). *Son niños y niñas, son víctimas. Situación de las menores víctimas de trata en España*. UNICEF, IUEM. <https://www.unicef.es/publicaciones/son-ninos-y-ninas-son-victimas>
- Centro de Inteligencia contra el Terrorismo y el Crimen Organizado. (2020). *Trata de seres humanos en España. Balance estadístico 2016-2020*. Ministry of Home Affairs. Government of Spain. <http://www.interior.gob.es/documents/10180/11389243/Balance+estadistico+trata+y+explotaci%C3%B3n+seres+humanos+2016-2020.pdf/b52d26fd-43cb-4b29-85a5-fa65e87375dd>

- Centro Nacional de Desaparecidos. (2020). *Informe Annual. Personas Desaparecidas 2021*. Ministerio del Interior, Gobierno de España. [https://cndes-web.ses.mir.es/publico/Desaparecidos/dam/jcr:8939fd82-d875-49af-bbc6-ea339802df7f/INFORME%20ESTADISTICO%202021%20ACCESIBLE%20\(21MB\)\\_md.pdf](https://cndes-web.ses.mir.es/publico/Desaparecidos/dam/jcr:8939fd82-d875-49af-bbc6-ea339802df7f/INFORME%20ESTADISTICO%202021%20ACCESIBLE%20(21MB)_md.pdf)
- Colmenar Calvo, N. (2020). *Análisis de los métodos de recopilación de datos de trata de seres humanos. Una oportunidad para mejorar la lucha contra la trata en la Comunidad de Madrid* (Master's thesis, MA in Cooperación Internacional al Desarrollo). Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Madrid. <http://hdl.handle.net/11531/52270>
- Coumans, A. M., Cruyff, M. H. L.F., Van der Heijden, P. G. M., Wolf, J., & Schemmeets, J. (2017). Estimating Homelessness in the Netherlands Using a Capture-Recapture Approach. *Social Indicators Research*, 130(1), 189-212. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-015-1171-7>
- David, F., Bryant, K., & Larsen, J. L. (2019). Migrants and their Vulnerability to Human Trafficking, Modern Slavery and Forced Labour. *International Organization for Migration*. [https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/migrants\\_and\\_their\\_vulnerability.pdf](https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/migrants_and_their_vulnerability.pdf)
- European Commission. (2015, 20 October). *Study on high-risk groups for trafficking in human beings*. [https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/study-high-risk-groups-trafficking-human-beings\\_es](https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/study-high-risk-groups-trafficking-human-beings_es)
- European Commission. (2016). *Study on the gender dimension of trafficking in human beings. Final Report*. Migration and Home Affairs. [https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/study-gender-dimension-trafficking-human-beings\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/study-gender-dimension-trafficking-human-beings_en)
- European Commission. (2020). *Data collection on trafficking in human beings in the EU*. Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs. <https://op.europa.eu/es/publication-detail/-/publication/5b93c49f-12a0-11eb-9a54-01aa75ed71a1>
- Fundación Foessa. (2022). Evolución de la cohesión social y consecuencias de la covid-19 en España. *Colección de estudios*, 50. <https://www.caritas.es/main-files/uploads/2022/01/Conclusiones-Informe-FOESSA-2022.pdf>
- Gasperis, T. de. (2020). *La trata tiene también género masculino*. ACCEM. <https://www.accem.es/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/La-trata-tiene-tambie%C4%9Bn-ge%C4%9Bnero-masculino.pdf>
- Gregulska, J., Healy, C., Petreska, E., Petreska, E., Makulec, A., Safin, D., & Smętek, J. (2020). *Study on reviewing the functioning of Member States' National and Transnational Referral Mechanisms*. European Commission, Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs. <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2837/24454>
- GRETA. (2018). *Report concerning the implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings by Spain. Second Evaluation Round*. Secre-

- tariat of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (GRETA and Committee of the Parties). <https://rm.coe.int/greta-2018-7-frg-esp-en/16808b51e0>
- Delegación del Gobierno Contra la Violencia de Género. (2013). *Manual de Directrices comunes para la detección de víctimas de trata de seres humanos en Europa*. Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad, Gobierno de España. <https://violenciagenero.igualdad.gob.es/otrasFormas/trata/detectarla/pdf/ManualDirectricesDeteccionTSH.pdf>
- Henderson, A. E., & Powers, K. (2018). Developing a data culture. In *Cultivating a data culture in higher education* (pp. 3-12). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315171326-1>
- ICAT. (2016). *A Toolkit for guidance in designing and evaluating counter-trafficking programmes. Harnessing accumulated knowledge to respond to trafficking in persons*. The Inter-Agency Coordination Group against Trafficking in Persons. [https://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/report/icat-harnessing-accumulated-knowledge-to-respond-to-trafficking-in-persons/16-10273\\_ICAT\\_toolkit.pdf](https://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/report/icat-harnessing-accumulated-knowledge-to-respond-to-trafficking-in-persons/16-10273_ICAT_toolkit.pdf)
- International Organization for Migration (IOM), Federal Ministry of the Interior of Austria. (2009). *Guidelines for the collection of data on trafficking in human beings, including comparable indicators*. <https://publications.iom.int/es/books/guidelines-collection-data-trafficking-human-beings-including-comparable-indicators>
- Izquierdo, J. (2020). *Análisis de Modelos Estadísticos para la Estimación de Víctimas de Trata. Caso de Estudio: Comunidad de Madrid* (Master's thesis, MA in Cooperación Internacional al Desarrollo). Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Madrid. <http://hdl.handle.net/11531/52267>
- Johnson, R. W. (1996). How Many Fish are in the Pond? *Teaching Statistics*, 18(1), 2-5. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9639.1996.tb00882.x>
- Lum, K., Price, M., & Banks, D. (2013). Applications of Multiple Systems Estimation in Human Rights Research. *The American Statistician*, 67(4), 191-200. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0031305.2013.821093>
- Ministerio de Derechos Sociales y Agenda 2030. (2021). Boletín de Datos Estadísticos de Medidas de Protección a la Infancia. 23, *Informes, Estudios e Investigación 2021*. Observatorio de la Infancia, Gobierno de España. <https://www.escueladefamiliasadoptivas.es/boletin-de-datos-estadisticosde-medidas-de-proteccion-a-la-infancia-numero-23/>
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). (2018). *A Human Rights-Based Approach to data. Leaving No One Behind in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/HRIndicators/GuidanceNoteonApproachtoData.pdf>

- International Labour Organization. (2017). *Global estimates of modern slavery: Forced labour and forced marriage*. [https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@dgreports/@dcomm/documents/publication/wcms\\_575479.pdf](https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@dgreports/@dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_575479.pdf)
- OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. (2007). *Mecanismos Nacionales de Derivación. Aunando esfuerzos para proteger los derechos de las víctimas de trata de personas. Manual práctico*. <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/5/a/13973.pdf>
- OSCE Office of the Special Representative and Co-ordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, Tech Against Trafficking. (2020). *Leveraging innovation to fight trafficking in human beings: a comprehensive analysis of technology tools*. [https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/9/6/455206\\_1.pdf](https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/9/6/455206_1.pdf)
- Peroni, L., & Timmer, A. (2013). Vulnerable groups: The promise of an emerging concept in European Human Rights Convention law. *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 11(4), 1056-1085. <https://doi.org/10.1093/icon/mot042>
- Proyecto Esperanza, SICAR Cat. (October 2020). *Documento de Análisis e Incidencia Política. #TambienEsTrata*. [https://www.proyectoesperanza.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Documento-Marco\\_-Tambien\\_es\\_trata.pdf](https://www.proyectoesperanza.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Documento-Marco_-Tambien_es_trata.pdf)
- Sabino, C. (1996). *El proceso de investigación*. Lumen-Humanitas.
- Suja, A. (2020). *Estudio de viabilidad del uso de la tecnología blockchain para la identificación de personas en situación de vulnerabilidad en el marco del proyecto Data Culture in Human Trafficking* (Master's thesis, MA in Migraciones Internacionales). Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Madrid. <http://hdl.handle.net/11531/53234>
- Surtees, R., Brunovskis, A., & Johnson, L. (2019). The Science (and Art) of Understanding Trafficking in Persons: Good Practice in TIP Data Collection. *NEXUS Institute*. <https://nexushumantrafficking.files.wordpress.com/2020/02/good-practice-tip-data-collection-nexus-institute.pdf>
- Van der Heijden, P., Cruyff, M. H. L. F., & Van Gils, G. (2015). *Schattingen illegaal in Nederland ver-blijvende vreemdelingen 2012-2013 (Estimations of illegal residents in the Netherlands 2012-2013)*. WODC (Research and Documentation Centre), Dutch Ministry of Security and Justice. <http://www.lampion.info/documents/doc/schattingen-illegal-in-nederland-verblijvende-vreemdelingen2012-2013.pdf>
- UNODC. (2007). *Toolkit to Combat Trafficking in Persons. Global Program Against Trafficking in Human Beings*. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. <https://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/HT-toolkit-en.pdf>
- UNODC. (2013). *Issue Paper: Abuse of a position of vulnerability and other “means” within the definition of trafficking in persons*. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

[https://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/2012/UNODC\\_2012\\_Issue\\_Paper\\_-\\_Abuse\\_of\\_a\\_Position\\_of\\_Vulnerability.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/human-trafficking/2012/UNODC_2012_Issue_Paper_-_Abuse_of_a_Position_of_Vulnerability.pdf)

UNODC. (2020a). *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons*. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. [https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tip/2021/GLOTIP\\_2020\\_15jan\\_web.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tip/2021/GLOTIP_2020_15jan_web.pdf)

UNODC. (2020b). *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2020*. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. [https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tip/2021/GLOTIP\\_2020\\_15jan\\_web.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/tip/2021/GLOTIP_2020_15jan_web.pdf)

UNODC. Dutch National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings and Sexual Violence against Children. (2017). *Monitoring Target 16.2 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals: A multiple systems estimation of the number of presumed human trafficking victims in the Netherlands in 2010-2015 by year, age, gender, form of exploitation and nationality* [Research Brief]. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. [https://www.unodc.org/documents/research/UNODC-DNR\\_research\\_brief.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/research/UNODC-DNR_research_brief.pdf)

UNODC. Walk Free Foundation. (2018). *Romania - Monitoring Target 16.2 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals: multiple systems estimation of the numbers of presumed victims of trafficking in persons* [Research Brief]. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. [https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/MSE\\_Research\\_Brief\\_Romania.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/MSE_Research_Brief_Romania.pdf)

UNODC. Walk Free Foundation. (2018). *Serbia - Monitoring Target 16.2 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals: multiple systems estimation of the numbers of presumed victims of trafficking in persons* [Research Brief]. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. [https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/MSE\\_Research\\_Brief\\_Serbia.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/MSE_Research_Brief_Serbia.pdf)

UNODC. Dutch National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings and Sexual Violence against Children. (2017). *Monitoring Target 16.2 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals: A multiple systems estimation of the number of presumed human trafficking victims in the Netherlands in 2010-2015 by year, age, gender, form of exploitation and nationality* [Research Brief]. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. [https://www.unodc.org/documents/research/UNODC-DNR\\_research\\_brief.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/research/UNODC-DNR_research_brief.pdf)

UNODC. Walk Free Foundation. (2018). *Ireland - Monitoring Target 16.2 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals: multiple systems estimation of the numbers of presumed victims of trafficking in persons* [Research Brief]. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. [https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/MSE\\_Research\\_Brief\\_Ireland.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/glotip/MSE_Research_Brief_Ireland.pdf)

Vallejo, I. (2019). *El Infinito en un junco*. Siruela.

Zwierzchowski, J., & Tabeau, E. (2010). *The 1992-95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina: census-based multiple system estimation of casualties' undercount* [Conference Paper for the International Research Workshop on 'The Global Costs of Conflict']. The Households in Conflict Network (HiCN) and The German Institute for Economic Research (DIW Berlin). 1-2 February 2010. [https://www.icty.org/x/file/About/OTP/War\\_Demographics/en/bih\\_casualty\\_undercount\\_conf\\_paper\\_100201.pdf](https://www.icty.org/x/file/About/OTP/War_Demographics/en/bih_casualty_undercount_conf_paper_100201.pdf)

## PRESS AND DIGITAL MEDIA

Altamira, M., Badia, Q., Meseguer, D., & Tosco, P. (2020, 27 April). *Sobrevivir a los campos de fresas* [Video File. Proyecto de investigación periodística realizado junto a la Lafede y la Fundació Surt en el marco de la beca DEVREPORTER]. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OZcz0omUFS0>

Ariza, P. (2021, 29 March). Cae en Bizkaia una red que explotaba a nicaragüenses en el servicio doméstico. *Diario el Correo*. <https://www.elcorreo.com/bizkaia/desmantelada-organizada-dedicada-trafico-6203823707001-20201022094912-vi.html?ref=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.elcorreo.com%2Fbizkaia%2Fdesarticula-red-de-trafico-de-personas-que-actuaba-desde-el-valle-de-arratia-20210328121031-nt.html>

Cadena Ser Vitoria. (2022, 23 September). La Fiscalía pide más de 100 años para diez adultos por prostitución de menores tutelados en Álava. *Cadena Ser*. [https://cadenaser.com/emisora/2021/09/23/ser\\_vitoria/1632393515\\_659707.html](https://cadenaser.com/emisora/2021/09/23/ser_vitoria/1632393515_659707.html)

Castaño, M. J. (2021, 21 December). Contar no significa solo llevar la cuenta. La cultura de datos en la trata de seres humanos. *Building Bridges*. <https://blogs.comillas.edu/buildingbridges/2020/12/21/contar-no-significa-solo-llevar-la-cuenta-la-cultura-de-datos-en-la-trata-de-seres-humanos-por-maria-jose-castano/>

Castaño, M. J. (2021, 1 July). La humanización del dato. *Knowledge Waves*. <https://knowledgewaves.es/tag/refugiados/>

Colom, E. (2021, 16 September). Redada policial contra la prostitución de menores en Mallorca con 17 detenidos. *El Mundo*. <https://www.elmundo.es/baleares/2021/09/16/61433d99e4d4d89f5a8b45fc.html>

EFE. (2021, 3 December). Detenido por la agresión sexual y detención ilegal de una niña de 12 años. *El Confidencial*. [https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/2021-12-03/detenido-por-la-agresion-sexual-y-detencion-ilegal-de-una-nina-de-12-anos\\_3336096/](https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/2021-12-03/detenido-por-la-agresion-sexual-y-detencion-ilegal-de-una-nina-de-12-anos_3336096/)

EFE. (2022, 3 January). Detenidas 37 personas por explotar sexualmente a 10 menores tuteladas en Madrid. *El Confidencial*. <https://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/ma->



drid/2022-01-03/detenidas-37-personas-por-explotar-sexualmente-a-10-menores-tuteladas-en-madrid\_3352762/

Europa Press. (2020, 7 July). La Fiscalía de Barcelona ve un aumento en casos de trata para explotación laboral y mendicidad. *Europapress/Catalunya*. <https://www.europapress.es/catalunya/noticia-fiscalia-barcelona-ve-aumento-casos-trata-explotacion-laboral-mendicidad-20200707200635.html>

Europa Press. (2020, 14 July). Tres detenidos en Málaga acusados de abuso sexual a tres chicas fugadas de centros de menores. *Europa Press*. <https://www.europapress.es/andalucia/malaga-00356/noticia-tres-detenidos-malaga-presunto-caso-abuso-sexual-tres-menores-fugado-20200714112017.html>

Europa Press. (2021, 3 December). Dos detenidos en Zamora por agresión sexual y malos tratos a una menor, madre de dos niños. *Europa Press*. <https://www.europapress.es/castilla-y-leon/noticia-dos-detenidos-zamora-agresion-sexual-malos-tratos-menor-madre-dos-ninos-20211203144047.html>

Fiscalía General del Estado. (2021, September). Capítulo III. Fiscales coordinadores y delegados para materias específicas. 4. Extranjería. 4.1. Actividad de los Fiscales especialistas en el ámbito de la persecución penal: Trata de personas, In *Memoria 2021*. [https://www.fiscal.es/memorias/memoria2021/FISCALIA\\_SITE/index.html](https://www.fiscal.es/memorias/memoria2021/FISCALIA_SITE/index.html)

Galdón, G. (2021, 26 April). Make Algorithmic Audits as Ubiquitous As Seatbelts' — Why Tech Needs Outside Help To Serve Humanity. *Forbes*. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/ashoka/2021/04/26/make-algorithmic-audits-as-ubiquitous-as-seatbeltswhy-tech-needs-outside-help-to-serve-humanity/?sh=314ba07e49a1>

Gallagher, A. (2014, 28 November). The global slavery index is based on flawed data – why does no one say so? *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2014/nov/28/global-slavery-index-walk-free-human-trafficking-anne-gallagher>

Delegación del Gobierno para la Violencia de Género (2014, 3 April). *Designación formal de relator nacional contra la trata de seres humanos*. Ministerio de Sanidad, Servicios Sociales e Igualdad, Gobierno de España. [https://violenciagenero.igualdad.gob.es/fr/laDelegacionInforma/pdfs/Relator\\_Trata1.pdf](https://violenciagenero.igualdad.gob.es/fr/laDelegacionInforma/pdfs/Relator_Trata1.pdf)

Delegación del Gobierno Contra la Violencia de Género. (n. d.). *Otras formas de violencia sobre la mujer. Trata de mujeres y niñas con fines de explotación sexual. Subvenciones*. Ministerio de Igualdad, Gobierno de España. <https://violenciagenero.igualdad.gob.es/otrasFormas/trata/subvenciones/home.htm>

- Guberek, T., Guzmán, D., Price, M., Lum, K., & Ball, P. (2010). *Los que faltan por contar: Una estimación de la violencia letal en Casanare, Colombia*. Benetech Human Rights Program. <https://hrdag.org/content/colombia/results-paper-ES.pdf>
- lidis, Comunidad de Práctica, Aprendizaje e Innovación Abierta KREA3. <https://kreacomunidad.org/>
- Krüger J. (2013, 7 March). How We Make Sure That Nobody Is Counted Twice: A Peek into HRDAG's Record De-Duplication. *Human Rights Data Analysis Group*. <https://hrdag.org/2013/03/07/hrdags-record-de-duplication/>
- Martín, M., & Rosati, S. (2019, 25 March). El precio de denunciar los abusos en la fresa. *El País*. [https://elpais.com/politica/2019/03/23/actualidad/1553361492\\_904277.html](https://elpais.com/politica/2019/03/23/actualidad/1553361492_904277.html)
- Ministerio del Interior. (2021, 30 July). Policía Nacional y Guardia Civil liberaron a 269 víctimas de trata de seres humanos para su explotación sexual o laboral en 2020. *Sala de Prensa*. [http://www.interior.gob.es/ca/noticias/detalle/-/journal\\_content/56\\_INSTANCE\\_1YSSI3xiWuPH/10180/13633182/](http://www.interior.gob.es/ca/noticias/detalle/-/journal_content/56_INSTANCE_1YSSI3xiWuPH/10180/13633182/)
- Policía Nacional. (2022, 3 January). La Policía Nacional desarticula un grupo criminal dedicado a la explotación sexual de menores de edad. *Policia.es* [https://www.policia.es/\\_es/comunicacion\\_prensa\\_detalle.php?ID=10821](https://www.policia.es/_es/comunicacion_prensa_detalle.php?ID=10821)
- Navarro, J. (2021, 4 December). Detenido un hombre por agredir sexualmente y retener a una menor con la que tuvo dos hijos. *El País*. <https://elpais.com/sociedad/2021-12-04/detenido-un-hombre-por-agredir-sexualmente-y-retener-desde-los-12-a-los-16-anos-a-una-menor-con-la-que-tuvo-dos-hijos.html>
- Peirano, M. (2019, 19 September). Marta Peirano: "Internet no es el problema, la extracción de datos es el problema". *El Salto*. <https://www.elsaltodiario.com/pensamiento/marta-peirano-enemigo-conoce-sistema>
- Público/Agencias. (2021, 25 August). Liberada una menor prostituida por su madre y otras dos mujeres en un piso. *Público*. <https://www.publico.es/sociedad/liberada-menor-prostituida-madre-mujeres-piso.html>
- Torralba, M. (2021, 4 August). Inside ID: Identidad digital para víctimas de trata. *Wealizer/Client Stories*. <https://knowledge.wealizer.digital/es/blog/inside-id-identidad-digital-para-v%C3%ADctimas-de-trata>
- UNODC. (2019, March). Módulo 7: Prevención de la Trata de Personas. Introducción y resultados de aprendizaje. Cuestiones clave. Causas de raíz. Serie de Módulos Universitarios E4J: Trata de personas. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. <https://www.unodc.org/e4j/es/tip-and-som/module-7/key-issues/root-causes.html>

- Vallejo, I. (2020, 1 November). Contar lo innumerable. *El País*. <https://elpais.com/sociedad/2020-10-31/contar-lo-innumerable.html>
- Vega, G. (2021, 2 December). El principal empresario del turismo canario, Eustasio López procesado por prostitución de menores. *El País*. <https://elpais.com/sociedad/2021-12-02/el-principal-empresario-del-turismo-canario-eustasio-lopez-procesado-por-prostitucion-de-menores.html>
- Women's Link Worldwide. (2020, 3 June). Women's Link Worldwide pide a la ONU que investigue de manera urgente las vulneraciones de derechos humanos que sufren las trabajadoras migrantes de la fresa en España. *Women's Link Worldwide*. <https://www.womenslinkworldwide.org/informate/sala-de-prensa/women-s-link-worldwide-pide-a-la-onu-que-investigue-de-manera-urgente-las-vulneraciones-de-derechos-humanos-que-sufren-las-trabajadoras-migrantes-de-la-fresa-en-espana>



*P*ORTICUS