

**PUBLIC POLICIES AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING: CATEGORIES OF ANALYSIS
BASED ON A SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW (2004-2021)**

***POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS E TRÁFICO DE PESSOAS: CATEGORIAS DE ANÁLISE A
PARTIR DE UMA REVISÃO SISTEMÁTICA DE LITERATURA (2004-2021)***

***POLÍTICAS PÚBLICAS Y TRATA DE PERSONAS: CATEGORÍAS DE ANÁLISIS
BASADAS EN UNA REVISIÓN BIBLIOGRÁFICA SISTEMÁTICA (2004-2021)***



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ABSTRACT: This article's main objective is to carry out a systematic literature review with the aim of understanding how the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) correlate with Brazilian anti-trafficking public policies. In order to cover the ratification of the Palermo Protocol in Brazil in 2004, the change in Brazilian legislation on human trafficking in 2016 and the transition of the international development agenda that culminated in the launch of the SDGs in 2015, the bibliographic survey was carried out in time frame from 2004-2021. The results obtained were timid, considering the scarcity of academic articles that cover the connection between human trafficking and the SDGs, the fight against human trafficking in Brazil in terms of public policies and the concentration of research on trafficking of women for the purposes of sexual exploitation. Therefore, there is a gap in academic work in the field of human trafficking for purposes other than sexual exploitation in Brazil, as well as research that covers the influence of the SDGs on Brazilian trafficking policies.

KEYWORDS: Human trafficking. SDGs. Public policies. Brazil.

RESUMO: Este artigo tem como principal objetivo realizar uma revisão sistemática de literatura almejando compreender como os Objetivos de Desenvolvimento Sustentável (ODS) se correlacionam com as políticas públicas antitráfico brasileiras. A fim de abarcar a ratificação do Protocolo de Palermo no Brasil em 2004, a mudança da legislação brasileira sobre o tráfico de pessoas em 2016 e a transição da agenda internacional de desenvolvimento que culminou no lançamento dos ODS em 2015, o levantamento bibliográfico foi feito no recorte temporal de 2004-2021. Os resultados obtidos foram tímidos, considerando a escassez de artigos acadêmicos que abarquem a conexão entre o tráfico de pessoas e os ODS, o enfrentamento ao tráfico de pessoas no Brasil em termos de políticas públicas e a concentração de pesquisas no tráfico de mulheres para fins de exploração sexual. Considera-se, portanto, uma lacuna de trabalhos acadêmicos no âmbito do tráfico de pessoas para outras finalidades além da exploração sexual no Brasil, bem como pesquisas que abranjam a influência dos ODS nas políticas de tráfico brasileiras.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Tráfico humano. ODS. Políticas públicas. Brasil.

RESUMEN: El objetivo principal de este artículo es realizar una revisión sistemática de la literatura para entender cómo los Objetivos de Desarrollo Sostenible (ODS) se correlacionan con las políticas públicas brasileñas contra la trata de personas. Para abarcar la ratificación del Protocolo de Palermo en Brasil en 2004, el cambio en la legislación brasileña sobre trata de personas en 2016 y la transición de la agenda internacional de desarrollo que culminó con el lanzamiento de los ODS en 2015, el relevamiento bibliográfico se realizó en el período 2004-2021. Los resultados obtenidos fueron tímidos, considerando la escasez de artículos académicos que aborden la conexión entre la trata de personas y los ODS, el combate a la trata de personas en Brasil en términos de políticas públicas y la concentración de las investigaciones en la trata de mujeres con fines de explotación sexual. Por lo tanto, faltan trabajos académicos sobre la trata de personas con fines distintos a la explotación sexual en Brasil, así como investigaciones que aborden la influencia de los ODS en las políticas brasileñas contra la trata.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Trata de seres humanos. ODS. Políticas públicas. Brasil.

Introduction

Human trafficking is one of the most lucrative criminal activities in the world, generating approximately 150 billion dollars a year, according to estimates by the International Labor Organization (ILO, 2014). Recognizing human trafficking as a potential international political problem that could only be contained through international cooperation, the member states of the United Nations (UN) met in 2000 under the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and signed the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. Known as the *Palermo Protocol* (2001), whose text was responsible for normatively defining human trafficking and establishing guidelines for combating it at an international level and was ratified in Brazil in 2004.

Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs (UN, 2003).

As a result of political action on trafficking in women and children, there has also been a great deal of academic mobilization to address this problem and contribute to the creation of effective policies to combat it at the local level. In the first years following the enactment of the *Palermo Protocol*, research on the subject focused on the role of border securitization processes and the repression of migration from countries in the global south following the 11 September terrorist attacks; the creation of stereotypes of victims and perpetrators, perpetrated by anti-trafficking campaigns and their impact on the creation of public policies to combat human trafficking (SILVA; BLANCHETTE; BENTO, 2013) and; the political debate involving the relationship between human trafficking and prostitution (PISCITELLI, 2008).

In Brazil, as will be shown below, a large part of the academic output has been dedicated to exploring how human trafficking impacts women, using gender as a defining category in the purpose of trafficking and focusing above all on sexual exploitation. It has been observed that many of these studies, especially those involving some level of ethnography, point out how policies to combat human trafficking weaken the safety of prostitutes, whether they are Brazilians in Brazil or Brazilians abroad (PISCITELLI, 2012; SILVA; SILVA;

BLANCHETTE; BENTO, 2013). With this focus on the sexual exploitation of women, Sousa (2016) points to the need to understand how the National Policy to Combat Trafficking in Persons (PNETP) is being materialized at the state level, considering the socioeconomic and cultural specificities of these places, in order to obtain an overview of human trafficking in Brazil.

A decade after the Palermo Protocol was ratified in Brazil, the 2030 Agenda came into force as the new international political development agenda, anchored in the pillars: people, prosperity, planet, peace and partnerships; the search for balance between the environment and society and; respect for human rights and dignity. These pillars were established as essential for sustainable development and in order to achieve them, there was a political effort and intense debates and negotiations which resulted in the creation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SDGs marked the global commitment made by the majority of countries and social actors committed to achieving sustainable development, covering social, economic, equality and peace issues, full access to basic natural resources and the eradication of poverty (MENEZES, 2018). The SDGs, therefore, are dedicated to the eradication of social problems that are recognized as the main causes of human trafficking and the indivisible and integrated nature of their goals and objectives ensure that their achievement generates a positive impact on tackling social problems such as human trafficking.

That said, this article aims to carry out a systematic literature review in order to understand how the SDGs correlate with Brazilian public policies to tackle the issue. The second subsection will present the methodology used, as well as the refinement and organization of the categories of analysis, and the following subsections will demonstrate the results obtained from compiling the selected works.

Methodology

The literature review is the combination of the ideas of various authors on a given topic obtained from the researcher's readings. It is the researcher's documentation of the work to be carried out, based on the authors chosen to discuss the topic. By helping the researcher to investigate new perspectives within the chosen theme, the literature review serves as a bibliographic mapping of the research perspectives that have already been explored on a given theme, avoiding duplication and serving as a guide to finding the gap in which the research will be situated. Therefore, although it is not an unprecedented work, it is analytical and critical

(BRIZOLA; FANTIN, 2016).

When the review takes on more specific characteristics, adopts protocols and establishes its own logic, the literature review becomes a Systematic Literature Review (SLR), which aims to synthesize academic works published in a specific time frame, subject and thematic area (GALVÃO; RICARTE, 2019), in order to form a theoretical framework to analyze and demonstrate under which contexts certain (research) results solved or were used to solve a specific problem (BRIZOLA; FANTIN, 2016). The SLR allows the researcher to map the state of the art of the field of knowledge they set out to study, using specific protocols that can be replicated and verified when choosing the sample of works, explaining the bibliographic databases consulted, as well as the search strategies, the selection process, the inclusion and exclusion criteria and the analysis of each article (GALVÃO; RICARTE, 2019), constantly seeking a high level of scientific evidence (OKOLI, 2019).

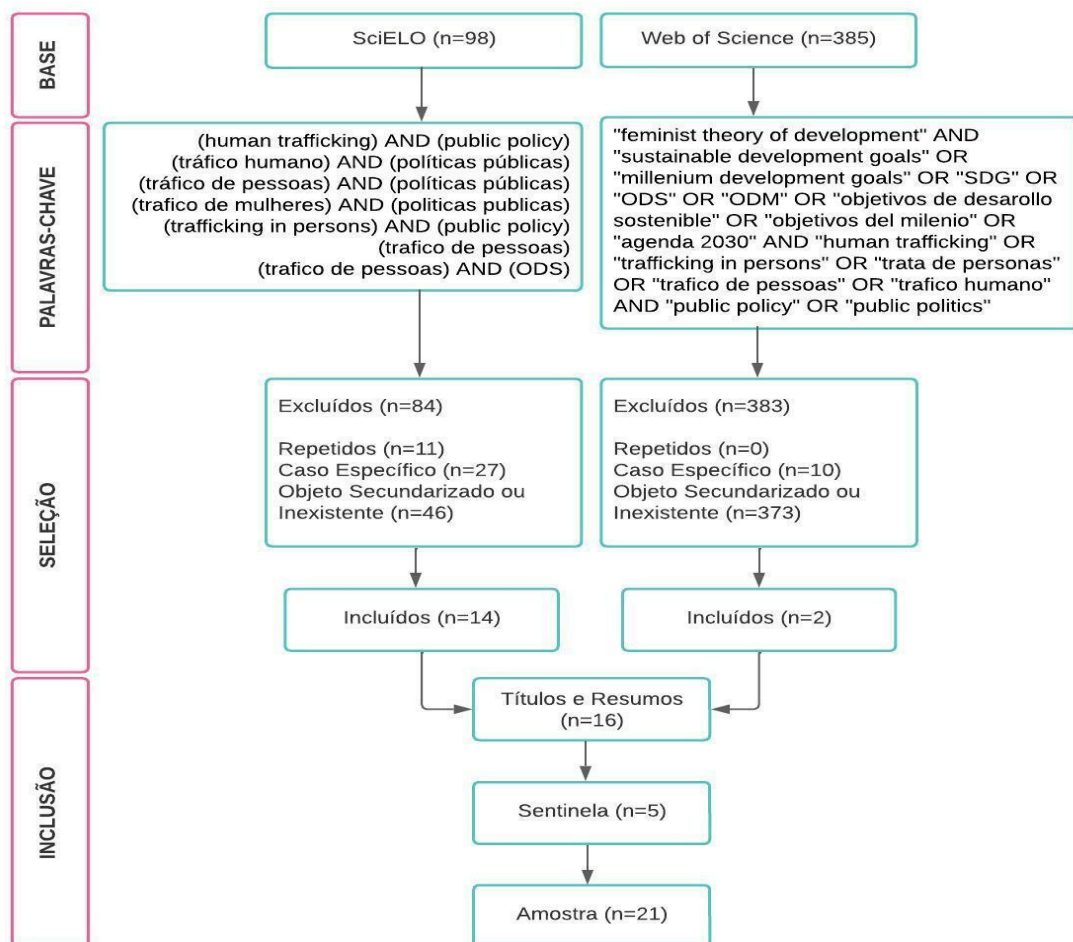
In order to value scientific evidence, replicability and verification, the SLR must be transparent, not only in the reasons why it was carried out, but also vulnerable in the publication of its procedures, helping to advance academic knowledge by admitting its limitations and the factors that affect its results (OKOLI, 2019). Therefore, the main objective of the research, the results of which will be demonstrated in the following subsections, was to describe Brazilian academic production on human trafficking, categorize its similarities, and draw a parallel with the 2030 Agenda and public policies to combat human trafficking.

The time frame was established strategically in order to cover the enactment of the Palermo Protocol in Brazil in 2004; the transition from the Millennium Development Goals to the Sustainable Development Goals in 2015 and; the change in Brazilian legislation on the crime of human trafficking in 2016. Thus, a search was carried out in the 2004-2021 timeframe, making it possible to verify whether there were changes in the National Program to Combat Trafficking in Persons (PNETP, Portuguese initials) after the establishment of the SDGs and the change in legislation. It is worth noting that the absence of studies that focus their analysis on public policies influenced the research case to focus on an analysis of the PNETP, considering that the use of broader keywords (public policies) resulted in a series of articles that superficially mentioned the PNETP, but did not designate their arguments and/or criticisms to specific public policies².

² With the exception of the work by De Sousa (2016), who mentions and directs his criticism at the PNETP.

Subsequently, the search repositories were chosen. The search was carried out on Web of Science and SciELO³, the latter was included after it was found that, although Web of Science covers Brazilian journals, many papers did not appear in the final search results. The keywords were used in three languages: Portuguese, English and Spanish, considering all the variations of the concepts searched for in foreign languages. The Boolean operators OR and AND were used in order to cover the ways in which concepts and words are written in the same language, as can be seen in Figure 2⁴.

Figure 2 - SLR paper selection diagram



Source: Devised by the author

After reading the titles and abstracts of the papers, two exclusion categories were established: Specific Cases and Secundarized/Inexistent Object. The first covered case studies

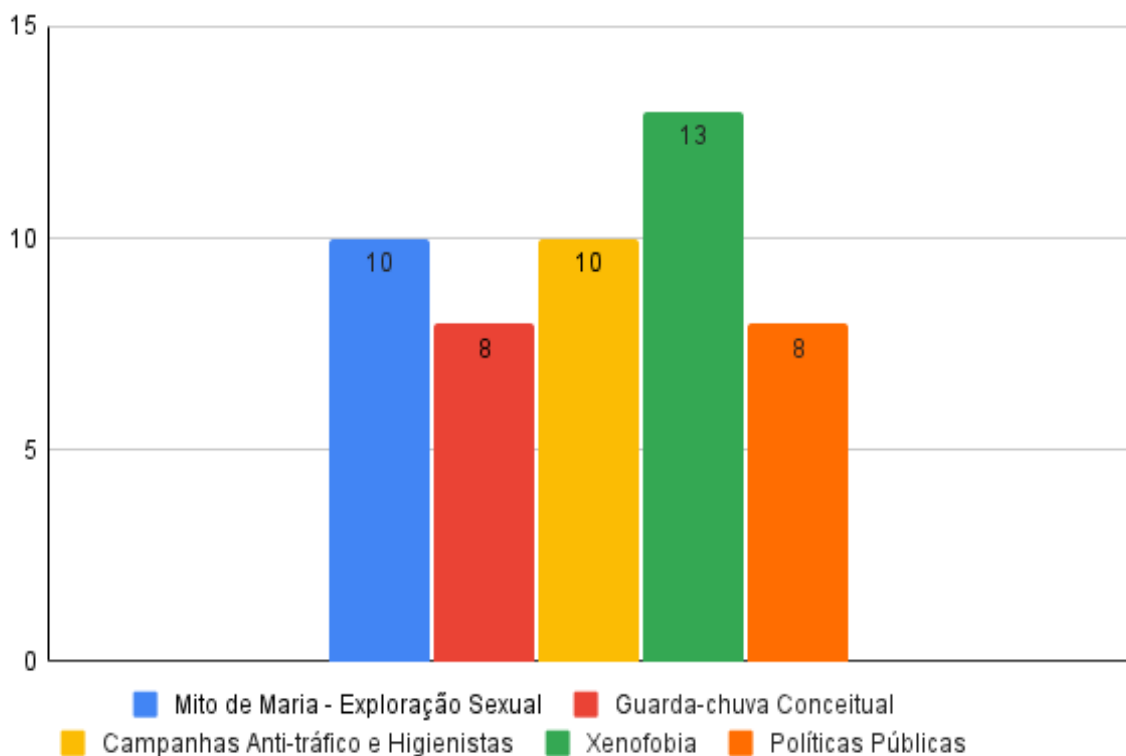
³ The databases were last consulted on 9 October 2022.

⁴ The database can be accessed at: <https://osf.io/aer3k/>.

carried out in other countries and conceptual debates on specific characteristics of human trafficking, such as vulnerability. The second category, on the other hand, is broad and was used to exclude analyses from the discipline of law, anthropological research on the period of slavery, marketing analyses on the behavior of consumers in anti-trafficking campaigns, analyses on prostitution whose debate is problematically related to human trafficking and analyses on some SDGs where human trafficking is used as an example, but whose analysis was not in-depth.

After carefully reading and analyzing the articles, five categories were created to cover the similarities between the contents: the myth of Maria; the umbrella of human trafficking; anti-trafficking and hygiene campaigns; xenophobia and public policies. Finally, given the lack of research on public policies and the link between human trafficking and the SDGs in the sample collected, five sentinel papers were included in the SLR to contribute to the development of the themes and consolidate the categorization.

Figure 3 - Distribution of the sample in the categorization



Source: Devised by the author

It should be noted that the sentinel articles were inserted after the results of the research involving the SDGs and human trafficking, since the research by Simons, Lloyd and Stewart

(2018) and Gómez-Mera (2016) addresses human trafficking as an international political object without specifically situating it on the development agenda. Thus, the research by Danailova-Trainor and Lackzo (2010) was added in order to situate human trafficking in the debate on international development, the dissertation by Pereyra (2016) to address the I PNETP and the II PNETP, the work by Bijos (2009) to demonstrate the consolidation of the anti-trafficking agenda in Brazil, the article by da Silva and Goes (2013) to complement the discussion on the synergy between human trafficking, slave labor and prostitution and, finally, the research by Diehl and da Costa (2019), which places human trafficking as a regional problem.

Human Trafficking in the 2030 Agenda

The Sustainable Development Goals were launched by the UN in 2015 and are the political development agenda in force until 2030. Replacing the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the SDGs are the result of the Decade of Conferences and the creation of an intellectual memory, based on the mistakes and successes made by previous development agendas, especially the MDGs, which influenced the political trajectory that resulted in the 2030 Agenda. It is a global political initiative aimed at fostering economic, social and environmental development that aims to reduce social problems such as inequality, poverty and increasing the well-being of individuals by improving socio-economic conditions and promoting human rights (MENEZES, 2019).

The SDGs affirm the responsibility of governments and civil societies to ensure the ability to meet the needs of current and future generations. The concept of sustainable development on which it is anchored consists of the synergy between economic growth, development and economic, environmental and social sustainability, the latter "encompasses notions of fairness, empowerment, accessibility, participation, cultural identity and organizational stability (DALY; UMANA, 2019). The concept implies that people are important because development is about people" (TRUSINA; JERMOLAJEVA, 2021, p. 307).

In this context, combating human trafficking is included in the 2030 Agenda as part of the SDGs in specific target 8.7 "[...] take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labor, end modern slavery and trafficking in persons, and ensure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labor [...]" (ONU, 2015, p. 27, our translation) and in target 16.2 "[...] end abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence and torture against children" (ONU, 2015, p. 36, our translation). Thus, it is clear that there is a concern with human

trafficking at an international level due to the way in which its confrontation is materialized in the SDGs, however, the connection between development (which this paper takes as a reference the 2030 Agenda) and human trafficking is much more complex than the mentions in the specific goals make it seem.

There is a difficulty in relating the literature on human trafficking to development because both concepts are broad and difficult to measure, especially human trafficking, which tends to be operationalized from different perspectives, including migration, criminal justice and feminist studies. Much of the literature that addresses this connection uses poverty as a parameter, understanding that it is a determining factor in increasing the vulnerability⁵ of individuals to human trafficking. Seen as the main cause of the problem, poverty is one of the factors that most encourage individuals to migrate, either to seek better job opportunities and escape the distortions of the labor market (in terms of working conditions and pay), or to overcome socio-economic conditions, gender discrimination and other inequalities to which they are exposed due to their condition of poverty (DANAIOVA-TRAINOR; LACKZO, 2010).

It should be noted that the SDGs relate to human trafficking as they address and seek to tackle its main causes, such as poverty (SDG 1), gender discrimination (SDG 5), unemployment or working conditions analogous to slavery (SDG 8), reducing social inequality in society and between countries (SDG 10) and strengthening institutions by fighting crime (SDG 16). In this sense, it is understood that human trafficking is an obstacle to development, and that by linking them, it is possible to promote the fight against crime through the fulfillment of the SDGs, considering the integrated and indivisible nature of the goals.

In the academic world, however, the debate linking the 2030 Agenda to human trafficking, or even the issue in terms of public policies, has progressed timidly, as will be shown in the following subsections. In Brazil, since Law n. 13,344/2016⁶ was passed, which extends the crime of human trafficking beyond prostitution and/or sexual exploitation of others, there has not been enough significant research to draw up a new panorama for tackling the issue

⁵ This research adopts Rodrigues and Teresi's (2018) definition of vulnerability as a reference, defined by the combination of specific social contexts, individual characteristics (such as gender, race, age, physical and mental condition) and the impact that poverty, violence and exclusion have on certain individuals to the point of making them more susceptible to the advance of criminals and, consequently, to human trafficking.

⁶ BRASIL, Lei Nº 13.344, de 6 de outubro de 2016. Dispõe sobre prevenção e repressão ao tráfico interno e internacional de pessoas e sobre medidas de atenção às vítimas; altera a Lei no 6.815, de 19 de agosto de 1980, o Decreto-Lei no 3.689, de 3 de outubro de 1941 (Código de Processo Penal), e o Decreto-Lei no 2.848, de 7 de dezembro de 1940 (Código Penal); e revoga dispositivos do Decreto-Lei no 2.848, de 7 de dezembro de 1940 (Código Penal). DF: Diário Oficial da União, 2016.

in the country, considering the inclusion of victims covered by the new legal system⁷, which considers it to be human trafficking:

[...] soliciting, enticing, recruiting, transporting, transferring, buying, housing or harboring a person, by means of serious threat, violence, coercion, fraud or abuse, for the purpose of:
I - remove organs, tissues or body parts;
II - subject them to work in conditions analogous to slavery;
III - subject them to any type of servitude;
IV - illegal adoption; or
V - sexual exploitation (BRASIL, 2016)

In view of this, this research faces a limitation in terms of content, as almost all the works selected through the bibliographic survey are from the period before this change. Furthermore, the results of the survey showed that there is a shortage of research relating human trafficking not only to the SDGs, but also to its development. That said, the following subsections will demonstrate the results of this bibliographic survey through the analysis and organization of the categories presented in Figure 3.

The myth of Maria and sexual exploitation

The myth of Maria used to be the main iconographic trend in advertising campaigns to combat and prevent human trafficking in Brazil after the Palermo Protocol was ratified in 2004. According to da Silva, Blanchette and Bento (2013), this myth was anchored in a social construction that was adverse to the migration of women and also to the stigmas carried by those who worked in prostitution, because Maria was an innocent, humble (at a socio-economic level) black woman whose dream of "leaving home" (migrating) led her to be recruited by criminals (in this case, "recruitment" is used to refer to both prostitution and trafficking) and she became a victim of trafficking.

There was, therefore, a demand to keep the Marias (mainly young women) in places that did not pose any threat, because when they are cooped up and dealing with routine domestic concerns, their strength as political agents decreases, so they do not become a hindrance to the family and society. This separation between street and home exemplifies Maria's position during the trafficking phases. While she is at home, she is worthy of consideration and has her

⁷ For a more in-depth analysis of the evolution of the Brazilian legal system in the fight against human trafficking, see: ALMEIDA, A. H. D. L.; TERESI, V. M. Ordenamento jurídico brasileiro do tráfico internacional de pessoas: omissão normativa?

human rights respected, but when she chooses to migrate (leave the domestic space), she is subject to the evils of the street, in other words, promiscuity, dishonesty and corruption, not only of others, but also of herself, illustrating how moralized this narrative is. Thus, when she chooses to migrate, Maria is no longer a heroine in charge of her destiny, but rather a being devoid of agency, that is, she becomes an individual lacking in wills and desires, incapable of doing anything on her own, she depends on someone to influence her wills, she migrates because she is recruited, seduced and deceived (DA SILVA; BLANCHETTE; BENTO, 2013).

Therefore, the myth of Maria has contributed to the construction of an archetype about the victim of human trafficking in Brazil, using, to a large extent, the iconography of women and children that was widely disseminated in Brazil after the ratification of the Palermo Protocol, which, although it has been positive in the dissemination of the anti-trafficking agenda in the country, has been negative in that it has made other victims of human trafficking who do not fit this pattern invisible. However, the myth has an educational potential in two ways: as an example of the experiences of Brazilian women who migrate, and as a warning to potential Marias (women who want to migrate) to stay in Brazil because leaving home means changing their migratory situation and, consequently, having their position as a woman and citizen reassessed in the eyes of society (DA SILVA; BLANCHETTE; BENTO, 2013; BLANCHETTE; DA SILVA, 2018).

In terms of public policy, the dangers of Maria's myth for combating human trafficking lie in the fact that this narrative is widely used in guides for public policy makers and civil society educators and is also present in federal government training courses (DA SILVA; BLANCHETTE; BENTO, 2013). This argument has been corroborated by more specific studies such as that by Sousa (2016), who, when analyzing the Ceará Human Trafficking Center (NETP/CE), reported the limitations of the training programs offered by the federal government and the lack of knowledge of civil servants from other institutions who complement their work. So, if the myth of Maria is hegemonic when it comes to the concept of victims of human trafficking in Brazil, how many victims fail to be discovered, reached and assisted by public policies because they do not fit this pattern?

In the sample, the articles by da Silva, Blanchette and Bento (2013) and Blanchette and Silva (2018) were the only ones to directly address the myth of Maria and its impact on tackling the problem in Brazil. However, remnants of what the authors characterize as Maria's myth were found in de Sousa (2016), who, when analyzing the work of the Center to Combat Trafficking in Persons in Ceará (NETP/CE), reported that many agents in other agencies that

have capillarity with the NETP have little knowledge about human trafficking. This lack of training reflects in many ways on the victims of human trafficking: in the lack of recognition of that individual as a victim of trafficking, for example, a man trafficked for labor exploitation in the agricultural sector; in the perspective of offering humanized care to those whose human rights have been violated and; in the form of prejudice in attending to victims when they are in a situation of forced prostitution and/or sexual exploitation.

Venson and Pedro (2013), in turn, take a historical look at how human trafficking in Brazil has been constructed based on a discursive logic that attributes specific characteristics to the crime, loaded with moral attributes and socio-cultural particularities about the causes and consequences of human trafficking. In this scenario, the latent concern with the purity of women, their constant lack of agency and, consequently, their unfitness for migration are characteristics that have persisted, and can be observed in anti-trafficking campaigns. When carrying out ethnographic work with Brazilian women in prostitution in Spain, Piscitelli (2012) considered that none of them fully fit the characterization of victim in the Palermo Protocol. Although, at first glance, they presented characteristics similar to those established in the myth of Maria, there were not enough concrete elements to consider them victims of human trafficking⁸.

A somewhat different scenario was presented by the Asbrad Association (2008) during field research with women and transsexuals⁹ assisted by the Humanized Migrant Assistance Post¹⁰ at Guarulhos International Airport (GRU). The research carried out between 2005 and 2006 aimed to collect information on migrant women who had been deported, in order to see if there were any signs of trafficking in their narratives¹¹. After approaching several female

⁸ This research reinforces the author's argument about the existence of a stereotype of women from the global south, who cross borders to offer sexual services in developed countries, and who should therefore be prevented from entering the destination country in order not to be trafficked (PISCITELLI, 2008).

⁹ The authors used Adriana Piscitelli's definition of trans individuals, which is an umbrella term to refer to transgender people, transsexuals and transvestites during their research.

¹⁰ The Humanized Assistance Post for Migrants (PAHM) was created by ASBRAD in 1999 based on the organization's previous experience with victims of human trafficking. With the ratification of the Palermo Protocol in Brazil in 2004, ASBRAD became an active participant in national debates, including discussions on the formulation of the PNETP, due to its knowledge of the reality of the crime in the country. The research carried out in 2005 and 2006 at Guarulhos International Airport (GRU) was carried out in partnership with the Ministry of Justice (MJ), UNODC and the National Justice Secretariat (SNJ), part of the Ministry of Justice and Public Security (MJSP), and aimed to provide empirical contributions to a reflection on Brazilian legislation, the Palermo Protocol and the autonomy of migrant women.

¹¹ The Humanized Migrant Assistance Post in GRU was one of the factors that influenced the formulation of the PNETP. It was chosen because it handles the return of almost all individuals who have been deported or inadmissible, and the results of this experience, including research by the ASBRAD Association (2008), influenced the formulation of the PNETP (BIJOS, 2009).

passengers who presented these signs in the information provided by the Federal Police (PF), the agents discovered that there was no pattern in these possible victims, even though all of the women surveyed claimed to have suffered gender discrimination in their countries of origin and abuse of authority by migration agents, whose main justification for barring their entry was the assumption that they worked in the sex industry and were therefore at risk of being trafficked (ASSOCIAÇÃO ASBRAD, 2008).

As for the motivating factor for migration, it was found that socio-economic reasons and situations of abuse and violence within the family are the main catalysts for migration. In their country of origin, many women claimed to have been approached by the immigration police and agents for no apparent reason, but because they were migrant women and alone and because they fit a certain "stereotype" of prostitution. Some women felt safe precisely because they did not fit the stereotype of Brazilian women working in prostitution (ASSOCIAÇÃO ASBRAD, 2008).

Finally, the article by Marques and de Faria (2019) was the only one in the sample that showed traces of Maria's myth in its writing, because by focusing excessively on the evolution and adaptation of the Brazilian legal system to the provisions of the Palermo Protocol, the authors end up simplifying complex discussions that are explored in depth in the text by Piscitelli (2008), for example. Some of them stand out here, such as: the assertion that trafficking for labour has been replaced by trafficking in women is problematic because, although the international political agenda has turned to this problem, there has not been a replacement, but a change of focus, since both forms of exploitation have come to coexist and the quote that trafficking in people is a form of globalized prostitution and that trafficking is a face of prostitution. It is understood that the focus of the article is trafficking for sexual exploitation, however, the research loses potential by not treating its research object in its multidimensionality, always aware that despite the specificity of what is being addressed, the structure in which the object is situated must accompany it in the analysis.

The umbrella of human trafficking

According to Gómez-Mera (2016), the international regime to combat human trafficking is situated in a complex of regimes, where adherence by states and non-state actors means positioning themselves at the center of controversial political issues, such as migration, while simultaneously integrating other regimes, such as human and labor rights. In this context,

human trafficking is often confused with forced labor¹² and modern slavery¹³, for example, and sometimes they are treated as synonyms and are united in the purpose of exploiting their victims (VASCONCELOS; BOLSON, 2008).

To keep up with these changes, the concept of forced labor in the ILO conventions has undergone alterations over the years. However, it remains difficult to demonstrate the complexity of the concept and to operationalize it, especially when it appears intersected with other phenomena such as human trafficking (REIS; NETO, 2013). Normally, the organization's position remains that human trafficking is a manifestation of forced labor. However, the first estimates produced by the organization linking human trafficking to forced labour caused some confusion in the understanding of these two phenomena separately, and as a result, the existence of a harmonious conception of both became even more complex. Thus, the understanding remains that both phenomena can occur intertwined, but this is not a rule (REIS; NETO, 2013). In addition, the autonomy of the actors in deciding whether or not to fully adopt the text of the Palermo Protocol makes it difficult to produce estimates that are closer to reality (REIS; NETO, 2013) and allows human trafficking to be situated within a conceptual umbrella that encompasses other phenomena. In the case of Brazil, this umbrella of human trafficking is made up of prostitution, migration and work (SPRANDEL, 2016).

When the Palermo Protocol was ratified in Brazil, there was an attempt to mobilize civil society and establish partnerships with private actors to build a national plan to combat the problem, which culminated in the launch of the PNETP. In the meantime, actors and social movements that had mobilized to put the agendas of tackling the sexual and commercial exploitation of children and adolescents, the eradication of slave labor and child labor¹⁴ on the agenda saw the anti-trafficking agenda as a threat to already consolidated labor rights, and an attempt to criminalize irregular migration¹⁵ (SPRANDEL, 2016). As a result, human trafficking

¹² The 1930 Forced Labor Convention defines it as: "[...] the term forced or compulsory labor means all work or service exacted from a person under the threat of any penalty and for which that person has not offered himself voluntarily" (OIT, 1930, p. 1, our translation).

¹³ In the ILO definition: "[...] modern slavery covers a range of specific legal concepts, including forced labor, servitude by debt, forced marriage, other slavery practices and slavery and trafficking in human beings. Although modern slavery is not defined in law, it is used as an umbrella term that focuses attention on the similarities between these legal concepts. Essentially, it refers to situations of exploitation that a person cannot refuse or leave because of threats, violence, coercion, deception and/or abuse of power" (ILO, 2017, p. 9, our translation).

¹⁴ These organizations and social movements had already succeeded in getting the government to recognize the importance of their agendas, and consequently created the National Plan to Combat the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents in 2000, the National Plan for the Eradication of Slave Labor in 2003 and the National Plan for the Eradication of Child Labor in 2004 (SPRANDEL, 2016).

¹⁵ Sprandel (2016) argues that the major political problem with the anti-trafficking agenda is the focus on the mobility of individuals, and the attempt to inhibit this mobility could jeopardize other agendas. Piscitelli (2008)

in Brazil has become an umbrella for other phenomena. With the growth of the anti-trafficking agenda in Brazil, its prominence and capacity for social mobilization, parallel actions to tackle child sexual and commercial exploitation, and the fight against slave labor, have lost momentum and space with the implementation of the PNETP. As a result, these mobilizations often end up being made invisible to the detriment of human trafficking (SPRANDEL, 2016).

In the case of Brazil in particular, the mixing of human trafficking with other phenomena is problematic, as it makes unresolved social problems invisible or neglected, such as racism, slave labor, reparation policies, violence against young black people and difficulties in implementing policies in quilombola communities (SPRANDEL, 2016). Furthermore, the dynamics that define forced labor reveal that human trafficking is one element in a broad structure of exploitation whose roots originate in the unequal structuring of the labor market, especially in terms of job opportunities and access to employment (BOLZON; VASCONCELOS, 2008). And in this structure, inequalities of power and gender persist, the limitation of regulatory and supervisory institutions for good labor practices and respect for human rights, and the discrimination and stigmatization of labor practices such as prostitution (BOLZON; VASCONCELOS, 2008; SPRANDEL, 2016).

Hygienist anti-trafficking campaigns

Blanchette and da Silva (2018) did the most work on the topic of stigmatization and stereotyping of victims of human trafficking when they analyzed the iconography linked to anti-trafficking campaigns in Brazil. Their aim was to understand how these images create narratives of villains, victims and heroes that simplify the complexity of the crime, as well as its victims and perpetrators. According to the authors, this simplistic dissemination of images creates a culture of anonymous denunciation of "suspicious people"¹⁶. It is interesting, however, that although these campaigns circulated widely in Brazil after the signing of the Palermo Protocol in 2004, they initially generated little demand for the creation of public policies in this field.

illustrates this point by arguing about the collateral damage of these policies restricting mobility, by discussing the criminalization of the movements of young Africans (to combat the sexual and commercial exploitation of children and adolescents) and the mass detention of sex workers in Europe (not admitting the existence of voluntariness in prostitution), both of which were restricted or prohibited with the prerogative of protecting these individuals from trafficking.

¹⁶ The Humanized Migrant Assistance Post in GRU was one of the factors that influenced the formulation of the PNETP. It was chosen because it handles the return of almost all individuals who have been deported or inadmissible, and the results of this experience, including research by the ASBRAD Association (2008), influenced the formulation of the PNETP (BIJOS, 2009).

And despite the knowledge that most of the victims were established as black and poor women by these campaigns, the iconographic representation of these victims were white women (BLANCHETTE; DA SILVA, 2018).

According to the Asbrad Association (2008), the anti-trafficking discourse, when related to prostitution, strengthens anti-migrant and xenophobic attitudes, which disseminate the idea that women who migrate irregularly, or who are initially "unable" to support themselves in the receiving countries, will work in the sex industry. Consequently, these migrants were more likely to be treated violently by the local authorities. In Brazil, prostitution is neither prohibited nor regulated, but the extraction of profits from the sexual exploitation of others is. In this limbo, investigations take place with the aim of sanitizing urban areas in districts traditionally known for prostitution, under the pretext that women who get involved in the sex industry are usually trafficked women (DA SILVA; BLANCHETTE; BENTO, 2013). According to Piscitelli (2012), this is because Brazilian legislation reflects an abolitionist logic, giving law enforcement agents the flexibility to "criminalize" or punish "immoral behavior"¹⁷. Thus, in the early 2000s, many policies and judicial interpretations that were supposed to suppress human trafficking in Brazil were instrumentalized to suppress prostitution and "clean up" the streets.

Xenophobia and migration restrictions

The signing of the Palermo Protocol coincided with increased repression of migration in most countries (BLANCHETTE; DA SILVA, 2018) and an obsession with irregular migration (PISCITELLI, 2008). As a result, the expansion of the international regime to combat human trafficking has stimulated various migratory repression actions on the part of the receiving countries (PISCITELLI, 2016). These tensions make the definition of human trafficking even more complex, as these discussions and policies were conceived in a context of terrorism in Europe and the United States, and an economic crisis in the 2000s (DA SILVA; BLANCHETTE; BENTO, 2013). Thus, some states instrumentalize the anti-trafficking regime opportunistically through two non-cooperative behaviors: using these policies to control migration flows and taking advantage of legal loopholes to instrumentalize their responsibility to welcome and protect victims with a view to their cooperation in criminal prosecutions

¹⁷ Vale ressaltar que as pesquisas que mencionam a instrumentalização da lei antitráfico no Brasil para fins higienistas são datadas de antes de 2016, quando houve a mudança na lei. Portanto, não é possível descobrir, a partir dessa amostra de artigos, se esse comportamento persiste mesmo com essa mudança.

(GÓMEZ-MERA, 2016). Most of the migrants interviewed by the Asbrad Association (2008) pointed out that one of the main arguments used by the migration police for inadmissibility and deportation was vulnerability. Thus, the denial of their stay was based on the argument of protecting the migrant from human trafficking. The autonomy of these agents to act, often in the face of loopholes in the Palermo Protocol itself or the partial adoption of its text, allows for a scenario of abuse of authority and discriminatory actions that find some migrants a target.

In this context, it is essential to consider racial, socio-economic, geographical and gender markers and their influence on the processes of inadmission and/or deportation under the prerogative of migrant protection. Mentions of xenophobic behavior and migratory restrictions were the most frequent in the analysis of the sample, especially in ethnographic and field research, where the majority of interviewees pointed to abusive and discriminatory behavior by migration agents. For example, the analysis by Zúquete, Souza and Deslandes (2016) of the institutional agents in Brazil and Portugal who work to combat the sexual trafficking of women showed that there is considerable distrust of criminal agencies, especially in cases involving prostitution. Many victims choose not to report or pursue criminal charges for fear of how they will be seen or treated by the authorities. Similarly, in cases where the victim of sexual exploitation is disregarded as a victim of trafficking throughout the process, it is common for them to be treated as criminals because they are working in the sex industry, or because they have entered the country illegally (BLANCHETTE; DA SILVA, 2018). In this context, thinking about the exposure of migrant workers in receiving countries and policies to protect their human and labor rights becomes even more complex (VASCONCELOS; BOLZON, 2008). Especially considering that the criminal genesis of the anti-trafficking regime allows states to see trafficked people as potential risks to national security (SIMMONS; LLOYD; STEWART, 2018).

Public policies

In Brazil, the first years of the 21st century were marked by the work of the Ministry of Justice (MJ), civil society non-governmental organizations (NGOs), public-private partnerships between domestic and international organizations (e.g. UNODC) and religious groups, especially the Catholic Church, in the fight against the sexual exploitation of women and children. However, when the Palermo Protocol was ratified in 2004, even though the field of

anti-trafficking campaigns was buzzing, there was little social demand for the creation of public policies (BLANCHETTE; DA SILVA, 2018).

It was only when the anti-trafficking agenda rose in international organizations, especially the UN and the Organization of American States (OAS)¹⁸ in the early 2000s, that Brazil was mobilized more forcefully to think about anti-trafficking policies at a national level. Considering the country's passivity on the issue, the OAS commissioned the Survey on Trafficking in Women, Children and Adolescents for the Purpose of Commercial Sexual Exploitation in Brazil (PESTRAF) to map the situation in Brazil. The research not only provided an overview of the reality of human trafficking in Brazil, but also highlighted the need to create policies to combat it, which subsequently influenced the creation of the PNETP (BIJOS, 2009).

Even so, for a long time the focus on the sexual exploitation of women predominated. Some state and municipal political units, based on their own experiences, admitted the existence of plural forms of exploitation. However, the federal bureaucracy and the training of policymakers and police officers were anchored in the law (DA SILVA; BLANCHETTE; BENTO, 2013). There is still a gap between the formulators of policies to combat human trafficking and the beneficiaries of these policies, considering that the individuals who will benefit from these policies are often not heard. Although the capillarity of anti-trafficking policies intensified between 2012 and 2015 due to the rethinking of the country's interests in zones and the movement of people, as well as the vulnerability of some populations and sex tourism involving major international events (2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics), Brazilian policies did not reflect the furor of productions and debates in the theoretical field and this new reality (PISCITELLI, 2016).

This delay is also reflected in this research because, with the exception of Sousa's (2016) work on the Center for Combating Trafficking in Persons in Ceará (NETP/CE), Zúquete, Souza and Deslandes' (2016) work on institutional agents in Brazil and Portugal, Pereyra (2016) analyzing the 1st and 2nd PNETP from the perspective of sexual exploitation and Bijos' (2009)

¹⁸ It is worth noting that during this period, there was a certain amount of international "pressure" for countries to commit to tackling human trafficking, especially sex trafficking of women and girls. During this period, the "Trafficking in Persons Report" was created by the US State Department, the aim of which was to monitor the situation of human trafficking around the world, collect data on each country's domestic coping mechanisms, and from this, establish which countries are engaging and succeeding in combating the crime. However, the risk of retaliation against countries whose measures did not evolve or were not effective enough meant that many countries rushed to develop policies to combat the crime. Thus, much of the urgency to create these mechanisms and policies in Brazil, in addition to maintaining an understanding of human trafficking that is slightly similar to that of the US, was due to international pressure, especially from the US (BIJOS, 2009).

research into the historical roots of the formation of the PNETP, all the other articles mention public policies without delving into the construction and implementation of this policy. Departing from the usual, Diehl and da Costa (2019), for example, use the prism of international cooperation to reflect on the need to redefine, harmonize and share notions of citizenship in the Triple Frontier countries in order to combat international trafficking in girls in the region. For the authors, it is necessary to rethink the public spaces of civil society in order to guarantee citizens' access to these spaces, with the aim of guaranteeing civil rights at regional level. Their argument is that the anti-trafficking agenda will be more effective when these countries recognize their lack of action and build interconnected public policies to embrace the complexity and multidimensionality of the crime (DIEHL; DA COSTA; DESLANDES, 2019).

Zúquete, Souza and Deslandes (2016), in turn, reflect on the facilities and obstacles to the work of institutional agents who deal with the reception, care, prevention and repression of sex trafficking of women in the Brazil-Portugal partnership. When they interviewed representatives of government institutions in both countries and partner NGOs, they reported the following difficulties and facilities illustrated in Chart 1. These difficulties occur because incorporating the text of the Palermo Protocol into public policies is complex because many choose not to adopt the full text and end up adapting it to suit their own reality. As a solution, Zúquete, Souza and Deslandes (2016) propose the integration of public and private services and sectors for greater fluency in public policies and point out that the training of professionals with technical knowledge on the subject is essential, as well as the participation of sex workers in the formulation of specific policies for this type of exploitation. This last topic is also advocated by Piscitelli (2008; 2016), Blanchette and da Silva (2018) and da Silva, Blanchette & Bento (2013).

Chart 1 - Difficulties and facilities in assisting victims of sex trafficking

| DIFICULTIES | FACILITIES |
|---|--|
| Victim distrust of criminal agencies | Visibility and social awareness of the issue |
| Research time | |
| Difficulty in proving the involvement of trafficking networks | |
| Dubious legislation on the characteristics of trafficking | |
| Lack of human and financial resources | Recurring search for dialog with victims |
| Inadequate responses to criminal issues and impunity | |
| The naturalization of violence by some victims | |
| Stigmatization | |

| | |
|--|--|
| Lack of training for agents to deal with sex trafficking | |
|--|--|

Source: devised by the author based on Zúquete, Souza and Deslandes (2016)

De Sousa (2016), on the other hand, when examining the Ceará Nucleus for Combating Trafficking in Persons (NETP/CE), shows that the nucleus in Ceará, for example, still suffers from several problems related to the capillarization of public policies. The lack of institutionalization of the Center's actions; of special care for victims of sexual exploitation; of knowledge about human trafficking among agents from auxiliary agencies; of a constant flow of shared information and action protocols and the scarcity of events aimed at training these professionals, since most training meetings are aimed at managers. According to the author, it is necessary to understand how the PNETP is being materialized in the Brazilian states, considering their socio-economic and cultural conditions. However, apart from the reports produced by these centers, the lack of capillarity between policies, a functional system that aggregates application and results at a national level and academic productions dedicated to analyzing and demonstrating the functioning of these centers, there is little information about their achievements in combating human trafficking.

Furthermore, the synthesis of the authors discussed in this subsection points to the need to consider economic, migratory and anti-trafficking policies (which depend on each other) in order to understand the crime and thus develop more effective policies (BIJOS, 2009). In addition to constructing public policies whose main objective is to provide support and effectiveness in the victim assistance network (PEREYRA, 2016), always striving to train qualified agents who are sensitive to the context and the individual in a trafficking situation (ASSOCIAÇÃO ASBRAD, 2008; DE SOUSA, 2016; ZÚQUETE; SOUZA; DESLANDES, 2016).

Final considerations

Throughout this article, the main focuses of research on human trafficking in Brazil have been demonstrated, as well as the existence of a considerable gap with regard to development literature from the perspective of combating human trafficking, as well as research that encompasses the possible changes that have taken shape following the expansion of the scope of victims with the 2016 amendment to the Brazilian legal system. There is an inherent barrier to research on human trafficking related to the difficulty in detecting victims, which is very similar to the difficulty in measuring development, which consequently makes it difficult

to establish relationships between the two literatures, but gains momentum and potential for exploration with the inclusion of combating human trafficking as a goal of the 2030 Agenda in SDGs 8.7 and 16.2.

In terms of the content analyzed in the sample of articles, there is a great deal of synergy between the points made by the authors, which resulted in the organization of five categories: the myth of Maria and sexual exploitation, which refers to how human trafficking is experienced in Brazil and how this affects the implementation of public policies; the umbrella of human trafficking, which alludes to the synergy that this phenomenon presents with labor exploitation and how both are anchored in the umbrella concept of modern slavery; the hygienist anti-trafficking campaigns that took shape after the ratification of the Palermo Protocol in Brazil aiming to end the "social problem" of prostitution; the xenophobia and migratory restrictions that were imposed, above all, by the countries of the global north which, although they appeared to protect migrants from human trafficking, used them as a tool of oppression in their countries of origin and; finally, the public policies which, despite being advanced in the implementation of the PNETP, need more in-depth research to evaluate how they work.

In conclusion, this research points out that the PNETP needs to be capillarized, that there are efficient communication channels between the actors mobilized to assist victims, that agents receive adequate training to deal with them, that monitoring of the results of this policy is accessible, and that there is coordination between the federal government and the states to deepen the dissemination of data and technical information, in order to find out what the main weaknesses are in incorporating the PNETP based on local realities.

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