

Media representations of Human Trafficking in Estonia

Anna Markina

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Introduction

Trafficking in Human Beings remains as one of the priorities of the law enforcement agenda since 2005, when the Government of Estonia has decided to develop national plan to combat human trafficking. The same year Minister of Interior and Minister of Justice signed so called Laulasmaa declaration¹ in which main criminal policy priorities were defined. The “Development Plan for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings for the period 2006-2009”² was adopted a year later. This was the first real step for Estonia on the way to combat human trafficking and protect victims. Since that, lots of changes in the legislation, policy, national referral mechanism, victim support services have been done. The effort was recognised by the US Department of State: in 2018 and 2019 TIP report Estonia was placed in the Tier 1 group.

However, these efforts have not increased the number of investigations and prosecutions on trafficking cases. One of the reasons for this is that just a few cases are reported to authorities. Detecting human trafficking is very complicated since the crime is rather hidden, prosecution is complicated, and the general knowledge is still low. Victims often are not aware of their rights and, as a consequence, do not consider themselves victims at all. In such situation it would be hard to expect them to turn for help or reporting trafficking crime to officials. Media plays important role in rising public awareness.

For years trafficking in human beings was seen rather as related to prostitution, use of physical force, enslavement. Such image of trafficking, on the one hand, stresses the anti-human nature of this crime. However, concentrating on the most negative cases may result in situation when other forms are not perceived as a crime at all. Situation in Estonia is changing rapidly. While 5-10 years ago Estonia was still considered to be a source or a transit country for human trafficking and was discussed as something what may happened with our people abroad, today Estonia already become a country of destination. Over the past few years human trafficking, particularly in relation to forced labour and labour exploitation has become a serious threat to migrant workers in Estonia.

¹ <https://www.just.ee/et/eesmargid-tegevused/kriminaalpoliitika/kuritegevusvastased-prioriteetid>

² Inimkaubanduse vastu võitlemise arengukava 2006-2009 (2006). Tallinn https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/sites/antitrafficking/files/development_plan_to_combat_trafficking_in_human_beings_2006-2009_et_1.pdf (accessed 23.07.2019)

Trafficking in human beings is a serious crime, as with crime in general, people usually learn about it via media. Therefore, it is very important, how media presents the problem, how victims are discussed and what are the possible “solutions”. The aim of this report is to look how human trafficking was framed in Estonian printed media during the period of 5 years prior to the report.

Methodology used

This report presents the results of content analysis of 5 years of trafficking coverage in news portals and web versions of Estonian newspapers. All articles were coded and analysed quantitatively, using provided coding scheme.

Primary coding was done by Keidi Nurja, law student at the School of Law, University of Tartu. The data was re-coded for the analysis and statistically analysed by Anna Markina. When creating coding scheme, the structure provided in the terms of reference was followed as close, as possible. However, some planned variables did not work well. In this case although data was collected, the variable was not included into analysis presented in this report.

94 articles published in 2014-2018 were analysed. To select articles for analysis, we used the result of media monitoring completed by NGO Living for tomorrow. Since 2013 NGO Living for Tomorrow has established a prize for the best publication on the topic of trafficking of human beings. For this purpose, NGO monitors all media publications and publishes links to the publications on their web site.³ The list contains all original articles or reports, no cross-links included. For the current report all Estonian language printed media publications were selected. All publications have on-line versions, that were analysed.

Previous research on media representation of trafficking

The literature on media coverage of trafficking in Estonia is scarce. It was not possible to identify a separate study on media representations and framing of human trafficking in Estonian mass media. Few overviews of the issue have been conducted as parts of broader projects analysing human trafficking situation in the country/region.

Two analyses were published in 2004 and 2005. At that time trafficking in human beings was mostly seen as a problem closely related to prostitution. Pajumets (2004) analysed articles on prostitution published in 1999- first quarter of 2003 in daily newspaper *Eesti Päevaleht*. In total, 118 articles were analysed. Pajumets found that at that time prostitution was presented

³ NGO Living for Tomorrow. Inimkaubitsemine: Media. Available: <http://ift.ee/inimkaubitsemine-/meedia> (18.08.2019)

as a “foreign” phenomenon that does not concern Estonia. Prostitution in Estonia was not considered to be a social problem but there was a feeling that something should be done about it. Regarding the reasons that push women to become engaged in prostitution, the ones that were most often discussed in the *Eesti Päevaleht* publications were deception and being a victim of trafficking in human beings but mentioned were also social disadvantage. Analysing rhetoric of the discussion on prostitution in *Eesti Päevaleht* in 1999- early 2003, Pajumets concludes:

Looking at the discussions in Estonia over the last four years, it can be noted that every time an alternative prostitution policy was proposed, it was stressed by itself or, in the defense of some of the proposals, that we have so far "head hidden in the sand as Ostriches "or" the most stupid is to make the face that there is no problem ". The same applies to both, the control of prostitution and the prohibition of the purchase of sex. However, no discussion has led to the change of the prostitution policy of Estonia (Pajumets 2004:39).

Annist (2005) notes the change in the media portrayal of Estonian prostitution and trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation in 2004 compared to the publications from 2000 to 2001. Referring to the earliest study by Saar et al (2001), she notes that in the first years of the millennium the Estonian media presented Estonian prostitutes who migrated rather as ambitious, determined and successful. In 2003-2004, however, such positive representation has been replaced by the recognition that Estonian migrating prostitutes are often pushed by poverty and have been victims of violence, Estonia is becoming a destination for sex tourism and that there is an urgent need for international co-operation to combat sex trafficking. More viewpoints were presented of anti-prostitution campaigners, campaigners for the criminalization of the buying of sex services, analysts, the police, and journalists. This change in substance, Annist notes, has contributed to a change in the trafficking discourse, leading to a new socio-analytical view of the trafficking in persons and prostitution debate. Three main solutions to tackle the problems of trafficking emerged from the analysis of articles:

changing the legal bases of sanctions (by following the Swedish example and criminalizing the buying of sex services); tightening existing laws to protect Estonians from being deceived by false job advertisements and raising public awareness to the dangers of trafficking. Legalizing prostitution has been criticized mostly by anti-prostitution campaigners, and campaigners to criminalize the buying of sex services. This debate dominated the media discourse during the period studied. (Annist 2005: p.83)

Report on EU funded FLEX project also contained a section on media analysis (Kask & Markina, 2011). The focus of the FLEX Project was on trafficking for labour exploitation and forced labour and so was the focus of the media analysis. The authors found that among many publications on trafficking in human beings in the period 2004-2010 only handful of those were on the issues of labour trafficking. The authors note that with a very high probability, trafficking in human beings in the Estonian printed media will be perceived as a topic related to the facilitation of prostitution and sexual exploitation. The trafficking for labour exploitation was mostly presented via description of different cases of involuntary work

where victims have been forced (by deceit, violence or taking advantage of their difficult situation) to work under conditions different from what was promised. In the cases described the employers have withheld peoples' documents, so that the workers could neither quit their job nor leave the country. The main topic of concern regarding trafficking for labour exploitation from Estonia was labour facilitation firms, that have been blamed for fraudulent practices and deception. Likewise, the media analysis of Pajumets (2004) and Annist (2005) noted, many articles were aimed to raise awareness about the danger of becoming a victim of trafficking or providing information about victim assistance.

One of the recent analyses of media coverage of sex trafficking in the Former Soviet Republics and the Baltic States was published in 2016 by USA researcher Meghan R Sobel (2016). The analysis regarding Baltic States is based on English-language newspapers, particularly the weekly *The Baltic Times* in 2002-2013. In total, 23 articles from *The Baltic Times* were selected for the analyses. Sobel notes that reporting on victims of sex trafficking is largely focused on female victims and about quarter of the articles in *The Baltic News* did not discuss an individual victim but concentrated on awareness raising trainings or policy changes. The discussion of trafficker is usually omitted. The peak of publications was on 2003-2006 and the interest decreased since that.

In the qualitative part of her analysis Sobel (2016) notes that *The Baltic Times* concentrates on migration and international aspects of trafficking that is not consistent with many definitions of sex trafficking, and that the newspaper explicitly tends to blame the society at large and the government for not providing services to victims. The victims were presented as naïve, powerless who have been easily "lured" into sex trafficking. On the more general level, the phenomenon trafficking was linked to socio-economic problems, mainly unemployment and opportunities to make money were the reasons why people become victims of trafficking. These observations are in line with the findings from analysis done by Pajumets (2004) and Annist (2005) summarised above.

To briefly sum up the analysis of representation of trafficking in the media: the issue of human trafficking was mostly represented as trafficking for sexual exploitation. It was closely related to migration, where Estonia was a source country and social-economic problems being push factors that force mostly women to look for money making opportunities abroad. In this process women become deceived, their documents taken and eventually victims are forced into prostitution. One also can note shift of focus in this discussion: in the late 1990s-beginning of the 2000s the main attention is on prostitution, that is glamourized and not seen as violence toward women. Later, starting about 2002-2003 the issue of prostitution is started to be debated in the frame of trafficking in human beings. The problem of trafficking in human beings is mostly seen as problem of sexual exploitation, no other form of trafficking receives much attention. By the 2010 single publications looking at the other forms of trafficking, such as trafficking for forced labour and labour exploitation start to appear in the media.

1. The state of the media in Estonia

In the Media Pluralism Monitor 2017 states that “the main and growing concern in the Estonian media market for 2017 (as has been the case in the last few years) is that the local media groups are losing advertising revenues, which are increasingly being collected by the international Internet platforms.” (Kõnno 2017: 4) Kõnno identifies three main concerns for the risks of pluralism of Estonian media market. Those are: “a) the growing horizontal, and b) the vertical concentration of media ownership, and c) the bias of the local media (especially the municipal media, but they are not alone)”. (ibid)

According to the data provided by the Estonian Newspaper Association (2019) the circulation of the printed newspapers is decreasing. Table 1 shows the changes in the average circulation of the newspapers during the last 11 years. Except for the free non-dailies, the decrease is remarkable for all sorts of newspapers. For daily national newspapers share of revenue from advertising is 22%, while it is 67% for the regional papers and 44% for the national non-dailies. According to Kõnno (2017) although the importance of the printed press as an advertising channel has become minimal, it has maintained its social status as a reliable source of information.

Table 1. Estonian newspapers’ circulation (thousand), average circulation in year

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
NATIONAL DAILIES	369	333	228	218	210	204	193	178	163	169	159
REGIONAL DAILIES	55	53	50	49	48	47	46	45	44	44	44
NATIONAL NON-DAILIES	163	138	144	139	134	131	118	127	115	110	107
REGIONAL NON-DAILIES	76	76	69	55	51	54	36	37	37	36	39
FREE NON-DAILIES	36	34	96	97	165	176	164	138	162	237	203

Source: Estonian Newspaper Association

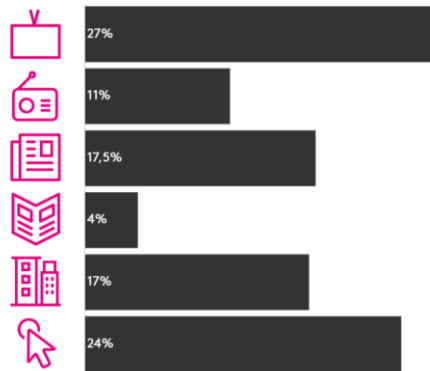


Figure 1: Share of advertising market by media type in 1Q 2019
 Source: Kantar Emor

The popularity of the media channels is reflected in their share of advertising market. In the first quarter of 2019 TV has the biggest share of the advertising market 27%, followed by Internet 24% and newspapers 17.5% (see Figure 1). Although the share of Internet is growing, traditional media channels as TV and newspapers remain important sources of information for the publics and hence still attractive for the for the advertising.

According to the newest Eurobarometer data available, the most trusted media channels in Estonia are radio (66%) and television (65%). More than half of the population trusts printed media (55%), and a bit less internet (42%). The trust towards media is higher than in the EU in average. The least trusted are social networks (22%). Nearly half of the population think they have been exposed to the fake news. And this is the lowest proportion in the European Union. This low figure is probably related to the fact that Estonians believe they can distinguish truth from the lie: half of the population thinks they can distinguish between real and fake news while this proportion is much lower in the EU in average. Less than half of Estonians consider fake news to be a problem for their country, while for Europeans this figure is 71%. However, 66% of Estonians think fake news are a threat to democracy. (European Commission 2018)

A European project on youth participation among other issues has examined the credibility of the media among youth. Although 52% of respondents aged 15-30 consider professional media to be a reliable source of news, 17% of the respondents found that alternative media is more reliable than the professional one. The project also has found that higher trust towards alternative media was associated with lower level of social trust. Those who are convinced of trustworthiness of the professional media are more eager to follow news than those who consider alternative media to be a more trustworthy source of information. About 60% of those who trust professional media are interested in publications on political, economic, environmental, and social topics, while such interest demonstrates only 10% of those who believe in alternative media. (Rämmer, 2018)

2. Main findings: Framing trafficking by the media

2.1. General overview of the articles on human trafficking

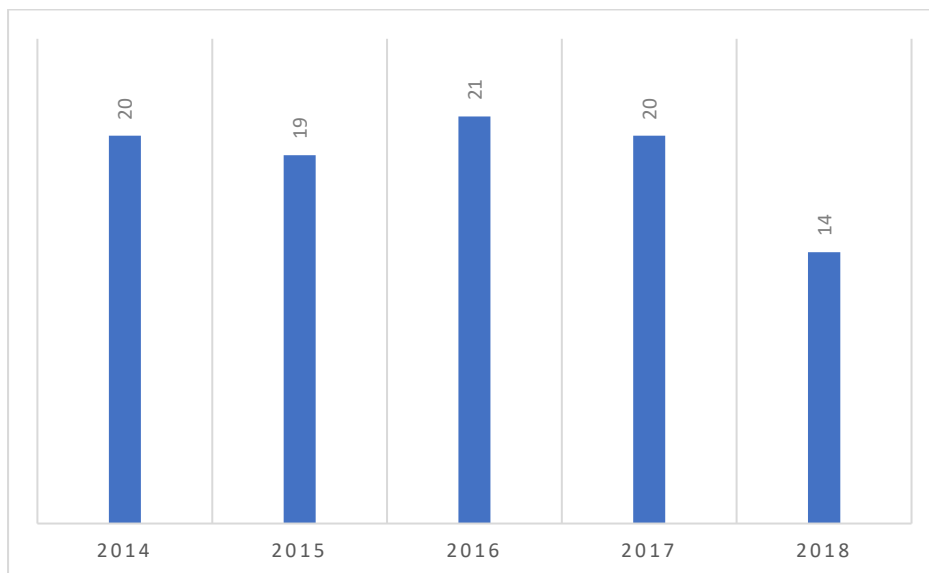


Figure 2. Number of articles on trafficking in human beings in 2014-2018

During 2014-2017 the number of articles on trafficking in human beings remained on the same level – around 20 articles per year. This number has somehow decreased in 2018, when only 14 articles were published. However, the length of the articles has increased from year to year. While in 2014 the average length of an article was 572 words and no articles longer than 1500 words were published, the average length is growing and has reached 1066 in 2018 (See Figure 3). What is also important, the changes in the average length of the articles are not due to just one or two outliers. As is demonstrated on the Figure 4, one can observe steadily growth in the proportion of the longer articles, while proportion of the short news is decreasing. The longer articles tend to be more analytical, go deeper into the details while presenting the stories.

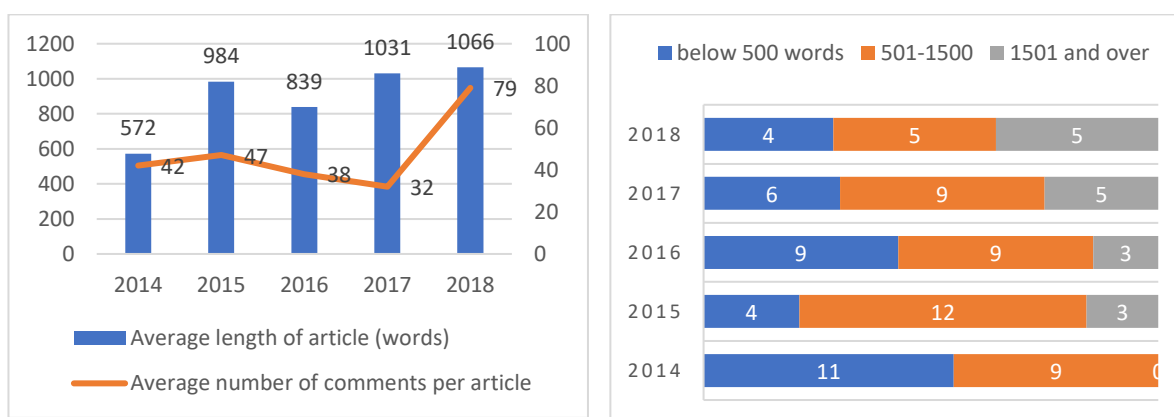


Figure 3. Average length of an article and number of comments per article in 2014-2018

Figure 4. Length of publication per group, 2014-2018

We have also analysed the average number of comments per article. Posting comments on the news is one of the most popular forms of user participation in online newspapers (Weber, 2014). Number of comments reflects the popularity of the news. The average number of comments per news article on the topic of trafficking in human beings was not changing much in 2014-2017, oscillating between 32 and 47 comments. In 2018, however, the average number of comments increased up to 79 (Figure 3).

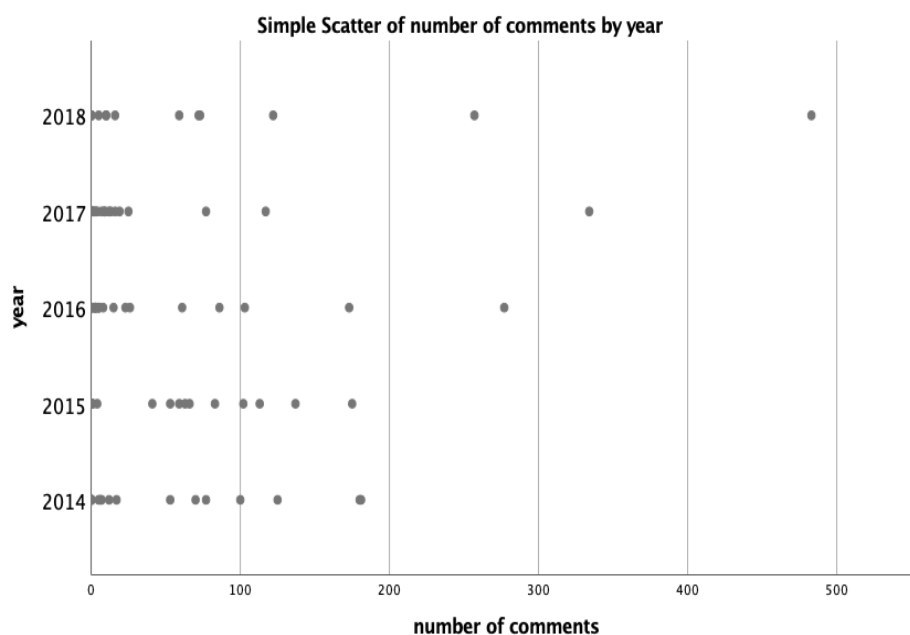


Figure 5. Number of comments per article in 2014-2018

Figure 5 demonstrates that the distribution of comments per article is uneven. The major part of the articles collects less than 30 comments, while some articles became rather popular and therefore also influence the average figure. The increase in average figure for the comments per article in 2018 was due to one outlier, an article that attracted 483 comments. Four “outliers” on the Figure 5 that have been commented more than 200 times were:

R. Pärigma & A. Palm. Slavery in Estonia: The Ukrainians are required to work twice as much and when they ask for the salary are threatened to be brought to the forest. *Eesti Päevaleht Ärioleht* 25.07.2018 (483 comments)⁴

⁴ R. Pärigma & A. Palm. Orjapidamine Eesti moodi: ukrainlastelt nõutakse topelttööd ja palka küsides ähvardatakse metsa viimisega. *Eesti Päevaleht Ärioleht* 25.07.2018 Available: <https://arileht.delfi.ee/news/uudised/orjapidamine-eesti-moodi-ukrainlastelt-noutakse-topelttööd-ja-palka-kusides-ahvardatakse-metsa-viimisega?id=83142911>

K. Tilk. The beautiful eyes of a Nigeria man promised a woman's good fortune, but she got nothing. *Õhtuleht*. 10.01.2017 (334)⁵

K. Ibrus. The court sentenced ten men for buying sex from a girl. *Eesti Päevaleht*. 03.06.2016. (277)⁶

M. Tamm. The unemployed men in Pärnu pimped their wives to other men. *Eesti Päevaleht*. 19.06.2018 (257)⁷

Three out of four most popular articles were published by *Eesti Päevaleht*. That is quite interesting because when we look at the total number of articles on trafficking, *Eesti Päevaleht* with 14 articles is well below 36 publications by another main daily newspaper *Postimees* (Figure 6). However, the articles in *Postimees* tend to be shorter (average length 791 words) compared to *Eesti Päevaleht* (1242 words in average). While there were only 2 publications by financial newspaper *Äripäev*, these articles in average were the longest – 1791 words. Quite long are articles published in weekly newspaper *Eesti Ekspress* known for journalist investigations and, surprisingly, also by Tallinn municipal newspaper *Pealinn*. The shortest would be articles published in regional newspapers and news portals such as national broadcasting ERR and online news portal DELFI.

⁵ K.Tilk. Nigeeria mehe kaunid silmad töötasid naise arvates eluõnne, aga võta näpust.... *Õhtuleht*. 10.01.2017 Available: www.oh tuleht.ee/780951/nigeeria-mehe-kaunid-silmad-tootasid-naise-arvates-eluonne-aga-vota-napust

⁶ K. Ibrus. Kohus mõistis alaealiselt tüdrukult seksi ostmises süüdi kümme meest. *Eesti Päevaleht*.03.06.2016. Kättesaadav: <https://epl.delfi.ee/eesti/kohus-moistis-alaeealiselt-tudrukult-seksi-ostmises-suudi-kumme-meest?id=74713203>

⁷ M.Tamm. Töötud Pärnumaa mehed kupeldasid oma naisi teistele meestele. *Eesti Päevaleht* 19.06.2018. Kättesaadav: <https://epl.delfi.ee/eesti/tootud-panumaa-mehed-kupeldasid-oma-naisi-teistele-meestele?id=82681695>

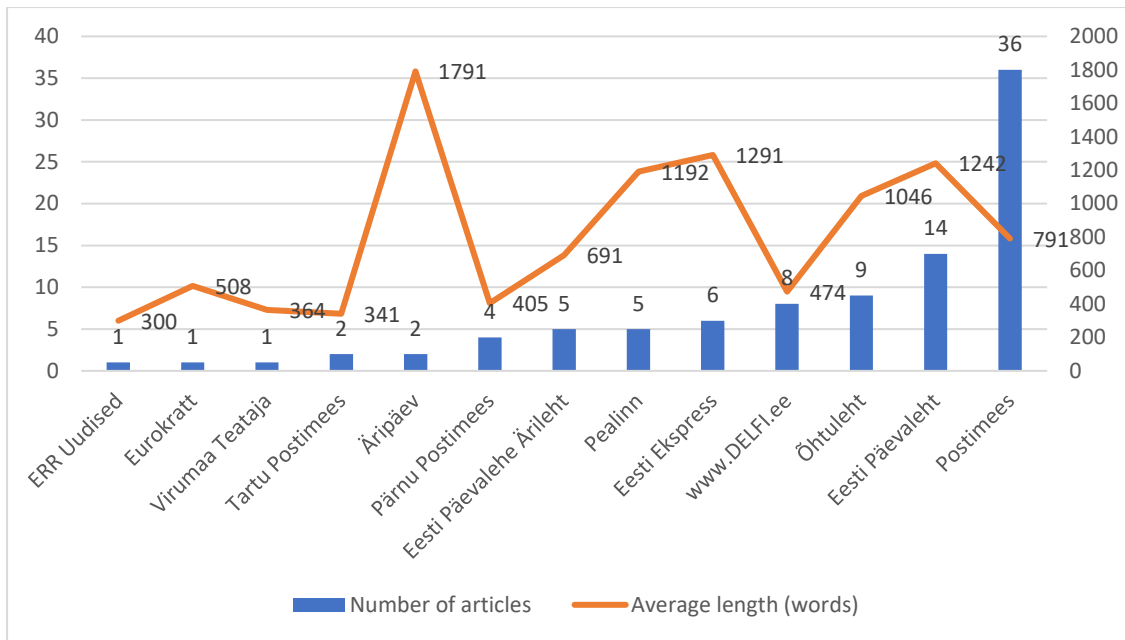


Figure 6. Number of articles and average length (in words) by publication

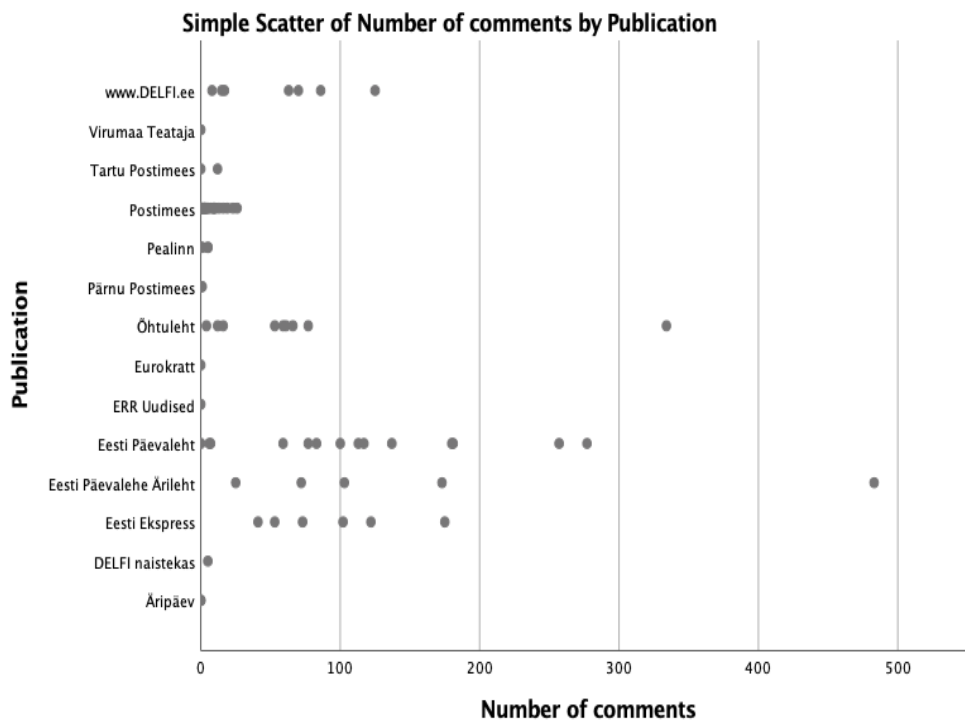


Figure 7. Number of comments by publication

With regards to public involvement and popularity of the articles, we see that most commented are articles in the publications that have the longest articles. The most public attention have attracted articles published in *Eesti Päevaleht* and its business supplement

Eesti Päevalehe Ärileht, and weekly newspaper *Eesti Ekspress* (see Figure 7). Articles published by Delfi news portal have also made readers to comment them.

2.2. Representations of human trafficking by type

As was briefly described in the review of the previous research, in the beginning of the Millennium the issue of human trafficking was mainly discussed in relation to prostitution and its control. However, in recent year there was a shift from narrow view on the human trafficking to the broader one. Figure 8 presents changes in the number of articles by the type of trafficking.

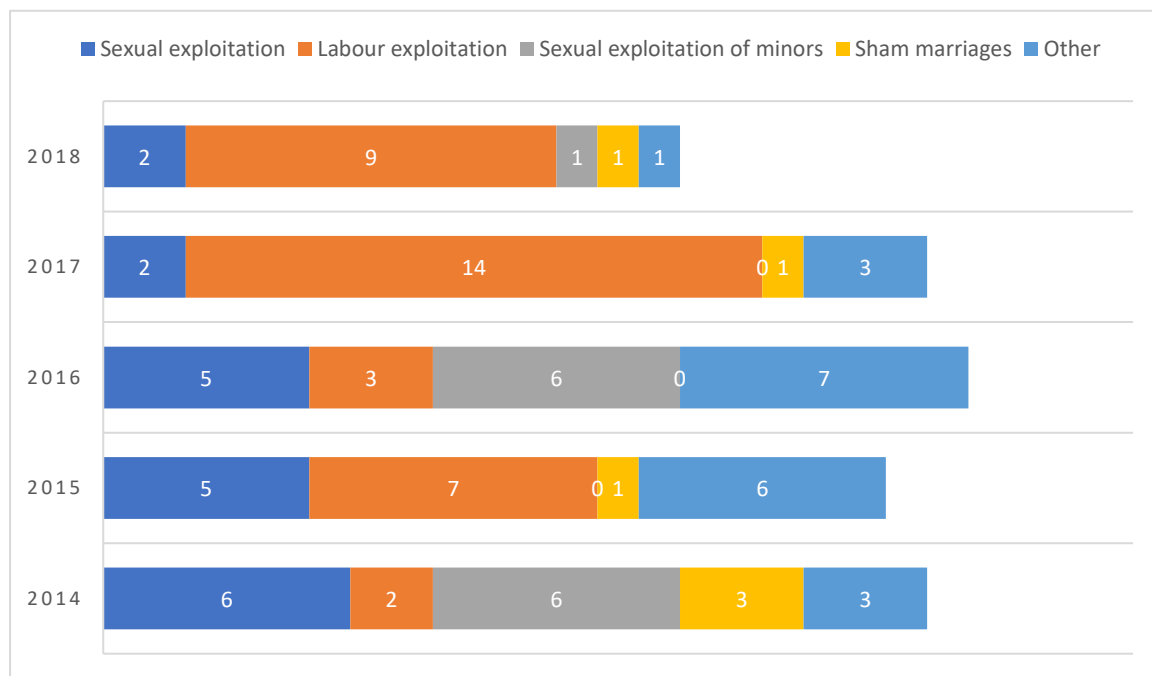


Figure 8. Number of articles by types of trafficking in human beings and year

Six articles on trafficking for sexual exploitation were published in 2014, 5 articles in 2015 and 2016, while only 2 in 2017 and 2018. The proportion of articles discussing trafficking for sexual exploitation has changed from the dominant position to the marginal one. In 2017-2018 one can notice growth in number of articles about trafficking for labour exploitation. Figure 8 demonstrates that this kind of trafficking is dominant in the discussion on human trafficking.

No stable trend can be seen on how much attention is given to the topic of sexual exploitation of minors. In 20014 and in 2016 this kind of articles have had relatively big share among all publications about human trafficking, while in other years there was no attention to the problem.

Sexual exploitation of children was discussed in relation to two court cases that received much media attention. In July 2014 Tartu County Court sentenced to prison four men for taking freedom from 14-years old girl, giving her drugs and alcohol and mediated her for commercial sex via web portal.⁸ Another court case receiving much attention was reported by the newspapers in 2016. In that case a 17-years old girl was “sold” to the adult males by her boyfriend, who was also underaged. The court charged the “boyfriend” but also the ten men for buying sex from a minor.⁹ As some of the convicted men were public persons, the case was widely reported by the media.

Among the topics discussed in the publications marked as “other” are 9 articles discussing migrants, migration or smuggling of people. Especially popular was this topic in 2015, when 4 articles of this kind were published. This wave of articles was related to the case when group of Vietnamese were smuggled from Russia via Estonia to Latvia aiming to Poland.

Six times the topic of the articles could be defined as “enslavement”. All these publications are related to one court case of domestic trafficking.¹⁰

During the 5 years that were selected for the analysis, there was one article on trafficking related to force begging. This article¹¹ was also reporting the court case.

Over half (57 articles or 61%) of all publications analysed are based on the description of concrete cases of human trafficking and exploitation, while none of the articles was clearly inspired by any discussion on legislative changes.

⁸ <https://www.postimees.ee/2850493/tartu-maakohus-moistis-vangi-neli-inimkaubitsejat>

⁹ Ibrus, K. Kohus mõistis alaealiselt tüdrukult seksi ostmises süüdi kümme meest. Eesti Päevaleht. 03.06.2016. Available: <https://www.ohtuleht.ee/737686/kohus-moistis-alaealiselt-tudrukult-seksi-ostmises-suudi-kumme-meest> (15.08.2019)

¹⁰ Nitra, N. Vaikse tänava tülgestav saladus: majaperemees pidas keldris orja. Postimees. 31.05.2016. Available: <https://www.postimees.ee/3715727/vaikse-tanava-tulgastav-saladus-majaperemees-pidas-keldris-orja> (15.08.2019)

¹¹ Laine, M. Fotod: invaliidi orjastamises süüdi mõistetud moldovlased saadetakse kümneks aastaks riigist välja. Pärnu Postimees. 08.09.2017. Available: <https://parnu.postimees.ee/4236979/fotod-invaliidi-orjastamises-suudi-moistetud-moldovlased-saadetakse-kumneks-aastaks-riigist-valja> (15.08.2019)

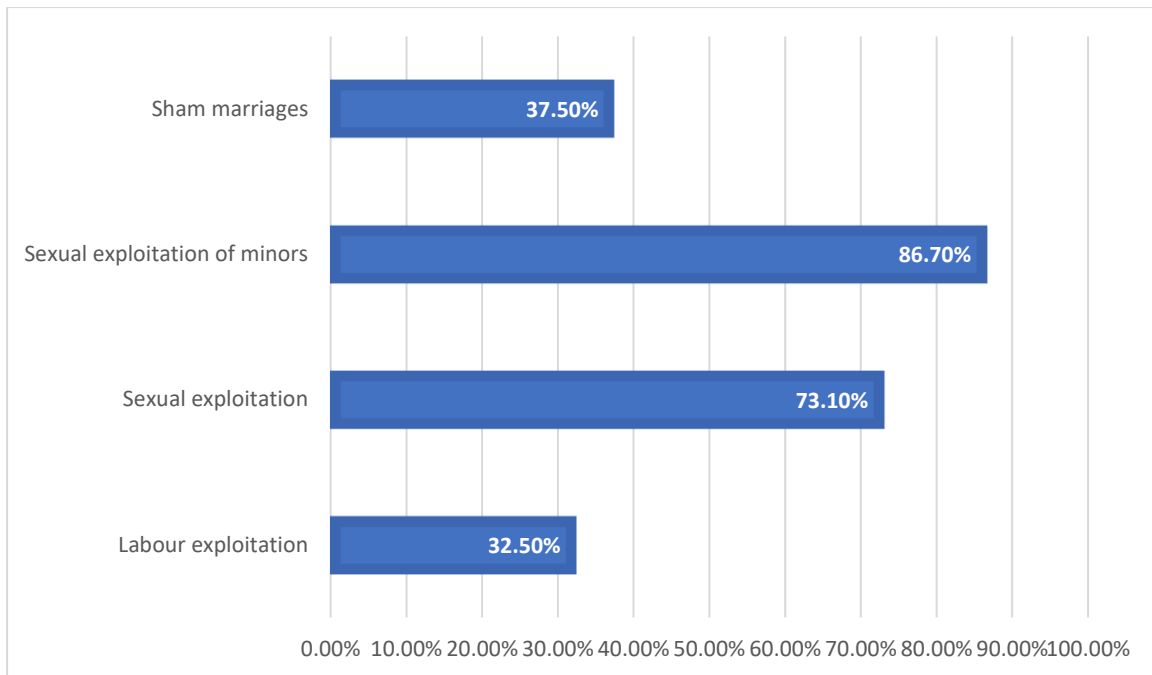


Figure 9. Proportion of articles inspired by a case study by type of human trafficking reported

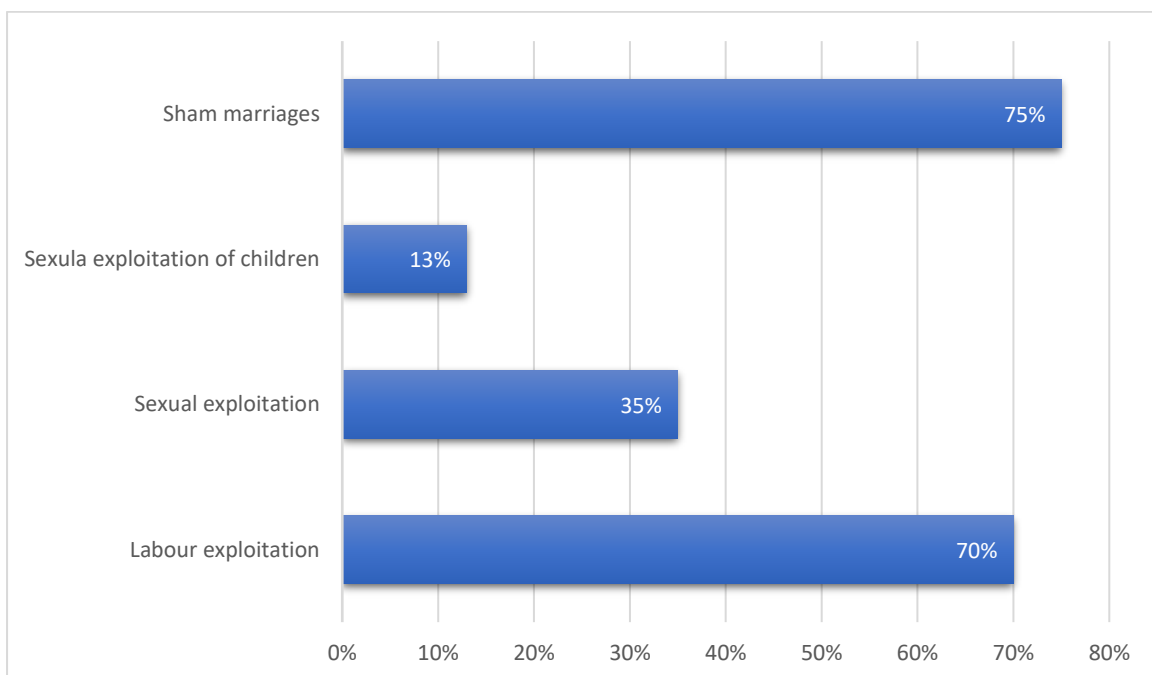


Figure 10. Proportion of articles inspired by reports or expert-provided information by type of human trafficking reported

Figure 9 presents the proportion of articles inspired by concrete cases. The highest proportion of such articles are written on the topic of sexual exploitation of children. For the topic of trafficking for sexual exploitation proportion of case-inspired articles is also high: 73%.

Proportion of case-inspired articles for sham marriages and labour exploitation is lower – 38% and 33% respectfully.

Figure 10 demonstrates opposite picture when the idea for the article comes from a report or expert information. In articles reporting sham marriages or labour exploitation, the main source of inspiration for the journalists was some report, interview with a specialist or other information of this kind. 33 out of 39 articles (85%) inspired by this kind of more general information refer to some experts, while 39 out of 57 (68%) case-inspired articles mention some expert.

2.3. Experts and sources

As was discussed in the section above, in their articles journalists often rely on information from the experts. Overall, in 73% of all articles analysed some experts were either referred as a source of information or interviewed. Although this proportion remains high, it has slightly decreased in recent years (Figure 11).

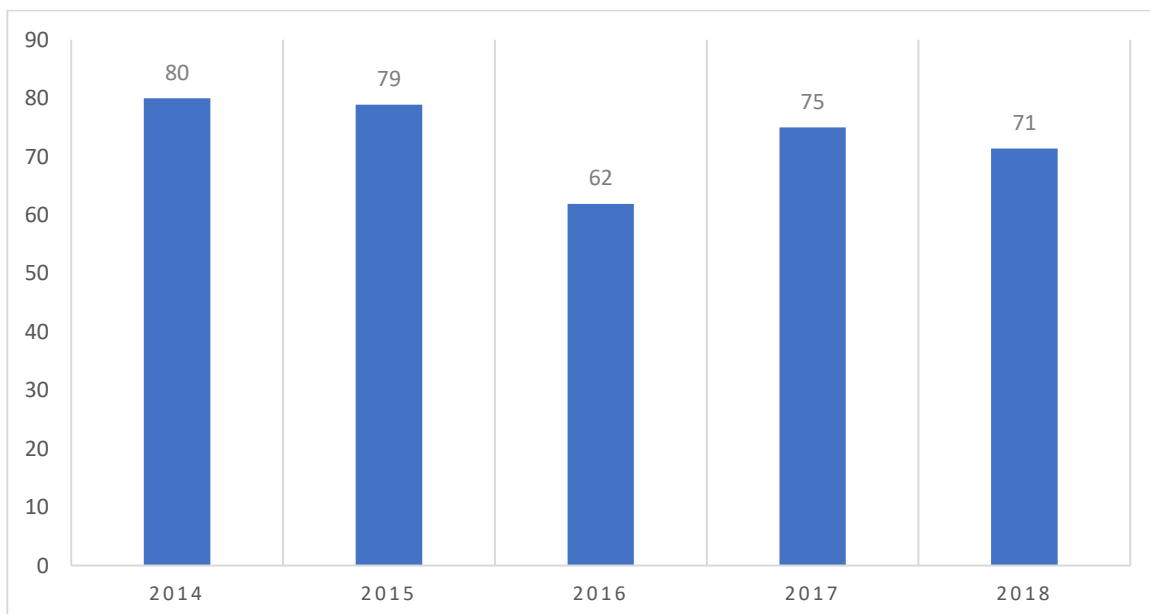


Figure 11. Proportion of articles referring to at least one expert by year.

There are differences in how often journalists refer to experts by the type of human trafficking reported in the articles. The lowest is proportion of experts interviewed for articles on sexual exploitation of children. As was noted above, these articles were mainly inspired by court cases and reference was made mostly to the court rulings. The highest proportion of experts'

involvement was for reporting on sham marriages. Possible explanation for this could be that sham marriages is rather latent and covered problem, no offences of this case are registered and articles are published as an initiative of the stakeholders, to raise awareness of the population.

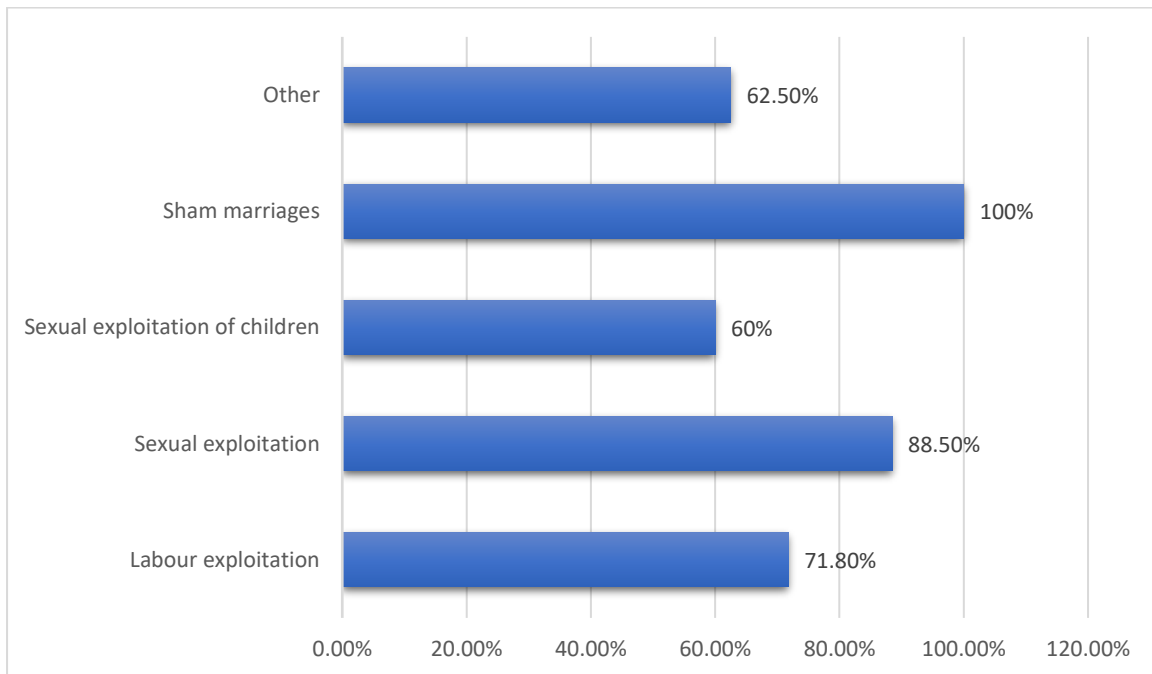


Figure 12. Proportion of articles referring to at least one expert by type of THB reported.

The analysis has also revealed that in case-inspired articles experts are mentioned in 68% of cases. In articles that are inspired by other pieces of information, experts are consulted more often – in 82% of such articles.

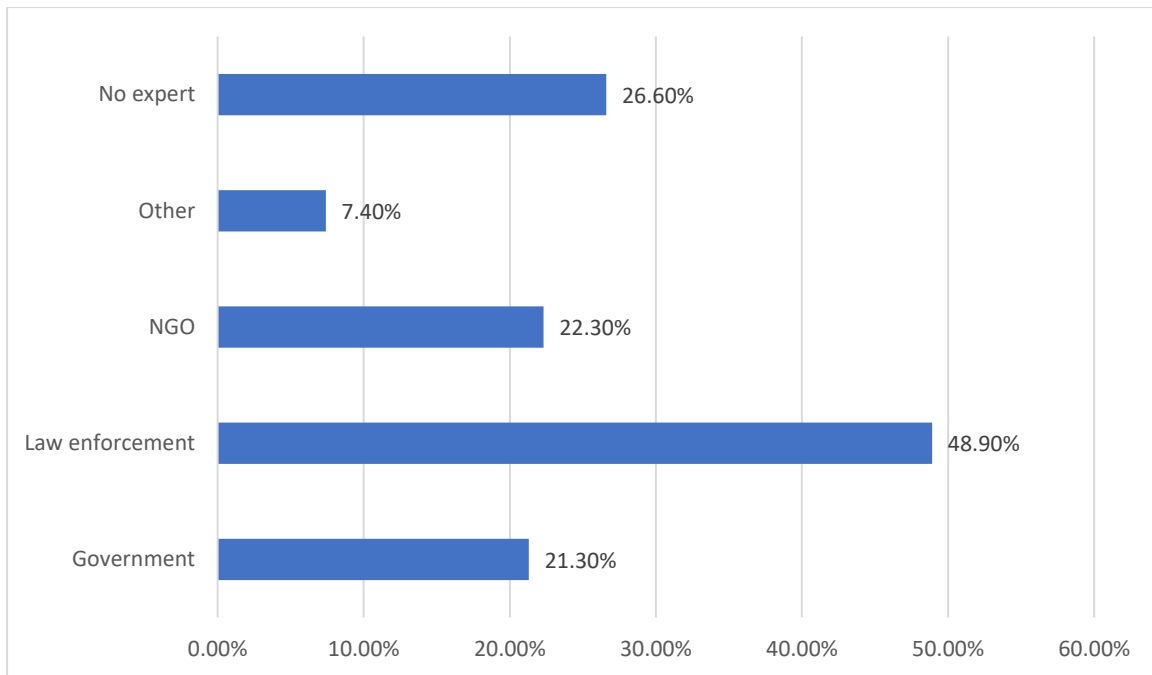


Figure 13. Type of expert referred in the article

Figure 13 presents the proportion of experts by the field of their expertise. Most often referred or asked for the comment are law enforcement experts: prosecutors, police officers, migration control officers or representatives of the Ministry of Interior. Nearly half of articles refer to law enforcement experts. Government (21%) and NGO (22%) representatives received less attention. Just two NGOs representatives were usually referred to: NGO Living for tomorrow and NGO Lifeline. During the period of analysis these NGOs were the main service providers for THB victim's assistance and support. Among government representatives interviewed, commenting or in other way referred in the articles were representatives of the ministries, tax authorities, and labour inspectorate. 7% of the articles referred to other experts, including business representatives and academia.

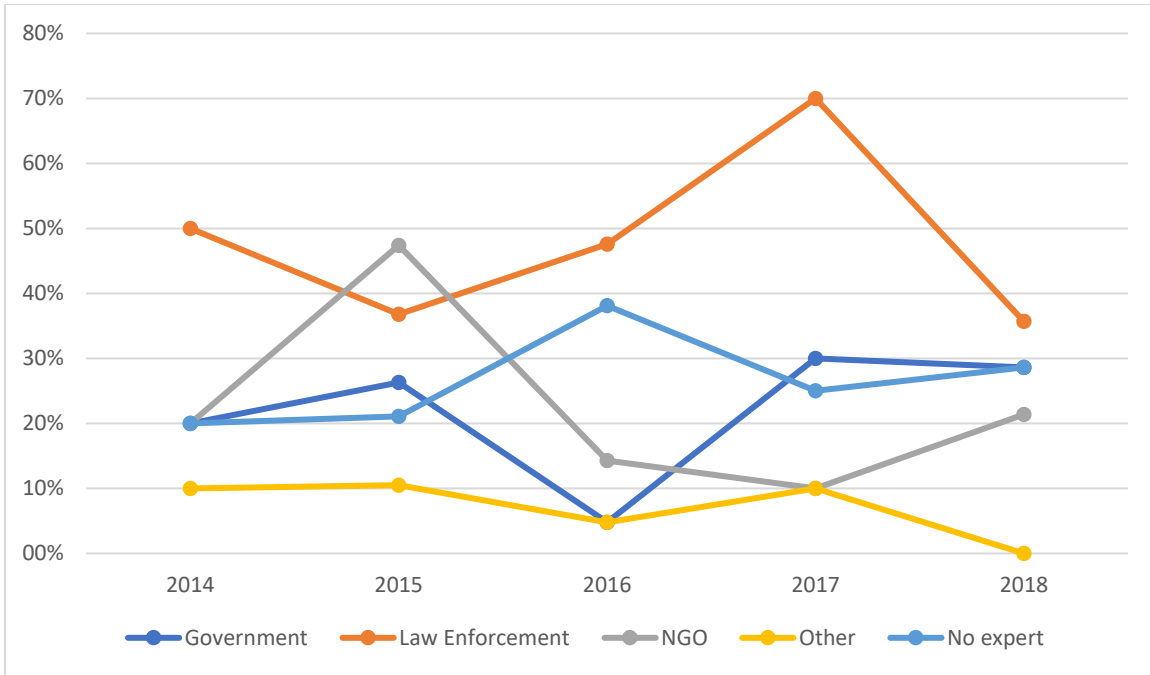


Figure 14. Type of expert referred by year

The analysis did not reveal any stable trend in the reference to experts during the five years analysed. The overall picture presented in the Figure 14 demonstrates that law enforcement has had leading role through the years. Exception was 2015, when NGOs dominated the field. Generally, most comments and interviews are done by public officials, however NGOs are also present and are keeping their role. Constantly low is the role of other experts, like academia or representatives of business. The latest should receive more voice especially when reporting cases of trafficking for labour exploitation.

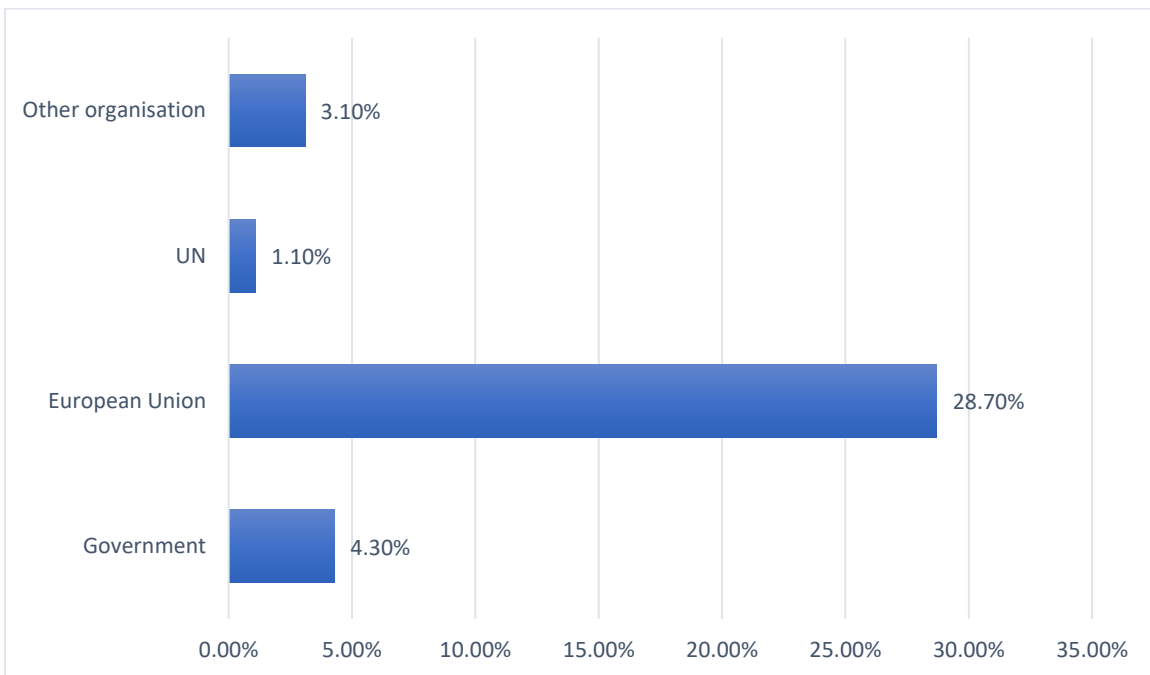


Figure 15. Proportion of articles where some organisations were mentioned

Usually, the articles do not mention any organisation or international body. When they do it would most probably be European Union. European Union was mentioned in 29% of all articles analysed. Government was mentioned in 4% of the articles and United Nations Organisation just once. Other organisations mentioned include International Labour Organisation but also some charity or NGOs.

2.4. Use of illustrative material – statistical data and pictures

Journalists may make their stories more convincing and support their argument by use of statistical data material. The proportion of articles that illustrate their argument by using statistics, is considerably high: in 2017, for example, more than half of all articles on human trafficking have used some statistical data.

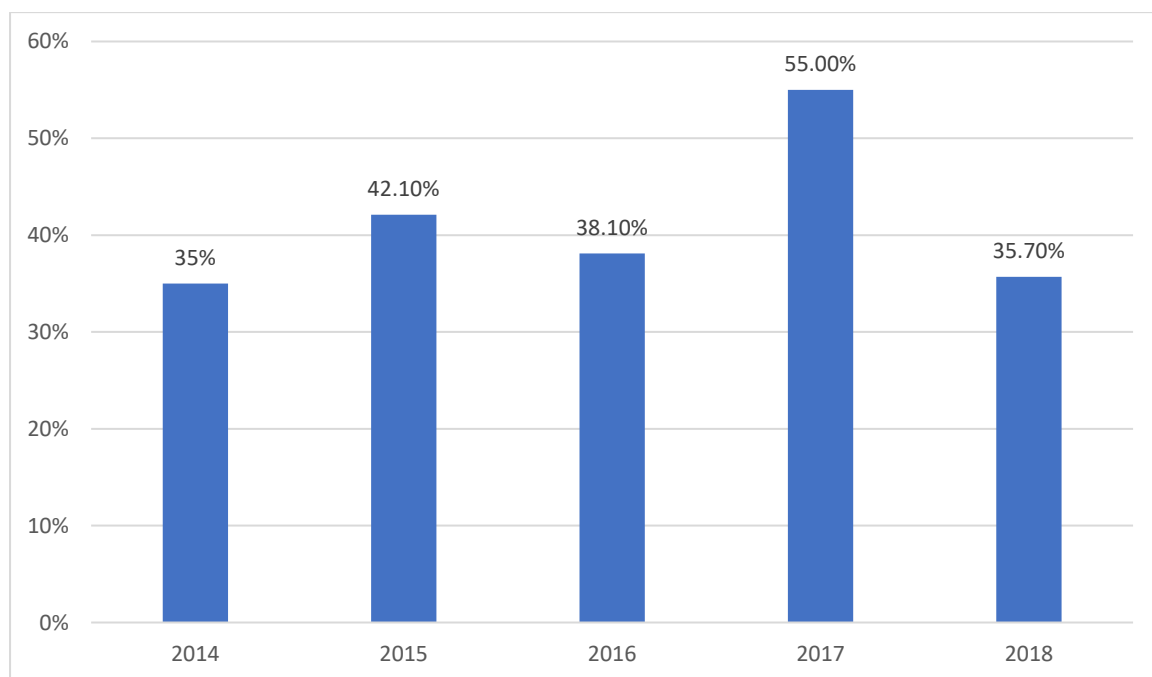


Figure 16. Proportion of articles using statistical data by year

Use of statistical material depends on the length of the article. In case of articles that are shorter than 500 words, statistical data was used in 35% of cases. For articles that are 501-1500 words, the proportion was 46%, and for articles longer than 1500 words, statistical data was used in 44% of the cases.

Use of statistical data also depends whether the article was case-inspired or relies on general information or report. In case-inspired articles statistical information was used less – 35% of cases compared to 53% for the articles based on more general information.

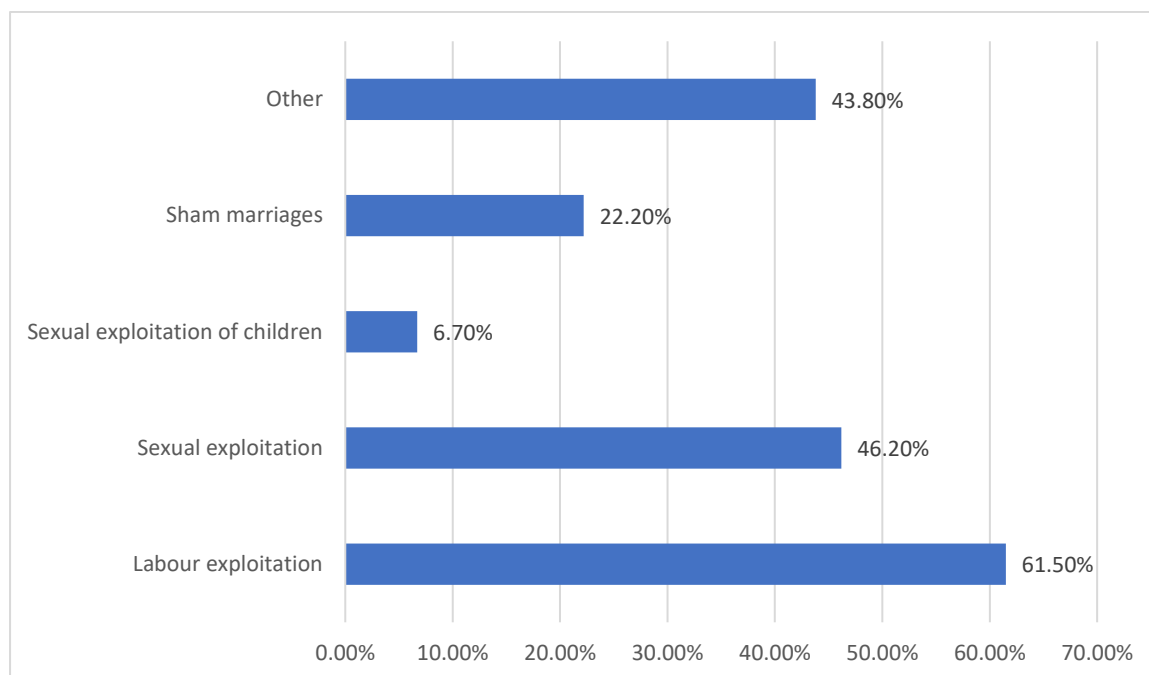


Figure 17. Proportion of articles that use statistical information by type of trafficking

Considerable differences in use of statistical material could be observed when looking at the type of trafficking reported in the article. The proportion is highest for articles on labour exploitation (62%) and the lowest for articles reporting trafficking for sexual exploitation of children (7%).

The sources of statistical data included: statistics collected by Police Board, Ministry of Justice, Taxation Board, Labour Inspectorate, NGOs Lifeline and Living for Tomorrow, statistical data from ILO, European Union, and UN report. Also mentioned in several articles was Walk Free Foundation report on Global Slavery¹² that should be considered with caution and only when the methodology of their index is carefully scrutinised. Otherwise, the data presented in the report would rather contribute to moral panic but not to the improvement of the situation of victims of human trafficking.

¹² Walk Free Foundation. Global Slavery Index: Estonia. Available: <https://www.globallslaveryindex.org/2018/data/country-data/estonia/> (18.08.2019)

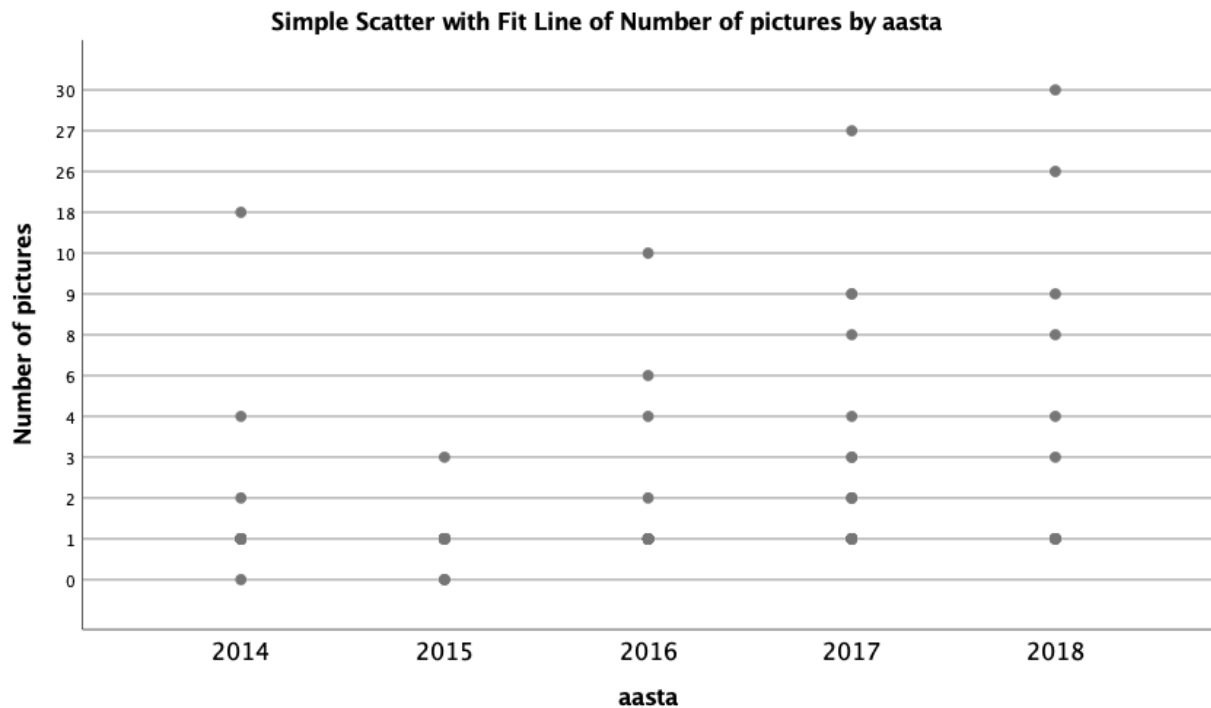


Figure 18. Scatter plot of number of pictures used in the article by year

Pictures were used to illustrate nearly all articles on human trafficking. Only 3% of articles were not illustrated by a picture. Usually (71%) one picture was used; 20% of articles used 2 to 9 pictures; 6% of articles were illustrated by 10 and more pictures. Figure 18 demonstrates the scatter plot for the number of pictures by year. By looking at the graph one can see that in the last 3 years there were no publications on trafficking without pictures. One probable reason for this is that the articles are published on-line, where usually picture is always present. One also can note the increasing number of articles with big number of pictures, so called galleries. Absolute record in our sample belongs to the article “*Kõige problemaatilisem ehitusplats*” – “The most problematic construction site” by Tiina Kaukvere¹³ illustrated by 30 pictures.

¹³ Kaukvere, T. *Kõige problemaatilisem ehitusplats*. Posimees 01.06.2018. Available: <https://leht.postimees.ee/4497554/koige-problemaatilisem-ehitusplats> (18.08.2019)

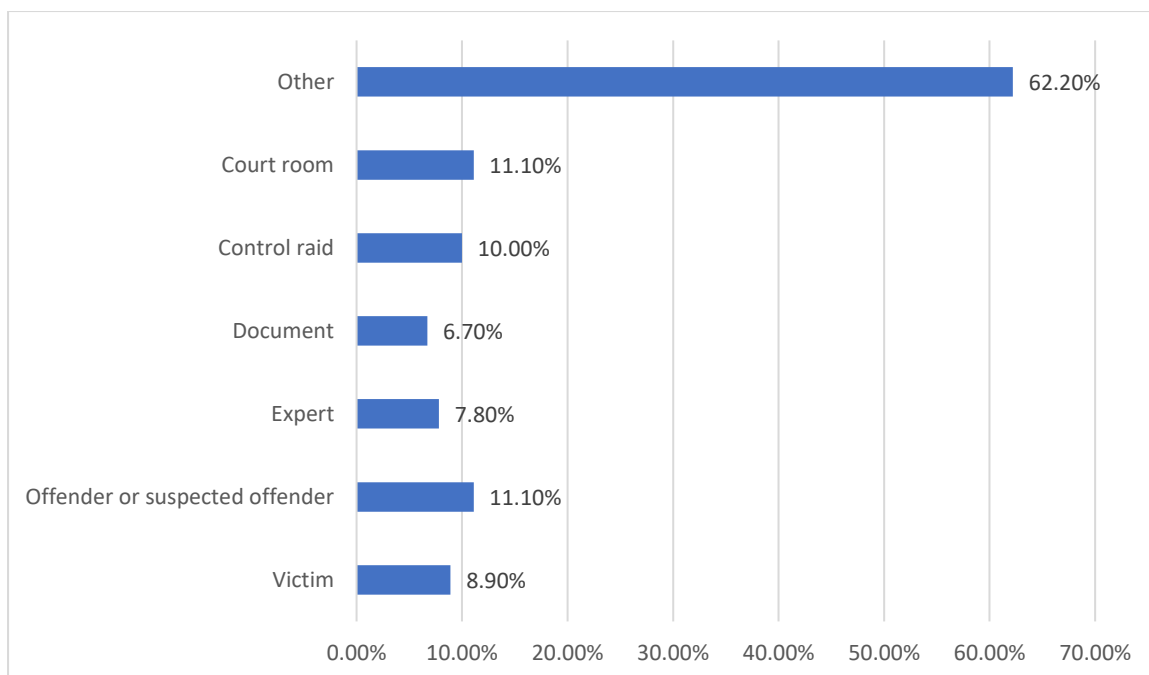


Figure 19. Proportion of pictures by the content of image

While looking at the content of the pictures, the most often articles are accompanied by general illustrative pictures. Article on trafficking for sexual exploitation, for example, will be illustrated by a stock picture of prostitute, handcuffs, or a brothel. Article on migrant smuggling and exploitation will be illustrated by picture of forest or a border. Sometimes these pictures are related to the case reported but are of general content – general picture of a construction site, picture of living conditions of workers etc.

Popular are pictures that exemplify control over the trafficking: photos from the court room (11%) or control police, tax authorities and labour inspectorate joined raids on the construction sites (10%). Offenders or suspected offenders were presented in 11% and victims or suspected victims in 9% of articles. The articles were also illustrated by photos of experts (8%) or relevant documents (7%).

Examples of investigative work by journalists

There are several good examples of successful investigative journalism.

Lennart Käämer. *Ümbrikupalga eest töötanud ehitajad süüdistavad ettevõtjaid*. Ärileht. 23.07.2018. (The builders who have worked without legal contract blame the

entrepreneurs in mean tricks). <https://www.aripaev.ee/uudised/2018/07/20/umbrikupalga-eest-tootatud-ehitajad-suudistavad-ettevotjaid-alatutes-votetes>

The article tells the story of Ukrainian construction workers in Estonia. It starts with their arrival to Estonia and situation, when they have been deceived by a labour facilitator firm. They did not get salary; although promised to get residents and work permits done, their status in Estonia remained illegal. Next, they found work by another firm who was also a subcontractor on the same construction site. However, their situation did not improve.

The article describes schemes that are used to exploit workers and the way migrant workers are treated.

In this article all suspected perpetrators are presented by their names, photos of workers, documents, construction sites are presented. The voice is given to all parties: workers, entrepreneurs, their lawyers. Altogether nine interviews with workers were done during this investigation. Four of them agreed to be presented by their own name, while the rest remained anonymous. Workers are presented as victims of fraudulent schemes; the image of victims is positive.

The article is 2363 words long, it was not opened for comments.

R. Pärigma & A. Palm. *Orjapidamine Eesti moodi: ukrainlastelt nõutakse topelttööd ja palka küsides ähvardatakse metsa viimisega.* (Slavery in Estonia: The Ukrainians are required to work twice as much and when they ask for the salary are threatened to be brought to the forest.) *Eesti Päevaleht Ärioleht* 25.07.2018 (483 comments)

<https://arileht.delfi.ee/news/uudised/orjapidamine-eesti-moodi-ukrainlastelt-noutakse-topelttööd-ja-palka-kusides-ahvardatakse-metsa-viimisega?id=83142911>

This article is based on the series of interviews with experts and is aimed to analyse the situation with labour exploitation in Estonia. The following experts are interviewed: NGO Living for Tomorrow (help line for THB victims), Embassy of Ukraine (sent their comment), labour inspectorate, Ukrainians' Society in Pärnu, migration supervision officer, work force facilitation agency.

The article also presents statistics on migration. Migrants are presented in neutral or rather positive way. In the situations when migrants work in Estonia illegally, it is usually because of the deception, article says.

The picture used (below) is neutral.



This article is 1070 words long; has gathered 483 comments.

M. Tamm. *Töötud Pärnumaa mehed kupeldasid oma naisi teistele meestele*. Eesti Päevaleht 19.06.2018. (The unemployed men in Pärnu pimped their wives to other men.) *Eesti Päevaleht*. 19.06.2018 (257)

<https://epl.delfi.ee/eesti/tootud-panumaa-mehed-kupeldasid-oma-naisi-teistele-meestele?id=82681695>

This article presents two cases of trafficking for sexual exploitation prosecuted in Pärnu district court. Both cases are to some extent similar: boyfriend forces his girlfriend to sell sex to other men using their vulnerable situation or by blackmailing with video.

The article goes beyond the court decision but tells the whole story of the women. The journalist has interviewed victims and prosecutor, an NGO expert was also asked for a comment.

This article was illustrated by a picture (see below) that was rather neutral to the victim and also a photo of a prosecutor in the court room.



The article was 1664 words long; it has 257 comments.

Conclusion

Attention to human trafficking has remained on the same level – about 20 publications in Estonian in printed on-line media. However, there was slight decrease in the number of articles in 2018.

Important shift in the articles and reports that there are more and more long, analytical articles. These articles attract a lot of attention among readers, that is reflected in the number of comments.

Changes in the situation when Estonia has become a destination country for migrants are reflected in the changes in framing of trafficking problem in the media reports. While 10-15 years ago trafficking was solely framed as prostitution-related problem, today media writes a lot about trafficking for forced labour and labour exploitation.

Sensationalist way of presenting information is hardly used. Often arguments are supported by statistical data and experts' opinion. Experts' voice is quite strong in Estonian media when it comes to human trafficking problem. Among experts the strongest voice belongs to law enforcement – they are more often referred to and presented on the pictures (e.g. court room, control raid).

Victims are given voice, but this voice is weak. Victims are presented as vulnerable, sometimes naïve; often experts speak for them.

List of articles reviewed

Author	Title	Publication date	Publication
Andreas Palm	Ukraina välistööjõu kadalipp. Miks töötajate tööde õiguseks ei vormu?	26.07.2018	Eesti Päevalehe Ärioleht
Reet Pärigma/Andreas Palm	Orjapidamine Eesti moodi: ukrainlastelt nõutakse topelttööd ja palka küsides ähvardatakse metsa viimisega	25.07.2018	Eesti Päevalehe Ärioleht
Lennart Käämer	Ümbrikupalga eest töötanud ehitajad süüdistavad ettevõtjaid alatutes võtetes	23.07.2018	Äripäev
Indrek Kiisler	Fiktiivabiellu astuvad naised jäävad enamasti lubatud rahast ilma.	19.06.2018	ERR Uudised
Mihkel Tamm	Töötud Pärnumaa mehed kupeldasid oma naisi teistele meestele	19.06.2018	Eesti Päevaleht
Arno Pöder	Kohus mõistis 12 meest süüdi alaealiselt seksi ostmises	12.06.2018	Õhtuleht
Tiina Kaukvere	Kõige problemaatilisem ehitusplats	01.06.2018	Postimees
Eili Arula	Massaažisalongi pidajad jäid kupeldamises süüdi	15.05.2018	Postimees
Arno Pöder	Inimkaubanduse ohvid: vietnamlasi veeti läbi Eesti võlaorjadeks Euroopasse	08.05.2018	Õhtuleht
Jaanika Hunt	Inimkaubanduse ohvrite nõustaja: Igal ehitusplatsil Tartus on vähemalt üks illegaalne töötaja, kellel puudub keelebarjääri tõttu teadmine oma õigustest ja pakutavatest teenustest	13.04.2018	DELFI naistekas
Andres Einmann	Galerii ja video: ehitusel töötanud ukrainlased üritasid kontrolli käes võtta	06.03.2018	Postimees
Krister Kivi	Õuduste tööots: Eesti meeleheitel Kalevipojad	20.02.2018	Eesti Ekspress

	otsisid Norras süüa prügikastist		
Marta Tuul	15 aastane poiss ehitas Tallinna uut kohtumaja, aga palka ei saanudki	14.02.2018	Eesti Ekspress
Toomas Herm	Tabati järjekordsed ukrainlastest illegaalid	30.01.2018	Virumaa Teataja
Kadi Raal	Inimkaubanduseksperit: inimest ei pea kinni siduma, psühholoogiline hirmutamine on mõjusam	02.12.2017	Postimees
Eliisa Matssalu	Eesti tööturg meenutab Potjomkini küla	21.11.2017	Äripäev
Martin Laine	Kupeldamises süüdistatav mõisteti pikaks ajaks vangi	19.11.2017	Pärnu Postimees
Mihkel Tamm	Erootilise massaaži salongi pidajad ahvatlesid töötajaid klientidega seksima	03.11.2017	Eesti Päevaleht
Tiina Kaukvere/Taavi Minnik	Kurikuulus Odessa-Mama ei näi väsisvat	02.11.2017	Postimees
Sirle Matt/Mailiis Ollino	Pärnu ehitusplatsilt avastati järjekordsed ebaseaduslikult töötanud moldovlased	21.10.2017	Pärnu Postimees
Tiina Kaukvere/Taavi Minnik/Irina Kaublukova	Kuidas kohtumaja ehitanud ukrainlastele kott pähe tõmmati	19.10.2017	Postimees
Lauri Habakuk	Martensi majast avastati reidi käigus kümme ebaseaduslikku töötajat	17.10.2017	Pärnu Postimees
Adele Johanson	Illegaalne töötamine Eestis on aastaga kasvanud kolm korda	11.10.2017	Postimees
Kristi Malmberg	Tööinspeksioon: võõrtööjõu ebaseaduslikku kasutamist ehituses vähendaks peatöövõtja vastutus	02.10.2017	Postimees
Tiina Kaukvere	Eesti ehitusplatsidel sünnivad imed	28.09.2017	Postimees
Martin Laine/Mailiis Ollino	Fotod: invaliidi orjastamises süüdi mõistetud moldovlased saadetakse kümneks aastaks riigist välja	9.09.2017	Pärnu Postimees
Mihkel Tamm	Kuritegeliku grupi anatoomia. Kuidas kümme aastat veeti segamatult üle	01.09.2017	Eesti Päevaleht

	piiri piiritust, salasigarette ja vietnamlasi		
Irina Kablukova	Soomes haihtunud Ukraina marjulised langesid susserdajate ohvriks	11.08.2017	Postimees
Tiina Kaukvere	Jabur skeem: vastutab alltöövõtja alltöövõtja alltöövõtja	05.07.2017	Postimees
Tiina Kaukvere/Uwe Gnadenteich	Ehitajatele tehti klassikalise skeemiga külma	30.06.2017	Postimees
Tiina Kaukvere	Rohkem välistöölisi Eestisse ei mahu	8.06.2017	Postimees
Risto Mets	Piirivalvurid leidsid põõsast kõssitamast kaheksa vietnamlast	13.02.2017	Tartu Postimees
Kristiina Tilk	Nigeeria mehe kaunid silmad töötasid naise arvates eluõnne, aga võta näpust...	10.01.2017	Õhtuleht
Reet Pärigma	Tööandjad peavad välistööjõudu palgates üha vähem kinni töötamise tingimustest	02.02.2017	Eesti Päevalehe Ärioleht
Postimees	Juhtkiri: võõrtöölise meelitamine sandikopikate eest on sigadus	20.12.2016	Postimees
Tiina Kaukvere	Eesti ehitusplatside räpane saladus	19.12.2016	Postimees
Aivar Õepa	Soome mastaapne petuskeem rajanes Eesti ehitajatel	02.11.2016	Eesti Päevalehe Ärioleht
Nils Niitra	Inimkaubitsejad hülgavad Balti riigid	03.10.2016	Postimees
Kadri Ibrus	Kohus mõistis alaealiselt tüdrukult seksi ostmises süüdi kümme meest	03.06.2016	Eesti Päevaleht
Liis Velsker	Fotod: alaealiselt tüdrukult seksi ostmises süüdi mõistetud mehed kohtusaali tulla ei julgenud	02.06.2016	Postimees
Marian Võsumets	Enamik inimkaubanduse juhtumeid on seksuaalkuriteod	02.06.2016	Postimees
Nils Niitra	Tartu orjapidaja viljeles mitmekesisest kuritegevust	01.06.2016	Postimees

Liis Velsker	Majas orja pidanud mehele jõudis jälile noor politseiuurija	01.06.2016	Postimees
Liis Vaksmann	Pidin Hispaaniasse restorani ettekandjaks minema, kuid lõpetasin prostituudina	01.06.2016	Õhtuleht
Joosep Värk	Orjapidamise lood Eestis	01.06.2016	Postimees
Nils Niitra	Jurist: hüljatus teeb inimesed haavatavaks	31.05.2016	Postimees
Nils Niitra	Vaikse tänava tülgastav saladus: majaperemees pidas keldris orja	31.05.2016	Postimees
Tanel Saarmann	Kes need inimesed on? Raport toob välja, mitu moodsa aja orja on Eestis	31.05.2016	Eesti Päevalehe Ärioleht
Liis Velsker	Alaealiselt seksi ostmises süüdistatavad seitse meest eitasid tegu	18.04.2016	Postimees
Liis Velsker	Tüdruksoõpra kupeldanud alaealine mõisteti tingimisi vangi	08.04.2016	Postimees
Liis Velsker	17-aastaselt tüdrukult seksi ostmises süüdistatud kümme meest astuvad kohtu ette	20.03.2016	Postimees
Risto Veskioja	Harju maakohus mõistis süüdi mehe, kes kupeldas kohtinguportaalis 15-aastast tüdruksoõpra. Karistada said ka "kliendi"	20.01.2016	www.DELFI.ee
www.DELFI.ee	Politsei: prostituutidele kliente ette vedanud taksojuhte on kohus ka reaalselt vangi mõistnud	12.01.2016	www.DELFI.ee
www.DELFI.ee	Delfi eksperiment: Ajakirjanik proovis seksi nii osta kui ka müüa. Appi tuli Lasnamäe taksojuht	12.01.2016	www.DELFI.ee
Sirje Rattus	Eesti prostituudi portree: Lapsepõlves vaesust kogunud ja vägivalda kannatanud tüdruk	11.01.2016	Pealinn
Triin Oja	Uuring: Noored süüdistavad prostitutsioonis ohvrit, seksiootjat isegi õigustades	09.12.2015	Pealinn
Triin Oja	Sirle Blumberg: inimkaubanduse	08.12.2015	Pealinn

	nõustamisliini poole on pöördunud nii tööalaste murede kui fiktiivabielude pärast		
BNS	Vietnamlasi smugeldanud isikud ei tunnista süüd inimkaubanduses	07.12.2015	Postimees
Sirje Rattus	Näidisjoojad baari palgal: Tüdrukud rikuvad oma elu baaris kliente jooma õhtutades	07.12.2015	Pealinn
www.DELFI.ee	Vahistati kaks inimkaunduses kahtlustatavat meest, kinni peeti ka 15 üle piiri toodud vietnamlast	18.11.2015	www.DELFI.ee
Kristiina Tilk	Välismaale orjatööle: võitlesime ellujäämise eest. Kui tahtsime koju tulla, lubati kätte maksta	12.10.2015	Õhtuleht
Piia Osula	Tulus töö välismaal. Maksmata palgad, purunenud lootused ja uni külmal kontoripõrandal	12.10.2015	Eesti Päevaleht
Sirle Blumberg, MTÜ Living for Tomorrow	Kommentaar - Kuidas välismaale tööle minnes mitte petta saada?	08.10.2015	Õhtuleht
Riin Aljas	Eestlastega seotud idufirmad otsivad inimkaubitsejaid	06.10.2015	Eesti Päevaleht
Madis Jürgen	Immigrantide siseinfo: öelge Läänes, et kodumaal on teie elu ohus!	30.09.2015	Eesti Ekspress
Postimees	Radar: politsei kuulutas erootilistele massaažisalongidele sõja	15.09.2015	Postimees
Kadri Salamäe	Eesti naised abielluvad üha rohkem raha eest võhivõõrastega	30.07.2015	Eesti Päevaleht
Külli-Riin Tigasson	Kohus otsustab, kust lõpeb massaaž ja kust algab seks	22.07.2015	Eesti Ekspress
Risto Berenson	Politsei tabas seksiärikate jõugu	11.07.2015	Postimees
Raul Sulbi	Politsei pidas kinni neli inimkaubanduse ketis osalemises kahtlustatavat meest	01.04.2015	Tartu Postimees

Viktoria Ladõnskaja/Andres Putting	Oranži furgooni saladus. Värske inimkaup otse Ukrainast	25.02.2015	Eesti Ekspress
Riin Aljas	Tuunikala ja krevetid toovad poelettidele 21. sajandi orjad	19.01.2015	Eesti Päevaleht
Riin Aljas	Made in Cambodia: H&M-i teksasid õmbleva töölise argipäev	16.01.2015	Eesti Päevaleht
Külli-Riin Tigasson	Jutt orjanduslikust Eestist on tugevasti liialdatud	07.01.2015	Eesti Ekspress
Marian Männi	Orjaks saada polegi nii raske ehk kes on Eesti 4800 orja?	20.11.2014	Postimees
Marian Männi	Marian Männi: meeleheide ja orjus	20.11.2014	Postimees
Tiina Kaukvere	Maapiirkondade prostituutide kupeldavad sageli pereliikmed	17.11.2014	Postimees
Sirje Rattus	Kehamüügi paradiis: Tutvumisportaalid aitavad kurjategijatel naisi müüa	31.12.2014	Pealinn
Kadri Ibrus	Inimkaubitsejad jäid süüdi ka ringkonnakohtus	08.11.2014	Eesti Päevaleht
Eurokratt	Inimkaubandus on murekoht ka Eestis	28.10.2014	Eurokratt
Marian Männi	Inimkaubitsejad otsivad ohvreid internetist	06.10.2014	Postimees
Tiina Kaukvere	Ministeerium mures: korteribordellide arv on kahekordistunud	29.09.2014	Postimees
Kadri Ibrus	Inimkaubandusohvri vanemad: palusime politseilt abi, kuid tulutult	25.08.2014	Eesti Päevaleht
Irina Kablukova	Põgenevad pruudid	21.08.2014	Postimees
Matti Aivar Lind	Ministeerium inimkaubandusjuhtumist Eestis: isegi kui kupeldatu on tehtavaga päri, on ta ohver	11.07.2014	www.DELFI.ee
Kadri Ibrus	Sotsiaaltöötaja: mina ega politsei ei saanud aru, et tüdrukut müüakse	10.07.2014	Eesti Päevaleht
Postimees	Tartu maakohus mõistis neli inimkaubitsejat vangi	09.07.2014	Postimees
Kadri Ibrus	Lõuna-Eesti jõuk uimastas last ja sundis teha prostitutsioonile	08.07.2014	Eesti Päevaleht

Vahur Koorits	Taksojuhtide kupeldamisprotsess: maja sai seksi eest 30, prostituut 50, taksojuht 70 eurot	28.04.2014	www.DELFI.ee
Kristiina Tilk	Eestlanna sai pakkumise abielluda 18 000 euro eest	24.03.2014	Õhtuleht
Kristiina Tilk	Fiktiivabielude karm reaalsus: Eesti tüdrukud on valmis end 1000 euro eest maha müüma	12.03.2014	Õhtuleht
Juhan Haravee	Bordellitakso mammutprotsessil eraldati eile terad sõkaldest	22.02.2014	Õhtuleht
Risto Veskioja	Eestis tabati Araabia paleedesse prostituute vahendanud inimkaubandusvõrgustiku venelannast ninamees	27.01.2014	www.DELFI.ee
Tuuli Jõesaar	Eesti on inimkaubitsejate jaoks transiitriik Skandinaaviasse	23.01.2014	Eesti Päevaleht

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Appendix 1: Protocol

1. **Publication Title**
2. **Date of Publication**
3. **Details on report**
 - a. **If in paper**
 - i. **page in news paper**
 - ii. **Under what section**
 - b. **If online**
 - i. **What section**
 - ii. **Number of hits or comments.**
4. **Length of report**
 - a. **Under 500 characters**
 - b. **501 – 1,500**
 - c. **1501 – 3000**
 - d. **3,001+**
5. **Headline**
6. **Sources used / quoted**
7. **Topics covered**
8. **Genesis of Report**
 - a. **A case study**
 - b. **Legislation**
 - c. **Policy**
 - d. **Other**
9. **Language Used**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral
- d. Descriptive / Commentary
- e. Sensationalist

10. Organisation Mentioned

- a. Government;
- b. European Union;
- c. Council of Europe;
- d. UN;
- e. Other international organisations;
- f. Experts (academic, analysis, evaluators);
- g. Criminal Justice;
- h. Civil Society Organisation;
- i. General Public / Member of Public;
- j. Other.

11. What Frame is human trafficking placed in

- a. Human rights
- b. Security
- c. Prostitution
- d. Immigration
- e. Prosecution
- f. Other

12. Pictures used