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The Dangers of Displacement: Vulnerabilities to Trafficking within Georgian IDP Populations

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I. Executive Summary

In August 2008 more than 130,000 people were uprooted by conflict between Georgia and Russia. Ten months later, over 25,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) had not returned home - forced to make a living in dozens of temporary settlements and collective centers around Georgia. This study hypothesizes that prolonged poor social and economic conditions, combined with a lack of awareness to trafficking and a willingness to migrate, create the potential for these internally displaced to fall victim to both internal and cross-border trafficking

This study uses key socioeconomic factors, which increase the risk of trafficking as identified in international literature. Research aimed to determine if a deviation in vulnerabilities exists between the IDP population and the overall population of Georgia. The study analyzed results of the research - which attempted to determine specific risk factors faced by displaced populations, including inadequate housing, lack of economic opportunity, and willingness to migrate. The research attempted to extrapolate trends on IDP vulnerabilities, which might be applied to other displaced populations not only in Georgia but worldwide.

Methodology combined secondary source analysis with primary data collection. Original research conducted by the author used both quantitative surveys directed at IDP populations and qualitative interviews of key informants. Within the scope of this research, only the population of persons displaced by the August 2008 Georgian conflict was targeted. The purpose of this research was not to look for specific incidences of trafficking; this report serves merely as a preliminary work in order to inform more detailed future studies. Results from field research were compared against known socioeconomic data about the populations at large to provide a broad base for future analysis.

II. Introduction

Problem Statement

Human trafficking is a complicated international problem and human rights offense.

Numerous governments and international organizations now recognize the seriousness of trafficking worldwide, but given the ambiguous size and scope of the problem there is a need for greater understanding. Human trafficking affects almost every country in the world; the consequences of such a crime have repercussions in the government, economy, civil society, and elsewhere. The crime of trafficking can take many forms. More than just sexual exploitation, the definition of trafficking includes forced labor, bonded labor, debt bondage, involuntary domestic servitude, forced child labor and other forms of exploitation. Trafficking can occur across international borders, as well as within the boundaries of a single country, region, or even city.

At its core, trafficking deals with exploitation and manipulation of those who are vulnerable - poverty, isolation, and lack of information are all factors that can lead to a person falling victim. Vulnerability to trafficking can also be increased through conflict and displacement.³ The often poor economic conditions of IDPs make them a target for human traffickers.⁴

According to Georgian government statistics and non-profit organization statistics, more than 130,000 people have been displaced as a result of the events of August 2008.⁵ Of this initial group, approximately 37,000 have been unable to return to their former places of residence.⁶

As with any emergency situation, the recent conflict in Georgia eliminated the livelihoods of thousands of people, in addition to destroying homes and forcing relocation. Beyond initial displacement and hardships, however, this study examined conditions and vulnerabilities still present in the post-emergency environment. According to the Georgian

government, "The living conditions and economic situation of many IDPs are disadvantageous. The unemployment rate among IDPs is high; their existence depends upon state allowances and international humanitarian assistance." With so many lacking socioeconomic opportunities, Georgia's displaced find themselves in situations that could easily be taken advantage of by traffickers.

Much of the general literature on the topic assumes that those displaced by the conflict are living in unfavorable social and economic conditions. Nevertheless, the question that needs to be addressed is how poor the conditions of IDPs are in relation to the general population. If the internally displaced of Georgia appear to suffer from more extreme socioeconomic ills than the overall population, they may indeed be more vulnerable to the exploitative tendencies of human traffickers. This comparative analysis between both groups provides data to suggest the socioeconomic conditions of IDPs are in fact significantly worse than those of the population at large.

Hypothesis

This study hypothesizes that continued poor socioeconomic conditions, lack of trafficking awareness, and willingness to migrate, create the potential for Georgian IDP populations to fall victim to both internal and cross-border trafficking. It is postulated that socioeconomic conditions and awareness levels of these IDP populations are worse than those of the general population due to the specific difficulties faced from forced migration, isolation, and prolonged displacement. Additionally, strong willingness to migrate may exist as a result of continued displacement for a full 10 months in Georgia.

Risk factors and indicators used in this survey were drawn from accepted international literature and previous World Vision reports. The Handbook for the Protection of IDPs states,

"forced displacement can increase the risk of trafficking by weakening or destroying family support structures, community bonds, and self-protection mechanisms that might otherwise serve as a buffer to trafficking. Because internally displaced persons often lack documentation and have limited access to education, livelihoods, and self-reliance opportunities, they may be particularly vulnerable to traffickers who appear to offer life-saving access to employment opportunities."

The Palermo Protocol specifically mentions "poverty, underdevelopment, and lack of equal opportunity" as "factors that make persons, especially women and children, vulnerable to trafficking." An IOM report ¹⁰ on the vulnerability of young women from Romania states a main factor in a person's decision to migrate is "the lack of opportunities at home," a sentiment echoed in a 2006 paper from the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children. ¹¹ In World Vision's own Assessment Report on Trafficking in Georgia, respondents "indicated their belief that trafficking issues are largely tied to Georgia's social and economic context, and that emigration and a desire to emigrate will persist until socioeconomic conditions are improved." ¹²

Vulnerability and Risk Factors

Primary risk factors were divided into two categories: social and economic. For the economic component, primary source of income, monthly income level, and unemployment were used to determine risk; the social component addressed domestic violence, abuse, neglect, and housing conditions. Data were collected about change in IDPs' economic situations, opinions on economic assistance, and the existence of economic opportunities during displacement.

In addition to the socioeconomic factors used for baseline comparisons to the general population, this research attempted to identify other factors that might contribute to trafficking vulnerability of IDPs. "Willingness to migrate," operationally defined in this research as the

desire to relocate to a different area, is a common theme seen in many displaced populations wishing to either return home or find more permanent housing away from temporary settlements. Survey questions dealing with 'willingness to migrate' involved plans and ability to move out in the next six months, thoughts on working abroad, ideal work locations, knowledge of other IDPs who had migrated seeking work, and willingness to take a sudden job offer.

In the final section of the survey, questions targeted IDPs' awareness to human trafficking, as unfamiliarity with trafficking was seen as increasing risk. Beyond simple knowledge of the term 'human trafficking,' the survey sought to gauge whether or not IDPs comprehended the full definition. Questions were also asked about the sources providing IDPs with their information on human trafficking as well as opinions on the most likely victims of trafficking.

Definitions

III. Background

This research adopted the definition of human trafficking provided by the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children,* supplementing the *United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, Article 3, Section a.*¹³ A definition for internally displaced persons was adopted from the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, Introduction, Paragraph 2.*¹⁴ Vulnerability was defined based on *An Introduction to Human Trafficking: Vulnerability, Impact, and Action.*¹⁵

The Republic of Georgia is a small country located in the North Caucasus with an estimated population of around 4.63 million.¹⁶ The breakaway republics of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, comprising 20% of Georgia's total territory, are not currently under government control. Georgia's economy saw high growth in recent years, posting rates of 10% and 12% in 2006 and

2007, respectively.¹⁷ Conflict and economic crisis in 2008 saw key Georgian industries take an economic hit while growth dropped to a mere 3%.

Migration and displaced populations have been present in Georgia for decades. In the early 1990s, separatist conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia threatened instability in newly independent Georgia. Many were killed while more than 300,000 Georgians, Ossetians, Abkhaz and others were displaced. Regional strife again flared up in August 2008, causing at least 150,000 to flee South Ossetia and the territory bordering the zone of conflict.¹⁸

As of 2009, approximately 250,000 remained internally displaced in Georgia. From the most recent wave of IDPs, some 37,000 have been unable to return to their homes. The majority of Georgia's displaced who have not secured private housing reside in government collective centers and IDP villages.

Georgia's government solutions for displaced persons and trafficking have gained in number recently. In the annual US Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report, Georgia has risen from the lowest *Tier 3* ranking in 2003 - for governments that fail to meet the report's standards and were making no attempts at compliance - to the highest *Tier 1* ranking, indicating full compliance with the report's standards. ²⁰ By improving its ranking, the government created many new initiatives to fight trafficking, including strengthening existing legislation, aiding in the creation of a national trafficking victim's hotline, as well as the creation of a task force and mobile groups assigned the duty of aiding and identifying victims of trafficking.

IDP-related legislation and policy have also improved in recent years. In 2009, the Georgian government approved a new State Strategy for Internally Displaced Persons.²¹ Scheduled to be implemented over the course of several years, the plan focuses on economic integration and long-term solutions for those displaced by the recent events of August 2008 as

well as in the early 1990s, seeking to amend insufficient IDP policies from the previous decade.²²

IV. Applied Methodology

Methodology combined secondary source analysis with primary data collection. Taking into account framework laid out by World Vision, research relied on secondary data collection and analysis whenever possible. Original research was conducted at twelve IDP settlements in the Shida-Kartli and Mtskheta regions of Georgia through a random sampling of the targeted populations by the researcher with the aid of a translator.

A twenty-six question survey, administered orally in individual interviews with a random sample of IDPs was the primary research tool. The survey was divided into sections relating to the four broad risk factors defined in the design of the project: social factors, economic factors, willingness to migrate, and trafficking awareness. Each section was intended to capture a brief insight into the socioeconomic conditions facing Georgia's IDPs post-conflict, in addition to underlying motivations and trafficking comprehension issues which might increase trafficking vulnerability.

Interviews were conducted orally, in-person by the translator with the researcher present. The survey questions were asked in Georgian or Russian, depending on the preference of the interviewee. All interviews involved a verbal agreement of confidentiality, as per UN standards for conducting interviews in the field.²³ When developing survey questions, consideration was given to cultural and linguistic differences; questions were formulated in English but carefully translated into Georgian by the project's translator. Surveys were administered to a total of 203 IDPs in six resettlement villages and six collective centers selected based on geographic and

practical access as well as percentage of IDPs within the target population from the most recent conflict.

For continuity, several of the questions used in the survey were modeled after nation-wide trafficking and sociological assessments conducted by World Vision Georgia and other international organizations. The survey relied on two previous World Vision reports to create social and trafficking-related questions for the research.²⁴ Some questions used in the survey modified several questions from World Vision's Assessment on Child Trafficking in Georgia.²⁵ A previous UN report on the protection of refugees was also used to structure some of the questions.²⁶

In addition to the primary data collection through surveys conducted in the field, several qualitative interviews were held with experts at key organizations relevant to the scope of the research. These groups include Transparency International, the Council of Europe, and the Georgian Young Lawyers Association. Expert interviews were intended to inform the research findings, as well as provide a broad overview and perspective on the issues of human trafficking and internal displacement in Georgia.

V. Presentation of Data

Two hundred and three surveys were conducted across twelve locations, with data collected over a period of four weeks. A total of twenty-six questions were administered, divided into four sections: basic information and social (questions 1-9), economic (questions 10-17), willingness to migrate (questions 18-22), and trafficking awareness (questions 23-26). In addition to the questions on the survey, the gender

Male	Female
32.5%	67.5%

Age Range	Percent
Less than 20	12.3%
20-29	23.6%
30-39	20.3%
40-49	15.3%
50 or greater	28.6%

and age range of each respondent was recorded at the conclusion of the interview. The demographic breakdown of the sample is as follows:

Residents who currently live in collective centers (either in Tbilisi or Gori) represent 26.6% of the sample, while the remaining 73.4% of respondents currently live in IDP settlements across the Shida-Kartli and Mtskheta regions. The average IDP household size for the sample was three members; 91.2% of households contained two or more adults, and nearly half of the IDPs in the sample, 49.8%, reported no children as household members.

Respondents were asked to rank their current living conditions compared to their living conditions before being displaced; 97% of all respondents categorized their change in living conditions as "much worse." As to the particular complaints about IDPs' living conditions, 73.9% listed "all of the above" as their choice, 12.8% cited the lack of water closets, 5.4% the generally poor living conditions, 3.9% lack of space, 2.5% the lack of basic personal commodities such as clothing and blankets, and 1.5% either refused to answer or considered themselves homeless.

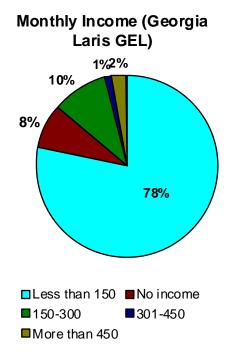
Comparison of Living Conditions, Georgia My Current Living Conditions are Better My Current Living Conditions are the Same My Current Living Conditions are Worse My Current Living Conditions are Much Worse

The social portion of the survey included questions about domestic abuse, neglect, and other behaviors that can contribute to trafficking vulnerabilities. Of all IDPs surveyed, 4.9%

reported that they knew someone in the IDP community who had suffered domestic abuse, and 8.4% reported that they knew someone who had suffered from abuse and/or neglect.

Information on economic vulnerabilities was the focus of the second section of the survey.

Respondents were first asked to list the main source of income - almost half (48.8%) said they relied primarily on social welfare programs. The rest listed pensions (29.1%), wages/earnings of family members (14.8%), the aid of relatives (2.0%), or



agricultural products they harvested (0.5%); 4.9% were unsure as to their main source of income. For income levels, 78.2% reported their total monthly household income at less than 150 Georgian Laris (GEL) per month.

Respondents were also asked to compare the present economic situation of their household with that before displacement, and describe the conditions of their current economic conditions. 98% claimed that their current economic situation had worsened greatly since becoming displaced. None of the 203 IDPs interviewed reported a positive change in their economic situation after displacement. More than 60% of respondents categorized their current economic situation as "harsh," and claimed to rely on others for basic necessities such as clothes and food.

Unemployment was one of the most direct economic impacts of displacement. Of the total sample, 54.2% of respondents reported being employed before displacement. The number

of IDPs who reported employment ten months after displacement decreased to a staggering 5.4%. Georgia's national unemployment rate for 2006 was estimated at 32.2%.²⁷

The survey also sought to determine the perspective of Georgia's IDP population in terms of current economic hardships. Of those surveyed, 40.4% indicated that finding work would improve their economic situation the most, while more than a quarter of the respondents (29.1%) thought that more government aid would help the most. 86.2% of IDPs surveyed described their present location has having no opportunities for work.

Part three of the survey, building on the socioeconomic conditions captured in earlier sections, dealt with the willingness of IDPs to migrate. Respondents were first asked if they had plans to move out in the next six months. More than 86% stated that they could not afford to improve their living conditions, regardless of whether or not they desired to move. Just over 5% said they planned to move out for a better dwelling, while 17% were unsure about their future housing situation.

When asked if they had thought about working abroad, 39.9% responded yes while 60.1% answered no. As for ideal work location, the majority of respondents (66.0%) stated a desire to return to work where they lived before displacement. IDPs were also asked if they knew of anyone in their community who had left to seek work elsewhere in Georgia or abroad - only 13.8% answered in the affirmative. The last question of the section directly asked interviewees whether or not they would take job elsewhere in the country or abroad the next day, if offered. More than half the respondents in Georgia (64%) answered yes.

Of those interviewed, 73.4% said they had heard of the term "human trafficking." However, of that group only 39.6% correctly identified all definitions of trafficking. The other



60.2% either did not know the definition of human trafficking or identified the phrase in much narrower terms, such as only forced prostitution, seen in the graph below.

Almost half of those surveyed (48.3%) received the bulk of their information about trafficking from television; other source of information included acquaintances/relatives (3%), advertisements (1.5%), the press (1%), or all of the above (18.7%). The final question on human trafficking dealt with IDP perceptions of trafficking and vulnerability; respondents were asked which of the following people was most likely to fall victim to human trafficking: a person who goes illegally abroad, a person who contacts labor firms to organize work abroad, a person who relies on the aid of friends and relatives, or all of the above. Almost half of the respondents believed a person who goes abroad illegally is most likely to be trafficked, and nearly as many, 41.4%, claimed they did not know. "All of the above" was the response of 5.9%, and 3.4% said the most vulnerable was a person who contacted firms organizing labor abroad.

VI. Discussion

Implications

Taking into account government statistics as well as data from previous studies on IDPs and trafficking, poverty and economic opportunity were two risk areas where Georgia's internally displaced appear to exhibit vulnerabilities greater than that of the general population. Economically, a post-displacement unemployment rate of 96% among those surveyed coupled with a monthly income averaging almost 30% less than the government's subsistence minimum illustrates the dire economic situation faced by Georgian IDPs.

In 2008, 31% of the Georgian population fell below the poverty line (Ministry of Economic Development, 2008). Officially, the subsistence minimum set by the government for the average family is 206.4 GEL per month. Of those surveyed, 78.2% reported their total monthly household income at less than 150 GEL per month; well below the government-mandated minimum, and farther below the average monthly family income of 375.6 GEL. At the time of writing, 150 GEL was equivalent to less than three dollars.

An overwhelming majority of Georgian respondents, 98%, stated their economic situation had "worsened greatly" since becoming displaced, and almost half still rely on various social welfare programs as the primary source of income. But even with the aid packages provided by the government and international organizations, many IDPs described a situation where providing even basic food for their household was proving difficult.

Lack of trafficking awareness also remains high within the IDP populations compared to the general population; in a previous trafficking assessment of the Georgian population, ²⁹ 93.6% of respondents indicated they had heard of human trafficking - almost 20% more than the data from the IDP sample in the research. The number of respondents who indicated they did not

know who stands a better chance of becoming a victim of trafficking was significantly higher among Georgian IDPs interviewed than in a previous national assessment carried out by World Vision. In the 2007 report, only 11% of those surveyed said they were at a loss of an answer to the same question.³⁰

Policy Recommendations

Two key areas need to be addressed by both governmental and non-governmental organizations when tackling the causes of social vulnerabilities: improving access to information and resettlement solutions. Both organization types can enhance access to information through community-based focus groups and awareness campaigns, especially regarding government accountability measures relating to social assistance. Such programs would enable IDPs to better understand their social situation. More knowledge relating to aid programs and legislation would allow IDPs to make more informed decisions about their situation, and how they can help improve social and economic assistance, successfully voice complaints, and influence current and future legislation. Empowerment through information allows for better civic participation and connects IDPs their communities and countries. Providing this sense of connectedness may help alleviate the problems of isolation, frustration, and helplessness about social conditions encountered in so many of the survey participants - problems that create vulnerabilities, which may then be exploited.

The government should also improve and maintain existing as well as future resettlement solutions through regulatory bodies. They should also hold appropriate parties accountable for existing problems with conditions, through investigations, auditing, and even legal action for buildings that are not up to code. Both measures are essential in providing sustainable solutions for Georgia's internally displaced. Long-term housing options are a critical step to integration

into surrounding permanent communities. The government and other relevant organizations need to show a commitment to acceptable, sustainable resettlement programs from which IDPs can start to rebuild social, economic, and other livelihood components. If poor housing conditions such as lack of running water, lack of access to toilets, and insufficient space persist over the coming months, migration outside IDP settlements will appear ever more appealing. Despite research that shows the majority of IDPs are still unable to afford improvement to their living situations, the possibility of resorting to other means – such as illicit activity or placing themselves in vulnerable situations – to secure adequate housing is not eliminated.

In addressing economic vulnerabilities, policy makers should focus their resettlement approaches around integrated economic development solutions combining local communities with the IDP settlements. Long-term development and capacity building can be accomplished through training, education, and improving the economic infrastructure of IDP settlements. Integration into local communities is one of the goals of recent government legislation on the internally displaced.³¹ As with housing concerns, providing long-term and sustainable solutions for economic development targets underlying problems affecting vulnerability to trafficking poverty, unemployment, and lack of economic opportunity. Although data indicate that vulnerabilities of poverty and unemployment are higher in the IDP populations than the population at large, both groups are facing economic hardships as a consequence of recent conflict with Russia and the global economic crisis. By having organizations utilize integrated approaches that combine local and IDP communities, both groups would benefit through shared training, experiences, and joint efforts to build the economic infrastructure in their communities. Integration issues stemming from conflict between IDPs and local communities would be lessened if both sides understand the importance of cooperation in livelihood development.

Understanding the issue of 'willingness to migrate' among Georgia's IDP populations highlights the critical role of access to information when combating the associated vulnerabilities with trafficking. Policy needs to take advantage of what can be called the 'window of opportunity' indicated by data in this study. The majority of respondents either does not want, or have not thought about, working abroad, or they do not know many IDPs who have left to seek work elsewhere in Georgia or abroad. This may be due to the fact that many are still hopeful that they may return to their pre-displacement residences. During the survey, numerous participants indicated a desire to work where they lived before displacement, but if that option were unavailable, they would immediately seek work opportunities outside Georgia. Continued promotion of the possibility of return for IDPs prevents successful long-term social and economic solutions that provide safe livelihood opportunities. IDPs need to be informed about current legislative efforts, and how they can influence and participate in solutions to underlying social and economic problems. Informative data highlighting the efforts and willingness of all organizations involved with socioeconomic initiatives may provide Georgia's displaced with incentives to rebuild their lives within their current communities.

In addressing knowledge of trafficking, information campaigns must be developed to account for IDPs unique situations and channels of information, target misconceptions about more detailed aspects of trafficking, and arm IDPs with an improved understanding of their situation in relation to the crime of human trafficking. IDP communities are often isolated, receiving information via word of mouth or television, as seen during interviews for this research. This and previous studies have shown a general awareness of the term human trafficking exists within IDP communities as well as the general population. However, improved

comprehension of the different forms of trafficking and situations that lead to increased risk can help make Georgia's internally displaced less vulnerable.

Policy Recommendations for Non-State Actors

Taking the above broad recommendations into consideration, organizations like World Vision Georgia can easily adapt policies that reflect and understanding of the trafficking vulnerabilities facing IDP populations with which they work. Policy recommendations specific to World Vision MEER's Regional Anti-Trafficking Strategy include:

- Incorporation of expanded trafficking awareness literature (to include more thorough definitions as well as examples of those most vulnerable) into existing psychosocial programs working with IDPs.
- Facilitation of focus groups and community discussion to expand the knowledge base of IDP communities. Increase informational exchange on topics relevant to minimizing underlying vulnerabilities such as: socioeconomic development, migration, social/behavioral stigmas, and trafficking awareness.
- Work with the government to ensure successful monitoring and implementation
 of the new State Strategy for Internally Displaced Persons, taking into account lessons
 learned from past insufficiencies with long-term IDP solutions.
- Focus on integrated economic solutions and cooperative projects between IDP settlements and the local communities in order to limit conflict and other deterrents to successful long-term IDP integration.
- Expand dialogue between IDPs and their local communities, authorities, and governments through town-hall style meetings, seminars, and informational sessions to

improve situational understanding and provide incentives for IDPs to assist with local and regional socioeconomic development.

Conclusion

There is a strong need for understanding the specific conditions that displaced populations face. Social and economic hardships endured by many IDP populations, including inadequate housing, poverty, and unemployment, may be disproportionately high compared to the general population, as evidenced by the Georgian case. It should be noted, however, that this preliminary work serves as a foundation piece. While this research only sought to identify underlying vulnerabilities and not specific incidences of trafficking, it is the hope of the researcher that the socioeconomic perspective provided will help inform future studies researching incidences of human trafficking and exploitation in Georgia and elsewhere.

The persistence of such critical socioeconomic conditions, believed to make groups more vulnerable to human trafficking, represent a common danger facing IDP communities worldwide. Appropriate policy solutions paired with targeted trafficking awareness must be undertaken in order to address these underlying vulnerabilities. Otherwise, displaced persons such as those uprooted by recent conflict in Georgia and elsewhere could become human trafficking casualties in the ongoing fight for human rights of internally displaced persons worldwide.

Notes

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