

ENAFRON Research
**ASSESSMENT OF
TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS
IN THE BORDER AREAS**

SNJ
Secretaria Nacional de Justiça

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IN THE BORDER AREAS**

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These working definitions were developed on the basis of existing literature, and national and international legislation on trafficking in persons and migration.

Trafficking in Persons and Related Concepts

Trafficking in Persons

This research applies the definition of trafficking in persons as per Article 3 of the Protocol to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime, to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, adopted in New York on 15 November 2000 ("Palermo Protocol", transposed in Brazil by Decree no. 5,017 of 12 March 2004). "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

Note – Brazilian criminal legislation foresees trafficking in persons only with the purpose of sexual exploitation. However, the National Anti-Trafficking Policy (Decree no. 5,948 of 26 October 2006) adopts the concept of trafficking in persons for the purpose of various forms of exploitation, in accordance with Article 3 of the Palermo Protocol.

Irregular Migration

Irregular migration is when a person enters a country other than that of their citizenship or regular residence without the necessary legal permit or visa, or when a person resides in a destination country without authorisation, because their permit or visa has expired, or when a person works in a destination country without being authorised to do so (*Guia de Referência para a Rede de Enfrentamento ao Tráfico de Pessoas* - Teresi & Healy, 2012).

Migrant Smuggling

"Smuggling of migrants" shall mean the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, from the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident (*Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*).

Mixed Migration Flows

Complex population movements where refugees and asylum applicants, whose reasons for leaving their countries are related to the need for international protection, are found together with economic migrants, both documented and undocumented, and trafficked persons, using the same routes and, in some cases, facing similar dangers (Silva, 2011).

WORKING DEFINITIONS

The Act	
Recruitment	Recruitment occurs in the country of origin, transit or destination of a person, when a physical person or the representative of a legal entity seeks to persuade a victim to take the journey. It has been observed that recruitment can be carried out by various means, such as in person, through friends or relatives, through newspaper ads or on the internet.
Transportation/ Transfer	Transportation covers various methods of travel and the facilitation of entry to the place of destination. Transfer is the act of facilitating transit between countries, regions, cities or places.
Harbouring / Receipt	Harbouring indicates the physical space where trafficked people are accommodated, during the journey or at the places of transit or exploitation. The receipt of persons is the act of receiving trafficked people at the final destination or at the place of exploitation.

The Means	
Threat / Use of Force or other Form of Coercion	When the trafficker uses force, threat or another form of physical, moral or psychological coercion in order to obtain the consent of the trafficked person to the transportation and/or the exploitation. Consent obtained in this manner is called invalidated consent.
Abduction / False Imprisonment	When the trafficker abducts the trafficked person or falsely imprisons them with the intention of transporting them.
Abuse of Power or of a Position of Vulnerability	When the trafficker uses their power - for example, in a hierarchical relationship - or the position of vulnerability of the person to be trafficked - financial or familial difficulty - to force them or obtain their consent for transportation.
Fraud / Deception	When the trafficker uses fraudulent means, such as false employment contracts, or makes deceitful promises like that of a decent salary, or marriage, in order to obtain consent for transportation from the person to be trafficked.
Giving or Receiving of Payments or Benefits to Achieve the Consent of a Person Having Control Over Another Person	When the trafficker pays or receives benefits in return for convincing the person to be trafficked or a person with control over them to the trafficking, for example, by means of an advance payment.

The Forms of Exploitation / Purpose of the Act

Sexual exploitation

This is the means by which an individual obtains financial gain through the prostitution of another person or through sexual violence carried out against another person. It is the only form of trafficking in persons foreseen in Brazilian criminal law. In this case, prostitution may take place in various ways such as in brothels, on the street, in clubs, bars, apartments, massage parlours, hotels, through escort services, or by companies that produce pornographic products (films, magazines, etc.). However, sexual exploitation is not restricted to the exploitation of the prostitution of others.

Forced Labour/ Labour Exploitation

All work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily (ILO Convention no. 29, 1930).

Slavery/ Placing Someone in a Condition Similar to that of a Slave

Any form of slave labour is degrading work, but the opposite is not always the case. What distinguishes one concept from the other is liberty. When we speak of slave labour, we speak of a crime that restricts the liberty of workers. This lack of liberty can result from four factors: seizing documents, the presence of armed guards or intermediaries of a threatening nature, through illegally imposed debts or due to the geographic characteristics of a location, which prevent escape (ILO, 2011).

In this report, however, we apply the concept of slave labour or placing someone in a condition similar to that of a slave as per Brazilian criminal law, which means *"subjecting somebody to a condition similar to that of a slave, whether by subjecting them to forced labour or excessive working hours, or by subjecting them to degrading working conditions, or by restricting, by any means, their movement due to a debt contracted with the employer or their representative; or by restricting the use of any means of transport by the worker, with the purpose of keeping them at the workplace; by keeping the workplace under obvious supervision or by seizing the documents or personal effects of a worker, with the purpose of keeping them at the workplace"* art. 149 of the Criminal Code.

Domestic Servitude and Servile Marriage

This means to subject a person to forced labour or excessive working hours, or to subject them to degrading working conditions, in the domestic sphere. It is also confused with servile marriage, when a trafficked person is married to someone who promises a healthy marital relationship but who then obliges the person to carry out household chores and/or to have sexual relations with them, even against their will. In accordance with Brazilian law, these situations can also be interpreted as forms of slave labour.

Removal of Organs, Tissue or Human Body Parts	This is when a victim is transported with the purpose of removing their organs, skin tissue or body parts, without their consent or that of their relatives.
Illegal Adoption	This happens when children are transported with or without the consent or authorisation of their parents, and are sold or handed over to other people, very often couples, who wish to adopt a child. This all takes place without observing the legal formalities of an adoption process.
Committing a Criminal Act	This is when a trafficked person is forced or coerced into committing a criminal act, such as transporting narcotics from one place to another, petty theft, etc.
Begging	Various activities through which a person asks a stranger for money, on the basis of their poverty or for the benefit of religious institutions or charity. The sale of token items such as flowers and sweets at traffic lights, the price of which is not in accordance with the value of the product, is also considered an act of seeking alms. Offering small services such as washing car windscreens, parking cars, helping with shopping at the supermarket, circus tricks and playing musical instruments on the streets may also be considered as forms of begging. We emphasise, however, that begging as a form of exploitation only takes place when an organised group or individuals transport and coerce people, usually children, but not exclusively, to stay on the streets asking for money or selling small products, restricting their liberty and keeping all or part of the earnings of the begging for themselves.
It is important to emphasise that this list is not exhaustive and that other forms of exploitation were identified during the field research for this Assessment.	

Those Involved

Victim	<p>This is the term attributed to the plaintiff or the physical person, who suffered or suffers the violence of the crime of trafficking in persons. Under the terms of the UN Declaration of the Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and the Abuse of Power,¹ it means persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that are in violation of criminal laws operative within Member States, including those laws proscribing criminal abuse of power. In this research we prefer to use the term “trafficked person” as it is not a strictly legal term, though the terms victim of trafficking and trafficked person are used interchangeably.</p>
Child or Adolescent	<p>A person younger than 18 years. In accordance with the Statute of the Child and Adolescent (Law no. 8,069/90), a child is aged between 0 and 11 years, and an adolescent is aged between 12 and 17 years. In the case of trafficking in children or adolescents, the element of the means in the definition of trafficking is not relevant – trafficking occurs when a child or adolescent is subjected to at least one of the acts defined above, followed by at least one of the forms of exploitation/purposes defined above. Throughout this report, the terms adolescent and teenager will be used interchangeably to refer to those aged 12 to 17 years inclusive.</p>
Perpetrator of the Fact, Person under Investigation, Suspect, Indicted Person, Accused, Defendant or Convict	<p>These are the various terms attributed to the assumed perpetrator of the crime of trafficking in persons, depending on the type of police or judicial procedure in which they are involved.</p>

¹ Resolution 40/34 of 29 November 1985 of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

<p>Trafficker</p>	<p>This is the perpetrator of the fact. The trafficker may carry out various functions in the trafficking network, among them:</p> <p>The Recruiter is the person responsible for inviting the victims or convincing them to consent to the transportation, through fraud, such as promises of employment, study or marriage. It is when a physical person, or in some cases even a legal entity, seeks to persuade an individual to embark upon the journey.</p> <p>The Transporter is the person responsible for transporting the victim. Sometimes, the transporter accompanies the victim to their final destination, while other times they simply accompany the victim until they board the mode of transport, or provide the necessary documents or tickets for the transportation.</p> <p>The Exploiter is the person who exploits the victim in various forms, such as sexual exploitation, forced labour, slave labour, the removal of organs, tissue or parts of the body or illegal adoption.</p> <p>The Person in Charge of Shelter/Accommodation/Supervision keeps the victim under their control, in a shelter or form of accommodation that it is that person's responsibility to maintain. It is also the person who provides security at the establishment and therefore supervises the victim.</p> <p>The Manager is the person responsible for the administration of the business.</p> <p>The Funder/Main Beneficiary is usually the head of the organisation, keeps most of the profits and/or funds the criminal act, provides money to pay for the transportation, the victim's and the traffickers' travel expenses, maintenance of the establishments, etc.</p>
<p>Sex</p>	<p>Male/Female sex is the anatomical sex defined in the civil registry (birth certificate) or identity document.</p>

<p>Gender Identity</p>	<p>This is the gender with which a person identifies. Transgender, or transsexual, is a more recent term that refers to people whose gender identity is not the same as the gender designated at birth or their anatomical sex. Transgender people may take the decision to adapt their anatomical sex to their gender identity through hormonal or surgical treatment (gender reassignment surgery). Transgender, however, is a term that is constantly evolving and some transsexuals refuse to use it. Transvestites are people who live a significant portion of their life or indeed their day-to-day life as the opposite gender, usually wearing clothes, having a haircut, or adopting gestures or a tone of voice associated with the opposite gender.</p>
<p>Sexual Orientation</p>	<p>A person's sexual orientation indicates which gender or genders they feel attracted to, whether physically, romantically or emotionally. According to the Brazilian Ministry of Health (Compulsory Notification Form), these are Heterosexual, Homosexual and Bisexual.</p>
<p>Race/Colour/Ethnicity</p>	<p>According to the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (IBGE), there are five official categories of classification of colour or race: white, black, sallow (<i>pardo</i>), Asian ("yellow") and indigenous. The terms "<i>morena</i> (dark complexion)" and "<i>negra</i> (black-skinned)" are sometimes used in the IBGE's research, even though they are not official categories. Also, while it is clear that indigenous is an ethnicity rather than a skin colour, following the guidance of IBGE and in the interests of comparability, these are the five categories adopted in this research. In addition, it is important to note that these are self-declared categories, meaning that they are defined according to how the person in question identifies themselves.</p>
<p>Traditional Community</p>	<p>Following the guidelines of the Ministry of Health (Compulsory Notification Form), there are the following traditional communities in Brazil: Roma (<i>Cigano</i>), <i>Quilombola</i> (Member of a community originally founded by people of African origin escaping slavery), Village-dwelling indigenous person, <i>Ribeirinho</i> (Riverbank dweller), Settler/Camper, Other person living in the countryside/forest, Person in a street situation, Person deprived of liberty.</p>

The Phenomenon – Types of Crimes Related to Trafficking in Persons

A set of criminal offences or crimes that are related to trafficking in persons and where the case law has demonstrated that they are most commonly practised in conjunction with trafficking in persons. These criminal offences can be found in Table 3 below, although the table is not an exhaustive list. Trafficking in persons is also an offence often committed by organised criminal groups.

During the period in which the field research was carried out, Brazilian criminal law did not define a criminal organisation, and so the definition of organised crime from the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, 2000, was applied by the courts. However, on 2 August 2013, Law no. 12,850 was passed, which defines a criminal organisation as *“the association of 4 (four) or more people who are structurally ordered and characterised by the division of tasks, even if this is informal, with the objective of obtaining, directly or indirectly, an advantage of any kind, by means of committing criminal offences with maximum penalties of more than 4 (four) years, or which are transnational in nature.”*

ADEDH – Association in Defence of Human Rights with a Focus on Sexuality
 AGR/FACR – Attorney General of the Republic/Federal Attorney for Citizens’ Rights
 AHAC – Association of Homosexuals of Acre
 AMAC – Advanced Migrant Assistance Centre
 ANTRA – National Coordination of Transvestites, Transsexuals and Transgenders of Brazil
 ASAV – Antônio Vieira Association
 ASBRAD – Brazilian Association in Defence of Women, Children and Young People
 ATC – Anti-Trafficking Centre
 ATMS – Association of Transvestites of Mato Grosso do Sul
 BOD – Border Operations Department
 CASLA – Latin American House of Paraná
 CEDAMI – Migrant Support Centre
 CEPIN – State Council of the Indigenous Peoples of Santa Catarina
 CETRAP – Mato Grosso do Sul State Committee for Combating Trafficking in Persons
 CIBAI-Migrações – Brazilian Centre for Assistance and Instruction on Migration
 CIMI – *Indigenista* Missionary Council
 CIR – Indigenous Council of Roraima
 CNIG – National Immigration Council
 CNTI – National Confederation of Industrial Workers
 COETRAE – State Commission for the Eradication of Slave Labour
 COMCEX – Mato Grosso do Sul Committee for Combating Violence and in Defence of the Sexual Rights of Children and Adolescents
 CC – Criminal Code
 CPI – Commission of Parliamentary Inquiry
 CRAS – Reference Centre for Social Assistance
 CREAS – Specialised Reference Centre for Social Assistance
 DEEST/DIMEC – Immigration Department/Compulsory Measures Division
 DELEMIG – Migration Delegation of the Federal Police
 EC – European Commission
 ENAFRON – National Strategy for Public Safety at the Borders
 FETAESC – Federation of Agricultural Workers of the State of Santa Catarina
 FP – Federal Police
 FPD – Federal Police Department
 FPM – Federal Public Ministry
 FRP – Federal Roads Police
 FRPD – Federal Roads Police Department
 FTDETP – Forum for Decent Work and Studies in Trafficking in Persons
 FUNAI – National Indian Foundation

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- GAECO – Special Action Group to Combat Organised Crime
- GESFRON – Strategic Borders Office
- GDP – Gross Domestic Product
- HDI – Human Development Index
- IBGE – Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics
- IBISS–CO – Brazilian Institute of Innovations for a Healthy Society – Centre-West
- ICMPD – International Centre for Migration Policy Development
- Igualdade RS – Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals of the State of Rio Grande do Sul
- ILO – International Labour Organization
- IOM – International Organization for Migration
- MD – Ministry of Defence (*Calha Norte* Programme and Sub-Delegation for Policies and Strategy - SCPE)
- MERCOSUR – Common Market of the South
- MFA/DCA – Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Division of Consular Assistance
- MI/CDIF – Ministry of National Integration/Permanent Commission for the Development and Integration of the Border Strip
- MLE – Ministry of Labour and Employment
- MLE/LIS – Ministry of Labour and Employment/Labour Inspectorate Secretariat
- NATP1 – 1st National Anti-Trafficking Plan
- NATP2 – 2nd National Anti-Trafficking Plan
- OSCE – Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
- PAIR - Programme of Integrated and Reference Actions to Combat Sexual Violence against Children and Young People in Brazilian Territory
- PME – Public Ministry of Employment
- POM – Migrant Orientation Programme of Itajaí
- PRODOESTE – Development Programme of the Centre-West
- SENASP – National Secretariat for Public Safety
- SHS – Single Health System
- SINAN – Offence Notification Information System
- SINESPJC – National Public Safety and Criminal Justice Statistics System
- SNJ – National Secretariat of Justice
- SUDAM – Development Superintendency of Amazônia
- UDESC – Santa Catarina State University
- UFSC – Santa Catarina Federal University
- UNB – Brasília University/Institute of Human Sciences/Department of Social Services/Health, Migration and Trafficking in Women for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation
- UNICAMP – Campinas State University/Institute for Philosophy and Human Sciences
- UNODC – United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

The research project *Assessment of Trafficking in Persons in the Border Areas of Brazil* was financed by the National Secretariat of Justice (SNJ) within the Ministry of Justice and it was carried out in partnership with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) – Liaison and Partnership Office in Brazil. The International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), an international organisation with its headquarters in Vienna, Austria, was the implementing partner.

The project is one of three strategic actions to combat trafficking in persons carried out by the National Secretariat of Justice (SNJ), in the context of the Strategic Borders Plan and the National Strategy for Public Safety at the Borders (ENAFRON). The project officially started in December 2012 and was implemented in the 11 Brazilian border states.

The overall objective of this research project was to assess the phenomenon of trafficking in persons in the states of Acre (AC), Amapá (AP), Amazonas (AM), Mato Grosso (MT), Mato Grosso do Sul (MS), Pará (PA), Paraná (PR), Rio Grande do Sul (RS), Roraima (RR), Rondônia (RO) and Santa Catarina (SC). These Brazilian Federal states border nine South American countries and one French overseas territory.

The purpose of the project was to collect and analyse information on trafficking in persons in these states, principally in relation to the border strip and its municipalities, and to transform this information into knowledge, so that this knowledge can support policies and actions to prevent trafficking, assist trafficked persons, and prosecute this crime.

In order to conduct the analysis, a qualitative method was applied, whereby different sources of information and different ways of collecting information were triangulated, facilitating an analysis that is the closest possible approximation of reality, even though the data collected were not always representative. The research tools used were interviews, visits and focus group meetings, carried out in the capital cities of the 11 states of the border area, with stakeholders, governmental and non-governmental institutions and researchers who work on anti-trafficking; as well as questionnaires answered by email and official requests issued to Federal institutions that work on anti-trafficking and/or on the ENAFRON Strategy.

Statistical data were also collected and used in this Assessment, including statistical data requested by the SNJ from Federal agencies with information systems that record cases of trafficking in persons; as well as statistical data collected by the local researchers during the local research missions. However, it is important to recognise the weakness of these statistics, because, as discussed in what follows, they reveal only the cases that reach the assistance, public safety and criminal justice services.

The research also included a bibliographic survey and review of the national and international literature and legislation, facilitating the construction of a conceptual and legal framework for the research, as well as a specific methodology, as we will see in chapters 1 and 2 of this Report.

The Report presents the main research findings in chapter 4 in relation to the phenomenon of trafficking in persons in the 11 states of the border area, and more specific information on trafficking in persons in the municipalities of the border strip, focusing on the most common forms of trafficking in the region, the profiles of trafficked people and the *modus operandi* of criminals.

Though it was not the main subject of this Assessment, the Report also presents information on internal (domestic) migration within Brazil and international migration to and from Brazil, with a focus on the countries of the border area, as this phenomenon is closely linked to trafficking in persons. Indeed, the facilitation of the act of migrating is one of the elements of internal or international trafficking. Issues such as the most common migration flows and indications of migrant smuggling, as well as the existence of mixed migration flows, will be discussed in chapter 3 of the Report.

The Report also presents information on the anti-trafficking network in the 11 states of the border area, as well as more specific information about the governmental and non-governmental organisations and groups that provide assistance to trafficked people in the border areas, and what good practices and gaps there are in these services, as we will see in chapter 5.

Finally, conclusions and recommendations were developed on the basis of this research in relation to public policies on combating trafficking in persons in the border areas. Locations or municipalities in the border areas where Advanced Migrant Assistance Centres (AMACs) could be set up were indicated, based on an analysis of necessity, feasibility and sustainability.



1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Trafficking in Persons: Legal and Conceptual Framework

When examining trafficking in persons, in Brazil as in the rest of world, the conceptual and legal point of reference is the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, commonly known as the Palermo Protocol. The Convention was adopted by Resolution 55/25 of the General Assembly of the United Nations in November 2000. It was opened for signatures at a conference of the Member States in Palermo, Italy, in December 2000 and came into force in September 2003.

Approved in Brazil by Decree no. 5,017 in 2004, and adopted, with the necessary adaptations, by the National Anti-Trafficking Policy, which, in turn, was approved by Decree no. 5,948 of 26 October 2006,² the Palermo Protocol - and therefore the National Anti-Trafficking Policy - define trafficking in persons as:

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

The definition consists of the three elements necessary to constitute trafficking in persons - the act, the means and the purpose, according to Figure 1:

² The Decree also sets out the principles, guidelines and measures to be carried out, complementing the two National Anti-Trafficking Plans.

Figure 1: **Definition of Trafficking in Persons**

ACT:	MEANS:	PURPOSE:
<p>RECRUITMENT, TRANSPORTATION, TRANSFER, HARBOURING OR RECEIPT OF PERSONS.</p>	<p>THREAT OR USE OF FORCE OR OTHER FORMS OF COERCION, ABDUCTION, FRAUD, DECEPTION, ABUSE OF POWER OR OF A POSITION OF VULNERABILITY, GIVING OR RECEIVING OF PAYMENTS OR BENEFITS TO ACHIEVE THE CONSENT OF A PERSON HAVING CONTROL OVER ANOTHER PERSON.</p>	<p>SEXUAL EXPLOITATION, FORCED LABOUR OR SERVICES, SLAVERY OR PRACTICES SIMILAR TO SLAVERY, SERVITUDE OR THE REMOVAL OF ORGANS, TISSUE AND BODY PARTS, AND OTHER FORMS OF EXPLOITATION.</p>

On exploitation, the Protocol and the National Policy explicitly recognise the following forms: (1) the exploitation of another’s prostitution or other forms of sexual exploitation, (2) forced labour or services, (3) slavery or practices similar to slavery, (4) servitude and (5) the removal of organs. Yet the Protocol is not exhaustive, and literature, field research and the media have identified other forms of trafficking in persons, such as trafficking for the purposes of exploitation through begging or illegal adoption; and trafficking for the purposes of exploitation in committing crimes, such as the cultivation or trafficking of drugs, and petty theft.

However, the National Anti-Trafficking Policy either defines or expands upon some elements of the Palermo Protocol’s definition of trafficking in persons. The National Policy, in art. 2, paragraph 2, defines the term “kidnapping” as equivalent to “abduction or false imprisonment,” i.e., the criminal offence set out in art. 148 of the Criminal Code, which constitutes the act of “*depriving somebody of their liberty by means of abduction or false imprisonment* [translator’s own translation, hereinafter “TT”].”

Furthermore, in art. 2, para. 3, the National Policy defines the term “slavery or practices similar to slavery” as per art. 149 of the Criminal Code, which constitutes the acts of:

“subjecting somebody to a condition similar to that of a slave, whether by subjecting them to forced labour or excessive working hours, or by subjecting them to degrading working conditions, or by restricting, by any means, their movement due to a debt contracted with the employer or their representative; or by restricting the use of any means of transport by the worker, with the purpose of keeping them at the workplace; by keeping the workplace under obvious supervision or by seizing the documents or personal effects of a worker, with the purpose of keeping them at the workplace (TT).”

The National Policy also defines servile marriage as the practice defined in art. 1 of the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery.³

Under the terms of art. 2, para. 4 of the National Policy “the mediation, promotion or facilitation of recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons for the purposes of exploitation, also constitutes trafficking in persons (TT)”, thereby expanding the possibilities of the element of the Act.

The National Policy distinguishes between international and internal trafficking in persons. Under the terms of art. 2, para. 6 of the National Policy, “*internal trafficking in persons takes place within one Member State of the Federation, or from one Member State to another, within national territory. International trafficking in persons is carried out between different States*” (TT).”

Under the terms of art. 2, para. 7 of the National Policy, the consent of the victim is irrelevant. This creates some confusion, because under the terms of the Palermo Protocol, consent is only irrelevant when the means utilised is threat or the use of force or other forms of coercion, kidnapping, fraud, deception, the abuse of power or of a situation of vulnerability or the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to obtain it.

³ Adopted in Geneva on 7 September 1956. Came into force in Brazil on 6 January 1966 and was passed by Presidential Decree no. 58,563 of 1 June 1966. Published in the *Diário Oficial* [Government Gazette] of 3 and 10 June 1966.

Brazilian literature brings to the fore the question of the compatibility of the criminal offences in force in the country with the definitions set out in the Palermo Protocol. According to Castilho (2008), in relation to trafficking for the purposes of exploitation in prostitution, for example, the Brazilian legal definition is more restrictive, as it does not take consent into account, even if it is valid, which could prevent the persecution of prostitutes, but it could also reinforce discrimination against those who go abroad to engage in prostitution voluntarily (Castilho, 2008).

Santos, Gomes and Duarte (2009) contribute to this discussion in stating that “the consent of the women (particularly) to immigrating not infrequently renders the legal identification of a situation of trafficking less clear, and this complexity is increased when this migration strategy includes autonomously engaging in prostitution in the receiving country (TT).”⁴

Lopes (2006) further comments that “what this discourse does not allow us to hear are the voices of those who choose to emigrate to work in the sex industry; of those who, although they do not have the best living and working conditions, are far from identifying themselves as victims or being subject to situations of slavery (TT)” (Lopes, 2006: 43).

In reality, there are various levels of victimisation (Aronowitz, 2001), which correspond to the different levels of knowledge and information imparted to the victim, and which relate to the discussion on consent. The first level corresponds to total coercion in which the victims are kidnapped; consent at this level is zero. The second level refers to victims who were deceived with promises of employment other than in prostitution. In these cases, the victim’s consent was given on the basis of fraud. The third level refers to a lower level of deception, in which the victims know that they will work in the sex industry, but not in prostitution. Finally, the fourth level of victimisation relates to victims who, prior to departure, knew that they were going to work as sex workers, but they did not know the extent to which they would be controlled, intimidated, indebted and exploited. The risk is therefore that we end up with a definition of trafficking that

⁴ For more information on this discussion, see: Kyle, David & Rey Koslowski (eds.) (2001), *Global Human Smuggling: Comparative Perspectives*, Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press; Salt, John (2000), “Trafficking and human smuggling: a European perspective”; *International Migration*, 38 (3), pp. 31-56; Aronowitz, A. A. (2001), “Smuggling and trafficking in human beings: the phenomenon, the markets that drive it and the organizations that promote it”, *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 9 (2), pp. 163-195.

establishes moral hierarchies informed by moral values, which then translate into legal and/or practical barriers in the defence of the human rights of victims of trafficking in persons (Anderson & Davidson, 2002).

This explains the significance of the National Policy excluding any form of consent whatsoever (whether obtained under threat, violence, fraud, etc., or not) as an element in identifying a situation of trafficking in persons. What it therefore indicates is that the Act and the Purpose of exploitation are sufficient. Under the terms of the Palermo Protocol, this only applies to children and adolescents, as we will see in what follows. Specifically in relation to children and adolescents,⁵ the second element, the Means, is not required in order to constitute trafficking in persons, under the terms of the Protocol. The Act and the Purpose of Exploitation suffice to consider a child or adolescent as a trafficked person. The National Policy does not explicitly mention the exclusion of the element of the Means in the case of trafficking in children and adolescents, although according to the principle of the cross-cutting protection of children and adolescents, foreseen in the Statute of the Child and Adolescent, and in view of the fact that those younger than 18 years are not considered responsible and should be represented, under the terms of Brazilian civil law and the Statute of the Child and Adolescent itself, the same interpretation should be applied.

As Peixoto (2007) points out:

“It should be admitted that there is a contrast between, on the one hand, a free choice to migrate and, on the other hand, the conditioning of a person’s will. In practical terms, it is difficult to evaluate the degree of free will or control over the destination on the part of economic migrants or women who are directed into the sex industry. In this context, the movement of children is again quite particular, given that in their case one cannot argue that there is free will (TT)” (Peixoto, 2007).

⁵ Under the terms of the Palermo Protocol, and in accordance with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, a child is any person under the age of 18. The Protocol refers to the “child”, while the National Policy refers to the “child” and the “adolescent”, in accordance with the Brazilian definition set out in the Statute of the Child and Adolescent (Federal Law no. 8,069 of 1990). The Statute specifies that a child is anyone aged between 0 and 11 years, while an adolescent is anyone aged between 12 and 17 years.

In the wake of the Palermo Protocol, Brazilian law was amended through Law no. 11,106 of 28 March 2005, which revoked the criminal offence of “pimping (*lenocínio*) of women.”⁶ This was restricted to trafficking in persons of the female sex, and created a new criminal offence, that of trafficking in persons, without distinction as to sex, defining it as the act of “*promoting, intermediating or facilitating the entry into national territory of a person who has come to engage in prostitution, or the departure of a person in order to engage in it abroad (TT).*” However, this legal text does not mention the issue of the absence of consent or invalidated consent in the case of an adult victim.

In 2009, by means of Law no. 12,015, the Criminal Code was again significantly amended in relation to the criminal offence of “trafficking in persons”, to distinguish between international and internal trafficking in persons. Art. 231 therefore acquired the following wording (currently in force): “*to promote or facilitate the entry into national territory of a person who comes to engage in prostitution or any other form of sexual exploitation, or the departure of a person who goes to engage in it abroad (TT).*” The same law also included art. 231-A covering internal trafficking in persons, which constitutes the act of “*promoting or facilitating the movement of someone within national territory to engage in prostitution or another form of sexual exploitation (TT).*”

Pari passu to the legislative amendments, there was the first National Anti-Trafficking Plan (NATP1),⁷ which ran from 2008 to 2010, and which, in accordance with the general spirit and the guidelines set out in the National Policy, established concrete measures for the implementation of activities in three areas: 1) prevention of trafficking, 2) investigation and prosecution of traffickers and 3) protection of victims. More recently, the second National Anti-Trafficking Plan (NATP2)⁸ was approved, running from 2013 to 2016.

At the level of the individual states, there has been progress in some states of the Federation, as can be seen in Table 1:

⁶ Pimping women consists of the act of “*promoting or facilitating the entry, into national territory, of a woman who comes to engage in prostitution, or the departure of a woman who goes to engage in it abroad (TT).*”

⁷ Under the terms of Decree no. 6,347 of 2008.

⁸ Under the terms of the Interministerial Circular - Ministry of Justice, Secretariat of Policies for Women of the Presidency of the Republic and Secretariat of Human Rights of the Presidency of the Republic - no. 634, of 25 February 2013.

Table 1: **Instruments, Anti-Trafficking Centres and Migrant Centres**

Instruments / Federal States	State Policy/State Programme	State Plan	State Committee
Amazonas	Under development.	None	Decree no. 32,710/2012: State Committee for Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Persons
Amapá	None	None	None
Bahía	State Policy on Combating Trafficking in Persons – Decree no. 13,210/2011	State Plan on Combating Trafficking in Persons - Circular no. 284/2011	Decree no. 12,387/2010 amending Decree no. 10,651/2007: State Committee for Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Persons
Ceará	State Programme on Combating Trafficking in Persons – Decree no. 30,682/2011	None	Decree no. 30,682/2011 Interinstitutional State Committee on Combating Trafficking in Persons
Federal District	None	None	Decree no. 33,322/2011: District Committee on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings
Goías	None	None	Decree No. 7,624, of 21 May 2012: Interinstitutional Committee on Combating Trafficking in Persons

Mato Grosso	None	Decree no. 1,782, of 27 May 2013: State Plan for the Prevention of Trafficking in Persons of the State of Mato Grosso Decree no. 1,782, of 27 May 2013: State Plan for the Eradication of Slave Labour	Decree no. 990/2012 State Committee for Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Persons State Commission for the Eradication of Slave Labour of Mato Grosso
Pará	State Policy on Combating Trafficking in Persons - Decree no. 423/2012	Decree no. 423/2012 State Plan on Combating Trafficking in Persons	State Committee on Combating Trafficking in Persons (COETRAP/PA),
Paraná	None	State Plan for Policies of Assistance to Refugees and Migrants - under development	State Committee for Refugees and Migrants (CERM/PR).
Pernambuco	Programme for Combating Trafficking in Persons - Decree no. 25,594/2003 State Policy on Combating Trafficking in Persons - Decree no. 31,659/2008	None	Decree no. 31.069/2011: State Committee on Combating Trafficking in Persons
Rio de Janeiro	None	None	Decree no. 43,280/2011 State Committee for Prevention and Combating Trafficking in Persons
Rio Grande do Sul	None	None	Decree no. 49,729/2012 State Committee for Assistance to Migrants, Refugees, Stateless People and Victims of Trafficking in Persons of the State of Rio Grande do Sul - COMIRAT
São Paulo	State Programme on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Persons - Decree no. 51,101/2009	None	Decree no. 56,508/2010 Interinstitutional State Committee on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Persons

As can be seen from Table 1 above, there are Policies and Programmes on Combating Trafficking in Persons in the states of Bahia, Ceará, Pará, Pernambuco and São Paulo, among which Pará is the only state located in the border area. In the state of Amazonas, the State Plan on Combating Trafficking in Persons is also under development, and in Mato Grosso, there is a State Plan for the Prevention of Trafficking in Persons and a State Plan for the Eradication of Slave Labour.⁹

1.1.1 Trafficking in Persons and Criminal Legislation

As we have seen, on foot of the ratification of the Palermo Protocol, there was considerable legislative progress in Brazil in relation to trafficking in persons, with the exception of criminal legislation. Despite successive amendments, Brazilian criminal legislation still does not foresee all of the forms of trafficking in persons, but still only trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation.

Trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation as a criminal offence is therefore formal – it does not require consummation, and alternative – it foresees various acts within one single criminal offence, allowing for the punishment for the crime even if the sexual exploitation is not actually carried out, but only recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons for that purpose.

Criticism has been levelled at the criminal offence of trafficking in persons foreseen in art. 231 and 231-A. One of these is that the legislator neglected to foresee one of the elements of trafficking, that of the coercive, violent, deceptive or fraudulent means, which means that it equates to migrant smuggling, and not trafficking in persons. Another is that the criminal offence criminalises prostitution, albeit indirectly (Castilho, 2008).

Other forms of sexual exploitation are foreseen in other criminal offences, meaning that exploitation itself can be punished, but not necessarily the commercialisation of the person, which constitutes the Act (recruitment, transportation, etc.) and the Means (deception, fraud, coercion, etc.), and which occurs prior to exploitation. For example, in the

⁹ Table 6 in Chapter 5 of this Assessment provides more detailed information on anti-trafficking policies in the states of the border area, including information on the existence of not only state policies, but also state plans, Anti-Trafficking Centres and Victim Assistance Centres.

case of trafficking for the purposes of slave labour, art. 149 of the Criminal Code, which defines the criminal offence of “*subjecting someone to a condition similar to that of a slave (TT)*”, may be constituted, and so the act of exploitation can be punished, but not the acts that are carried out prior to this, which leaves cases unpunished if the exploitation does not end up taking place.

Another form, trafficking for the purposes of the removal of organs, tissue and human body parts, is covered in the Law on Transplants - Law no. 9,434/97, which criminalises any method of removing an organ, tissue or body part without the authorisation of relatives, or the patient, if still alive. Nevertheless, for its part it also does not classify the preceding acts, such as the transportation of the living person or corpse for the purposes of organ removal, the use of fraud in relation to the victim, who may be convinced, for example, to have a part of their body removed while they are still alive, whether in return for some personal benefit or not.

To complement the information set out in this section, Table 2 below presents some criminal offences that may be applied as an alternative in the case of trafficking in persons for other purposes, or in the case of forms of exploitation other than sexual exploitation.

Table 2: **Criminal Offences Correlated with Trafficking in Persons**

<p>Art. 149 CC (Criminal Code) Subjecting someone to a condition similar to that of a slave</p>	<p>Subjecting someone to a condition similar to that of a slave, whether by subjecting them to forced labour or excessive working hours, or to degrading working conditions, or restricting their movement by any means because of a debt contracted with the employer or their representative. Restricting the use of any means of transport by the worker, with the purpose of keeping them at the workplace. Keeping the workplace under obvious surveillance or seizing the documents or personal effects of the worker, with the purpose of keeping them at the workplace.</p>
<p>Art. 206 CC Recruitment for the purpose of emigration</p>	<p>Recruiting workers, through fraud, with the purpose of taking them abroad.</p>
<p>Art. 207 CC Recruitment of workers from one place to another within national territory</p>	<p>Recruiting workers for transportation within national territory, with or without fraud or charging any fee.</p>
<p>Art. 309 CC Fraud against the Immigration Law</p>	<p>Attributing to a foreign person a false category to facilitate their entry into national territory.</p>
<p>Arts. 14 and 17 of Law no. 9,434/97 Crimes against the Law on Transplants</p>	<p>Art. 14. Removing tissues, organs or body parts of a person or a corpse in contravention of the provisions of this Law. Art. 15. Buying or selling tissues, organs, or human body parts. Single paragraph. Incurs the same penalty as someone who promotes, intermediates, facilitates or obtains any benefit through the transaction. Art. 16. Carrying out a transplant or a graft using tissues, organs or human body parts of which it is known that they have been obtained in contravention of the provisions of this Law. Art. 17 Collecting, transporting, keeping or distributing human body parts of which it is known that they have been obtained in contravention of the provisions of this Law.</p>
<p>Arts. 238 and 239 of the Statute on the Child and Adolescent Crimes against the child and adolescent</p>	<p>Art. 238. Promising or carrying out the handing over of a daughter, son, or charge to a third party, by means of payment or compensation. Single paragraph. Incurs the same penalties as someone who offers or makes the payment or compensation. Art. 239. Promoting or assisting in committing an act intended to send a child or adolescent abroad without observing the legal formalities or with the purpose of making a profit.</p>

There are also other criminal offences that are often committed in conjunction with trafficking in persons, in its various forms, and jurisprudence has identified these criminal offences. These are crimes that may facilitate or support the crime of trafficking in persons, such as criminal misrepresentation and promoting prostitution, or that may be used to conceal the profits of the crime of trafficking in persons, such as money laundering, as shown in Table 3 below:

Table 3: **Criminal Offences Committed in Conjunction with Trafficking in Persons**

Art. 218 CC Corruption of minors	Inciting someone younger than 14 (fourteen) years to satisfy the lechery of another.
Art. 218 CC- A Promoting prostitution or another form of sexual exploitation of a vulnerable person	Subjecting, inciting or attracting to prostitution or another form of sexual exploitation someone who is younger than 18 (eighteen) years or who, due to mental illness or disability, does not have the necessary discernment to carry out the act, facilitating it, preventing someone from leaving it or making it difficult to abandon.
Art. 227 CC Mediation to serve the lechery of another	Inciting someone to satisfy the lechery of another.
Art. 228 CC Promoting prostitution or another form of sexual exploitation	Inciting or attracting someone to prostitution or another form of sexual exploitation, facilitating it, preventing someone from leaving it or making it difficult to abandon.
Art. 229 CC Brothel	Maintaining, on one's own behalf or or that of a third party, an establishment in which sexual exploitation occurs, regardless of whether this is with the purpose of obtaining profit or direct mediation from the proprietor or manager.
Art. 230 CC Pimping	Obtaining an advantage from someone else's prostitution, participating directly in the profits, or subsisting, in full or in part, from someone who engages in it.
Art. 288 CC Gang or mob	Associating with more than three people, as a gang or a mob, with the purpose of committing a crime. <i>In the absence of legislation that defines organised crime, this is one of the criminal offences applied.</i>
Art. 299 CC Criminal misrepresentation	Omitting from a public or private document a declaration that should be on it, or inserting or having inserted a false declaration, or one other than what should be written, with the purpose of evading the law, creating an obligation or altering the truth in relation to a fact that is legally relevant.
Art. 304 CC Use of a false document	Making use of any of the falsified or altered papers that are referred to in arts. 297 and 302. <i>Arts. 297 and 302 refer to papers such as: a public document (e.g. identity document, certificate, declaration, public authority certificates), private document (e.g. private power of attorney) and a medical certificate.</i>
Art. 332 CC Trafficking of influence	Soliciting, requiring, charging or obtaining, for one's self or for another, an advantage or a promise of an advantage, on the pretext of influencing an act carried out by a civil servant in the exercise of their functions.

Art. 342 CC False witness or false expertise	Making a false statement, or denying or omitting the truth, as a witness, expert, clerk, translator or interpreter in a judicial or administrative court case, police investigation, or in a court of arbitration.
Crimes of Laundering or Hiding Goods, Rights or Amounts (Law no. 9,613/98)	Hiding or disguising the nature, origin, location, disposal, movement or appropriation of goods, rights or amounts accruing directly or indirectly from a crime committed by a criminal organisation.
Trafficking in Illicit Narcotic Substances (Law no. 11,343/2006)	Importing, exporting, dispatching, preparing, producing, manufacturing, acquiring, selling, putting up for sale, offering, keeping in store, transporting, bringing, keeping, prescribing, administrating, delivering for consumption or supplying drugs, even free-of-charge.

Despite criticism, it is these criminal provisions of arts. 231 and 231-A, and those listed in Tables 2 and 3 which, in accordance with the principle of legality,¹⁰ may be applied in cases of trafficking in persons for the purposes of the forms of exploitation foreseen in the National Anti-Trafficking Policy. These criminal provisions serve as a point of reference and legal framework for public safety and criminal justice authorities when they are prosecuting those who commit these acts.

But it is not necessary to remain limited to these offences in the conceptual consideration of trafficking in persons, because the intention here is to broaden our field of vision and base it more closely on an examination of reality, in order to reformulate legislation and public policies on combating trafficking in persons, also in relation to the legal definition of this form of human rights violation. This is why, in examining the concept, it is important to define trafficking in persons mainly, though not solely, on the basis of the Palermo Protocol and, in Brazil, on the National Anti-Trafficking Policy, texts that cover various forms and that, as they are more generic, can better keep up with the development and constant changes that the phenomenon of trafficking in persons undergoes.¹¹

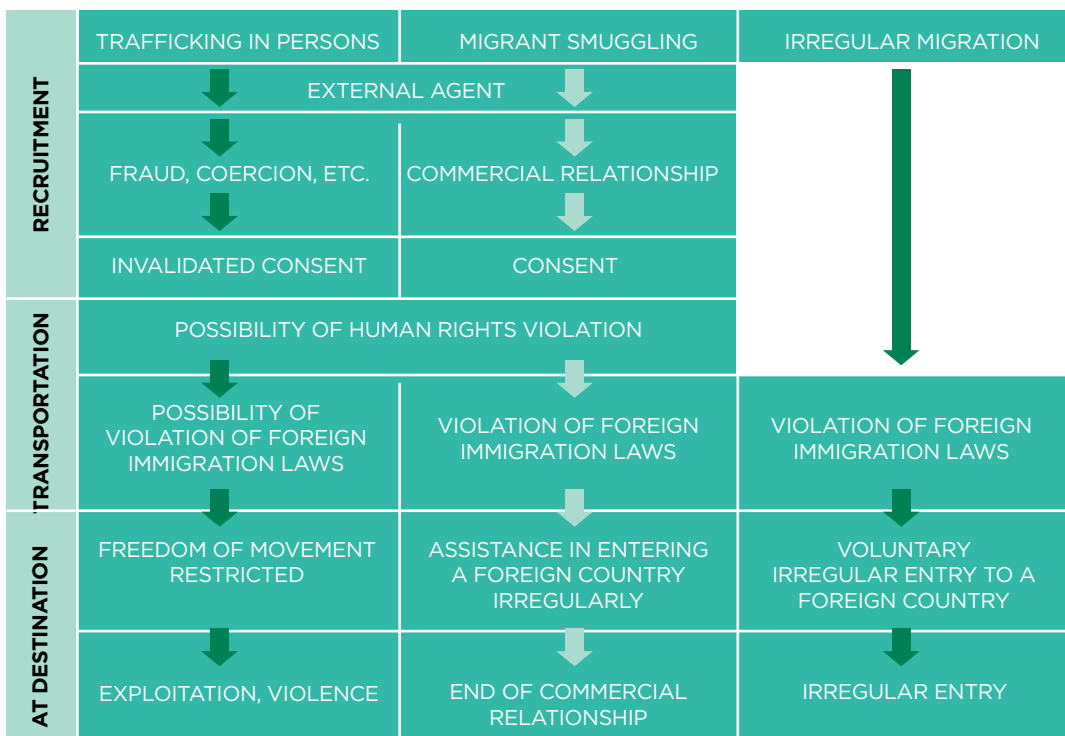
¹⁰ The Principle of Legality is the constitutional provision whereby there is no crime without a prior law that defines it and there is no penalty if it has not been previously foreseen in the law (art. 5, XXXIX of the Federal Constitution of 1988).

¹¹ We shall see, therefore, in section 1.5, that the methodology of this research also had as guiding elements the criminal offences that may relate to trafficking in persons and the various forms of exploitation, though not only these. The research also observed reality and noted the interpretations that the stakeholders interviewed for the research had on the subject of trafficking in persons in their respective fields of action. The objective was to describe the phenomenon and the way in which it manifests itself in the border area, from an empirical point-of-view, rather than based on the criminal legislation, even if the latter is a point of reference.

1.1.2 Trafficking in Persons, Migrant Smuggling and Irregular Migration: Conceptual Commonalities and Distinctions

In order to better understand trafficking in persons and the specificities of the concept, it is also necessary to understand the relationship between it and two other concepts - migrant smuggling and irregular migration, as shown in Figure 2 below:

Figure 2: **Differences between Trafficking in Persons, Migrant Smuggling and Irregular Migration**



As we have seen in section 1.1 of the Introduction, under the terms of the National Policy on Combating Trafficking in persons, and the Palermo Protocol, **trafficking in persons** is:

“the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other

forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.”

There are thus three constituent elements: the act, the means and the purpose, which is exploitation.

Migrant Smuggling, on the other hand, is defined as “(...) the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident”, under the terms of art. 3 of the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.

Irregular Migration refers to a person entering a country of which they are not a citizen without authorisation, or remaining after their visa or residence permit has expired, if they do not have legal status. The term applies to violation of the administrative admission requirements or residence requirements of the country of destination (Teresi & Healy, 2012).

Yet the three concepts can be confused, as indeed they have their commonalities. For example, in the case of both trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling, there is an external agent, who is responsible for the recruitment of the trafficked people, in the case of trafficking, or of the migrants, in the case of migrant smuggling. In both scenarios, there is a possibility of human rights violations during the journey, for example if the conditions of transportation are dangerous, they are placed in unsuitable accommodation, there is a lack of food or drink, or violence is perpetrated against them.

In the case of migrant smuggling, there is always – and in the case of trafficking in persons, there may be – consent on the part of the person being transported. However, with trafficking in persons, the consent is invalidated (or absent) – given the existence of false promises, fraud,

coercion or other means used by the trafficker.¹² With migrant smuggling, on the other hand, the consent given by the migrant is considered valid, although there is a more recent interpretation that the irregular migrant could also be classified as a victim of the smugglers in certain circumstances.¹³

In the case of trafficking in persons there is a third element, that of the exploitation of the victim at the destination, while with migrant smuggling there is a commercial relationship between the recruiter and the person who is transported, which terminates at the destination, as there is no exploitation. It is important, nevertheless, to note that a situation that is initially one of migrant smuggling may become trafficking in persons if, at the destination, there is exploitation by the smugglers or their networks.

Furthermore, with trafficking in persons, there is not always a violation of immigration law, as the trafficked person may be in a regular migration situation or it may be a case of internal trafficking – within the same country. With migrant smuggling, the violation of immigration law, not only by the person who recruits or assists entry into another country, but also by the person who is being transported – the migrant who seeks to irregularly enter the desired destination, is an element of the offence.¹⁴ There may be a violation of human rights in the process of migrant smuggling, but it is not a requirement to constitute the crime.

In the case of trafficking in persons, international recommendations have been made that victims should be neither considered as, nor punished as, perpetrators of a crime/infringement committed as a result of their situation as a victim of trafficking in persons, even if they are in an irregular situation in the country of destination, and therefore violating local legislation.¹⁵

Finally, in the case of irregular migration, there is no intermediary in the transportation or entry into the destination country, nor is there

¹² And even if it is not invalidated, in accordance with the National Anti-Trafficking Policy, the consent of the victim is irrelevant.

¹³ See: UNODC Model Law Against the Smuggling of Migrants, 2010.

¹⁴ Criminal or administrative offence. Particularly in Brazil, violation of immigration law is an administrative, rather than criminal, infringement, under the terms of art. 125 of the Immigration Statute (Law no. 6,815/80).

¹⁵ On this, see: Office of the Special Representative and Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings (2013). *Policy and legislative recommendations towards the effective implementation of the non-punishment provision with regard to victims of trafficking*. Vienna: OSCE.

the element of exploitation. It is simply a violation of immigration laws on the part of the person who decides to migrate without observing the legislation of the destination and/or transit country.¹⁶

There is also the situation of refugees and asylum applicants, whose reasons for leaving their countries are related to the need for international humanitarian protection, but who sometimes find themselves among economic migrants, both documented and undocumented, and trafficked people, using the same routes and, in some cases, facing similar dangers. These are complex population movements referred to as mixed flows, which may be studied together in the discussion on migrant smuggling and trafficking in persons.

Irregular migration, migrant smuggling and trafficking in persons are therefore multifaceted phenomena, cross-border *par excellence*, which require in-depth knowledge and investigation, as well as measures of prevention, prosecution and protection of victims that are as cross-border in nature as the phenomena themselves. There is an intrinsic relationship between migration (irregular and migrant smuggling) and trafficking in persons that is more marked in the border areas, as will be seen in section 1.2.

1.2 Trafficking in Persons and the Border Areas of Brazil

Border means “land that is beside another” or “limit between two territories”. It is essentially the “limit of known land”, a concept that is intimately linked to another three concepts – State, territory and population (Zapata-Barrero, 2012). Ulf Hannerz (1997) understands a limit as a clear line of demarcation in relation to which something is inside or outside.

This is the traditional concept of the border and the expressions that relate to it. The border is therefore the result of a historical process of division, which was not always peaceful, of territories, and represents the State’s concern for guaranteeing its sovereignty and the security of the population on its territory. Therefore, States generally have an interest in the regions around the border, as strategic points of defence. Nevertheless, this fundamental concept of the border has experienced a process of change.

¹⁶ An important reference in this discussion is UNODC (2011). *Smuggling of Migrants: a Global Review* (UNODC).

Ricardo Zapata-Barrero (2012), for example, argues that the border of the nation-state is increasingly losing ground. Borders are no longer seen as defined geographical lines, but rather as the results of a dynamic process and a reality that is politically and socially constructed.¹⁷ This reality is in permanent flux, due to increasing levels of human mobility as a result of the contemporary process of globalisation.

Hannerz (1997) points out that “Flux, mobility, recombination and emergence have become favored themes as globalization and transnationality frequently offer the contexts for our thinking about culture.” These days, “borders in reality do not immobilize, but rather, curiously, are crossed” (Hannerz, 1997).

Patarra and Baeninger (2006) also highlight the fragility of the concept of the border as a geographic limit and stress the vulnerability of border spaces, which, infused with transnationality, “*now constitute locations that are particularly vulnerable to the perverse effects of globalisation and of commercial agreements on the living conditions of the social groups involved. Where before one could see the wide extent of unresolved agrarian issues, today we see an increasing vulnerability, with greater insecurity arising from the parallel effects of drug trafficking routes, contraband and illegal money laundering procedures and other forms of corruption that find their “niche” there* (TT)” (Patarra & Baeninger, 2006).

Identification or recognition of situations of trafficking in persons in border areas is even more difficult than elsewhere. The border is the place where the possibilities of departure, of emancipation and of realisation of a migration plan begin. The border may also be a place that people pass through, marked by social and cultural encounters and mishaps. The population of the borders may even have their own culture, whereby the day-to-day life lived by the people of the border cities (languages, customs, cuisine, etc.) condenses the experience of living between two countries, being part of both, while at the same time being something different due to the combination of influences (Teresi & Healy, 2012).

It is also important to stress that communities located in border areas may be stigmatised as being from places with a high incidence of crimes

¹⁷ For more on this issue, see: Anderson, Benedict (1983). *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*.

of various kinds, or, due to their openness to a constant flow of foreign migrants, they may also be considered “undesirable”, like the migrants who cross the border irregularly and who are in the country without an immigration permit (Teresi & Healy, 2012).

The dynamics of migratory movement at the land borders is distinct. A common element is that they may be clandestine, given the conditions that facilitate irregular migration, such as the absence or inefficiency of control over entry and exit and the presence of geographic spaces that facilitate access, such as river and lake systems, twin towns and environmental conservation areas. It is not that other types of borders – air and sea – do not also experience clandestine migration, just that in those cases, it is made more difficult due to geographic conditions and the presence of the government forces of the States of origin and destination at the points of entry and departure.

Some specific expressions are used to designate the geographic border region, such as the border strip, border zone, border line and twin town, and it is important to conceptualise them in order to better understand the geographic scope of this ENAFRON research. The border strip is an internal strip of 150km in width, parallel to the (imaginary) dividing line of national territory,¹⁸ which, in turn, is the border line. Twin towns are towns that border a country or territory neighbouring Brazilian territory, and whose location is exactly at the international limits or on the border line. In this sense, they are population settlements bisected by the border line (whether this is a land or river border, connected or not by infrastructure), and contained within the territory of at least two countries (Ministry for National Integration, n.d.).

Twin towns indeed illustrate the difficulties set out in this section and the need for joint action by the bordering countries and states. As they are twinned municipalities, or municipalities that have a land border with a country or territory neighbouring Brazil, and the border line crosses the municipality, there are places where, on one side of the street, it is Brazil, and on the other side, another South American State, such as Paraguay. They are therefore towns that represent great potential for economic and cultural integration, and yet on the other

¹⁸ Law 6,634 of 2 May 1979 and art. 20 of the Federal Constitution of 1988.

hand, they also constitute concentrated manifestations of the problems characteristic of the border, which become more intense here, with direct effects on regional development and citizenship rights (Ministry for National Integration, n.d.).

They are towns that, because of their geography and as a consequence of the customs of their residents, experience constant migration processes, facilitating the process of regional integration between Brazil and its neighbouring countries. However, on the other hand, they are geographic spaces that pose challenges for the implementation of public policies, access to rights, and control by security forces, given the great flow of people, residents and non-residents, nationals or foreigners, and the intensified mobility in the region.

The border is approximately 16,000 kilometres long, of which 7,300 is dry land, bordering nine South American countries and one French overseas territory. Due to its size and difficulty of access, and because of its geography and vegetation, the border makes supervision difficult, as we will see in more detail in section 1.6 of this Report.¹⁹ In this sense, the Brazilian land border – also referred to as the “dry border” – is an area that, due to its length and cultural, ethnic, economic and political specificities, is subject to the most diverse activities, whether they are legal – such as exchange of services, commercial exchanges, cultural exchanges and exchanges of knowledge, relationships of friendship and between relatives – but also illegal, due to the ease of transportation and the relative absence of the State for political and also geographical reasons, favouring transnational crimes often committed by organised groups, such as trafficking in drugs and arms, migrant smuggling and trafficking in persons.²⁰

Trafficking in persons is therefore one of the illegal activities and one of the types of human rights violation that takes place at the Brazilian “dry border”. Trafficking in persons implies mobility and the transportation of persons from one place to another with the specific purpose of

¹⁹ See the publication by Godoi & Castro (2010), launched by the National Union of Analysts-Contributors to the Federal Budget of Brazil (Sindireceita), which discusses the difficulties encountered in relation to the supervision of the Brazilian land borders and the consequences of these gaps in supervision.

²⁰ The characteristics and peculiarities of the states of the border area will be further discussed in section 1.6 which describes the geographical scope of the ENAFRON research.

exploitation. This movement “from one place to another” may be between one state of the Federation and another within national territory, within the same state, or between different countries, crossing international borders or divisions, which, as we have seen, forms part of the definition of international and internal trafficking, whereby the facilitation of this mobility may be an element of the crime of trafficking in persons.

1.3. Justification for the ENAFRON Research

Because of local progress and development in the border areas, a concern that was originally mainly with national security and the sovereignty of the territory has become one with regional integration and human safety. This requires measures that comprise not only actions for regional development,²¹ but also actions for the promotion of integration between peoples and integration between the government institutions of Brazil and those of the bordering countries; actions for the promotion of local public safety, from a regional perspective, and for integration between Brazilian security forces and the security forces of other States. According to Patarra and Baeninger (2006), “*the political situation indicates the emergence of leaderships more orientated towards the joint regional reinforcement of the South American continent as a strategy to deal with the adverse situation (TT)*”. Here they refer to dealing with the difficulties encountered in the Brazilian border area through the integration and unification not only of national forces, but also of those of other South American countries.

It was in this context that the Strategic Borders Plan emerged, approved by Decree no. 7496/2011. The Strategic Borders Plan was born of the need for Brazil to reinforce the presence of the Brazilian government along the 15,719 kilometres in length of the land border with neighbouring countries and territories. The Strategic Borders Plan functions on the basis of the integration of the Ministries of Justice, Finance and Defence, with the objective of preventing and prosecuting cross-border crimes and crimes committed within the vast Brazilian border strip in an effective manner.

Trafficking in persons is one of the criminal offences considered to be cross-border in nature, and so it may also be committed in the

²¹ Discussed in the Programme for the Promotion of the Development of the Border Strip by the Ministry for National Integration.

border strip - therefore it requires integrated action, both internally and internationally, in order to combat it. International trafficking is also a transnational crime,²² that is, it is carried out in different States, and therefore it is a crime to which a limit is not imposed by the geographic borders of countries. For example, Scandola, Ziolkowski and Sardinha (2008) stress that transnational dialogue and cooperation between States is necessary in order to combat trafficking in persons on national territory, as the countries involved in the routes of international trafficking in persons are characterised as sending, receiving and/or transit countries for traffickers, recruiters and other elements that comprise the criminal network, and trafficked people. These authors also emphasise that cooperation should not only be in place in relation to the prosecution of the perpetrators of the act in question, but also in relation to aspects of the prevention of the crime of trafficking in persons and of assistance to trafficked people.

Internal trafficking in persons is carried out within the same state of the Federation, or from one state to another within the national territory. Nevertheless, its prevention and prosecution is also in line with the intention of the Strategic Borders Plan, as it may take place between two border states or within the border strip.

According to the ENAFRON Programme:

“The Plan’s guiding principle is joint action by organs of public safety, the Federal Office, the Armed Forces and by their counterparts in the neighbouring countries, whereby Federal integration actions should be implemented by the Union, and the states and municipalities located in the border strip, by means of the formulation of structural projects and international cooperation measures (TT)” (Ministry of Justice, n.d.).

The neighbouring countries were given advance notice of the operations, in order for them to understand that the objective of the

²² Transnational crime, under the terms of the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, adopted in Brazil by Legislative Decree no. 231 of 29 May 2003, is a crime that is committed in more than one State; in one State only, but where a substantial part of its preparation, planning, direction and control takes place in another State; in one State only, but involving the participation of an organised criminal group that carries out criminal activities in more than one State; or in one State only, but which has substantial effects on another State.

Strategic Borders Plan was to increase cooperation between nations in the fight against criminality. Various agreements were signed with the governments of the countries that border Brazil, and foreign observers attended part of the operations carried out by the Brazilian Armed Forces (Temer, Cardozo, Amorim & Franco, 20.12.2011).

With the purpose of lending a systematic character to the measures necessary to combat crime in the border regions and under the auspices of the Strategic Borders Plan, the Ministry of Justice developed a National Strategy for Public Safety at the Borders (ENAFRON), coordinated by the National Secretariat of Public Safety (SENASP), with actions that are the responsibility of other organs of the Ministry of Justice, including the National Secretariat of Justice (SNJ). The following are the macro-actions of ENAFRON to be implemented under the responsibility of SNJ in order to combat the crime of trafficking in persons:

1. To carry out an assessment of trafficking in persons with a focus on the border region;
2. To set up Advanced Migrant Assistance Centres and train local authorities;
3. To promote measures for international judicial cooperation.

* * *

The topic of trafficking in persons still requires quite some research in Brazil. Quantitative and qualitative reports have been produced by international bodies and non-governmental organizations; academics have carried out isolated research projects; and the first consolidated National Report on official data on trafficking in persons in Brazil was published in February 2013 (Ministry of Justice, 2013a). However, the research conducted thus far has not been sufficiently comprehensive, neither in geographic terms nor in relation to the scope of the research; it has not covered the various forms of exploitation and the various groups who may be in situations of vulnerability to possible recruitment for the purposes of trafficking in persons.

For example, a literature review of research on trafficking in persons conducted and published between 2000 and 2012 in Brazil, shows that 12

field research projects were carried out.²³ Of these, three were conducted in São Paulo (National Secretariat of Justice, 2005; National Secretariat of Justice & International Labour Organization, 2007; National Secretariat of Justice, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and Brazilian Association in Defence of Women, Children and Young People (n.d.)). This was not only because it is the main international airport of the country and the main point of departure for Europe and the United States of America and of entry into the country, but also due to the work that has been carried out by the Advanced Migrant Assistance Centre at São Paulo International Airport since 1999.²⁴

Furthermore, the main source of information for this research has been interviews with stakeholders, demonstrating the dearth of criminal statistics on trafficking in persons. Some research has also had recourse to documentary analysis on police investigations and court proceedings (Colares, 2004), and to media reports (Leal & Leal, 2002; Peterke, 2012).

The research has focused on sexual exploitation; it is assumed that this is not only due to the absence of specific legislation on other forms of exploitation, but possibly also due to a greater ease of access to information about this form of exploitation, as compared to other forms, on which information is almost non-existent.

Finally, the geographic region of the border, given its specificities, dimensions and difficulty of access, has been little covered in field research on the topic. Three pieces of research were conducted in the state of Rio Grande do Sul (National Secretary of Justice, 2006), and in four municipalities in the Amazon region in the states of Amazonas, Acre and Roraima (Hazeu, 2008; Secretariat for Human Rights of the Presidency of the Republic & Brazilian Association in Defence of Women, Children and Young People, 2012), evincing the urgency of this task in relation to the geographic area covered, already considered to be one of great vulnerability, and to the form of crime that we seek to identify, in order to

²³ See Table 15 in Annex IV for a summary of this research. In this table, we consider only research that involved field research methodology, such as interviews, focus group meetings, documentary research of judicial proceedings and media reports, visits and observations. We did not consider, for example, research with the objective of carrying out a literature review. Nevertheless, the list is non-exhaustive.

²⁴ ASBRAD (the Brazilian Association in Defence of Women, Children and Young People) is an association that offers services to people who have been deported or refused entry and who return to Brazil via São Paulo International Airport in Guarulhos, and who in some cases are victims of trafficking in persons.

support prevention, prosecution and assistance to trafficked people with equal intensity.

The National Plans to Combat Trafficking in Persons (NATPs) also foresee the need for research such as this present Assessment. Under the terms of the First Plan, Priority 1 of Area 1 (Prevention of Trafficking in Persons) is to “*research, systematise, develop and disseminate studies, research, information and experiences on trafficking in persons (TT)*”, specifically through the measure of “*carrying out studies and research on trafficking in persons (TT)*”. Under the terms of the Second NATP, a part of Measure 4A, within Operative Line 4 (Production, management and dissemination of information and knowledge about trafficking in persons), is “*the investigation or analysis of trafficking in persons in the border regions is carried out and disseminated (TT)*”.

Finally, we cannot find a solution to the problem if we do not have knowledge about its roots and its constituent elements. This means that we need instruments to investigate reality, which are external to the machinery of the State, and which can therefore set out the scenario in which that public policy is to be implemented, continued and/or replicated, in order to continue to observe and evaluate the phenomenon and the effectiveness of public anti-trafficking policies.

Research serves as a point of reference for practice, for change, for progress and for the evaluation of existing public policies. The Anti-Trafficking Centres²⁵ and the Advanced Migrant Assistance Centres,²⁶ as well as being sources of information, also themselves need effective sources of knowledge about the topic of trafficking in persons in order to carry out their functions.

Therefore, the dearth of knowledge about the topic, at the national level and above all in the region, the need for this knowledge for the

²⁵ These are Centres that have the purpose of carrying out the actions foreseen in the National Anti-Trafficking Policy, in accordance with the areas of prevention, prosecution of perpetrators and assistance to victims. At the time of writing, there were such Anti-Trafficking Centres in the states of Acre, Alagoas, Amapá, Amazonas, Bahia, Ceará, the Federal District (Brasília), Goiás, Maranhão, Minas Gerais, Pará, Paraná, Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, Rio Grande do Sul and São Paulo.

²⁶ The Migrant Centres have the task of receiving people who have been deported or refused entry, identifying potential victims of trafficking in persons and providing them with personalised assistance on the spot and further support through the local network. At the time of writing, there were AMACs currently located in the states of Acre, Amazonas (which has 8 Migrant Centres), Ceará, Pará, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

formulation, implementation and evaluation of effective, efficient and successful public policies in the region, as well as the ENAFRON Strategy and the two National Anti-Trafficking Plans, justify the need for this research, the objectives and methodology of which will be set out in the following sections.

1.4 Objectives of the ENAFRON Research

The main objective of the ENAFRON Research was to carry out an assessment of the phenomenon of trafficking in persons in the Brazilian land border areas. Another topic explored in the ENAFRON Research, and which goes beyond the discussion on trafficking in persons, was the phenomenon of migration in the border areas. As we have seen in sections 1.2 and 1.3, the literature and field research indicate an intrinsic relationship between these two topics, given that migration and trafficking in persons are different aspects of the same phenomenon of human mobility.

The ENAFRON research was therefore constructed on the basis of qualitative and quantitative data obtained from the Federal authorities and secondary sources,²⁷ complemented with primary sources obtained through field research with interviews, visits and focus group meetings in the 11 states of the border area - Acre, Amapá, Amazonas, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, Pará, Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul, Rondônia, Roraima and Santa Catarina - as we will see in more detail in section 1.5, on the research methodology.

The aspects to be explored and the concerns to be addressed during the research were as follows:

► What are the most common migratory flows (places of entry and departure of migrants and/or trafficked people) in the border area? Are there mixed migration flows?²⁸

²⁷ It should be noted that secondary sources refer to data and information obtained through desk research and in the construction of which the researcher has not directly intervened, in contrast to primary sources, which, in the context of this Assessment, are interviews, focus group meetings and visits, as well as statistical data obtained directly from the responsible authorities.

²⁸ In accordance with the Working Definitions of this research, mixed flows are population movements where refugees and asylum applicants, whose reasons for leaving their countries are related to the need for international protection, find themselves among economic and temporary migrants, documented and undocumented, and trafficked people, using the same routes and, in some cases, facing similar dangers (Silva, 2011).

➤ Are there indications of migrant smuggling in the states of the border strip?

➤ What forms of trafficking in persons are to be found in the border strip – what is the purpose of trafficking in persons or to what form of exploitation are people subjected? Here we seek to identify the forms of trafficking in persons in the border area, including trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation; forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude; organ removal; and other, more recently identified, forms such as servile marriage, illegal adoption, and exploitation in begging and committing crimes. The method used, as we will see, also allowed us to identify or extrapolate forms of exploitation other than those mentioned in existing literature and research.

➤ What is the profile of victims who are officially identified and/or assisted by the public safety and justice system and by the victim protection network? What is the profile of potential victims? The description of the profile of victims identified in the border areas took into account aspects of gender, race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation and nationality, among others.²⁹

➤ What are the *modus operandi* of criminals, for example, what are the modes of recruitment of these trafficked people? What is the profile of these recruiters and exploiters? In addition, what are the criminal offences commonly committed in conjunction with trafficking in persons? These questions helped to assess the method of operating of those responsible, individually or in groups, for the crime of trafficking in persons in the border areas.

➤ Which governmental and non-governmental agencies and organisations provide assistance to trafficked people in the border areas and what are the good practices and gaps of these services?

➤ Which are the municipalities of the border area where, according to an analysis of the local environment and the criteria of necessity and feasibility, new Advanced Migrant Assistance Centres (AMACs) could be set up in the future, in accordance with macro-action 2 to be implemented

²⁹ It is important to state that in the quantitative analysis, we paid special attention to the distinction between the number of victims and the number of cases, as one case or occurrence registered by the police, for example, may involve more than one victim.

under responsibility of the SNJ to combat the crime of trafficking in persons under the auspices of ENAFRON?

An additional objective of the research was to evaluate the methodology implemented, with the intention of testing and optimising it. It is planned that this methodology be replicated and implemented in future research, facilitating the construction of historical series in order to conduct longitudinal research on the topic. Therefore, the same research methodology may be replicated in the future, at time intervals that will allow for comparison between the data, and for analysis of the historical context and the evolution of the phenomenon with the passage of time.

Finally, this research also aims to develop concrete recommendations in relation to public policies on combating trafficking in persons in the border areas, and to indicate places/municipalities in the border areas where AMACs could potentially be set up.³⁰

³⁰ Located at the main points of entry and departure in Brazil, the Advanced Migrant Assistance Centres have the task of receiving people who are deported or refused entry, identifying potential trafficked persons and providing them with assistance through the local network. At the time of writing (July 2013), there were Migrant Centres in the states of Acre, Amazonas (which has eight Centres), Ceará, Pará, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

1.5 ENAFRON Research Methodology

The ENAFRON Research Methodology³¹ involved the collection of qualitative and quantitative information, and the analysis was carried out on the basis of the triangulation method.³² Triangulation involves assessing whether the information obtained from one source or through one research instrument supports or confirms the information obtained from other sources or through other instruments. The information supplied in the interviews, for example, could confirm or reproduce the information coming from the analysis of documents or statistics, and vice versa, as presented in Figure 3. On the other hand, the information may be contradictory, lending the research the richness of a dialogue between methods and requiring a consideration of the relative weight attributed to each source and instrument.

Figure 3: **Methods Used in the Collection of Information**



Therefore, the methods applied to obtain data and information in the ENAFRON Research were interviews, focus group meetings³³ (where necessary); the collection of socio-economic and demographic data and criminal statistics, both official and unofficial (from the judicial and public

³¹ For more detailed information on the research methodology, see the document “Report on the ENAFRON Research Methodology”.

³² Suggested by authors such as Aebi (2006), Strauss and Corbin (1998), Francis (2000), Maxwell (1996), Merriam *et al* (2002) and Patton (2002).

³³ The focus group meeting is a qualitative research method by means of which small groups of people are brought together to discuss a certain concept or issue. On the basis of focus group guidelines, the moderator initiates a debate, and the dynamics created within the group facilitate the production of information about a specific topic, without having to conduct individual interviews.

safety authorities, authorities for migration and borders, healthcare services, academia, NGOs, etc) and visits to the governmental and non-governmental institutions that comprise the anti-trafficking network, all in the regional capitals of the 11 states of the Brazilian land border.

The ENAFRON Research was divided into three phases:

First Phase - Assessment

The first phase of the research comprised an assessment of the data and information available on trafficking in persons in the border areas. This was a survey of pre-existing data in order to understand, both quantitatively and qualitatively, the existing situation in relation to trafficking in persons in the region. The methods applied during this phase were:

A - Literature Review;

An initial literature review was used in the construction of the theoretical framework and the Working Definitions. The detailed bibliography consulted can be found in the ENAFRON Methodology Report and at the end of this Report.

It is important to highlight that in order to systematise and organise the literature review in such a way that it was accessible to all members of the research team, regardless of where they found themselves, we uploaded folders to the online file storage software Dropbox,³⁴ dividing up files by theme, authorship and states of the border area. In this way, the entire team had uninterrupted access to the bibliography, media reports and statistics collected by its members, facilitating the exchange of the material, as well as supervision by the coordinators of the literature review carried out by the local researchers.

³⁴ Dropbox is a remote file storage service. The files may be uploaded onto Dropbox servers from any device that has its software and an internet connection. They can therefore be accessed from any device connected to the internet, but only by invitation of the person who created the folder. Apart from synchronising files, Dropbox also retains earlier versions, allowing the client to return to an older version of their data. In the case of shared folders, it also records changes made by any member.

B – Collection of data available online or in secondary sources;

On the basis of experience acquired during the implementation of the *National Assessment of Trafficking in Persons* (Ministry of Justice, 2013), an analysis of official anti-trafficking statistics was carried out by accessing websites or official documents (statistical reports) sent to the National Secretariat of Justice (SNJ). Furthermore, some institutions were officially contacted to request them to send to SNJ the updated data for the year 2012, disaggregated by Unit of the Federation. The list explaining the origin/institution of these official statistics can be found in Appendix I.

The available data were collected in a specific folder in the Dropbox file storage service and remained available to the local researchers for the composition of the State Reports and to the coordinators for the composition of the final Assessment.

C – Mapping of the governmental and non-governmental institutions of the anti-trafficking and victim assistance network at Federal level and in the 11 border states.

The mapping had four main objectives:

➤ To serve as a research instrument, as it provides a systematic list of potential sources of information on the phenomenon, their geographic location (address) and the contact people for each organisation (names, telephone numbers and email addresses);

➤ To also serve as information in itself, as it systematically and objectively sets out the existence, or absence, of relevant governmental or non-governmental organisations in a particular territory, providing information on any potential lack of public services or civil society organisations in particular geographic spaces, contributing to the identification of gaps and good practices;

➤ To facilitate coordination between stakeholders who may learn about their counterparts through the mapping, and thereby construct an anti-trafficking network;

➤ To assist in the identification of geographic locations where future Advanced Migrant Assistance Centres (AMACs) could be set up, among other services important for combating trafficking in persons.

In this way, it is important to clarify how the “Mapping of Anti-Trafficking Stakeholders and Governmental and Non-Governmental Organisations” was carried out in the 11 states of the border area and at Federal level.

First of all, existing lists were consulted, such as the Department of Justice, Classification, Titles and Qualification of the National Secretariat of Justice (SNJ)’s Mapping of Federal and State Agencies for Anti-Trafficking Coordination and the Mapping of Federal and State Agencies for the Coordination of the National Strategy for Public Safety at the Borders (ENAFRON). Then, in relation to the mapping of Federal agencies, the existing experience of ICMPD and of the research coordinators was quite important in identifying other stakeholders, adding and removing stakeholders from existing lists and organising them into a single list of Federal stakeholders.

The mapping of state-level stakeholders was assisted by the research assistant, who developed a mapping in parallel to that of the local researchers, which in turn was carried out before and during the field research. The literature review carried out in order to develop the Research Methodology also contributed to the identification of stakeholders at Federal and state level.³⁵

³⁵ In Appendix II you will find the agendas of the field research missions with the institutions interviewed at state level, and in Appendix II, the list of stakeholders consulted at Federal level. It is important to note that other institutions that are active, directly or indirectly, in combating trafficking in persons were mapped, even if not all of them participated in the research. A pre-selection was carried out prior to the field research missions, by the research coordinators and the local researchers, in order to interview, visit and send questionnaires to stakeholders who were expected to have the most information on the phenomenon of trafficking in persons at Federal level and in the state under research.

Second Phase - Detailed Research in the Capitals of the 11 Border States

The second phase consisted of field research in the capitals of the 11 border states, conducted by a team of eight local researchers, under the guidance and supervision of the research coordinators, and of information-gathering among the Federal stakeholders. The methods employed during this phase were:

A - Questionnaires sent to the Federal stakeholders;

During the mapping, 36 government institutions (or departments within the same institution) and non-governmental institutions were identified, with functions in the border area and in combating trafficking in persons. These institutions and their departments received, through Official Requests and Memoranda of the National Secretariat of Justice (SNJ), a questionnaire with a request for more specific information on migration and trafficking in persons at the Federal level, mainly focusing on the Units of the Federation in the border area. The questionnaire also included an observation to indicate that the respondent should attach statistics on migration and trafficking in persons, where available. From the 36 institutions, at the time of writing of the Report of the Assessment, 16 had sent responses to the questionnaire, three of whom indicated that they did not have specific data on the topic of trafficking in persons.³⁶

B - Literature Review;

The same process employed previously for the literature review was continued. In addition, the local researchers, before and during the field research, had the specific role of gathering local literature on trafficking in persons - published or unpublished bibliographical material, local assessments or research reports by local universities or other researchers, articles and media reports specifically on the border state under research.

³⁶ The list of institutions at Federal level that responded to the questionnaire is included in Appendix III. The institutions that stated that they did not have specific data on the topic were the National Confederation of Industrial Workers (CNTI), the Division of Compulsory Measures (DIMEC) of the Immigration Department (DEEST) and the Permanent Commission for the Development and Integration of the Border Strip - (CDIF) of the Ministry for Integration (MI).

C- Data collection in the region and gathering of information on the historical, political and social context, available online and in secondary sources. This method was applied *in loco* by the local researchers, by means of interviews or visits, in an attempt to collect the data recorded by the institutions visited, but also through virtual research of reports and other published research;

D - Interviews with stakeholders in the 11 border states, *in loco*, on the basis of the mapping of governmental and non-governmental institutions that are involved in combating trafficking in persons that had been carried out in the First Phase;

E - Focus group meetings with the state stakeholders (interlocutors who were not interviewed individually, but rather in a group - these took place only in certain states, where it was considered necessary);

F - Visits to institutions that form the network of anti-trafficking and assistance to trafficked people, such as NGOs, Committees, Councils, Assistance Centres, Consulates and Public Safety and Justice Agencies).

Methods C to F describe the fieldwork itself, which was implemented through data collection, interviews, visits and focus group meetings with governmental and non-governmental institutions in the 11 states of the border area, during the period from May to July 2013. Some research missions in these Units of the Federation were longer, while others were shorter, but on average they lasted 12 days.

Table 4 provides a quantitative representation of the methods applied during the field research missions³⁷ in the states of Acre, Amapá, Amazonas, Mato Grosso do Sul, Mato Grosso, Pará, Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul, Rondônia, Roraima and Santa Catarina.

³⁷ Appendix II includes the agenda of the field research missions, with the list of stakeholders interviewed, the institutions that hosted visits and the focus group meetings that were organised, by state in the border area.

Table 4. **Quantitative Summary of Interviews, Visits and Focus Group Meetings during the Field Research**

Unit of the Federation in the Border Area	Institutions Interviewed	People Interviewed	Institutions Visited	Focus Group Meetings
Acre	19	22	4	0
Amapá	15	17	2	0
Amazonas	22	22	3	3
Mato Grosso	23	31	3	1
Mato Grosso do Sul	30	40	3	0
Pará	19	19	3	0
Paraná	18	28	4	0
Rio Grande do Sul	20	27	5	0
Rondônia	22	26	4	2
Roraima	28	35	7	0
Santa Catarina	36	35	4	1
TOTAL	252	267	42	7

It can be observed that from the total, an average of 24 people at 22 key anti-trafficking institutions were interviewed in each Unit of the Federation in the border area, including public safety and justice institutions, particularly criminal and labour justice, including the Public Ministry; social welfare and healthcare organisations; members of academia and research institutes; and non-governmental organisations that work on the topics of migration and trafficking in persons, LGBT groups and indigenous populations and Land Chaplaincies, among others.

On average, four visits to institutions that provide assistance to trafficked people were carried out in each state of the border area. Focus group meetings were only organised in cases where the number of interviewees was too large, or in the case of pre-existing group meetings, in which the local researcher was invited to participate. Such meetings were held in the states of Amazonas (three), Mato Grosso (one), Rondônia (two) and Santa Catarina (one).

The field research was carried out in the capital cities of the 11 Units of the Federation in the border area. In Roraima, the local researcher also visited Pacaraima, a municipality at the border, twinned with Santa Elena de Uairén in Venezuela, while in the state of Santa Catarina, although it is not a border municipality but rather a coastal one, the local researcher travelled to the city of Itajaí in order to visit the headquarters of the Migrant Orientation Programme.

Third Phase - Conclusions and Recommendations

The Third Phase was the period during which the Assessment itself was composed, analysing the information gathered during the field research phase, and developing conclusions and recommendations for public policy to combat trafficking in persons and on other related areas. Another element of the Third Phase was the analysis of the feasibility and necessity of setting up new Advanced Migrant Assistance Centres (AMACs) in municipalities in the states of the border area.

The local researchers carried out the analysis of the field research material that they had gathered themselves, while the material collected by the research coordinator was also analysed by her. The local researchers composed eleven State Reports, one for each of the border states, according to the State Report template created for the ENAFRON Research. The research coordinator was responsible for composing the Assessment Report.

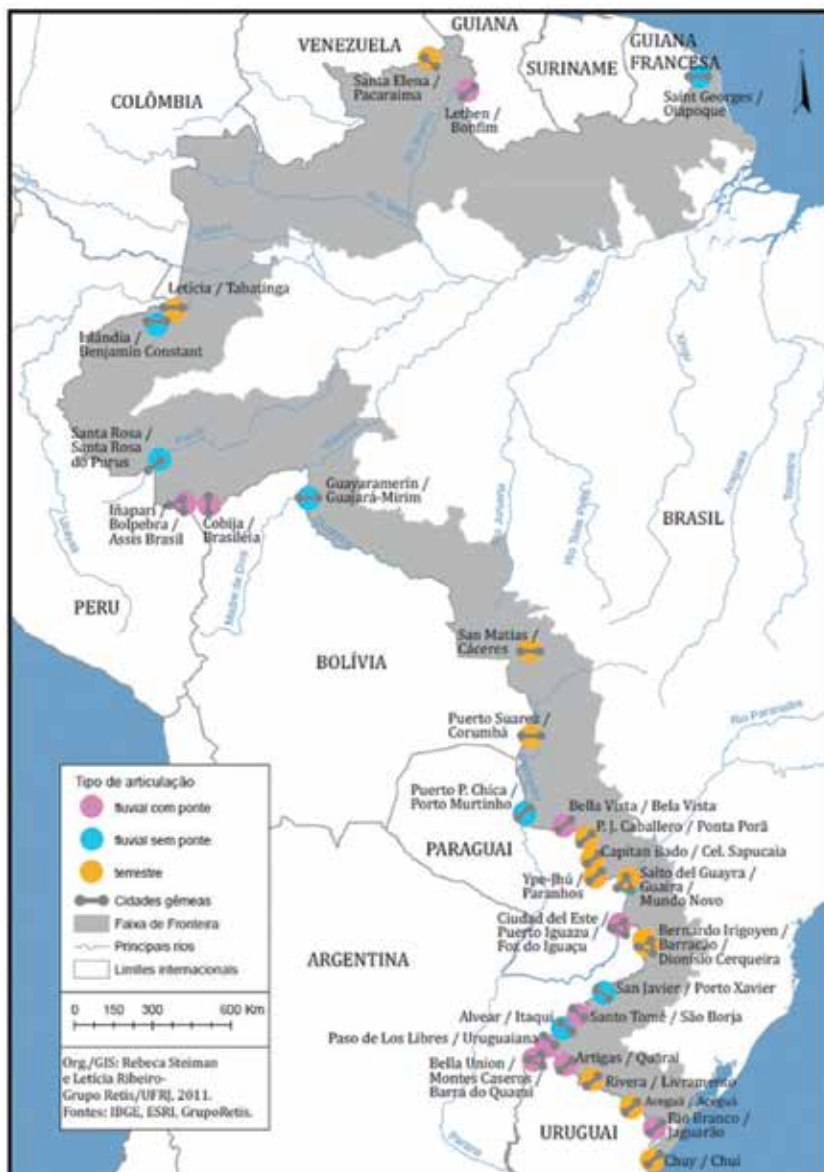
These analyses applied the inductive process, not only due to the chronic lack of quantitative data on trafficking in persons, but also because the inductive method allows one to make observations beyond previously established standards. For example, the forms of trafficking in persons identified most often during any field research carried out to date in Brazil had been sexual exploitation and slave labour/forced labour. In the ENAFRON Research, however, as there was no predefined set of forms, the local researcher could go beyond these, and observe other possible forms on the basis of the reality surveyed. Thus they identified, for example, cases of trafficking in persons for the purposes of exploitation through begging or through committing crimes. Nevertheless, it is clear that the literature review carried out mostly during the phase prior to the field research acted as a point of reference for the process of inductive analysis carried out by the local researchers and research coordinators.

1.6 Description of the Geographic Scope of the ENAFRON Research

The Brazilian border strip, the geographic focus of the ENAFRON Research, measures 150 kilometres in width along the land borders³⁸ - which corresponds to approximately 27% of national territory - and 15,719 kilometres in length. It is inhabited by around ten million residents in 11 Brazilian states - Acre (AC), Amapá (AP), Amazonas (AM), Mato Grosso (MT), Mato Grosso do Sul (MS), Pará (PA), Paraná (PR), Rio Grande do Sul (RS), Rondônia (RO), Roraima (RR) and Santa Catarina (SC). These states share international borders with nine South American countries - Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay and Venezuela, and one French overseas department, French Guiana. It contains 588 municipalities, 122 of which are located on the border itself, while 29 municipalities are twin towns, as shown in Figure 4:

³⁸ Under the terms of art. 20, para. 2 of the Federal Constitution.

Figure 4: **Brazilian Border Strip and Twin Towns**³⁹



³⁹ This map was taken from the MJ-UFRJ Technical Cooperation Project Plan for the *Research on Public Safety at the Borders*, by the National Secretariat for Public Safety, which uses IBGE, ESRI and GrupoRetis as sources.

The border strip is divided into three axes: 1) the Northern Axis (comprising the sections of the border strip in the states of Amapá, Pará and Amazonas, as well as the entirety of the states of Roraima and Acre; 2) the Central Axis (comprising the sections of the border strip in the states of Rondônia, Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul; and 3) the Southern Axis (including the sections of the border strip in the states of Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul). What follows is a summarised socio-demographic description of the states of the border area, which constitute the geographic scope of the ENAFRON Research.⁴⁰

Northern Axis

a) Acre

The state of Acre is situated in the southeast of the North Region and its state limits form international borders with Peru and Bolivia. Located on either side of the Brazilian-Peruvian border are the twin towns of Santa Rosa and Santa Rosa do Purus. The town of Assis Brasil has a triple border with Iñapari in Peru and Bolpebra in Bolivia, while the Brazilian municipality of Brasiléia is twinned with Cobija in Bolivia. The state of Acre occupies a territory of 164,123.04 km², divided into 22 municipalities. Rio Branco is the capital and the most populous city, with almost 350,000 inhabitants, while the city of Cruzeiro do Sul is the second most populous and significant in the state. Acre comprises 4.26% of the North Region, and just 1.92% of national territory.⁴¹

According to the 2010 IBGE census, the state has a total of 733,559 inhabitants, of whom 532,279 live in urban areas and 201,280 in rural areas. In relation to gender composition, there are 368,324 males and 365,235 females. The age cohort between 10 and 14 is the most predominant in Acre, with 44,447 boys and 43,260 girls.

The formation of the population of Acre was heterogeneous: within its mix there are influences from indigenous people⁴² and Northeastern Brazilians, mainly from Ceará, who arrived in large numbers during the

⁴⁰ See Table 16 in Appendix IV for the main socio-demographic indicators for the states of the border area.

⁴¹ Available at: www.ac.gov.br/wps/portal/acre/Acre/estado-acre/sobre-o-acre, accessed 15 May 2013.

⁴² The state's indigenous population is diverse and includes the ethnic groups Kaxinawá, Yawanawá, Katukina, Jaminawa, Kulina, Ashaninka, Nukini, Poyanawa, Manchineri, Arara, Apurinã and Kaxarari. There are also isolated indigenous people and others who live in and travel through the region of the border with Peru.

golden age of rubber tapping in the state (1880-1913). Apart from these, there were also Southern Brazilians who arrived in large numbers in the 1970s and immigrants from Arab countries, especially Syrian-Lebanese (Souza, 1992).

According to the state's official data, in the year 2009, there were 305 indigenous villages, where 16,995 indigenous people were living. Indigenous Lands represent 13.61% of Acre's territory (Acre Government, 2011). On social indicators, Acre has an illiteracy rate of 15.19%, with 7.5% of children aged 7 to 14 not in school, and 22.2% of children aged 15 to 17 not in school; it has the 21st Human Development Index (HDI)⁴³ among Brazil's 27 states. In relation to the incidence of poverty, it has a rate of 18.9%. The infant mortality rate is 22.1 out of every 1,000 live births, which is above the average for the North Region (21.2).

With a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) that corresponds to 0.2% of national GDP, the state economy depends on its natural resources, especially rubber, nuts and wood. Its agriculture is characterised by small plantations of manioc, beans, sugar cane and rice. Industry is not the state's strength, and investment is mostly in food production. Cattle breeding has been engaged in on a large scale since the 1970s. On the other hand, fisheries are still in their early stages and enjoy little investment. The economic sector of most importance in the state is services provided by people or companies, which comprise 68.2% of the economy, followed by agriculture and cattle breeding with 17.2% and industry with 14.7% (Acre Government, 2011).

b) Amapá

Amapá is situated in the Northeast of the North Region and has state limits with Pará, international borders with French Guiana and Suriname, and the Atlantic Ocean to the East. It occupies an area of 142,814.585 km², and has a population of 587,311 (IBGE, 2010). The capital is Macapá and the state has 16 municipalities. The most populous cities and towns are Macapá, Santana, Laranjal do Jari and Oiapoque, the latter being a twin town with the city of Saint Georges in French Guiana.

⁴³ The Human Development Index (HDI) is an indicator developed by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) to measure human development by taking into account three indicators – longevity, level of education and income. The index ranges between zero and one, with the states or countries with a positive HDI having an index closer to one. According to the UNDP, indices higher than 0.8 are considered to be high, indicating a good quality of life.

Amapá is one of the newest and best conserved Brazilian states, with 72% of its 14.3 million hectares given over to Conservation Units and Indigenous Lands. The 19 Conservation Units of Amapá cover around 9.3 million hectares, making it the only state in the Federation to allocate such a large percentage of its land to environmental conservation. The absolute figure is 10.5 million hectares, equivalent in area to a country such as Portugal.

Its elevation is relatively low, generally below 300 metres, and it is one of the few states whose geographic features allow the formation of a set of ecosystems from pioneer formations of mangrove to dense tropical forest, through flooded fields and pastures. Its main rivers are the Amazon, Jari, Oiapoque, Araguari, Calçoene and Maracá. Most of its territory is contained within the Guyanas Basin (meaning that it is part of the Guyanas Shield, presenting crystalline rocks from the pre-Cambrian period).

Amapá has a large number of immigrants from French Guiana (mostly in the municipality of Oiapoque) and many internal migrants from all regions of the country, with the largest numbers coming from Minas Gerais, Goiás, Pará, Paraná, Ceará and Maranhão. Amapá was the first and only Brazilian state to demarcate all of its indigenous lands. Indigenous Lands comprise 8.6% of the total state territory. The state is home to various ethnic groups living in 49 villages. The 140.276 km² of Indigenous Lands are home to Apalaí, Galibi, Karipuna, Kaxuyana, Palikur, Tiriyo, Waiãpi and Wayana people, among others.

In recent times, the state has received attention due to its socio-economic indicators. GDP has been increasing much faster than elsewhere in the country, even if it is still one of the smallest in Brazil (0.2% of national GDP). The most important economic sector is services, making up 86.8% of the state economy. Industry represents just 10% and agriculture and cattle breeding, with the production of Brazil nuts, manioc and rice, just 3.2%.

Amapá has the third lowest incidence of poverty⁴⁴ in the North-Northeast, at 12.8%, and the lowest illiteracy rate in the North-Northeast, at 7.89%, with just 4% of children aged 7 to 14 not in school and 16.7% of children aged 15 to 17 not in school, positioning it above the average for

⁴⁴ The incidence of poverty is the index that represents the percentage of inhabitants living below the poverty line, which is R\$70.00 (around US\$32) per person per month, according to the World Bank.

the North Region. The state boasts the 7th best income distribution in all of Brazil and the 12th highest HDI. However, the infant mortality rate is still high, at 24.6 out of every 1,000 live births.

Employment in local industry has been increasing as new enterprises set up in the state. The oil wells were full at the beginning of 2013 at the Port of Santana. In Pedra Branca do Amapari, a town that was founded just 20 years ago and only really came into existence seven years ago, a minerals company has also recently been set up.

In relation to transportation, the state has two Federal roads: BR-156 and BR-210. BR-156 is 822.9 km long, passing by Santa Clara, Camaipi, Porto Grande, Tartarugalzinho, Beiradão, Igarapé and Água Branca. It was planned, however, to have a length of 2,346 km, beginning in the city of Saint Georges in French Guiana, and passing through Paramaribo in Suriname, before ending in the village of Lethem in Guyana, and connecting the capital cities of the states of Amapá and Roraima. The road ends at the Friendship Bridge between Brazil and French Guiana, five kilometres from Oiapoque. The final stretch of 80 km that remains to be constructed was initiated in the dense Amazon forest in August 2013.

The BR-210 is the second Federal road in the state. It is also a Northern Perimeter route, though it is shorter than the BR-156, at a little over 471 km in length. The road passes by the cities and towns of Macapá, Porto Grande, Pedra Branca do Amapari and Serra do Navio, ending at the state limits with Pará. It was planned during the military regime in order to “cut through” Amazonia (from Amazonas to Amapá) and has many sections that pass through Indigenous Lands. There are four state roads: AP-010, AP-020, AP-030 and AP-070. The former two, AP-010 and AP-020, connect the state capital to Santana, the second most populous city. The third, AP-030, links Macapá to the municipality of Mazagão, passing over the bridge across the river Vila Nova, and the fourth, AP-070, covers Curiaú, São Francisco da Casa Grande, Abacate da Pedreira, Santo Antônio da Pedreira, Inajá, Corre Água, São Joaquim do Pacuí, Santa Luzia, Gurupora and Cutias do Araguary.

There is also a binational bridge over the river Oiapoque, which connects the state of Amapá to French Guiana, situated 5 km from the town of Oiapoque (600 km from Macapá). The bridge works have

been completed, but a customs post still needed to be set up and the surroundings asphalted, and so the official opening was planned for December 2013.

c) Amazonas

The state of Amazonas is located in the North Region of Brazil, and is the largest state in terms of territory in the Federation, with an area of 1,570,745.68 km², comprising approximately 18% of Brazilian territory. The state has limits with five other Brazilian states: Roraima, Pará, Mato Grosso, Rondônia and Acre; and five countries, Peru, Colombia and Venezuela. Of its 62 municipalities, two are twin towns – Tabatinga is twinned with the Colombian town of Leticia and with Santa Rosa de Yavari in Peru; and Benjamim Constant is twinned with the town of Islandia in Peru.

The 2010 IBGE Census indicates a population of 3,483,985 residents in the state, with 79.1% of this population residing in urban areas. The capital, Manaus, is home to 52% of the population of the state (1,802,014 inhabitants). The state of Amazonas also has the largest indigenous population in the country: there are 65 indigenous groups, comprising a total of 168,680 people (IBGE, 2010). Of this total, approximately 130,000 live in Indigenous Lands and the rest are distributed among rural areas and municipalities in the interior, as well as, increasingly, in the suburbs of Manaus.

Amazonas has the largest hydrographic basin on the planet, with an area of around four million square kilometres. The Amazon is the main river, measuring 7,025 km in length from its source in Peru to its mouth into the Atlantic Ocean in the state of Pará, formed by two great rivers, the Negro and the Solimões, in the region of Manaus. The source of the Negro is in Colombia, from whence it flows through Venezuela and stretches into the north of the state of Amazonas as far as Manaus, a route measuring approximately 1,700 km up to its confluence with the river Solimões. The latter river's source is in Peru, from whence it enters Brazil at the level of the municipality of Tabatinga.

Apart from the richness represented by these water and environmental resources, these rivers are also of fundamental importance for transport through the forest, with many municipalities in the state

only accessible by river. 98% of the forest cover of Amazonas is still conserved. With a vast territorial size, comprising closed forests and low population density, forms of travel are one of the important singularities that can be observed in any study of social dynamics or criminology in the state. Many municipalities and population centres are poorly served by transport infrastructure, whether it is dilapidated or unpaved roads, or river-borne routes that, with the exception of the great rivers, are only passable during certain seasons. Air travel is also of poor quality due to the lack of adequate flight instruments and sub-standard infrastructure at airports and landing strips.

Manaus, the capital, houses more than half of the population of the state, and yet does not have a single entirely paved road to access the Centre-South Region of the country. Heading South, the BR-319 (Manaus – Porto Velho) planned to make this connection still has large sections that are almost impassable and have serious problems in terms of environmental licensing. For this reason, the South of Amazonas, in the areas of municipalities such as Humaitá, Lábrea and Boca do Acre, is better connected to the state capitals of Porto Velho and Rio Branco than to Manaus.

The other Federal roads BR-317 and BR-230, and the state roads AM-356 and AM-364, form a local network of access to municipalities in the regions of Madeira and Purus. The BR-174 (Manaus – Boa Vista) provides access to Roraima and Venezuela, and is indeed the only land route to that neighbouring country. The main towns in the border strip, Tabatinga (on the borders with Peru and Colombia and twinned with the Colombian town of Leticia) and São Gabriel da Cachoeira (on the borders with Colombia and Venezuela) use the rivers Solimões and Negro, respectively, as main access routes. Distances are commonly referred to in terms of time and duration – in the case of these municipalities, they are located four to five days by boat from Manaus.

In relation to forms of economic activity, the arrival of rubber resulted in two great economic cycles in the state, and with them, the arrival of thousands of internal migrant workers. During the first cycle, for example, 65,000 people registered for work on the rubber plantations. In the same abrupt way that the cycles reached their peak, generating unprecedented wealth for the region, they also ended suddenly. This meant that, during

the early years of the military dictatorship, the Federal Government developed strategic plans for the development and occupation of the territory. The Free Zone project in the city of Manaus was one of them, followed by the *Calha Norte* project. Thereafter, a better understanding of the dimensions and the environmental and cultural wealth of the state gradually brought new focuses. Environmental concerns and indigenous rights gained importance, to the detriment of the development logic that had impacted upon the region during the previous decades.

Despite progress based on economic development and occupation projects, and the second highest GDP in the North Region at 1.6%, in terms of social indicators, Amazonas still has some problems: an illiteracy rate of 9.6%; with 8.5% of children aged 7 to 14 out of school, the highest rate in the country, and 19.6% of children aged 15 to 17 out of school; it has the 18th HDI in the country, and a poverty rate of 19.3%. The infant mortality rate is 22.2 out of every 1,000 live births.

d) Pará

Pará is the second largest state in Brazil in terms of territory, with 1,247,689.515 km². The state has borders with Suriname and the Republic of Guyana, and state limits with the Brazilian states of Amapá, Maranhão, Tocantins, Mato Grosso, Amazonas and Roraima. It is the richest and most populous state in the North Region, with a population of 7,321,493 and comprising 144 municipalities.

The capital is the municipality of Belém, which accommodates in its metropolitan region around 2.1 million inhabitants, giving it the second largest metropolitan population in the North Region. The Presépio Fort, founded in 1615 by the Portuguese, became Belém, but the Portuguese occupation of the territory was marked from the outset by incursions by the Dutch and English in search of spices. This was what led the Portuguese to fortify the area. The other important cities and towns in the state are: Ananindeua, Santarém, Castanhal, Abaetetuba, Altamira, Barcarena, Cametá, Itaituba, Marituba, Marabá, Paragominas, Parauapebas, Redenção and Tucuruí.

The economy grew rapidly during the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth with the tapping of rubber and the extraction

of latex, during a period that became known as the *Belle Époque*. As in Amazonas, there were two distinct cycles. With each decline, there was a worrying stagnation, from which Pará only exited during the 1960s with the development of agricultural activities in the South of the state. From the 1960s onwards, but particularly in the 1970s, growth accelerated with the extraction of minerals, mainly in the Southeast of the state, the mining of iron in the Carajás mountains and gold mining in the Pelada mountains.

Currently approximately 87% of Pará's exports are various minerals, destined above all for China. The economy is based on mineral mining (iron, bauxite, manganese, limestone, gold, tin), vegetation (wood), agriculture, cattle breeding, industry and tourism. It is the largest producer of pepper in Brazil and among the largest in the production of Bahia coconut and banana, with the highest GDP in the North Region, corresponding to 2.1% of national GDP.

On social indicators, despite its economic development, Pará does not do well compared to other states. It has an illiteracy rate of 11.23%, with 5.4% children aged 7 to 14 out of school and 18.5% children aged 15 to 17 out of school; it is 24th in terms of HDI in the country and has a poverty rate of 19.2%. The infant mortality rate is 20.3 out of every 1,000 live births.

Apart from around forty state roads, the state of Pará, because its large territory, is served by seven Federal roads, including the routes Belém-Brasília, also known as the *Transbrasiliana*, Cuiabá-Santarém, known as the *Transamazônica*, which is unpaved and connects seven Brazilian states (Paraíba, Ceará, Piauí, Maranhão, Tocantins, Pará and Amazonas) and the *Transoceânica*, which links the municipality of Capanema in the state of Pará to the municipality of Alcântara in the state of Maranhão.

e) Roraima

The state of Roraima is one of the nine units that make up Legal Amazonia, situated in the far North of Brazilian territory. It has an area of 224,300.5 km² and a section of the border 2,401 km in length. It borders Venezuela, where the town of Santa Elena de Uairén is located, which is twinned with Pacaraima in Brazil, and the Republic of Guyana, in which the city of Lethem is located, twinned with the Brazilian municipality of Bonfim; it also has state limits with the states of Amazonas and Pará.

Roraima is a new state. It dates back to the passing of the Federal Constitution of 1988. It is, in its entirety, within the border strip of Brazil, in its North Axis. The political-administrative map divides the state into 15 municipalities. The 2010 census recorded a population of 450,479 (IBGE, 2010), of whom 76.6% were in urban areas and 23.5% in rural areas. The capital, Boa Vista, is the main urban centre and is home to 65% of the population of the state.

The municipality of Pacaraima, which was visited during the field research mission for this study, has an area of 8,000 km². It is located around 200 km to the North of Boa Vista, and has 10,433 inhabitants. The municipality can be accessed via the BR-174 road. Pacaraima was created in 1995 and officially set up in 1997, in a locality previously known as BV8, in reference to the coordinates Brazil-Venezuela no. 8. Ninety percent of the area of the municipality is within the Indigenous Lands of São Marcos and Raposa Serra do Sol. In this municipality, the trade sector is the main employer in the formal labour market, followed by the services sector. Both Portuguese and Spanish are commonly spoken. Santa Elena de Uairén, Pacaraima's twin town, is 15 km away, which allows for commercial exchange between the two towns. Pacaraima lies along the route to the Caribbean, which explains the large flows of people, cargo and buses crossing the border.

More than half of the resident population of the state of Roraima is composed of internal migrants, the majority from the Regions North (74%) and Northeast (20%). The remaining 6% are from the Regions Southeast and South of Brazil (IBGE, 2010). In relation to skin colour, more than 60% of the state population self-identifies as *pardo* (sallow/multiracial) (IBGE, 2010). The presence of foreign immigrants on the territory of Roraima can also be observed - the 2010 Census recorded 2,721 foreign migrants. The state has significant cultural diversity, with the presence of around 56,000 indigenous people, of whom more than 46,000 live on 32 officially recognised Indigenous Lands, comprising 11 ethnic groups.⁴⁵

On social indicators, Roraima has an illiteracy rate of 9.69%, with 7.7% of children aged 7 to 14 out of school, and 17.8% of children aged 15 to 17 out of school; it ranks thirteenth in the country in terms of HDI, the

⁴⁵ Makuxi, Wai-Wai, Yanomami, Taurepang, Ingarikó, Wapichana, Patamona, Sapara, Y'ekuana, Waimiri-Atroari and Sanuma (IBGE, 2010).

second highest in the North Region. Roraima has a poverty rate of 17.9% and an infant mortality rate of 18.4 of every 1,000 live births, lower than the average for the North Region (21.2).

The hydrography of the state of Roraima is part of the Amazon Basin and is based principally on the Sub-Basin of the river Branco, the longest and most important river in the state and one of the tributaries of the river Negro. The access routes to the state of Roraima are the Atlas Brasil Cantanhede International Airport, which receives national and international flights, and the BR-174, an inter-state road that connects the capital of the state of Amazonas to Brazil's border with Venezuela. Apart from the BR-174, there is also the BR-210 and the BR-401, the latter of which connects Roraima with Brazil's border with Guyana. These three axes are important corridors of communication and commercial exchange, but also of deforestation and conflicts with indigenous communities, as well as currently becoming international routes for various networks involved in illicit activities such as drug trafficking, fuel trafficking and trafficking in women for sexual exploitation (Oliveira & Pimentel, 2007).

As well as the Indigenous Lands, Roraima contains 18,879km² distributed among eight Conservation Units, administered by the Brazilian Institute for the Environment and Natural Resources (IBAMA).⁴⁶

The economy of the state of Roraima is based on subsistence agriculture, livestock production, mining and vegetable growing. Its agriculture is based on small and medium landholdings that practice subsistence agriculture with various food-growing practices. Forestry and vegetable picking are among the main economic activities in the state. They take place both in forest and field environments. Among these practices are: the collection of timber for civil construction and firewood for household use; gathering forest fruits and Brazil nuts; extracting rubber by tapping rubber, rowan and *balata* trees; collecting açai fruits, seeds and medicinal herbs; traditional fishing; hunting; and collecting honey (IBGE, 2010). However, Roraima's GDP, according to the IBGE, corresponds to just 0.2% of national GDP.

⁴⁶ Monte Roraima National Park, Viruá National Park, Serra da Mocidade National Park, Maracá Ecological Station, Caracará Ecological Station, Niquiá Ecological Station, Roraima National Forest and Anauá National Forest.

Central Axis

a) Mato Grosso

Mato Grosso has a population of 3,035,122 residents, living in an area of 903,366.192 km², with a population density of 3.36 inhabitants per km², and a total of 141 municipalities. The capital of the state is Cuiabá. The number of people who self-identify in the census as white is 1,137,150, as black 229,890, as “yellow” 34,642, as *pardo* (sallow/multiracial) 1,590,707 and as indigenous 42,538. Of the total population, 2,482,801 live in urban centres and just 552,321 in rural areas (IBGE, 2010). The indigenous population of Mato Grosso is relatively numerous, and in 2010, according to the Census of the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (IBGE), totalled 51,696 people, of whom 42,525 resided on Indigenous Lands. Of these, 21,887 were male and 20,638 female.⁴⁷

The state of Mato Grosso developed at a rather late stage, as the region that initially attracted the largest number of migrants was the South of the state, which is now part of Mato Grosso do Sul. The greatest impetus for regional development was, in the 1960s, State action projects to incentivise the modernisation of agriculture and cattle breeding, through the Programme for the Development of the Centre-West (Prodoeste) of the Amazonia Superintendency for Development (SUDAM) (Cunha, 2013).

The principal economic activities based in the state were soya farming, cattle breeding and mining, the latter of which was already experiencing a downturn in the 1990s. The rapid and disordered process of expansion of the agricultural borders, based on a model of development of large-scale monoculture and exporting agricultural units, led to disrespect for indigenous lands and rights. The devastation and advance of the agricultural border across the Amazonian region was a result of the predatory process of mining and timber production.

The North of the state is characterised even today by the absence of infrastructure and services (Cunha, 2006) and great geographical distances are a feature of this region. The attractive conditions in the

⁴⁷ Thirty-eight different indigenous ethnic groups can be found in Mato Grosso, among the most numerous being the Bakairí, Bororo, Cinta Larga, Kayapó (Mebengôkre), Karajá, Kayabí, Nambikwára, Paresí, Rikbákta and Xavante. The Xavante are the largest indigenous group in the state.

state have deteriorated in recent years, indicated by the decrease in immigration, demonstrating the limits of the potential for development. Migrants who had moved to rural areas in particular were redirected towards urban centres of agrarian reform settlements (Cunha, 2006). The high potential for urban development in Mato Grosso is also due to the fact that large-scale agricultural production meant a highly mechanised production structure. However, the state cannot employ the entire labourforce attracted to it.

Currently the state has a GDP of 1.6% of national GDP, an illiteracy rate of 7.82%, with 3.3% of children aged 7 to 14 out of school, and 18.7% of children aged 15 to 17 out of school. It has the 11th highest HDI in the country and the incidence of poverty is 5.9%. The infant mortality rate is, however, relatively high, at 19.5 out of every 1,000 live births, higher than the average for the Centre-West Region (17.1).

b) Mato Grosso do Sul

The state of Mato Grosso do Sul has borders with Bolivia and Paraguay. Bela Vista, Ponta Porã, Paranhos, Coronel Sapucaia and Mundo Novo are twin towns with, respectively, Bella Vista, P.J. Caballero, Ype-Jhu, Capitán Bado and Salto del Guayrá, all in Paraguay. Corumbá is also twinned with Puerto Suarez in Bolivia. Internally, Mato Grosso do Sul is demarcated by Paraná, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Goiás and Mato Grosso. Geologically, the state is formed by the Amazonian plate, by the metamorphic belt of Paraguay-Araguaia and by the sedimentary basin of the river Paraná.

The Eastern region of the state is comprised of the plateau of the Paraná basin, while the western region consists of the plains of the river Paraguay, the largest portion of which is formed by a floodplain subject to periodic flooding and with a low altitude (between 100 and 200 metres) – the Wetlands. The predominant climate is tropical, with rains in summer and a dry winter. The vegetation is mostly typical for woodlands, with the exception of the vegetation specific to the wetlands. The territory is marked by the river system of the Paraná (East) and the Paraguay (West)⁴⁸, the latter at around 2,600 km in length, of which 48 km are shared with

⁴⁸ Source: Perfil do Mato Grosso do Sul. Available at: <http://www.ms.gov.br/index.php?inside=1&tp=3&comp=4298&show=3626>, accessed 23 June 2013.

Bolivia and 342 km with Paraguay. Paraguay has exclusive sovereignty over 554 km of the river.⁴⁹

In terms of demography, Mato Grosso do Sul has a population of 2,449,024 inhabiting a territory of 357,145.532 km², resulting in a population density of 6.86 inhabitants per km², in a total of 79 municipalities. The capital of the state is Campo Grande, a municipality of 786,797 inhabitants and 8,092.951 km². The largest municipality in terms of area is Corumbá, with 103,703 inhabitants and 64,962.72 km², on the border with Bolivia and with Paraguay. The second largest municipality in the state is Porto Murtinho, with a population of 15,372 and an area of 17,744.405 km², on the border with Paraguay (IBGE, 2010). The cities of Corumbá and Ponta Porã are twin townss.

The resident population in urban areas is 2,097,238 and in rural areas 351,786. The population is comprised of 1,029,512 males and 1,229,096, females, the latter forming the majority. Of the state population, 8,648 are indigenous people.⁵⁰ The illiteracy rate of the population aged 15 or over is 7.05%, the lowest in the border area after the states in the South region. 2.8% of children aged 7 to 14 are out of school, and 18.7% of children aged 15 to 17 out of school. Mato Grosso do Sul has the 10th highest HDI in the country and the poverty rate is 5%. The infant mortality rate is 17 out of every 1,000 live births. Combining the illiteracy rate and the average monthly income, the indigenous population is the most vulnerable in the state.

With a GDP that corresponds to 1.2% of national GDP, Mato Grosso do Sul's economy is based on rural production (animal, vegetable, vegetable gathering and cottage industries), industry, minerals, tourism and services. The state has one of the largest herds of cattle in the country. Apart from agriculture and livestock, the existing economic infrastructure and geographical location allow the state to act as an entrepôt for products originating from the great consumer centres and destined for the rest of the Centre-West and North Regions of Brazil.

⁴⁹ Source: Portal Pantanal. *Rio Paraguai*. Available at: <http://www.portalpantanal.com.br/riosprincipais/94-rioparaguai.html>, accessed 23 June 2013.

⁵⁰ The indigenous ethnicities in Mato Grosso do Sul are Atikum, Guarani Kaiowá, Guarani Nhandeva, Guató, Kadiwéu, Kĩniquinau, Ofaié, Terena and Kamba (a group that is not officially recognised).

c) Rondônia

The state of Rondônia is located in Western Amazonia, in the North Region of Brazil, and has state limits with Amazonas, Mato Grosso and Acre, and an international border with the Republic of Bolivia, where the twin towns of Guajará-Mirim and Guayaramerin are situated. The state is divided into two great regions separated by the mountain ranges of Pacaás Novos and Parecis: the region of influence of the BR-364 and the Guaporé Valley region (FIERO, 1999). The hydrographic network of Rondônia is represented by the river Madeira and its tributaries. The river Madeira is the largest tributary of the river Amazon and measures 1,700 km in length within Brazilian territory, formed by three main rivers: Guaporé, Mamoré and Beni (FIERO, 1999)

Inhabited for millenia by indigenous communities, the lands of the current state of Rondônia began to arouse the interest of the Portuguese colonisers only in the eighteenth century, with the discovery and exploitation of gold in specific regions of the states of Mato Grosso and Goiás. Nevertheless, it was the definitive creation of the then territory of Acre, in 1903, that motivated the occupation of the region, arising from the provisions of the Treaty of Petrópolis, which committed Brazil to the construction of the Madeira-Mamoré railway (1907-1912). It was during this period that Porto Velho originated, today the state capital and a city created to receive the merchandise that travelled downriver along the Madeira, before it continued along the Amazon to the Atlantic Ocean.

Until the 1960s, therefore, the most significant economic activities in the state were related to rubber tapping and Brazil nuts. The change of socio-economic focus began from the 1960s and 1970s onwards, due to Federal Government stimulus. Tax incentives for private enterprise, as well as construction projects for roads and colonisation centres, stimulated a diversified migration of people to the territory of Rondônia, mostly from Paraná, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, Espírito Santo and Minas Gerais. With a GDP that makes up 0.6% of national GDP, the main economic activities in the state continue to be based on agriculture, livestock, vegetables and minerals.

According to data from the most recent IBGE census, Rondônia has an area of 237,590.547 km², 62 municipalities and a population of

1,562,409, giving the state a population density of 6.5 inhabitants per km². Rondônia's social indicators show an illiteracy rate of 7.93%, the second lowest in the North Region, with 3.2% of children aged 7 to 14 out of school, and 19.8% of children aged 15 to 17 out of school. It has the 15th highest HDI in the country and a poverty rate of 7.9%, the lowest in the North Region. The infant mortality rate is, however, relatively high, at 22.7 out of every 1,000 live births, above the average for its region (21.2%).

As is the case of most of the North Region of Brazil, Rondônia has poor transportation services. For river-borne navigation, there is the river Madeira and its tributaries, which are navigable from the outskirts of Porto Velho onwards, which is the year-round access route for Manaus and Belém. The rivers Guaporé and Mamoré (which form the border with Bolivia) are also navigable, but are mostly used to supply the riverside population, within the state limits of Rondônia, from the town of Guajará-Mirim to the mouth of the river Cabixi. In relation to road transportation, there is the BR-364 that crosses the state from the municipality of Vilhena (at the state limit with Mato Grosso) to the capital, Porto Velho, continuing on to Acre and providing access to the BR-425, which goes to Guajará-Mirim. Most of the few other roads in the state are in poor condition for transit, with unfinished sections. The other smaller roads in the region form a “fishbone” effect along the BR-364: they are minor roads off the BR-364 that give access to small localities with no other connections.⁵¹

Southern Axis

a) Paraná

Situated in the South Region of the country, the state of Paraná has a population of 10,444,526, making it the sixth most populous state in Brazil. Paraná has 399 municipalities and a total area of 199,880 km². The state has limits with Mato Grosso do Sul, São Paulo and Santa Catarina. To the West, Paraná has a border with Paraguay and to the Southwest, with Argentina. The municipality of Barracão borders Bernardo Irigoyen in Argentina, and Dionísio Cerqueria in the Brazilian state of Santa Catarina. Foz do Iguaçu has a triple border with Ciudad del Este in Paraguay and Puerto Iguaçu in Argentina. Guaira is twinned with the town of Salto

⁵¹ Source: Portal do Governo do Estado de Rondônia. Available at: www.rondonia.ro.gov.br/conteudo.asp?id=180, accessed 12 June 2013.

del Guayrá in Paraguay. The capital, Curitiba, is the most populous city in the state, with approximately 1,750,000 inhabitants, followed by the municipalities of Londrina, Maringá, Ponta Grossa, Cascavel, São José dos Pinhais and Foz do Iguaçu.

Paraná has the fifth highest HDI in the country, with social indicators that are more favourable than the national average. Population growth in the state (9.27%) is below the national average (12.3%) and the *per capita* income of the population remains above the national average. Most of the population reside in urban areas (85.3%) and the age pyramid shows a population that is older in relative terms than the overall Brazilian population. The illiteracy rate is 5.77%, with 2.4% children aged 7 to 14 out of school, and 19.3% of children aged 15 to 17 out of school. The latter rate is comparable to that of the other states in the border area and is higher than the overall rate for the rest of the country. The poverty rate is 3%, the fifth lowest in the country, and the infant mortality rate is 10.8 out of every 1,000 live births, one of the lowest in the country.

Paraná's economy represents around 5.8% of Brazilian GDP, placing it in fifth position in the ranking of states with the highest participation in national income, after São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul. The services sector comprises most economic activity (64%), followed by industry (27%) and farming (8%). In the industrial sector, the most important sub-sectors are agricultural industries, cars and the paper and cellulose industry. In farming, the state is an important producer of soya, corn, wheat, beans and sugar cane, while poultry in Paraná makes up 26.3% of total animal slaughters across the country.⁵²

According to data from the latest IBGE census (2010), Curitiba and its metropolitan region, Londrina and Maringá are the regions with the highest population growth in the state, a process linked to the economic dynamism of these cities. It should also be emphasised that these municipalities, as well as Foz do Iguaçu, are among the largest municipal economies of Paraná. To illustrate this point, in 2009, the largest percentage of the state GDP was concentrated in Curitiba (24.09%), Londrina (4.68%), Maringá (3.83%) and Foz do Iguaçu (3.53%) (IPARDES, 2010). Therefore, in the

⁵² Source: Website of the Paraná Institute of Economic and Social Development. "Paraná em números," available at: www.ipardes.gov.br.

regional context, these municipalities are attractive regions for internal and foreign migrants in search of work.

The municipalities of Curitiba, São José dos Pinhais and Araucária are the focus of the industrial and services sectors. In the region of Londrina and Maringá, the agricultural industries are to be found, although the services sector also represents an important portion of local economic activity. The border municipality of Foz do Iguaçu has an economy mainly connected to the tourism sector and the production of electrical power, while the economy of Paranaguá is linked to port activities.

The municipality of Foz do Iguaçu in the region of the triple border is important due to the intense flow of goods, merchandise and people. High numbers of people cross the borders on a daily basis between the cities of Foz do Iguaçu, Puerto Iguaçu and Ciudad del Este for their employment activities. The economy of the region of Foz do Iguaçu is therefore more influenced by the border economy (notably an informal economy connected above all to Paraguayan trade) than the economy of Curitiba or of the other metropolitan regions of Paraná (such as Londrina or Maringá). It is also of interest to note that Paraná, together with Rio Grande do Sul, is home to the largest proportion of the resident population of the border strip.

b) Rio Grande do Sul

Located in the far South of the country, the state of Rio Grande do Sul has a population of 10,735,890, making it the fifth most populous state in the country. The state has 496 municipalities comprising a total area of 281,758.5 km². The state has limits with the state of Santa Catarina, borders with Argentina and Uruguay, and is the state in the border area with the most twin towns. Aceguá, Quaraí, Santana do Livramento, Jaguarão and Chuí are twinned, respectively, with Acegua, Artigas, Rivera, Rio Branco and Chuy in Uruguay. Barra do Quaraí has a triple border with Bella Unión in Uruguay and Monte Caseros in Argentina. São Borja, Itaqui, Uruguiana and Porto Xavier are twin towns, respectively, with Santo Tomé, Alvear, Paso de los Libres and San Javier in Argentina.

The capital, Porto Alegre, is the most populous city in the state, with 1,409,939 inhabitants, followed by the municipalities of Caxias do Sul, Pelotas, Canoas and Santa Maria. According to data from the IBGE

census (2010), and in accordance with the self-identification criterion, the population is ethnically characterised as follows: white (82.3%), *pardo* (11.4%), black (5.9%) and “yellow” or indigenous (0.4%).

The state has the sixth highest HDI in the country, with more favourable social indicators than the national average. Population growth in Rio Grande do Sul (5.6%) is below the national average (12.3%) and the *per capita* income is 15% above the national average. Most of the population resides in urban areas (85.1%) and the age pyramid indicates a population older than the overall Brazilian population (9.3%). The illiteracy (4.24%) and infant mortality (9.9 out of every 1,000 live births) rates are well below national rates. The more general education indicators show that the levels of the state are still above the national average, with 2.1% of children aged 7 to 14 out of school. What is of note is that the rate of children aged 15 to 17 out of school (17.3%) is relatively high and comparable to states in the Northeast. Rio Grande do Sul’s economy comprises around 6.7% of Brazilian GDP and the poverty rate is 2.9%. The services sector is where most economic activity is concentrated (65.2%), followed by industry (24.6%) and farming (10.2%).

The agricultural sector in Rio Grande do Sul is among the most important in the country, representing around 12% of total national production, especially of soya, rice, tobacco, wheat, apples and grapes. The Serras Gaúchas region and the municipalities of Bento Gonçalves, Caxias do Sul, Garibaldi, Farroupilha and Santa Cruz do Sul have the highest concentration of vineyards in the country. Soya production is focused on the Northeastern part of the state, while rice fields and tobacco plantations are located in the South of the state, and apple orchards are to be found in the region of the municipality of Vacaria. There is also a logging industry linked to pine forest reservations, mainly in the North of the state. In livestock farming, poultry and pork are the most important in terms of income generation and are mostly based in the Southern half of the state. The municipalities of Erechim, Passo Fundo, Santa Maria, Santana do Livramento, Pelotas, Rio Grande and Bagé are the location for the processing of agricultural and livestock raw materials.

In relation to the industrial sector - located mainly in the Northern half of the state - the manufacturing industry is one of the most important in the country, mainly in the sub-sectors of food, chemicals, automotive

vehicles, trailers and bodywork, machinery and tools (mainly tractors and agricultural equipment), leather and shoes, tobacco and metal products (Economics and Statistics Foundation, 2011). The frozen meats and food industries are concentrated in the region around the city of Porto Alegre, while the footwear and leather industry is located in the region of Novo Hamburgo and the municipalities of the Sinos Valley. Metallurgy and the automotive industry are located in the region of Greater Porto Alegre, Novo Hamburgo, São Leopoldo and Canoas.

Of relevance is also the fact that the Rio Grande do Sul industrial park has a close relationship with the international market, as is the case with the footwear, leather and tobacco industries. The border municipality of Uruguaiana is important in this sense as the location of the largest dry docks in Latin America and of intense customs activity, by means of the bridge that links the Brazilian municipality to the Argentinean city of Paso de los Libres, responsible for 80% of national exports destined for the Mercosur Region. Therefore, Uruguaiana is of strategic importance, both in relation to the transport system – which includes roads, railways, ports and airports in the Mercosur – and because of its geographic location, equidistant from Porto Alegre, Montevideo, Buenos Aires and Asunción. The state of Rio Grande do Sul also has two international airports, located in the cities of Porto Alegre and Pelotas.

c) Santa Catarina

The state of Santa Catarina is geographically located in the South Region of Brazil, has state limits with Paraná to the North and Rio Grande do Sul to the South, and borders the Atlantic Ocean to the East and Argentina to the West. The municipality of Dionísio Cerqueira is twinned with Bernardo Irigoyen in Argentina. With a territory of 95,400 km², it is the smallest state in the South of the country and is divided into eight main regions: the Seaboard, the Northeast, the Northern Plateau, the Itajaí Valley, the Serrano Plateau, the South, the Midwest and the West. The state has 295 municipalities and the capital is Florianópolis, a city located on Santa Catarina Island, with approximately 523 km² (Government of the State of Santa Catarina, 2013).

Santa Catarina's geography can be divided into four parts: the coastal lowlands comprising lands situated below 200m in altitude; the

North, where this broadens significantly, entering the interior along the valleys of the rivers that run down the Serra do Mar mountains; the South, narrowing progressively; and the Serra do Mar mountains that dominate the coastal lowlands in the West. It is one of the Brazilian states with the highest average altitude: 52% of the territory is more than 600m above sea level. The highest point in Santa Catarina is the Boa Vista Hill in Urubici, at 1,827m. The most important rivers in the state are the Iguaçu, Itajaí, Pelotas, Chapecó and Canoas, the latter three of which are tributaries of the river Uruguay (Government of the State of Santa Catarina, 2013).

According to the 2010 IBGE Census, the state of Santa Catarina has a population of 6,248,436. The most populous cities are Joinville, with 515,288 inhabitants; Florianópolis, with 421,240 inhabitants; and Blumenau, with 309,011. Of the total number of residents, 16% live in the countryside and 84% in urban areas. The highest population densities are to be found in the zone with the most intensive industrial development (Blumenau, Joinville and Brusque) and in the coal-mining area (Criciúma Region). Santa Catarina's HDI is the third best in the country, at 0.77. *Per capita* income is R\$25,191 (around US\$11,400), while the national average is R\$19,766 (IBGE, 2010). The poverty rate is 1.7% and the illiteracy rate is 3.8%, with 1.9% of children aged 7 to 14 out of school, and 19.8% aged 15 to 17 out of school. The infant mortality rate is 9.2 out of every 1,000 live births, the lowest in the country.

Santa Catarina's economy is characterised by its division into economic centres: agro-industrial (West), electrical-metal-mechanical (North), logging (Plateau and Mountains), textiles (Itajaí Valley), minerals (South), technology (capital) and tourism throughout the state. Greater Florianópolis is important in the sectors of technology, tourism, services and civil construction. The North is the technological, furniture and metal-mechanical centre. The West is host to food production activities (rice, corn and soya) and furniture. The Serrano Plateau houses the paper, cellulose and logging industry. The South is important for the sectors of clothing, disposable plastics, coal and ceramics. In the Itajaí Valley, the textiles, clothing, naval and technology industries predominate.

Santa Catarina occupies the fourth position in the national economic ranking, with the highest GDP *per capita* in the South Region, comprising 4% of national GDP. The manufacturing industry in Santa Catarina is the

fourth biggest in the country in numbers of companies and the fifth in numbers of employees (45,000 companies and 763,000 workers). Annual tourism figures in Santa Catarina reach over million people per year, more than its entire population (FEPESE, 2013).

In relation to transportation infrastructure, Santa Catarina has a road network that links the various regions within the state, the BR-101, the main access route between Santa Catarina and the other coastal states, as well as two other important roads: the BR-116, 310 km in length, which crosses the interior of the state in the North-South direction, connecting it with neighbouring states; and the BR-282, 690 km in length, which cuts across the state, connecting the capital Florianópolis to Argentina. The state has four maritime ports (Itajaí, São Francisco do Sul, Imbituba and Navegantes). Together, these four ports annually shift around 18 million tonnes. Itajaí Port is the second largest in Brazil and the 13th in Latin America and the Caribbean, in terms of movement of containers (Government of the State of Santa Catarina, 2013).

The Santa Catarina rail network has a total of 1,361 km and comprises three lines: two North-South and one East-West, serving the Port of São Francisco do Sul. A smaller railway in the South of the state links the coal production zone to the thermo-electric power stations and the Port of Imbituba. The main merchandise transported is soya bran, fuel, fertilisers, wood, cement and sand. The state has two international airports (Florianópolis and Navegantes) and nine regional airports (Joinville, Chapecó, Blumenau, Lages, Forquilhina/Criciúma, Caçador, Joaçaba, Dionísio Cerqueira and Xanxerê) (Government of the State of Santa Catarina, 2013).

* * *

From the description of the states in this section and from the other considerations presented in section 1.2 of this Report above, it can be seen that the border region is a space of complexity and peculiar characteristics. It is also a space with territorial specificities, due to the geographic, climate and vegetation conditions of the Amazon Region and the Wetlands in most of the border states. The Southern Axis, however, is a territorial space that is distinct from the Northern and Central Axes, mainly in relation to its geography, the migratory processes that it has

experienced, and forms of economic activity, which are more diversified and depart to a certain extent from the pattern of exploitation of natural resources, with the presence of large industries.⁵³

The three states in the Southern Axis have received a larger number of European immigrants, in effect responsible for colonising the region, as well as immigrants from bordering countries, such as Argentina and Uruguay. However, the internal migration process was relatively less intensive, unlike in the states of the Northern Axis, which received high numbers of internal migrants from the Northeast and the Southeast. Finally, in general terms, the border area presents characteristics such as low population density (with the exception of Rio Grande do Sul, which has the largest number (13) of twin towns in the country, meaning that the region is relatively more densely inhabited compared to the other states of the border area), large territorial size, diversity in modes of economic exploitation, a lack of essential public services, geographical distance from the large centres of political decision-making, difficulty in communications and access, multiculturalism, a diversity of languages and ethnicities, the intensity of migration flows, lack of social cohesion, public safety problems and poor conditions for exercising citizenship rights.

It is also a region where relationships are diversified by the intense mobility of the region and by migratory movements. Free movement of people across borders is part of the daily life of people who live in twin towns, who live, work, seek public services and leisure activities, and have relationships with friends and family in Brazil while living in a bordering country, and vice-versa; or who carry out their – legal or illegal – business on one side or the other of the border.

In Rio Grande do Sul, the presence of borders that are literally open is a factor that demonstrates this potential mobility – with the presence of signage in both languages to facilitate transit and integration, above all in the land border zone with Uruguay. In the border strip in general, some indigenous groups may have cultural relationships or inter-generational friendships that pre-date the demarcation of the borders, which did not respect their traditional inhabitation of the region, and who therefore continue to make the same journeys, which they may not

⁵³ An exception to this is the Manaus Free Zone, which is a large technological park.

see as “migration” (Otero & Borghetti, 2006), even if in the present day this represents an actual crossing of borders or international limits. For example, some Guarani people who reside in the South of Mato Grosso do Sul or in the states of the Southern Axis travel across Brazilian borders with other South American countries because, apart from a traditional residence pattern that crosses the border, they maintain family relationships on both sides.

Bertho (2005) describes the rationale for residence in this space among these Guarani, which is a circular movement around their territorial spaces. This is why they circulate between Argentina, Paraguay and Brazil (Mato Grosso do Sul, Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul). There are Guarani people who traditionally seek a “Land without Evil,” which can be understood as a spiritual residence, as this search forms part of their way of life. The Land of Good is the result of socialisation in the geographic spaces that form their territory (Otero & Borghetti, 2006). This intense and relatively free movement is also the case for Paraguayan people who live in Paraguay and work in trade in Porto Murtinho (Mato Grosso do Sul) in Brazil, or in the region of the triple border at Foz do Iguaçu, Puerto Iguaçu and Ciudad del Este (Brazil-Argentina-Paraguay).

The exploitation of natural resources in the neighbouring country with the intention of evading intense Brazilian controls is also a reality with which residents of the border area may live, as well as the exploitation of child labour, which may also be better controlled in Brazil. This happens in bordering countries, meaning that Brazilian children and adolescents are exploited elsewhere, as well as sexual exploitation and trafficking in children and adolescents with that purpose, which will be further discussed in Chapter 4 of this Report.

Furthermore, the advantages and disadvantages of the neighbouring countries directly affect the day-to-day life of Brazilian population groups, who, for example, share their healthcare services with residents in bordering countries who do not have adequate health services in those countries. In Foz do Iguaçu, for example, the arrival of Paraguayan migrants has been observed (and, to a lesser extent, Argentineans), who come to Brazil in search of work or basic social services, such as education and health.

It is in this diverse and complex geographical space that the ENAFRON research was carried out. It is also important to note that the field research missions by the local researchers were restricted to the capitals of the border states, and only in some cases was it possible to visit a border municipality.⁵⁴ However, the collection and analysis of information extended to the border municipalities, made possible due to the mapping of stakeholders who could provide information about the border area for the research, even if the research was not carried out in loco. The Coordination of the National Border Strategy had a fundamental role in the indication of stakeholders who could provide this type of information.

In addition, the local researchers conducted data and information collection and analysis on the states as a whole – mainly in the capitals, but in as far as possible they also collected data on the municipalities at the border, especially the twin towns, which generally demonstrated a higher level of complexity in relation to the discussion on mobility and trafficking in persons.

1.7 Time Period covered by the ENAFRON Research

The information and data collected for the ENAFRON Research covers the period 2002 to 2012. This is because the Palermo Protocol was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 15 November 2000. The year 2002 was marked by the first national research report on trafficking in persons in Brazil (Leal & Leal, 2002), which, despite its inaccuracies and the absence of methodological rigour,⁵⁵ drew the attention of the Brazilian community to the existence of the phenomenon

⁵⁴ The field research carried out in Roraima encompassed the municipality of Pacaraima, twinned with Santa Elena de Uairén in Venezuela, while the field research in Santa Catarina extended to the municipality of Itajaí, which, although it is coastal and not located within the border strip, has the second largest seaport and is where the migrant assistance service is situated in the state.

⁵⁵ As can be seen in Table 15 in Appendix IV, the objective of the PESTRAF research was to describe the lived realities of these women, children and adolescents trafficked for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation in Brazil. The research was carried out in 19 states and their capitals, the Federal District and 25 municipalities, and the methodology applied was that of semi-structured interviews, case studies, analysis of 86 Federal Police investigations, 68 Federal Justice proceedings and, above all, an analysis of 276 media articles, which were the main source of information for the research, and the focus of most criticism. Another criticism frequently levelled at the PESTRAF project is related to the number of trafficking routes that were identified during the research, which, due to their quantity in relation to transport routes, lead to the conclusion that any and all routes are possible, as routes are defined more by the availability of transportation than by the criteria of vulnerability in the place of origin and opportunity in the place of destination. On criticism of PESTRAF, see, for example, Blanchette and Silva (2012).

of trafficking in women, adolescents and children for sexual exploitation on national territory. In this way, it broadened, or even initiated, the debate around the issue, and characterised the phenomenon of trafficking in persons, albeit in a more superficial way due to the absence of data. This was, after all, a period in which the Palermo Protocol had not yet been ratified by the Brazilian government. For this reason, our aim was to understand the expansion, or retreat, of the phenomenon, and to a certain extent also of the fight against it, during those eleven years.

Nevertheless, in relation to official crime statistics, we consider only the period 2005-2012, as it was not until 28 March 2005, by means of Law no. 11,106, and as a consequence of the approval of the Palermo Protocol in Brazil (Decree no. 5,017, of 12 March 2004), that the crime “trafficking in persons” was inserted into the Brazilian Criminal Code. Before that date, there was merely the crime of pimping, specifically referring to the trafficking of women. In addition, with the exception of the Federal Police Department, which has statistics on the crime of pimping, known as trafficking in “women”, from 1999, the other public safety and criminal justice institutions only have statistics on trafficking in women dating back to 2005, due to the legal framework.





2. OVERVIEW OF TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS: INTERNATIONAL, NATIONAL AND IN THE BORDER AREA

It is impossible to ignore the difficulties and challenges involved in attempting to measure and describe the phenomenon of trafficking in persons, both in Brazil and in the rest of the world. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Salt (2000) mentioned the scarcity of official data on trafficking in persons. In the opinion of the author, data were usually collected by different institutions, according to different methodologies, using different technologies, and at different times, making it impossible to systematise and compare them within the same country, not to mention between different countries. For example, the Vienna Forum of UN.GIFT (2008) reported that it was impossible at that time to compare criminal statistics on trafficking in persons, as many of the States Parties to the Palermo Protocol were still in the process of adapting their domestic legislation to the Protocol.

In addition, according to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2009), the systems of institutions of public safety and criminal justice are constructed with the intention of optimising their operational needs. The first Brazilian *Assessment of Trafficking in Persons* was carried out by the National Secretariat of Justice of the Ministry of Justice in 2012 (Ministry of Justice, 2013), using official data as the main source. The publication also points to the inadequacy of the information systems of public safety and criminal justice institutions in Brazil. There are a great variety of categories and forms of recording data, making it practically impossible to compare them.

Confusion between trafficking in persons, migrant smuggling, irregular immigration and, sometimes, prostitution, as well as the absence of specific legislation, makes data collection on the topic even more difficult.

On the other hand, at the international level, the number of academic research reports and reports issuing from international organisations such as the UNODC, the International Labour Organization (ILO), the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), together with European organizations such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the European Commission (EC), and non-governmental organizations like Anti-Slavery International and La Strada International is vast. In a literature review on the topic, van Dijk

(2005) criticises the reliability and validity of these data, which are considered unofficial.

In Brazil in particular, as we have seen in Section 1.3 of this Report, academia has not dedicated itself much to the analysis of available official data, nor to empirical studies on the topic. It is the NGOs, such as the Brazilian Association in Defense of Women, Children and Young People (ASBRAD), and official institutions such as the National Secretariat of Justice, that have studied the issue.

Furthermore, trafficking in persons is an under-reported crime, for various reasons, such as lack of trust in the police or justice system, a trafficked person's fear of being discriminated against or criminalised, particularly as an irregular migrant in cases of international trafficking, fear of being deported or expelled, shame and fear of humiliation (Aebi, 2010; Anti-Slavery International, 2002; Goodey, 2003; UNODC, 2008), ignorance of their situation as a victim, lack of information on means of reporting and even fear of reprisals (Pedra J. B., 2008). All of this exacerbates the absence of data on the phenomenon which, as well as being ontologically under-reported, is also inaccurately recorded, meaning that the crime remains in the shadows, at least in terms of statistics.

In this sense, the contribution of both non-governmental organisations and international organisations has been very important because, in the absence of official quantitative data, it is their reports that contribute to knowledge about, and recognition of, the phenomenon.

Moving on from the discussion around the national and international difficulties of describing and measuring trafficking in persons in a valid and realistic way, not only on the basis of a literature review and isolated case studies, but also by means of quantitative data, we present here some data that have been collected in quantitative and qualitative research, and which have assisted in the description and measurement of the phenomenon, even for policy-makers.⁵⁶

Initially, overall estimates of the number of trafficked people in the world, and of the financial resources that this business mobilizes, were

⁵⁶ For more information on the under-reporting of the phenomenon of trafficking in persons and the inaccuracy of the information systems, please refer to the National Assessment (Ministry of Justice, 2013).

given mainly by international organisations, though these have been the subject of criticism (Blanchette & Silva, 2012; Tyldum, 2010). According to these authors, the invisibility of the phenomenon, poor recording by the various institutions that work to combat it and the absence of a satisfactory conceptual and legal definition in some countries, including Brazil, make the task of measuring it and comparing it almost impossible. In this way, the data presented are intended to provide information about the phenomenon, albeit in a relative manner, rather than, necessarily, to measure it or quantify it. The information collected during the field research in the border area will also be presented in this Chapter in summarised form, and in order to allow the reader to compare them with national and international data. It is however recommended that the entire Assessment Report be read in order to obtain a more detailed view of the subject.

2.1 Profiles of Trafficked People

One of the main concerns in combating trafficking in persons is to understand the profiles of trafficked people in order, above all, to develop prevention policies. From the literature review and the data collected, it is clear that women, adolescents and children are more frequently recorded as victims of trafficking in persons, comprising 75% of victims identified between the years 2007 and 2010. This figure is set out in the UNODC's *Global Report* (2012a), according to which trafficking in persons is a crime with a strong gender aspect, and adult women comprise the largest proportion of victims identified (UNODC, 2012a: 26).

Research carried out in Brazil has also confirmed that the majority of victims recorded are women (Leal & Leal, 2002; Colares, 2004; National Secretariat of Justice and International Labour Organization, 2007; UNODC, 2009; Ministry of Justice, 2013). They originate from the poorer classes, with low levels of schooling, and live in peripheral urban spaces lacking in sanitation and transport. They live with a family member and tend to have children (Leal & Leal, 2002; Hazeu, 2008), as well as engaging in low-skilled employment – hairdresser, beautician, nursing assistant, primary school teacher, saleswoman, secretary and cleaning staff (Leal & Leal, 2002; Colares, 2004; National Secretariat of Justice, 2005).

Ministry of Health data, the source of which is the Information System for Serious Notifications (SINAN), through compulsory notification,

also provides the information that the majority of recorded victims of trafficking are women and adolescent girls, with low levels of schooling, single and living in urban zones. For example, in 2011, a total of 65 female victims and 15 male victims were identified (Ministry of Justice, 2013). They also demonstrate that the age bracket with the highest incidence is between 10 and 29, with an even higher incidence of recorded victims, around 25%, in the age bracket 10 to 19 years old. This coincides with the information in the *Global Report*, according to which adolescents make up between 15% and 20% of victims at a global level (UNODC, 2012).

Just a small number of interviewees or identified victims in criminal proceedings who were cited in this research stated that they had already worked in prostitution in Brazil (Colares, 2004; National Secretariat of Justice, 2005; Hazeu, 2008). The results of the ENAFRON research are no different: the majority of trafficked people identified are women, children and adolescents, and the most commonly identified purpose is sexual exploitation.

Male trafficked people are more commonly identified with the purpose of slave labour/forced labour, according to the UNODC *Global Report*. However, as we will see in chapter 3 of this Report, women are also trafficked to Brazil for the purposes of slave labour in the textile industry and for domestic servitude.

It is therefore observed that the profile can vary according to the form of exploitation and the conditions of vulnerability of each trafficked person. As Davidson points out (2013), *“There is no specific and exclusive demand for trafficked persons, only demand for the labour/services of vulnerable and unprotected persons”*. This means that there is neither a target group nor a specific profile. The crime of trafficking in persons commercialises and objectifies the victim, meaning that personal characteristics are irrelevant – it is the usefulness of each person that is the defining factor.

Finally, it has been observed that it is the situation of vulnerability that determines whether this or that person is a potential victim of trafficking in persons. Vulnerability can be a personal or group situation, pre-existing or created, which places them in a weak position and thus increases the possibility that the person may find themselves in a situation of risk or of

exploitation. Personal vulnerability can be linked to a mental or physical disability, sex, age, ethnicity, gender identity or sexual orientation, among others. Situational vulnerability can be related to the fact that a person has an undocumented status in a foreign country or that they are socially or linguistically isolated. Situational vulnerability, on the other hand, can refer to their economic situation, such as unemployment or poverty, or to drug addiction or alcoholism (UNODC, 2012b). It should also be noted that one single person can be in a situation of multiple vulnerability, for example an adolescent girl who is homosexual and belongs to an indigenous community.

Population groups in a situation of vulnerability may include children and adolescents who, due to their stage of personal development, are vulnerable. Women, in some societies more than others, may be in situations of vulnerability. This depends on their degree of empowerment, access to education and employment and access to civil, political and social rights, which are different in each society. Migrants in general are also considered to be a vulnerable group, especially those who are in an irregular situation (UNODC, 2012b). Ethnic minorities, indigenous people, people with a disability and LGBT people may also be in a situation of vulnerability in certain contexts (ICMPD, 2011).

There are also those groups who are more vulnerable depending on the form of exploitation. For example, adolescent boys, both homosexual and heterosexual, are trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation in certain places. People with a disability may be more vulnerable to trafficking for the purposes of exploitation through begging. Political and environmental refugees, due to the simple fact of their condition as refugees, are also more vulnerable (UNODC, 2012a).

For these reasons, the question of vulnerability is at the core of the debate on trafficking in persons, and above all in relation to the profiles of trafficked people.

2.2 Forms of Exploitation

International and national reports and other research have shown that the form of exploitation most commonly identified in the context of trafficking in persons is sexual exploitation in the Americas, Europe and Central Asia, while in Africa, the Middle East, South and East Asia and the

Pacific, more cases of trafficking in persons for the purposes of forced labour were detected (UNODC, 2012a).

In Brazil, in relation to international trafficking, the predominance of sexual exploitation is confirmed by data from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Consular Assistance Division (MFA/DCA), as cited in the *National Assessment* (Ministry of Justice, 2013). Of the 475 Brazilian victims of international trafficking in persons identified by the consular services abroad, 337 were victims of sexual exploitation, and 135 of slave labour, as well as three people for whom the form of exploitation is unknown.

Nevertheless, an increasing number of foreigners of both sexes have been observed trafficked for the purposes of slave labour in Brazil, such as Bolivians. As we will see in chapter 3, Mato Grosso do Sul has been identified as one of the states that is an entry point. The UNODC *Global Report* confirms that the number of registered cases of trafficking in persons for the purpose of forced labour has increased, as has the capacity of the local authorities to identify this form of exploitation (UNODC, 2012a).

In the Americas in particular, 44% of detected cases of trafficking in persons had the purpose of slave labour (UNODC, 2012a). However, the identification of internal trafficking of Brazilians for the purposes of slave labour is even higher than that of foreigners, as we will see in chapter 2, when we take into account that the majority of workers rescued in a situation similar to that of a slave are Brazilians originating from other states on national territory.

The other forms, such as trafficking for the purposes of organ removal, exploitation of begging, exploitation through involvement in criminal activities, servile marriage, in armed conflict and illegal adoption, were rarely identified. Trafficking for the purposes of organ removal constitutes just 0.2% of cases identified and was detected in 16 countries participating in the UNODC *Global Report*, while the other forms together amount to 6% of the cases. In 1.5% of the cases, the victims were trafficked for the purposes of exploitation in begging (UNODC, 2012a).

The *National Assessment of Trafficking in Persons*, which only gathered official national data on combating trafficking in persons, did not identify any form of exploitation other than sexual exploitation and

slave labour (Ministry of Justice, 2013), despite the fact that the Federal Police had identified some cases of other forms in the country, which were reported in the media.⁵⁷ Other cases were also analysed by the Parliamentary Inquiry Commission with the purpose of investigating the activities of criminal organisations active in trafficking in human organs, such as cases of patients declared as brain dead in Poços de Caldas and Taubaté, whose organs were removed and transplanted without the necessary formalities, and in relation to the importation of corneas, where the making of deposits in cash in order to have transplants was identified (Parliamentary Inquiry Committee, 2004).

The ENAFRON Research also mainly identified the forms of sexual exploitation and slave labour, in different proportions, greater or lesser, depending on the Unit of the Federation. For example, in Rondônia, Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná, the form that was most commonly identified was slave labour, according to the statistics consulted and the stakeholders interviewed. However, cases involving other forms were found in this Assessment, albeit in lower numbers, such as illegal adoption and exploitation in football clubs.

On the other hand, in Acre, Roraima, Pará and Amapá, sexual exploitation was the most commonly identified form, despite the absence of official statistics to support this finding. Particularly in Acre, stakeholders emphasised the issue trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation of children and adolescents. The state of Amazonas is the state in the border area that recorded the most incidents of trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation, according to the data of the National System for Public Safety and Criminal Justice Statistics (SINESPJC).

The field research in Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul also revealed cases of trafficking for the purposes of slave labour and sexual exploitation. On the other hand, in Santa Catarina, few trafficking situations were identified in comparison to the other states in the border area.

⁵⁷ One of these, and perhaps the most well-known, was “Operation Scalpel”, by the Federal Police, which disrupted an organised group who took victims from Recife in Pernambuco to South Africa, for organ removal, promising remuneration. The last member of the group was imprisoned in May 2013, but the group was disbanded in 2003. There were 27 people accused and sentenced (*Diário de Pernambuco*, 4 May 2013).

2.3 *Modus Operandi* and Trafficker Profiles

Modus operandi is a Latin expression that means the way of operating, which in the context of trafficking in persons is the way in which the perpetrators of the crime of trafficking in persons or organised groups operate and carry out their activities. For police services, it is important to understand the way they function, as it contributes to investigation. It is also important for prevention as, for example, prevention campaigns may be organised and police stations or patrols can be set up in locations identified as forming part of the *modus operandi* in relation to the points of recruitment, transit and exploitation of trafficked persons. The identification of *modus operandi* also contributes to the identification of elements that are common to various crimes that are apparently unconnected, and through these common elements, to apprehending the same criminal organisation.

What can be concluded about trafficking in persons from going through the cases, particularly those described in this Assessment, as we will see from chapter 3 onwards, is that, in fact, the crime of trafficking in persons has three elements, not only as a concept, but also in practice. And examining the *modus operandi* involves, among other factors, the profiles of the traffickers.

The majority of recruiters identified in Brazil in 2002 were male (Leal & Leal, 2002). On the other hand, already in 2005, research conducted by the National Secretariat of Justice stressed the “*female networks formed by friends, acquaintances, neighbours and relatives, aunts, nieces, sisters, mothers-in-law, “inviting”, informing, making connections (TT)*” (National Secretariat of Justice, 2005: 57). Research published in 2008 (Hazeu) specifically on trafficking in persons from Brazil to Suriname also shows a higher incidence of female recruiters. The *National Assessment* (Ministry of Justice, 2013) also showed, on the basis of Federal Police data, a higher incidence of female recruiters, although the data of the Penitentiary Department show that more men than women were imprisoned for trafficking in persons, which could lead us to the conclusion that the latter are more frequently subject to suspended sentences and parole,⁵⁸ or that

⁵⁸ Female criminality is a topic that still involves many taboos, among them the discussion on the roles of men and women in society. There are theories that suggest that there are women who commit crimes, but because of their pre-determined role in society, they are less frequently suspected and subject to police investigation. See, for example, Steffensmeier and Allan (1996).

men have a higher position in the hierarchy within trafficking groups, and so commit more serious crimes with more severe sentences.

It is important to note the statistical analysis of the UNODC's *Global Report* (2012a), according to which the involvement of women in trafficking in persons is more frequent in cases of trafficking in female children and adolescents, reinforcing the idea of relationships of affection or trust between the trafficked and the traffickers.

ICMPD highlights the case of trafficked persons who become recruiters: "Networks that transform people who were previously exploited into recruiters, in a strategy that, apart from facilitating contact, avoids exposing the true funders of the trafficking" (ICMPD, 2011: 56). Hazeu observed this in 2008, when he stated in his research on trafficking in persons from Brazil to Suriname that: "In general they are other women, who have already experienced a trafficking situation and who have been "promoted" in the hierarchy of the criminal organisation. This promotion is commonly acquired through a romantic relationship, marriage or some other emotional involvement with the club owner or some other worker (TT)" (Hazeu, 2008: 85).

This ENAFRON Assessment, as will be observed in chapter 4, supports the argument that the recruiters are people known to the victims. For example, organisations for the promotion of LGBT rights testify that there are recruiters who are transgender with a female gender identity, who have already migrated and worked as sex workers abroad, and who return to Brazil to invite other transgender women from their social network, potentially involving them in a trafficking network. Therefore, there is no one single recruitment model, and these are simply trends that have been observed.

And yet traffickers are not only recruiters. Traffickers also transport victims and organise the exploitation of the person at the place of destination. These, according to the UNODC *Global Report*, are mostly men, with the nationality of the country where the exploitation is taking place (2012a). Federal Police data support this argument in the Brazilian context, as almost all accused traffickers in Brazil (82%) were of Brazilian nationality, equalling 315 of the 384 accused between the years 2005 and

2012.⁵⁹ These data do not, however, include details on the function of the accused within the criminal organisation.

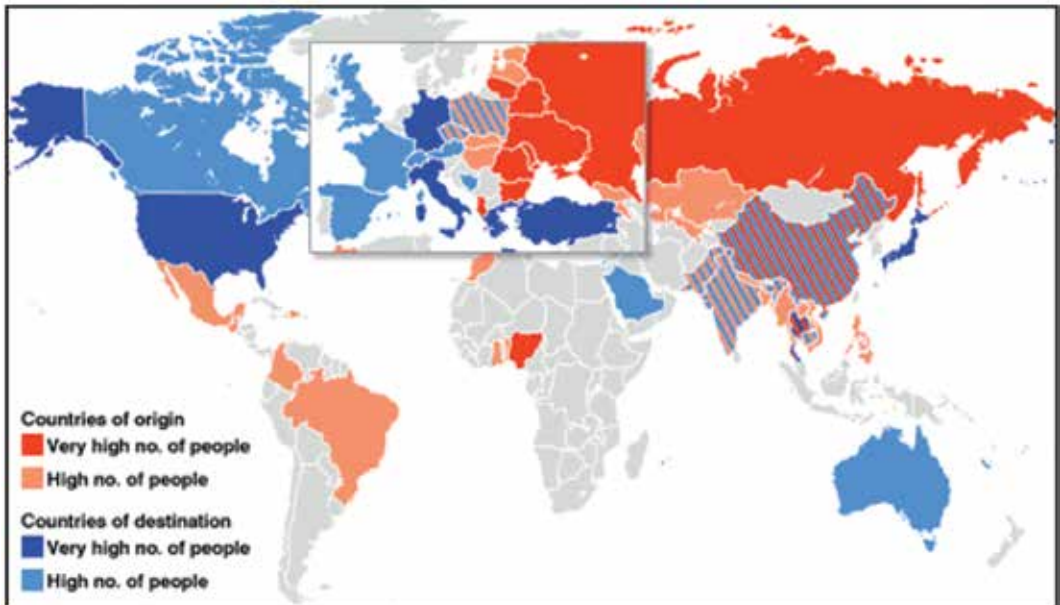
In spite of the above, this profile is extremely difficult to verify and define, as there are few data, particularly from the criminal justice system. Criminal justice can make investigations and arrests successfully, and thereby break up a chain of exploitation and exploiters, but this is only the tip of the iceberg, or the neck of the funnel.

2.4 Flows and Trafficking Routes

Internationally, there have been debates around the relationship between trafficking routes, migration flows, forms of economic exploitation and levels of development. Figure 5 shows that the largest identified flows of trafficked persons originate in developing or post-conflict countries, destined for developed countries. It should be noted, however, that developed countries also have a greater capacity to identify and record trafficking cases.

⁵⁹ Data supplied by the Federal Police to the National Secretariat of Justice for *the National Assessment of Trafficking in Persons* in May 2012.

Figure 5: **Countries of Origin and Destination of Trafficked People**⁶⁰



The majority of routes identified are within the same region, that is, countries on the same continent, followed by a quarter of cases of trafficking in persons which are between different regions (for example, from South America to Europe), and 27% of trafficking cases which are internal trafficking (UNODC, 2012a). This is explained by the fact that shorter distances are easier to cover and control from the perspective of the *modus operandi*.

Particularly in the case of trafficking in persons between different regions, trafficked people from South and East Asia were identified most commonly in the Americas: 28% in North and Central America and the Caribbean and 10% in South America. Victims from South and Central America and the Caribbean, on the other hand, were identified in significant numbers in Central and Western Europe (UNODC, 2012a), mainly Brazilians, Colombians and Paraguayans. For example, the

⁶⁰ Source: UNODC, 2009. The 2012 *Global Report* supports the same conclusion (UNODC, 2012a).

MFA/DCA reports that Spain, the Netherlands and Switzerland are the European countries where the most Brazilian victims were encountered (Ministry of Justice, 2013). Particularly Brazilian men and transgender women were identified as victims of trafficking in persons in Spain and Italy (ICMPD, 2011). As we will see in chapter 4, the ENAFRON research also revealed reports by organisations for the promotion of the rights of LGBT people that confirm that Italy and Spain are the main destinations for international migrants and Brazilian transgender women who are victims of international trafficking.

In Brazil itself, in research published in 2002, 240 routes in 19 states and the Federal District were identified⁶¹ (Leal & Leal, 2002). According to Leal & Leal (2002, 71), one only needs to identify *“cities and towns close to roads, ports and airports, both official and clandestine, that is, “points of easy access”, in order to identify trafficking in persons. The routes used are various, that is, almost all types of transport available: overland, by air, by river and by sea (TT)”* (Leal & Leal, 2002: 71). The exception is railways, which rarely transport people in Brazil.

Research in 2002 and 2004 showed that, apparently, the route determined the profiles of trafficked people. For example, trafficked children were observed more frequently on inter-municipal and interstate routes (Leal & Leal, 2002; Colares, 2004). Yet data from this ENAFRON Assessment, as we will see in chapter 3 of this Report, show that land borders are the exception to this rule, where children trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation abroad have been frequently observed. This is due to geographic proximity to the South American border countries, whereby the dividing line between one country and another is sometimes just a street. Furthermore, “crossing borders” is such an ordinary act in these regions, and so poorly monitored, that even children can transit from one country to another at random, without the necessary documentation. Child trafficking for the purposes of domestic servitude, however, continues to take place more frequently along inter-municipal routes, as we will see in chapter 4.

⁶¹ Acre, Amapá, Amazonas, Pará, Rondônia, Roraima, Tocantins, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, Bahia, Pernambuco, Ceará, Maranhão, Rio Grande do Norte, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul and Goiás.

The ENAFRON research that is presented in this Report also identified a relatively large number of trafficking routes in the states that form part of the border area in Brazil, but it mainly identified that the routes follow mobility flows and forms of economic exploitation, and are mainly influenced by people's situations of vulnerability.

For example, in Amazonas, there is a strong correlation between slave labour, deforestation and agriculture and cattle-raising. In Rondônia, there are various reports of victims of slave labour identified in rural regions, particularly in illegal deforestation activities to clear the land for pasture. In Rio Grande do Sul, there is a connection between slave labour and the fruit harvest and logging.

In relation to sexual exploitation, a relationship with the flow of trafficked people to Venezuela, especially mining areas, has been observed in Roraima. Mato Grosso do Sul emerged as a state of origin and transit, not of destination, as people are commonly trafficked to the larger urban centres, mainly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, for the purpose of slave labour, or to Goiás and Pará, from where they depart for Western Europe and become victims of sexual exploitation. In this way, it can be concluded that routes are transitory (ICMPD, 2011) and that they accompany forms of economic exploitation. There is no longer a distinct pattern in the twenty-first century, due to globalisation and the current extent of human mobility.

However, Brazil bears an interesting characteristic, which poses a further challenge to combating trafficking in persons: it is a country of origin, transit and destination for victims of trafficking in persons. The statistics show that Brazilian victims are found abroad and that foreign victims are found in Brazil (UNODC; 2012a) and the ENAFRON research also showed this interesting characteristic, as we will see in chapter 3. While Brazilians are identified as victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation in Western Europe (Ministry of Justice, 2013), Paraguayans were identified in Brazil as victims of the same form of exploitation. In relation to labour exploitation, Bolivians, Paraguayans, Peruvians, Chinese and Bangladeshis were identified in Brazil, while Brazilians were identified in Western Europe as victims of trafficking for the purposes of slave labour (Ministry of Justice, 2013).

2.5 Trafficking Cases: Occurrences and Proceedings

The number of trafficking cases identified during the past decade in various countries across the world has been the subject of some controversy. Figures such as thousands of victims and millions of dollars have been cited, based on estimates made by international bodies such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), in an attempt to measure the phenomenon.

Where there is some consensus among researchers and Government bodies, nevertheless, is in relation to the fact that the cases that reach public safety and criminal justice systems are only the tip of the iceberg. There is also consensus on the point that under-reporting, among other issues, makes the identification of the trafficking phenomenon difficult. The criminal justice systems works as a funnel, whereby the number of cases identified by the police is always much lower than the real number of cases, and the number of proceedings initiated by the judiciary is, in turn, lower than the number of police investigations. And finally, the number of sentences handed down can be as little as one tenth of the number of cases.

By way of example, the *National Assessment of Trafficking in Persons* showed that the number of police investigations into international trafficking is twice the number of judicial proceedings. In the case of internal trafficking, the difference is around one-eighth (Ministry of Justice, 2013).

That same *Assessment* also showed that the number of judicial proceedings initiated for slave labour is five times the number initiated for trafficking in persons (Ministry of Justice, 2013). While 200 proceedings for international and internal trafficking in persons were initiated during the period 2005 to 2011, 940 were initiated for slave labour, possibly evincing that the phenomenon of slave labour has been better recognised on national territory, perhaps due to the Ministry of Labour and Employment (MLE)'s eradication policy, which dates back to 1995.

Specifically in the 11 states under study in the border area, according to the Federal Police,⁶² during the period 2005 to 2011, 113 proceedings

⁶² Data provided by the Federal Police to the National Secretariat for Justice for the *National Assessment of Trafficking in Persons* in May 2012.

were initiated and 115 indictments carried out for international trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation, which equates to a little over one third of the entire number on national territory, which was 318 proceedings and 384 indictments.

In the case of the sale or trafficking of children, foreseen in art. 239 of the Statute of the Child and Adolescent, 19 proceedings were initiated in the border area between the years 2005 and 2011, that is, 40% of the total number of proceedings initiated on national territory (47).⁶³

These data demonstrate that the 11 border states have witnessed an average of one third of all trafficking in persons cases (adults and children) initiated by the Federal Police. To summarise, the border area and the 11 states of the Federation that form part of it, is a geographical area that, as we will see in chapter 3 of this Report, requires a more careful and specific examination in the discussion on trafficking in persons, principally in relation to sexual exploitation and slave labour.

⁶³ Data provided by the Federal Police to the National Secretariat for Justice for the *National Assessment of Trafficking in Persons* in May 2012.





3. MIGRATION IN THE BORDER AREAS

Historically, migration, both internal and international, has been significant in the development of the Brazilian border area, including in the formation of some states of the Federation, principally during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Among others, the state of Amazonas is a classic example of this. The great migratory movements destined for the state were, above all, internal migration flows stimulated by Federal development projects, including the Manaus Free Zone. Until the Second World War, the most significant was the migration of people from the Northeast, mainly from the state of Ceará, and people from Pará, to the state.

From the 1990s onwards, when the prospects for economic integration for Northeastern migrants arriving in Amazonia began to dry up, Roraima became the new destination state, according to a professor at the Federal University of Roraima (RR Interview 19).⁶⁴ It had also been, however, a state that received many migrants during the first four decades of the twentieth century, due to diamond-mining activities in the Tepequem mountain range. Between 1940 and 1960, after the installation of the Federal Territory, the attraction was the gold mines, and, as in Amazonas, agricultural settlements set up by the State with the aim of occupying and “protecting” the borders. Most of the migrants were from the Northeast (Piauí, Ceará and Maranhão).

In Acre, the first “Brazilian colonist” migrants were, as in Amazonas and Roraima, mostly from the Northeast, coming in search of latex to produce rubber. After the recognition of Acre as a Brazilian state in 1962, migrants began arriving from different states, in order to exploit the riches of the Amazon Rainforest in Acre, culminating in the eruption of various conflicts with the indigenous inhabitants and with the rubber-tappers, who used the forest in a sustainable way (Antunes, 2007).

⁶⁴ From this chapter onwards, the reader will observe references to interviews, site visits, focus group meetings and questionnaires. In order to cite interviews with stakeholders, the following code will be applied: (XX Interview N), whereby XX is the state where the stakeholder was interviewed and N is the interview number. In order to cite questionnaires answered by stakeholders, the following code will be used: (Questionnaire N), whereby N is the questionnaire number, and the reader can refer to Appendix II (Fieldwork Missions Agenda and List of Stakeholders Participating in the Research in the States of the Border Area - Interviews and Site Visits) and Appendix III (Stakeholders Participating in the Research at Federal Level (Questionnaires)) in order to obtain more details about the stakeholders interviewed and those who responded to the questionnaires.

Again, as in Amazonas, Roraima and Acre, Rondônia received many internal migrants, at the outset of every new form of economic exploitation, including the construction and use of the Madeira-Mamoré railway in rubber exploitation, the colonisation centres set up by the Federal Government during the 1970s and 1980s and the discovery of large gold and cassiterite mines in the state in the 1980s.

Mato Grosso do Sul was also a destination state for internal migrants. The region was marked by a great immigration from the nineteenth century onwards, especially from the South Region of the country. The society that emerged in Mato Grosso do Sul is the result of a long migration process, which intensified in the twentieth century.

The development of Mato Grosso, and, as a consequence, migration to that state, occurred later, as the region that initially attracted a greater number of migrants was the Southern part of the state, today part of Mato Grosso do Sul. The greatest stimulation for regional development was, during the 1960s, State action projects to incentivise the modernisation of agriculture and cattle-raising, through the Centre-West Development Programme (PRODOESTE) of the Amazonia Development Coordination (SUDAM) (Cunha, 2006). The main economic activities set up in the state were soya cultivation, cattle-raising and mining.

As in the states of the North and Central Axes, in Rio Grande do Sul, the process of colonisation and territorial occupation is linked to migration history. Regional identity in the state was constructed on the basis of the history of European immigration to the region. Europeans arrived *en masse* from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century: Germans, Italians and, to a lesser extent, Spanish, Polish, Russians, Japanese and migrants from Arab countries.⁶⁵

Similarly, in Paraná, during the mid-nineteenth century a significant migration process began, involving people originating from the European continent (Italians, Portuguese, Spanish, Germans, Russians, Ukrainians and Polish), a flow that was augmented by migrants of other

⁶⁵ It should be noted that this regional imagined community has its roots in a racial pattern that tends to render invisible the memory and the presence, equally historical, of indigenous populations (mainly Guarani) and descendents of Africans in the region.

origins, above all Japanese and Syrian-Lebanese. This migration process continued until the mid-twentieth century.

Santa Catarina, on the other hand, was mainly colonised by Azoreans,⁶⁶ Germans and Italians, as well as Polish, Ukrainians and Syrian-Lebanese. The Azoreans (from the Portuguese archipelago of the Azores) began to arrive to the coastline of Santa Catarina around 1750, intending to occupy the territory in a colonisation project planned by the Portuguese crown and which remained in place until 1930.

Currently, as observed in the field research and literature review for this research, the phenomenon is not much different, except that the migrants are from different origins. Furthermore, the development and economic growth of some regions, associated with labour scarcity, has attracted migrant workers, and sometimes their families, in search of improved social and material conditions. Stakeholders at the Federal level (the Federal Police Department (FPD), the Federal Road Police Department (FRPD), the Ministry of Defence (MD) and the Subdivision for Federal Affairs of the Presidency of the Republic - Questionnaires 2, 3, 7, 8 and 11) highlight the fact that the main motive for migration to the border area is economic, followed by family reunification and, in third place, humanitarian migration.

The various forms of economic exploitation provide opportunities for a diversity of professions, jobs and occupations, which attract migrants to the region. Migration flows continue to follow economic activity, for example, the harvest period (apples, grapes, melons and onions) in Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná and Santa Catarina,⁶⁷ and logging in Rio Grande do Sul; civil construction works in Mato Grosso do Sul; hydroelectric power stations and gold mines in Rondônia, Pará and Amapá; vegetable picking in Roraima and Amazonas; mining and extracting gold in Roraima; the development of the Manaus Free Zone in Amazonas; and mineral extraction in Pará and Amapá.

⁶⁶ Portuguese people from the Autonomous Region of the Azores, an archipelago situated in the Northeast Atlantic Ocean, off the European continent.

⁶⁷ These people's work cycle is seasonal and follows the harvest period for agricultural products: in Argentina or Uruguay they work in the rice harvest, followed by the apple, grape, melon and onion harvest in Brazil and then in the soya harvest in Paraguay.

The labour market, particularly sectors that attract people with little formal schooling and professional qualifications, is central to understanding local migration and circulation dynamics, particularly in the Northern Axis (Hazeu, 2011). In relation to global migration, Cacciamali & Azevedo (2006) describe contemporary migratory movements as follows:

“The increasing flow of human displacement has become a worrying global reality, and is being criminalised despite its being necessary, complex and difficult to characterise. Paradoxically, the contemporary choice of social mobility seeks to meet the demand for unqualified labour in central countries in the sectors of agriculture, food, construction, textiles and clothing, as well as in domestic services, caring professions and other personal services (TT).”

In the same way, experiences of displacement for work and practices that potentially involve the crime of trafficking in persons are supported by the Brazilian literature (Dias & Sprandel, 2010; Piscitelli, 2008, 2013), the main issue of interest in this Report.

Although lesser in magnitude, there has also been a migratory movement of qualified liberal professionals and their families, from the early 2000s, due to the opportunities for more qualified and better paid jobs that are emerging in some states in the border area, for example in Acre and Roraima. This has resulted from the increase in the number of public state and Federal competitions for jobs in the region, according to the stakeholders interviewed for this research. Also in Pará, qualified migrants from Germany, the United States of America and Japan are coming to work in multinational corporations, especially those linked to the large enterprises in the state, namely mineral exploitation and the construction of the Altamira hydroelectric power plant.

There are also students from African countries with Portuguese as an official language (Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau) arriving, attracted by university cooperation programmes in the states of Pará, Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. The arrival of migrants from other African countries has also been observed, usually young men from West Africa, who arrive in Brazil in search of better living conditions, coming from Guinea (Conakry), Sierra Leone, Congo, Nigeria, Cameroon and Senegal.

Particularly Rondônia, a large and sparsely populated state, has a large demand for labour for its works and projects, many of them large-scale, such as the current hydroelectric works on the river Madeira. Nevertheless, they relate to their migrants in an ambiguous manner, sometimes attracting them with promises of economic and productive gains, other times expelling them, without consistent long-term and sustainable plans. It is one of the states in the border area that experienced great inward migration flows during the 1970s and 1980s, and outward migration flows during the 1990s and 2000s.

Furthermore, humanitarian migration, which Brazil did not officially recognise until recently, has been receiving more attention in the country. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, there was a significant increase in the presence of migrants from the countries of the Southern Cone, mainly Uruguayans, Chileans and Argentineans, due to the radicalisation of political violence by the military dictatorships in those countries.

During the twenty-first century, since the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, it is Haitians – environmental migrants –, who migrate to Brazil and enter particularly from Bolivia through the state of Acre, but also in the South Axis, with Argentina as a country of transit. Colombians, refugees due to the guerrilla situation, enter via Amazonas and Pará; while Bangladeshis, Somalians and Kenyans enter via Acre and Roraima and, to a lesser extent, Mato Grosso do Sul.

In relation to the emigration of Brazilians from the border area, the most frequent flows are the emigration of women and children from Acre to Peru and Bolivia; from Roraima to Venezuela and the Guyanas – particularly involving women; from Pará to Suriname and French Guiana; from Amapá to French Guiana; from Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná and Santa Catarina to Uruguay, Paraguay and Argentina; and from Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul and Rondônia to Bolivia, though proportionately in lower numbers than from Bolivia to Brazil. It can be seen that there is a strong relationship with the geographical proximity between countries.

Section 3.1 analyses migration flows in the border area more specifically, identifying the countries of entry and exit and, in some cases, the cities and towns.

3.1 Migration Flows and Entry and Exit Points in the Border Areas

It is clear that the main migratory flows identified in the border area in the present day, based on the field research, are not fixed, and, as previously explored, change according to alterations in the economy of the state or the region, for humanitarian or environmental reasons, or due to alterations in modes of transport and travel routes. Particularly in the case of irregular migration and trafficking in persons, mainly for the purposes of slave labour, it can be observed that the routes change according to increases in surveillance by the public authorities, such as the police and the Public Ministry.

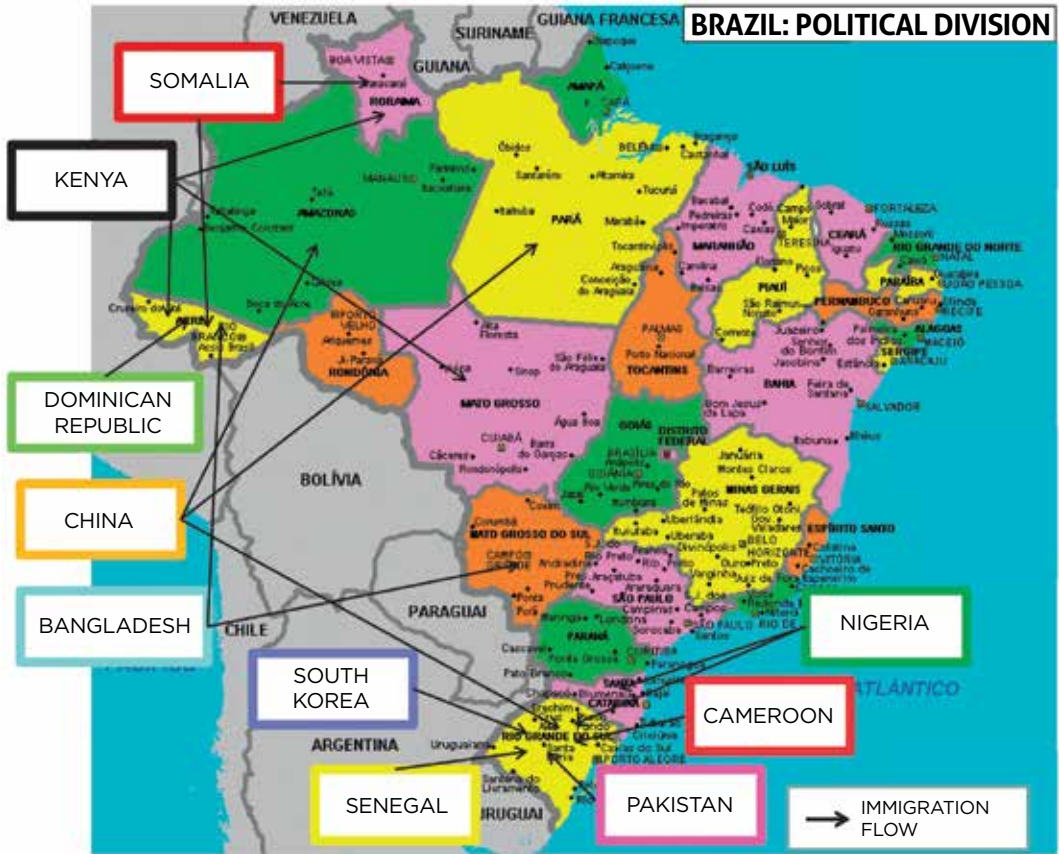
Figure 6 portrays, in a simplified form, the main migration flows between the other countries of South America and Brazil, based on information analysed during this research:

Figure 6: Migration Flows in the Border Area - South American Countries



And Figure 7 portrays immigration from other countries outside the region to Brazil:

Figure 7: **Migration Flows in the Border Area - Other Countries**



3.1.1 International Emigration

According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2012), Brazil is one of the main sending countries in South America, and many of these emigrants live in neighbouring countries, such as Paraguay.

Data and estimates from the MFA/DCA⁶⁸ confirm this information, according to which around 200,000⁶⁹ Brazilians are currently residing in Paraguay, as the main destination country in the region. It is followed by Bolivia, with around 50,000 Brazilians, Argentina, with around 40,000, Uruguay and French Guiana with around 30,000 each and finally Suriname with around 20,000 Brazilian immigrants. IOM (2012) confirms that Bolivia is also an important destination for Brazilians in the region. During the field research for this Assessment, the data provided by the MFA/DCA were confirmed, for example, by information collected on emigrants from Amapá, who, due to the proximity and ease of access to French Guiana, mainly by way of the municipality of Oiapoque, have that country as their main destination. Amapá is situated on the Guyanas Plateau, a region that comprises French Guiana, Suriname and the Republic of Guyana. For this reason, many people from Amapá have relatives or acquaintances living in French Guiana. Amapá is also a region of transit for people from the Northeast and Amazonas to French Guiana, as it is the “halfway-point” between the Amazon Region, the Northeast and the Guyanas, mainly French Guiana.

In Roraima, there is a significant emigration of Brazilians to Venezuela. According to the Extraordinary Secretariat of the State of Roraima for International Issues (RR Interview 3), during recent years there has been an increase in the number of Brazilians in Venezuela, especially since Venezuela joined the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR), together with MERCOSUR Decision 18 which exempted migrants from the majority of South American countries from the requirement for a passport. This applies to the States Parties and Associated States (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela).

⁶⁸ Data sent by e-mail by the Department of Consular Assistance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in May 2013. This number of Brazilian immigrants is calculated on the basis of the number of Brazilians registered at consular offices abroad and estimates made by Brazilian diplomatic offices abroad.

⁶⁹ IOM's estimates (2012) indicate around 500,000 Brazilians.

Estimates from the MFA/DCA⁷⁰ indicate that there are currently around 15,000 Brazilians living in Venezuela. Similarly, the Federal Roads Police (FRP) in Acre (AC Interview 14) and in Rondônia (RO Interview), and the Agricultural Workers' Federation of the State of Santa Catarina (FETAESC) and the State University of Santa Catarina (UDESC) (SC Interviews 1, 8, 26) confirm the increase in migration flows because of the MERCOSUR free movement agreements. Rural workers mainly emigrate to Argentina, and the number of migrants from Santa Catarina moving to Argentina is smaller than that of migrants moving in the opposite direction, according to the FETAESC.

In Rio Grande do Sul, during the 1970s and 1980s, a significant contingent of *gaúcho* (from Rio Grande do Sul) ranchers migrated to Paraguay, in the context of the frontiers of agricultural expansion. As in Paraná, Sprandel (2006) points to the historical presence of Brazilians residing and/or working in the border region with Paraguay, above all in trade in Ciudad del Este and agricultural areas. The migration of “*brasiguaios*”⁷¹ commenced in the 1970s, with the expansion of soya monoculture in Western Paraná and with the construction of the Itaipu Binational Power Plant.

With respect to the other border states (Amazonas, Mato Grosso do Sul and Mato Grosso), during the field research, there was no significant information on the emigration of Brazilians from these states to other South American countries.

3.1.2 International Immigration

Brazil is also one of the three countries in the region that receive the most international immigrants, together with Argentina and Chile. According to IOM (2012), Paraguayans, Argentineans, Uruguayans and Bolivians are the most numerous immigrant groups in Brazil.

In Rio Grande do Sul, for example, Argentineans and Uruguayans form the largest contingent of immigrants. Bolivians and Paraguayans, but also Peruvians, and, more recently, Chinese and South Koreans, head mainly for the cities of Porto Alegre and its Metropolitan Region, Caxias

⁷⁰ Data sent by e-mail by the Department of Consular Assistance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in May 2013.

⁷¹ This is the word used to refer to Brazilians and their descendants who settled in the Republic of Paraguay.

do Sul, Passo Fundo and Rio Grande (the latter due to the port works and the attraction they hold for civil construction workers).

Not only do Brazilians migrate to Paraguay, but Paraguayans also migrate to Brazil. Stakeholders such as the Public Employment Ministry (PME), the Federal Public Ministry (FPM), the Federal Police (FP), the Special Action Group to Combat Organised Crime (GAECO), the Migrant Chaplaincy and the Latin American Centre (CASLA) in Paraná (PR Interviews 11, 17, 12, 2, 5 and 9) affirm that there is a permanent flow of nationals of border countries, particularly between Paraguay and Brazil. There is also a migration of Argentineans, the second largest immigration flow, followed by Bolivians, Peruvians, Ecuadorians, Colombians and Venezuelans, and, in smaller numbers, Japanese (mainly concentrated in the region of Londrina and Maringá), Lebanese and Chinese.

The cultural influence of Paraguay has led to a history of Paraguayan immigration, also to the south of Mato Grosso do Sul. Forty per cent of Campo Grande's inhabitants are from Paraguay. According to the Paraguayan Consulate (MS Interview 17), the majority of their nationals who enter Brazil across the border into Mato Grosso do Sul are not headed for São Paulo, but rather remain in the state. Paraguayans are attracted by better working conditions and public services, such as education and healthcare, in Brazil.

The Acre and Rondônia Federal Roads Police (FRP) (AC Interview 14; RO Interview 4), as well as the FETAESC and the UDESC in Santa Catarina (SC Interviews 1, 8, 26) pointed to an increase in immigration to Brazil as a result of the MERCOSUR freedom of movement agreements, mainly of Peruvians. Most immigrants from MERCOSUR countries move to the Santa Catarina coastline, according to the State Security Secretariat of Santa Catarina, the Federal Police (FP), the Association in Defense of Human Rights with a Focus on Sexuality (ADEDH) and the Child Protection Council (SC Interviews 3, 4, 19, 20). According to the FETAESC and the UDESC (SC Interviews 1, 8, 26), the vast majority of these immigrants from the MERCOSUR seeking employment in Santa Catarina are in an irregular migration situation,⁷² with low levels of schooling, and therefore suffer a range of forms of exploitation.

⁷² It should be noted here that freedom of movement means exemption from the requirement for a residence visa, leave to remain or a work permit.

Rondônia, despite its long land border with Bolivia, is not considered an important destination for international immigration. There is, however, a certain circulation of Brazilians and Bolivians between the twin towns of Guajará-Mirim (Brazil) and Guayaramerín (Bolivia).

Recently, much attention has been paid to environmental migration, despite the absolute numbers not being significant compared to those of South American immigrants. After the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, a number of Haitian migrants began to arrive,⁷³ particularly in the states of Acre (and the towns of Brasiléia and Assis Brasil) and in Amazonas (Tabatinga and Manaus, on vessels navigating down the river Solimões). In lesser numbers they have also arrived in Roraima, Rondônia, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul.

The Haitians gained access to a humanitarian visa to regularise their residence in the country, or already obtained one prior to arriving in Brazil through the Brazilian consular network, due to the issuing of Normative Resolution no. 97 of 12 January 2012 of the National Immigration Council (CNIg). Statistics from the MLE clearly demonstrate this migration flow from Haiti to Brazil, mainly to Acre. For example, in 2012, the MLE granted 1,249 work permits to foreign nationals in Acre, of whom 1,232 were Haitian.⁷⁴ According to data supplied by the Amazonas Federal Police, there were 456 Haitians in 2010, 1,898 in 2011 and 1,249 during the first two months of 2012.

Particularly Rondônia and Roraima are transit states for Haitians whose final destination is Manaus. Mato Grosso, at the beginning of the flow to that state in November 2012, was also a transit state on the way to São Paulo. Currently, however, as the Haitians are being incorporated into the labour market of the state itself, many now have Mato Grosso as their final destination, according to the Mato Grosso Migrant Chaplaincy (MT Interview 23). Rio Grande do Sul has also been a final destination.

The stakeholders interviewed during the field research added that the Haitians are immigrants who enter national territory through Acre,

⁷³ Cogo and Badet (2013) estimate that around 5,000 Haitians migrated to Brazil between 2011 and 2012. In January 2012, the National Immigration Council (CNIg), by way of Normative Resolution no. 97/2012, decided to limit the visas granted to Haitian migrants for humanitarian reasons to 1,200 per year. Subsequently, the CNIg extended the granting of permanent visas to Haitians interested in migrating to Brazil.

⁷⁴ MLE data, from the General Immigration Coordination, available at: http://portal.mte.gov.br/trab_estrang/estatisticas.htm, accessed 16 July 2013.

Amazonas, Roraima and sometimes Rondônia, but who do not necessarily remain there. As soon as they are regularised, they have authorisation to move around and search for employment anywhere in the country.

Another form of humanitarian migration in the border area is that of Colombian refugees, victims of the guerrilla situation, who have migrated to Amazonas, Roraima, Pará and Rio Grande do Sul. Rio Grande do Sul is the Brazilian state with the second largest number of resettled refugees (Colombians, Palestinians, Angolans and Afghans) (RS Interview 14).⁷⁵

In Acre, since 2012, and in Roraima since early 2013, there have also been arrivals of Bangladeshis, Somalians and Kenyans. According to the Roraima Federal Police (RR Interview 22), *“they all say that they come here because Brazil is a good country, there is no war, there is no discrimination. They are all poor, and tell stories of the killing of their families, of terror during the wars that those countries have recently experienced and which, in some cases, are still ongoing, if in a more hidden form (TT)”* (RR Interview 4).

The states of Amapá, Mato Grosso do Sul and Mato Grosso all have the particular characteristic of being transit states. The borders of Mato Grosso do Sul and Mato Grosso with Bolivia, and of Mato Grosso do Sul with Paraguay, are entry points for the whole of Brazil, especially for international immigrants seeking the great population centres, like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. In Mato Grosso do Sul, the route Puerto Quijaro - Corumbá - Campo Grande - São Paulo is one of the most well-known and frequently used for entering Brazil (MS Interview 2).

3.1.3 Internal Migration

Internal migration to the North Region of the country, mainly to the states of Acre, Amazonas, Rondônia, Roraima and Pará, principally involves Northeastern Brazilians, attracted by offers of work, development in the region and large projects, such as those set up by the Federal government in the 1970s, through agricultural settlement and colonisation. During the 1980s, the new gold mines also wielded an influence on the increase in immigration to the region.

⁷⁵ For the purposes of the regularisation of these immigrants in Rio Grande do Sul, there is a tripartite programme run by the UNHCR, the Federal government and a non-governmental organisation, the Antônio Vieira Association (ASAV) (RS Interview 14).

Currently, the state of Amazonas is experiencing an intensive population movement from the interior to the state capital, a phenomenon that has been referred to by some researchers as the depopulation of the interior of Amazonas, mainly due to conflicts in land ownership and the lack of public services. Merely in numbers, Manaus's population increased from 300,000 in 1970 to 600,000 in 1980, and in the following two decades reached a total of 1.9 million inhabitants. Of this urban population, 15.3% are people from other states of the Federation, and 15.93% are from the interior of the state itself (IBGE Census, 2010).

Roraima has experienced intense migration from the South, of "gaúchos" (people from Rio Grande do Sul) for agricultural work, mainly in rice fields (RR Interview 19). There were also reports of ranchers moving to Paraná, Goiás, Mato Grosso do Sul, Mato Grosso and Amazonas in the context of the expansion of the frontiers of agriculture, during the 1970s and 1980s. Rural *gaúcho* workers from the most impoverished area of the North of the state of Rio Grande do Sul (Três Passos, Humaitá) migrate on a seasonal basis to Mato Grosso, subjecting themselves to quite precarious working conditions.

In Amapá, there are an increasing number of migrants arriving mainly from the Northeast in search of opportunities, particularly from Maranhão and Paraíba, due to the mineral extraction firms that have set up in the state (AP Interview). In Mato Grosso, the Migrant Chaplaincy (MT Interview 15) also noted a great internal movement of people from the interior who seek out regions of economic development, such as the municipalities of Sorriso and Sinop.

In Mato Grosso do Sul, there is an in-flow of people from São Paulo, Paraná and Goiás, mainly women to work as sex workers. Workers in agricultural activities mainly come from Maranhão, Piauí, Vale do Jequitinhonha and other regions in the Northeast, according to the Migrant Chaplaincy and the Migrant Assistance Centre (CEDAMI) (MS Interview 2).

In Rio Grande do Sul, there is a seasonal migration of workers from the Northeast (Bahia), Centre-West (Goiás) and Southeast (São Paulo) of the country, but also from the Western region of the state itself and the border regions of Rio Grande do Sul (Bagé, Livramento, Rosário, São

Borja, Alegrete, Uruguaiana) to the region of the Serras Gaúchas mountain range (Vacaria, Garibaldi, Bento Gonçalves, for example). This seasonal migration is connected to the work of seasonal fruit pickers during the fruit harvest period (apples, grapes and melons). Apart from this, there is a seasonal migration originating from in same states to the Santa Maria region to work in logging. According to information from the Brazilian Centre for Migration Assistance and Instruction (CIBAI-Migrações) (RS Interview 6), there are also Bolivians and Argentineans working in the grape harvest.

Also in Rio Grande do Sul, infrastructural works on roads and ports and for the 2014 World Cup - the construction of the Grêmio Arena and the reconstruction of the Beira Rio Stadium - caused the arrival of many workers from the North (Pará, Acre), Northeast (Rio Grande do Norte, Ceará, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Piauí, Bahia, Maranhão) and Centre-West (Goiás) of the country to work in the civil construction sector (RS Interview).

In Santa Catarina, according to Casagrande (2006), who, in his research on the causes of rural-to-urban migration in Greater Florianópolis, obtained as a result that 60% of the 1,645 families who migrated between 1995 and 2005 originated in the state of Paraná. In the field research for this Assessment, however, there were reports of the presence of migrants from Rio Grande do Sul, São Paulo, Maranhão and Piauí, although in lower numbers than those from Paraná.

3.2 Migration by Specific Groups

The migration of specific groups was identified during the research in some of the border states. For example, in Acre, according to the Association of Homosexuals of Acre (AHAC) (AC Interview 3) transvestite people and transgender people with a feminine gender identity have left interior towns such as Tarauacá, Brasiléia and Cruzeiro do Sul for Rio Branco. They then work in prostitution in order to earn financial resources and leave for cities in other states, especially Cuiabá, Belo Horizonte, Curitiba and Foz do Iguaçu.

There are also transvestite and transgender people who leave the interior of Mato Grosso do Sul for Campo Grande. From Campo Grande, some move on to São Paulo, Curitiba, Campinas, São Carlos, Cuiabá

and other cities. According to the Mato Grosso do Sul Association of Transvestites (ATMS) and the National Transvestite, Transsexual and Transgender Network of Brazil (ANTRA) (MS Interview 19), the majority of transvestite and transgender migrants move to other Brazilian states. There are also routes within the state of Mato Grosso do Sul, such as a circular movement between Campo Grande, Dourados and Três Lagoas - cities that are destinations of choice for transvestite and transgender people from the interior of the state.

In Roraima, according to the Roraima Indigenous Council (CIR) (RR Interview 17), there is a small number of indigenous people, most of them teenagers and young adults, in the age bracket of 16 to 30 years old, who come to Brazil from Venezuela and Guyana, in order to work in the city of Boa Vista, as well as a large movement of indigenous people, mainly from Guyana, to work on cattle ranches and plantations. Furthermore, according to the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), the *Indigenista* Missionary Council (CIMI) and the State Council of Indigenous Peoples (CEPIN) (SC Interviews 27, 28), indigenous people, mainly Guarani, circulate between Argentina, Paraguay and Brazil (Mato Grosso do Sul, Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul).

Still in Roraima, since the transformation of Pacaraima into a municipality in 2000, there has been an intensification in the emigration of women to work in mining areas, but also in the twin town of Santa Elena de Uairén in Venezuela, in local trade, restaurants owned by Brazilians, beauty salons and niteclubs (Rodrigues, 2009). In Pará, both official statistics and reports from Government agencies (PA Interviews 1, 2, 18) point to the incidence of a significant emigration of women to work as sex workers in the mining areas of Suriname and French Guiana, with irregular migration status.

In Santa Catarina, according to the Association in Defence of Human Rights with a Focus on Sexuality (ADEDH), Colombian, Uruguayan and Paraguayan sex workers migrate to the state coastline, together with Brazilian women who move from the interior of the state to the capital city, in search of new employment opportunities (SC Interview 3). It is interesting to note that IOM (2012) recorded a significant increase in the participation of women in inter-regional migratory movements between 1980 and 2000.

According to the ADEDH, apart from movement from the interior to the capital, another destination is the ports of Imbituba and Itajaí. This report from the ADEDH is corroborated by the observation of the Municipal Secretariat for Social Assistance of Itajaí (SC Interview 29) that there is prostitution in that municipality because of the port and the constant flow of truck drivers who pass through the city.

In relation to the other border states (AM, AP, RO, PR, RS, MT), no information on the migration of specific groups was recorded.

3.3 Mixed flows of irregular and regular migrants, humanitarian migrants, migrant smuggling and trafficked people in the border areas

As we have seen, there is sometimes a confusion in the literature, the media and among some stakeholders around what is irregular migration, migrant smuggling and trafficking in persons. In the field, there is an even greater confusion about these three concepts, which may also be confused with the concepts of economic migration and humanitarian and environmental migration.

According to IOM (2012), and as identified in other research on irregular migration (for example, the European project *Clandestino* run by the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) in 2009), irregular migration in South America does not generally originate in the act of crossing a border without permission from the immigration authorities, but rather in entry as a tourist and subsequently remaining on in the destination country for a longer time than that stipulated by the law, without the immigrant having a residence permit. In this way, irregular migration in South America is related to situations of illegality connected to administrative infractions, and not to irregular entry as such, meaning that in fact, the flows coincide and the phenomena are mixed in practice. And there are certainly cases of irregular entry and irregular residence related to migrant smuggling and trafficking in persons (IOM, 2012), strengthening the hypothesis of the existence of mixed flows.

On foot of the Amnesty Law for foreigners in an irregular situation in Brazil,⁷⁶ around 42,000 immigrants had regularised their migration status by the end of 2009 (Mendes, 6 January 2010). Nevertheless, according to the authorities in the border area, according to the field research carried

⁷⁶ Federal Law no. 11,961 of 2 June 2009.

out for this Assessment, there are no precise statistics on this irregular immigration, although they recognise that it takes place. For the FRPD, the FPD, the MD and the Subdivision for Federal Affairs of the Presidency of the Republic, most immigrants on Brazilian territory are undocumented (Questionnaires 2, 3, 7, 8 and 11).

The FRP of the State of Acre (AC Interview 14) indicated the occurrence of irregular migration in the border area, but the absence of statistical data recording this information in a systematic way means that it is not possible to determine with precision the number of international immigrants with an irregular status in Brazil, not to mention the number of irregular immigrants who are victims of trafficking in persons.

For example, in Acre, where Haitian immigration since the 2010 earthquake has been relatively intense, when asked about trafficking in persons, the interviewees refer to Haitian immigrants who enter via Assis Brasil in Brazil and Inãpari in Peru, some with the required documents, others without, making an apparent confusion between situations of irregular and regular migration, migrant smuggling and trafficking in persons (AC Interview 2), as we have seen in chapter 1. Although it is rare, there have been reports of cases of Haitians who crossed the border with the assistance of “coyotes” – migrant smuggling,⁷⁷ or who are victims of trafficking in persons (AC Interview 2). Similarly, in Rio Grande do Sul, and in Paraná, according to the Migrant Chaplaincy (PR Interview 5), Haitians were encountered who had entered Brazil at the Northern borders (Acre and Amazonas), and in a few cases across the Argentinean border, frequently having recourse to networks of migrant smugglers who charged large amounts (up to US\$3,000) for arranging the trip.

The Migrant Chaplaincy in Mato Grosso (MT Interview 23) has received complaints of violence, extortion, the abuse of authority and even sexual abuse suffered by Haitian men and women trying to get to Brazil, mainly occurring in Peru. The journey of some of the few Haitian women who travel to the state is characterised by sexual abuse and violence, if not the experience of sexual exploitation, in order to be able to pay for the trip. Normally, the money that these people had taken with them

⁷⁷ “Coyotes” are people who provide help or assistance to individuals (migrants) who wish to irregularly enter a country other than that of their citizenship or regular residence, in return for a financial benefit or other advantage or benefit.

from Haiti is taken from them through corruption and extortion schemes and migrant smuggling. In Santa Catarina, the MLE, the FETAESC and the Itajaí Migrant Orientation Programme (POM) (SC Interviews 26, 29, 31) report that there are Haitians in that state in with regular migration status working at companies that adhere to employment standards.

Immigrants of other origins (Senegalese, Nigerians, Cameroonians, Bangladeshis, Pakistanis and Dominicans) were also identified in the border area, but it was not known whether they travelled independently or with the assistance of intermediaries, apart from the possibility of the occurrence of trafficking in persons, as we will see. In Acre, the Secretariat of State for Justice and Human Rights (AC Interview 2) reported on the undocumented immigration of Senegalese, Dominicans and Bangladeshis, but was not able to classify whether these immigrants had travelled independently, which would mean that it was irregular migration, or whether they were recruited by *coyotes*, meaning that it was migrant smuggling.

In Paran , individual cases of West Africans – Senegalese, Nigerians and Cameroonians – arriving irregularly to the Port of Paranagu  were reported, hidden in the holds and engines of ships, as indicated by representatives of the FPM, CASLA, Migrant Chaplaincy and the Ant nio Vieira Association (ASAV) (PR Interviews 17, 9, 5, 14), constituting irregular migration. The ports of Imbituba and Itaja  are also entry points for foreign migrants, with cases of clandestine entry, deportations and repatriations of Africans, mainly Nigerians, who hide in the fuselage of ships in order to enter the country without the necessary documentation, according to the Migration Delegation of the Federal Police (DELEMIG) (SC Interview). According to the FPM (RS Interview 17), when they apply, these migrants are rarely granted refugee status in Brazil, and are deported after a long and degrading trip.

In Mato Grosso do Sul, the FRP identified the *coyote* in a Bangladeshi immigration case (MS Interview 20). In Rio Grande do Sul, the Federal Police, the Public Employment Ministry and the Migrant Chaplaincy (RS Interviews 12, 11, 5) mentioned the presence of migrants from Bangladesh and Pakistan, who had entered Brazilian territory at the border town of Gua ra, facilitated by *coyote* networks, to work in the meat-packing plants in the Western region of the state.⁷⁸ The MD confirmed the presence of

⁷⁸ Because of the market for chicken exports in countries with a significant Muslim population, these migrants' labour is in demand for carrying out halal slaughters.

intermediaries who assist these immigrants in crossing the borders, for a price of U\$3,500.

There were also records of the emigration of transvestite people and transgender people with a feminine gender identity to Spain and Italy according to the AHAC (AC Interview 3), the ATMS and the ANTRA in Mato Grosso do Sul (MS Interview 19), the Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals (Igualdade-RS) and the Centre for Prostitution Studies, both in Rio Grande do Sul (RS Interview 12).⁷⁹ Similarly, however, there is no precise information about whether migrant smuggling or trafficking in persons are involved.

In practice, according to the institutions, what happens is that their travel costs are paid for by other transvestite or transgender people who, as organisers, pay the travel, accommodation, food, clothing, the “corner” to work on, as well as any gender reassignment surgery. Some organisers are also responsible for facilitating the transportation and negotiation with those who control areas of international prostitution. Transvestite and transgender people enter with a tourist visa and therefore do not need the assistance of an intermediary in order to migrate. However, their debt is to be repaid with a percentage of their earnings in the Western European sex market (MS Interview 19 and RS Interview 12).

There are transvestite and transgender people who have reported that they only consider to be trafficking in persons those situations in which passports are retained, the interest charged on the debt is abusive or when people are threatened if they do not fulfil what was agreed (these are indeed elements of a trafficking situation), and do not interpret a debt in itself as exploitation (MS Interview 19 and RS Interview 12).

Foreign migration to Amazonas involves low numbers according to official sources. However, according to stakeholders interviewed in the state - the Public Defence of the Union, the Anti-Trafficking Centre of Amazonas (NETP/AM) and the Migrant Chaplaincy (AM Interview 12 and Focus Group Meeting 3), the presence of Colombians, Peruvians and Bolivians is greater than that recorded, and these people may be in a situation of vulnerability in the state. There are indications that certain

⁷⁹ The research *Transatlantic Journeys* also highlighted the emigration of transvestite and transsexual people from Brazil - from the states under study, São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Góias, to Italy and Spain (ICMPD, 2011).

State actions render irregular immigrants even more vulnerable. Santos (2002) suggests that Federal Police operations carried out together with the Army and the National Forces to identify irregular migrants are frequent in the border area, and contribute to the origin of another migratory flow from the border area in Amazonas to Manaus and other urban centres within Brazil (São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, for example). The author adds that:

“This population group, mainly made up of migrants from neighbouring countries and those that border the State of Amazonas, end up subject to great discrimination and xenophobia on the part of many authorities. In addition, a significant section of the Amazonas population reproduces this same treatment, seeing the migrants as usurpers of social goods and services without understanding that these are victimised groups in a fragile condition of illegality (TT).”

In Mato Grosso do Sul, according to information from the Border Operations Department (BOD) (MS Interview 9), foreigners mainly enter Brazil at the towns of Corumbá, Ponta Porã, Bela Vista and Porto Murtinho. Many of the current residents of Porto Murtinho, according to the Forum for Decent Work and Studies on Trafficking in Persons (FTDETP) (MS Interviews 22 and 25) and the Municipal Health Secretariat (MS Interview 23), are Paraguayans without documents. This can be established because they seek to use the public health system without the necessary Single Health System (SHS) identification. According to the Paraguayan Consulate (MS Interview 17), a total of 325 Paraguayans benefited from the Amnesty Law⁸⁰ in the state of Mato Grosso alone.⁸¹ Yet the Consulate reports that according to information received by the MFA/DCA, there were 3,702 Paraguayans resident in the state (as of December 2010), and estimate that the actual number is up to three times that figure.

Recently, there has been an in-flow of Bangladeshis, who cross from Bolivia at Corumbá in Mato Grosso do Sul. The Migrant Chaplaincy and the CEDAMI (MS Interview 2) indicate that these immigrants falsify

⁸⁰ Federal Law no. 11,961 of 2 June 2009.

⁸¹ Between 2009 and 2011, the Paraguayan Consulate offered services in the municipalities of Aquidauana, Miranda, Bonito, Jardim, Nioaque and Porto Murtinho, where they verified the largest number of Paraguayans working.

documents in Bolivia, with which they manage to enter Brazil. In late 2012, the Federal Roads Police apprehended a group of Bangladeshis, detaining more than 20 people and taking them to Corumbá to be handed over to the Federal Police for deportation (MS Interview 20).

In Mato Grosso, the Federal Roads Police (MT Interview 7) recorded the actions of men, generally of the same nationality as the immigrants, who know the route and have already had access to the large population centres, as they have already worked in São Paulo. This recourse to intermediaries was verified in Mato Grosso, not only in the case of Bolivian immigrants (Azevedo, 2005), but also Asians and Haitians (Valente, 1 July 2013). Sometimes the smuggler has a relationship with the clothing factory that will contract the immigrant or is himself the entrepreneur or employer in São Paulo.

In Rio Grande do Sul, the Federal Roads Police (RS Interview 16) and representatives of the Argentinean Consulate (RS Interview 7) affirm that between Uruguaiana and Paso de los Libres, Brazilian and Argentinean taxi-drivers have an important role as “crossers” of these migrants.

Despite its vast land border with Bolivia, Rondônia is not considered an important focus for international immigration, and so there is also no information about migrant smuggling. The Specialised Coordination of Border Management (GESFRON) and the Federal Roads Police (RO Interviews 7, 4) informed the local researcher that the border areas of Rondônia are characterised by low population density and natural features (hydrography, relief map, vegetation) that pose obstacles to people’s movement.

In Pará, irregular migration is seen principally in terms of Brazilians who first travel legally, with rare exceptions, to French Guiana. Subsequently, their residence and employment place them in an irregular situation (PA Interview). It has been observed in Suriname that this situation does not lead to particular difficulties, as there is no policy to apprehend irregular migrants, unlike in French Guiana, where the irregular population is subject to checks.

There are also cases of Chinese migrants who, according to the Immigration Delegation (PA Interview 7) and the report of the Parliamentary Inquiry Commission (CPI) on trafficking in persons in the state (Legislative Assembly of the State of Pará, 2012), arrive by clandestine means to work in local commerce. Rondon do Pará is an important town of origin in relation to irregular migration.



4. TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS IN THE BORDER AREAS

Trafficking in persons in the border area is a dynamic topic, and is still undergoing changes in terms of conceptual definitions and understandings. Conceptual conflicts principally arise when formulating public policies. There is still a certain difficulty among stakeholders in distinguishing trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation from sexual exploitation without trafficking; prostitution from trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation and from what some refer to as “forced prostitution”; and even child trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation from child sexual exploitation without the characterisation of trafficking.

Hazeu⁸² describes this situation as follows:

“As there is some confusion in understanding the sex market, trafficking in persons and sexual exploitation, the population in general does not criticise women seeking opportunities in the sex market. There is a silent pact of moral reprimand and practical acceptance at the same time. People only comment on concrete cases of reports of slavery and murder linked to the sex market (TT).”

This means that as long as violence and exploitation are not clearly characterised, it is probable that the population in general, and even the authorities, will not be able to distinguish the phenomenon of trafficking in persons among the comings and goings of these women, men, teenagers and children in the border area.

With the exception of the states of Rondônia, Amazonas⁸³ and Pará,⁸⁴ where there was a high level of knowledge on the topic of trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation among those interviewed,

⁸² In an interview available at: www.ihu.unisinos.br/entrevistas/45548- trafico-sexual-na-amazonia-um-pacto-silencioso-de-reprovacao-moral-e-aceitacao-pratica-entrevista-especial-com-marcel-hazeu, accessed 10 July 2013.

⁸³ It is important to note that the majority of the stakeholders interviewed in Amazonas had already participated in seminars and/or training sessions organised during recent years by SNJ and the Anti-Trafficking Centre of Amazonas (ATC/AM), therefore, they are aware of the debate on trafficking in persons and participate in anti-trafficking initiatives at state level, standing testament to the institutional work that has already been carried out by this ATC.

⁸⁴ It should be noted that according to the Civil Police and the State Public Ministry (PA Interviews), this knowledge about the topic is restricted to the city of Belém, as, in the municipalities in the interior, the authorities do not manage to identify trafficking. In the case of sexual exploitation, they tend to record it as pimping or running a brothel.

and of Mato Grosso, where the fight against slave labour is at a quite advanced stage, the stakeholders interviewed for this research in the border states have a certain difficulty in distinguishing situations of trafficking in persons from situations of regular or irregular migration,⁸⁵ or even from situations of environmental/humanitarian migration, as is the case with Haitians who migrate to Acre.

This was one of the issues that made data collection difficult, and of course is detrimental to the correct recording *in loco* of any trafficking cases that may come to the attention of these stakeholders in the border area.

Trafficking in persons is chronically under-reported in this zone. For example, the representative of the Specialised Coordination of Border Management (GESFRON) in Rondônia (RO Interview 7), in an interview for this research, considered the State apparatus deficient and pointed to the existence of what he considers to be a lenient culture with regard to certain violations, above all slave labour and sexual exploitation, which, in his opinion, contributes to the under-reporting of crimes such as trafficking in persons, a hidden crime. The Federal Police of Paraná (PR Interview 12) stated that the invisible nature of the phenomenon is due, in part, to a form of tacit tolerance of this issue in border regions.

The Delegate of the Federal Police in Porto Alegre (RS Interview 4), for his part, explains that it is an under-reported crime due to the fact that trafficked people rarely make a formal complaint: firstly, they do not consider themselves to be victims; and secondly, as long as their economic interests are served, they tend to see the exploiter as an ally.

The Secretariat of the Public Civil Police of Acre (AC Interview 16) placed much emphasis on the absence of formal complaints by the victims and their families, exacerbating the lack of information to assist in investigations and, as a result, making the prosecution of trafficking more difficult.

At the same time as the institutions participating in this research reported that there were cases in that state, and described the various

⁸⁵ The local researchers reported that in the course of some interviews, it was necessary to explain the difference between these phenomena in order not to lose sight of the focus of the research.

trafficking situations and forms of exploitation, they also spoke of under-reporting and the absence of statistics. Yet the absence of statistics could be a consequence of the inefficiency or absence of information systems to adequately record the phenomenon at the various institutions interviewed. For example, the Intelligence Department of the State Secretariat of the Public Civil Police of Acre (AC Interview 16) reported the inexistence of data on trafficking in persons in the state and yet described their knowledge of a network that traffics women and teenage girls to be sexually exploited in Bolivia and Peru, whereby victims transit through Porto Velho in Rondônia. A distinction should be made, however, between the absence of a data recording system and the existence of a system that has not recorded any cases.

Unlike in the other states of the border area, in Rondônia, Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná and Santa Catarina, the stakeholders do not consider trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation as a big problem in the state. However, the relationship between forms of economic exploitation in the border region, migration flows, slave labour and, in some cases, trafficking in persons, was clear. For example, according to the Public Employment Ministry (PME) of Acre (AC Interview 15), workers are recruited and taken to work in Acre and Rondônia, with the largest number destined for Rondônia, due to the power plant construction works at Jirau and Santo Antônio. The PME of Rondônia mentioned irregularities and disrespect for employment rights in contracting processes, but did not confirm the existence of trafficking in persons with the purposes of putting them to work in the power plant construction works.

In Pará, all of those interviewed mentioned the construction of the Belo Monte power plant in the municipality of Altamira as a construction project that, apart from creating a situation of great vulnerability in that region, has also attracted male workers to the construction sites and female workers to the brothels in the region, who could be in a situation of vulnerability or exploitation.

In Mato Grosso do Sul, according to the FTDETP, the PME, the Brazilian Institute for Pro-Healthy Society Innovations of the Centre West (IBISS - CO) and the CEDAMI (MS Interviews 2, 23, 27 and 4), it is the charcoal works, the sugar-alcohol sector and civil construction that are

associated with the use of slave labour. In Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná and Santa Catarina, migration and possibly trafficking in persons coincide with the period of fruit harvests (apple, grape and melon), the *mate* leaf, tomato and sugar cane harvests, and logging, according to the Land Chaplaincy Commission and the PME (PR Interview 11), CIBAI-Migrações (RS Interview 6) and the UFSC, CEPIN and CIMI in Santa Catarina (SC Interviews 27, 28).

Finally, trafficking in persons is a form of violation that is not necessarily on the political agenda, and in some states not even on the agenda of civil society, as in the states of Rôndonia and Santa Catarina. It is a phenomenon that is currently being allocated second place due, for example, to the situation of Haitian immigration in the border area, which – although the absolute numbers are relatively low – has been of much concern to the authorities, mainly in the state of Acre, the main point of entry, and to the Federal Government. Drug trafficking also takes precedence, mobilising local institutions to a greater extent in states like Acre and Rondônia, as does murder, which is the main concern of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, despite it not necessarily being more common in the border area.

The situation of child sexual exploitation is higher up on the agenda of organisations in the states of Acre, Roraima and Mato Grosso do Sul, but they do not necessarily understand the correlation between this act and trafficking in children and adolescents. In this way, when this exploitation is an element of trafficking in persons, the challenges are numerous, both in providing assistance to the trafficked children and in prosecuting the perpetrators. In what follows, we set out the purposes for which people may be trafficked within, to and from the border states.

4.1 Forms of Trafficking in Persons

Among the forms of exploitation that may be purposes of trafficking in persons, the field research for this study showed that the two most frequent forms are trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation and slave labour (labour exploitation). In some state, sexual exploitation is the more common form, while in others it is slave labour,

and in still others, both forms are common, as will be described in what follows.⁸⁶

Sexual Exploitation

In the states of Acre, Amapá, Pará and Roraima, there is more focus on trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation, as is also the case in Mato Grosso do Sul and Mato Grosso, although the latter two also show high levels of slave labour, as will be discussed in the following section.

According to reports from stakeholders in Acre, one of the entry points for trafficking in persons is the sex trade in Peru and Bolivia, where there are reports of a lack of regulation and protection of sex workers. In this sense, Scacchetti (2011) comments that the majority of bordering countries do not recognise prostitution as a professional occupation and do not exercise any control or regulation over it, *“making the activity one of the most marginalised in the informal sector and making various forms of exploitation and violence possible. Apart from this, the demand for cheap sex and for exotic biological types stimulates the search for men or women from different locations, strengthening the criminal network of trafficking for sexual exploitation [TT].”*

The relationship between trafficking in persons and the sexual exploitation of children and adolescents is also evident, mainly in border states such as Acre and Mato Grosso do Sul. In Acre, for example, coordination between child sexual exploitation networks and trafficking networks was observed, as reported by the SEDS (AC Interview 11), among others:

“(...) there are girls who work over there in Inãpari (Peru), in the clubs. They work and they prostitute themselves, and then they go to Porto Maldonado (Peru), they go to Cuzco, some even make it as far as Lima. There are girls who we know who say: “no, we went to have a drink with a guy here in Inãpari and when we woke up, we were in Porto Maldonado”. Like that, as if it’s fine, you see? This is normal by now (...) there are girls who vanish, who go to Peru and noone hears from them ever again (TT)”.

⁸⁶ The stakeholders interviewed at Federal level were almost unanimous with regard to sexual exploitation being the most common form of exploitation in the border area, with the exception of the National University of Brasília (UNB), which emphasised slave labour (Questionnaire 13).

According to the Acre Legislative Assembly (AC Interview 18), the lack of control of the Acre borders with Bolivia and Peru is one of the factors that contribute to the connections between these exploitation networks, even involving teenage children:

“(…) So even when we proposed that CPI (Commission of Parliamentary Inquiry), we already know about our issue with the border. It is really easy for you to enter and leave. And we went to Bolivia at that time and we visited various brothels where there were Brazilian girls. Even Brazilian minors. We had police support at the time and then they get there and the first thing that the guys ask for is their identity papers, meaning that they are held hostage there. And the other thing was that they alerted us. Then afterwards we went to Peru, only in Peru we didn't go to visit the places, but we got a lot of information about the existence of lots of brothels there as well, of many girls from here (TT).”

The Commission of Parliamentary Inquiry (CPI) that was set up in Acre by the Legislative Assembly in 2010 presented many different situations in which teenage children, mainly girls, were sexually exploited within the state and in the brothels of Bolivia and Peru.

In Amapá, some women who emigrate to French Guiana, seeking to improve their living conditions by marrying foreign men, or by working as sex workers, end up being trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation in the mines. “Forced prostitution” has become the most common form of sexual exploitation in French Guiana (AP Interview).

However, the difficulty that the stakeholders in the border area have in distinguishing cases of sexual exploitation from cases of trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation is unanimous, even with regard to distinguishing these cases from the free exercise of prostitution by adults. On the one hand, the difficulty arises from a lack of information in relation to the cases, which do not allow them to make serious accusations or inferences, such as, for example, that of trafficking in persons. On the other hand, the lack of knowledge in respect of these three phenomena is also in evidence, bringing into stark relief the tenuous line that divides them.

For example, in the states of Roraima and Pará, where a large migration of women to Suriname and French Guiana has been observed, there are mines and a demand for sex workers, with brothels and similar establishments having been set up quite close to the mining areas. However, there are neither data nor precise information from the stakeholders to determine whether these women migrate voluntarily in search of better living conditions and work autonomously as sex workers, or whether they are trafficked, and therefore, being sexually exploited. According to the Liaison Officer in Georgetown, the capital of the Republic of Guyana (RR Interview 23), in relation to adult women who are working in Guyana as sex workers, the majority of cases do not involve trafficking in persons, as they are not in a situation of coercion, nor are they threatened, nor forced to go there - which implies the absence of two elements of trafficking: the means and the exploitation.

Meanwhile, the Federal Police in Roraima (RR Interview 6) reported that, since they started to register trafficking cases in 2005, there have been forty investigations in the space of eight years. According to official Federal Police data, between 2005 and 2011, 16 proceedings were initiated for international trafficking in persons and one for internal trafficking, all with the purpose of sexual exploitation.⁸⁷

Furthermore, it is important to note that the CPI on Human Trafficking in the state of Pará, in its final report (Legislative Assembly of the State of Pará, 2012), also mentions cases of trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation, for example, of women who are recruited in Barcarena/PA and taken to Europe, and who depart in foreign vessels from the Port of Vila do Conde/PA; or of women and men who leave for the mines of Suriname and French Guiana, and who are also enslaved. Women are sexually exploited and men are subjected to labour exploitation in the mining activities.

In Rondônia, authorities such as the Federal Police, the Federal Roads Police and the State Secretariat for Security, Defence and Citizenship (RO Interviews 19, 4, 9) in the state point to a low incidence of the crime of trafficking in persons for sexual exploitation in the state. However, data

⁸⁷ Data supplied by the Federal Police Department (Unit for Combating Trafficking in Persons) to the National Secretariat of Justice (Department of Justice, Classification, Titles and Qualification for the *National Assessment of Trafficking in Persons* in 2012 (Ministry of Justice, 2013).

from the SINESPJC⁸⁸ show that between the years 2005 and 2012, 24 people were identified as victims of internal trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation in the state of Rondônia, a number that is higher in absolute terms only in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul (75 victims). In the state of Amazonas, according to SINESPJC data,⁸⁹ although 34 victims of internal trafficking for sexual exploitation were recorded between the years 2005 and 2012, it was not very clear during the field research for this Assessment whether this was a form of exploitation with a high incidence in the state.

In Mato Grosso do Sul, the borders with Bolivia and Paraguay, both land and river borders, are identified as being a propitious region for adult prostitution and the commercial sexual exploitation of children and teenagers. Travel and trafficking in persons between one country and another are common, according to reports from many of the institutions interviewed. The Department of Border Operations (BOD) of Mato Grosso do Sul (MS Interview 09) alleges a relationship between child sexual exploitation and trafficking in persons, even though it is a phenomenon that is little recorded by the Programme of Integrated and Reference Actions to Combat Sexual Violence against Children and Young People in Brazilian Territory (PAIR), in the analysis of the Counselling School of the Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul (MS Interview 1).

Child sexual exploitation in Mato Grosso do Sul, including by parents or in brothels or at prostitution “corners”, as well as on boats and ranches, is reported by the majority of institutions consulted as a current and common phenomenon. Because of proximity to the river Paraguay, fishing tourism in the Wetlands and big festivals, this form of exploitation was encountered by those interviewed in the city of Corumbá/MS, especially in the district of Albuquerque, where poor access to services and the absence of a local economy other than tourism increases the vulnerability of teenage girls to sexual exploitation and probably trafficking.

In Corumbá, the imprisonment of girls on “fishing boats” was analysed by the service network during capacity-building sessions

⁸⁸ Data supplied by the National System of Public Safety and Criminal Justice Statistics (SINESPJC) to the National Secretariat of Justice (Department of Justice, Classification, Titles and Qualification) – Memorandum no. 784/2013. The SINESPJC’s source of information is the data sent by the Military Police from the states.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

carried out by IBISS-CO (MS Interview 05), between 2008 and 2009. The situation constituted child trafficking in the understanding of the organisation because the teenage girls had been taken to other cities in the interior of the state (and their documents were taken, aggravating the trafficking situation). The girls were being sexually exploited and were also addicted to illegal substances. In the cities of Porto Murinho and Ponta Porã in Mato Grosso do Sul, at the Paraguayan border, there are also incidences of trafficking cases, mainly involving children and teenagers, for the purposes of sexual exploitation, according to the CIMI (MS Interview 3).

In the states of Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná, although trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation has been notified to or identified by the authorities once or twice, it is not the main form, but rather slave labour, as will be discussed in the following section.

In Rio Grande do Sul, as well as in Santa Catarina, there is little concrete and systematised information on trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation. Assertions on the phenomenon are rather impressions and general information, even among stakeholders who work more directly with the topic.

In Santa Catarina, particularly, trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation is not representative for the institutions interviewed; they report little or no knowledge on the occurrence of this crime in the state and no social service provider supplied official data on trafficking. The Association in Defence of Human Rights with a Focus on Sexuality (ADEDH, SC Interview 3), in particular, in Santa Catarina, reported that sex workers travel to Western Europe, mainly Italy, Spain and France, but that in their understanding, it does not constitute trafficking in persons. The institution reports, however, that there are intermediaries who help in organising this trip and who charge around BR\$15,000 (around US\$6,750) for this “help”; and that in the destination country, a third person⁹⁰ receives these immigrants and retains their passports until the debt for this “help” has been paid, a situation that would indeed constitute trafficking in persons. Many sex workers migrate and return more than once, and some become intermediaries or

⁹⁰ Referred to colloquially by the interviewee as a “*cafetina* (madam)”.

sponsors for other women who wish to migrate. Finally, the institution understands the relationship between sex workers and their sponsors as a contract of employment that should therefore be adhered to, with the migrant paying the debt when they arrive at the destination.

In Paraná, the ATC/PR, the Federal Police, the Migrant Chaplaincy and the Federal Roads Police in Curitiba (PR Interviews 1, 12, 5 and 7) recognise that particularly in Foz do Iguaçu and Paranaguá, trafficking cases may occur, given the high incidence of child sexual exploitation in that municipality. Furthermore, the characteristics of the cities - places of great movements of people, both Brazilian and foreign, and the intense flow of truck-drivers, mean that these are municipalities with a long history of sexual exploitation.

Curiously, with regard to international trafficking, the Federal Police statistics show that Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná initiated 13 and 10 proceedings, respectively, during the period 2005 to 2011, more or less equal to the number of proceedings recorded, for example, in Acre (11), Amapá (11), Mato Grosso (13), Mato Grosso do Sul (10) and Pará (13), despite the fact that in the latter states, the phenomenon is recognised and emphasised by the authorities interviewed as a major problem. In Roraima there is a record of 16 proceedings and in the states of Rondônia and Santa Catarina, seven proceedings.⁹¹

In relation to internal trafficking, there is not a single record of a single victim or occurrence in Santa Catarina, also according to SINESPJC data.⁹²

⁹¹ Data sent by the Federal Police Department (Unit for Combating Trafficking in Persons) to the National Secretariat for Justice (Department of Justice, Classification, Titles and Qualification) in 2012, on the occasion of the composition of the National Assessment of Trafficking in Persons (Ministry of Justice, 2013).

⁹² Data sent by the National System for Public Safety and Criminal Justice Statistics (SINESPJC) to the National Secretariat for Justice (Department of Justice, Classification, Titles and Qualification) - Memorandum no. 784/2013.3 The source of the SINESPJC's information is data sent by the Military Police from the states. There is no information for the states of Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná.

Slave Labour

According to MLE data,⁹³ the number of workers rescued or victims of slave labour⁹⁴ in the states of the border area amounts to 40% of the total number of rescued workers in the whole of Brazil, for the years 2008 to 2011. Compared to other states in the border area, the states of Rondônia, Pará, Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul stand out with regard to the MLE and SINESPJC statistics.

According to SINESPJC data,⁹⁵ between the years 2005 and 2011, it was the state of Rondônia that had the highest number of cases of slave labour in Brazil, even though according to MLE data,⁹⁶ with regard to the rescue of workers, the state's tally is not as high when compared to other states of the Federation in absolute numbers.

From 2008 to 2010, Pará and Mato Grosso figure among the five states of Brazil with the highest number of rescued workers, according to MLE data.⁹⁷ And during the years 2008 to 2011, it is Mato Grosso do Sul that figures among the five states with the highest number, also according to MLE data.

According to Federal Police data,⁹⁸ Mato Grosso and Pará are the states of the border area that have initiated the highest number of proceedings for the crime foreseen in art. 149 of the Criminal Code, which

⁹³ Data obtained from the website of the Ministry of Labour and Employment, available at: http://portal.mte.gov.br/trab_escravo/resultados-das-operacoes-de-fiscalizacao-para-erradicacao-do-trabalho-escravo.htm, accessed 20 July 2013.

⁹⁴ It is the understanding of the Secretariat for Labour Inspection of the Ministry for Labour and Employment (MLE/LIS), based on the National Policy for Combating Trafficking in Persons, art. 2, para. 4 and Normative Instruction no. 91 of the Secretariat for Labour Inspection, art. 6, that people found in a condition similar to that of a slave should be considered victims of trafficking in persons for the purposes of slave labour, for administrative, employment and civil purposes.

⁹⁵ Data sent by the National System for Public safety and Criminal Justice Statistics (SINESPJC) to the National Secretariat for Justice (Department of Justice, Classification, Titles and Qualification) in 2012, on the occasion of the composition of the National Assessment of Trafficking in Persons (Ministry of Justice, 2013).

⁹⁶ See the Table with the number of workers rescued in each unit of the Federation on the website of the Ministry of Labour and Employment, available at: http://portal.mte.gov.br/trab_escravo/resultados-das-operacoes-de-fiscalizacao-para-erradicacao-do-trabalho-escravo.htm, accessed 20 July 2013.

⁹⁷ Data obtained from the website of the Ministry of Labour and Employment, available at: http://portal.mte.gov.br/trab_escravo/resultados-das-operacoes-de-fiscalizacao-para-erradicacao-do-trabalho-escravo.htm, accessed 20 July 2013.

⁹⁸ Data sent by the Federal Police Department (Unit for Combating Trafficking in Persons) to the National Secretariat for Justice (Department of Justice, Classification, Titles and Qualification) in 2012, on the occasion of the composition of the National Assessment of Trafficking in Persons (Ministry of Justice, 2013).

refers to subjecting someone to a condition similar to that of a slave (both with 66 or more proceedings initiated between the years 1999 and 2011).

This data allows for the elaboration of two hypotheses: one, more establishments are being inspected, or more raids are being carried out in these states and that is why there is a higher number of rescued workers; or two, the incidence of this form of exploitation is higher in these states.

In fact, slave labour is the form of exploitation that elicits most concern among the stakeholders interviewed for this research in Amazonas, Rondônia, Mato Grosso do Sul, Mato Grosso, Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná, but also in Acre, Amapá and Santa Catarina, albeit to a lesser extent.

In Acre and Rondônia, the Public Employment Ministry (AC Interview 15 and RO Interview 18) alleges that workers from other states in Brazil are recruited and taken there to work without guarantees of employment laws. The largest flow of workers is destined for Rondônia, due to the works on the hydroelectric power plants of Jirau and Santo Antônio. The Acre Regional Superintendency for Labour and Employment (AC Interview 8) confirmed that workers from Acre are also trafficked for the purposes of labour exploitation, but destined for the state of Amazonas.

However, according to the PME of Amazonas (AM Interview 6), the activities where there is the highest incidence of slave labour are illegal logging activities and, to a lesser extent, mining ore illegally, as well as agriculture and cattle-farming. Sugar cane plantations in the Manaus region were cited as an example. The case of exploitation in illegal logging is interesting as it constitutes both slave labour and exploitation in illegal activities.

Even in the industrial area of Manaus, incidences of slave labour have already been recorded. Both the PME and the MLE (AM Interviews 6, 7) cited a case associated with international trafficking, recorded during a raid in the year 2010, involving the rescue of seven Chinese workers from conditions of slave labour, including aggravating circumstances such as mistreatment and restrictions of liberty, at a Chipboard Industry (CIFEC) belonging to owners of the same nationality.

Another form of economic exploitation that targets workers and places them in a situation similar to that of a slave is work on cattle

ranches in the interior of the state of Rondônia and pasture-clearing areas. Researchers and interviewees for this research linked to the PME and the MLE (RO Interviews 18, 12) point out that more qualified workers, usually from the South and Southeast, are recruited to key positions, to the detriment of unqualified workers from the Northeast, who are attracted by unstable positions with less access to rights and guarantees.

In the state of Amapá, workers are recruited in various areas of vulnerability to work on large properties in the municipalities of Laranjal do Jarí and Vitória do Jarí, as well as in Macapá. International trafficking for slave labour in mines in French Guiana and Suriname was also reported in Amapá (AP Interview).

In Mato Grosso do Sul, the economic activities that were most associated with the use of slave labour were charcoal plants, civil construction and above all the sugar-alcohol sector, according to the FTDETP and the PME (MS Interviews 23 and 27). The labour that is utilised is mostly that of people from outside the state, originating in the Northeast, and also that of indigenous people, from Mato Grosso do Sul itself or from other states such as Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul.

The CIMI (MS Interview 03), as well as the Regional Employment Prosecutor's Office of Mato Grosso do Sul,⁹⁹ commented on the existence of slave labour, especially among indigenous workers, at sugar-alcohol plants, although they understand that the situation is in decline due to the mechanisation of the production of cane and alcohol in the state. According to the institution, workers are recruited on indigenous reservations, where buses full of workers depart for the plants.

The presence of Paraguayans in a situation similar to that of a slave in the Southern region of the state of Mato Grosso do Sul, mainly in charcoal works, as also reported by the Paraguayan Consulate (MS Interview 17), the FTDETP (MS Interview 23 and 27), the Public Employment Ministry (PME) (MS Interview 27) and IBISS-CO (MS Interview 04).¹⁰⁰The understanding

⁹⁹ Information sent to the local researcher by the Communications Advisor to the Office of the Regional Employment Prosecutor of the 24th Region by email on 5 July 2013.

¹⁰⁰ The BOD (MS Interview 9) reports, on the other hand, that they have encountered few situations of Paraguayans subjected to slave labour, though they stress that this is the result of their operational knowledge, and therefore not necessarily a reflection of the reality in the state.

of these organisations is that the situations they have encountered generally constitute trafficking in persons because the recruitment is carried out in the neighbouring country with the intention of exploiting workers transported and accommodated in rural zones, placing them in a situation of restriction of liberty, deprivation of rights and, often, debt bondage. The situation of Bolivians who transit through the state of Mato Grosso do Sul on the way to São Paulo, where they are exploited in the textile industry, was also confirmed by the Migrant Chaplaincy and the CEDAMI (MS Interview 2), and by research (Azevedo, 2005).

In Rio Grande do Sul, CIBAI-Migrações (RS Interview 6) indicated that some Chinese business and property owners pay for the arrival of compatriots, on the condition that they work in their businesses. When they arrive in Brazil, these immigrants are exploited and subjected to excessive working hours in order to return the investment in the trip to the business owners, constituting a form of debt bondage.

In Rio Grande do Sul, in the region of the Serras Gaúchas mountains (Vacaria, Lagoa Vermelha, among others), during the period of the fruit harvest, Brazilian workers are recruited, above all from the Western half of the state, who are then exploited and subjected to excessive working hours, according to the records of the Land Chaplaincy Commission (RS Interview 2), which indicates the central region of the state of Rio Grande do Sul (Pântano Grande), the North (Três Passos, Humaitá) and Santo Antônio das Missões as locations where rural workers are taken and subjected to situations of exploitation (RS Interview 2). The same applies to workers recruited for logging in the North of the state.

In Paraná, workers are taken from the entire country, or even from Paraguay, for rural work – chopping sugar cane and trees, the *mate* leaf harvest, tomato picking, cattle-farming and civil construction – and end up in a situation of exploitation, above all in the Western region of the state of Paraná (Cascavel, Umuarama, among others), but also in the Southeastern region (Ponta Grossa).

According to information from the PME (PR Interview 11), the recruitment of workers from the North, Northeast and Centre-West of the country for temporary work in the civil construction sector has been observed, mainly in the metropolitan region of Curitiba. The companies

subcontract labour, using other companies that operate by evading employment law (contracts for a maximum of ninety days), exploiting the productive capacity of the workers (excessive working hours) and subjecting them to situations of inadequate accommodation and food.

According to the PME (PR Interview 11), another practice that is becoming increasingly common in the state of Paraná is the recruitment of young girls from small towns in the interior of Paraná, and also from the state of Minas Gerais, to work in restaurants in Curitiba and the metropolitan region, who end up in a situation of labour exploitation. They are placed in accommodation of dubious quality, work without an employment contract and are subjected to excessive working hours.

The PME, the FPM and the Federal Police (PR Interviews 11, 17 and 12) also reported on the situation of Muslim migrants from Bangladesh, India, Nigeria and Pakistan, who are brought irregularly across the borders at Foz do Iguaçu and Guaíra to work in meat-packing plants and carry out halal slaughters in the West of the state (Francisco Beltrão, Cruzeiro do Oeste). These migrants are accommodated in degrading conditions, subjected to excessive working hours and do not have access to employment rights. In 2009, the FPM recorded a procedure in Francisco Beltrão and the surrounding region, involving meat-packing plants suspected of various irregularities and the possible irregular recruitment of foreigners.¹⁰¹ In Santa Catarina, the MLE (SC Interviews 10, 31) reported that from 2006 to 2011, 647 workers were rescued from conditions similar to that of a slave, of whom 37 were children and teenagers. The sectors in which these workers had been exploited were *mate* leaf cultivation, tobacco, onion, tomato, apple, logging and civil construction. The UFSC and the CIMI (SC Interview 27) reported that indigenous workers were being exploited on tobacco plantations in the towns of José Botelho, Vitor Meireles and Rio do Sul, on small agricultural properties in the town of Itaporanga, in apple orchards in Friburgo and in *mate* leaf growing.

Data from the Federal Regional Court of the 4th Region,¹⁰² which covers the states of Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul, referring

¹⁰¹ Extrajudicial Documents on Trafficking in Persons in Paraná (2002-2011). Source: FPM/Single System/APTUS.

¹⁰² Data sent by the National Council for Justice to the National Secretariat for Justice (Department of Justice, Classification, Titles and Qualification) in 2012, on the occasion of the composition of the National Assessment of Trafficking in Persons (Ministry of Justice, 2013).

to the period from 2005 to 2012, show 404 proceedings initiated on foot of art. 149 of the Criminal Code. This number of proceedings exceeds the records for all the other regions in the country. As previously stressed in this Report, this could be for two reasons – either there are more cases of slave labour in the Southern Axis or the cases are better identified and recorded by the criminal justice system.

Nevertheless, a decrease in cases has also been recorded, for example, in Mato Grosso since 2010, raids to identify slave labour have begun to find less cases, and cases that involve lower numbers of workers. The reasons for this are, firstly, the effectiveness of monitoring activities that inhibit the practice, according to the Public Employment Ministry and the Federal Public Ministry (MT Interviews 9 and 13); and secondly, the fact that new forms of labour exploitation, using more subtle methods, are being applied, in the understanding of the Land Chaplaincy Commission (MT Interview 19).

In Rondônia, reports were made by the PME (RO Interview 18) that SINE (National Employment System) agents were suspected of recruiting workers from the Northeast, mainly from Maranhão, to work for the consortia in charge of the Jirau and Santo Antônio hydroelectric power stations. This practice has encouraged incidences of various irregularities, such as workers leaving their state of residence without a signed worker's ID, without the Certificate of Declaration of the Transportation of Workers (CDTT),¹⁰³ as well as the fact that many workers were convinced to falsify their domicile as being in Rondônia, thereby losing negotiated rights to return to their state of origin for holidays and at the end of their employment. Finally, although the institutions interviewed in the states of the border area, mainly those with higher indices of slave labour, allege that there are no data in relation to the incidence of trafficking in persons connected to slave labour, from the description of cases set out in this section, the incidence of trafficking in persons for the purposes of slave labour in the border area is indisputable.

The legal framework on trafficking in persons at Federal level provides for the interpretation of the cases reported as trafficking cases. In this

¹⁰³ This document attests to the MLE's knowledge of the transfer of workers from one state to another by their employer, under the terms of Normative Instruction no. 90 of the MLE on 28 April 2011, which regulates the recruitment of urban workers and their transportation to a location other than their location of origin.

sense, the Secretariat for Labour Inspection of the Ministry of Labour and Employment (LIS/MLE), in accordance with art. 2, para. 4 of the National Policy to Combat Trafficking in Persons and with art. 6 of Normative Instruction no. 91 of the Secretariat for Labour Inspection itself, considers as victims of trafficking in persons for the purposes of slave labour people who are found in a condition similar to that of a slave, for the purposes of the protection of the fundamental rights of the worker and regardless of his/her migration status. In general, it is the public safety institutions that have a certain difficulty in viewing slave labour with the framework of trafficking in persons, due to the lack of criminal legislation covering this. And given that criminal law is exhaustive, because of the principle of legality, indeed public safety agents essentially have their hands tied, and may only classify these situations under art. 149 of the Criminal Code on subjecting someone to a condition similar to that of a slave.

Trafficking in Children and Teenagers for the Purposes of Domestic Servitude and Illegal Adoption

Children and teenagers recruited for domestic work through a form of illegal adoption is a reality in the states of Amazonas, Pará, Rondônia, Mato Grosso do Sul and Mato Grosso. As a rule, they are girls and teenage girls from the interior and the border who come to work in private homes in Manaus, Belém, Porto Velho, Campo Grande or Cuiabá, and even in Cáceres/MT. In Manaus and Porto Velho, it is not clear whether these are in fact cases of trafficking in persons, or isolated cases of children and teenagers who are victims of the exploitation of child labour. Nevertheless, the fact that the children and teenagers are taken from the interior and the border to the cities, combined with exploitation in private homes, seems to present the two elements necessary to constitute child trafficking.

In spite of the absence of criminal records, at the Anti-Trafficking Centre of Amazonas (ATC/AM, AM Visit 12), a participant at the focus group meeting reported knowing of numerous cases of this type of illegal “adoption”.¹⁰⁴ He reported that people who travel regularly between the capital and the towns of the interior act as recruiters, although it should be noted that they do not intend to gain any profit from this mediation.

¹⁰⁴ This practice is referred to in the region as illegal adoption, even though no formal adoption procedure is carried out, just the transportation and accommodation of these children who are taken from the interior to work at residences in the capitals.

They are, for example, female traders, “bag ladies”, who regularly take products (clothing, etc.) to the interior to sell them and who make themselves available in order to introduce children and teenagers from impoverished families in the interior to families who can offer them better living conditions and access to schooling. The interviewees reported that there are cases in which a real integration of these girls into the “adoptive” families takes place, without specifying whether this means that they are not exploited in domestic work. On the other hand, there are other cases in which what is reported is definitely child labour, as well as aggravating circumstances such as restriction of liberty and sexual abuse of these girls by members of the “adoptive” family, and not keeping promises to pay for their education.

In Pará (PA Interview 12), there are accusations that these girls come to the capital thinking that they will go to school, but are obliged to work as domestic servants. They do not receive any remuneration and are sometimes sexually exploited. These cases also constitute child trafficking for domestic servitude.

In Mato Grosso do Sul, the Counselling School, IBISS-CO, the Paraguayan Consulate and the State Committee for Combating Trafficking in Persons of Mato Grosso do Sul (CETRAP, MS Interviews 1, 4, 17 and 26) report that there are families who traffic Brazilian and Paraguayan indigenous girls and teenage girls in order to carry out domestic work in situations similar to slavery. Recruitment by someone close to the family is followed by the transportation and confinement of the girls at the residences where they carry out domestic tasks. These situations of child trafficking for exploitation in domestic work may also result in aggravating circumstances such as the sexual abuse of the victim, as sometimes noted by interviewees.

This form of trafficking is well known and to a certain extent normalised in Amazonas as a form of “informal adoption” of girls and teenagers from locations in the interior to families in the capital, indicating a disturbing acceptance of the crime by elements of Amazonas society.

This type of recruitment of young girls from low-income families with few employment prospects, Brazilians or Bolivians, is even seen as a form of charity, as described by the CETRAP in Mato Grosso (MT Focus

Group Meeting 1). Apart from the origin location of the borders, there are also reports of teenagers trafficked to other states, such as Maranhão, Pará and Acre for this purpose. In Mato Grosso do Sul, the institutions interviewed emphasised the invisible nature of the crime. The Committee for Combating Violence and Defending the Sexual Rights of Children and Teenagers in Mato Grosso do Sul (COMCEX, MS Interview 8) confirms that the exploitation of the labour of children and teenagers for domestic work is commonplace in the state, although it is invisible. This is, therefore, a problem that merits much more attention and the urgent mobilisation of the authorities.

Exploitation in Criminal Activities

In Roraima, Pará, Amapá, Mato Grosso do Sul, Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná, there were reports that people, possible victims of trafficking in persons, were being used for the purposes of involvement in criminal activities, mainly teenagers. In Roraima, indigenous people were identified as being used as “mules” to transport drugs from the Guyanas to Brazil, according to the Consulate of the Republic of Ghana (RR Interview 5), possibly with invalidated consent, which would constitute trafficking. Groups of indigenous people in Mato Grosso do Sul were reported as being coopted on the pretext of working in the pineapple harvest in Paraguay, but on starting this activity they end up being exploited on marijuana plantations and in the cultivation of other drugs, according to the CIMI in Mato Grosso do Sul (MS Interview 3), constituting the means of deception and the purpose of exploitation.

According to information from stakeholders in Pará (PA Interviews 1, 5) and the Legislative Assembly of the State of Pará (2012), women and transgender and transvestite women were trafficked from the state of Pará to São Paulo, and then taken to Europe and obliged to transport illicit substances. In Amapá (AP Interviews), when women are recruited for this form of trafficking in persons, the first contact is generally made by the drug trafficker, as it is estimated that a large proportion of sex workers in that state are drug-users. When they get into debt, some of them are recruited to “try their luck” in Suriname or French Guiana, where, according to their recruiters, they will earn in gold and euros. In order to “pay” for the transportation, they are obliged to take a certain quantity of illicit substances with them.

In Mato Grosso do Sul, the Department of Border Operations (BOD, MS Interview 9) reported that teenagers in the region were being coopted into illegal activities, mainly drug trafficking, where they are referred to as “little ants (*formiguinhas*)” as they transport small quantities of illicit substances. CIBAI-Migrações in Porto Alegre (RS Interview 6) reports that also in the state of Rio Grande do Sul and on the coastline of Santa Catarina, Argentinean and Uruguayan teenagers are recruited and trafficked by Brazilians or compatriots to sell drugs. These teenagers are also exploited as drug mules.

In Paraná, the Public Defenders of the Union and the Public Employment Ministry (PR Interviews 10 and 11) also point to the incidence of trafficking in Brazilian and Paraguayan children and teenagers for criminal activities at the Triple Border, above all in contraband drugs and merchandise.

Another report from Roraima indicates that adults contract teenagers in Venezuela to import merchandise into Brazil without paying tax, according to the Office of the Prosecutor of Justice in Pacaraima (RR Interview 16), which would constitute, according to criminal legislation, the crime of tax evasion. It was not demonstrated, however, whether the teenagers were being exploited or were gaining benefits from these illegal activities.

The Coordination of ENAFRON also reported children of both sexes being used to traffic drugs, especially at the borders with Bolivia and Paraguay, in the states of Acre, Rondônia, Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraná (Questionnaire 1).

These are situations that should be better studied in future research, as there is a very important question of vulnerability in these cases. It is necessary to differentiate between situations in which there is consent and awareness (intent) on the part of the perpetrator of the act to committing an illegal action, from the cases in which what occurs is the abuse of the position of vulnerability of others, subjecting them forcibly, through coercion, deception or other means, to traffic drugs or to engage in other illegal acts, which would constitute exploitation. Although in both situations the person who commits the act is in a position of vulnerability, in the former case, there is informed consent on the part of the person who decides to commit the crime; and in the latter case, the consent is invalidated or inexistent, excluding intent to commit the act.

Particularly in the case of children and teenagers, it could be said that at the very least the crime of corruption of minors is constituted, foreseen in art. 244-B of the Statute of the Child and Adolescent (ECA), which is the act of *“corrupting or facilitating the corruption of a minor under the age of 18 (eighteen) years, committing a criminal infraction with the minor or inducing the minor to commit it.”*

However, as previously set out, this is a topic that needs to be further studied in future research.

Child Trafficking for Exploitation through Begging

Only in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul was a situation reported that has indications of being child trafficking for the purposes of exploitation in begging. The Specialised Reference Centre for Social Assistance (CREAS, MS Interview 24), the Municipal Health Secretariat of Porto Murtinho, and the FTDETP (MS Interview 23) reported that there is a large influx of Paraguayan indigenous children, who are sent to engage in begging, collect tin cans and sell handicrafts, in order to generate an income for their families. Their trip to Brazil is undertaken with this purpose, including to engage in this work at festivals.

This movement could be seen as child labour or as child trafficking for the purposes of exploitation through begging. These children remain in the custody of their families and are usually exploited by their own family members. There was no indication that these children do not return with their parents to their country of origin, nor that they suffer other forms of violence, deception or coercion. Nevertheless, as we have seen, these means are not relevant in cases of child trafficking. This is therefore also a case to be studied in more depth, with more focus on the identification of cases and the definition of this form of exploitation, in a way that would be compatible with Brazilian legislation.

Exploitation of Teenage Boys in Football

In Acre, Paraná and Pará, there were reports of cases of teenage boys trafficked for exploitation as football players abroad. In Acre, a Haitian football player, who played on an Acre team, tried to traffic a 14-year-old Haitian boy to the state of Amapá, but he was intercepted by the Federal Police at Rio Branco airport and immediately arrested.

The Public Employment Ministry of Paraná (PR Interview 11) mentions a similar case of international trafficking of teenage boys for labour exploitation involving football clubs in which they intervened. According to the PME, boys from South Korea were being exploited by a football club in Piraquara, a municipality in the Curitiba metropolitan region. The teenage boys, who had already been through São Paulo and Minas Gerais, had their passports taken, and were at the total mercy of the trainers. The money to be sent to their families was received through the intermediary of the bank account of the football club.

In Pará, the Commission of Parliamentary Inquiry (CPI) on trafficking in persons identified cases of teenage boys who were trafficked to play in the basic divisions of famous teams of the state of São Paulo, with one team even convicted by the Brazilian courts for child labour. This form of trafficking also needs to be the subject of more in-depth research, not least because it was not clear whether it should be framed as labour exploitation, slave labour, child labour or some other form of trafficking.

Servile Marriage

Only in Amapá was there information about cases of trafficking in persons for the purposes of servile marriage. One interviewee in the state spoke of cases in which the initial intention of the victim was to marry a “blue-eyed Frenchman” and enjoy a comfortable life, theoretically provided by French men in French Guiana (AP Interview). This situation is corroborated by the collective imagination that is constructed by girls from a young age, according to which the “gringo” can provide excellent quality of life for them, without them being advised of the concomitant dangers. As the state is a small border state, Brazilians and French people transit regularly between the two countries, meaning that this crime is more easily to commit. The victims carry out domestic work for their French spouse, who keeps their documents and obliges them to obey his will, under threat, and by, for example, prohibiting the victim from studying, working and/or seeing their children.

4.2 Profiles of Trafficked People

Even when statistics on the phenomenon are available, defining the profiles of trafficked people is an extremely difficult task, due to the variety of profiles with regard to sex, gender identity, age, race, ethnicity,

origin, sexuality, economic situation, etc., that can be observed from the reports of cases obtained in the border area, and the different forms of exploitation. The FPD emphasises the variety in the profiles of victims, in particular in relation to race and ethnicity (Questionnaire 2). The fact, discussed above, that cases recorded in the statistics are just the tip of the iceberg, makes the identification of profiles even more difficult.

There is no one single profile, but rather certain forms of exploitation demand specific profiles. Nevertheless, the profiles of trafficked people identified in the border area are not too different from those of trafficked people in the rest of the country, as will be discussed in what follows. It is also important to highlight that they are not characteristics that should be generalised for two reasons. Firstly, trafficking in persons follows the demands of the market, and therefore, as the market is dynamic, the profile of victims also changes. Secondly, research on trafficking in persons carried out in Brazil to date, including the present Assessment, did not analyse information quantitatively or as representative of reality, but rather focused on qualitative information that is indicative of reality, due to the hidden nature and the under-recording of the phenomenon.

A common characteristic with regard to trafficked people is a situation of vulnerability that may predispose them to being recruited for trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation, slave labour and other forms. In general, a precarious financial situation, low levels of schooling and professional qualifications and problems in the context of communities of origin (such as, for example, a lack of acceptance of one's sexuality or gender identity) are suggested by the institutions consulted. In the case of women, teenagers and children, there are the aggravating circumstances of exploitation and violence perpetrated within the family context.

Generally, what is observed is that the groups that are most vulnerable to trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation in the border area are women; transvestite and transgender women; teenage girls and young adult women; Brazilian and foreign women (particularly Paraguayans); with low levels of schooling, from the most impoverished classes and in a condition of social vulnerability. Some adult women already worked as sex workers before they were recruited into trafficking,

according to the FPD (Questionnaire 2). Others had precarious jobs or jobs that require low levels of education.

The Federal stakeholders (Questionnaires) unanimously emphasised the existence of more female victims. According to the FPD, for example, trafficked people comprise a majority of females, very young adults, (from 18 to 30 years old), only have education up to middle school and come from the lower middle class or low-income families. In the case of men, the majority is from the lower middle class or low-income families and has little schooling - they have rarely completed secondary school.

In Acre, the focus is on trafficking in children and teenagers for the purposes of sexual exploitation. The victims are from low-income families, live in the peripheries of cities and the majority is female. According to the interviewee from the Legislative Assembly, the social exclusion experienced by children and teenagers in Acre is a decisive factor that renders them vulnerable to recruitment by trafficking networks. The State Secretariat for Social Development (AC Interview 11), as the coordinator of the CREAS in the state, regularly visits the municipalities of Acre, and states that the situation of trafficking in teenagers for the purposes of sexual exploitation is concrete, even if there are no statistics on the cases.

According to the information obtained from the families of victims by the specialised social assistance services of Acre, teenage girls and possibly women, trafficked to Peru, are rescued through mediation by relatives with the managers of brothels. There are also indigenous women and teenage girls resident in the city of Assis Brasil - with a concentration of 1,459 people of Jaminawa, Machineri, Kaxinawá, Yauanauwá and Shanenawa ethnicity (Government of Acre, 2011), who fall victim to networks of trafficking for sexual exploitation, as the SEDS reports (AC Interview 11):

“That has indeed happened with a teenage indigenous girl - if I am not mistaken, she is one of the Machineri people, who you’ll also find on the Peruvian side - and she got involved in drugs, then they forced her to prostitute herself in order to pay her bill for drugs and to support her addiction. (...) the Brazilian Machineri, they negotiated the removal of the girl from there. You see? They didn’t have help from the police or anything (TT).”

Apparently they do not count on any help from the authorities in assisting victims, nor any investigation of the traffickers. According to the National Indians' Foundation (FUNAI) (AC Interview 1) and the Secretariat for Social Defence of Acre (AC Interview 11), these teenage indigenous girls and women are recruited outside of the indigenous villages, due to an “acculturation” process that has been taking place, whereby the indigenous people leave their lands to go and live in cities. The FUNAI (AC Interview 1) stresses the vulnerability of these indigenous populations. Also in Acre, according to the AHAC (AC Interview 3), there are transvestite and transgender teenage girls and young women, from a poor socio-economic background, who suffer from conflicts with the family and family break-ups, who also fall victim to trafficking in persons for sexual exploitation.

In Roraima, there is a focus on the trafficking of teenage girls and women who are taken to the mines in Venezuela and Guyana for the purposes of sexual exploitation, although in the case of the adult women, it is not clear from the interviews whether they are victims of trafficking in persons, victims of sexual exploitation, or sex workers. Teenage girls are usually recruited with promises that they will work as dancers and earn a lot of money, taking advantage of the situation of vulnerability of these people (Santos, 2010).

Among the Afro-Brazilians of the municipality of Curiaú,¹⁰⁵ there are cases that are also of great concern for the ATC in Amapá (AP Interview), as there are indications that this population is directly recruited to be taken to the municipality of Oiapoque. Another problem reported in Curiaú/AP is a form of demand for the “exotic and typically Brazilian” beauty of many women from this town, a mixture of indigenous and African traits.

In Pará, the stakeholders interviewed (PA Interviews 1, 5, 16, 23) and the Report of the CPI on trafficking in persons in the state (Legislative Assembly of the State of Pará, 2012) highlight the case of transgender and transvestite people with a feminine gender identity who are trafficked to São Paulo and Goiás, with promises of undergoing gender reassignment surgery at illegal clinics, known as “*bombadeiras*” (pumpers). Also in Pará, women and girls who are recruited generally live in the outskirts of Belém

¹⁰⁵ The town of Curiaú, situated 12 km from Macapá, is a town where there is a *quilombola* population (descended from runaway slaves), who are the only inhabitants of the small town.

or in river-bank communities, particularly in the Marajó Archipelago (PA Interviews 1, 2, 5, 13, 16, 23).

With regard to slave labour, what is observed is that the most vulnerable groups to trafficking in persons for the purposes of slave labour in the border area are teenage boys and men, aged between 12 and 40 years, with an average age of 32½ years, with low levels of schooling and from rural areas. The data gathered in the interviews for this research coincide with ILO data (2009; 2011) in respect of the profile of slave workers rescued in Brazil. The Public Employment Ministry of Acre (AC Interview 15) describes this profile:

“Normally semi-literate, here we very much have the figure of the black person, we have the figure of the caboclo, who is a mixture of the Indian with the mestizo of the Northeast. So normally they are semi-literate people, who have primary level education at the most. Workers who normally have never had a formal employment relationship. People who live in the outskirts of Rio Branco (...) normally the sons of rural workers (...) men and youths from twenty to thirty, thirty-five years old. There are also many cases of elderly people, but the most common is from twenty to thirty-five years old (TT).”

The PME in Rondônia (RO Interview 18) reinforces this profile when they state that the victims of slave labour are men, generally illiterate or with low levels of education, recruited from the interior of the state or from other states in Brazil, who may be trafficked for the purposes of slave labour on the cattle ranches and in the agricultural activities of Rondônia.

In Amazonas (AM Interview 6), according to the PME, the targets of the exploitation are Brazilian men from the towns of the interior, and it seems that they are exploited not far from their regions of origin. In Mato Grosso, for sugar-cane cutting, when it is still conducted manually, it is necessary to engage people with prior experience, usually specialised workers from the producing regions, such as Pernambuco and Alagoas. For the other economic activities, urban residents are recruited, from peripheral regions and without access to formal employment.

Mato Grosso do Sul has broken with the paradigm of the male victim of slave labour and has started to record women trafficked for

the purposes of slave labour in the textile industry and in the agricultural zone. The CETRAP (MS Interview 26), based on the experience of the Women's March and the Peasants' League, reported discrimination arising from the extremely masculine working space of the agricultural zones, in which women are subjected to control exerted exclusively by men and, frequently, subjected to double exploitation, working in the fields and in the sex market.

In Santa Catarina, the emphasis is on the number of teenagers found in a situation of slave labour, where, out of 647 workers rescued between 2006 and 2012, 37 were children and teenagers, corresponding to 5.7%, a percentage that is higher than the national average of rescued teenagers, which, according to the ILO (2011), is 1.7%.

In Pará, the State Civil Police and the ATC/PA (PA Interviews 1, 5) observed that a large proportion of people who are identified as victims of trafficking in persons do not recognise themselves as such. The same is true of workers rescued in MLE operations in Mato Grosso do Sul, who do not consider themselves to be victims and complain that they have lost their "jobs" due to the raids. IBISS (MS Interviews 3, 12) stresses that many rescued workers return to the situation of exploitation and living conditions similar to slavery, due to the absence of public policies to promote employment opportunities that comply with employment law and human rights.

In Amapá, the ATC/AP (AP Interview) emphasises the position of vulnerability of victims in general, and above all of people recruited in the states of Amazonas, Pará and Maranhão. These people are most likely to be taken to Laranjal do Jarí and Vitória do Jarí to work on the large rural landholdings there. The issue of the exploitation and trafficking of indigenous Brazilians has also been of concern to the authorities, in relation to various forms of exploitation. What preoccupies the authorities are the vast dimensions of the lands, where there are indigenous reservations and therefore the state is not present, not to mention the means of monitoring the border. They report that indigenous people do not recognise the border limits, due to issues dating back to before the drawing of the borders and linked to the use of land, leaving the space open for irregular crossings.

The same is true for Mato Grosso do Sul, where, for some Guarani groups, crossing the imaginary line does not constitute migration and

travel is a form of cultural expression. Yet it is seen by the State Secretariat for Employment and Social Assistance (SETAS) and by the State Council for the Rights of Children and Adolescents (CEDCA) as a risk factor for these indigenous groups, making them more vulnerable to situations of trafficking in persons (MS Interview 18).

Child domestic servitude disproportionately affects female children and teenagers. While the majority of victims of child labour in Brazil are teenage boys, in relation to domestic work, in 94% of the cases the victim is female (Repórter Brasil, 2013). This overrepresentation demonstrates a gender bias linked to different working activities, based on traditional ideas on the role of girls and women.

In Mato Grosso do Sul, domestic servitude affects young indigenous Paraguayan girls, according to the Paraguayan Consulate (MS Interview 19) and IBISS-CO (MS Interview 4). In Acre, there was a particularly interesting report from the Department of Social Protection of the Municipal Secretariat for Citizenship and Social Assistance of Rio Branco (SEMCAS) (AC Interview 6) with regard to the vulnerabilities of, for example, people living on the street. The interviewee spoke of the arrival of immigrants of other nationalities in Acre, living on the street, who had travelled through towns and cities in the Southeast Region, and who travel to the border in Acre in order to return to their countries of origin. These immigrants mainly come from the Southeast Region, particularly the states of Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. From the point-of-view of these interviewees, this was a population that was extremely vulnerable to trafficking in persons, something that was not a concern for the stakeholders interviewed in other states, possibly due to the invisibility of the street population.

In Pará and Mato Grosso do Sul, the vulnerability of transvestite and transgender people of female gender identity was identified as a potential for trafficking in persons. Initially, their trips generally begin when they make their gender identity public, a time when they may suffer violence and discrimination, which can push them out of their locations and communities of origin. Thereafter, they may become involved in prostitution, paying for their “corner” (a sort of fee in order to work as a prostitute in a particular location “dominated” by a pimp), accommodation in a particular house and financial assistance in order

to emigrate and undergo gender reassignment surgery (“doing up your body”) or paying for some other type of physical transformation (e.g., hormones) to intermediaries is common practice, in the understanding of some of these people, even if it is not in accordance with legislation. As the ATMS and the ANTRA in Mato Grosso do Sul understand it (MS Interview 19), these are practices that can constitute a simple “exchange of favours” (which should be paid pack like any other debt). This vision is shared by the ADEDH in Santa Catarina.

The limit of what is acceptable, or the principle of violence, lies in the undue charging of sexual services in order to pay the debts, in the abuse of the situation of vulnerability, in violence, illegal imprisonment, seizing documents and in the international transfer of people for sexual exploitation, where finally trafficking in persons takes place. Yet until the phase of the exchange of favours, these institutions that defend the human rights of this vulnerable group do not see them as victims of any form of exploitation. Nevertheless, according to the Palermo Protocol and this methodology, the facilitation of travel and exploitation in the sex market are sufficient to constitute a case of trafficking when teenagers are involved, while in the case of adults, it is also necessary to establish the occurrence of one of the means of trafficking in persons.

Furthermore, in Mato Grosso do Sul, there are reports that the agrarian conflict has caused many vulnerabilities for which State solutions have not been presented. There are, according to the CIMI (MS Interview 3), thirty campsites or more inhabited by indigenous people at the side of the road. It is relatively frequent for children and adults to be knocked down by cars and, according to another institution, IBISS-CO (MS Interview 4), Guarani and Aioréw teenage girls and young women, in a context of few prospects and of violence, may be easily coopted by truck-drivers and other men who take advantage of their condition of vulnerability and take them far away from their villages. Many never return.

And in Mato Grosso, the interviewees spoke about the various situations of risk and violence to which sex workers who are recruited for trafficking in persons are exposed (women and transvestite and transgender women). Some start to be exploited in the sex market during their adolescence or childhood (almost 90% of cases, according to the Reference Centre for Human Rights) (MT Interview 16), are young,

between 16 and 25 years old, have already been victims of aggression and psychological violence, have between five and six years of schooling and have not completed primary school, do not live with their families and live in houses of prostitution and sexual exploitation, do not manage to gain access to the labour market outside of the sex market due to their low schooling and qualifications, are vulnerable to the use and minor trafficking of drugs, and a low percentage are users of crack cocaine.

To summarise, a situation of extreme social and economic vulnerability is the common characteristic among trafficked people, regardless of the form of exploitation. Financial problems, difficulties in social inclusion, a lack of opportunities and difficulties in integration into the labour market, a lack of preparation for the labour market, unemployment, low-income families, low levels of schooling and discrimination are common causes in the states of the border areas, which mean that people from this region are in situations of vulnerability to trafficking in persons.

Reinforcing the situation of vulnerability of trafficked people, a researcher at UNICAMP (Questionnaire 14) underlines the exposure of these people to increased risk when they are identified as criminals or criminalised, which is most common with sex workers and undocumented immigrants. It is the transfer of the problem of decent work and access to social rights to the issue of migration and crime.

4.3 *Modus Operandi* of Criminal Groups and Agents

The importance of understanding *modus operandi* in the border area, as set out above, particularly in relation to prevention, is related to identifying the places where prevention campaigns can be undertaken, where police stations, border posts and migrant assistance centres should be set up and to better understand the phenomenon and thereby be able to work in a more decisive way to combat it.

Firstly, it is important to stress the lack of information on *modus operandi* in the case of the crime of trafficking in persons. No criminal analysis studies have been carried out specifically on this topic, nor documental research on police investigations or court proceedings that would allow for a representative analysis of this issue. The stakeholders interviewed, for their part, have difficulties in describing the way trafficking operates, and so speak based on the cases in which they have operated.

This means that there are no documental studies or criminal analysis that could provide the foundations for a discussion on the *modus operandi* for the crime of trafficking in persons, but rather isolated observations of the reality from those who operate within the criminal justice system. However, although the information is not representative, it is possible to formulate conclusions that will be presented here.¹⁰⁶

In the border area, it has been observed that in the beginning, groups of traffickers, represented by recruiters, identify areas of vulnerability, where the socio-economic conditions of the residents are not favourable and people are interested in migrating internally or internationally. Recruitment tends to take place in quite a natural and commonplace way, through people known to the future victim or even members of their own family. However, in the case of slave labour, the recruiters – or *gatos* – normally do not have a personal relationship with the recruited workers.

Promises of study, work, money and even marriage are the proposals made to convince people to be trafficked. In a proportion of cases of sexual exploitation, there is some knowledge that the trip will be for the purposes of working as a sex worker, according to reports by the FPD, FRPD, AGR/FACR and a researcher from the UNB (Questionnaires 2, 3, 12, 13).

Thereafter, the transportation takes place by land or river, both for international and internal trafficking, due to the privileged geographic position of the Brazilian border area, and the proximity of other South American countries. Illegal modes of movement are also used, but in the border area, it is not necessary to run this risk because regular routes are poorly monitored and controlled, meaning that the traffickers do not expose themselves to risks and are not afraid of being caught by the police. Buses are also a means of transport used for trafficking in persons in the region, according to the Federal Roads Police in the states of the border area. Air transport is only used in exceptional cases, in the case of long-distance international trafficking, such as to European countries.

106 Ideally, a study on the *modus operandi* of a particular crime is conducted on the basis of an analysis of a specific number of police investigations and court proceedings, which are selected at random and can therefore be considered representative of a given reality. It is in the investigations and court proceedings that the *modus operandi* is discussed with a wealth of detail, as this information is extremely important for the definition of the crime and for sentencing, if there is a conviction. Therefore, this section is restricted to a superficial analysis of the *modus operandi* of trafficking in persons in the border area and mainly serves to suggest to anti-trafficking stakeholders that they should carry out other studies specifically on this issue.

The locations of sexual exploitation are generally places where there is a great circulation of Brazilians and foreigners, many tourists, including fishing tourists; bars; boats; brothels, set up not only in cities and towns, especially those undergoing large-scale construction works or that are close to areas where there is intensive mining of natural resources (minerals, gold), but also in mining areas and places that are referred to as “corners”, where clients can be obtained in a public place. Physical violence, threats to victims or their relatives in order to avoid runaways and guarantee the payment of the debts imposed, obliging victims to take drugs in order to handle their work, or excessive working hours, are some of the rights violations mentioned by the FPD, FRPD, AGR/FACR and a researcher from the UNB (Questionnaires 2, 3, 12, 13).

These reports of exploitation in mining areas, due to their peculiar characteristic as “building sites”, refer to great violence and the almost complete absence of public services to identify victims or provide them with assistance. There are reports that sexual exploitation is overseen by other more experienced sex workers, who have contacts with, for example, people with political and/or economic influence or with the police, as reported particularly in Mato Grosso.

In the case of slave labour, the locations of exploitation are the same places where the various forms of economic exploitation in the region take place; large-scale construction works, large ranches, with cattle farming and agriculture and locations where minerals and gold are mined, among others.

Yet the diversity and variety of *modus operandi* is a characteristic feature of the region, even though the phases covering the three elements (act, means, purpose) are common to all the states, as well as the abuse of the position of vulnerability of the trafficked person. In what follows, we will examine the peculiarities of the *modus operandi* found in the states of the border area.

Sexual Exploitation

In Acre, according to the CPI of the Legislative Assembly (AC Interview 18), there is a record of an organised network that recruits teenagers for parties in private places, such as ranches and farms situated in the capital, for the purposes of sexual exploitation. The social actors who benefit directly or indirectly from the sex market, and certainly

from trafficking in persons with the purpose of sexual exploitation, are the owners of niteclubs in the destination regions and countries, and the taxi-drivers and other service-providers who transport people as far as the border (RS Interviews 7 and 16). The Secretary for Social Defence of the State of Acre (AC Interview 11), for example, outlines how the recruitment and transportation of women and teenage girls to the cities of Cobija (Bolivia) and Inãpari (Peru), where they are inserted into a network of sexual exploitation, is commonly carried out by taxi-drivers from the cities and towns of Brasiléia, Epitaciolândia, Assis Brasil and Rio Branco, all in Acre. The overland routes, along the Federal roads BR-365 and BR-317, and the river-borne routes, are most commonly used due to the difficulty the FRP and the Brazilian Army has in monitoring them (AC Interview 14).

In Roraima, in proceedings of the Office of the Prosecutor of the Republic (RR Interview 10), there is information on women and men who recruit women in the state of Roraima in the city of Rorainópolis, a municipality in the south of the state. They are then trafficked to niteclubs in Georgetown (Republic of Guyana) and Santa Elena de Uairén (Venezuela), as well as to Brazilian mining regions.

The Liaison Officer in Georgetown in Roraima (RR Interview 23) reveals that: *“many girls arrive knowing exactly what they will do, they want to do it, and they are there with the intention of working in the activity of prostitution, however, as soon as they are in Guyana, the treatment regime changes. She is not a person working autonomously. She sometimes falls into the hands of people who use violence or threats to gain profits from their activity (TT)”*.

He also told of the case of a Brazilian woman who spent some time being sexually exploited in Guyana. She went with the deliberate intention to work as a sex worker, but when she arrived there, her passport was taken, she got into debt for accommodation and food, and was forced to use drugs.

In the same way in Amapá, the victims are recruited in Brazil, by relatives or acquaintances, and they continue on to French Guiana, knowing that they are going to work as sex workers, with the objective of improving their living conditions (AP Interview). An interesting revelation

is the role that radio centres play in communication, and possibly also in recruitment, in mining areas (Oliveira, 2011: 195):

“Information on the demand for new Brazilian women for the cabaret clubs in the corrupt regions is passed on through communication between the radio centres of the mines and the centres that exist in various Brazilian municipalities (notably situated in the North region of the country). So, when they receive the information, the person responsible for coopting new girls, with the help of girls who already work in this activity, seeks to recruit new Brazilian girls willing to work in the sex market in the Venezuelan, Guyanese and Surinamese mines (TT).”

In Roraima (RR Interview 23), women in the age bracket between 35 and 40 years old were identified as recruiters. Some already had some history of prostitution and the profile of having managed to make some money, and therefore they started to earn commission by recruiting younger women. Normally they are women of Brazilian nationality, from the state of Roraima itself. In Pará, the profile is also similar: women who have even already been trafficked and who now use their “success stories” to attract new opportunities and victims (PA Interviews 1, 2, 5, 13, 16, 23).

In the exploitation of children and teenage girls in Mato Grosso do Sul, their parents were indicated as being the most frequent recruiters. The Counselling School (MS Interview 1) stated that in all of the municipalities, especially those that border Paraguay, the mothers of the teenage girls attended to by the PAIR are the recruiters/traffickers. This is confirmed by the CREAS of Porto Murtinho/MS (MS Interview 24).

Just as in Acre, in Mato Grosso do Sul and in Santa Catarina, trafficked transvestite and transgender people are recruited by other transvestites or transgender people or by acquaintances, including former victims of trafficking persons.

A mechanism used to force or deceive victims, apart from threats and violence in the most serious cases, is debt bondage, from debts that arise from costs such as transportation, accommodation, food, paying for the “corner”, potentially surgeries or treatments (in the case of transgender

women). The debts are paid back by means of a percentage charged from the earnings of the victim in the sex market when they arrive at the destination, frequently with interest rates that are increasingly higher and impossible to service.

Slave Labour

In the case of slave labour, the stakeholders revealed that the recruitment of workers living in Rio Branco in Acre, or in the other interior towns of the state, is carried out at a pre-determined location, generally by an employee of the owners of the ranches, who takes over not only the act of recruitment but also that of transporting the workers to the locations of the labour exploitation. In Santa Catarina, the same information is found, where recruiters are contracted by large ranchers in agri-business (wood, *mate* leaves, tomato or tobacco plantations, or apple orchards), the people who are the main organisers of the exploitation network.

The recruitment occurs in small, semi-rural towns or in villages and the workers are taken to be exploited in a location unknown to the family, sometimes without any contact with them, making it difficult to report it to the authorities.

In the evaluation of the PME of Amazonas (AM Interview 6) and of Santa Catarina (SC Interview 24), from the North to the South of the country there are frequent situations that include the figure of the recruiters (“gatos”), normally exposed to the same degrading working conditions as the victims: low-quality - or lack of - accommodation, food and sanitary facilities, as well as excessive working hours and payments that are different to those that were agreed, without any legal formalities.

In Mato Grosso, the figure of the *gato* was also identified, with subcontractors recruiting and transporting workers from various regions in the Northeast of the country, especially from Maranhão and Piauí. The *Atlas do Trabalho Escravo no Brasil* (Atlas of Slave Labour in Brazil), for example, indicates the absolute predominance of workers from Maranhão, the West of Pará and the region of the Bico do Papagaio (Tocantins), between 1996 and 2006, regions that also constitute the majority of domiciles of the workers after they are rescued from situations of slavery (Théry, Hato, Mello and Girardi, 2009).

In Mato Grosso, the practices of transportation and accommodation for the purposes of labour exploitation are commonly associated with deception or forms of coercion and restriction of liberty. Deception is particularly associated with promises of remuneration that are not kept, inadequate conditions of accommodation and charges related to transportation and meals, as well as debt bondage. In the Northern region of the state, where the centre of reference is the municipality of Alta Floresta, the great distances between the workplaces and the urban regions create conditions of isolation, of restriction of freedom of movement (when the employer does not make available or charges unreasonable sums for the transportation of workers to urban centres) and, consequently, of rights violations.

The Civil Police of the state of Amapá (AP Interview) speaks of a network for the recruitment of workers for illegal mines, for French Guiana, with the existence of intermediary “agencies” for recruitment. The authorities interviewed in that state mention their great concern in relation to the bridge that was to be opened between Oiapoque (Amapá) and the city of Saint Georges (French Guiana). The construction of this bridge means that in the future, transit will be even easier, which could also facilitate trafficking in persons.

What should be emphasised is the situation of vulnerability of the victims in their place of origin and the abuse of this situation, which is observed in all of the processes of recruitment identified in the border area. Payments are charged for carrying out the transportation, as if it was a form of employment contract, where the supposed employee contracted (the trafficked person) finds themselves obliged to pay the debt when they arrive in the place of destination, and subjected to the various forms of exploitation that are imposed upon them.

4.4 Criminal Acts Committed in Conjunction with Trafficking in Persons

The criminal acts most commonly reported by the stakeholders interviewed in the border states for this research, and which are committed in conjunction with trafficking in persons, are the abuse of a child or teenager (Art. 136 Criminal Code - CC), corruption of minors (Art. 218 of the CC), the promotion of prostitution or another form of

sexual exploitation of a vulnerable person (Art. 218 A of the CC), the promotion of prostitution or another form of sexual exploitation (Art. 228 of the CC), brothel-keeping (Art. 229 of the CC), pimping (Art. 230 of the CC), prostitution or sexual exploitation of a child or teenager (Art. 224-A of the Statute of the Child and Adolescent - ECA), apart from other crimes against children and teenagers, such as the sale or transfer of a child or teenager through payment or the promise of compensation (Art. 238 of the ECA). Possession or trafficking of drugs (foreseen in Law no. 11,346/2006), and trading and/or importing firearms (foreseen in Law no. 10,826/2003) were also mentioned. Apart from these, the Federal stakeholders interviewed for this Assessment emphasised the crime of contraband or customs evasion (Art. 334 of the CC) and the crime of money laundering (Law no. 9,613 of 3 March 1998).

However, the emphasis is on brothel-keeping, pimping and drug trafficking, in relation to the frequency with which these criminal acts are committed in conjunction with trafficking in persons, commonly reported above all in the states of Pará, Amapá, Acre, Mato Grosso do Sul, Mato Grosso and Santa Catarina.

Nevertheless, no studies or research have been undertaken on national territory in order to relate the criminal acts of trafficking in persons and slave labour to the other criminal acts that are frequently the means to an end. For example, false documents is a common criminal act in the case of the international trafficking of children and teenagers, who need a document to prove that they had reached the age of majority, or the authorisation of the person who has custody, in order to cross international borders, when they are controlled. However, the incidence of this being committed in conjunction with trafficking in persons has not yet been studied.

Furthermore, during the field research missions in all of the states, the various stakeholders stressed the relationship between drug trafficking and trafficking in persons, highlighting the situation of victims of trafficking in persons who are obliged to transport illegal substances. However, there are again no studies on this relationship, nor on this form of trafficking in general, which means that this is an issue that requires more attention from criminal justice and academia.

4.5 Trafficking Routes

Trafficking routes are itineraries or places where there is a recurrence of recruitment, transportation, accommodation, transit, etc., of people and of exploitation, or journeys undertaken repeatedly by victims and traffickers. According to the FPD (Questionnaire 2), specific routes do not exist, as any place where there is intermunicipal or international passenger traffic may be considered a route. People have the right to come and go, even between certain foreign States, in accordance with international free movement agreements.

The correct approach, therefore, is to speak of locations where cases of recruitment, transportation or transit have been identified, or places where situations of exploitation of trafficked people have been identified. This means that the purpose of describing routes is not to determine the geographic space where this crime takes place, from recruitment to exploitation at the final destination, but rather to describe geographic spaces of vulnerability and places where people are potentially being victimised by the crime of trafficking in persons and its various forms of exploitation.

In this context, it is important to highlight the perception of the Coordination of ENAFRON (Questionnaire 1), according to whom the border itself in general is a space of vulnerability; and above all the twin towns. The possibility of entering and leaving Brazilian territory, overland and by river in the border area, considering the immense border with the other countries of South America, provides for enormous interaction between peoples and facilitates people's transit, whether they are trafficked or not. Nevertheless, trafficking in persons has a higher incidence in the states of Amapá, Roraima, Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul. According to the FPD (Questionnaire 2), the low cost of travel, which is normally undertaken by bus or private cars, as well as the fact that it is not necessary to have a passport in order to travel to most of the border countries - an ID card is sufficient - are factors that contribute to the incidence of trafficking in persons in the region.

For the AGR/FACR, as with any criminal activity, trafficking in persons exists in and moves to places where there is less monitoring or where monitoring activities are poor, in line with what is common for criminal

organisations (Questionnaire 12). Therefore, this section summarises these “routes”, mainly for the purposes of sexual exploitation and slave labour, as they were described in the reports on the field research in the 11 border states. It is important to note, however, that, just as is the case with migration flows, trafficking routes are transitory and are directly related to the forms of economic exploitation and means of travel and transportation in the region.

The main source of information is the interviews with stakeholders from the anti-trafficking network in the states,¹⁰⁷ who, for their part, speak about trafficking cases that they have responded to, or about which they have received information; places where there is the highest incidence of the crime, in its various forms of exploitation, according to statistics or to their perception of the phenomenon, or they describe the regions or the municipalities with indicators of vulnerability (socioeconomic indicators or indicators related to the characteristics of specific groups) in the respective states.

Tables 5 to 12 present, in summarised form, the areas of vulnerability and risk of trafficking in persons in the states of the border area.

¹⁰⁷ The agendas for the field research in the states can be found in Appendix II.

Table 5: Areas of vulnerability and risk of the incidence of trafficking in persons – Acre and Rondônia

Group	Place of Origin	Transit	Place of Destination	Form of Trafficking in Persons	
Children and Teenagers	Rio Branco, Assis Brasil (AC)	Brasiléia, Epitaciolândia and Assis Brasil (AC)	Peru (Iñapari, Porto Maldonado and Cuzco) Bolivia (Cobija and Cochabamba)	Sexual Exploitation	
	Brasiléia and Epitaciolândia (AC)	XX ²	Bolivia (Cobija and Cochabamba)		
Women	Porto Velho (RO)	Rio Branco and Brasiléia (AC)	Peru (Iñapari, Porto Maldonado) Bolivia (Cobija)		
	Assis Brasil (AC)	XX	Peru (Iñapari, Porto Maldonado and Cuzco) Bolivia (Bolpebra)		
	Rio Branco and interior towns of Acre	Peru (Iñapari, Porto Maldonado) Bolivia (Cobija)	Peru (Cuzco) Bolivia (Santa Cruz de la Sierra and Cochabamba)		
	Rio Branco (AC) and Porto Velho (RO)	XX	Foz do Iguaçú, Curitiba, Guaira and Paranaguá (PR)		
Transvestites, Transexuals and Transgender People	Tarauacá, Brasiléia and Cruzeiro do Sul (AC)	Rio Branco/AC	Cuiabá (MT) Belo Horizonte (MG) Curitiba and Foz do Iguaçú (PR)		
	Rio Branco (AC)	XX	Italy and Spain		
Men (Rural Workers)	Acre, Northeast Region	XX	Rondônia		Labour Exploitation
	Interior towns of Rondônia	XX	Porto Velho (RO)		
	Interior towns of Acre	XX	Rio Branco (AC)		
	Rio Branco (AC)	XX	Lábria (AM)		
Haitians	Brasiléia (AC)	XX	Rio Grande do Sul		

In Acre, in the case of sexual exploitation, it is very common to see children and teenagers originating in the cities and towns of Rio Branco, Assis Brasil, Brasiléia and Epitaciolândia being trafficked to the cities and towns of Iñapari, Puerto Maldonado and Cuzco in Peru, and Cobija and Cochabamba in Bolivia. Adult women originate in the cities and towns of Porto Velho/RO, Assis Brasil, Rio Branco and the interior towns of Acre, and are trafficked to Iñapari and Puerto Maldonado in Peru, and Cobija, Bolpebra, Santa Cruz de la Sierra and Cochabamba in Bolívia.

Transvestite and transgender people trafficked for sexual exploitation go from the towns of Tarauacá, Brasiléia, Cruzeiro do Sul to Cuiabá/MT, Belo Horizonte/MG, Curitiba/PR and Foz do Iguacu/PR. They also leave from the city of Rio Branco/AC to Western Europe, mainly to Italy and Spain. Men, who are commonly victims of slave labour, are trafficked from Acre to Rondônia, above all due to the hydroelectric power plant construction works of Jirau and Santo Antônio. In Rondônia, mainly in the case of slave labour, rural regions, especially those linked to illegal deforestation activities in order to open up land for pasture, and large construction works, such as the Jirau and Santo Antonio power plants, are areas of vulnerability that attract workers mainly from Acre and the Northeast of Brazil.

Table 6: Areas of vulnerability and risk of the incidence of trafficking in persons – Amazonas and Roraima

Group	Place of Origin	Transit	Place of Destination	Form of Trafficking in Persons
Women	Manaus (AM), Boa Vista (RR)	BR-174, Bonfim (RR), Lethem (Guyana)	Rep. Guyana (Georgetown)	Sexual Exploitation
			Venezuela (Caracas, Santa Elena de Uairen)	
	Manaus (AM), Roraima	XX	Paracaima, Venezuela (Km 88, El Callao, El Dorado, Tumeremo)	
	Manaus (AM), Roraima	XX	Suriname, Netherlands, Spain	
	Roraima	XX	Puerto Ordaz, Puerto de la Cruz and Margarita	

Table 7: Areas of vulnerability and risk of the incidence of trafficking in persons – Pará and Amapá

Group	Place of Origin	Transit	Place of Destination	Form of Trafficking in Persons
Women	Baetetuba, Barcarena and Belém (including the metropolitan area - Icoaraci, Outeiro, Mosqueiro, etc)	Suriname	Suriname and Europe (Hungary, Czech Republic and the Netherlands)	Sexual Exploitation
	Bragança (PA), Macapá (AP)	Oiapoque (AP)	French Guiana	
	Costa do Maranhão, Marajó Archipelago (PA)	Porto de Santana (AP), Oiapoque (AP)	French Guiana and Suriname	
	Breves Strait - Marajó Archipelago (PA)	XX	Metropolitan Region of Belém	
	Northeast (Maranhão)	Oiapoque	Saint Georges (French Guiana) and Paramaribo (Suriname)	
Transvestites, Transexuals and Transgender People	Belém	São Paulo	Europe (Spain and Portugal)	
Men	Currálinho (PA)	French Guiana	France	Labour Exploitation
	Municipalities of the North of Pará	XX	Vitória do Jari and Laranjal do Jari (AP)	

In Venezuela, the twin town of Santa Elena de Uairén is just the first town among many others located along the Troncal 10 road, which have various brothels and niteclubs, characterised as places where the network of trafficking in women is active - among them are Km 88, El Callao, El Dorado, Tumeremo, Puerto Ordaz, Puerto de la Cruz and Margarita (Pimentel & Oliveira, 2007; Oliveira, 2011; 2012). They are the same routes travelled by sex workers, who migrate in search of better opportunities in the bars and niteclubs of the region, where there is a demand as it is a mining area.

In Pará, although there are many areas of vulnerability, some are more commonly cited by the stakeholders interviewed, and many of them have a connection with the state of Amapá, due to its privileged geographic location. Whenever the transportation is overland, the recruiters use the Northern border, especially the municipality of Oiapoque, in order to reach French Guiana (Saint Georges) and Suriname (Paramaribo).

According to the Civil Police and the Public Ministry of Pará, there is a route going from the triangle of Baetetuba, Barcarena and Belém (including the metropolitan region - Icoaraci, Outeiro, Mosqueiro, etc) with a transit point or destination in Suriname, and then onwards in the direction of Europe. This is a highly complex route, because first it is internal trafficking that takes place. During the trip to Belém, the victims are sometimes already exploited; then, some leave directly for Europe, their main destinations being Hungary and the Czech Republic, while other victims are taken to Suriname and from there to the Netherlands.¹⁰⁸

Cases have also been recorded of people who depart from the Northeast (Maranhão), always using roads in order to reach the municipality of Oiapoque, where people are again taken on to Saint Georges in French Guiana, and then to Paramaribo in Suriname. Another route of concern in Pará, according to the Civil Police, the State Public Ministry, the ATC/PA, and the reports of the CPI of Pará, in relation to trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation, above all of women, is the route Bragança, Macapá, Suriname, or the route Bragança, Macapá, Oiapoque and French Guiana, where Amapá is a city of transit.

Less frequently used, but also described by the stakeholders interviewed, are the river routes, which are a little more complex as there are various flows. The first departs from the coast of Maranhão, as far as the Port of Santana, and from there it continues overland to Oiapoque and other destinations in French Guiana and Suriname. This river and sea route also emerges in the Marajó Archipelago, where people travel on illegal vessels and follow the coast as far as the Port of Santana (and from there continue the trip overland) or even continue on to Suriname along the coast in larger vessels. There are also reports of people recruited in the

¹⁰⁸ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the *National Assessment on Trafficking in Persons*, is also cited as mentioning that Suriname is on a route to the Netherlands, and therefore there are large numbers of male and female Brazilian trafficking victims identified in Suriname (Ministry of Justice, 2013).

Breves Strait, on the Marajó Archipelago, destined for the metropolitan region of Belém.

Specifically in the case of transvestite and transgender people trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation in Pará, the most common route is Belém - São Paulo, and afterwards to European countries, because of the possibility of undergoing gender reassignment surgery or treatments on that continent.

With regard to slave labour, people are recruited in Currálinho in Pará, moving on to French Guiana, and continuing from there to France. The river crossing from Pará to Amapá is the resource used for trafficking in persons for the purposes of slave labour, between the municipalities of the North of Pará and the municipalities of Vitória do Jarí and Laranjal do Jarí in Amapá.

Table 8: Areas of vulnerability and risk of the incidence of trafficking in persons – Mato Grosso do Sul

Group	Place of Origin	Transit	Place of Destination	Form of Trafficking in Persons
Children and Teenagers	Mato Grosso do Sul	XX	Centre-West Region	Sexual Exploitation
	Central-West region of Mato Grosso do Sul	XX	Mato Grosso do Sul	
Women	Paraná, São Paulo, Santa Catarina, Minas Gerais, Goiás and Mato Grosso do Sul	XX	Porto Murtinho (MS)	
	Mato Grosso do Sul	XX	Foz do Iguaçu, Curitiba, Guaira and Paranaguá (PR)	
	Mato Grosso do Sul	Goiás, São Paulo, Pará	Europe (Portugal and Spain)	
Paraguayan Women	Paraguay	XX	Mato Grosso do Sul	
Men and Women (Rural Workers)	Maranhão, Piauí, Vale do Jequitinhonha	XX	Mato Grosso do Sul	Labour Exploitation
Indigenous People	Indigenous Reservations in Mato Grosso do Sul	XX	Mato Grosso do Sul, Paraná, São Paulo, Paraguay	
Bolivians	Bolivia	Corumbá/BR-163	São Paulo	
Paraguayans and Brazilians	Porto Murtinho	XX	Mato Grosso do Sul	

In Mato Grosso do Sul, the FRP (MS Interview 20) affirmed that the state is not a place of destination for trafficked people, which is interesting given the fact that for all of the other border crimes the state also has the characteristic of being a place of transit. The main route – not only for trafficking in persons, but also as an entry point for all purposes – is entry through Bolivia, at the town of Corumbá, taking the BR-163, destined for the “great centres”, especially São Paulo.

The route of most concern to the local police in Mato Grosso do Sul, however, is the border with Paraguay, whether by land or by river, which is easy to cross and creates many routes. According to the Paraguayan Consulate (MS Interview 17), the majority of Paraguayans entering by the border with Mato Grosso do Sul are destined for the state itself, and are recruited for slave labour in Porto Murtinho.

In the case of trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation, the CETRAP (MS Interview 26) states that women depart from Mato Grosso do Sul to Goiás - São Paulo, or Mato Grosso do Sul - Goiás - Pará, from where they travel on to Europe,¹⁰⁹ especially Portugal and Spain. The states of origin of women trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation to Mato Grosso do Sul, according to the Municipal Secretariat of Health of Porto Murtinho (Interview 23) and the CREAS of Porto Murtinho (Interview 24), are Paraná, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Santa Catarina, Goiás and the state of Mato Grosso do Sul itself.

¹⁰⁹ The relevance of the routes described is difficult to determine solely on the basis of the information provided. According to the CETRAP, the international trafficking routes were described in their interview based on identifications made a decade previously by the PESTRAF, research that was the subject of some controversy.

Table 9: **Areas of vulnerability and risk of the incidence of trafficking in persons – Mato Grosso**

Group	Place of Origin	Transit	Place of Destination	Form of Trafficking in Persons
Women and Teenage Girls	Cuiabá (MT), Mato Grosso do Sul, Goiás	BRs 163, 364, 070 and 174	Mato Grosso, Pará and other states in the North	Sexual Exploitation
	Araguaia and Barra do Garças (MT)	Goiânia or São Paulo	Europe (mainly Portugal and Spain)	
Women	Goiás, Cáceres (MT) and other less developed municipalities of the border regions and of Mato Grosso	XX	Northern region of the state, Cuiabá, Várzea Grande, Rondonópolis, Barra do Garça and region of Araguaia (MT)	
	Mato Grosso	XX	Foz do Iguaçu, Curitiba, Guaira and Paranaguá (PR)	
Men and Women (Rural Workers)	Northeast (especially Maranhão, but also Alagoas, Piauí and Bahia)	XX	Mato Grosso	
Men and Women (Rural Workers)	Pará	BR 163	North of the state of Mato Grosso	

In Mato Grosso, the BR-163, which connects Pará to the North of the state of Mato Grosso, was identified as one of the routes for people destined for slave labour in the agricultural zones and large-scale construction sites. Another route originates in the Northeast, especially Maranhão, but also Alagoas, Piauí and Bahia, for exploitation in rural areas and mines.

In the case of internal trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation, origin locations include Goiás, municipalities in the border regions, including Cáceres/MT, and other less developed municipalities in Mato Grosso, and destinations include the northern region of the state, Cuiabá, Várzea Grande) and tourist regions, such as Barra do Garça and the Araguaia region.

The Federal roads (BRs), which cross the state coming from the South (Mato Grosso do Sul and Goiás), and connect Mato Grosso to Pará and other states in the North, facilitate the movement not only of adults, but also of teenagers who are exploited in the sex market on the streets (comprising corners, intersections and small businesses). In all, the FRP identified 130 locations of vulnerability along four Federal roads (BRs-163, 364, 070 and 174).¹¹⁰

With regard to international trafficking, as there is no international airport in Cuiabá, one of the routes identified is departure from the airports of Goiânia or São Paulo and other centres. The region of Araguaia and Barra do Garças, for example, is connected to international trafficking routes by way of Goiânia Airport.

Table 10: **Areas of vulnerability and risk of the incidence of trafficking in persons – Rio Grande do Sul**

Group	Place of Origin	Transit	Place of Destination	Form of Trafficking in Persons
Women	Porto Alegre, Caxias do Sul, Santa Maria, Uruguaiiana and Passo Fundo	XX	Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany	Sexual Exploitation
			Uruguaiiana and Santana do Livramento	
Men and Women (Rural Workers)	Northeast, Centre-West and Southeast of the Country, Bagé, Santana do Livramento, Rosário, São Borja, Alegrete and Uruguaiiana	XX	Serras Gaúchas (Bento Gonçalves, Vacaria, Garibaldi), North of the state (Santa Maria and limit with Santa Catarina)	Labour Exploitation
Men (civil construction)	North and Northeast (Pará, Acre, Maranhão, Rio Grande do Norte, Ceará, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Piauí, Bahia), Goiás	XX	Porto Alegre and Metropolitan region	
Children and Teenagers	Porto Alegre, São Borja and Uruguaiiana	XX	Unknown (Abroad)	Illegal Adoption

¹¹⁰ Information submitted by email by the Federal Roads Police to the local researcher on 21 May 2013.

In Rio Grande do Sul, in relation to trafficking in persons for the purposes of labour exploitation in the rural context, people are recruited in the Northeast (Bahia), Centre-West (Goiás) and Southeast (São Paulo) of the country, but also in the municipalities of the Western and border regions of the state of Rio Grande do Sul (Bagé, Santana do Livramento, Rosário, São Borja, Alegrete and Uruguaiiana). The main destination and location of exploitation is the region of the Serras Gaúchas (Vacaria, Garibaldi, Bento Gonçalves). In addition, workers are recruited from these regions of the state and the country and taken to the North of the state, at the state limits with Santa Catarina, and to the region of Santa Maria to work in logging.

Above all, for the construction of infrastructure - roads and ports - and for the 2014 FIFA World Cup (construction of the Grêmio Arena and renovation of the Beira Rio Stadium) in Rio Grande do Sul, sub-contracted companies, responsible for contracting labour, recruit civil construction workers from the North regions (Maranhão, Pará, Acre), Northeast (Rio Grande do Norte, Ceará, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Piauí, Bahia) and Centre-West (Goiás) of the country.

In relation to trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation, according to the information of interviewees, the municipalities that are recruitment locations in the state are Porto Alegre, Caxias do Sul, Santa Maria, Uruguaiiana and Passo Fundo. In the case of international trafficking in persons, countries such as Spain, Italy, Portugal and Germany are the main destinations of the victims. It should be noted in this context that Porto Alegre International Airport operates direct flights to Portugal.

In the case of internal trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation, the main destinations of the victims are border towns such as Uruguaiiana and Santana do Livramento. Federal Police data in relation to the sale of and trafficking in children and teenagers record cases of recruitment in the city of Porto Alegre and in the border municipalities of São Borja and Uruguaiiana, while international trafficking takes a route across borders where there is no monitoring (Santana do Livramento, for example), though the destination is not known.

Table 11: **Areas of vulnerability and risk of the incidence of trafficking in persons – Santa Catarina**

Group	Place of Origin	Transit	Place of Destination	Form of Trafficking in Persons
Women	Interior of the state of Santa Catarina	XX	Florianópolis, Balneário, Camboriú, Dionísio Cerqueira, Imbituba, Itajaí	Sexual Exploitation
Men and Women (Rural Workers)	Interior of Santa Catarina and border with Argentina	Uruguaiana (RS), Ituporanga (SC)	Rio Negrinho, Canoinhas, Blumenau, Joinville, Xanxerê, Rio Negrinho, Ituporanga, Caçador, São Joaquim, Lages, Friburgo (SC)	Labour Exploitation
			Argentina	

In Santa Catarina, with regard to trafficking in persons for the purposes of labour exploitation in a rural context, according to FETAESC and PME data, people are recruited in Paraná, the interior of Santa Catarina and the region of the border with Argentina (entry and departure through Uruguaiana/RS or Itaporanga). The majority of these workers migrate seasonally in line with the period of the harvesting of a particular agricultural product, mainly wood (Rio Negrinho, Canoinhas, Blumenau, Joinville), *mate* leaves (Canoinhas, Xanxerê), tobacco (coastline, Rio Negrinho), onions (Ituporanga), tomato (Caçador) and apple (São Joaquim, Lages, Friburgo) in Brazil, and in Argentina, rice.

The circular and seasonal migration of workers in these sectors may be related to rescue operations of workers in conditions similar to those of a slave that are carried out by the MLE (SC Interview 31). Santa Catarina is also a migration route for rural workers who transit from Rio Grande do Sul to Paraná, according to the MLE and the FRP (SC Interviews 7, 31). The majority of these workers only travel along the roads of Santa Catarina.

In relation to trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation, according to data from the ADEDH, CREMV, FP, FRP, Arco Iris and the Child Protection Council, Brazilian and foreign sex workers and teenagers exploited in the sex market travel from the interior of Santa Catarina to the capital and to pole municipalities (Balneário Camboriú) or port towns (Dionísio Cerqueira, Imbituba and Itajaí).

Table 12: **Areas of vulnerability and risk of the incidence of trafficking in persons – Paraná**

Group	Place of Origin	Transit	Place of Destination	Form of Trafficking in Persons
Children and Teenagers	Rio Branco, Assis Foz do Iguaçu, Curitiba, Londrina, São João do Triunfo (PR)	XX	Piraquara (PR), United States of America, Paraguay and Argentina	Illegal Adoption
Men and Women (Rural Workers)	North, Northeast, Central-West and Southeast regions of the country, border with Paraguay	XX	Cascavel, Umuarama, Clevelândia, Engenheiro Beltrão, Cambira, União da Vitória Reservation, Palmas, Porto Vitória, Ponta Grossa, General Carneiro	Labour Exploitation
Men (civil construction)	Northeast (Maranhão, Pará, Acre, Rio Grande do Norte, Ceará, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Piauí, Bahia), Goiás, Mato Grosso, border with Paraguay	XX	Curitiba and metropolitan region Foz do Iguaçu and region	
Paraguayan girls and young women	Paraguay (border region)	XX	Foz do Iguaçu and region	Domestic Servitude
Argentineans and Paraguayans	Foz do Iguaçu and region, Curitiba and metropolitan region, Guaíra, Londrina, Maringá, Cascavel, Paranaguá and Campo Mourão (PR)	XX	Foz do Iguaçu and Guaíra	Sexual Exploitation
Brazilian Women			Spain, Portugal, Italy, Argentina, France, UK, Switzerland and Germany	
Brazilian Women	Umuarama, Maringá, Guarapuava, Pinhão and Curitiba (PR), Goiás, Minas Gerais	XX	Foz do Iguaçu, Curitiba, Guaíra and Paranaguá	

In Paraná, according to data from the Land Chaplaincy Commission and the PME (PR Interview 11) on trafficking in persons for labour exploitation in a rural context, recruitment takes place in the North, Northeast, Centre-West and Southeast of the country, but also in the region of the Paraguayan border, a phenomenon related to work in cutting sugar cane and logging, the *mate* leaf harvest, tomato cultivation, cattle-raising and civil construction. The main destinations and locations where situations of exploitation were identified were: the Eastern region of the state (Cascavel, Umuarama, Clevelândia, Engenheiro Beltrão), Central-North (Cambira, Reserva), Southern region (União da Vitória, Palmas, Porto Vitória) and the Southeastern region of Paraná (Ponta Grossa, General Carneiro).

In the urban context in Paraná, according to information from the Migrant Chaplaincy (PR Interview 5), PME (PR Interview 11) and researchers (PR Interview 16), the same trend is observed of recruitment of workers from the North (Maranhão, Pará, Acre), Northeast (Rio Grande do Norte, Ceará, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Piauí, Bahia) and Centre-West (Goiás, Mato Grosso) of the country, but also of Paraguayans from the border region, for temporary work in the civil construction sector. In this case, the main destinations and locations where situations of exploitation were identified were: Curitiba and the metropolitan region, as well as Foz do Iguaçu and the surrounding region.

Also in the urban context, the recruitment of Paraguayan women and teenage girls from the border regions for exploitation in domestic work in Paraná has been observed, according to information from the PME and researchers (PR Interviews 11, 16). Foz do Iguaçu and the surrounding region are also the main *loci* of the exploitation of this labour. Above all, the PME (PR Interview 11) observed the recruitment of young girls from small interior towns in Paraná (Prudentópolis) and Minas Gerais (Teófoli Otoni) for labour exploitation in the restaurants of Curitiba and the metropolitan region.

Muslim migrants from India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Nigeria are also taken by irregular means across the borders of Foz do Iguaçu and Guaíra and subjected to labour exploitation in meat-packing plants in the Eastern region of Paraná (Francisco Beltrão, Cruzeiro do Oeste) that process halal meat. Finally, the recruitment of people from Paraná, mainly

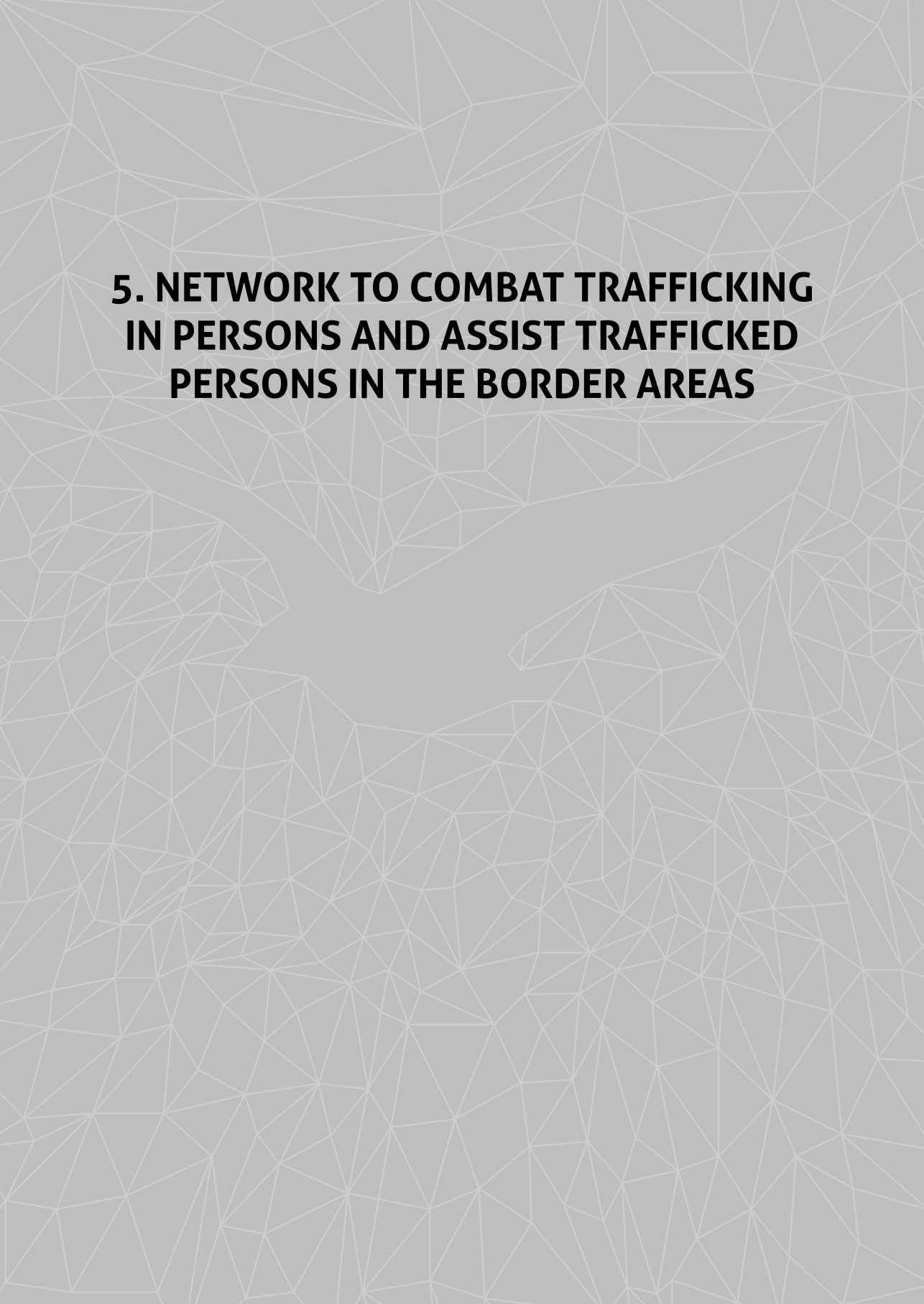
decasséguis (Brazilians of Japanese origin), from the regions of Maringá, Curitiba and Londrina, for labour exploitation in Japan has been identified.

In relation to the international trafficking of persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation, according to data and information from the FP and FPM (PR Interviews 12, 17), the municipalities that appear as places of recruitment are: Foz do Iguacu and its surrounding region, Curitiba and the metropolitan region, Guaíra, Londrina, Maringá, Cascavel, Paranaguá and Campo Mourão. The main destinations for this form of trafficking are: Foz do Iguacu and Guaíra (in the case of foreign victims, mainly Argentinean and Paraguayan women); Spain, Portugal, Italy, Argentina, France, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Germany (in the case of Brazilian victims).

Internal trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation – according to information from the ATC/PR, the Migrant Chaplaincy and LGBT associations (PR Interviews 1, 5, 3, 4) – involves the recruitment of victims from the following locations in Paraná: Umuarama, Maringá, Guarapuava, Pinhão and Curitiba. Above all, the following states are indicated as locations for the recruitment of victims of sexual exploitation in Paraná: Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul, Goiás (Cuiabá), Minas Gerais, Rondônia and Acre. The following places were identified as locations of sexual exploitation: Foz do Iguacu, Curitiba, Guaíra and Paranaguá (in Paraná); Altamira in the state of Pará (outside of the context of Paraná).

In relation to the trafficking in and sale of children and teenagers, data from the FP and information from the ATC/PR, Migrant Chaplaincy and PME (PR Interviews 1, 5, 11) indicate the following as recruitment locations: Foz do Iguacu, Curitiba, Londrina, São João do Triunfo (in the case of Brazilian victims); and South Korea, Argentina and Paraguay (in the case of foreign victims). Destinations for international trafficking in children and teenagers include Piraquara (in Paraná); the United States of America, Paraguay and Argentina (abroad), for the purposes of illegal adoption.

Finally, in relation to trafficking in persons for exploitation in criminal acts (drug transportation and contraband merchandise), the main area of incidence, both of recruitment and exploitation, is the region of the Triple Border (Foz do Iguacu, Puerto Iguacu – Argentina – and Ciudad del Este – Paraguay).



**5. NETWORK TO COMBAT TRAFFICKING
IN PERSONS AND ASSIST TRAFFICKED
PERSONS IN THE BORDER AREAS**

Marrey and Ribeiro (2010) highlight that the fight against trafficking in persons should focus on guaranteeing human rights, from prevention to prosecution:

“Given that the organised crime of Trafficking in Human Beings simply ignores the maxim of human dignity, it is up to society and public authorities to prevent and combat this type of criminal practice, orientating their actions and decisions around making the principle of human dignity concrete, the true progeny of all principles – from the moment of investigative persecution, in contact with the victims, to the moment of application of the penalty to the perpetrators (TT) (p.2).”

Apart from the Brazilian legal framework, instruments such as a State Policy or Plan on Combating Trafficking in Persons, and infrastructure such as Anti-Trafficking Centres (ATCs) and Advanced Migrant Assistance Centres (AMACs), which operate mainly in the towns on the border itself, are essential in that they promote discussion on the problem and solutions to it, as well as coordinating the various public policies and civil society activities that are necessary for the prevention and prosecution of this crime, and for the assistance of those affected by it.

Table 13 sets out which Units of the Federation in the border area have these instruments and infrastructure.

Table 13: Policies, Plans and Infrastructure for Combating Trafficking in Persons (CTP) in the Border Area

Unit of the Federation	State CTP Policy	State CTP Plan	ATC	AMAC	CTP Committee or Council
Acre	NO	NO	1 ATC - Rio Branco ¹	NO ²	NO
Amazonas	NO	In the course of being developed	1 ATC - Manaus	12 AMACs - 7 in operation - 2 in Manaus, Itacotiara, Parintins, Coari, Humaitá and Manacapuru and 5 being installed - 2 at Manaus Airport, Tabatinga, São Gabriel da Cachoeira and Presidente Figueiredo	State Committee for Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Persons
Rondônia	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Roraima	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Pará	In the course of being developed	1	1 ATC - Belém	1 AMAC - Belém Airport	State Committee for Combating Trafficking in Persons (COETRAP/PA)
Amapá			1 ATC - Macapá	1 AMAC - currently being set up - Macapá	
Mato Grosso do Sul	NO	NO	NO	NO	1
Mato Grosso	NO	State Plan for the Prevention of Trafficking in Persons of the State of Mato Grosso ³ State Plan for the Eradication of Slave Labour ⁴	NO	NO	Mato Grosso Committee for Combating Trafficking in Persons Mato Grosso State Committee for Eradicating Slave Labour

¹ According to the local research for this Assessment (May 2013), the Anti-Trafficking Centre is not functioning due to a lack of local support and resources from the state government.

² According to the local research for this Assessment (May 2013), the Migrant Centre is not functioning due to a lack of local support and resources from the state government.

³ Decree of the State of Mato Grosso no. 1,782, of 27 May 2013.

⁴ Decree of the State of Mato Grosso no. 985 of 7 December 2007.

Santa Catarina	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Rio Grande do Sul	NO	NO	1 ATC - Porto Alegre	NO	Committee for Assistance to Migrants, Refugees, Stateless People and Trafficking Victims of the State of Rio Grande do Sul (COMIRAT/RS)
Paraná	NO	State Plan for Refugee and Migrant Assistance Policies - in the course of being developed	1 ATC - Curitiba	NO	State Committee for Refugees and Migrants (CERM/PR)

Apart from these instruments and infrastructure, the task of combating trafficking in persons, above all at local level, also requires dealing with a series of difficulties and a lack of services at state and local level. Among the factors highlighted by the stakeholders in all of the border areas, there is the lack of human resources, infrastructure, an assistance network, materials and capacity-building of stakeholders; the lack of monitoring of the border, the lack of adequate information systems for the compilation and exchange of information on trafficking in persons. All of these represent significant difficulties in combating trafficking in persons in the border area.

For example, according to the FRP in Acre (AC Interview 14), the length of the border and the lack of staff to monitor it mean that the crime can move around. An example of this is the arrival of criminal organisations who are experiencing difficulties in operating in the border area in states like Paraná and Mato Grosso do Sul, and therefore are moving to Acre and Rondônia, a region that is less monitored. The FRP in Roraima (RR Interview 4) also complains of the absence of adequate monitoring posts at the borders and at the state limits with Amazonas. The FRP in Mato Grosso do Sul (MS Interview 20) recognises that some of the problems that constrain its work in combating trafficking in persons is the lack of training for Federal Roads Police officers, the poor structure

of monitoring posts - which are too few to cover very large regions - and insufficient staff.

The Acre Judiciary (AC Interview 13) also highlighted the lack of monitoring of the border as one of the factors that facilitates the activities of criminal trafficking organisations and makes anti-trafficking difficult. In Amapá (AP Interview), the Port of Santana is one of the locations with the weakest port control structure, as well as the least effective migration control structure.

The lack of structural conditions to provide assistance or carry out investigations was also mentioned by some stakeholders. According to the State Secretariat for Public Safety in Roraima (RR Focus Group Meeting 2), the police units need more resources such as video cameras, vehicles and fuel in order to carry out investigations. The Advanced Migrant Assistance Centre (AMAC) operating at the Belém do Pará Airport (PA Interview 8) also has concerns about the reach of its assistance due to the lack of structural conditions and its location. Similarly, the ATC in Pará (PA Interview 1) complains of a lack of human resources, equipment and financing in its operation.

In addition, based on the information obtained for this Assessment from governmental and non-governmental organisations, it is clear that activities to combat trafficking in persons in the border area are not coordinated, even in the wake of the initiation of the implementation of the ENAFRON Strategy, which, among other issues, seeks to integrate security forces at the border. Nevertheless, it can be seen that the institutions understand the need to organise their initiatives both across sectors and across institutions.

The Federal Police in Mato Grosso (MT Interview 8) consider that the lack of a properly coordinated network causes difficulties in combating trafficking in persons. It is the Federal Police's understanding that people on the frontline, for example, those who work in the social services and healthcare, should communicate information to the monitoring institutions. This lack of adequate information systems to properly quantify trafficking in the border area and the lack of coordinated production of data are factors that complicate anti-trafficking efforts. This is due to the lack of understanding of the incidence of the phenomenon and the overlapping of

activities or operations in certain places, while others remain unaddressed, according to public safety stakeholders interviewed in Roraima, Amapá and Rio Grande do Sul.

In the interpretation of a representative of the PME in Amazonas (AM Interview), particularly with regard to combating trafficking for the purposes of slave labour, non-criminalisation is one of the biggest problems. The leniency with which exploiters are treated is evident in the administrative agreements and Behavioral Adjustment Terms (BATs) that result from the MLE's monitoring operations. Only situations that are considered particularly serious are brought before the courts for prosecution and sentencing of exploiters and traffickers. As a rule, the regularisation of the employment rights of exploited people and the application of fines are the preferred responses. This was also highlighted as a difficulty in Rondônia and Paraná.

In Paraná there was also a discussion on the lack of assistance services for foreign trafficking victims, and of public policies for the reception of international migrants in general, such as interpretation services, psychological assistance and even shelters, according to the Migrant Chaplaincy (PR Interview 5), CASLA (PR Interview 9) and the Public Employment Ministry (PR Interview 11). The stakeholders stressed the difficulties that migrants encounter in regularising their migration status, the recognition of their qualifications, entering the labour market and accessing housing and healthcare, as they do not receive any orientation on the employment laws that apply in the country.

LGBT representatives in Curitiba (PR Interviews 3 and 4) stated that there are transvestite and transgender people and sex workers who do not feel covered by education, anti-violence and healthcare campaigns (suggesting that they should be more personalised), and do not feel well served by police stations. This is therefore a lacuna in campaigns to prevent and combat trafficking in persons among this target group.

Finally, the Coordinators of the ATC/PR (PR Interview 1) and the ATC/RS (RS Interviews 1 and 8) and the Federal Police in Rio Grande do Sul (RS Interview 4) emphasise that the recurring reluctance of trafficked people to report the crime to the authorities is a difficulty in combating trafficking.

5.1 Assistance Network for Trafficked People

Overall, the assistance network for trafficked people in the border area is composed of Anti-Trafficking Centres (ATCs) and Advanced Migrant Assistance Centres (AMACs) - operating on the basis of a contract between the local authorities and the Ministry of Justice -, as well as the social services network, including health services and CREAS, and non-governmental organisations, mainly those whose target group are migrants and/or women. However, this network presents some weaknesses that were encountered during the local research for this Assessment, such as a lack of knowledge about the topic; in some cases, a lack of specialised assistance (not only in relation to the specific needs of trafficking victims but also of vulnerable groups) and in the majority of cases, the absence of structural elements (human resources, equipment, supplies, funding) and even of support from local authorities in their operations.

In spite of all of this, it is this network, albeit weak and with its various gaps, that promotes and sustains the fight against trafficking in persons in the border area, in partnership with the stakeholders from public safety agencies, the Public Ministries (State and Employment) and, in isolated cases, the Judiciary. This section provides a brief description of this network in the border states.

In Acre, protection of trafficked people is provided by the social welfare network: Specialised Reference Centres for Social Assistance (CREAS), Reference Centres for Human Rights, and Specialised Centres for Women's Services (CEAMs). The problems and deficiencies are generally related to the lack of an adequate infrastructure and the lack of staff to fulfil the minimum staff requirements of the services. It should be taken into account that the services of the towns of the interior and the border area receive little revenue and have great difficulties in maintaining units that provide social services to individuals and families at risk. However, the most urgent need is related to the training of teams to identify and protect victims, as well as creating procedures and protocols for the protection of trafficked people, given the low level of knowledge on the topic at these institutions.

It is also of note that in the state of Acre, there is no non-governmental organisation specifically providing protection to trafficking victims. Also

in Rondônia there are no specific organisations or services for protecting trafficked people. Potential cases are referred to the assistance network already in place for needy groups, such as the Municipal Secretariat for Social Assistance (SEMAS), or for victims of other forms of abuse, who are served by the CREAS and the Child Protection Council, among others. However, in the understanding of the state stakeholders, it would not make sense to set up protection services specifically aimed at trafficking victims because of the low incidence of the phenomenon (or of its identification) and the need to expand and improve the existing social services network.

Nor in Roraima are there organisations or services specifically to protect trafficked people. In June 2012, however, the Binational Centre for Assistance to Migrant Women was opened (better known as the Migrant Women Support Centre), by means of a contract with the Secretariat for Women's Policies (SPM), in order to purchase equipment and materials and to pay rent and staff training costs. The Centre is located in the central district of Pacaraima. It is easy to access and the atmosphere is calm and pleasant. However, the women who avail of the service are more frequently victims of domestic violence, even if the Centre has the potential to provide services for trafficked women.

In Pará, trafficking victims are provided with assistance by the Anti-Trafficking Centre (ATC/PA), set up at the end of 2009 by the SEJUDH, and the Advanced Centre for Travellers' Rights. The Anti-Trafficking Centre operates as a space for the coordination of the network for the State Policy on Combating Trafficking in Persons, as well as a locale for assisting trafficked people. However, it has faced serious difficulties in relation to infrastructure, human resources and funding.

Similarly, the Advanced Centre for Travellers's Rights has the main objective of being the first port of call for Brazilians deported or refused entry abroad, and for immigrants and victims of trafficking in persons. The location of the Centre at Belém International Airport is not appropriate, as it is sometimes confused with the information counter of the airport. In addition, its working hours are quite limited, and do not coincide with the arrival and departure times of international flights; the infrastructure is also poor, as are provisions for the safety of the staff who provide the service.

With regard to civil society in Pará, the NGO SóDireitos was founded in December 2007 with the objective of combating trafficking in persons and guaranteeing the sexual and migration rights of its target group, women and migrants. The NGO offers services to trafficked people and migrant women in general, including research, training, advocacy, orientation and participation in migrant women's groups. A group of sex workers and trafficking victims was mobilised on foot of the completion of the *Pesquisa tri-nacional sobre tráfico de mulheres do Brasil e da República Dominicana para o Suriname: uma intervenção em rede* (Tri-National Research on Trafficking in Women from Brazil and the Dominican Republic to Suriname: A Coordinated Intervention, Hazeu et al, 2008). This group transformed itself into a project within the institution, *Mudando de Vida* (Changing Lives).

Even after the conclusion of the activities of the NGO in relation to the Trinational Research, this group of women still meets and they have become important allies in combating trafficking in persons in Pará. Presently, the NGO operates without resources and on the basis of volunteers who work at its office.

In Mato Grosso do Sul there are no specific institutions to assist trafficked people like the ATCs and AMACs. The CETRAP, however, has been functioning for ten years and is comprised of various non-governmental organisations, secretariats and organs of the state and Federal government, the Public Ministry, Office of the Public Defender and the Judiciary. A lack of attendance, effective participation and institutional cooperation by the members of the CETRAP is one of its weaknesses.

Mato Grosso do Sul also has IBISS-CO, a non-governmental organisation that conducts research and carries out initiatives in relation to trafficking in persons. From when research was first conducted in 1998 on the sexual exploitation of children to the current Cuña Project (with indigenous women, dealing with the violence that they may suffer), the organisation has accumulated extensive knowledge on trafficking in persons, sexual exploitation and violence against women and children, among other related topics.

Another important local institution with a direct focus on combating labour exploitation and trafficking in persons for this purpose is the

FTDETP in Mato Grosso do Sul. The Forum operates together with trade unions, municipal secretariats, CREAS, Child Protection Councils, municipal governments and other organs and instances, to promote actions to assess working conditions and compliance with employment legislation in the state.

Mato Grosso also does not have specific organisations assisting trafficked people. Among the organisations that provide a service to this group is the Reference Centre for Human Rights, the services of which are aimed at LGBT populations and sex workers in general. The work of the Marginalised Women's Chaplaincy in Rondonópolis should also be highlighted, which works with sex workers.

However, Mato Grosso also has a CETRAP, with the experience of coordination between various state and Federal security services, which is a positive example for anti-trafficking. The state also has a State Commission for the Eradication of Slave Labour (COETRAE). Its model of functioning is considered to be pioneering in Brazil by the different institutions consulted. The creation of the State Fund for Slave Labour (FETE) was one of the measures adopted to facilitate coordinated monitoring by different state and Federal institutions operating in the area, and to fund initiatives for prevention, prosecution of slave labour and reinsertion of workers.

The states of Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná have organisations that assist trafficked people and migrants. In Rio Grande do Sul, the Anti-Trafficking Centre/RS was recently opened, and the Committee for Assistance to Migrants, Refugees, Stateless People and Victims of Trafficking Persons of the State of Rio Grande do Sul was set up. Apart from the institutions of the network of social services that provide this type of assistance, the Reference Centre for Assistance to Women in Situations of Violence, linked to the Secretariat for Women's Policies, provides services to trafficked women returned to their origin municipalities.

In the border municipality of Jaguarão in the same state, the first steps were taken to implement the Women's Coordination and the Binational Women's Reference Centre, a positive initiative that seeks to coordinate services provided to women in situations of violence, including the possibility of structured and specific assistance for trafficking

victims. Furthermore, and relative to other border states, the state of Rio Grande do Sul is well served by civil society organisations that work with migrants. CIBAI-Migrações is an organisation of reference in the reception and protection of the migrant population in the state. Another civil society organisation that can be noted as a reference for trafficked people is Igualdade-RS (Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals of Rio Grande do Sul). The Antônio Vieira Association (ASAV), a Catholic Jesuit association, should also be highlighted in Rio Grande do Sul due to the work it carries out with people in a refugee situation. Since 2003, the ASAV, in partnership with the National Committee for Refugees (CONARE) and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), operates directly with refugees as part of Brazil's Refugee Resettlement Programme.

In Paraná, apart from the recently opened Anti-Trafficking Centre (ATC/PR), the Reference Centre for Assistance to Women in Situations of Violence in Curitiba may be indicated as part of the network of assistance to victims of trafficking in persons in the state (albeit limited in terms of gender). However, trafficking in persons is still a topic in its nascent stages for the organisation, meaning that capacity-building for its staff is necessary.

The work carried out by the Migrant Chaplaincy/Migrant Assistance Centre (CEAMIG) should also be highlighted as the main point of reference in reception and assistance to the migrant population of Paraná. Faced with the lack of a State organ to offer assistance and advice to this population in the state, the Migrant Chaplaincy is the only organisation that can meet this demand. The Latin American Centre in Paraná (CASLA), for its part, offers legal advice to the same population, and free Portuguese language courses. The Federal Police and consular representatives refer the most needy migrants whom they encounter to these institutions, thereby helping them to avoid situations of vulnerability to exploitation and trafficking. Although the Chaplaincy does not specifically assist trafficked people, the organisation could be an important partner for the ATC/PR, because of the knowledge and experience it has accumulated on migration in the state.

Another civil society organisation that could be indicated as a reference for trafficking victims is the Marcela Prado Transgroup -

Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals of Curitiba. Victims of this crime, particularly transvestite and transgender people and sex workers, faced with the lack of any state organ to assist them, turn to this organisation above all to seek assistance, orientation, legal advice and reception.

In Santa Catarina, there is no specific organisation to assist trafficking victims, which, as in Rondônia, may be linked to the absence of a demand. Nevertheless, the network of assistance for other types of violence is adequately equipped. The need for technical capacity-building, however, should be emphasised, in order for the staff of these organisations to be able to assist trafficked people. It is even more important to create assistance procedures and to coordinate with public safety and criminal justice agencies, who complain of a complete lack of coordination and that a network does not exist.

5.2 Institutional, Inter-Sector and International Cooperation among Anti-Trafficking Stakeholders

Cooperation among stakeholders in combating trafficking in persons is something that is definitely on the political agenda, mainly at Federal level. With the ENAFRON Strategy, mechanisms of cooperation, communication and integration among different stakeholders are being implemented. However, at local level, the local researchers for this Assessment encountered a different situation. In some border states, the FP, FRP and PME carry out joint operations, mainly operations for the eradication of slave labour, yet this is a sporadic, non-institutionalised cooperation.

With regard to institutional cooperation in Roraima, both governmental and non-governmental organisations complain of a lack of cooperation and of the solitude of working on the topic of trafficking in persons in the state. The Counselling School of Mato Grosso do Sul (MS Interview 1) also stressed the lack of coordination between the national and state level as an obstacle to the implementation of sustainable and continuous policies.

In Amapá, one proposal vocalised by the ATC/AP (AP Interview) was to meet with the states of Amazonas, Pará and Maranhão, to discuss a potential integration of the actions of the Anti-Trafficking Centres, given

that a significant number of trafficking victims are taken from those three states to Amapá.

In relation to international cooperation, in Acre, the State Secretariat of the Public Civil Police (AC Interview 16) reported that they had conducted investigations into trafficking in persons, mainly of Brazilian women, who leave from Acre and Rondônia to go to work in brothels in Bolivia, always without the support of the Bolivian police. The Pará Civil Police (PA Interview 5) also complains of a lack of cooperation with the Government of Suriname, where many people recruited in Pará are taken to, making it difficult to combat the phenomenon.

In Mato Grosso do Sul, the activities of the Paraguayan Consulate are exemplary, as it has dealt, together with other partners in the state, with cases of trafficking of its nationals for slave labour, domestic servitude and sexual exploitation, and represents an important line of communication with the neighbouring country, promoting activities that would not be possible without this level of interest and cooperation.

Nevertheless, according to a researcher at the UNB (Questionário 13), there is a lack of interest and commitment by the authorities of the neighbouring countries, and a lack of control and monitoring of flows between countries, which makes combating trafficking in persons difficult.



6. SETTING UP ADVANCED MIGRANT ASSISTANCE CENTRES (AMACS) IN THE BORDER AREAS

6.1 Analysis of the Necessity, Feasibility and Sustainability of AMACs in the Border Areas

Advanced Migrant Assistance Centres (AMACs) have the main function of providing a reception service for Brazilians who are refused entry abroad or deported, at points of entry into the country, and to identify potential victims of trafficking in persons and refer them to the local network.¹¹¹ The activities of the Advanced Migrant Assistance Centres are guided by Circular/SNJ no. 31 of 20 August 2009, as amended by Circular no. 41 of 6 November 2009, which sets out the guidelines for the functioning of Anti-Trafficking Centres and AMACs. According to art. 4 of this Circular, the role of the Migrant Centres is to:

- Implement and consolidate a method of providing a reception service to Brazilians refused entry or deported at the main points of entry;
- Provide information on:
 - a) documents and procedures relating to national and international travel;
 - b) the rights and duties of Brazilians abroad;
 - c) the rights and duties of foreigners in Brazil;
 - d) consular services; and
 - e) any other necessary and relevant information.
- Provide support in:
 - a) locating missing persons abroad; and
 - b) procedures and referrals to service networks.

Currently, in order to set up an AMAC, a contract is entered into by the state or municipality interested in setting up the centre and the National Secretariat of Justice (SNJ) of the Ministry of Justice. Considering that the legislation does not provide for criteria for setting up centres, the objective of this section is to contribute to the development of criteria to assist in setting up new Migrant Centres in the future.

¹¹¹ Circular/SNJ no. 31 of 20 August 2009.

In order to set up AMACs, two criteria should be taken into account: Necessity and Feasibility. These criteria are applied in what follows, in as far as possible according to the findings of this Assessment, to the municipalities of the border states.

6.1.1 Necessity Analysis

The criterion of necessity is based on the number of cases of trafficking in persons, suspected, identified or potential, and the volume of migration flows of people in a situation of vulnerability, in the territory under consideration for setting up a new AMAC. Suspected cases are cases in which there is a suspicion of trafficking in persons, but this has not yet been confirmed by the police. Identified cases are cases that are confirmed by investigations to be trafficking cases.

Cases may be officially suspected or otherwise. For example, NGOs that assist trafficked people in the locality may report a suspicion of a case of trafficking in persons, based on their service provision. Both suspected and identified cases should be recorded in databases in order to produce indicators of trafficking in persons and statistics. In this sense, official sources of information are government institutions that operate in combating trafficking in persons and that collect data, such as public safety and criminal justice institutions, at Federal, state and municipal level, and the institutions of the protection network, such as the Anti-Trafficking Centres, if they exist in the territory, and healthcare, social welfare and women's policy institutions.

Non-governmental organisations that work on the topic in the territory are unofficial sources of data and information on trafficking in persons. Governmental and non-governmental institutions that work on the topic of migration, providing services to migrants, or developing or implementing public migration policies, are also important sources of data and information.

It is these statistics on suspicions and identifications, official and unofficial, that can guide and inform us on the phenomenon of trafficking in persons in a given locality, directing the formulation of specific public policies, when it is observed that a reasonable number of cases has been identified or that there is a great concern among the frontline organisations.

And what can be considered a reasonable number of identified cases? It is only possible to determine this after comparing the results of state-level assessments or based on available national data. In the absence of statistics on the issue, Necessity may also be identified on the basis of existing local assessments or by conducting local assessments that analyse qualitative data and thereby demonstrate the need to set up Advanced Migrant Assistance Centres (AMACs).

6.1.2 Feasibility Analysis

The second criterion is Feasibility, which requires an analysis of the social and political context of the locality, whether it is propitious for setting up an AMAC. Analysing the social context means understanding how the social fabric of that locality is formed: living conditions, social contexts, demographic factors, educational levels, economic activities and ethnic composition. This context can be analysed on the basis of the following variables:

- Single Registry (CADUNICO of the Ministry of Social Development): measures the socioeconomic situation of the families of the locality, providing information on the entire nuclear family, the characteristics of the domicile, the forms of access to essential public services, and, also, data on each of the individual members of the family.¹¹² It is one of the indicators that facilitate measuring vulnerability at a particular location and at the same time allows us to describe the social welfare structure of the territory.
- Human Development Index (HDI developed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)): is a summarised measure of long-term progress in three basic dimensions of human development: income, education and health.¹¹³
- The existence of or access to a minimum assistance network for potential victims of trafficking in persons, such as a Child Protection Council, Specialised Reference Centre for Social Assistance (CREAS), Shelter, Halfway House, Centre for Assistance to Victims of Violence, Centre for Assistance to Women Victims of Violence, governmental or

¹¹² www.mds.gov.br/bolsafamilia/cadastrounico

¹¹³ www.pnud.org.br/IDH/DH.aspx

non-governmental institutions that provide psychological, social and legal assistance to victims of violence and specific vulnerable population groups, such as women, children and teenagers who are victims of sexual exploitation, LGBT groups, indigenous groups. We can also include a specialised delegation for assistance to women, and the Office of the Public Defender.

With regard to the political context, we need to understand how the topic of trafficking in persons is addressed on the local agenda and what the prospects are for the continuity and sustainability of an AMAC, if it were to be set up in that locality. This can be observed on the basis of:

- The existence of an Anti-Trafficking Centre or a Committee to Combat Trafficking in Persons, or Municipal Councils such as those for Human Rights, Women, and Children and Teenagers, among others;
- Prioritisation of the topic of anti-trafficking on the local political agenda;
- Political interest in setting up an AMAC, that is, the question of whether the local authorities are willing to create (if it does not yet exist) or coordinate a network to combat the crime and protect trafficked people.

It is important to emphasise that Necessity and Feasibility should be understood as complementary to one another, as a Necessity may exist, for example, a significant number of cases of trafficking in persons that have been identified by the organs of public safety, but the local authorities and civil society may not see the topic of trafficking in persons as a priority for the local agenda or even understand the topic, and therefore they will not provide the logistical, administrative and political support necessary to set it up.

Examples of a lack of commitment to the topic would be local authorities making access by the AMAC to the local assistance network unfeasible or difficult, setting up the AMAC in an inconvenient location (low visibility; poor physical structure that does not offer the privacy, comfort, security and means of communication necessary to carry out the work; a location that is difficult to access for victims and AMAC staff, etc).

6.1.3 Criteria

Therefore, our suggestion of criteria for setting up an Advanced Migrant Assistance Centre (AMAC) is the following:

- Municipalities where cases of internal and international trafficking have been suspected or identified, officially or unofficially;
- Municipalities that form part of known trafficking routes, or of routes that have already been identified on the basis of local and national research;
- Municipalities with large migration flows, whether of exit or entry;
- Municipalities with indicators of the occurrence of crimes that are committed in conjunction with trafficking in persons, such as the various forms of sexual crimes that are included in sexual exploitation, migrant smuggling and drug trafficking, as well as slave labour;¹¹⁴
- Municipalities where a coordination mechanism for the Anti-Trafficking Policy of the state has been set up (Anti-Trafficking centre, Committee) or a Department of the local authority that already carries out this task, such as a Municipal Secretariat for Human Rights, Citizenship, Women, etc.;
- Municipalities where a political will and interest in developing a local anti-trafficking policy is observed;
- Municipalities where a minimum number of institutions of the network to combat trafficking and protect trafficking victims have been set up, such as a CREAS, a Halfway House or temporary shelters that assist various vulnerable groups, Healthcare Units that offer psychological assistance, Specialised Delegations, Federal Police stations and Federal Roads Police stations, the Public Ministry and an Office of the Public Defender. The municipalities where these institutions do not yet exist but where there are proposals to set them up may also be considered.

¹¹⁴ See the list of crimes committed in conjunction with trafficking in persons in Table 3 above.

6.2 Recommendations for setting up AMACs in the 11 states in the border area

Firstly, it is important to highlight that there are various regions and municipalities with indicators of vulnerability in the border area, and, as we have seen, it is mainly such vulnerability that leads to people becoming involved in the trafficking network. Nevertheless, cases of trafficking in persons were not necessarily identified in these localities, meaning that the need for setting up an AMAC is not clear.

In this way, apart from setting up AMACs, or as an alternative to setting them up, a commendable strategy would be to invest in policies for prevention and for the capacity-building of the relevant stakeholders, measures that are already foreseen in the Second National Plan to Combat Trafficking in Persons, such as:

- To develop and support communication campaigns and strategies on trafficking in persons, its different forms, impact and other aspects, directed at the public, private and civil society sectors, promoting understanding and recognition of this type of crime;
- To build capacity and raise awareness among staff, stakeholders and social groups on combating trafficking in persons, mainly local public safety and criminal justice stakeholders who operate along the border;
- To disseminate information on trafficking in persons and activities to combat it; and
- To raise awareness and mobilise society to prevent trafficking in persons from occurring.

However, some municipalities are worthy of mention, not only due to the issues mentioned above, related to local vulnerability or cases of trafficking in persons that have already been identified, but also because they are places where there is a great movement of people and intense migration flows, as we will see in these 21 municipalities:

Table 14: **Suggestions for Setting up AMACs**

State	Municipality
ACRE	Brasiléia and Epitaciolândia (one AMAC in the region, given the proximity of the municipalities) Assis Brasil
AMAPÁ	Oiapoque Santana Vitória do Jari and Laranjal do Jari (one AMAC in the region, given the proximity of the municipalities)
PARÁ	Altamira Barcarena
RORAIMA	Rorainópolis Caracaraí Pacaraima
RONDÔNIA	Guajará-Mirim Ariquemes
MATO GROSSO DO SUL	Corumbá Porto Murtinho
MATO GROSSO	Cáceres Northern region of the state
RIO GRANDE DO SUL	Uruguaiana
PARANÁ	Foz do Iguaçu Londrina
SANTA CATARINA	Dionísio Cerqueira Criciúma

6.2.1 Northern Axis

ACRE – Brasiléia, Epitaciolândia and Assis Brasil

The town of Assis Brasil has a Triple Border with Iñapari in Peru and Bolpebra in Bolivia, and the municipality of Brasiléia is twinned with Cobija in Bolivia. The municipalities are close, allowing for the setting up of one single Advanced Migrant Assistance Centre to serve the demand in both. Trafficking cases repeatedly occur in these municipalities, mainly for the purposes of sexual exploitation. In addition, these municipalities are corridors for the entry and exit of trafficked people, according to information analysed for this Assessment.

With regard to sustainability and feasibility, the local network of the municipalities is satisfactory; there are governmental security organisations; governmental and non-governmental welfare agencies - which, however, would need to be upgraded in order to provide assistance in situations originating in trafficking in persons.

They are municipalities, however, that have budget limitations and difficulties in setting up any type of service. Furthermore, there is a lack of staff with higher qualifications in order to fill the positions, due to low salaries and the infrastructural limitations of the towns, such as in healthcare, education, housing and other services. In addition, there is a request for reactivation in relation to the AMAC in Assis Brasil, on the border with Peru and Bolívia, which, according to the stakeholders, was not in operation during the period of the field research (May 2013).

AMAPÁ and PARÁ - Oiapoque, Santana, Vitória do Jarí and Laranjal do Jarí (AP), Altamira and Barcarena (PA)

In the identification of municipalities for setting up Advanced Migrant Assistance Centres, it is important to understand that the problem of trafficking in persons in the state of Pará is directly connected to the trafficking problem in the state of Amapá. The primary reason for this connection is the geographical proximity of two states. There are municipalities and localities in the Marajó Archipelago, for example, that are closer to Macapá than to Belém, leading many residents of Marajó to seek healthcare services in Amapá. The second issue is that one of the most common destinations for trafficking victims, both from Pará and from Amapá, is the city of Saint Georges in French Guiana, which has a border with the Amapá municipality of Oiapoque. Another common destination is the large landholdings in the municipalities at the state limits of the two states - Laranjal do Jarí and Vitória do Jari.

Therefore, the first municipality recommended is Oiapoque, twin town with Saint Georges in French Guiana, given the ease with which people cross the border by river and the cases of trafficking in persons that were reported (though not necessarily recorded) by the local stakeholders. Present in the municipality are the Civil Police, the Military Police, the Federal Police, the State and Federal Public Ministries and State and Federal Judiciary, together with a healthcare and social welfare

infrastructure with a CRAS and a CREAS. What is missing from the municipality is an entry point for the state child protection service, as the existing services do not appropriately identify victims of trafficking in persons, nor do they provide adequate assistance.

Another locality where a Centre could be set up is Santana, in the vicinity of the port. The port is a place where there is a large movement of foreign vessels, stimulating prostitution and an irregular migration flow. Another factor that increases this municipality's need for an AMAC is that with plans for the exploitation of oil wells in the region, the presence of internal and international migrants will increase, causing a phenomenon of population swelling, and forming a pocket of vulnerability. The Civil Police, Military Police, State and Federal Public Ministry, State and Federal Judiciary are present in the municipality, as well as a healthcare and social welfare infrastructure with a CRAS and CREAS. What is missing from the municipality is a stronger structure for port supervision and migration control. This, however, could perhaps render the work of a future Migrant Centre more difficult in relation to local security when providing assistance.

Another location where an AMAC could be set up is the neighbouring municipalities of Vitória do Jarí and Laranjal do Jarí, both in Amapá. These two municipalities are at the state limits between Pará and Amapá and were identified as forming part of a trafficking route for the purposes of slave labour. These municipalities are located in a region that is very distant from the State's reach, where there are many extremely large landholdings, with little human presence. This makes the context propitious for exploitation. State presence is centralised in Vitória do Jarí, where the Civil Police, Military Police, and Federal Police and State Public Ministry, State and Federal Judiciary are present. The town is also a district within the Court of Justice of Amapá and has a healthcare infrastructure with a CRAS and CREAS.

Beyond the challenge of the limits between the states, attention should also be given to the municipalities within the state of Pará. The first, which is of significant concern to the authorities, is the municipality of Altamira. Considered one of the largest municipalities in terms of territory in the world, Altamira today is home to a large enterprise: the construction of the Belo Monte power plant. This enterprise has increased the population of the municipality, and the infrastructure has not kept

pace. The municipality has attracted a large immigration flow with its demand for labour.

Finally, another place where it would be of great importance to set up a Migrant Centre is the municipality of Barcarena. This is a municipality that has a large port area at the Vila do Conde Port, and is a point of entry for many migration flows in the state. The great movement of foreign vessels in this area also renders it quite susceptible to trafficking in persons. Many women from Marajó, Greater Belém and even from Maranhão and Amapá seek out this municipality as an opportunity to work as sex workers. There are reports of families from Marajó who settle in the port area and exploit their daughters in the sex market in return for fuel and food.

AMAZONAS

The state of Amazonas already has an excellent structure for implementing the National Policy to Combat Trafficking in Persons, and, as can be seen in Table 13, it has seven AMACs at the main transportation hubs, and another five in the course of being set up. Therefore, it is a state where the criterion of necessity for setting up another AMAC is not fulfilled.

RORAIMA – Rorainópolis, Caracaraí and Pacaraima

Rorainópolis, in the South of the state, is an entry point for people coming overland from Manaus. It is considered to be a pitstop on the international trafficking route of sexually exploited women, as it is the first stop for some women before they migrate or are trafficked onwards to the border.

Caracaraí, situated along the BR-174 road, apart from serving as a temporary pitstop and recruitment point for women for international trafficking for sexual exploitation, is also a location where children and teenagers were identified as being sexually exploited in various bars and entertainment establishments.

Pacaraima is characterised by intense immigration and emigration flows between the town of Santa Elena de Uairén, its twin town in Venezuela, and the mining areas. The municipality has a network for the protection of victims of violence, with institutions such as the Prosecutor's

Office, Civil Police, Military Police, Federal Police, Federal Roads Police, Municipal Council for the Rights of Children and Teenagers, etc., but this would need to be upgraded. It was in Pacaraima that the Binational Centre for Assistance to Migrant Women was set up in 2012, currently staffed by volunteers.

6.2.2 Central Axis

RONDÔNIA - Guajará-Mirim and Ariquemes

Given the low incidence of identified cases of trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation and taking inspiration from the experience of other states that have instigated the creation of AMACs, in the state of Rondônia, it would be interesting to potentially set up a centre to receive and assist not only trafficking victims, but also migrants, foreigners and workers who travel through the state of Rondônia. Two municipalities stand out as potential locations for these Centres: Guajará-Mirim and Ariquemes.

The municipality of Guajará-Mirim may prove to be a preferable location for setting up services to assist population groups who live at that part of the Brazilian-Bolivian border, twinned as it is with the town of Guayaramerin on the Bolivian side. This Centre could operate in order to improve healthcare and social welfare services for border residents, without distinctions and nationality criteria.

In the interior of the state, for its part, the municipality of Ariquemes is another location of interest for setting up services to assist people who travel through the interior and possible victims of labour exploitation. Located in a traditional mining and cattle-ranching area, the town could also serve as a support base for the government to relate more directly with the farm workers recruited for the various forms of labour in the region.

MATO GROSSO DO SUL - Corumbá and Porto Murtinho

There are two large regions in Mato Grosso do Sul in which the migration flow and the incidence of international and internal trafficking in persons are at their most intense. At the border with Bolivia, the municipality of Corumbá and, in the Southern area of the state, the border

with Paraguay, are regions marked by great interaction and movements of arrival to and departure from the country.

Setting up an AMAC in the region of Corumbá, which is a twin town with Puerto Suárez in Bolivia, would meet the demands for research on trafficking in Bolivian women for sexual exploitation in Brazil and in Brazilian women for sexual exploitation in Bolivia. It would also meet the demand for prevention measures during festivals or fishing seasons in the town of Corumbá itself and in the district of Albuquerque, where the sexual exploitation of children is identified as being high in incidence. Finally, it could also have the effect of orientating and supporting Bolivian migrants who head for the large centres, especially São Paulo, to prevent them from being exploited and having their rights violated in the clothing sector. The town has a minimum network in place, with a PAIR, a Migrant Chaplaincy, and relevant measures by the Committee for Combating Violence and Defending the Sexual Rights of Children and Teenagers (COMCEX) and the Tourism Foundation, which could be important coordinators of a more concrete policy.

Porto Murтинho is another municipality where indeed a proposal has already been presented by the Forum for Decent Work and Studies on Trafficking in Persons, in cooperation with the Public Employment Ministry. Porto Murтинho also has set up a PAIR, though it does not have an extensive protection network; it only has a CREAS and a Child Protection Council.

MATO GROSSO - Cáceres and the Northern region of the state

The town of Cáceres is an important region of entry for Bolivians and other migrants. It is, indeed, the only town where contact with foreigners and the presence of migrants is part of the day-to-day life of the population of Mato Grosso. In addition, the presence of the river Paraguay and the fishing tourism typical of the *Pantaneira* region, together with the few options for employment and economic activities, and the sexual exploitation of children and teenagers, are risk factors that make Cáceres a town where it is recommended that an AMAC be set up. The town has public services and Federal Police, Federal Roads Police and GESFRON stations.

Outside of the border area, the Northern region of the state was indicated in interviews as a place of transit on international trafficking routes to Guyana and Suriname. The position of vulnerability of women and children in the region is aggravated by the fact that there are few programmes in place (the PAIR in the Northern region was discontinued) and the presence of the security forces is very sparse for such large areas. The Northern region of the state was also indicated by the majority of the institutions interviewed in the state for this research as the region where slave labour is most common.

On the other hand, a practically inexistent migration flow in the Northern part of the state and the fact that the region is particularly well placed for communication with other states – and not with neighbouring countries – may be an argument against setting up an AMAC in this area. Apart from the poor operation of a network in this region and the lack of strong programmes to combat exploitation, the multiplicity of small municipalities, where there tend to be indicators of slave labour and sexual exploitation, is an additional difficulty in seeking to select one single municipality to set up a Migrant Centre. A local assessment would need to be carried out in order to determine this.

6.2.3 Southern Axis

RIO GRANDE DO SUL - Uruguiana

Uruguiana, twin town with Paso de los Libres in Argentina, is the largest and most important border municipality in the state, and is a place of great movement of people, both Brazilians and foreigners. It hosts an enormous flow of truck-drivers and merchandise due to the presence of the largest dry dock in Latin America, responsible for the export of a large part of production to the MERCOSUR. In addition, Uruguiana receives most of the foreign tourists who enter the state by road and has a Federal Police station that issues passports.

In relation to the feasibility of setting up a Centre, due to the limitation of the field research to the state capital, it was not possible to map the structure of social welfare services available in the municipality (CRAS, CREAS) online, nor to gather information about the civil society organisations that operate there with the migrant population.

PARANÁ – Foz do Iguaçu and Londrina

Foz do Iguaçu, which has a triple border with Ciudad del Este in Paraguay and Puerto Iguaçu in Argentina, is the largest and most important border municipality in the state, and experiences intense movement of both Brazilians and foreigners, as well as of trucks and merchandise. In addition, Foz do Iguaçu receives most of the foreign tourists who enter the state by road.

With regard to the feasibility of setting up a Migrant Centre, due to the limitation of the field research to the state capital, it was not possible to map the structure of the social welfare network available in the municipality (CRAS, CREAS) nor to gather better information on the civil society organisations that work with migrants. Despite this, representatives of the welfare network in Curitiba stressed the work carried out by the Women's Centre/Migrant Centre in Foz do Iguaçu, by religious linked to the Migrant Chaplaincy. The Migrant Centre is located on a lot belonging to the municipality. Due to the presence of the Triple Border, the Employment Ministry, through the National Immigration Council (CNIg) of the Ministry of Labour and Employment, has signed a contract with the institution in order to broaden the assistance that it provides.

Londrina is a strategic location to set up a Migrant Centre because it receives a significant flow of Brazilian and foreign migrants, and refugees. It is suggested, however, that further research be carried out to map the social welfare network in the municipality and to evaluate the feasibility of setting up an Advanced Migrant Assistance Centre there.

SANTA CATARINA – Dionísio Cerqueira and Criciúma

The state of Santa Catarina has two municipalities that should be researched *in loco* to effectively verify the need for prevention and capacity building on combating trafficking in persons. Dionísio Cerqueira and Criciúma have important characteristics and a high volume of migratory movement. Dionísio Cerqueira, twinned with the town of Bernardo Irigoyen in Argentina, and with state limits with Barracão in Paraná, is the main point of entry for foreigners at the land border, as well as being a dry dock with a large flow of cargo trucks. According to the DELEMIG, it is the main point of entry for Argentineans into the state.

The municipality is cited by stakeholders as a place where there are trafficking cases, according to the FRP and CREMV. It is also a municipality that has an accentuated tendency towards urbanisation and which requires special attention from public policies, as these border regions are characterised by poor socioeconomic development and a particular criminal dynamic with intense comings and goings of people, goods and vehicles between Brazil and the neighbouring countries.

The second municipality is Criciúma, which has a large flow of both immigrants and emigrants, according to the UDESC. The Federal Police also reported that there are various cases of falsification of documents for the purposes of irregular migration in the municipality. The forced return to Criciúma of Brazilian emigrants from the United States of America and Europe has been a source of concern, as there are no adequate public policies to receive return migrants (Assis, 2011). Cardoso (2012) underlines the difficulties inherent in this return and criticises the absence of an institution to support return migrants in their social, economic and familial reintegration.

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Finally, it is without doubt important to carry out field research missions and evaluate the necessity and feasibility of the implementation of AMACs in the municipalities mentioned above *in loco*, given that visiting the municipalities of the border area was not within the scope of this research. These suggestions have been formulated only on the basis of research conducted online and on site in the capital cities of the states of the border area.





7. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The topic of trafficking in persons has been gaining attention at a global level during the last ten years, for various reasons, from the ratification of the Palermo Protocol and recognition of this reality by the international community to the greater number of cases identified. We speak of identified cases because the exploitation, commercialisation and enslavement of human beings dates back to the origins of humanity, and on the territory of present-day Brazil, it dates back at least five hundred years. This is the reason why trafficking in persons has been referred to as “modern slavery,” despite the differences between the two concepts.

“Modern slavery” in Brazil leads us to the concept of the Palermo Protocol, which supplements an international convention, with the necessary adaptations made at national level by the National Anti-Trafficking Policy. It was this concept that orientated the ENAFRON Assessment on trafficking in persons in the border states. The main objective of this research was to assess the phenomenon of trafficking in persons, in its various forms, at the border, identifying and studying its specificities in that geographic region.

The research also assessed the phenomenon of migration, both documented and undocumented, in the border area, albeit more superficially, focusing on its relationship and interlinkage with trafficking in persons. It also assessed migrant smuggling. During the research, it was observed that these three concepts are confused in the field, as well as the concept of humanitarian and environmental migration, which, as it has only recently been recognised in Brazil, is also not always clear to some stakeholders. Another topic that is interlinked with trafficking in persons, and which is confused with it, is sexual exploitation, and, finally, working in prostitution, as there seems to be a transposition among stakeholders of the idea of trafficking in persons to the area of sex work as a whole.

The conflation of these concepts makes the recognition, identification and measurement of trafficking in persons in the border area particularly difficult. The border is where possibilities of departure and of realising a migration plan begin, and the facilitation of migration is an element of the crime of trafficking in persons. It is where migration flows take place and intermingle, making distinguishing between the concepts difficult; meaning that adults and children are potentially coming and going, being exploited, deceived, damaged and “consumed”, without being detected.

The field research for this Assessment, which involved the gathering of qualitative and quantitative information, then analysing it through a triangulation method, based on the consultation and comparison of various types of sources, mainly revealed not only a true confusion, but also a lack of precise and empirical knowledge on the topic of trafficking in persons, in spite of the growing interest in the issue among some sections of society. This lack of knowledge was more in evidence in some border states than in others, as was a lack of interest among government agents and even among civil society. It is important to note that the states where it was demonstrated that there was less interest in the topic were also those where the least cases of trafficking in persons were identified. On the other hand, at Federal level, the stakeholders that participated in the research were found to have a reasonable level of knowledge on the topic.

There was not only a lack of knowledge but also the reality of the difficulty of movement, related to the poor conditions of modes of transport in the region, together with the large dimensions of the territory of states such as Amazonas and Pará, and the characteristics of the vegetation and landscape of certain sections of the border (Rondônia, Mato Grosso do Sul, Mato Grosso, Amazonas), creating a certain isolation between localities, which could favour the establishment of criminal organisations. These are all factors that contribute to the difficulty in identifying cases and in assessing the situation, and to the perpetuation of the crime of trafficking in persons.

It is also important to highlight that trafficking in persons is only one of the illegal activities present and only one of the forms of human rights violations committed in the border area. It is not even the violation that attracts most interest or generates most concern among the stakeholders operating there, whether at the frontline or at the more strategic state decision-making levels. The research thus showed that the issue of trafficking in persons is not as a rule on the local agendas as a priority.

In this context, the Coordination of ENAFRON (Questionnaire 1) stressed that the leadership of public safety organisations in the states should have greater awareness of the need to combat this crime. There is no possibility for public safety staff *in loco* to prioritise this issue in the absence of a clear indication that trafficking in persons is an issue of just

as high a priority as crimes against human life and against property and drug trafficking, among others.

Not least, continuous capacity-building among the stakeholders who operate at the frontline – public safety staff, judiciary, social welfare services and healthcare, as well as non-governmental actors – is essential. Public safety, justice and the network of services that are active in the border area should be reinforced and prepared to meet current demands such as trafficking in persons. Based on what could be identified, the crime is more common in some states and less in others, but is in evidence in the entire border area.

Although it was not the central focus of this research, but rather seen is interlinked, migration is also a phenomenon that requires State attention, in relation to capacity-building among civil servants and mainly in relation to the development of appropriate policies for the reception and orientation of immigrants, who come to Brazil not only from bordering countries (mainly Paraguay, Bolivia, Uruguay, Argentina, Peru and Venezuela), but also from the other more diverse and distant countries of origin of economic, humanitarian and environmental migrants in Brazil (Bangladesh, China, South Korea, Haiti, Nigeria, Pakistan, Kenya, Somalia, etc.).

It is clear that public services in general are not accustomed to newly emerging issues and may take some time to understand, internalise and accept new dynamics and begin to offer quality services to people on the move. Services need to be free of prejudices, of tendencies to criminalise and discriminate, and need to recognise among these diversities the equality of a person based on the simple fact of their being human.

Trafficking in persons is not only topical, it is also a daily reality in the border area. Crossing borders in this geographic space does not necessarily mean crossing international boundaries but rather, perhaps, simply crossing the road. As part of these dynamics of permanent transit and the informality of migration between one political entity and another, due to socioeconomic and family contexts, and the hope that “the grass is always greener on the other side” that Brazilians end up involved in networks of internal and international trafficking.

On the opposite side of the border, the rationale is similar, as Brazil is today a country not only of emigrants, but also of immigrants, a process that has increased with recent advances in the socioeconomic field.

The focus of the operations of public safety agencies *in loco* is the strengthening of security and border control, and the purchasing of equipment and weapons – which is of course important. However, it is not the only way to confront the problem. These are agencies that still do not recognise, or simply do not know, that the problem of criminality is beyond the reach of the security forces alone, no matter how well equipped they are. It is a problem with essentially social origins, related to human insecurity or the lack of fulfillment of the most fundamental rights, which people face in their daily lives. Therefore in order to combat trafficking, measures should be integrated, territorialised and wide-ranging, initiated by the public services that are most essential to the population. The profiles of trafficked people are among the most convincing signs that crime is the limit of human insecurity.

In the border area, particularly, we need to better understand the social dynamics that exist not necessarily only in the border areas, but mainly in the border strip and border zone. A political life that involves different national regimes that often overlap or contradict one another; a social life that involves familial links on one side and the other; a professional life doing business and seeking quality public services on one side and the other. Only if we understand these diversified social dynamics, where people are not necessarily divided or separated when they cross the imaginary line, can specific, integrated and regionalised public policies can be formulated, particularly with regard to combating trafficking in persons.

As in other states in Brazil, trafficking in persons takes place in the border states, though of course with its own peculiarities. For example, it was observed that there is a relatively high incidence of trafficking in persons for the purposes of slave labour in some states (Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, Pará, Amazonas, Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul) and for the purposes of sexual exploitation in others (Amapá, Pará, Roraima, Mato Grosso and Mato Grosso do Sul). Rondônia and Santa Catarina are the exceptions – they are the two states where cases were identified but in a significantly smaller proportion than in others, meaning that actions

directed at addressing the problem are not required, according to the stakeholders interviewed in those states.

New forms of trafficking that had not as yet been mentioned in the literature on trafficking in persons in Brazil were identified. This was the case for exploitation in begging and the domestic servitude of children – “adopted” girls. It was also the case for victims of trafficking in persons who are used as “mules” for transporting illicit substances and who are trafficked for exploitation in football clubs.

The profiles of victims, however, do not seem to differ much from what other research had previously shown in Brazil: men, women, transgender women, female, male and transgender children and teenagers, in a condition of vulnerability, whether due to their socioeconomic conditions, because of family conflicts or because of violence suffered in the family of origin.

Cases of trafficking in indigenous people were identified, as the land border is a region with a proportionately higher concentration of indigenous groups, in various states (Acre, Santa Catarina, Roraima, Mato Grosso do Sul and Mato Grosso). The research showed the lack of knowledge on the subject and the even greater invisibility of the phenomenon, due to the way of life of some indigenous groups, who live in more remote regions or migrate from one state to another and from one country to another on a regular basis.

The *modus operandi* of trafficking in persons in the border areas was clear in general terms, depending on the profiles of the victims and the forms of exploitation: people are recruited, convinced that they will have a better life on the other side; children are simply taken across borders (as they cannot be considered to give consent); by people they know (friends, family members, neighbours), or by people with the same characteristics as the victim (transgender women or “*gatos*” in labour exploitation) to facilitate the process of identification and persuasion. Fees are “charged” for transportation, food and accommodation, and transformed into debts to be paid with suffering, violence, exploitation and the fear of reprisals if they try to escape or report the crime to the authorities.

For some, paying off these debts is part of a business relationship that begins with recruitment and promises of a better life, above all in

the sex market. It is seen as an exchange of favours. This explains why, when the conditions shift from free consent to invalidated consent or coercion, some victims who manage to escape do not go to the police or protection services. They do not see themselves as victims. The distinction in these cases between the exchange of favours and help with the migration process and the job search, on the one hand, and trafficking, exploitation and migrant smuggling, on the other, is tenuous. This means that the involvement of NGOs that promote the rights of sex workers and transgender people with a female gender identity in particular is essential.

Nevertheless, the topic of trafficking in persons still requires some research in Brazil. Above all in the geographical border region, due to its specificities, size and difficulty of access, the subject has been little considered. This Assessment is therefore just the beginning of a process of studying and analysing the phenomenon in this specific region, based on preliminary research of primary data and secondary literature, and on the robust and objective analysis of these sources, with field research in the eleven state capitals.

The objective was to pave the way for future, more in-depth assessments and research in more places, always with the intention of understanding more in order to better combat a crime that violates the most fundamental human rights. It is emphasised that it is not possible to understand the incidence of trafficking in persons and exploitation of internal and international migrants at the border without analysing migratory movements as a whole, whether voluntary, forced or humanitarian; facilitated by intermediaries or autonomous.

Finally, based on all the sources studied and analysed during the composition of this assessment, a number of actions are recommended, to be implemented by the stakeholders of the National Anti-Trafficking Policy, in accordance with the Second National Anti-Trafficking Plan, as follows:

- Promote the development of migration policies founded on support to migrants (foreign immigrants in Brazil and Brazilian emigrants leaving and returning to the country, including trafficked people), to be implemented in partnership with governmental and non-governmental organisations, international organisations, civil society and other actors

who already have experience on migration in Brazil, promoting and guaranteeing access to rights, empowering these people and preventing the situations of vulnerability that expose these people to the risk of trafficking;

- Promote, in the border states and in partnership with the state governments, the creation of regulation mechanisms and specific initiatives to deal with the social dynamics that lead to the vulnerability of migrants and potential migrants to exploitation and trafficking in persons in the border area, in relation to access to education, to healthcare, to decent work and to proper housing;

- Instruct the network of Anti-Trafficking Centres and Advanced Migrant Assistance Centres to base their initiatives on the prevention of trafficking in persons, providing support principally to vulnerable population groups in the border area - migrants, children from low-income families, low-income women, indigenous people and sex workers, among others, so that they have access to rights and public services, empowering these groups so that they do not end up as victims;

- Promote information and awareness-raising campaigns and activities on trafficking in persons in areas of vulnerability to, and risk of, trafficking, in two or more languages where necessary, among others in the areas described in Tables 5 to 12 of this Report, mainly among groups at risk;

- Broaden the dissemination of information materials produced by the Federal Government on trafficking in persons, especially materials that are practical, recreational and/or include guidelines;

- Organise training courses and on-the-job training for local stakeholders in the border areas, both from the government and civil society, especially in the municipalities in the border area with the highest indicators of vulnerability, on the topic of combating trafficking in persons and the exploitation of migrants;

- Develop a continuous training programme on combating trafficking in persons, mainly on subjects such as the identification of trafficked people and effective protection, for government agencies (public safety, criminal justice, social welfare, education, women's policies, child rights, human rights), so that both new and existing civil servants who work in

the cities and towns of the border strip have access to information on the topic and can keep updating and sharing their knowledge;

- Implement within the information systems and databases of the public services, public safety and criminal justice system, particularly in the border states, the Integrated Methodology for Data Collection on Trafficking in Persons for the Public Safety System;

- Promote among local protection services, with the cooperation of public safety and criminal justice agencies, the development of territorial/municipal protection and assistance protocols for trafficked people, taking into account the particularities and specificities of each vulnerable population group and each territory/municipality, and promote integrated action with the local state authorities;

- Provide information to local education providers on the implementation of activities to promote human rights and respect for vulnerable groups (women, LGBT people, children, indigenous people, people of African origin, etc) in schools;

- Cooperate with other sectors of the Federal and state governments to combat the situations that promote trafficking in transgender teenagers and adults with a female gender identity, including discrimination and rejection in communities of origin, combating transphobia, lack of access to gender reassignment surgery and/or hormone treatments and obstacles in the education system, the labour market and in access to public services;

- Carry out awareness-raising among the public in general and among relevant stakeholders on the rights of children and teenagers, to combat the incidence and acceptance of child trafficking for domestic servitude and commercial sexual exploitation;

- Cooperate with local networks in organising campaigns to prevent the sexual exploitation of children and teenagers and child labour, emphasising the possibility of a connection between these acts and the crime of trafficking in persons;

- Provide information to local stakeholders, in schools and to the general public, on the definition of the occupation of sex worker in the

Brazilian Classification of Occupations (Ministerial Circular no. 397 of 9 October 2002), in order to better combat trafficking in adults for sexual exploitation and prevent any involvement of children and teenagers in the sex market;

- Encourage multidisciplinary approaches in discussions on combating trafficking in persons in the border area, stressing the need for greater interaction between fields of knowledge such as healthcare, psychology, sociology, geography and gender studies, which may bring more useful knowledge on local realities and vulnerabilities, and law and criminology;

- Finance state or local research at faculties, universities and research centres based in the region.

It is further recommended (more general measures, to be implemented by other organs of the Federal government):

- To prioritise combating the crimes of trafficking in persons and labour and sexual exploitation, by means of training border agents, and policies and institutional measures that recognise the priority of the topic;

- To strengthen control and monitoring measures of various forms of economic exploitation, especially those reported in this Assessment (e.g., logging, harvesting fruit, onion, *mate* leaves and tomatoes in the Southern Axis; fishing tourism, agricultural and cattle-raising activities in general, large construction works and civil construction in the Central Axis; and mining and tourism in the Northern Axis), in order to make employment rights concrete and to identify rights violations and cases of trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation and slave labour;

- To implement effective protection and economic and social inclusion policies for indigenous groups, designed on the basis of consultations with them and with broad participation from the various ethnicities and with a gender and age balance;

- To support measures that reinforce the central role of teenagers and young adults in economic empowerment, labour market insertion as apprentices or workers, defence of rights and combating violence, with a view to preventing their involvement in illegal activities;
- To improve monitoring of the internal and international movements of children and teenagers to prevent emigration or immigration without the necessary documentation and to increase the capacity of public safety agents to identify cases of exploitation or trafficking.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I - Sources of Statistical Data

Indicator	Description	Source	Website, if available
Socioeconomic Indicators	The IBGE website - States. This organises for each state of the Federation a summary of the main statistics and indicators, especially from the 2010 IBGE census and the 2011 PNAD.	Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics - IBGE	www.ibge.gov.br
HDI	Created by the UNDP, the Human Development Index (HDI) provides an overview of human development in municipalities and of inequality between them in various aspects of wellbeing. The HDI is a summarised measure of long-term progress in three basic dimensions of human development: income, education and health (longevity).	UNDP Atlas of Human Development	www.pnud.org.br/IDH/Atlas2013.aspx?indiceAccordion=1&li=li_Atlas2013
Data on labour inspections	The Ministry of Labour and Employment (MLE) issues annual synthesis tables with the number of operations carried out per unit of the Federation, with the indication of the number of establishments inspected and workers targeted (by rescue or employment regularisation).	Ministry of Labour and Employment (MLE)	http://portal.mte.gov.br/trab_escravo/resultados-das-operacoes-de-fiscalizacao-para-erradicacao-do-trabalho-escravo.htm
Territorial division, demography, economic indicators and services in the states.	Socioeconomic information issued by the State Governments.	Institutional websites of the states	<p>Acre: www.ac.gov.br/wps/portal/acre/Acre/estado-acre/sobre-o-acre http://www.portalbrasil.net/estados_ac.htm</p> <p>Mato Grosso do Sul: www.fee.rs.gov.br/</p> <p>Paraná: www.ipardes.gov.br/</p> <p>Santa Catarina: www.sc.gov.br/</p> <p>Rondônia: www.rondonia.ro.gov.br/conteudo.asp?id=180.</p> <p>Mato Grosso: www.portalpantanal.com.br/riosprincipais/94-rioparaguai.html They are not widely distributed.</p>

<p>Criminal Statistics</p>	<p>Frequently used by modern police forces as a factor in decision-making and as a main strategic management tool for the development of tactical-operational actions.</p>	<p>Some State Secretaries for Justice and Public Safety (Data from the Military Police and the Civil Police) Federal Police National Council for Justice Ministry for Health</p>	<p>Available at the website of the Public Safety Forum:</p> <p>www2.forumseguranca.org.br/em-breve/</p> <p>Also possibly available on the websites of the Courts of Justice of the states and of the Secretaries of Public Safety/Social Defence of the States.</p> <p>The Federal Police data are not available on the internet.</p> <p>The Ministry of Health data are restricted to violent incidents of compulsory notification.</p> <p>SINAN: http://dtr2004.saude.gov.br/sinanweb/</p> <p>Datasus - Enquiries and Research: www2.datasus.gov.br/DATASUS/index.php?area=0207</p>
<p>Migration data</p>	<p>Main migration flows, migration history and current situation.</p>	<p>National Immigration Council (CNIg) State Governments, academia and civil society</p>	<p>http://portal.mte.gov.br/cni/</p> <p>Pará: www.ufpa.br/beiradorio/arquivo/beira29/noticias/noticia3.htm http://www.assaadzaidan.com.br/imprensa2.htm</p> <p>Rondônia: www.nepo.unicamp.br/textos/publicacoes/data_demo/dadem09.pdf</p> <p>Santa Catarina: www.santur.sc.gov.br</p>

Appendix II - Field Research Mission Agendas and List of Stakeholders participating in the Research in the States of the Border Area (Interviews and Visits)

STATE OF ACRE - Interview Schedule - 22/04 to 03/05				
MONDAY 22/04	TUESDAY 23/04	WEDNESDAY 24/04	THURSDAY 25/04	FRIDAY 26/04
16h - INTERVIEW 1 Regional FUNAI - Acre	09h - INTERVIEW 2 and VISIT - Division for Support and Assistance to Migrants and Refugees and Anti-Trafficking Coordinator of the State Secretariat for Justice and Human Rights	14h - INTERVIEW 3 Association of Homosexuals of Acre	11h - INTERVIEW 4 Directorate of Human Rights and Combating Violence against Women of the State Secretariat of Women's Policies	9h30 - 9h30 INTERVIEW 5 Acre Border Command/ 4th Jungle Infantry Battalion
	16h - INTERVIEW 6 and VISIT Department of Special Social Protection of the Municipal Secretariat for Citizenship and Social Assistance of Rio Branco		15h - INTERVIEW 7 and VISIT Casa Rosa Mulher - Assistance to Women who are Victims of Domestic and Family Violence of Rio Branco	12h INTERVIEW 8 Regional Superintendency of the Ministry of Labour and Employment of Acre
				14h INTERVIEW 9 Superintendency of Brazilian Airport Infrastructure - INFRAERO

MONDAY 29/04	TUESDAY 30/04	WEDNESDAY 01/05	THURSDAY 02/05	FRIDAY 03/05
9h - INTERVIEW and VISIT 10 Acre Reference Centre for Human Rights	14h - INTERVIEW and VISIT 11 - CREAS State Coordination and PAIR Coordination of the State Secretariat for Social Development	10h INTERVIEW 12 Federal University of Acre	9h INTERVIEW 13 2nd Children's and Young People's Court of Rio Branco	9h - INTERVIEW 14 - Federal Roads Police Intelligence
			14h - INTERVIEW - 15 Public Employment Ministry - Regional Employment Prosecutor's Office 14th Region (RO/AC)	11h - INTERVIEW 16- Intelligence Department of the State Secretariat of Public Civil Police
			15h INTERVIEW 17 Federal Public Ministry	12h INTERVIEW 18 State Legislature
				16h - INTERVIEW and VISIT 19 - State Secretariat for Public Safety

STATE OF AMAPÁ – Interview Schedule – 17/05 to 27/05

FRIDAY 17/05	MONDAY 20/05	TUESDAY 21/05	WEDNESDAY 22/05	THURSDAY 23/05	MONDAY 27/05
09h - INTERVIEW and VISIT 1 Anti-Trafficking Centre	09h - INTERVIEW 5 and VISIT 2 State Secretariat for Women's Policy	09h - INTERVIEW 8 FUNAI - Amapá and North Pará Regional Coordination	09h INTERVIEW 9 State Secretariat for Inclusion and Social Mobilisation	09h - INTERVIEW 10	09h INTERVIEW 12 State Public Ministry - Office of the Prosecutor General of Justice
11h INTERVIEW 2 State Office of Integrated Management	11h -VISIT 3 Reference Centre for Women's Services		14h - VISIT 4 Office of the State Secretariat for Health	16h INTERVIEW 11 Court of Justice of the State of Amapá	11h INTERVIEW 13 Federal Police - Amapá Superintendency
12h INTERVIEW 3 State Public Ministry - Criminal Investigation Office	16h - INTERVIEW 6 Federal Public Ministry				
14h INTERVIEW 4 Civil Police	18h INTERVIEW 7 Amapá Black Women's Institute				

STATE OF AMAZONAS - Interview Schedule - 17 to 26/06

MONDAY 17/06	TUESDAY 18/06	WEDNESDAY 19/06	THURSDAY 20/06	FRIDAY 21/06
10h - FOCUS GROUP MEETING 1 Civil Police, Integrated Management Office, National Borders Strategy-AM, State Secretariat of Public Safety	9h INFORMATION Manaus Women's Forum	10h INTERVIEW 4 Federal Police - Amazonas Superintendency	10h INTERVIEW 5 Federal Roads Police - Amazonas Superintendency	9h - VISIT 14 Jacamim Migrant Centre
	14h - FOCUS GROUP MEETING 2 (CEASA) Manaus Roads Authority, Anti-Trafficking and Migrant Centres Installation Coordinations		14h INTERVIEW 8	11h - VISIT 13 Advanced Migrant Assistance Centre
	17h30 - VISIT 12 Anti-Trafficking Centre			17h - FOCUS GROUP MEETING 3 Migrant Chaplaincy, Um Grito pela Vida Network and São Geraldo Parish
MONDAY 24/06	TUESDAY 25/06	WEDNESDAY 26/06		
9h - INTERVIEW 6 Public Employment Ministry	10h - INTERVIEW 11 Amazonia Migration Studies Group	9h INFORMATION Western Amazonia Rivers Captaincy		
14h INTERVIEW 10 State Secretariat for Social Assistance	14h INTERVIEW 9 Public Defenders of the Union	14h INTERVIEW 7 Regional Superintendency of the Ministry for Labour and Employment		

STATE OF MATO GROSSO – Interview Schedule – 20/05 to 29/05

MONDAY 20/05	TUESDAY 21/05	WEDNESDAY 22/05	THURSDAY 23/05	FRIDAY 24/05
9h – INTERVIEW 1 State Office for Integrated Management, Integrated Border Management Office and Specialised Border Group	9h – INTERVIEW 04 Secretariat of Public Safety	15h INTERVIEW 8 Federal Police – Mato Grosso Superintendency	9h – FOCUS GROUP MEETING 1 CETRAP – State Committee for Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Persons	10:30h INTERVIEW 14 State Secretariat for Health
14h INTERVIEW 2 GAECO of the State Public Ministry	10:30h INTERVIEW 5 Secretariat of Public Safety and National Borders Strategy - MT	17h INTERVIEW 9 Public Employment Ministry	14h INTERVIEW 12 Federal University of Mato Grosso and State University of Mato Grosso	15:30h INTERVIEW 15 Várzea Grande Migrant Chaplaincy
16h – INTERVIEW 3 Community Policing Coordination of the Secretariat for Public Safety and Management of Community Action	14h INTERVIEW 6 Federal University of Mato Grosso	18h INTERVIEW 10 Child Protection Coordination of the Public Employment Ministry	16:30h INTERVIEW 13 Federal Public Ministry – Citizens’ Rights Coordination	
	17:30h INTERVIEW 7 Federal Roads Police – Mato Grosso Superintendency			

STATE OF MATO GROSSO - Interview Schedule - 20/05 to 29/05

MONDAY 27/05	TUESDAY 28/05	WEDNESDAY 29/05
14h - INTERVIEW 16 and VISIT 1 Reference Centre for Human Rights	08:30h - EVENT Launch of the CPT Conflicts Book	9h - INTERVIEW 22 and VISIT 2 Specialised Reference Centre for Social Assistance
16:30h - INTERVIEW 17 Public Defenders and State Women's Council	14h - INTERVIEW 19 Land Chaplaincy Commission - CPT	13h - INTERVIEW 23 and VISIT 3 Migrant Chaplaincy Centre
18:30h - INTERVIEW 18 Federal University of Mato Grosso	16h - INTERVIEW 20 State University of Mato Grosso	15h - INTERVIEW 24 Regional Superintendency of the Ministry of Labour and Employment
	18h - INTERVIEW 21 Nova Bandeirantes Municipal Secretariat for Health	

STATE OF MATO GROSSO DO SUL – Interview Schedule – 03/05 to 15/05

FRIDAY 03/05	MONDAY 06/05	TUESDAY 07/05	WEDNESDAY 08/05	THURSDAY 09/05
9h INTERVIEW 1 Counselling School Programme – Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul and PAIR Southeast	9h – INTERVIEWS 4 and 5 Brazilian Institute of Pro-Healthy Society Innovations Centre West - IBISS-CO, “Right to Have Rights” Programme)	9h – INTERVIEW 8 COMCEX – Committee for Combating Violence and for the Defence of the Sexual Rights of Children and Adolescents	9h INTERVIEW 13 Secretariat of Public Safety	9:30h INTERVIEW 17 Paraguayan Consulate
13h INTERVIEW 2 and VISIT 1 Migrant Chaplaincy and Migrant Support Centre – CEDAMI	14h – INTERVIEW 6 National Borders Strategy – MS and Superintendency for Public Safety Polices of the Secretariat for Public Safety	10:45h – INTERVIEW 9 Department of Border Operations - BOD	11h INTERVIEW 14 Integrated Management Office Secretariat for Public Safety	14:30h INTERVIEW 18 Social Protection Coordination of the State Secretariat for Employment and Social Assistance
16h INTERVIEW 3 CIMI – <i>Indigenista Missionary Council</i>	14h INTERVIEW 7 Intelligence Sub- Secretariat of the Secretariat for Public Safety	13:30h INTERVIEW 10 and VISITS 2 and 3 Sub-Secretary for Women’s Policies	14h INTERVIEW 15 GAECO of the State Public Ministry	17h – INTERVIEW 19 ANTRA – National Network of Transvestites, Transsexuals and Transgender People of Brazil and ATMS – Transvestites’ Association of Mato Grosso do Sul
		16h INTERVIEW 11 Municipal Legislature	16h INTERVIEW 16 Citizens’ Rights Prosecutor’s Office of the Federal Public Ministry	
		18:30h - INTERVIEW 12 Brazilian Institute of Pro- Healthy Society Innovations Centre West - IBISS-CO		

FRIDAY 10/05	MONDAY 13/05	TUESDAY 14/05	WEDNESDAY 15/05	
9h INTERVIEW 20 Federal Roads Police - Mato Grosso do Sul Superintendency	9h - ORDINARY MEETING of the State Anti- Trafficking Committee of Mato Grosso do Sul	9h INTERVIEW 26 State Anti- Trafficking Committee of Mato Grosso do Sul	9h INTERVIEW 30 Health Secretariat	
14h INTERVIEW 21 Pro-Dean's Office for Outreach and Community Affairs of the Dom Bosco Catholic University - UCDB	14h INTERVIEWS 22, 23, 24 and 25 Forum for Decent Work and Studies on Trafficking in Persons	11:30h INTERVIEW 27 Public Employment Ministry Forum for Decent Work and Studies on Trafficking in Persons		
		16h INTERVIEW 28 Public Defenders of the Union		
		18h INTERVIEW 29 Child Protection Council and Association of Child Protection Councils of the State		

STATE OF PARÁ - Interviews Schedule - 06/05 to 09/05

MONDAY 06/05	TUESDAY 07/05	WEDNESDAY 08/05	THURSDAY 09/05	FRIDAY 10/05
8:30h - Interview 1 and VISIT State Anti-Trafficking Centre	8:30h - Interview 6 Federal Police - Pará Superintendency	9h - Interview 11 State Women's Policy	8h - Interview 14 State Public Defenders - Human Rights Centre	9h - Interview 16 Federal Police - Pará Superintendency
10:45h - Interview 2 and VISIT State Secretariat for Social Assistance Migrant Shelter	10:30h - Interview 7 Immigration Delegation of the Federal Police	11:15h Interview 12 Federal Public Ministry	15h Interview 15 State Secretariat for Social Assistance	11h - Interview 17 State Public Ministry
12h - Interview 3 and VISIT Reference Centre for Human Rights	12h - Interview 8 Advanced Travellers' Rights Centre	19h- Interview 13 SóDireitos NGO		14h - Interview 18 SóDireitos NGO
13:30h - Interview 4 Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Criminal Analysis	15h - Interview 9 Specialised Reference Centre for Social Assistance			16h - Interview 19 Public Defenders of the Union
16h- Interview 5 Civil Police	18h - Interview 10 Protection Programme for Children under Death Threats			

MONDAY 13/05	TUESDAY 14/05	WEDNESDAY 15/05
10h- Interview 20 Public Employment Ministry	9h - Interview 21 Reference Centre for Occupational Health	9h - Interview 23 Centre for the Defence of Children and Adolescents
	11h - Interview 22 State Secretariat for Health - Statistics Centre	14h - Interview 24 State Anti-Trafficking Forum
		16h - Interview 25 Technical Borders Cabinet

STATE OF PARANÁ – Interviews Schedule – 03/06 to 13/06

MONDAY 03/06	TUESDAY 04/06	WEDNESDAY 05/06	THURSDAY 06/06	FRIDAY 07/06
9h30 – Interview 1 Paraná Anti-Trafficking Centre, Department of Human Rights and Citizenship of the State Secretariate for Justice, Citizenship and Human Rights of Paraná and the State Committee for Refugees and Migrants in the State of Paraná (CERM)	11h Interview 2 State Public Ministry/ GAECO	9h Interview 5 and Visit 3 Migrant Chaplaincy	9h – Interview 7 Federal Roads Police – Paraná Superintendency	9h30 Interview 9 and Visit 5 CASLA – Latin America Centre
	14h30 Interview 3 and Visit 1 Dom da Terra NGO	15h Interview 6 Child Protection Council	13h30 – Interview 8 and Visit 4 Reference Centre for Women’s Services	14h Interview 10 Public Defenders of the Union
	16h – Interview 4 and Visit 2 Marcela Prado Trans-Group NGO			16h30 Interview 11 Public Employment Ministry

MONDAY 10/06	TUESDAY 11/06	THURSDAY 13/06
9h30 - Interview 12 Federal Police - Paraná Superintendency	9h - Interview 15 Health Secretariat	
13h30 - Interview 13 Secretariat for Employment and Economic Solidarity	14h - Interview 16 Federal University of Paraná	14 - Interview 17 Federal Public Ministry
16h30 - Interview 14 Regional Employment Court of the 9th Region		16h - Interview 18 State Secretariat for the Family and Social Development

STATE OF RIO GRANDE DO SUL – Interviews Schedule – 13/05 to 24/05

MONDAY 13/05	TUESDAY 14/05	WEDNESDAY 15/05	THURSDAY 16/05	FRIDAY 17/05
	11h – INTERVIEW 3 Vale do Rio dos Sinos University	11h – INTERVIEW 5 Department of Human Rights and Citizenship of the Secretariat of Justice and Human Rights of RS	9h – INTERVIEW 6 and VISIT 2 CIBAI - Italian- Brazilian Centre for Migration Assistance and Instruction	9h30 – INTERVIEW 8 Secretariat for Public Safety, Integrated Border Management and Integrated State Management
13h30 INTERVIEW 1 Anti-Trafficking Centre	15h INTERVIEW 4 Federal Police – Rio Grande do Sul Superintendency	14h – Meeting of the COMIRAT – Committee for Support to Migrants, Refugees, Stateless People and Victims of Trafficking in Persons	15h30 INTERVIEW 7 Argentinean Consulate	15h INTERVIEW 9 Department for Health Actions – Health Secretariat of RS
17h30 INTERVIEW 2 and VISIT 1 Land Chaplaincy				

MONDAY 20/05	TUESDAY 21/05	WEDNESDAY 22/05	THURSDAY 23/05	FRIDAY 24/05
8h - INTERVIEW 10 and VISIT 3 Brazilian Caritas - Rio Grande do Sul Regional Office				9h - INTERVIEW 19 <i>Um Grito pela Vida</i> Network
10h - INTERVIEW 11 Minors' Chaplaincy and National Committee for Combating Violence Against Children	10h - INTERVIEW 14 and VISIT 5 Antônio Vieira Association - ASAV and UNHCR Solidarity Resettlement Programme	10h INTERVIEW 16 Federal Roads Police - Rio Grande do Sul Superintendency	11h INTERVIEW 17 Uruguayan Consulate - Porto Alegre	15h INTERVIEW 20 State Public Ministry - RS
15h - INTERVIEW 12 and VISIT 4 Igualdade RS, Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals of Rio Grande do Sul, State Committee Against Torture and NEP (Centre for Prostitution Studies)	14h30 INTERVIEW 15 Parliamentary Front for the Disappeared		14h30 INTERVIEW 18 State Secretariat for Women's Policies of RS	
18h30 - INTERVIEW 13 Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul				

STATE OF RONDÔNIA - Interviews Schedule - 05/05 to 10/05

SUNDAY 05/05	MONDAY 06/05	TUESDAY 07/05	WEDNESDAY 08/05	THURSDAY 09/05	FRIDAY 10/05
	9h INTERVIEW 2 Women's Delegation - Assistant Delegate	10h INTERVIEW 4 Federal Roads Police	10h INTERVIEW 6 State Public Ministry	10h INTERVIEW 9 State Secretariat for Security, Defence and Citizenship	10h INTERVIEW 12 Regional Superintendency for Labour and Employment
16h INTERVIEW 1 Centre for Rural Studies - Unicamp	15h INTERVIEW 3 <i>Um Grito Pela Vida</i> Network	15h INTERVIEW 5 Centre for the Defence of the Rights of Children and Adolescents	15h INTERVIEW 7 Specialised Management for Border Security	11h30 INTERVIEW 10 SESDEC Intelligence Service	14h INTERVIEW 13 State Public Defenders
			17h INTERVIEW 8 Integrated Management Office	16h INTERVIEW 11 Public Defenders of the Union	17h INTERVIEW 14 Child Protection Council
SATURDAY 11/05	SUNDAY 12/05	MONDAY 13/05	TUESDAY 14/05	WEDNESDAY 15/05	
10h - VISIT 1 Jaci-Paraná District	10h - VISIT 4 Rondônia Christian Community	9h INTERVIEW 15 Land Chaplaincy	9h INTERVIEW 18 Public Employment Ministry	10h - VISIT 5 Municipal Secretariat for Social Assistance Shelter	
14h - VISIT 2 Jirau Power Plant		11h30 INTERVIEW 16 Interlegis Representative	14h INTERVIEW 19 Federal Police		
16h - VISIT 3 Mine (BR-364)		14h INTERVIEW 17 Municipal Secretariat for Social Assistance	17h INTERVIEW 20 Federal Public Ministry		

STATE OF RORAIMA - Interviews Schedule - 13/05 to 24/05

MONDAY 13/05	TUESDAY 14/05	WEDNESDAY 15/05	THURSDAY 16/05	FRIDAY 17/05	SATURDAY 18/05
9h30 INTERVIEW 1 and VISIT Child Protection Council	8h INTERVIEW 4 Federal Roads Police	9h30 - INTERVIEW 7 Venezuelan Consulate	9h INTERVIEW 9 Military Police Command of the Interior	11h - VISIT Halfway House	19h30 INTERVIEW 11 Children's Hospital
11 h INTERVIEW 2 International Relations Commission of the Order of Brazilian Lawyers (OAB) and State Prosecutor's Office, State Prosecutor and International Relations Commission	10h INTERVIEW 5 Consulate of Guyana		10h20 - VISIT and FOCUS GROUP MEETING Women's Shelter		
16h INTERVIEW 3 Extraordinary Secretary for International Affairs	16h INTERVIEW 6 Federal Police	15h INTERVIEW 8 State Secretary for Public Safety	15h - GRUPO FOCAL 2 Integrated Management Office and Thematic Working Group		
			17h INTERVIEW 10 Office of the Prosecutor of the Republic		
MONDAY 20/05	TUESDAY 21/05	WEDNESDAY 22/05	THURSDAY 23/05	FRIDAY 24/05	
8h - INTERVIEW 12 High Complexity Department of the Secretariat for Employment and Social Welfare of the State of Roraima	9h30 VISIT and INTERVIEW 14 CREAS Pacaraima	9h30 INTERVIEW 17 Coordinator of the Roraima Indigenous Council	8h INTERVIEW 20 Public Employment Ministry	8h INTERVIEW 24 Education Secretariat	

<p>10h FOCUS GROUP MEETING 3 Municipal Council for the Rights of Children and Adolescents and Secretariat for Employment and Social Welfare of the State of Roraima</p>	<p>14h INTERVIEW 15 and VISIT Secretariat for Employment and Social Promotion of Pacaraima and Women Migrants' Centre</p>	<p>14h INTERVIEW and VISIT 18 Nós Existimos Centre</p>	<p>11h INTERVIEW 21 Justice and Young People's Prosecutor</p>		
<p>11h - VISIT Specialised Delegation for Women's Services</p>	<p>16h - INTERVIEW 16 Single Prosecutor's Office of Roraima</p>		<p>14h INTERVIEW 22 Delegate of the Federal Police</p>	<p>14h - INTERVIEW and VISIT 25 Migration and Human Rights Centre/Prisons Chaplaincy</p>	
<p>12h INTERVIEW 13 and VISIT Delegation for Children and Adolescents</p>		<p>20h INTERVIEW 19 Interdisciplinary Study Group on Borders</p>	<p>17h30 INTERVIEW 23 Liaison Officer in Georgetown</p>	<p>17h INTERVIEW 26 Secretariat for Employment and Social Welfare of the State of Roraima</p>	

STATE OF SANTA CATARINA - Interviews Schedule- 07/05 to 19/06 and 21/07 to 26/07

TUESDAY 07/05	WEDNESDAY 08/05	FRIDAY 10/05	MONDAY 13/05	TUESDAY 14/05
14h INTERVIEW 1 UDESC - State University of Santa Catarina	14h INTERVIEW 4 Federal Police	16h INTERVIEW 6 Prosecutor's Office and GAECO Coordinator in the Capital	14h INTERVIEW 8 UDESC - State University of Santa Catarina	13h INTERVIEW 9 State Secretariat for Social Assistance, Employment and Housing
17h INTERVIEW 2 Prisons Chaplaincy	17h INTERVIEW 5 and VISIT 2 Rainbow Institute	17h INTERVIEW 7 Federal Roads Police		
18:30h INTERVIEW 3 and VISIT 1 Association in Defence of Human Rights with a Focus on Sexuality - ADEDH				
WEDNESDAY 15/05	THURSDAY 16/05	MONDAY 20/05	FRIDAY 24/05	MONDAY 03/06
14h INTERVIEW 10 Regional Superintendency for Labour and Employment of Santa Catarina	10h INTERVIEW 13 Department for Socio-Educational Administration of the Secretariat for Justice and Citizenship	14h INTERVIEW 15 E VISITA 4 POP Centre - Service Centre for People Living on the Street	15h INTERVIEW 17 Federal Public Ministry	14h INTERVIEW 18 Women's Delegation
16h INTERVIEW 11 and VISIT 3 Migrants Chaplaincy	15h INTERVIEW 14 State Directorate for Criminal Investigation - DEIC	16:30h INTERVIEW 16 Children and Young People's Centre of the State Public Ministry		
18h INTERVIEW 12 PROVITA - Witness Protection Programme				

STATE OF SANTA CATARINA – Interviews Schedule – 07/05 to 19/06 and 21/07 to 26/07

WEDNESDAY 05/06	THURSDAY 06/06	FRIDAY 07/06	FRIDAY 14/06	WEDNESDAY 19/06
16h INTERVIEW 19 Secretariat for Public Safety and ENAFRON representative	10h INTERVIEW 20 Child Protection Council	10h INTERVIEW 22 CREMV – Reference Centre for Services to Women in Violent Situations and COMDIM – Municipal Council for Women’s Rights	14:30h INTERVIEW 23 Federal Criminal Court	10h INTERVIEW 24 Public Employment Ministry
	16h INTERVIEW 21 State Health Secretariat			

TUESDAY 16/07	MONDAY 22/07	TUESDAY 23/07	WEDNESDAY 24/07	THURSDAY 25/07	FRIDAY 26/07
10h INTERVIEW 25 Dionísio Cerqueira Municipal Secretariat for Social Assistance		9h INTERVIEW 27 Federal University of Santa Catarina and CIMI – Indigenista Missionary Council	10h INTERVIEW 29 Social Assistance Council of Itajaí and POM – Itajaí Migrant Orientation Programme	10h INTERVIEW 30 CPT – Commission of the Land Chaplaincy and National Confederation of Bishops of Brazil	
	15h INTERVIEW 26 FETAESC – Federation of Agricultural Workers of the State of Santa Catarina and CONTAG – National Confederation of Agricultural Workers	11h INTERVIEW 28 State Council of the Indigenous Population		19h - FOCUS GROUP MEETING Indigenous Representatives	14h INTERVIEW 31 Ministry of Labour and Employment
		13h INTERVIEW 28 State Women’s Coordination			

APPENDIX III - Stakeholders Participating in the Research at Federal Level (Questionnaires)

INSTITUTION
MINISTRY OF JUSTICE
ENAFRON - National Strategy for Public Safety at the Borders (Questionnaire 01)
FPD - Federal Police Department (Questionnaire 02)
FRPD - Federal Roads Police Department (Questionnaire 03)
DEEST - Immigration Department - DIMEC - Compulsory Measures Division (Questionnaire 04)
DRCI - Department of Asset Recovery and International Legal Cooperation (Questionnaire 05)
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DCA - Division of Consular Assistance (Questionnaire 06)
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
<i>Calha Norte</i> Programme (Questionnaire 07)
SCPE - Subsection for Policies and Strategy CAE - Section for Strategic Affairs EMCF - Joint Staff of the Armed Forces (Questionnaire 08)
MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT
DEFIT - Labour Inspections Department (Questionnaire 09)
MINISTRY OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION
CDIF - Permanent Coordination for the Development of the Border (Questionnaire 10)
PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC
Secretariat for Federal Affairs (Questionnaire 11)

FEDERAL PUBLIC MINISTRY

AGR - Office of the Prosecutor General of the Republic
FACR - Office of the Federal Prosecutor for Citizens' Rights
(Questionnaire 12)

CIVIL SOCIETY

UNB - Institute for the Humanities, Department for Social Services
Suindara (Health, Migration and Trafficking in Women for the Purposes of Sexual Exploitation)
(Questionnaire 13)

UNICAMP - State University of Campinas
Institute for Philosophy and the Humanities
(Questionnaire 14)

CNTI - National Confederation of Industrial Workers
(Questionnaire 15)

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION

UNHCR - United Nations High Commission for Refugees
(Questionnaire 16)

APPENDIX IV - Other Data and Sources

Table 15: **Summary of Main Relevant Research**

Research Title (translated)	By	Objective	Method Used in the Field	Location	Year
1. Research on Trafficking in Women, Children and Adolescents for the Purposes of Commercial Sexual Exploitation in Brazil - PESTRAF. (Leal & Leal, 2002).	CECRIA	To describe the lived reality of the women, children and adolescents who are victims of trafficking for the purposes of commercial sexual exploitation in Brazil. To identify routes and describe the profiles of victims.	Semi-structured interviews; Case studies; Analysis of 86 Federal Police investigations, 68 Federal judicial proceedings and 276 media reports.	19 Brazilian states ⁷ and their capitals, Federal District and 25 municipalities.	2002
2. 1st Assessment of Trafficking in Human Beings: São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Goiás and Ceará. (Colares, 2004).	SNJ ILO	To identify the profiles of victims and perpetrators of the crime of international trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation in Brazil.	Analysis of 14 Federal Police investigations and 22 Federal judicial proceedings underway between 2000 and 2003.	Goiás, Ceará, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo	2004
3. Indicators of trafficking in persons among people deported or refused admission who return to Brazil via Guarulhos Airport. (National Secretariat of Justice, 2005).	SNJ UNODC State Government of São Paulo	To describe the socioeconomic profile of women and transgender women deported or refused admission who arrive at Guarulhos Airport (SP); to understand the motivations that lead them to carry out the trip and record the events around the deportation, seeking to detect any involvement in international trafficking in persons. Where there was an indication of trafficking, to also explore this potential involvement and the <i>modus operandii</i> of the criminal networks and the specific characteristics of people migrating under these conditions.	Records of observations in the researchers' field diaries; Direct interviews with 176 people deported and refused entry and 15 qualitative interviews with potential victims of trafficking in persons.	São Paulo	2005
4. Trafficking in Human Beings in the State of Rio Grande do Sul (National Secretariat of Justice, 2006).	SNJ UNODC	To show the dynamics of trafficking in persons in Rio Grande do Sul (RS).	PESTRAF results for the South Region. Analysis of official police statistics.	Porto Alegre	2006

5. International trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling among people deported and refused entry who return to Brazil via São Paulo International Airport (National Secretariat for Justice & International Labour Organization, 2007).	SNJ ILO	To understand the dynamics linked to international trafficking in persons among Brazilians deport or refused entry in other countries.	Records of observations in the researchers' field diaries and 73 interviews with people deported or refused entry at São Paulo International Airport.	São Paulo	2006
6. Advanced Migrant Assistance Centre: Report on the Experiences of One Year's Work of the Centre. (National Secretariat of Justice, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime & Brazilian Association in Defence of Women, Children and Young People, s.d.).	SNJ UNODC ASBRAD	To report on the experience of providing services to Brazilian women and trans women who have been deported or refused entry (possibly trafficking victims) by the Advanced Migrant Assistance Centre at São Paulo International Airport, Guarulhos.	5 case studies of people who sought the services of the Advanced Migrant Assistance Centre at São Paulo International Airport.	São Paulo	2007
7. Tropical Sex in a European Country: Brazilian women's migration to Italy in the context of international "sex tourism". (Piscitelli, 2007).	Guggenheim Foundation and Fapesp	To study Brazilian migration on the basis of sex tourism	17 qualitative interviews with Brazilian migrants and the husbands of these Brazilian migrants and observations between 2004 and 2006.	Fortaleza and Italy	2007
8. Tri-national Research on Trafficking in Women from Brazil and the Dominican Republic to Suriname. (Hazeu, 2008).	SODIREITOS GAATW REDLAC	To describe trafficking in women from Northern Brazil and the Dominican Republic to Suriname.	36 qualitative interviews carried out in Brazil and 21 qualitative interviews carried out in the Dominican Republic with women, women's families, non-governmental organisations, governmental organisations and communities.	North Region of Brasil Dominican Republic Suriname	2008

9. Transatlantic Journeys: Exploratory Research on Trafficking in Human Beings from Brazil to Italy and Portugal. (International Centre for Migration Policy Development, 2011).	ICMPD	To analyse trafficking in human beings from Brazil to the European Union, especially Portugal and Italy.	29 interviews carried out with stakeholders in combating trafficking in persons and researchers.	Góias, São Paulo, Minas Gerais and the Federal District	2011
10. Regional Assessment: Trafficking in Women for the Purposes of Sexual Exploitation in MERCOSUR (Meeting of Ministers and High Level Authorities for Women of MERCOSUR, 2012).	Meeting of Ministers and High Level Authorities for Women of MERCOSUR	To analyse the characterisation of trafficking in persons, with emphasis on the form of sexual exploitation.	Literature review of research carried out in the MERCOSUR countries Interviews with stakeholders	Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay	2012
11. Methodology for the humane provision of services to child victims of trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation in the border region. (Secretariat for Human Rights (SDH) of the Presidency of the Republic and Brazilian Association in Defence of Women, Children and Young People, 2012).	SDH ASBRAD	To assess four municipalities in Amazonia, situated in the triple border region, with the objective of understanding the situations of vulnerability of children and adolescents to trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation.	Interviews. The Rapid Participatory Assessment (RPA) methodology applied in the context of the Programme of Integrated and Reference Actions to Combat Sexual Violence against Children and Young People in Brazilian Territory (PAIR) was used.	São Gabriel da Cachoeira/AM, Tabatinga/AM, Pacaraima/RR and Assis Brasil/AC	2012
12. Trafficking in Persons in Paraíba: an Assessment (Peterke, Sven, et al., 2012).	UFPB ("Analysis of Structures of Violence and Rights" Research Group)	To assess trafficking in persons for the purposes of sexual exploitation in Paraíba (general characteristics of the crime, victim profiles, profiles of the accused and others involved and the role of the State in identifying cases).	Analysis of media reports between 2005 and 2011.	Paraíba	2012

Table 16. **Socio-Demographic Data and Social Indicators in the States of the Border Area**

State / Indicator	Population	Area (km ²)	Number of Municipalities	Illiteracy
Acre	733,559	164,123.040	22	15.19%
Amapá	587,311	142,814.585	16	7.89%
Amazonas	3,483,985	1,570,745.680	62	9.6%
Mato Grosso	3,035,122	903,366.192	141	7.82%
Mato Grosso do Sul	2,449,024	357,145.532	79	7.05%
Pará	7,321,493	1,247,689.515	144	11.23%
Paraná	10,444,526	199.88	399	5.77%
Rio Grande do Sul	10,735,890	281,758.5	496	4.24%
Rondônia	1,562,409	237,590.547	62	7.93%
Roraima	450,479	224,300.50	15	9.69%
Santa Catarina	6,248,436	95,346	295	3.8%

Pop. 7 to 14 out of school	Pop. 15 to 17 out of school	Infant Mortality	HDI	Extreme Poverty	GDP Participation Brazil
7.5%	22.2%	22.1	21 st	18.9%	0.2%
4%	16.7%	24.6	12th	12.8%,	0.2%
8.5%	19.6%	22.2	18th	19.3%	1.6%
3.3%	18.7%	19.5	11th	5.9%,	1.6%
2.8%	18.7%	17	10th	5%	1.2%
5.4%	18.5%	20.3	24th	19.2%	2.1%
2.4%	19.3%	10.8	5th	3%	5.8%
2.1%	17.3%	9.9	6th	2.9%	6.7%
3.2%	19.8%	22.7	15th	7.9%,	0.6%
7.7%	17.8%	18.4	13th	17.9%	0.2%
1.9%	19.8%	9.2	3rd	1.7%	4%



