The EU Mutual Learning Programme in Gender Equality

Combatting trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation
Spain, 30-31 October 2018

Discussion Paper - Spain

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This publication is supported by the European Union Rights, Equality and Citizenship Programme (2014-2020).

This programme is implemented by the European Commission and shall contribute to the further development of an area where equality and the rights of persons, as enshrined in the Treaty, the Charter and international human rights conventions, are promoted and protected.

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Prevention by reducing the demand and multi-agency coordination and communication in the fight against trafficking in women and girls for sexual exploitation in Spain

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Introduction

Spain, for ten years now, is committed to the fight against trafficking in women and girls for sexual exploitation. From December 2008, in the First Comprehensive Plan to combat trafficking for sexual exploitation, Spain linked this issue to human rights and a gender inequality, defining it as violence against women and coordinating it from equality structures.

In Spain, prostitution is the main destination for victims of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation (Benterrak, 2017) and the coordination of policies against trafficking through Equal Opportunities structures responds to a reality existing in Spain concerning prostitution as an institution that reproduces patriarchal relations, putting women to the service of men. In this regard, it is important to have an understanding of the causes that produce it, taking into account that trafficking for sexual exploitation must be linked directly with prostitution because sex trafficking exits to supply women and girls to prostitution markets. Therefore, trafficking provides women to the prostitution market to renew the "offer" on a constant basis and with a wide variety of women (the younger and more "exotic" the better) at lower prices, making consumption of prostitution by a greater number of men easier and cheaper. These markets act as suppliers of the sex industry.

Sex trafficking and prostitution is an interlocking system because it is impossible to think that the huge transnational prostitution industry could be supplied without resorting to trafficking and sexual exploitation. Indeed, in the research carried out by Izcara-Palacios and Andrade-Rubio (2016) on the trafficking of women from Central America in the United States, researchers emphasise that pimping prefers trafficked women because they dedicate more hours to prostitution for less money. Furthermore, they highlight that recruitment is as important to the sex industry as the "expulsion mechanism" of those women who are not "profitable". In the cases that they have analysed – which have similarities with what happens in Spain – the prostitution system benefited from the restrictive immigration policies in the United States, since these "unprofitable" women are exposed and are thus deported back to their origin countries. Therefore, the prostitution markets take benefit from restrictive immigration policies both to attract women and to discard them.
Thus, the sex industry supplies the “sex market” with women, but it is demand from males who ensure the system works. Without sex buyers, trafficking in women and girls for sexual exploitation would not be profitable. For all that, it will be impossible to address sex trafficking without tackling the demand for prostitution:

“Male demand for a supply of women and children is the root cause of prostitution and trafficking. Gender inequality, globalization, poverty, racism, migration and the collapse of women’s economic stability are global factors, which create the conditions in which women are driven into the sex industry” (O’Connor and Healy, 2006:6)

Precisely, in accordance with the European Union Strategy for the Eradication of Trafficking in Human Beings (2012-2016) that identifies the demand of sexual services as one of the main causes of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, a Second Plan was launched in 2015 in Spain under the name “Comprehensive Plan to Fight against Trafficking in Women and Girls for Sexual Exploitation (2015-2018)”. This Plan continues with the consideration of the purpose of sexual exploitation as a form of violence against women, as it is mainly suffered by women and girls. The Plan recognises the demand of prostitution as the principal cause of trafficking, establishing the need of addressing prevention to this aspect, taking into account both men who demand prostitution and the whole of society, to avoid the belief that human trafficking occurs in distant countries.

1. Approaching trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Spain from a gender perspective

To have an overview of the dimensions of sex trafficking in Spain, some figures gathered from the Evaluation of The National Strategy to Eradicate Violence against Women (2013-2016) can be presented:

According to the Centre for Intelligence against Terrorism and Organised Crime (CITCO), between 2013 and 2016, they detected 53,440 people at risk of sexual exploitation¹ and among them they identified 3,454 victims (698 trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation and 2,756 victims of sexual exploitation)², also highlighting that more than 98% of these victims were women. Among the victims identified, there were 64 minors: 28 trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation and 36 victims of sexual exploitation. This means that 4.1% of the total identified victims were minors.

According to provisional data provided by the Government Delegation Against Gender-Based Violence (2018), in 2017, NGOs made 61,165 contacts with women in prostitution through different approaches (mobile street units, telephone lines, visits to houses, clubs and other places). They have detected signs of trafficking and/or sexual exploitation in 21,611 women, of which 23.76% show signs of trafficking for

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¹ “People at risk” is defined according to signs that are specified in the following document: http://www.violenciagenero.igualdad.mpr.gob.es/otrasFormas/trata/detectarla/pdf/ManualDirectricesDeteccionTSH.pdf

² Figures includes people at risk of trafficking for sexual exploitation and people at risk of being sexually exploited without incurring in trafficking. Sexual exploitation is also a crime in Spain.
the purpose of sexual exploitation. Most of the women who show signs of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation are concentrated in two age groups: from 18 to 25 years old (41.47%) and from 26 to 35 (31%). In addition, 1.7% were minors. This data means a significant decrease in the detection of potential minor victims with respect to the year 2016, in which 182 minors were detected, which represented 4.72% of the total of trafficking victims of that year.

Regarding the countries of origin of women with signs of being trafficked: 52.7% women were from Nigeria (29.6%) and Romania (18.2%), and these nationalities have a higher percentage of women under 25 years of age. Then, Colombia 4.7%; Paraguay 4.5%; Brazil 3.6%; Dominican Republic 3.6%; Ivory Coast 2.7%; Guinea-Conakry 2.5%; Morocco 2.3%; Bulgaria 2.1%; and other countries 26%. It is worth pointing out that these are the cases identified by authorities and NGOs, but real figures would be higher than these.

Moreover, it is important to highlight that Spain, for several years, has been a country of transit and destination for victims of trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. However, recently the Trafficking in Persons Report (Department of State from the United States, 2017) underlines that Spain is not only a transit and destination country for trafficked victims, but has also become a country of origin for trafficked victims (including different kind of trafficking). Likewise, UNICEF (2017) elaborates a report about child victims of trafficking in Spain and emphasises that Spain is also a country of origin of child victims of trafficking.


Since 2009, when Spain ratified the Council of Europe Convention against trafficking in human beings (Varsovia Convention), a thorough revision of the legal system (prevention, prosecution and protection) has taken place in Spain to adapt it to international law. At the same time, as it has been underlined, some instruments have been launched to reinforce action in the fight against trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, given the dimensions attained in Spain, such as the First Comprehensive Plan to combat trafficking for sexual exploitation that was approved, and lasted for 4 years (2009-2012). That first Plan already defined trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation as a form of gender violence, was coordinated from the field of equality policies and involved the various administrations with competencies in the matter.

Since 2011, the coordination and monitoring of the Plan was attributed to the body specifically created to address violence against women, that is, the Government Delegation against Gender-based violence. The Plan was framed within a holistic gender equality policy for achieving the eradication of gender-based violence: The National Strategy to Eradicate Violence against Women (2013-2016). This National Strategy reflects the commitment of Public Authorities to combating gender-based violence.

The current Comprehensive Plan to Fight against Trafficking in Women and Girls for Sexual Exploitation (2015-2018) emerges also with the aim to improve the first Plan. Therefore, through a participatory process, the current Plan has followed the
recommendations made by a wide variety of agents from Public Administration to civil society. Thus, recommendations were made by Ministries competent in the matter, Autonomous Regions, the Spanish Federation of Local Councils and Provinces (FEMP), the State Public Prosecutor General Office, specialised organisations, NGOs and organisations represented in the Social Forum against Trafficking for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation. Moreover, the current Plan has followed the recommendations made within the evaluation of the first Plan. Furthermore, it has taken into account recommendations from national and international reports. The improvement measures focus on different areas with a main element: improvement of the victim-centred approach. Thus, the principal aim is placing the potential victim in the centre of all actions, before other interests or aims.

The Plan reinforces different areas through defining new measures according to conclusions and recommendations made, in the following priorities: prevention and detection of trafficking; identification, assistance and protection of victims; prosecution of the crime; data collection and knowledge improvement; and inter-institutional coordination.

Following those recommendations, to achieve the goal of combating trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation, the current Plan includes five main axis or priorities:

1. Strengthening prevention and detection of trafficking.
2. Identifying, protecting and assisting victims of trafficking in human beings.
3. Analysis and improvement of our understanding to provide an efficient response to trafficking for sexual exploitation.
4. Prosecuting the crime more actively.
5. Coordination and cooperation between institutions and participation of the civil society.

Each priority includes a wide range of actions with different aims: prevention, training, protection and assistance. Furthermore, for each action, is assigned the departments or ministries that will be responsible for its implementation are indicated.

In the context of these lines of priority, two main lines of action will be discussed as examples of good practices in the field of policies against trafficking in women and girls for sexual exploitation. These lines of action are the following:

- Within the first axis: Prevention by reducing the demand.
- Within the fifth axis: Multi-agency coordination and communication with a victim-centred approach.

Regarding financial provisions to implement this Public Policy: the total cost of the Plan for 4 years is 104.111.157,72 €. Looking at the two axes that are going to be explained in more detail:

- Priority 1 (4 years): 7.223.587,60 €
- Priority 5 (4 years): 26.134.449,66 €
3. Examples of good practices against trafficking in women and girls for sexual exploitation

3.1. Strengthening prevention and detection of trafficking: Prevention by reducing the demand

In its introduction, the Plan highlights that according to the European Union Strategy for the eradication of trafficking in human beings (2012-2016), the demand for sexual services must be identified as one of the main causes of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In the same sense, on 26 February 2014, the European Parliament passed a Resolution on sexual exploitation and prostitution and its impact on gender equality where demand accountability is highlighted:

“(…) demand reduction should form part of an integrated strategy against trafficking in the Member States; believes that demand reduction can be achieved through legislation that shifts the criminal burden onto those who purchase sexual services rather than onto those who sell it, and through the imposition of fines to make prostitution financially less lucrative for criminal organisations/organised crime”

Therefore, within this framework, this policy pays special attention to men who demand prostitution in order to carry out measures to reduce it. And on the other hand, it pays attention to the society as a whole to raise awareness about this kind of slavery and reduce tolerance toward demand for prostitution.

Furthermore, it takes into account the importance of working with the media prioritising the elimination of stereotypes and sexist contents. And it emphasises that media should inform and promote good practices in the treatment of information related to sex trafficking.

3.1.1. Results and impacts

This aim includes 25 measures, some of them focus on prevention by reducing demand of prostitution. In particular, there are measures aimed at raising awareness about the impact that demanding prostitution has on trafficking in women and children for the purpose of sexual exploitation, as well as other regarding the elimination of stereotypes and sexist contents in advertising, the news and the media which justify, trivialise or encourage violence against women and especially the demand for sexual services.

Regarding the activities carried out to implement measures related to awareness raising, the Government Delegation Against Gender-Based Violence and the Ministry

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4 PRIORITY 1: strengthening, prevention and detection of trafficking. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE 1: Raise awareness of the reality of trafficking and promotion of a clear and forceful message to the society of zero tolerance towards trafficking in women for sexual exploitation
of Health, Social Services and Equality have carried out a wide campaign with the slogan: “Contra la trata de mujeres. No inviertas en sufrimiento” (“Against trafficking in women. Do not invest in suffering”). This campaign was launched on September 23rd, 2017 with the hashtag #contralatrademujeresTOMACONCIENCIA (#ConsciousnessAgainstTraffickingInWomen) on social networks such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, among others. The video was publicised on television; advertisement on the radio and different websites; and posters were visible in a variety of cities. The target audience were men who are potential sex buyers.

Moreover, civil society organisations, in collaboration with the Government Delegation Against Gender-Based Violence, have carried out a variety of awareness-raising actions. One of the more impactful projects for the general public was the documentary “Chicas Nuevas 24 horas” (“New Girls 24 hours”) directed by Mabel Lozano. This documentary has been shown at several discussion sessions, conferences and events, some of them targeting in particular young people.

Regarding prevention of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation in the educational sphere, authorities continue to collaborate in the development of the "Master Plan for coexistence and improvement of security in educational centres", with the aim of helping to prevent problems of safety in the school environment. Gender-based violence is included among the addressed issues, and since 2013, it also includes trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Furthermore, it must be highlighted that the research “Apoyando a las víctimas” (“Supporting the victims”) coordinated by the researcher Carmen Meneses Falcón (2015) and funded by the Government Delegation Against Gender-Based Violence has contributed to paying attention to the key role of sex buyers. This research highlights that 90% of participants (all of them were clients of prostitution) admitted that they have heard about trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, and about 10% of them had detected trafficking in minors. However, as Meneses assesses, participants think that it is the victim who has the responsibility to get out of that violent situation, and therefore they avoid all responsibility and implication towards the victim.

Therefore, actions have tried to include different agents involved in combating trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. And all these actions have the aim to raise attention of the society about the reality of trafficking and to promote a clear message of zero tolerance to trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Target groups of this actions are men who are potential sex buyers as well as the general public and media.

This priority also includes measures to involve the tourism sector in order to avoid this type of sexual exploitation. In this regard, it is important to pay attention not just to local sex buyers, because recent studies show us that Spain is becoming a place for sexual tourism. This is happening especially in coastal areas and islands (Torrado et al, 2018).
3.1.2. Assessment of strengths and weaknesses

The main strength of these actions is that it gathers continued awareness initiatives aimed at different audiences, especially focused on reducing demand.

In order to understand the weaknesses of these measures, it should be emphasised that Spain is one of the countries in Europe where the number of men who have ever paid for sex is high, according to the report elaborated by the mission of information on prostitution in France (Geoffroy et. al., 2011). Although we do not have updated figures, available percentages show that 32% (CIS, 2009) or 39% (ONU, 2010) of men have purchased sex at least once in their lives. But we must not only pay attention to local sex buyers, because recent studies show that Spain is becoming a place for sex tourism. In the last few decades there has been a rapid growth in prostitution and a growth in advertising, on the internet and in public spaces. It can be said that men who buy sex have triggered the exponential growth of the sex industry and sex trade. Also, the sex industry invests efforts to create new demand. Therefore, sex customers and the sex industry are part of a circle that constantly reproduces itself. In this sense, one of the weakness is the lack of specific national legislation on prostitution.

Therefore, working to discourage demand for the services of trafficked women and girls may present some difficulties. The high percentages shown above are related to the “normalisation” of the culture of paid sex by men, according to the information gathered from civil society actors in the GRETA Report Concerning the implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings by Spain published in 2018. This Report also underlines that the number of brothels in Spain has continued to growth.

The GRETA Report encourages Spanish authorities to continue discouraging demand by legislative, administrative, educational, social, cultural or other measures. GRETA also encourages to continue implementing educational programmes at school level focussing on “gender equality and respect for the dignity and integrity of every human being and the consequences of gender-based discrimination” (GRETA, 2018:30).

Finally, regarding prevention of trafficking through addressing the demand of prostitution, it is also important to underline two fields that are contributing to create new demand and must be addressed:

- First, in contemporary societies when we focus on sex trafficking, it is worth highlighting that the sex industry also includes the pornography industry. This industry must also be addressed in two ways: on one hand, trafficked women could be exploited within pornography; on the other hand, pornography creates new markets that could influence the prostitution market and the development of new trends of trafficking to supply emerging demands (Ballester, 2018). As some researchers explain (Cobo, 2017; Szil, 2014), nowadays, pornography works as marketing for prostitution.

- Second, regarding Spain, in the last few decades we have seen rapid growth in prostitution and a growth in advertising, which throws the internet and public spaces especially in the biggest cities like Madrid and Barcelona. In the case of Madrid, many neighborhoods are full of publicity that advertise private houses of

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6 This percentage may be outdated, however, a national survey on sexual health and sexual habits has not been conducted since 2009.
Some streets have become urban landscapes full of these advertisements, to such an extent that the neighbourhood movement has promoted the campaign I do not accept (publicity of prostitution) to try to stop this massive advertising. This kind of advertising makes prostitution more accessible, and it acts as a facilitator of prostitution. It is no longer necessary to move, you no longer have to enter specific websites, but prostitution is at your door, on the windshield of your car, or lying on the street. In addition, we particularly find this publicity in working-class neighborhoods, where women experience great precariousness, and it can be asserted that this publicity generates a normalization of prostitution as a survival activity for women at risk of social exclusion who could be captured by procurers and trafficking networks (Ranea, 2018).

For all that, even if it can be said that men who buy sex have triggered the exponential growth of the sex industry and sex trade, also the sex industry invests efforts to create new demand. Therefore, sex customers and the sex industry are part of a circle that constantly reproduces itself.

In conclusion, we can say that the Second Plan tackled different aspects to address the demand of prostitution as an important aim to end trafficking in women and girls. However, in order to continue advancing in the discouragement of the demand for prostitution, it will be necessary to address aspects such as those mentioned above: sex industry, advertising of sexual services and pornography, which contribute to generate new demand.

### 3.2. Coordination and cooperation between institutions and participation of the civil society: Multi-agency coordination and communication with a victim-centred approach.

Multi-agency coordination and communication with a victim-centred approach is one of the key elements within the Plan and it is established as a transversal priority of the Plan. The main aim is to place the victim at the centre of all actions. That is, place the protection and welfare of the victim over other interests (such as interest in the prosecution of crime). In addition, it seeks to continue strengthening the communication and information exchange mechanisms that were already in place, as well as generating new spaces for cooperation between different territorial levels. Therefore, this priority aims at avoiding individual and isolated action of those who have competences in this issue.

#### 3.2.1. Results and impacts

In order to achieve these purposes, the Plan includes actions to improve coordination to not duplicate work. Also, it includes actions aimed at all the agents involved to familiarise them with the protocols of action to protect victims. Improvements in coordination address different government levels and agents. It means the creation of communication and coordination channels to support the process of rescue, protection and recovery of victims. Some of the measures carried out are the following:
• Monitoring the implementation of the Framework Protocol for the Protection of Victims of Trafficking adopted on 18 October 2011 by the Ministers of Justice, the Interior, Employment and Social Security, Health, Social Services and Equality.

• Coordination with the Autonomous Regions through the Equality Sectorial Conference with periodic meetings. Equality Units from the Autonomous Regions take part in this conference. Furthermore, the Government Delegation against Gender-Based Violence has a virtual platform for exchanging information about equality and gender-based violence with the Autonomous Communities. This platform includes the professionals of both administrations to guarantee specialised collaboration.

• Involving the Autonomous Regions in the updating of the Guide of Resources for the assistance to the victims of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

• The Autonomous Regions are also encouraged to develop the Framework Protocol in their territories. From 17 Autonomous Regions, the following have developed their protocol: Catalonia, Basque Country, Galicia, Extremadura, Navarre, Madrid, Valencia and Aragon.

• Cooperation with the Spanish Federation of City Councils and Provinces.

• Encouraging the participation of specialised organisations in comprehensive assistance to victims of trafficking and organisations that work with children in the Social Forum against Trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

• Promotion of communication and collaboration with countries of origin. Preparation of action plans with the main countries of origin of the victims.

• Strengthening of international cooperation through INTERPOL, EUROPOL, EUROJUST and FRONTEX.

There is a key leading figure: The National Rapporteur who works as interlocutor between civil society and Public Administration. Thus, the Rapporteur maintains an ongoing exchange of information. According to the second monitoring report on the comprehensive Plan to fight trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation (2016), the inter-institutional coordination has continued to improve communication through periodic meetings with the National Rapporteur against trafficking in human beings. In each of these meetings, good practices are shared and the impact of the policies on trafficking in Spain is constantly monitored.

During these meetings, the State Security Forces receive the last update of the Guide of Resources with information and contacts of the organisations that provide specialised services to the victims. Thus, they can contact them in case they detect a potential victim and guarantee their appropriate attention. Updated information is essential to provide the fastest response to protect victims.

According to provisional data from 2017, in the last update of the Guide of existing resources for the attention to victims of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, 57 housing resources are available for victims of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, with a total of 499 places available. Among them, resources are provided for accommodation for underaged victims and for victims with minor children. In addition, 119 centres provide support without accommodation.
Moreover, the National Rapporteur has developed a procedure for the periodic collection of information from all the actors involved in order to have a better knowledge about different measures and actions that the variety of actors are carrying out. Thus, the National Rapporteur requests for information every June and December and the questionnaire includes the following aspects:

- Description of trafficking trends.
- Actions of assistance, support and protection to victims.
- Prevention activities.
- Evaluation of actions.

Furthermore, the National Rapporteur has actively participated in the regular meetings of the informal EU Network of National Rapporteurs and/or Equivalent Mechanism chaired by the Commission/Office of the EU Anti-Trafficking Coordinator.

In order to improve multi-agency cooperation, authorities have made efforts to provide training to professionals to improve the knowledge about the Framework Protocol for the Protection of Victims of Trafficking. Furthermore, in 2016, three courses were offered to 360 professionals and members of the Spanish Federation of City Councils and Provinces. The Government Delegation pays special attention to inform professionals who, without being involved directly in the fight against trafficking, are in contact with potential victims.

Regarding bilateral international cooperation, there is an improvement in relations with the liaison officers of the main countries of origin, such as Romania, Bulgaria, Nigeria and Morocco.

The target groups of these measures are the different levels of administration, professionals and civil society.

**3.2.1. Assessment of strengths and weaknesses**

As already argued before, the main strength of this priority is the creation of channels and mechanisms to improve cooperation among different levels of Spanish administration and civil society. Due to the complex configuration of the Spanish State, it is especially relevant to use virtual platforms, forums and the creation of key figures such as the National Rapporteur. Moreover, the essential role of the Government Delegation against Gender-Based Violence that oversees all these coordination actions must also be assessed as a strength.

Regarding weaknesses in the processes of coordination and communication, the complex configuration of the Spanish State could present some barriers. It is indeed a complex task to coordinate and communicate between different administrative territorial levels (the State, Autonomous Regions, Provinces and City Councils) that have competences around combating trafficking (such as protection, assistance, persecution and prevention). This makes it difficult to implement coordinated actions and it could affect negatively the victims’ protection due to the lack of adequate coordination. For this reason, the Government Delegation against Gender-Based Violence encourages the Autonomous Regions to develop their protocols for those that have not yet done so. The proper development of protocols must include the participation of all the institutions involved, whether public or private and regardless of the territorial level at which they work.
Moreover, Spanish authorities must invest more efforts to implement the victim-centred approach because as NGOs and civil society highlight interest in the prosecution of crime seems to be more priority than guaranteeing the protection of victims (GRETA, 2018). Organized civil society in the Spanish Network against Human Trafficking, has been asking for years to approve legislative measures such as a comprehensive law against trafficking that guarantees, among other measures, real protection of victims (Red Española contra la Trata de Personas, 2015).

Furthermore, progress should also be made in the area of international cooperation and, especially, with the countries of origin to support prevention. According to the Government Delegation Against Gender-Based Violence, in the past years the Ministry of Foreign Affairs carried out cooperation development programmes focussing on preventing trafficking from origin countries, but those programmes have largely disappeared.

4. Issues for debate

During the last years, Spain has made progress to combat trafficking in women and girls for sexual exploitation. The good practices introduced above have special relevance because of the difficulties and barriers that must be overcome.

On the one hand, as already argued above, discouraging demand for the services of trafficked women and girls is a difficult task within the Spanish legal and social context. To discourage demand is important that measures referred to sex buyers, pimps and sex industry as well all those companies that contribute to encourage demand, such as pornography or commercial sex ads. It would be useful to exchange good practices in this area with other EU Member States.

On the other hand, Spain needs to keep improving and strengthening multi-agency intra-territorial and international coordination and communication to achieve a better protection for trafficking victims and to make the victim-centred approach more effective. Exchange with other countries on this issue about their experience would also be very useful.

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