

Review of the Media Framing of Human Trafficking in Germany

Eva Küblbeck, LL.M
German NGO Network against trafficking – KOK e.V.

Berlin, June 2019

This report has been funded by the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS)

The report is for general information purposes only. The CBSS does not make any warranties with respect to the accuracy or completeness of the information in this publication. The views, findings, interpretations and conclusions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position of the CBSS.

Table of content

| | |
|--|----|
| List of figures | 3 |
| 1. Executive summary | 4 |
| 2. Introduction..... | 5 |
| 3. Methodology | 6 |
| 4. Literature review | 10 |
| 5. State of the media in Germany | 11 |
| 6. Discussion of findings | 12 |
| 6.1. Issue focus - forms of exploitation | 12 |
| 6.2. Dominant frames | 15 |
| 6.3. Pictures | 21 |
| 6.4. Language..... | 25 |
| 7. Best practice reporting..... | 26 |
| 8. Recommendations and Conclusions | 28 |
| 8.1. Recommendations..... | 28 |
| 8.2. Conclusions..... | 29 |
| 9. References..... | 31 |

List of figures

- Figure 1: Issue focus Germany 13
- Figure 2: Issue focus abroad..... 14
- Figure 3: Framing of cases within Germany..... 16
- Figure 4: Framing of cases abroad 17
- Figure 5: ZO_02 22
- Figure 6: ZO_02 22
- Figure 7: SO_05 22
- Figure 8: ZO_01 22
- Figure 9: FAZ_03..... 23
- Figure 10: FAZ_06_1..... 23
- Figure 11: FAZ_06_2..... 23
- Figure 12: TAZ_02..... 24
- Figure 13: ZO_06 25
- Figure 14: TAZ_05..... 25
- Figure 15: FAZ_04..... 28

1. Executive summary

"Red light and blue light always work' was described as a rule of thumb in TV newsrooms.¹ While this quote refers to reports on violent crimes by TV stations in Germany in general, it seems to apply to the reporting of newspapers on human trafficking as well.

An analysis of 50 articles published in six major national German newspapers and news magazines since 2010 was carried out in order to collect information on how media is framing human trafficking in Germany. One key finding is that in regards to the issue focus as well as the dominant frame a clear divide between articles reporting on trafficking cases within Germany and trafficking cases abroad is noticeable. While reports on cases in Germany focus mainly on sexual exploitation, those reporting on events abroad focus predominantly on labour exploitation. Other forms of exploitation play a minor role in either context.

The analysis of articles in regards to the dominate framing showed: while reports in the German context predominantly frame human trafficking stories as a crime issue, articles set abroad use a human rights frame more frequently.

In addition, the study also analyses images and photos used to for illustration and provides a number of insightful examples. In particular, pictures of large police actions and police officers in riot gear or images of red-lights districts and sex workers are used to illustrate cases in the German context. This reinforces the existing picture of trafficking taking place in the context of organised crime and prostitution.

Three articles, which can be considered as “best practice” reporting are highlighted and presented in more detail. In addition to the analysis of the articles, four interviews with journalists and bloggers were carried out. They were consulted on their views on the framing of trafficking in Germany and provided a number of very useful recommendation, which are included in the final chapter of the present report.

The study has been commissioned by the Council of the Baltic Sea States and was carried out by Eva Küblbeck on behalf of the German NGO Network against Trafficking – KOK e.V.²

¹ G. Mayr, cited in: Hestermann, T. (2015) *Der Gruseleffekt: Wie Gewaltberichte des Fernsehens unsere Weltsicht beeinflussen* p. 311: <http://www.praeventionstag.de/dokumentation/download.cms?id=2397>.

² <https://www.kok-gegen-menschenhandel.de/en/home/>.

2. Introduction

In Germany, trafficking in human beings has been on the political agenda for at least two decades³ but it has been in particular in more recent years that the focus is extending beyond sexual exploitation and other forms of exploitation are defined as trafficking. Legislative changes in 2005 introduced labour exploitation as a form of trafficking.⁴ In 2016, trafficking for forced criminal activities, forced begging and organ removal were included in the criminal code.⁵ In the political sphere as well as public discourse, trafficking is very often discussed in the context of prostitution and sexual exploitation. The majority of police investigations take place in this field: In 2017, the Federal Criminal Police recorded 327 completed police investigations for sexual exploitation, 11 for labour exploitation and two based on suspicions of forced begging, recording in total 621 victims.⁶ In addition to the figures recorded by the Federal Criminal Office counting investigations, most counselling centres for victims of trafficking publish statistics about their clients annually, who may or may not have been already counted in the police figures. No accurate estimates exist which would allow for valid conclusions to be drawn about the total numbers.

The interest of the media in the issue of trafficking increased in the years since 2009. In 2009 the media scientist Dr. Thomas Hestermann found in a study, that human trafficking occurred beyond media attention.⁷ This seems to have changed as a search of the databank Genios, containing a large number of newspapers delivers 2.263 articles with the term 'Menschenhandel' in their headlines between 01.01.2010 and 01.06.2019.⁸

In spite of a legal definition on international and national level, a certain degree of confusion on its meaning persists. Frequently, the terms smuggling and trafficking are used interchangeably and illicit crossing of international borders assisted by smugglers is declared as trafficking.

The base-line assumption is that media play an important role in informing and shaping public opinion.⁹ Therefore the way trafficking is portrayed by the media is crucial for the general public's understanding of the phenomena and can potentially influence the public and political discourse. A young woman forced into prostitution by gang members and under strict surveillance, seemingly without any option to leave the exploitative situation, will trigger different responses than the case a grown-up chef who is forced by threats to his family to work overtime without adequate pay. The same can be assumed for the depiction of

³ Founding of the Federal-State-Working group on trafficking in women in 1997, see:

<https://www.bmfsfj.de/bmfsfj/themen/gleichstellung/frauen-vor-gewalt-schuetzen/menschenhandel/bund-laender-arbeitsgruppe-menschenhandel/bund-laender-arbeitsgruppe-menschenhandel/80602?view=DEFAULT>.

⁴ https://www.bgbl.de/xaver/bgbl/media/561B05F2D9DC3F686C73E34A09B18C35/bgbl116s2226_74431.pdf.

⁵ https://www.bgbl.de/xaver/bgbl/media/561B05F2D9DC3F686C73E34A09B18C35/bgbl116s2372_74471.pdf.

⁶ https://www.bka.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Publikationen/JahresberichteUndLagebilder/Menschenhandel/menschenhandelBundeslagebild2017.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=4.

⁷ Cited in Czarnecki, D. (2013) *Zum medialen Umgang mit dem Thema Menschenhandel im Jahr 2013 – ein kritischer Zwischenruf*, KOK e.V. (ed.): https://www.kok-gegen-menschenhandel.de/fileadmin/user_upload/medien/stellungnahmen/Umgang_Presse_mit_MH_2013_final.pdf.

⁸ <https://www.genios.de>.

⁹ Terms of Reference.

perpetrators: frequent reporting on migrant traffickers and few mentioning of German nationals committing these crimes may create a different image of the issue as a whole. Hestermann, who has been researching the presentation of violence and violent crimes in television, concludes that certain ways of reporting may lead to politicians reacting under pressure on assumptions about crime rather than to real developments in crime. "In the end, the construct of reality leads to reality actually changing".¹⁰

The present analysis attempts to identify dominant frames used by German media and to examine how German press discusses and presents the issue of human trafficking.

3. Methodology

The main question of the research is: *How does the news media frame human trafficking?* Central to the research is the aim to gain an understanding of the manner, in which news media articles covering the issue of human trafficking in Germany.

For the analysis 50 sources were chosen from six major national newspapers and news magazines, including four daily newspapers: *BILD*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *die Tageszeitung* (TAZ) and *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, one weekly newspaper *Die ZEIT* as well as one weekly news magazine: *der Spiegel*, including their online editions. The newspapers were chosen due to their popularity and the range of political opinions they represent. Each one of them shall be described¹¹ briefly:

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung is conservative-liberal, selling about 200,688 copies a day.

Süddeutsche Zeitung is politically left-liberal, but presents a business-friendly view in its economic section. By the end of 2018, the newspaper sold 279,680 copies daily.

Die tageszeitung, TAZ is a progressive newspaper and organized as a cooperative. Its daily number of sold copies reached 41,745.

The daily newspaper with the greatest number of readers in Germany is the tabloid *BILD* with over 1.4 million copies daily.

The second most popular weekly newspaper in Germany is the liberal *Die Zeit* with 404,805 copies per weekly issue.

Out of the three most influential news magazines in Germany, *Der Spiegel* is the most successful one, with about 701,000 copies per issue in the first quarter of 2019.¹²

The keyword 'Menschenhandel' (trafficking in persons) was used in the search. If possible, the search was limited to results mentioning the term 'Menschenhandel' in either the title or the teaser of the article. Due to the number of articles identified this way, no further searches

¹⁰ Translation by the author, original language: "Am Ende führt das Konstrukt von Wirklichkeit dazu, dass sich die Wirklichkeit tatsächlich verändert." Hestermann, T. in: *Prävention rechnet sich. Zur Ökonomie der Kriminalprävention*, Marks, E./ Steffen, W. (eds) Forum Verlag Godesberg GmbH (2015) p. 310.

¹¹ The description is based on: <https://www.deutschland.de/en/topic/culture/newspapers-and-freedom-of-the-press-in-germany>; the webpage "deutschland.de" is a service provided by FAZIT Communication GmbH, in cooperation with the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin;

statistical figures on copies sold are based on: <https://meedia.de/2018/10/18/ivw-blitz-analyse-zeitungen-bild-welt-und-bams-verlieren-um-die-10-handelsblatt-zeit-und-f-a-s-dank-digital-kunden-stabil/>, unless other source indicated.

¹² <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/164386/umfrage/verkaufte-auflagen-von-spiegel-stern-und-focus/>.

with related terms such as 'labour exploitation' or 'sexual exploitation', 'forced labour' or 'forced prostitution' were carried out. With some newspapers, all articles selected were freely accessible online (e.g. *BILD*), others were available only via the newspaper archives. This access was gained through the Berlin State Library.

Depending on the newspaper, the number of articles including the term 'Menschenhandel' varied greatly. Generally, the starting point for the search was 01.01.2010 as required by the Terms of Reference (ToR). Some newspaper search engines, however, allowed setting only certain time limits or none at all: for example, for *BILD* no time limits were possible at all. The news magazine *Der Spiegel* only allowed choosing between results published within the past year or all articles since 2005. Where the timeframe could not be set according to the ToR, only articles published after 01.01.2010 were chosen for further analysis.

Results by newspaper:

- *Die Zeit/Zeit online*: the search¹³ for the term 'Menschenhandel' brought 622 results; no time limits could be set. About 240 articles published after 2012 were briefly scanned and those preselected, which indicated from the title or teaser that their focus was on human trafficking. Some were accessible directly, other were retrieved through the archive access at the library. Ensuring some diversity in regards to the form of exploitation and the date of publication eight articles were finally selected and analysed. The abbreviation used for this newspaper is Z, respectively ZO for the online edition.
- *Der Spiegel/Spiegel online*: the search¹⁴ was limited to articles since 01.01.2005 and a mention of the term 'Menschenhandel' either in the title or the teaser of the article. The search brought 109 results, which were briefly scanned in regards to their main topic. The eight articles subsequently analysed in more detail were selected based on following criteria: an event that *Der Spiegel* has reported on several times (e.g. arrest and court proceeding), different topics, length of the article (longer articles were prioritized), covering several years and published after 2010. The abbreviation used for this newspaper is S, respectively SO for the online edition.
- *BILD*: The *BILD* Zeitung search¹⁵ engine only allows for a search by topic, no other filters can be applied. This led to 793 results. Going back until 2013, the titles and first few sentences of the main text of 513 articles were scanned in regards to their relevance and main topic; eight articles were finally selected for the analysis based on: different topics, length of the article (longer articles were prioritized) and covering several years. The abbreviation used for this newspaper is B.

¹³ <https://www.zeit.de/thema/menschenhandel>; search carried out: 04.04., 11.04. and 18.04.2019.

¹⁴ <http://www.spiegel.de/suche/?suchbegriff=Menschenhandel&suchbereich=header,title,lead&suchzeitraum=ab2005&fromDate=01.01.2005&quellenGroup=SPOX&quellenGroup=SP&pageNumber=1>, search carried out: 04.04. and 19.04.2019.

¹⁵ <https://www.bild.de/suche.bild.html?type=article&query=Menschenhandel&resultsStart=0&resultsPerPage=10>, search carried out on 19.04. and 23.04.2019.

- *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)*: The search was carried out in the archive; the search engine allowed for limiting the search to results including the term 'Menschenhandel' in the title. The search brought 44 results published between 01.01.2012 and 04.04.2019. These were briefly scanned in regards to their main topic. The nine articles subsequently analysed in more detail were selected based on following criteria: different topics and length of the article (longer articles were prioritized).¹⁶ The abbreviation used for this newspaper is FAZ.
- *Die Tageszeitung TAZ*: The search¹⁷ was carried out via the TAZ archive and limited to results mentioning 'Menschenhandel' in the title. The temporal restriction were set to only show articles published after 01.01.2010. The search brought 95 articles. Eight articles were included in the analysis, which were selected using the following criteria: different topics, length of the article (longer articles were prioritized) and covering several years. The abbreviation used for this newspaper is TAZ.
- *Süddeutsche Zeitung*: search was carried out in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* archive and limited to results mentioning the term 'Menschenhandel' in the title. It also includes articles published in SZ Online. The time frame was limited to articles since 01.01.2010. The search brought 54 results, out of which nine articles were selected using the criteria described above.¹⁸ The abbreviation used for this newspaper is SZ.

One exception to the method of selection described above has been made in the process of choosing articles for the analysis. The article "Meat Industry: the order of slaughtering"¹⁹ (Z_01) was included after one of the interview partners pointed it out as being a very important piece that triggered further reporting on labour exploitation in the meat processing industry. It did not appear in the initial search results as the term 'Menschenhandel' is only included in the main text, but not in the headline or teaser.

Data for this analysis came from just over 1,000 newspaper articles. Articles were scanned to ensure that their primary concern is trafficking as opposed to other issues such as smuggling, transfer of football players²⁰ or other issues. Very often trafficking is conflated with smuggling and newspapers use the terms interchangeable. Repeatedly, journalists use it in the context of migrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea.²¹

¹⁶ Search was carried out on 04.04.2019, full articles accessible only for subscribers or library access.

¹⁷ Search was carried out on 15.04. and 18.04.2019.

¹⁸ Search was carried out on 12.04. and 18.04.2019.

¹⁹ Translation by the author, original language: „Fleischwirtschaft: Die Schlachtordnung“.

²⁰ See: <https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/vorab/weltmeister-kramer-im-spiegel-moderner-menschenhandel-im-fussball-a-986464.html>: "In general," in the football business, he feels "sometimes like in modern human trafficking." (translation by the author), original language: "Ganz generell" fühle er sich im Fußballgeschäft "manchmal wie in einem modernen Menschenhandel."

²¹ For one typical example see: <https://www.zeit.de/wirtschaft/2015-09/schlepper-organisierte-kriminalitaet-fluechtlinge-europa-grenzschutz>: "The more intensively one protects the external borders, the more one strengthens the criminal networks of the smugglers. Human trafficking has become such a profitable business only because of the EU's well-secured

According to the Terms of Reference, the articles were chosen based on the specification to present a broader range of events thematically and geographically. This means, that important events covered by several newspapers, were usually included in this analysis only once. One exception was made to this rule regarding reports on a large raid by the Federal police in 2018: various newspapers picked up this incident and reported with high frequency all across Germany. In addition, priority was given to articles reporting on forms of trafficking or events that seemed less in the focus of attention.

The attempt to include a wider range of issues and different forms of exploitation in the analysis increased the number of articles dealing with cases abroad, as they tend to focus on other forms of trafficking more often. A random search would have resulted in a different ratio of reports on domestic and foreign cases.

The selection of the five national newspapers also has a strong impact on the results, as it is very often local or regional newspapers reporting on cases of trafficking. Therefore, the results are not representative and no generally valid conclusions can be drawn in regards to the actual frequency of the different forms of trafficking being mentioned in the press and the overall dominant thematic presence.

50 articles were analysed in detail and coded regarding following characteristics:

- the newspaper,
- date of publication,
- section of the newspaper,
- length of the report,
- headline,
- sources,
- topics covered,
- language used,
- organisation mentioned,
- the major frame and
- pictures.

The most relevant characteristics have been analysed in the study in detail. In addition, a brief summary of each article was created. Going beyond the specifications, it was also recorded whether the report concerned a trafficking issue in Germany or abroad as well as the form of exploitation.

The method used for this research is described by Jörg Matthes as ‘manual holistic frame analysis’²² (*manuell-holistische Frame - Analyse*), meaning that texts are examined in regards to their one dominant frame. Having the possible frames determined prior to the research

external borders (...)” (translation by the author). Original language: “Je intensiver man die Grenzen nach außen schützt, umso mehr stärkt man die kriminellen Netzwerke der Schlepper. Der Menschenhandel ist überhaupt erst durch die gut gesicherten Außengrenzen der EU so ein profitables Geschäft geworden (...).“

²² Translation by the author.

follows a - what he calls - deductive approach.²³ Frame options for coding were: 'Human rights', 'security', 'prostitution', 'immigration', and 'prosecution'. Additionally, the option 'other' is given to categorise additional frames when needed. Only one frame is determined for each article. As of how these frames were determined no explanation was given by the specifications of the ToR.

The study is also based on interviews with journalists. Journalists of each newspaper selected as source of articles for this study as well as the German Press Agency (*Deutsche Presseagentur*, dpa), were contacted - three journalists agreed to give an interview. Additionally, an interview request was sent out to a blogger, who has been known to the author prior to this study due to her longstanding work in this field. Interviews with three journalists as well as one blogger were carried out between 23.04.2019 and 09.05.2019. The same lead questions were used for each interview (see Annex 1). The names and statements of the interviewees have been rendered anonymous so that the individual journalists and bloggers are not identifiable to other parties but the author of the study.

4. Literature review

Most of the research identified as relevant for this study dealing with the question of the framing of human trafficking has been published in the USA. A very comprehensive study, for example, is: *The problem of human trafficking in the U.S.: Public frames and policy responses* by Amy Farrell and Stephanie Fahy in 2009. This extensive study analyses 2,462 texts from U.S. newspaper articles published between 1990 and 2006. Due to the scope of the research, the authors were able not only to identify the dominant frames but also to measure and document changes thereof and discuss the implications. The study found that the topic shifted from a human rights problem in the 1990s to a predominantly crime and criminal justice problem to a crime problem with national security implications.²⁴

A more recent study from the U.S. was submitted as Master thesis in 2015: *Framing human trafficking: A Content Analysis of Newspaper Articles from 2012 and 2013* by Rachealle Sanford. This research analyses the media coverage of the issue by the New York Times and the Washington Post in 2012 and 2013 and compared the results to earlier studies. The research found a dominance of sex trafficking in media coverage and concluded that journalists frequently duplicated and legitimized the official perspective without offering alternative views.²⁵

The concept of framing is discussed in several publications in Germany, but no in-depth analysis of the question of how human trafficking is framed by German print media could be identified. In 2009, the above mentioned media scientist Hestermann published an article on:

²³ Matthes, Jörg (2014) *Framing*, Baden-Baden, Nomos, p. 40.

²⁴ Farrell, Amy/ Fahy, Stephanie (2009) *The problem of human trafficking in the U.S.: Public frames and policy responses*, in: *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 37: p. 623.

²⁵ Sanford, Rachealle (2015) *Framing Human Trafficking: A content Analysis of Newspaper Articles from 2012 and 2013*, ProQuest, p. 36.

“Das ideale Opfer: jung, weiblich, deutsch. Wie das Fernsehen Gewaltkriminalität darstellt und warum es kaum über Menschenhandel berichtet. (The ideal victim: young, female, German. How television presents violent crime and why it hardly reports on human trafficking.)”²⁶ His work focuses on TV reporting and the results have only limited relevance for the present study. A brief position paper called “The media’s treatment of human trafficking” was published by the KOK e.V. in 2013.²⁷ As the title says, the study analyses the portrayal of human trafficking by the media. Due to an increase in reports on the issue and a tendency to reporting in a sensationalist way, the author listed a number of problems in reporting, such as the repetition of very high numbers of victims, which had been estimated without legitimate figures as basis. Other issues criticized were the lack of differentiation between themes of human trafficking and prostitution, the usage of a very stereotypical picture of a victim as well as the use of sexualized pictures illustrating the articles. The position paper concluded with a number of recommendations on how to report on trafficking cases.

A number of scholars have published theoretical work on the concept of framing, which was used as theoretical foundation of the research, sampling and analysis. In “*Framing as a Theory of Media Effects*” Dietram A. Scheufele²⁸ outlines the theoretical premises of the concept and develops a typology of framing research. As part of a series of books on qualitative research methods Altheid, D. and Schneider, C. published *Qualitative Media Analysis* in 2013. The authors discuss how to obtain, categorize and analyse different media documents and provide the reader with methodological tools in regards to media research, including details on the concept of framing. Further, Jörg Matthes published a book on framing in 2014 in which he discusses the different methods, highlights the potential problems with the concept and gives a comprehensive overview on the methodology.²⁹

5. State of the media in Germany

In Germany, a large number of daily, weekly and Sunday newspapers are published. These are run by private media companies. 94% of all persons over the age of 14 years regularly read a newspaper.³⁰ According to the *Federation of German Newspaper Publishers*, 323 daily newspapers with 1,452 local editions are published every day. This adds up to a total of 14.1 million copies. Additionally, 23 weekly newspapers with a circulation of 1.7 million and 1.8 million copies of six Sunday newspapers are published every week. Germany has the fifth

²⁶ In: *Politische Studien* Nr. 427, Sept/Oct 2009, Volume 60, Hanns Seidel foundation (ed.), S. 47-53, translation by the author.

²⁷ Czarnecki, D. (2013): *The media’s treatment of human trafficking in 2013 – a critical interjection* KOK e.V. (ed.): https://www.kok-gegen-menschenhandel.de/uploads/media/KOK_media_english.pdf.

²⁸ In: *Journal of communication: an official journal of the International Communication Association*; Cary, NC: Oxford University Press; Vol. 49, No. 1 (1999), p. 103-122.

²⁹ Matthes, Jörg (2014) *Framing*, Baden-Baden, Nomos.

³⁰ <https://www.deutschland.de/en/topic/culture/newspapers-and-freedom-of-the-press-in-germany>.

largest newspaper market in the world, after China, India, Japan and the USA.³¹ 13 million internet users read their daily paper in digital form.³²

Journalistic and ethical standards for the work of journalists are laid down in the press code³³ by the German Press Council (*Deutscher Presserat*). The German Press Council consists of the journalists' associations (*Deutscher Journalisten-Verband*, DJV), the journalists' union (*Deutsche Journalistinnen- und Journalisten-Union (dju) in ver.di*), the Federation of German Newspaper Publishers (*Bundesverband Deutscher Zeitungsverleger*, BDZV) as well as the Association of German Magazine Publishers (*Verband Deutscher Zeitschriftenverleger*, VDZ) and is responsible for ensuring the compliance of the code and dealing with complaints.³⁴

In 2019, *Reporters without Borders* found a favorable environment for journalists in Germany, ensured by strong constitutional guarantees and an independent judiciary. Since 2015, however the organization noticed an increasing number of incidents of threats, harassments and in some cases even physically attack of far-right groups and demonstrators against journalists. In 2019, Germany was ranked place 13 in the World Press Freedom Index.³⁵

6. Discussion of findings

6.1. Issue focus - forms of exploitation

In order to determine the predominant issue focus of reports on human trafficking the analysis went beyond the specifications and additionally recorded the form of exploitation described in the articles. The results show, that out of 50 articles 27 focus exclusively or in some cases partially on sexual exploitation, 15 on labour exploitation, three on other forms such as forced criminality or forced adoption. Nine reports mention all forms briefly or talk about trafficking in a general manner without distinguishing between the individual forms of exploitation.

When looking at the 50 articles in more detail, however one interesting aspect becomes evident: In regards to the issue focus as well as the dominant frame (see below) a clear divide between articles reporting on trafficking cases within Germany (31 articles) and trafficking cases abroad (19) is noticeable. This analysis will start with articles focusing on Germany and describe differences in content and framing in a second step.

Focussing on Germany, the **majority** of articles (20 of 31 articles) report on cases of trafficking for **sexual exploitation**. Most of these deal with sexual exploitation exclusively; some also mention one other form. A number of articles describe cases of exploitation of mostly migrant women in brothels and the red light districts of German cities (e.g. SO_05/FAZ_07/FAZ_04).

³¹ <https://www.bdzv.de/maerkte-und-daten/marktdaten/zeitungen-in-zahlen-und-daten/>.

³² <https://www.deutschland.de/en/topic/culture/newspapers-and-freedom-of-the-press-in-germany>;

For more information of the state of the media in Germany, see: <https://medialandscapes.org/country/germany>.

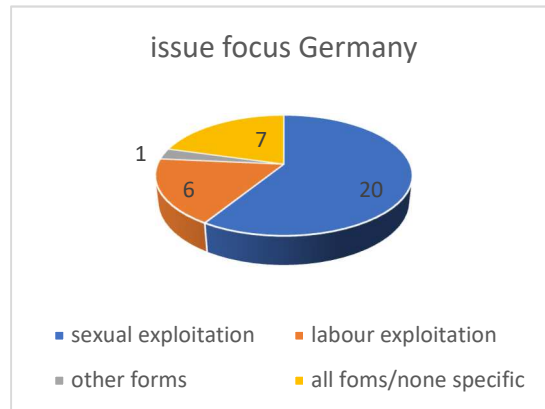
³³ https://www.presserat.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Downloads_Dateien/Pressekodex2017english.pdf

³⁴ <https://www.presserat.de/presserat/aufgaben-organisation/>.

³⁵ <https://rsf.org/en/germany>.

The articles analysed also include reports on the exploitation of trans*persons (e.g. ZO_02), sexual exploitation of minors (B_04) and of young men (SZ_06).

Figure 1: Issue focus Germany



Source: Own survey

Six out of 31 articles deal with **trafficking for labour exploitation**, but mostly only include a brief mention, such as: “In addition, they allegedly forced people to carry out handicraft works”³⁶ (ZO_01) or a description of the problem in general terms (TAZ_07/SZ_05). According to a study commissioned by the KOK e.V. in 2016, labour exploitation is rarely discussed in the context of human trafficking in Germany but rather in connection with illicit labour, severe labour exploitation or precarious labour conditions.³⁷ Reports about exploitation in the construction sector, meat-processing industry and logistics, which may amount to trafficking but are only discussed within the frame of precarious jobs or labour exploitation, are not included in this report due to the research design.

One article focuses on **other forms of trafficking** and describes a case on forced criminality (TAZ_06).

Seven newspaper articles deal with **all forms (or none specifically) of human trafficking**, however often do not elaborate on any of these in more detail but merely mention the existence of other forms when reporting about statistics or legislation. For example: “0.3% have their organs removed, which traffickers subsequently sell”³⁸ (SZ_03) or “according to the UNDOC, the two main forms of exploitation worldwide were sexual exploitation and forced labour, but also forced marriages, forced begging or trafficking in human organs”³⁹ (TAZ_08).

³⁶ Translation by the author; original language: “Ferner hätten sie Menschen zu Handwerksarbeiten gezwungen“

³⁷ Mitwalli, J. (2016) *Severe labour exploitation and trafficking in human beings for labour exploitation in the case of women*, KOK e.V. (ed.), p. 14: https://www.kok-gegen-menschenhandel.de/fileadmin/user_upload/medien/Downloads/Excerpt_from_KOK_study_trafficking_for_labour_exploitation_of_women_web.pdf.

³⁸ Translation by the author; original language: „0,3% werden Organe entnommen, welche die Menschenhändler anschließend verkaufen“.

³⁹ Translation by the author; original language: „Die beiden weltweiten Hauptformen ausbeuterischer Verhältnisse waren nach Angaben des UNDOC sexuelle Ausbeutung und Zwangsarbeit, aber auch Zwangsehen, erzwungenes Betteln oder der Handel mit menschlichen Organen.“

This finding applies generally to reports about national or international data and reports (e.g. B_01/SZ_03).

These results have to be considered bearing in mind, that the selection of articles was not by random but there was an attempt to include a wide range of topics and forms of trafficking and thereby a priority was given to articles focusing on other forms than sexual exploitation; a random selection would most likely show an even stronger dominance of sexual exploitation.

Looking at newspaper articles reporting on trafficking issues abroad, a different picture emerges: Seven articles report on sexual exploitation, nine texts deal with the subject of labour exploitation and two with other forms. Two reports about statistics mention all forms (FAZ_08/ZO_04).

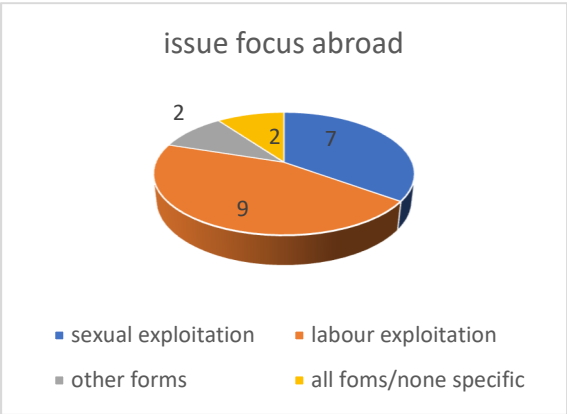
Almost all reports on **sexual exploitation** focus exclusively on this form of trafficking, including two articles reporting elaborately on trafficking of women from Nigeria and portraying individual stories (TAZ_04/FAZ_01). Other articles report on the issue based on an interview with a convicted trafficker (B_08) or deal with a ring of paedophiles operating in Haiti (SO_08).

Trafficking for **labour exploitation** is subject of the majority of the articles. The topics range from labour exploitation in the Czech state forests (TAZ_05/SZ_09), domestic workers in diplomats' households in Austria (Z_02) and the USA (TAZ_02) to exploitation of refugees in Libya (SZ_07) and state organised exploitation in North Korea (FAZ_05).

Two articles deal with **other forms** of trafficking: one is an article about forced adoption of newborn babies in Peru (FAZ_02). The second one describes abduction, trafficking and torture in Sinai (SZ_07).

An additional, two articles cite international statistics by UNODC or others and similarly to articles in the German context, refer to **all forms** in a general manner.

Figure 2: Issue focus abroad



Source: Own survey

As part of the research, four interviews were conducted and three journalists working (freelance) for national newspapers as well as one blogger were interviewed. The first question posed to each of them was: “In your opinion, which forms of human trafficking are predominantly reported on in Germany?”⁴⁰ The answers of the interview partners coincide largely with the findings of the analysis. Some of the interviewees also provided an explanation for the perceived situation. Three of the four saw currently or at least until recently a strong focus of the reporting on sexual exploitation. According to the journalists, reports on human trafficking often focus on trafficking for sexual exploitation and discuss the issue in connection with prosecution (I2) or in the context of sexual exploitation of Eastern European victims (I3). I3 also noted only small numbers of reports on African states as well as few labour exploitation cases. She explained the focus on sexual exploitation with the higher sensational value of these reports.

According to the perception of the interview partner I4, the strong focus on sexual exploitation in the past started to shift in recent years and she noticed an increase in reports on trafficking for labour exploitation. She observed however, that labour exploitation is often discussed under the heading: “modern slavery” and legal terms are less frequently used.

Interview partner I1 held a slightly different view: he was under the impression that the reporting on trafficking for sexual and for labour exploitation is roughly equal.

The analysis of the main focus can be summarized as follows:

- The main focus of all articles overall is on trafficking for sexual exploitation. This finding coincides with the impression the majority of the interview partners have. Three of four interviewees saw currently or at least until recently a strong focus of the reporting on sexual exploitation.
- However, a much stronger focus on labour exploitation can be observed in reports on cases abroad in comparison to cases in the German context. Reports on German trafficking cases predominantly focus on sexual exploitation, mentioning labour exploitation in only few cases and general terms, whereas the majority of articles dealing with cases abroad discussed labour exploitation.

6.2. Dominant frames

a) General findings on framing

“Frames are cognitive structures that help define how one sees the world”⁴¹ or as *Altheide* and *Schneider* describe it: “Frames focus on what will be discussed, how it will be discussed, and, above all, how it will *not* be discussed.”⁴² The concept of framing is important as it

⁴⁰ Translation by the author, interviews were conducted in German (see Annex 1).

⁴¹ Farrell A. /Fahy S., p. 618.

⁴² Altheide, D.L./ Schneider, C. J. (2013) *Qualitative Media Analysis*, 2nd ed., Thousand Oaks, Sage Publ., p. 52.

strongly influences which particular aspects of an issue or event individuals notice and how they interpret what is happening.⁴³

The research clusters all articles in one of six frame options given by the ToR: a) human rights, b) security, c) prostitution, d) immigration, e) prosecution or f) other. The category human rights also includes labour rights, the category “other” includes statistics, organised crime, labour migration, refugees and articles without clear framing.

As afore applied, the results are broken down into reports on German cases and those relating to cases abroad. For the German context, categorising the articles and defining the dominant frame proved difficult at times. Many articles report on raids or trials in sexual exploitation cases and it is not always easy to determine whether the prevailing frames should be described as prosecution or prostitution.

More than half of the articles on **German cases** (18 out of 31) were predominantly framed in the context of prosecution and law enforcement. For four articles, the central frame can be categorised as prostitution and for three articles the overall theme is human rights, including labour rights. The analysis did not identify the categories ‘immigration’ and ‘security’ as a predominant frame. In six articles, the framing either remained unclear or did not fit into any of the categories but deal predominantly with data, undeclared work or organised crime.

The framing of articles covering trafficking **cases abroad** again is quite different: the framing ‘human rights’, including ‘labour rights’, applies to seven articles out of 19 articles, whereas five reports cover the trafficking cases as crimes issues. Security and immigration play, like in German cases, no role; the remaining seven articles cannot be assigned to one frame but cover the issue in the context of organised crime, refugees, labour migration and statistic or no explicit framing can be determined.

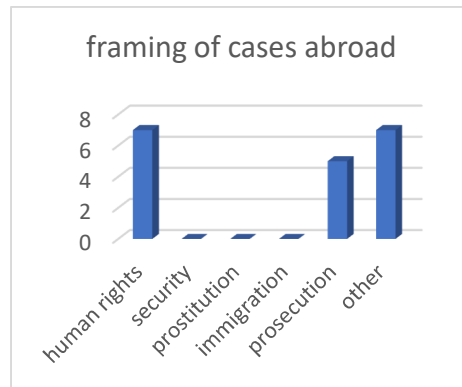
Figure 3: Framing of cases within Germany



Source: Own survey

⁴³ See: Altheide, D.L./ Schneider, C.J. (2013) p. 52.

Figure 4: Framing of cases abroad



Source: Own survey

In addition to analysing the articles, the interview partners were asked to name the dominant frame. According to one journalist's perception, all mentioned frames apply and merge into each other. He added that he has become aware of the fact, that journalists increasingly frame border control measures as anti-trafficking measures.⁴⁴ Two of the interview partners⁴⁵ named prosecution as the dominant frame, one of them in the context of the exploitation of migrant prostitutes. The fourth person considered prostitution to be the main frame used, but increasingly also migration. In her view, journalists typically treat human trafficking as a human rights issue when writing about reports of international institutions.⁴⁶ Again, the perception of the interview partners largely coincide with the findings of the analyses, in particular when looking at the reports in the German context.

b) Individual frames and triggers

The following section will look more closely at the different frames, describe what kind of articles were found for each category and evaluate the prevailing triggers for reporting.

Prosecution

Almost half of all the analysed articles frame the topic as a crime issue (23 of 50). As mentioned above, for German cases the ratio is higher than for the international reports (18 of 31 compared to seven of 19).

Having a closer look at the genesis of the reports or the "trigger", a strong focus on **raids and police investigations** becomes visible for cases within Germany (10 of 18) as well as abroad (3 of 5 cases). A substantial part of the articles on German cases report on raids of brothels, such as a large raid by the Federal Police in 2018 carried out all over Germany, which was picked up by the media widely (SO_02/B_03/ZO_02). Other examples include a raid in a large brothel in Berlin (SO_05), a raid in four brothels (FAZ_07) or nationwide raids in various brothels (FAZ_09). Also in cases of suspected labour exploitation, raids seem to be a strong trigger to report on trafficking (ZO_01/B_06).

⁴⁴ Phone interview I1, 23.04.2019.

⁴⁵ Phone interview I2, 23.04.2019 and phone interview I4, 09.05.2019.

⁴⁶ Phone interview I3, 09.05.2019.

The fact that no random sample was analysed has an impact on the results and the total number of articles in the newspapers inspired by raids is presumably much higher, as in several instances different newspaper outlets report on the same raids, but were apart from one incidence only included in the study once.

Another important reason to report on trafficking cases are **trials or court judgements**. The analysis looked at four articles that reported on the criminal court cases or court ruling in the German context and one internationally. Some trials were particularly in the focus of attention and were repeatedly reported on (but only included once in this study). This seems to be mainly the case when those accused were well-known individuals and of some public interest, for example the owner of a large brothel chain who was called the “king of brothels” (SO_01). The same can be said for an article reporting on a trafficking case in Belgium that had high profile protagonists: the court in Brussels sentenced eight Arab princesses (SO_04).

Only four articles in total were inspired by other reasons, such as a conference in Berlin (FAZ_03) or a report by UNODC (B_01). In two other cases the genesis remains unclear, including an interview with a convicted trafficker serving sentence in a Bulgarian prison (B_02).

Generally speaking, reports about trafficking set in the frame of persecution very often mainly reiterate facts the newspaper received from police or court officials or one of the large press agencies, in particular the German Press Agency *dpa*. The focus in these cases is clearly on the crime, the perpetrators and police measures. The articles in this context are predominantly between 1500 and 3000 characters long, with few exceptions, e.g. one report counting 4767 characters (SO_02) and in comparison to articles with a human rights framing rather short.

The findings of the analysis of the articles in regards to the frame prosecution and possible triggers for reporting corresponds largely with the statements of the interview partners. Interview partner I2 believes that German media mainly reports about trafficking for sexual exploitation in the context of law enforcement and sees one important trigger for reports on trafficking in court proceedings. According to I3 a spectacular case is one of the two main reasons to report on trafficking, the other one being newly published reports by international bodies. She also stressed the difficulties to report on the issue without a specific occasion or event. I1 did not mention prosecution or court proceedings as particular strong triggers but named proposed legislation as a reason for reporting on trafficking in human beings. I4 criticised in this context the strong focus on raids and criminal procedures and pointed out, that the “rescue” of the victims often simultaneously marks the final point of reporting without questioning what happens afterwards to the victims. She referred to the large-scale police raid in 2018, when a significant number of reports on the raid were published (e.g. SO_05/FAZ_07/FAZ_04), but to her knowledge none on the subsequent fate of the Thai women and trans* prostitutes.

- raids and court proceedings are the main triggers for reports on trafficking in the context of prosecution analysed in this study, both in the German context and internationally

- many articles in this context pose a strong emphasis on the prosecution and the perpetrator with little mention of the victims

Prostitution

Despite a substantial number of articles reporting on trafficking and sexual exploitation in brothels, the analysis identified only four items that framed the topic clearly as a **prostitution issue**, all of which focussed on Germany. Working as a sex worker or running a brothel is legal in Germany but regulated by a number of laws, in particular the so-called *Prostituiertenschutzgesetz*.⁴⁷ In 2013 the national coalition government at the time put the **reform of laws** regulating prostitution and combatting trafficking on its agenda. This was accompanied by some discussion in the media on the proposals. Two articles are based on interviews with experts, sex workers and other stakeholders and present different positions on the topic (SZ_08/TAZ_03). They go well beyond a mere presentation of the facts but attempt to present different and to some extent conflicting views on the issue. The article “clients face imprisonment”⁴⁸ (SZ_04) on the contrary presents the new anti- trafficking law passed in 2016 law and quotes the Federal government. Without discussing the issue further, it simply explains a new provision of the law, which introduced penalties for clients of prostitutes who have been forced to work in this field. Similarly, a piece published by the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* titled “Human trafficking - brothels with license”⁴⁹ (SO_07), which briefly presents the political law-making process at the government level in the context of prostitution and anti-trafficking, without questioning the official view.

In spite of a low number of articles framing trafficking as a prostitution issue in the text, several articles do so by using pictures of sex workers for illustration (see below: 3. Pictures).

- few articles report on trafficking as a prostitution issue, and if so, this is predominantly done in the context of legislation reforms
- a number of articles not using the frame ‘prostitution’ explicitly in the text do so by using images of sex workers and red light districts etc.

Human Rights

Ten articles included in the study treat the topic as a human rights issue. Journalists seem to use the human rights or labour rights frame in connection with trafficking in particular when reporting about trafficking cases abroad (7 of 19 international context/ 3 of 31 German context). It appears that exploitation is not considered a human rights violation frequently in the German context. Within the framework of the study, a wide definition of the human rights

⁴⁷ *Act on the Regulation of Prostitution and the Protection of persons engaged in prostitution* (translation by the author), original language: Gesetz zur Regulierung des Prostitutionsgewerbes sowie zum Schutz von in der Prostitution tätigen Personen.

⁴⁸ Translation by the author, original language: „Freiern droht Haft“.

⁴⁹ Translation by the author, original language: „Menschenhandel – Bordelle mit Genehmigung“.

frame was applied and articles focusing on labour rights or victim rights are included in this category. One aspect that becomes apparent immediately when looking at the articles is that the majority of them counts more than 3,000 characters, with over half of them reaching between 5,000 and 25,000, which makes them overall considerably longer than the average article in other frame categories. This leads to the conclusion, that they are generally less event-based but the results of extensive investigative research. A number of the items are **based on detailed interviews** with victims and/or experts. “Trafficking in persons in the USA - 18 hour-days, beatings as wages”⁵⁰ (TAZ_02), for example, describes two cases of trafficking for labour exploitation to the USA, one of them in great detail. The article elaborates on the methods of the trafficker, the rights of the victims and lack of alternatives for many of those in exploitative situations. Other articles based on individual cases and interviews describe exploitation in diplomatic households (Z_02), in Czech state forests (TAZ_05), exploitation in the meat processing industry (Z_01) or the support offered by counselling centres (TAZ_01). The genesis of some of the other articles are **reports by international bodies**, such as the Council of Europe (ZO_06/FAZ_06) or international statistics (ZO_05).

Presenting the interview partners the different options of framing, two of them had named human rights as one that is used by journalist (see above). In this context it has to be mentioned that three of the interviewees pointed out, that the main challenges of reporting about trafficking is to get access to information and to find victims who are willing and able to give interviews. While one journalist stressed the importance of letting victims speak, she also pointed out that to interview victims, journalists need to be very patient, persistent and prepared for setbacks and be aware of how difficult it can be for the individuals to speak about the exploitation.⁵¹ I1 also pointed to the risk of endangering the victim. I3 suggested that it would be very useful for journalists to undergo a training in dealing with people with post-traumatic stress disorders in order to ensure a careful approach to the protagonists.

The analysis of the articles showed that few articles focus on the victims themselves and are based on interviews. Where this is the case, however, the individuals are presented as agents and rights holders, not just victims.

- Reports on trafficking dealing with the issues as a human rights issue are frequently the results of elaborated investigative research on individual cases or articles on reports by international bodies, such as the UN or the Council of Europe.
- Within the frame of this study, trafficking was considered more often as a human rights violation when the focus was on issues abroad rather than on Germany.

⁵⁰ Translation by the author, original language: „Menschenhandel in den USA – 18-Stunden-Tage, Schläge als Lohn“.

⁵¹ I3.

- Journalists drew attention to the difficulties to access information and to interview victims, which may cause the limited number of reports in this area.

e. Other

For quite a number of articles no dominant frame according to the given options could be identified (6 German context/ 7 international). Three of them report about the UNODC annual reports on trafficking and present the figures and statistics (ZO_04/FAZ_08/ SZ_03). The article “Trafficking is a prosperous business”⁵², for example reports on the findings of the 2014 UNODC report in a comprehensive way. It elaborates on the fact that the number of minor victims has increased, as well as the number of those being trafficked for labour exploitation. The article describes regional differences and gives examples on the earnings of traffickers. It further explains characteristics of traffickers, such as gender, nationality and scale of organisation.

Three articles can be grouped under the heading “organised crime’, however the reporting is in such a way that it neither fits in the category security nor prosecution. Two of them are on trafficking of young women for sexual exploitation from Nigeria (FAZ_01/TAZ_04), the other one describes the exploitation of a Vietnamese migrant who is forced to sell cigarettes on the street to pay back costs of the irregular migration to Germany. The article also portrays the story of a young woman who has disappeared and is suspected to have been forced into prostitution (TAZ_06). For the remaining articles no specific frames can be identified. They deal with the issues of labour migration (SZ_09), illicit labour (SZ_5), refugees (SZ_07), individual cases (B_05) or support structures for victims (SZ_02/TAZ_08).

- Other frames found during the research were: organised crime and data; for some no particular thematic presence could be identified.

6.3. Pictures

The articles were also analysed in regards to whether they used pictures and what kind. According to Jörg Matthes, visual frames have three main tasks: firstly, they present the essence of the ideological conviction or the core of the problem. Secondly, visual frames may extent textual frames and can express things that would be difficult to write. Thirdly, they can draw and steer attention. They are grasped quicker and remembered longer, which increases the impact.⁵³ Analysing pictures used to illustrate the news about trafficking cases is therefore very important, however identifying the exact purpose of each image would go well beyond the scope of this study. Instead, a brief overview of the pictures used shall be given and tendencies described. Again, the selection of the articles according to the specification of the ToR also affects the distribution of pictures.

⁵² Translation by the author, original language: “Menschenhandel ist ein prosperierendes Gewerbe“

⁵³ Matthes, J., p. 80.

a) Pictures illustrating domestic stories

Starting with the articles treating human trafficking as a crime issue, the vast majority of the articles use footage of police, often in riot gear or during a raid. For example, one of the articles about a raid by the federal police in the case of Thai women and trans*persons being forced into prostitution (ZO_02), used images tweeted by the police. One of them shows masked and heavily armed Special Forces entering a house.

Figure 5: ZO_02



Source: Zeit Online

Figure 6: ZO_02



Source: Zeit Online

Another article reporting on a raid in a well-known Berlin brothel due to suspicion of undeclared work, tax evasion and human trafficking used a photo presumably taken during the police operation (SO_05).

Figure 7: SO_05



Source: Spiegel Online

A story about a raid carried out against an extended family to secure evidence of insurance and social benefit fraud, forgery of documents as well as trafficking for labour exploitation (ZO_01) used the image of a police officer watching over a group of people, seemingly ready to step in if anyone would attempt to escape.

Figure 8: ZO_01



Source: Zeit Online

In some instances, even articles not specially reporting on law enforcement measures use images of police actions to illustrate the text and draw the reader's attention, as for example an article on an anti-trafficking conference in Berlin (FAZ_03).

Repeatedly, the kind of pictures of police actions used for the illustration of human trafficking cases raise the impression of a very serious crime, carried out by dangerous perpetrators.

Figure 9: FAZ_03



Source: FAZ

Of all article with the thematic focus on crime and prosecution, nine used images of police forces as shown exemplary above, six used no picture or none was shown in the online accessible version. In particular, *BILD* did not use pictures on several occasions but seems to rather focus on sensationalist titles to draw the reader's attention (see below: 4. language). Three articles used pictures of court rooms or buildings (e.g. SO_03) and three more depicted different scenes, such as a construction worker (TAZ_07), a baby in a cardboard box (FAZ_02) or an inmate (B_08).

Another frequently used image is that of sex workers, their legs or lower parts of their bodies. Three articles in the context of crime used such images, but they could also be identified being used in a context that had no specific focus on sexual exploitation. This is for example the case in an article titled "Council of Europe report: Praise for Germany's fight against human trafficking"⁵⁴. The piece reported on the first GRETA monitoring report on Germany and the evaluation of the transposition of the convention in general (FAZ_06).

Figure 10: FAZ_06_1



Source: FAZ

Figure 11: FAZ_06_2



Source: FAZ

⁵⁴ Translation by the author, original language: "Bericht des Europarats: Lob für Deutschlands Kampf gegen Menschenhandel".

Generally, the majority of articles framing human trafficking cases predominantly as crime cases use images of police forces and police actions. Another repeatedly used image is that of a prostitute – this is especially the case for publications by the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ_06, FAZ_04, FAZ_04).

It appears the rule of thumb in TV newsrooms: 'Red light and blue light always work'⁵⁵ cited in the beginning of the study also applies to images used in this context. Heavily armed police forces fighting dangerous criminals or scenes from the red light milieu and prostitutes seem to be particularly popular in order to attract the attention of readers.

Overall, it can be concluded when looking at all articles reporting on trafficking in the domestic context, images most frequently used depict police forces (8 times) or prostitutes and red-light districts (8). An equal number of articles used no picture at all (also 8). Other images used are: photos of interview partners / victims (3), workers (3), a court building, a woman wrapped in cling film wrapped (TAZ_03) and pictures of the workplace and accommodation of workers in the meat industry (Z_01).

b) Pictures illustration international stories

The analysis of the images used in reports on trafficking issues abroad shows a greater focus on the individuals and eight articles use portraits of the interview partner and/or a person that is or may be a victim, for example “Trafficking in persons in the USA – 18 hour-days, beatings as wages”⁵⁶ (TAZ_02).

Figure 12: TAZ_02



Source: TAZ

Two articles depict unspecific workers: a woman working in a brick factory (SZ_09) and a forest worker in the woods (SO_05).

The report about the Council of Europe’s criticism of Hungary’s anti-trafficking measures which leave the Roma minority at a particular risk of exploitation is illustrated by a man and a boy sitting on a log surrounded by rubbish (ZO_06).

⁵⁵ G. Mayr, cited in: Hestermann, T. (2015), *Der Gruseleffekt: Wie Gewaltberichte des Fernsehens unsere Weltsicht beeinflussen* p. 311: <http://www.praeventionstag.de/dokumentation/download.cms?id=2397>.

⁵⁶ Translation by the author, original language: “Menschenhandel in den USA - 18-Stunden-Tage, Schläge als Lohn”.

Figure 13: ZO_06



Source: Zeit Online

The picture used to illustrate a report about the exploitation of tree workers in the Czech forest (known as the ‘tree worker case’) stood out as it did not follow the typical patterns. The picture conveyed an image of the place of exploitation but refrained from showing any images of persons. It simply showed a foggy, frost-covered edge of the forest, depicting a typical image from the Bohemian Forest. The caption reads: “It’s so (humanly) cold in the Bohemian forest”⁵⁷ (TAZ_05).

Figure 14: TAZ_05



Source: TAZ

The pictures used for articles dealing with human trafficking issues abroad show more of a variety and seemingly try to avoid cliché pictures more often – only one out of 19 articles used the picture of a sex worker and one depicts police officers. This finding is consistent with the observation that reporting on international trafficking tends to be more differentiated and has a greater human rights focus.

- Most articles on domestic trafficking issues used either images of police operations or prostitutes and red light districts. An equal number used no pictures at all.
- The images used to illustrate stories abroad are more diverse and have a stronger focus on portraits of persons

6.4. Language

The research found the language used in general to be neutral at most times, with some positive and sensational exceptions. A text, for example, that created empathy for the victims and had a focus on positive developments after the crime was categorized as using a positive

⁵⁷ Translation by the author, original language: “Es ist so (menschlich) kalt im Böhmerwald“.

language. Differences can be noticed between the newspapers: *TAZ*, *Die Zeit* and *Der Spiegel* used a neutral, at times positive language to report on trafficking issues. In articles published by *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, generally a neutral tone prevailed, with a light tendency to sensationalism in some instances. *BILD* reports in a different way and is known in Germany for its provocative and sensational style, which was present in all of the *BILD* articles included in the analysis. Two headlines of *BILD* articles shall be mentioned here to provide examples: ‘Mega raid in construction sector - police arrested five businessmen’⁵⁸ (B_06) or ‘Trial for severe human trafficking in the City - Loverboy victims end up in whorehouse’⁵⁹ (B_07).

- The language used in general was neutral at most times, with some positive and sensational exceptions. One of the newspapers used a sensationalist style of writing throughout their articles.

7. Best practice reporting

In the course of the research, some articles stood out as particular good examples of reporting on human trafficking. The first one is titled “Human Trafficking in Europe: the abused longing”⁶⁰ and was published on 16th February 2014 by *Spiegel Online*. The research was supported by the European Fund for Investigative Journalism and draws a comprehensive picture of trafficking of Nigerian women to Europe. The article is based on a number of interviews including with two victims of trafficking. One of the women later on worked as a „madame“, meaning she turned into a perpetrator herself. The journalists additionally spoke to social workers, lawyers and police officers. The authors managed to describe the fate of a victim called Victoria in a way, which allows the reader to gain an insight into the system of trafficking from Nigeria, while portraying Victoria in such a manner that does not reduce her to being a victim, but presents an individual who has experienced very difficult times and is now moving on. The language used is positive. Two pictures are used: one of a billboard in Nigeria, warning of trafficking. The other one is that of a nun working for a – in the article critically viewed – safehouse. Determining the frame proved difficult as the article draws attention to the organised crime structures at the same time as putting an emphasis on the strengths and the rights of the victims.

A second article, which can be considered as a best practice example was published by the *Süddeutsche Zeitung Online* on 14th July 2016 under the title: “Lured to Germany and forced to steal”⁶¹. The report has its origin in police investigations against a Lithuanian gang that

⁵⁸ Translation by the author, original language: „Mega-Razzia im Baugewerbe - Polizei verhaftete fünf Geschäftsleute“.

⁵⁹ Translation by the author, original language: „Prozess um schweren Menschenhandel in der City - Loverboy-Opfer landen im Puff“.

⁶⁰ Translation by the author, original language: “Menschenhandel in Europa: die missbrauchte Sehnsucht“:
<https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/wie-menschenhaendler-frauen-aus-nigeria-missbrauchen-a-952979.html>.

⁶¹ Translation by the author, original language: “Nach Deutschland gelockt und zum Stehlen gezwungen“:
<https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/organisierte-kriminalitaet-kinder-die-klauen-1.3078263> (restricted access). Also published in print edition: ‘taken along’, translation by the author, original language: “Mitgenommen”, 15.07.2106.

committed car burglaries throughout Germany. During these investigations, it became apparent that at least two young men from Lithuania had been lured to Germany and forced to commit burglaries. A German court sentenced one 17-year old boy to two years imprisonment on probation for his involvement in the burglaries. The authors reported on these events as a trafficking case before the passing of the law, which made forced criminality a criminal offence under the anti-trafficking legislation. Another aspect that makes this article a particular good example is the authors' focus on the fact that the young men are victims and perpetrators at the same time - a problem inherent in this form of exploitation. The article's reflections on the background of the young men, the links to the experience of other countries with this form of exploitation and statements by the Federal criminal police cited in the report make clear that this case is probably no isolated case. The article is illustrated by a picture of young men sitting at a viewpoint overlooking a town. The language used is fairly neutral. The thematic theme of this article is prosecution but with on strong focus on the victims. Contrary to many other reports with this frame, very little attention is paid to the perpetrators. The central questions posed focus on who the victims are and how they ended up in the exploitative situation.

The third piece of exceptional reporting was already introduced above. The article: "Meat Industry: the order of slaughtering⁶² (Z_01) was published by *Die Zeit* on 11th December 2014. It investigates in detail the conditions under which posted workers are working in the German meat processing industry. It describes the current system of subcontracting and loopholes in the regulations regarding posted workers, which are used to exploit workers. The report is based on interviews with 150 workers and many other individuals such as priest, trade union members, criminal police and many more. Using the story of one worker and his partner, the article unfolds the system of exploitation in a comprehensive way and accuses some of the major meat-producing companies of being part of the exploitative system.

All of the above mentioned articles are examples of very elaborated and time-intensive investigative journalism which cannot be expected to be applied to all reporting on trafficking cases. However, what makes them in particular valuable journalistic contributions is their effort to change perspective and focus on the victim and the broader context. These articles attempt to illuminate the system of exploitation and the underlying methods of the traffickers. The stories of the protagonists are presented in an understanding, appreciative manner, which allows readers to retrace the decisions made by the protagonists and how they ultimately led into exploitation.

Negative examples:

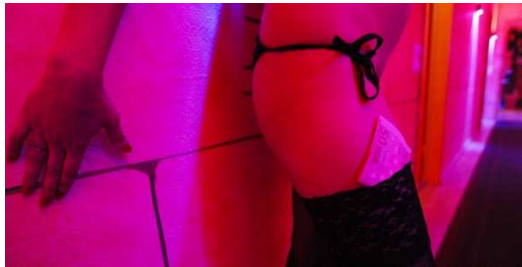
On the contrary, some of the articles viewed during the research used a very stereotypical description of the cases and cannot be recommended as model reporting. In particular the use of images is to be criticised in a number of cases. One of them is the article already described above about the GRETA monitoring report and the evaluation of the transposition

⁶² Translation by the author, original language: „Fleischwirtschaft: Die Schlachtordnung“.

of the convention in general (FAZ_06). Without any focus on sexual exploitation the article nevertheless used two images of sex workers respectively their bottom to illustrate the piece.

Another example is the article „Pimping and trafficking: father and daughter allegedly forced minor into prostitution” (FAZ_04)⁶³. It is more than questionable whether this picture is the appropriate illustration of a story about a 15-years old girl lured to Germany and forced into prostitution.

Figure 15: FAZ_04



Source: FAZ

8. Recommendations and Conclusions

8.1. Recommendations

During the interviews, the interview partners mentioned some challenges and expressed a number of recommendations and ideas for reporting on trafficking. The following will briefly introduce these. Additionally, the list will be supplemented by some recommendations deduced from the findings of this study and/or previous work of the KOK e.V.:

- **Trafficking cases without the label ‘trafficking’:** One of the journalists recommended having a closer look and recognising the issue even when it is not labelled human trafficking. Reporters should **pose specific questions** to the police, for example: was any violence used? Who was in possession of the travel documents, etc.? (I2)
- **Illuminate the context:** Trafficking cases should be reported in the wider context (I2); e.g. speak to experts working in the field, such as counselling centres etc. and investigate accompanying circumstances.
- **Avoid stereotypical language, narratives and pictures:** Report on trafficking without scandalising and sexualising the issue, do not present the victim as helpless persons without own will and agenda, and do not use sexualised pictures to illustrate the victims (I4, I3). Avoid to reinforce ethnical stereotypes.

⁶³ Translation by the author, original language: „Zuhälterei und Menschenhandel: Vater und Tochter sollen Minderjährige zur Prostitution gezwungen haben“

- **Unravel the motives:** Be clear about the (political) motives of the different actors relevant to the story (I4).
- **Avoid quick conclusions and demands:** Question the conclusions, which are often drawn quickly such as the demand for more law-enforcement, stricter laws or anti-migration measures (I4).
- **Follow-up:** Deal with the case beyond initial coverage by media and report on what happened afterwards. This kind of reporting may be politically controversial as it may shed a light on the functioning of victim protection measures etc. (I4).
- **Guidelines for reporting:** One journalist considered it helpful if there were guidelines for journalists on how to report on trafficking cases (I3).
- **PTSD trainings** for journalists: It was suggested that trainings for journalists in dealing with people with posttraumatic stress disorders in order to ensure a careful approach to the protagonists would be very useful (I3).
- **Differentiate:** Ensure the necessary distinction between the terms smuggling and trafficking (I1), as well as between sex work and sexual exploitation. In both cases, one may lead to the other, but is not the same from the beginning.
- **Victim protection:** Ensure your report/ interview will not jeopardise the victims (I1).
- **Question data:** Different statistic on the number of trafficking victims are published regularly – take a careful approach to this data and scrutinise how these figures come into existence.

8.2. Conclusions

In the present study 50 articles from five major German newspapers and one news magazine were analysed regarding different characteristics, such as the issue focus, main framing, the language and the images used. It contributes to the knowledge of how human trafficking is presented in German print media. In order to gain a more holistic and comprehensive picture with representative results, a much broader study would be necessary. In the context of this research, the following main findings can be concluded:

The analysis of the articles selected showed a majority of reports dealing with sexual exploitation cases over all. However, clear differences can be noticed between articles dealing with human trafficking issues within Germany and those focussing on cases abroad: A strong **issue focus** on sexual exploitation has been identified for German cases; whereas labour exploitation dominated in reports on cases abroad. Other forms of exploitation play a minor

role in either context in spite of the fact that priority was given to these kind of articles during the sampling process.

Analysing the **dominate frame** proved difficult at times and a significant number of articles could not be subsumed to the specified theme categories. The findings show that reports in the German context predominantly frame human trafficking stories as a crime issue, articles set abroad use a human rights or other framing in the majority of cases. In comparison to the study by Farrell and Fahy (see above) no similar development in regards to framing human trafficking predominantly as a crime problem with national security implications could be identified.

Reports focusing on issues abroad were based on extensive investigative research more often and presented the **story of individual victims** of trafficking, highlighting the *context and background*. Reports in the domestic context, in particular those within a prosecution frame, where often shorter pieces mainly presenting facts rather than discussing the issue as a whole or introducing alternative views. They also tended to **focus on the perpetrator** and the crime, rather than the victim or accompanying circumstances of the crime.

In general, the research found the **language** used to be mostly neutral, with some exceptions. Clear differences between some newspapers can be noticed. The tabloid newspaper *BILD*, in particular used a rather sensationalistic language.

In regards to the **images/photographs** used, the findings showed that journalists often used pictures of large police actions or sexualised pictures to illustrate articles on trafficking. In some cases, even articles not specifically dealing with police actions or sexual exploitation were illustrated with these kind of pictures in order to draw the readers' attention.

The results of this analysis provide some insight in regards to reporting on trafficking cases in Germany. Combined with the recommendations given by the interview partners, the study may assist journalists when covering the challenging issue of trafficking in human beings.

9. References

Books and Journals:

- Altheide, David L. / Schneider, Christopher, J. (2013) *Qualitative Media Analysis*, 2nd ed., Thousand Oaks, SAGE Publications
- Farrell, Amy/ Fahy, Stephanie (2009) *The problem of human trafficking in the U.S.: Public frames and policy responses*, in: *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 37
- Hestermann, T. (2015) in: E. Marks & W. Steffen (eds.) *Prävention rechnet sich: Zur Ökonomie der Kriminalprävention - Ausgewählte Beiträge des 20. Deutschen Präventionstages 8. und 9. Juni 2015 in Frankfurt am Main*, Mönchengladbach, Forum Verlag Godesberg
- Dietram A. Scheufele (1999) *Framing as a Theory of Media Effects* in: *Journal of Communication: an official journal of the International Communication Association*; Cary, NC: Oxford University Press; Vol. 49, No. 1
- Matthes, Jörg (2014) *Framing*, Baden-Baden, Nomos
- Mitwalli, Janina (2016) *Severe labour exploitation and trafficking in human beings for labour exploitation in the case of women*, Berlin, KOK e.V. (ed.)
- Sanford, Rachealle (2015) *Framing Human Trafficking: A content Analysis of Newspaper Articles from 2012 and 2013*, AnnArbor, ProQuest LLC

Websites:

- Bundesanzeiger Verlag GmbH: Bundesgesetzblatt
https://www.bgbl.de/xaver/bgbl/media/561B05F2D9DC3F686C73E34A09B18C35/bgbl116s2226_74431.pdf
https://www.bgbl.de/xaver/bgbl/media/561B05F2D9DC3F686C73E34A09B18C35/bgbl116s2372_74471.pdf
- Bundeskriminalamt
https://www.bka.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Publikationen/JahresberichteUndLaegbilder/Menschenhandel/menschenhandelBundeslagebild2017.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=4
- Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend:
<https://www.bmfsfj.de/bmfsfj/themen/gleichstellung/frauen-vor-gewalt-schuetzen/menschenhandel/bund-laender-arbeitsgruppe-menschenhandel/bund-laender-arbeitsgruppe-menschenhandel/80602?view=DEFAULT>
- Bundesverband Deutscher Zeitungsverleger (BDZV): <https://www.bdzv.de/maerkte-und-daten/marktdaten/zeitungen-in-zahlen-und-daten/>

- Bundesweiter Koordinierungskreis gegen Menschenhandel - KOK e.V.
<https://www.kok-gegen-menschenhandel.de/en/home/>
- Czarnecki, D. (2013): *The media's treatment of human trafficking in 2013 – a critical interjection*, KOK e.V. (ed.) https://www.kok-gegen-menschenhandel.de/uploads/media/KOK_media_english.pdf.
- Deutscher Presserat:
https://www.presserat.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Downloads_Dateien/Pressekodex_2017english.pdf.

<https://www.presserat.de/presserat/aufgaben-organisation/>.
- Deutschland.de: <https://www.deutschland.de/en/topic/culture/newspapers-and-freedom-of-the-press-in-germany>.
- Genios: <https://www.genios.de>.
- Hestermann, T. (2015) *Der Gruseleffekt: Wie Gewaltberichte des Fernsehens unsere Weltsicht beeinflussen*:
<http://www.praeventionstag.de/dokumentation/download.cms?id=2397>.
- Medialandscapes: <https://medialandscapes.org/country/germany>
- Meedia: <https://meedia.de/2018/10/18/ivw-blitz-analyse-zeitungen-bild-welt-und-bams-verlieren-um-die-10-handelsblatt-zeit-und-f-a-s-dank-digital-kunden-stabil/>
- Reporters without Borders: <https://rsf.org/en/germany>.
- Sanford, Rachealle (2015) *Framing Human Trafficking: A content Analysis of Newspaper Articles from 2012 and 2013*, AnnArbor, ProQuest LLC
- Statista: <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/164386/umfrage/verkaufte-auflagen-von-spiegel-stern-und-focus/>
- Spiegel Online:
<https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/vorab/weltmeister-kramer-im-spiegel-moderner-menschenhandel-im-fussball-a-986464.html>

<https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/wie-menschenhaendler-frauen-aus-nigeria-missbrauchen-a-952979.html>
- Süddeutsche Zeitung: <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/organisierte-kriminalitaet-kinder-die-klauen-1.3078263>
- Zeit Online: <https://www.zeit.de/wirtschaft/2015-09/schlepper-organisierte-kriminalitaet-fluechtlinge-europa-grenzschutz>

Annex 1: Leitfragen für Interviewpartner*innen

Allgemein:

1. Über welche Formen des Menschenhandels wird Ihrer Einschätzung nach in Deutschland überwiegend berichtet?
2. Können Sie Tendenzen/ Muster hinsichtlich der Darstellung der Betroffenen/Opfer und der Täter feststellen?
3. Gibt es hier Veränderungen? (Seit wann?)
4. In welchen Kontext stehen die Berichte: Menschenrechte? Innere Sicherheit? Migration? Strafverfolgung? Prostitution? Anderer?
5. In welchen Rubriken sind die Berichte überwiegend angesiedelt: Politik, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft... Macht es einen Unterschied, ob auf lokaler oder regionaler Ebene oder in bundesweite Ausgaben berichtet wird?

Eigene Arbeit:

1. Über welche Formen haben Sie/ Ihre Zeitung in den letzten Jahren berichtet?
2. Wann wird über Menschenhandel berichtet, d.h. welche Auslöser / Anlässe führen dazu, dass MH thematisiert wird?
3. Welche Aspekte beleuchten Sie dann besonders?
4. Welche Herausforderungen sehen Sie bei der Berichterstattung in diesem Bereich?

Weiterführendes :

1. Können Sie Beispiele guter/ erfolgreicher Berichterstattung – Beispiele besonders negativer Berichterstattung nennen?
2. Sind Ihnen Präventionskampagnen bekannt, an denen die Medien mitgewirkt oder initiiert haben?
3. Haben Sie Empfehlungen, wie gute Berichterstattung aussehen/ermöglicht werden kann?

Abschluss:

Gibt es von Ihrer Seite noch Fragen oder weitere Hinweise?

Annex 2: List of articles reviewed

B_01: BILD, 06.01.2019: *UN-Bericht zu weltweitem Menschenhandel - So hoch waren die Opferzahlen noch nie!*

<https://www.bild.de/politik/inland/politik-inland/un-bericht-671-opfer-von-menschenhandel-in-deutschland-59382052.bild.html>

B_02: BILD, 26.12.2018: *Wiedervereinigung mit der Familie zu Weihnachten - Frau (45) mit Sohn nach 32 Jahren aus Sklaverei befreit*

<https://www.bild.de/news/ausland/news-ausland/argentinien-frau-45-mit-sohn-nach-32-jahren-aus-sklaverei-befreit-59218676.bild.html>

B_03: BILD, 18.04.2018: *Größter Einsatz in der Geschichte der Bundespolizei - Riesen-Razzia gegen brutale Menschenhändlerbande!*

<https://www.bild.de/news/inland/razzia/razzia-menschenhaendler-55427302.bild.html>

B_04: BILD, 03.02.2017: *Mindestens 13 Jungen sollen missbraucht worden sein - Köpfe eines Kinderhändler-Rings vor Gericht*

<https://www.bild.de/regional/berlin/prozess/koepfe-von-kinderhaendler-ring-vor-gericht-50091144.bild.html>

B_05: BILD, 07.12.2016: *Mit 16 Jahren über 40 000 Mal vergewaltigt*

<https://www.bild.de/politik/ausland/menschenhandel/kampf-gegen-moderne-sklaverei-49007048.bild.html>

B_06: BILD, 03.11.2016: *Mega-Razzia im Baugewerbe - Polizei verhaftete fünf Geschäftsleute*

<https://www.bild.de/regional/saarland/saarland/5-festnahmen-bei-gross-razzia-im-baugewerbe-48584424.bild.html>

B_07: BILD, 03.03.2016: *Prozess um schweren Menschenhandel in der City - Loverboy-Opfer landen im Puff*

<https://www.bild.de/regional/hannover/menschenhandel/loverboy-opfer-landen-im-puff-44798128.bild.html>

B_08: BILD, 12.03.2013: *BILD im Rumänen-Gefängnis - Ein Menschenhändler packt aus*

<https://www.bild.de/news/ausland/menschenhandel/ein-menschenhaendler-packt-aus-29470228.bild.html>

FAZ_01: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 06.02.2019: *Auf dem Schulweg entführt – und ins Ausland verkauft*

FAZ_02: F.A.Z.net, 08.11.2018: *Menschenhandel in Peru: Rund tausend Euro für ein Neugeborenes*

<https://www.faz.net/aktuell/gesellschaft/kriminalitaet/menschenhandel-rund-tausend-euro-fuer-ein-neugeborenes-15879009.html>

FAZ_03: FAZ.net, 26.10.2018: *Tagung gegen Menschenhandel: „In vielen EU-Ländern werden Mittäter des Menschenhandels nicht belangt“*
<https://www.faz.net/aktuell/gesellschaft/kriminalitaet/vassiliadou-in-vielen-eu-laendern-werden-mittaeter-des-menschenhandels-nicht-belangt-15858163.html>

FAZ_04: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 11.07.2018: *Zuhälterei und Menschenhandel: Vater und Tochter sollen Minderjährige zur Prostitution gezwungen haben*

FAZ_05: FAZ.net, 29.10.2015: *Nordkorea verkauft offenbar tausende Bürger ins Ausland*
<https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ausland/menschenhandel-nordkorea-verkauft-offenbar-tausende-buerger-ins-ausland-13882230.html>

FAZ_06: FAZ.net, 03.06.2015: *Bericht des Europarats: Lob für Deutschlands Kampf gegen Menschenhandel*
<https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/lob-fuer-deutschlands-kampf-gegen-menschenhandel-13627444.html>

FAZ_07: FAZ.net, 01.12.2014: *Razzia in Bordellen: Ermittlern gelingt Schlag gegen Menschenhandel*
<https://www.faz.net/aktuell/gesellschaft/bei-razzia-in-bordellen-gelingt-schlag-gegen-menschenhandel-13296249.html>

FAZ_08: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 25.11.2014: *Menschenhandel ist ein prosperierendes Gewerbe*

FAZ_09: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 13.06.2014: *Razzia gegen Menschenhandel*

TAZ_01: taz, die tageszeitung, 07.07.2018: *Den Frauen ihr Leben zurückgeben*

TAZ_02: TAZ.de, 30.03.2018: *Menschenhandel in den USA - 18-Stunden-Tage, Schläge als Lohn*
<http://www.taz.de/!5495174/>

TAZ_03: taz, die tageszeitung: 09.11.2013: *Menschenhandel ist gerade ein Hype*

TAZ_04: taz.de, 28.09.2011: *Menschenhandel und Prostitution in Nigeria - Einmal Elend und zurück*
<http://www.taz.de/!5111029/>

TAZ_05: taz.de, 17.05.2011: *Menschenhandel im Böhmerwald - Tschechen blechen nicht*
<http://www.taz.de/!5120614/>

TAZ_06: taz.de, 28.04.2010: *Menschenhandel - aus Vietnam nach Berlin - Das Elend im Schlepptau*
<http://www.taz.de/!5143530/>

TAZ_07: taz.de, 13.09.2018: *Kommentar moderne Sklaverei - Zu viele Schlupfwinkel für Kriminelle*
<http://www.taz.de/!5533574/>

TAZ_08: taz.de, 30.07.2018: *Tag gegen Menschenhandel am 30. Juli - Versklavung weltweit*
<http://www.taz.de/!5524028/>

Z_01: ZeitOnline, 27.03.2019: *Polizei durchsucht Gebäude von Großfamilie in Norddeutschland*
<https://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2019-03/polizeidurchsuchung-grossfamilie-norddeutschland-versicherungsbetrug>

Z_02: ZeitOnline, 10.04.2018: *Organisierte Kriminalität: Mehr als 100 Festnahmen bei Razzien wegen Menschenhandel*

<https://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2018-04/organisierte-kriminalitaet-bundesweite-razzia-menschenhandel-zwangsprostitution>

ZO_03: ZeitOnline, 23.11.2017: *Flüchtlinge in Libyen: Ein Möglichkeitsfenster gegen Sklaverei*

<https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2017-11/fluechtlinge-libyen-cnn-sklavenhandel-eu-frederica-mogherini-afrikanische-union-un-sicherheitsrat>

Z_01: Die ZeitOnline, 11.12.2014: *Fleischwirtschaft: Die Schlachtordnung*

Z_02: Die ZeitOnline, 10.04.2014: *Die Sklaven der Exzellenzen*

ZO_04: ZeitOnline, 21.12.2016: *Menschenhandel: Drei Viertel der Opfer von Menschenhändlern sind weiblich*

<https://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2016-12/menschenhandel-opfer-frauen-unodc-report>

ZO_05: ZeitOnline, 31.05.2016: *Wo beginnt Sklaverei?*

<https://www.zeit.de/wirtschaft/2016-05/sklaverei-ausbeutung-global-slavery-index-komplexitaet>

ZO_06: ZeitOnline, 29.05.2015: *Menschenrechte: Der Europarat rügt Ungarn*

<https://www.zeit.de/politik/2015-05/ungarn-europarat-menschenhandel>

SO_01: Spiegel Online, 27.02.2019: *Menschenhandel in Stuttgart "Bordellkönig" zu fünf Jahren Haft verurteilt*

<https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/stuttgart-bordellkoenig-zu-fuenf-jahren-haft-verurteilt-a-1255359.html>

SO_02: Spiegel Online, 18.04.2018: *Systematischer Menschenhandel - Einschleusen, abschotten, ausbeuten*

<https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/razzia-der-bundespolizei-schlag-gegen-zwangsprostitution-a-1203528.html>

SO_03: Spiegel Online, 08.02.2018: *Menschenhandel Frauen zu Prostitution gezwungen - BGH hebt Urteil teilweise auf*

<https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/bundesgerichtshof-menschenhandell-bgh-hebt-urteil-teilweise-auf-a-1192475.html>

SO_04: Spiegel Online, 23.06.2017: *Menschenhandel-Prozess in Brüssel: Gericht verurteilt acht arabische Prinzessinnen*

<https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/bruessel-acht-arabische-prinzessinnen-wegen-menschenhandels-schuldig-gesprochen-a-1153692.html>

SO_05: Spiegel Online, 14.04.2016: *Einsatz in Berlin: Sechs Verhaftungen bei Razzia in Großbordell*

<https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/artemis-grossrazzia-im-luxusbordell-sechs-verhaftungen-a-1087103.html>

SO_06: Spiegel Online, 27.12.2013: *Zwangsprostitution - Die dubiosen Methoden von Mission Freedom*

<https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/zwangsprostitution-die-dubiosen-methoden-von-mission-freedom-a-937704.html>

SO_07: Spiegel Online, 22.04.2013: *Menschenhandel - Bordelle mit Genehmigung*
<https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-92536944.html>

SO_08: Spiegel Online, 15.04.2011: *Verdacht auf Kinderhandel - Pädophile gaben sich als Haiti-Helfer aus*
<https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/verdacht-auf-kinderhandel-paedophile-gaben-sich-als-haiti-helfer-aus-a-757383.html>

Spiegel Online, 16.02.2014: *Menschenhandel in Europa: die missbrauchte Sehnsucht*
<https://www.spiegel.de/panorama/justiz/wie-menschenhaendler-frauen-aus-nigeria-missbrauchen-a-952979.html>

SZ_01: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 08.08.2018: *Drohungen und Voodoo-Zauber*

SZ_02: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22.08.2017: *Passt gut auf Eure Töchter auf!*
<https://www.sueddeutsche.de/leben/menschenhandel-passt-gut-auf-eure-toechter-auf-1.3635263>

SZ_03: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 24.11.2014: *Das Leid von 40 000 Sklaven*
<https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/un-bericht-zum-menschenhandel-das-leid-von-sklaven-1.2235018>

SZ_04: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 07.04.2016: *Freiern droht Haft*

SZ_05: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27.08.2015: *Das ist moderner Menschenhandel*

SZ_06: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 09.05.2014: *Junge Männer zur Prostitution gezwungen*
<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/bayern/menschenhandel-in-schwaben-junge-maenner-zur-prostitution-gezwungen-1.1957129>

SZ_07: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15.12.2013: *Sie vergewaltigten meine Töchter vor meinen Augen*
<https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/menschenhandel-im-sinai-sie-vergewaltigten-meine-toechter-vor-meinen-augen-1.1840134>

SZ_08: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 07.12.2013: *Ein Job wie jeder andere*

SZ_09: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16.07.2011: *Einsam im Wald*

Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15. Juli 2016: *Mitgenommen*