

THE BRIDGE PROJECT



International
Labour
Organization

Forced labour in the timber extraction
A study in the Peru, Brazil and Colombia
triple border

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Introduction

Forced labour, human trafficking and in general the forms of modern slavery have become matter of global interest. The report "Global Estimates of Modern Slavery-Forced Labour and Forced Marriage" of the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2017) estimated that around the world there are about of 24.9 million of victims of forced labour, of which 1.3 million are found in the Americas. For this reason, the ILO has intensified its actions on forced labour and has played a key role to include this topic among the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) within the framework of the 2030 Agenda. Specifically, goal 8.7 establishes - among others – the adoption of immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labour and to end the forms of modern slavery.

Forced labour and human trafficking for labour exploitation purposes associated to illegal logging, are illegal practices extended in the border areas of Peruvian territory. However, there is no previous scientific research that can document the dynamics of this type of practice in most of the border line. This research takes place in the triple border between Peru, Brazil and Colombia, a scenario in which the illegal economic dynamics are extended, especially the smuggling of various objects and illicit drug trafficking. It is a context with scarce State presence and with little capacity of control due to the extensive area of Amazonian rainforest that exceeds (geographically) the possibility of regulation of the few State forces.

The investigation documents presence of forced labour in logging camps, which evidences debt bondage, threats and punishments in the workplace, among others, and shows the presence of an extensive -informal and precarious - recruitment system concentrated in river ports. Sustained in interviews with workers and ex-workers, the field work carried out in the triple border allows to understand the precariousness of a scenario crossed by illegal economies, a porous control system and a wide informal dynamic.

The first section of the study starts on the standards established by ILO on forced labour and develops conceptual elements, the dimensions and indicators for identifying the

phenomenon in the field work; the second section includes information on previous literature related to the topic; and the third section describes the objectives, the methodology of the work, and the scenario under study. The fourth section shows the study results and includes information on the characteristics of the area, workers and stakeholders profiles in the supply chain of timber extraction, and identifies risk points, recruitment mechanisms, indicators and victimization trajectories related to forced labour. Fifth and sixth sections include an analysis of internal and cross-border migration and its relationship with forced labour in the area under study, as well as border control problems, respectively.

The results show that the evidence of forced labour is concentrated in the areas of wood exploitation and extraction. In these points the dynamics of withholding wages or debt bondage are, according to the testimonies, recurrent. The presence of forced labour and occasionally of human trafficking for labour exploitation purposes, implies the coexistence with subjects victimized by various kinds of practices ranging from confinement, withholding of wages, the absence of food, even sexual exploitation (in the case of women in lumber camps), but also of subjects that are not necessarily victimized. Forced labour is associated with the precariousness of the timber extraction system, controls absence and the constant logic of mobilization to scenarios far from the urban centres

In addition, internal and external migration are important phenomena in the border area, and an element that can maximize exploitation conditions of the workforce and the presence of forced labour. The absence of social, familiar and economic support networks presented by migrants, generates greater conditions of vulnerability for exploitation and for forced labour; which is aggravated by the absence of controls for the most part of the extension of the Amazonian territory. Finally, the areas of timber lodging and other illicit activities in the vicinity of the border, mark areas controlled by illegal economies, drug trafficking or illegal loggers, of difficult access to the territory.

1. An introduction to the conceptual framework of forced labour: definitions and indicators

The regulatory development on forced or compulsory labour is associated with the creation of legally binding instruments established by the International Labour Organization (ILO) since the first half of the XX century. The criteria to define the phenomenon come from the 1930 Forced Labour Convention (No. 29), the 1957 Abolition of Forced Labour Convention (No. 105), and the 1999 Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182) (ILO, SAP-FL, 2012). Convention No. 29 defines forced or compulsory labour as “*all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which said person has not offered himself voluntarily*” (Article 2, paragraph 1). This definition can be divided into three elements. One basic element: the performance of a work or service; and two additional determining elements, which are described below:

Table 1: Core elements to define forced labour

Elements	Description
1) All work or service	Involves any activity (work, employment or occupation) that a person can perform for the benefit of a third party. It could be any activity (formal, informal or illegal) and the victim could be any person, without distinction of age, gender, nationality, ethnicity or migratory status.
2) Situation of involuntariness	It refers to the lack of consent by a worker to start a labour relationship, and his freedom to resign at any time.
3) Menace of any penalty	It covers a wide range of penalties or coercion levels to oblige an individual to carry out a work or provide a service that affects the worker’s freedom of choice. They could be penal sanctions, or they can take forms of direct or indirect coercion (physical violence, psychological violence, non-payment of salaries, violation of rights or privileges).

Source: compiled based on ILO, 2009 and ILO, 2016.

Instruments have been developed to empirically identify individuals at work (Mujica, 2015) and quantitatively register the phenomenon (ILO, SAP-FL, IPEC, 2012; ILO, 2017). These instruments (questionnaires) define three dimensions of forced labour: 1) Unfree recruitment, 2) work and life under duress, and 3) impossibility of leaving the employer. Every dimension has indicators related to situations of involuntariness and penalty or menace of a penalty (resulting from distinctive elements of forced labour). Thus, the implementation of instruments to identify forced labour victims involves the presence in at least one dimension of at least one indicator of involuntariness and at least

one indicator of menace of penalty. *If an indicator is observed but is not found complemented by other indicators, this means that labour conditions are precarious, but not necessarily related to forced labour (according to the methodological considerations proposed by the ILO).* Table 2 shows a non-exhaustive list of examples of the coexistence of forced labour indicators and dimensions.

Table 2. Forced labour indicators and dimensions

Indicators		Dimensions	
	Unfree recruitment	Life and work under duress	Impossibility of leaving the employer
Involuntariness (absence of consent)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abduction or kidnapping • Deception or false promises about the types and terms of work • Sale of a person into the ownership of another • Recruitment related to a debt (advance or loan) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restriction of freedom of movement • Restriction of freedom of communication • Obligation to work day and night beyond the legal limits • Obligation to live in degrading conditions • Obligation to work in illegal activities • Induced indebtedness (by falsification of accounts, inflated prices, reduced value of goods or services produced, or excessive interest charges) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forced to work for an indeterminate period to pay a debt • Withholding and non-payment of wages
Penalty or menace of penalty (coercion)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blackmail, under the threat of informing relatives, the community or the public on the labour situation • Denunciation to authorities • Exclusion from future employments • Confiscation of belongings or money 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical violence against the worker, his family or close associates • Sexual violence • Confiscation of ID documents • Deprivation of food, shelter or other necessities • Removal of rights or privileges • Confinement in the workplace • Isolation • Threat of supernatural retaliation • Shift to even worse working conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical confinement in the work location – in prison or in private detention • Confiscation of ID documents • Sexual violence • Physical violence • Financial penalties • Dismissal from employment • Exclusion from future employments • Exclusion from the community and social life • Loss of social status • Denunciation to authorities and deportation

Source: prepared based on ILO, SAP-FL, IPEC, 2012.

On the other hand, Protocol 2014 on the Forced Labour Convention restates the definition contained in Convention No. 29 and calls for action to implement effective measures that

include facing the “trafficking in persons for the purposes of forced or compulsory labour” (Article 1, Paragraph 3), which can be explained because both crimes are framed as forms of modern slavery and because, in practice, human trafficking is a previous offence to forced labour in a significant number of registered cases. In this line, the concept of human trafficking established in the Palermo Protocol (UNODC, 2000), proposes to consider the situations of forced labour that it entails (ILO, 2005, p. 7). Human trafficking is defined as:

“the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion (...) for the purpose of exploitation” [where the purpose of exploitation include, at least] “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” (UNODC, 2000: Article 3, first paragraph).

The distinction between both concepts (“forced labour” and “human trafficking for the purpose of labour exploitation”) requires a clarification from a regulatory approach (ILO, 2005, p. 7) and an empirical approach. On the one hand, regulatory approaches show that i) all forms of forced labour do not necessarily result from human trafficking, and on the other hand, ii) except for the cases of human trafficking for the removal of organs, a large part of cases of human trafficking could result in forced labour situations (ILO, 2009, p. 5) – especially when considering that sexual exploitation could be a form of labour that is forced. However, there are specific regulatory distinctions, which depend on how they are enshrined in the ratifications to Conventions and Protocols in the laws of member countries. The Peruvian law establishes a distinction between the concept of “human trafficking” and the term “exploitation” (IOM, 2017, p. 90). Human trafficking for illegal exploitation involves:

“two different moments of a same process of domination and control [of a victim]. In exploitation, control is exerted on the person for the performance of some activities (as prostitution or mining work); whereas in human trafficking, the control is used to make sure that the person is put in a situation that allows his exploitation” (IOM, 2017, p. 97).

This distinction in the Peruvian criminal law allows to clarify that human trafficking results in penal sanctions for committing any of the activities involved (recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons), without requiring the execution of its purposes (exploitation or removal of organs). The definition of the crime of forced labour in the Peruvian Penal Code (Legislative Decree No. 1323, Article 168-B, 2017)

allows sanctioning the occurrence of this phenomenon with an independent regulatory framework, even when it is free of elements related to human trafficking activities.

The definition of human trafficking has dimensions related to recruitment (by means of deception, coercion or by taking advantage of a situation of vulnerability), (ILO, 2009), to subject a person to a situation of labour or sexual exploitation. In this case, human trafficking is a process that comes before the exploitation itself, since it is a direct attack against the dignity of the victim. Thus, the application of instruments for the practical identification of human trafficking victims for the purpose of labour or sexual exploitation requires testing every dimension separately (the presence of human trafficking may be identified if at least one dimension has more than one indicator of deception, coercion or abuse of a condition of vulnerability) (ILO, 2009, p. 3; ILO, SAP-FL, IPEC, 2012, p. 19).

2. Previous literature

Forced labour is a global phenomenon (ILO, 2017) and there is vast literature on the situation both in industrialized countries (Chan, 1998; 2001) and in precarious and underdeveloped contexts, where there are slavery scenarios (Basu and Tzannatos, 2003; Basu and Chau, 2004). This is evident in some contexts of Southeast Asia (Ercelawn and Nauman, 2004; Derks, 2010; Znoj, 2010), and in many African regions (Kibreab, 2009; Malherbe 1991), as well as in several areas of Latin America (Pomares 2011; Villacampa, 2013; Jara 2015) and the Andean and Amazon region (Bedoya and Bedoya, 2005; Mujica, 2015).

Some previous studies have addressed the relation between human trafficking and forced labour. Estimates have been obtained on the global earnings resulting from forced labour and the percentage corresponding to the victims of human trafficking (Belser, 2005). The relation between globalization and the increasing human trafficking has also been studied (Nagle, 2008). Case studies show workflow models among the elements of human trafficking, labour and sexual exploitation and bonded labour, including the interference on these by the organized crime (Ellis and Akpala, 2011; Ukaru and Chuks, 2016). Likewise, the optimization of control and prevention methods for trafficking for labour exploitation has been addressed (Planitzer, 2017; Chuang 2006).

The literature on the Peruvian borders has mainly addressed the study of migratory flows and economic dynamics in the borders (Dammert and Bensús, 2017; Berganza, 2011; Bijsterbosch, 2007), studies on regional integration (Londoño, 2015), and to a lesser extent, the institutional issues of border security and control related to illegal economies (López and Tuesta, 2015; Zúñiga, 2017). There are few works on the characterization of forced labour and human trafficking in the Peruvian borders: while there are studies with a view to regulate the issue and guidelines to assist human trafficking victims at transnational level in Peru (Blanco and Marinelli, 2017), as well as study cases on extractive economies involving interstate human trafficking for labour exploitation (Novak and Namihas, 2009), studies with primary data have not been found in the researches.

Information collection on the magnitude of forced labour in the borders has involved the systematization of quantitative data of denunciations, the review of a file of press-releases and police records, or the application of interviews to officials of local justice systems or non-governmental agencies (see, for instance, the methodology used in Arnold and Hewison, 2005; Pangsapa and Smith, 2008; Walters and Davis, 2011). The collection of first-hand data through the ethnographic record or interviews to victims has not been used on a regular basis in the previous literature. Researches on forced and precarious labour in the border area, as the Burmese-Thai border (Pangsapa and Smith, 2008; Arnold and Hewison, 2005) or the border between Mexico and United States (Walters and Davis, 2011), reinforce the fact that forced labour is usually exploited in porous borders (with limited controls and open to irregular human mobility) and precarious contexts, which tend to be scenarios of illegal economies. Whereas there are very few reports on the situation of Peruvian borders, previous records suggest that areas as the Peru, Brazil, and Colombia triple border present high-risk conditions for forced labour and human trafficking victimization for the purposes of labour exploitation.

The Peru, Brazil, and Colombia border area has been little studied, due both to the severe insecurity conditions and to the difficulties to carry out the empirical work, given the geographical distances of the main urban centers of each country. The border area between Peru and Colombia has an extension of 1,371 river kilometers and 135 land kilometers; and the Peru-Brazil border has 1,508 river kilometers and 1,314 land kilometers (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2012). They are porous borders, surrounded by

the Amazonian rainforest, with scarce presence of the State and a high presence of criminal organizations (Gutierrez Palma, 2016; Pastrana Buelvas, 2016; Muggah and Diniz, 2013), and with an important flow of cocaine trafficking, timber coming from illegal logging and smuggling of different items (Trejos, 2015; Parkinson, 2014; Novak and Namihas, 2014; Ministry of Labour of Colombia; 2014).

3. Study objectives and methodology

The research is mainly aimed at understanding the forms of forced labour and human trafficking for labour exploitation, related to illegal economic dynamics in the Peru, Brazil, and Colombia triple border. To this end, an exploratory, qualitative and descriptive study has been developed in an area of difficult access, through a comprehensive set of qualitative data. These data were collected based on six specific objectives (for the empirical research) resulting from the main objective.

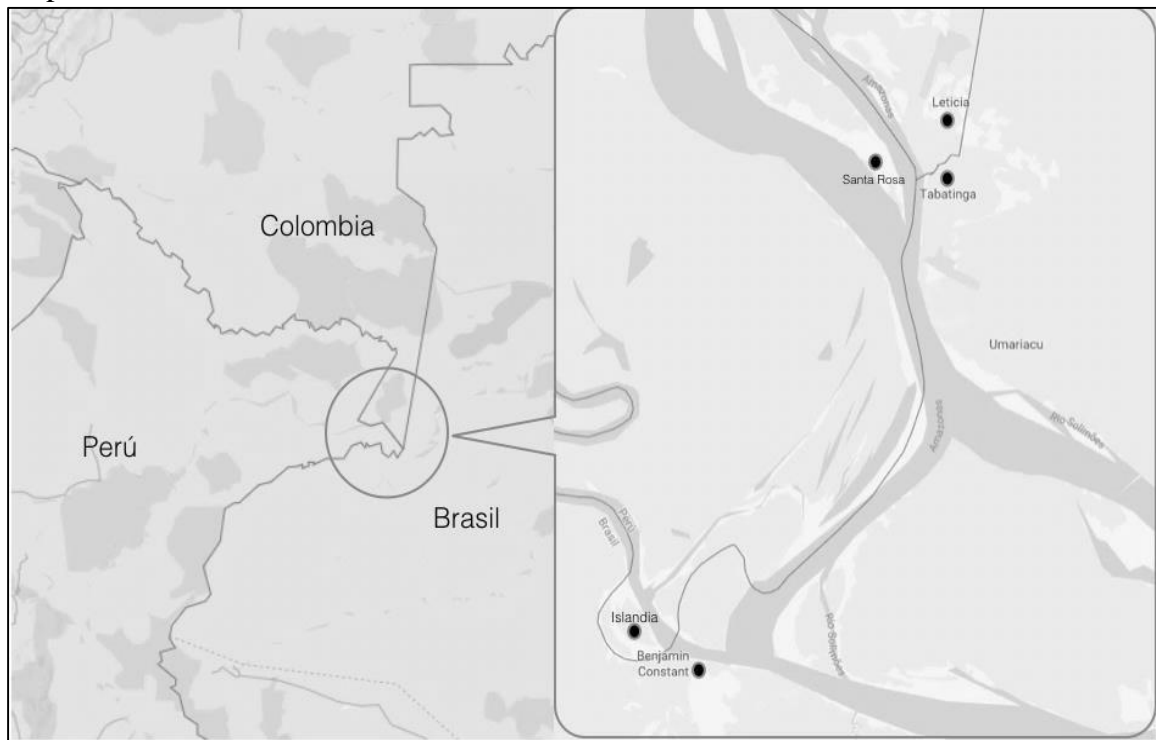
Table 3. Specific objectives of the study

1. Determine the economic dynamics related to forced labour
2. Determine the characteristics of forced labour
3. Describe the mechanisms of recruitment and job offer related to forced labour
4. Determine the forced labour-related victimization paths
5. Determine the relation between migration and forced labour
6. Describe the issues of formal control of forced labour

Source: own preparation.

Study areas. The access to the main locations of the cities in the triple border is delimited by the stream flows of the Amazonas and Yavarí rivers. The fieldwork focused on five urban spots located in the tributaries and main rivers of the three countries: Tabatinga and Benjamin Constant (in Brazil), Leticia (in Colombia) Santa Rosa and Islandia (in Peru). The distance among the ports for data collection is 40 minutes by river. By contrast, the main cities (political and economic centers) that are closer to the fieldwork area, Manaus in Brazil and Iquitos in Peru, are located at four days and one day by river, respectively.

Map 1. Fieldwork area



Source: own preparation using Google maps

Preliminary activities. An exploratory fieldwork was carried out in August 2017, to identify key areas and informants. The result of the exploratory work allowed to identify a prosecutor's office agent (who had been previously approached in other fieldworks), a former worker in Santa Rosa and a former timber worker in Leticia who, besides helping the team to have access to port areas and timber trade settings, were the starting point to get new informants. The exploration allowed the team to focus on the urban and peri-urban areas of the triple border and assess the security conditions and dismiss the possibility of going deeper into the rainforest area where camps are located.

Information collection. The fieldwork was carried out in three consecutive phases, lasting 18 days each (54 days of fieldwork in total) between October and November 2017, carried out by three different teams. Adopting the strategy of working by shifts allowed reviewing the data collected in the same territories, besides comparing and corroborating first-hand data. Every fieldwork stage had the same purpose: i) the use of semi-structured interviews to individuals who had worked in activities directly related to illegal economic dynamics (illegal logging, smuggling and crimes related to cocaine production and trafficking). However, the work had to focus on the first group due to the concentration

of timber workers and the difficulty to find individuals to report about their relationship with cocaine trafficking and other illegal activities; ii) the use of structured interviews to public officials (data on indigenous leaders or organizations were not collected, because they did not show information for this type of study and are not determinants in the area of study); and iii) the register, by means of non-participant observations, of the border dynamics in the areas under study.

Field data collection was carried out according to the ethical standards of the Laboratory on Criminology of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, which are based on the guidelines of the Office of Research Ethics and Scientific Integrity of the Research Vice-Rectorate. Ethical criteria for this research include components and instruments related to: i) the scientific integrity in the treatment of the individuals under study; ii) the informed consent of participants; and iii) self-care criteria to prepare the research.

On the sample. A register was developed using key informants (identified in preliminary activities of the study) and a “snowball” mechanism (a non-probabilistic sampling method to identify study subjects by direct contact or networking). This was complemented by the search of subjects in public squares, markets, ports and areas of transportation by river. The register identified a group of subjects who reported personal victimization with forced labour indicators, within which there was a group that presented human trafficking indicators for the purposes of labour exploitation, and a group of subjects presenting indicators of poor working conditions or precarious work, but who did not meet the criteria of forced labour or human trafficking victimization.

The interview script for workers included 28 questions, lasting approximately 35 minutes each. Although all interviews were expected to be recorded, there was an important group (almost half of informants) who preferred not to be recorded due to the security conditions of the area. In these cases, a field notebook was used to register the notes with the authorization of informants. For the cases where the interview was recorded, a written informed consent form was used (and in some cases verbal consent). In many cases, the registry of an informed consent was not possible due to the security conditions and at the request of informants. In these cases, they were incorporated into the analyzed sample as anonymous (because personal data of individuals were not registered). For cases with personal data, such data were registered in an Excel file with a code, and names of

informants are kept confidential, as established in the data protection protocol for this study.

Structured interviews were carried out to officials of local control agencies (National Police and Public prosecutor's office) of every country. The interview scrip for officials included 22 questions, lasting approximately one hour, and were aimed at collecting data on the phenomenon under study from injunction procedures of illegal economies and assistance of victims. Informants were directly approached in the official main offices, previously requesting the interview. Interviews were recorded, using an informed consent protocol. Besides, notes were registered in a field notebook. Likewise, informal interviews were applied to workers and authorities who did not want to be recorded or sign an informed consent protocol. These data allowed broadening the information and channeling the search for information or expanding the spectrum of snowball registry.

Table 4. Total of interview records performed

Interviewees	Category of interviews	Informal	Formal	Total
Justice system operators	Prosecutors	2	3	5
	Other members of the system (forensic medicine, assistance to victims)	1	1	2
Police members	Police members in the field	3	2	5
	Police officers with administrative functions	3	1	4
Workers	With indicators of personal victimization due to forced labour	5	9	14
	Work and life under duress (14)			
	Impossibility of leaving the employer (6)			
	Penalty or menace of penalty (8)			
	With indicators of forced labour and human trafficking victimization for purposes of labour exploitation	3	8	11
	With indicators of poor conditions and precarious work, but do not meet the indicators of forced labour or human trafficking for labour exploitation	27	11	38
Total		44	35	79

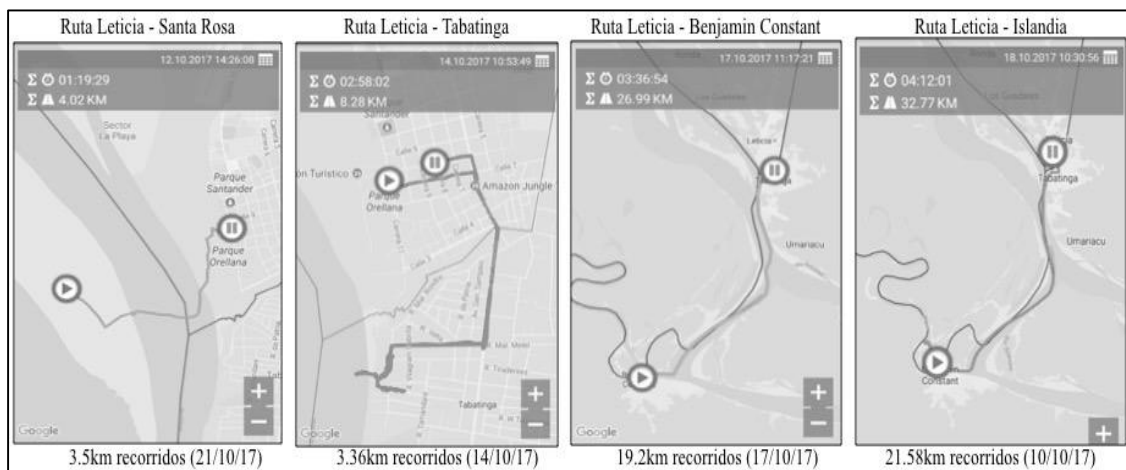
Note: Informal interviews were applied in the working setting of individuals (during breaks) or in public places without prior coordination. In these cases, it was not possible to collect all demographic or complete data of individuals and they were not recorded.

Source: own preparation.

On the other hand, an observation guideline was developed to register the cross-border flow (population flow, commercial activities and presence of control elements), which was complemented by a basic photographic register. Observations allowed to prepare a field register on the description of areas and economic activities in the area under study.

Due to the geographic limitations of access to the production and extraction areas of local economies (mostly illegal economies, with presence of drug trafficking), the data collection was restricted to five urban spots and nearby homesteads, as well as river routes connecting such spots. In these, the route followed by every field team, and every review, involved the five areas for data collection, including a protocol for field safety and self-care. Routes followed by every team member were registered and monitored through a mobile geo-reference application.

Map 2. Basic routes of the field team from Leticia



Source: own preparation based on Google Maps images registered by GPS My Tracks.

Limitations. The type of sample and approach of study involve some limitations: it is not possible to generalize results or establish a quantitative analysis on the extension of the phenomenon. Likewise, concentration of timber workers may be biased in relation to other illegal activities; the area of data collection is also likely to be biased and limited, because results may vary (and maybe show greater intensity) in rural settings. The type of study is related to the search of construction of extensive classifications (Marradi, 1990) to propose scenarios of victimization and characterization of forced labour victims, according to the field registers, which allows proposing trees of possibility and situations (in this case, victimization) based on factual data provided by witnesses, organizing them in a chart of recruitment modes, forms of victimization, victimization routes and working conditions.

4. Results of the study

4.1. *Observation of characteristics of the triple border*

The triple border is located between the Santa Rosa village (Yavarí district, Mariscal Castilla Province, Loreto-Peru), city of Leticia (Colombia) and city of Tabatinga (Brazil). The Peruvian side has access only by river, whereas access between Leticia and Tabatinga may be by river or by land. Santa Rosa has an estimated population of 976 inhabitants, and by 2015 there were 500 households (INEI, 2015). Bordering cities are larger in extension and population: Tabatinga with 62,346 inhabitants and a surface of 3,225km², and Leticia with 32,450 inhabitants, and a surface of 5,968km².

According to census data, the workforce of Yavarí district works in agriculture, livestock, fishing and forestry (52%), services (13.3%) and fishing (12.7%) (INEI, 2007). In Leticia, by 2015, the workforce was mainly focused on trade, hotels and restaurants (34,8%) and social, community and personal services (32,5%) (DANE, 2015, p. 23). In Tabatinga, the agricultural, livestock and hunting activities accounted for the greatest percentage (36%) (Ministry of Labour of Colombia, 2014, p. 61).

Leticia and Tabatinga form a conurbation (an urban agglomeration): bidirectional population flows show that there are trade and labour activities between both urban nuclei. Both cities are communicated by a main avenue, and there is permanent public transportation for commuting in their corresponding port markets (at 3 km of distance). In both spaces, households and small businesses of noble material are the prevailing buildings (unlike the villages in the Peruvian side, where there are mainly wooden households). Except for some areas with concentration of services and supermarkets in Leticia, streets are deteriorated or lack pavement and ornamentation. They are spaces with precarious trade areas and scarce border police control mechanisms, highly permeable for the execution of illegal economic activities, as smuggling, drug trafficking, and illegal prostitution. The situation of precariousness and absence of control mechanisms is significantly more evident in Santa Rosa and the rest of villages of the Yavarí district, since there are only police bases, but not police stations.

The Leticia-Tabatinga conurbation is close to the Benjamin Constant city (Brazil) and the village of Islandia (capital city of the Yavarí district), public transportation by river

between the Tabatinga port and Benjamin Constant is permanent. The Benjamin Constant river port (city of 39,489 inhabitants) is a spot with high flow of goods (food items and appliances). It is larger in size than Tabatinga river port and supports the anchorage of large cargo vessels. On the other hand, the commercial flow and population of Islandia are smaller (2,310 inhabitants). The Islandia and Benjamin Constant port areas show similar elements of social disorganization – unregulated trade and scarce border control of people and goods – compared to Leticia, Tabatinga and Santa Rosa.

The five places described above, show an open coexistence between regular and illegal trading practices, as well as porous borders, scarce personnel of control agencies, and permeability of migrations. Trade activities of legal goods coexist with logging, cocaine trafficking and smuggling activities (which is evident both in the data related to the workforce and in the statements of citizens in all locations, visitors and field exploration).

Photo 1. Port areas of the Peru, Colombia and Brazil (Tabatinga) triple border



Source: photographic register of fieldwork.

4.2. Characteristics of timber workers

Workers that go to river ports to look for jobs and those who work in timber camps are usually male teenagers and adults (occasionally adolescents), most of study subjects have not completed high-school and live in precarious conditions (huts or “malocas” without drinking water, some in hammocks or rented huts). A significant group is migrant

population, especially from several areas of the Peruvian Amazonian rainforest. They look for a job in the hundreds of itinerant camps that travel in the triple border. The wide range of the phenomenon is associated with the extension and importance of logging activities in the Amazon, which together with the extraction of hydrocarbons, is the main economic activity in the region (INEI, 2015).

There is a broad, immediate and permanent availability of labour for the timber work. This is, in part, due to the population flow that lives in the border areas and constantly visit the markets, ports and saw mills to look for a job; but also due to the large number of people who come from other regions, nearby cities, villages and homesteads, to look for a job in the border. Since this is a large population without stable employment, individuals are permanently looking for a job opportunity, despite being aware of the potential exploitation conditions. The job offer is disseminated orally and in few days the personnel may be ready and equipped to be transferred to the areas of extraction. The sample of subjects for the fieldwork has the following characteristics:

Table 5. General data on workers (n = 63)

Data	Characteristics	n
Gender	Female	7
	Male	56
Age	Under 18 years old	9
	Over 18 years old	54
Country of origin	Brazil	18
	Colombia	22
	Peru	23
Country where the interview was applied	Brazil	15 (14 Brazilians, 1 Peruvians)
	Colombia	27 (20 Colombians, 3 Peruvians, 4 Brazilians)
	Peru	21 (19 Peruvians, 2 Colombians)

Source: own preparation.

4.3. Stakeholders and roles in the supply chain of the timber work

Stakeholders play different roles in the value chain of the illegal wood: i) the *financer* in charge of the timber sale and import (trading of lumber bundles to buyers and companies), and is the main stakeholder in the timber laundering (incorporation of illegal timber into the legal circuit through the forgery of documents, bribes to authorities or mixing the illegal and legal timber before the checkpoint), ii) The *facilitator* (habilitador) is in charge

of one part of the timber laundering, but is mainly in charge of managing the recruitment and providing funds for exploitation; iii) The “*patron*” plays a main role in the coordination of the camp management and timber preparation: wood processing – cut of timber according to standard measurements – to comply with the specifications of trade circuits. This activity is concentrated in local and regional sawmills, and is the place where legal and illegal timber are mixed; iv) *Laborers* (peones) are in charge of processing and extraction activities (logging, land clearing, felling of trees, log cleaning, cut of timber); and finally, v) *assistants* in charge of complementary activities, related to cleaning, camp logistics and supporting activities for extraction.

Table 6. Stakeholders, roles, tasks and links of the illegal timber extraction

Stakeholder	Role	Tasks	Link
Financer	Plays the role of main capitalist, to fund several exploitation works.	- Funding of exploitation - Trade (transactions) of timber	Sale and export, and laundering
Facilitator (intermediary lender)	In charge of recruitment and money management for exploitation. They define the quotas of extraction and are the direct link with the trade circuit.	- Money management for exploitation - Recruitment of laborers	Laundering and preparation
Boss (<i>patrón</i>)	They can play a role in the recruitment and have machinery for timber extraction. They supervise the camps or sawmills themselves or delegate a foreman for this role. He is the link with the commercial circuit (facilitators and financers) and receive and distribute the earnings with workers.	- Recruitment or identification of laborers - Manager of exploitation (labour quotas, payments) - Responsible for coordinating the transport of wood and laborers	Processing and extraction
Laborer	He performs key tasks in the timber exploitation or timber processing in the sawmill. They receive a daily wage or are paid according to their production. They may receive food and, in some cases, accommodation.	- <i>Matear</i> (weed the extraction area) - Felling of trees (logging) - Log bucking (cut the timber according to standard measurements) - Hauling the wood (transport the cut logs)	Processing and extraction
Assistants	People in an area of exploitation or sawmill that carry out complementary tasks.	- <i>Matear</i> (weed the extraction area) - Machinery cleaning and maintenance - Cooking	Complementary activities

Own preparation based on the fieldwork.

There is a boss (*patrón*), but it's not as in the past, let's say I'm your “*patron*”, or you arrive and you tell me “okay, I need 20 dozens of planks, what do you need”, you tell me, I need a chain saw, boots and food, meals. And I will take care of getting the people, here I will find 10, 8 guys to cut, haul and I will go as the boss; but I look for a person who knows about this, I will look for an experienced person, who knows about logging. I will pay them 30 thousand Pesos [US\$ 10], we finish the business, we stay one month, two months, and I pay the guys. (*Interviewee 15, final timber salesman, Leticia*).

According to interviews, the work carried out in the logging camps of the area is one of

the links in the chain of the timber *extraction and processing*. Extraction involves logging activities in the forests and timber transportation from the logging site to the processing site. The logging starts by clearing off the bushes of the working area and felling the trees and bucking the logs with bush knives and chain saws. The timber is then hauled manually or using ropes by previously prepared chutes to the camp sawmill. There, timber processing activities take place for its final sale: processing, measurement and cut of the timber with chainsaws. With these tasks, planks and wooden rods are obtained, and the phase ends up with the transportation of the timber by river to destinations for final sale. Both links include complementary tasks, as cooking, hunting for self-consumption, cleanup of timber and maintenance of machinery and roads.

I went to cut the wood by Atacuari, I traveled two days, crossing the river, we arrived at the site, we also walked eight hours to the camp. Once we arrived, we started looking for the wood, you get in, point it out, release the log, let's say two species of wood, virola (cumala) and cedar. Then, we arrived, I went as chainsaw operator, and we give them the timber. There, the owner gives you the chainsaw, the timber falls there, 40 planks are produced per day, by only one man. You are slashing and cutting the trees. They paid us at the end, for the working day (daily wage). (*Interviewee 21, timber worker, Santa Rosa*).

According to qualitative data, timber extraction and processing is the core economic dynamic related to forced labour. This activity is similar, in terms of phases, economic behavior and extraction dynamics, to the above described mechanics in other parts of the country and shows the presence of debt bondage systems (Mujica, 2015; Bedoya & Bedoya, 2005).

Table 7. Activities, tasks, extraction sites and trade dynamics of the timber activity.

Link	Activity	Task	Registered extraction sites	Trade dynamics
Extraction	1. Logging in the forests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Matear</i> (weed the area) • Felling of trees • Log bucking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peruvian localities with access by river by the tributaries of the Yavarí river: Angamos, San Vicente, Limonero, Nueva Esperanza de Mirí, Petrópolis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Logics of facilitation, <i>enganche</i> (advance payments) and debt bondage
	2. Transport of timber from the logging site to the processing sites	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hauling the wood to the sawmill • Transport the wood to the point of sale 		
	Complementary activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hunting for self-consumption • Cleanup of timber and maintenance of machinery and roads 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • San Pablo District • La Barboza ravine, Parinari district (Loreto) 	

Preparation	3. Processing, measurement and cut of timber	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of chainsaw to cut the wood • Hauling the wood to the barges • Transport the wood to the points of sale 		locations).
	Complementary activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooking • Machinery cleaning and maintenance 		

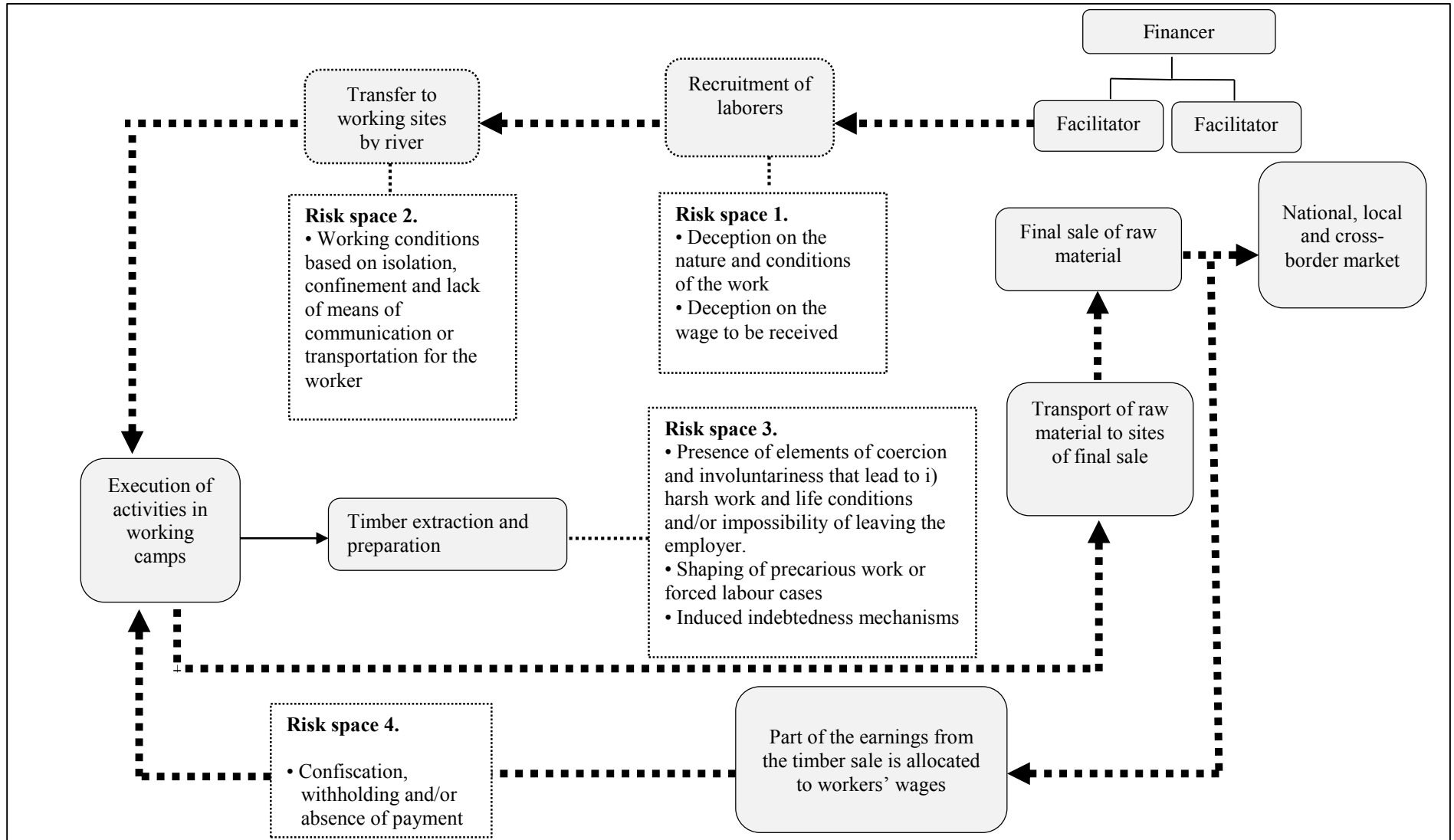
Source: own preparation based on interviews.

4.4 Forced labour in the experience of workers

a) Locations of forced labour and human trafficking risk in the areas of study

Collected data show four locations of forced labour risk, which is also identified in different links of the local trade chain of timber. The risks of forced labour victimization, identified from the indicators of *involuntariness* and *penalties or menaces of penalties* (ILO, SAP-FL, IPEC, 2012; Hernani, 2017) and the forms associated with human trafficking can be observed in i) the recruitment of laborers and assistants; ii) their transfer by river to work sites; iii) the execution of timber extraction and processing activities; and iv) the collection of wages.

Graph 1. Main locations of commercial activities with risks of forced labour in the areas under study



b) Recruitment of timber workers

Statements about the recruitment of labour for working in timber extraction reflect the presence of risks of unfree recruitment, as they show the possibilities of using deception regarding the nature of the work, the working conditions or the tasks to be carried out. Laborers and assistants agree to join the working groups in a context of uncertainty and with a partial or distorted description of the tasks entrusted to them, in a hurry to receive the advance payment offered by facilitators. Thus, the *enganche* (promise of an advance payment) of laborers and assistants may involve the subsequent coercion by recruiters (facilitators) to capitalize on the labour outside the purview of the law.

They [facilitators] hired me as cook. They told me “if your daughter does not have a father, who is going to sustain you? We should better go to the timber, money is in the timber” (...) he told me that I was going to earn 15 soles per day. And when we left, at the end, when we got to the camp, everything was different; there, they told me that...to earn the money I had to do two things [in addition I had to do sex work]. I didn’t know, the patrón told me “we look for a cook to get two things”, I and said, “how am I going to get two things?”, “what is that?” (...) he told me I had to sell myself to the workers, have sex with the workers. “No”, I say, “I am not into that” and my daughter is too young for this. I told the patrón “no, I can’t”, and the patrón tells me “if you want to work...”, “I don’t want to work, get me back home, because this is not a work, physical abuse is what you want to do to me”. This is what I told the patrón and he took me back home the following day. No, I didn’t want. They did the same with a friend of mine, my friend went to the timber work. She stayed there, and when she arrived from Pebas [district], she told me, she told me everything. She told me that, yes, one night she would have sex with a man, next day with another, and so on, and thus she earned 10 Soles per person. (*Interviewee 26, Cook in timber camp. Islandia*).

Usually one goes [to the timber extraction areas] without knowing what one’s fate is going to be. Many times, some go to the timber work, some of them come back alive, others don’t, others come back sick, nobody knows what the future holds (...)” (*Interviewee 28, Timber worker. Islandia*).

According to interviews, there is consistency in the form of recruitment: i) the employer usually comes from the Colombian or Peruvian side of the border, ii) the job offer is usually made orally through an intermediary, previously known, iii) it does not involve coercion, but it may involve deception regarding the nature of the work and the wage to be paid, iv) it involves advance payments, which are allocated to the procurement of work

clothes by the worker himself and to the *enganche* (recruitment through a job offer, where an advance payment is made for purchasing work clothes and equipment, which later becomes a debt). Transfer to working areas is then made in small barges by river; it can take days to get to the communities, and hours to navigate through the tributaries, besides several hours walking to arrive to the timber camps. The destination areas include the communities of the districts of Yavarí (close to the Yavarí river) and Ramón Castilla (close to the Amazonas river). The working activity in the working camps may be characterized by harsh working conditions in terms of coercion (withholding of wages, death threats). It is an economic activity involving many groups of the population of the context under study.

Photo 2. Santa Rosa municipal market where jobs are offered



Source: photographic register of the fieldwork.

Workers for activities of timber extraction and preparation are recruited by *patrones* or bosses – in the field they are also known as “*habilitadores*” (facilitators). In an employer structure, these stakeholders play an intermediate role and their functions involve managing the money invested by the financier of the working campaign to buy the means of production (chainsaw, axes, gasoline, food, among others) and recruit workers. According to interviews, this work is usually carried out by one or two people. To meet the production goals, they usually recruit between 10 and 20 workers – including laborers and assistants.

The patrones arrive to the community and say “well, I need X men to work, who is available?” Then, people go and start working. Of course, people are aware [they know the risks involved in the timber activity], but since this is the only way for them to get platica [money], then, they have to do it, regardless of how difficult or risky it may be, this is their only source of income (economic income). (*Interviewee 15, Trader of lumber. Islandia*).

To offer the job, facilitators invite potential workers orally and openly in high-traffic public spaces in the areas of study (ports and markets). They also ask those in charge of local sawmills who can introduce them to potential workers.

Public spaces are used as scenarios for trading legal and illegal items, but also for job offers and recruitment. Transport and trading of packaged food, agricultural products, smuggled appliances and timber items are part of formal and informal dynamics, which are common due to the lack of surveillance, especially surveillance systems to regulate the labour supply dynamics, labour rights and recruitment. While sometimes notices are made in improvised boards in markets and ports, most of the time, job offers for recruitment are made orally.

Job offers are made on a permanent basis, but they become more intense, according to interviewees in the rainy season. This is related to the seasonal dynamics of the logging economy, because tributary channels of the main rivers increase during the rainy season (mainly those with elevation) and facilitate the transportation of cut logs to the main channel to be taken to the sawmills. Thus, there is a relation (that need to be further studied) among the seasons, the increase of labour demand, recruitment and intensification of forced labour and human trafficking for the purposes of labour exploitation in the illegal logging.

Photo 3. A pier and barges of local transporters in Benjamin Constant



Source: photographic register of the fieldwork.

Jobs offers are usually made to mobilize several potential workers. In some cases, there is a selection process by the recruiter, based on an individual appraisal (age, hypothetical strength, health condition, among others) on a group of people who answer the call. Other times, there is an individual selection for the recruitment. Nobody receives a contract or any other type of written document. They make verbal agreements. Thus, while there is a group of workers who start working without an advance payment or a contract, another group receives an advance payment, which is considered a guarantee of employment.

We are given an advance payment, if you go to stay three months, the owner gives you an advance payment of 1.000 Soles so that you can buy your boots, everything, everything, then they deduct those costs when you leave. Sometimes, we go to stay three months, sometimes, six months. (*Interviewee 21, Timber worker. Santa Rosa*).

The sponsor provides us with the tools, he gives us that and then deduct the costs from our payment. It may be some S/. 100 or S/. 150, they give us boots, batteries, they give us everything, and after the work, they make the deductions. (*Interviewee 18, Timber hauler. Santa Rosa*).

Nonetheless, many times advance payments work as a bonded labour system (or debt bondage method of recruitment). Interviews confirm that in the recruitment phase, facilitators deliver advance payments of wages in an amount that depends on the time of the working campaign and the contingencies of the negotiation between the worker and

the *patrón*. Thus, advance payments range between S/.300 and S/.1000 (about USD 90.91 and USD 303.03¹), and the agreed duration of the work campaign is usually from 3 to 6 months. By recruiting the worker under the system of advance payments (*enganche*), the advance payment is also used to have the worker paying for his own work clothes and basic tools, such as boots, axes, flashlights, clothes, among others; which reduces the production costs of *patrones* and reduces the worker's likelihood to accumulate capital. This process may last one day. Later, facilitators and workers travel by river to the working areas: the routes by the main rivers and their tributaries usually take many hours (sometimes even two days), and the walks to the camp can take up to eight hours. Because of geographical conditions, a '*montaraz*' (explorer) needs to be hired to identify the working quadrants.

c) Forced labour indicators during the recruitment of workers

According to interviews, there are no elements of physical coercion in the phase of recruitment of timber workers: workers are incorporated into the timber activity on a voluntary basis without any type of menace or violence by the recruiters. However, this phase usually has at least two elements of involuntariness (unfree recruitment): the recruitment based on i) induced indebtedness and ii) abduction (separation) of the worker from his place of residence, because the activity involves taking him to the extraction areas. Besides, interviewees indicate that in this phase, facilitators may deceive the worker on the working conditions, the wage to be earned, the duration of the work campaign, the provision of basic services, the working day, among others.

It is known that there are groups of people (...) that go to Leticia or Puerto Nariño, and start the collection, so to speak. They start identifying people, some are given or offered very good guarantees, with generous offers they are told they are going to perform certain tasks to earn a lot of money. Then, with these lies, they are recruited by people who work in this business. And of course, they also earn something for doing this (...) the social context of indigenous communities is mistreated, so to speak, in this sense, because offers are very good, and this is one of the reasons why they are encouraged to go. (*Interviewee 24, Officer of the Leticia public prosecutor's office. Leticia*).

According to data, the manifestation of a forced labour situation and labour and/or sexual exploitation in the local timber trade dynamics could come from the crime of human

¹ Referential average exchange rate year 2018

trafficking, because victimization paths registered start with the recruitment and transfer of people using deception and/or abuse of their vulnerability condition for exploitation purposes. If evidence of labour exploitation is found, the regulatory framework would allow sanctioning, separately, the activities of human trafficking (recruitment with an advance payment and transportation by river) related to the crime of forced labour, which refers to the effective exploitation in the execution phase of timber extraction and processing activities. A sanction will be imposed depending on the degrees of intervention in the matter, the aggravating circumstances to be applied and the solution criteria for multiple offences, as established in the Penal Code.

However, while deception is a possibility, many workers are aware of the potential risk that comes both from a verbal agreement without any written contract and from the advance payment that entails a debt. Thus, it is important to understand that deception shapes a relevant path, mainly for those individuals approaching the timber work for the first time, although those who have previously worked with timber already know about these possibilities. Nevertheless, they seem to be willing to take the risk even knowing that they may be later victimized in forced labour situations, or that it could also entail not receiving the initially agreed salary. While many interviews containing these statements could not be recorded (because they are precisely the population at higher risk and who are more afraid), debt bondage is not necessarily the result of a group of individuals disregarding the possibilities of labour exploitation, but a sort of vitiated consent triggered by the poverty and precariousness conditions of the context.

Table 8. Inventory of forms of recruitment from the standpoint of the timber worker according to the systematization of qualitative data.

Worker	Verbal job offer or in a bulletin board	With advance payment	Knows the likely consequence of informal recruitment	Risk	Acceptance of job offer	Was victimized	Will work again
Has not worked before	Bulletin board	Yes	No	Unaware of the risk	Lack of knowledge	No	No
	Verbal					Yes	No
	Bulletin board	No	Yes	Takes the risk	Needs the job	No	No
	Verbal					Yes	Yes
Has worked before	Bulletin board	Yes	Yes	Takes the risk	Needs the job	No	No
	Verbal	No	Yes			Yes	No
							Yes

Source: own preparation

The systematization of possible answers leads to an inventory of alternatives that are consistent with the statements. While a quantification or likelihood of the qualitative record cannot be established, the alternative of not knowing about the potential negative consequences (physical punishment, withholding of wages, non-payment of wages, debt bondage, etc.) is rare. This suggests a more complex condition, where ignorance and deception are likely elements, but not necessarily the most important ones (this would require more in-depth studies). Thus, according to most of individuals, they do know about the possibilities of “ill treatment”, but they take the risk anyways because they need the job to financially support their families. This is relevant to distinguish and conceptually discuss the differences among fraudulent job offers, deception, and vitiated consent.

i) Conditions of work and life under duress

Transportation of workers by river to the areas of timber extraction requires traveling several kilometers in the Amazonian rainforest by river and by land, which involves isolation regarding the provision of basic services (as food items, basic sanitation, health care). The distance between the working areas and the cities or nearer villages is impassable by the recruited personnel: means of transportation or marked roads to guide the travel on foot are not available. Thus, returning to the places or origin is subject to the availability of means of transportation, which are controlled by the facilitator (including small barges, fuel, and the services of a guide to identify the path to return). This exposes them to working conditions based on isolation, confinement and absence of mechanisms of communication and free movement.

They yelled at us, they insulted us, “[insult], work fast, otherwise, don’t work.” But you won’t be able to return [to the place of origin], it was impossible, it was almost ten days travelling, there was no way to return. (*Interviewee 28. Timber worker. Islandia*).

Everything is like this, free, but you cannot return because you’re in the middle of the work, where else can you go if you’re in the bush, it’s not close. If you want to return, you don’t have the means, there is no means of transportation. There is no way to return, only when you have taken the timber to the *ri  grande*, everything is then ready, the *patr n* says so. (*Interviewee 18. Timber hauler. Santa Rosa*).

Sometimes it was sad, boring, only with your friends and nothing else, no music, no communication. In other words, we go there to live like animals. (*Interviewee 29. Timber worker. Islandia*).

On the other hand, the way how activities of timber exploitation and preparation are carried out reflect very hard conditions of work and life. During the felling of trees or log bucking, laborers are exposed to cuts that may be caused by the use of chainsaws and bruises that may be caused by the felling of trees, and transporting the wood usually causes injuries in the shoulders and arms. Working hours are arranged to exploit the physical capacity of workers (the personnel is obliged to work in conditions of permanent availability): when the river level rises, workers are obliged to take advantage of the current generated by the river to haul heavy timber logs, which increases the working time beyond legal limits.

The processing of timber is risky [in the machinery of the sawmill]. A very thick piece of wood can hit you, when you push the lumber, the log hits you. This is why many don't want to do it, because they have accidents or die. Many times, when they were taken down, one is afraid, but that was the job, what can I do. If you don't want the work, they force you, they yell at you, they tell you that you're lazy, that you were spoiled by your mom, you become a man, they force you to become a man because you need to be brave. (*Interviewee 29. Timber worker. Islandia*).

When it rained, two or three in the morning, you had to get up, transport the timber in the barges, with your good flashlight and your battery, you pushed, day and night until the water dried up. We have spent one week working day and night. There you need to learn how to swim with boots, if you don't know how to swim with boots, you sink, you drown. (*Interviewee 19. Timber worker. Santa Rosa*).

There is no schedule, in the timber work there is no schedule. You get up at two in the morning, to sharpen your axe, your bush-knife. When it is five in the morning, you eat, eat and go to the bush, it is dark, dark. And you also leave dark, dark, because it depends on the water. One has to defeat water, because if water defeats you, you don't get the timber, and how are you supposed to earn money, how are you supposed to pay your people, if the timber leave, you also get your money... if you arrive from work at five in the afternoon, and you are eating, and it starts raining, you have to go there, otherwise, the timber cannot leave. (*Interviewee 20. Former timber worker. Islandia*).

ii) Impossibility of leaving the employer

The geographical context involves risks for all workers in the camp (both during the exploitation and the processing): risk of contracting tropical diseases, as malaria, insect and snakes' bites and the risk of being attacked by the Amazon fauna. Likewise, the dependence on the meteorological conditions can oblige workers to remain longer than agreed while waiting for their salaries: according to statements, the drought season can preclude the transportation of timber to sawmills or barges, which can increase the agreed working period in more than three months.

There [in the working setting] there are many accidents: a snake bite, an insect bite in the bush, it is like that. We know what animals cross the mountains. Besides there is the caiman in the water or boas. For health, also the malaria, there is a mosquito that causes malaria. (*Interviewee 21. Timber worker. Santa Rosa*).

Cutting timber is dangerous, we are bitten by the snake, the log [trunks or branches] can squeeze you [cause bruises]. Our friend died, a young man, because he was bitten by a snake. (*Interviewee 29. Timber worker. Islandia*).

I was in the camp for six months because there is no rain, there was no place to haul the timber, and we are looking for water. During those six months, we continue cutting the timber until the water arrives. (*Interviewee 4. Former cook in timber camp. Santa Rosa*).

Isolation conditions create a dependence on the employer in settings outside the working relationship. In the working areas, facilitators operate as providers of food, work clothes and consumption goods (and, sometimes, first aid medicine – as anti-ophidic serum). These working conditions can lead to i) risks of indebtedness induced through the sale of goods at inflated prices and excessive interest charges, ii) risks of coercion through deprivation of food and water, as well as iii) risks of exposure to degrading work and life conditions.

The provision of meals is mean-spirited, how? Because you eat at 9 and eat at 6, and they tell you this, “well, sirs, now there will be no lunch, lunch will be only at 6”, they say. And that's it, only one meal, nothing else. (*Interviewee 21. Timber worker. Santa Rosa*).

Once when we stayed nine months, there was a drought, we were starving there, we ran out of food, and we only had ‘chonta’ (a type of palm tree) to eat (..) we ate what we found. (*Interviewee 25. Former timber worker. Islandia*).

When I got something, as a credit for my mom or bought things, it was more expensive in the camp, much more expensive; then they discounted. (Interviewee 26. *Cook in timber camp. Islandia*).

iii) Penalty or menace of a penalty

Thus, statements collected indicate that coercion was applied in the working settings. Cases of violence against laborers and assistants are registered. The cooks face the risk of sexual and psychological violence (through rape, forced prostitution, systematic yelling and insults). Laborers face the risk of becoming victims of physical and psychological violence when complaining to their supervisors about the working conditions. Cases of insults, menaces, beatings and even murders in the working spaces are registered.

Sometimes there are arguments between the foreman and the workers. They argued because sometimes the food was bad, sometimes they were required to work too much. And the fight started, beatings. This ends up in menaces, sometimes death, they can kill you right there, and that's it, there is no justice, who did see you? Nobody. (Interviewee 21. *Timber worker. Santa Rosa*).

Finally, interviews indicate there were risks of confiscation, withholding and/or absence of payment to timber workers. To evade the payment of corresponding salaries, facilitators in charge of this task, apologize by saying that they did not sell the timber at the prices they expected, or they use induced debts to evade the payment of salaries for months. This situation is persistent in this productive dynamic, which is very well known by potential workers, which shows the limited job opportunities in the areas of study and the risks or revictimization of workers.

Some people have trouble to collect their salaries, they [the facilitators] say that they didn't receive the money to pay the workers, and then they start [lying] to workers until they get bored and stop asking for their salaries. This happens, and this can lead to a fight, stabbing or shootings, it's like this in Colombia. (Interviewee 23. *Former timber worker. Leticia*).

After delivering the product [the timber], we went to the foreman to do the math, he discounted the materials we were provided with from the advance payments, and some of us gave up, we continued indebted, due to the account, because we again asked for some clothes, tools, services for our homes, and it was not enough to pay, and we had to go back again to be able to pay our debt, we fell into debt, and then we had to go back to work, over and over, one more

facilitation, in a different gorge. There, already with the first experience I had, we were getting something little by little, I didn't fall into debt that much, sometimes, to leave something to my wife, we had to leave food, at least for the house, for at least six months, and the man who facilitated us, he didn't give us the real price, he doubled [the price], and that's why we fell into debt. (Interviewee 25. Former timber worker. Islandia).

They still owe me, they don't pay, (...) the patrón says he is going to bring the money, it's uncertain, and now, in total, they owe me three months. I don't know why they don't pay, they take advantage [opportunists] and don't want to pay. (Interviewee 27. Timber worker. Benjamin Constant).

The systematization of qualitative data allows an inventory of practices associated with forced labour indicators and dimensions that have been registered in the five areas of study.

Table 9. Risks of forced labour in the dynamics of timber work according to the coexistence of dimensions and indicators

Indicators	Dimensions			
	Unfree recruitment	Life and work under duress		Impossibility of leaving the employer
	1. Forms of involuntary recruitment	2. Transportation	3. Timber extraction and preparation	4. Collection of salaries
Involuntariness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deception or false promises on the working type and conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restriction of freedom of movement • Restriction of freedom of communication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obligation to work day and night beyond legal limits • Forced to live in degrading conditions • Multiple dependence on the employer • Induced indebtedness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not enjoying the freedom to resign • Forced to stay longer than initially agreed.
Penalty or menace of penalty			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical violence • Sexual violence • Deprivation of food, shelter or other necessities • Isolation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical violence • Withholding and non-payment of wages

Source: own preparation based on interviews.

However, it is important to say that individuals report that the type of victimization that meets the definition criteria of forced labour can coexist with other forms of victimization.

On the one hand, in the same context, we can find individuals that are forced labour victims (for instance, with fraudulent recruitment, withholding of wages, menaces and physical punishment) and others who are not, although they are subjected to poor working conditions or precarious work. On the other hand, there are individuals who report having been forced labour victims in some camps, but not in others (even with partial indicators of this phenomenon). The same happens with human trafficking for labour exploitation: some individuals meet the indicators (recruitment, transfer, receipt, including the withholding of documents and restriction of movement), but they say that this only happened in one camp (dissolved) and that other times they meet forced labour indicators and in others not fully.

This indicates a complex scenario to understand forced labour and victimization in a diachronic overview of the course of an individual's life and not only as an isolated event. Likewise, it suggests the importance of a broad analysis of the different concepts that belong to the specific practices that were registered in the fieldwork. While there are operational and conceptual differences (penal and formal) to understand forced labour, human trafficking for labour exploitation, and other forms of infringement of labour and human rights, there are also coincidences that, in some situations, make it difficult to empirically recognize the differences.

d) Victimization paths related to forced labour

Workers that report victimization due to forced labour and human trafficking (or other forms of exploitation), have indicated that they have gone back to work in the timber and that they have chosen the same recruitment system through which they became victims or that they have witnessed the victimization of others. Other say that they would go back to the timber work, assuming the potential risk of exploitation and forced labour, since they need some source of economic income. This creates a relevant situation: the situation of multiple victimization in the course of their lives. This means that a large part of individuals report experiences of forms of forced labour at different times in their lives.

Thus, it is possible to observe the recurrence of victimization events associated with coercion and precariousness at work and with forced labour in the courses of the timber workers' life. These forms of victimization are related to the individuals' life stages,

which are associated with the timber activity from their late adolescence (or who have had previous experiences of forced labour and other forms of exploitation). Thus, the victimization paths identified can be organized and disaggregated in four temporary phases: i) start of labour relationship; ii) itinerant nature of the timber work; iii) specialization of functions; iv) work partitioning and seasonality.

i) Start of working relationship

According to interviews, workers in the areas of study get involved in the timber activity with recruitments carried out in their home areas – localities that belong or are located close to the department of Loreto (Peru) are registered. Usually, the first contact with the activity is made through patronage (by means of advance payments and debt bondage), although initiations under structures of family exploitation are also likely to occur. Individuals without any previous experience who get to be recruited, usually perform low-skilled activities (road excavation, cleaning of wood and machinery, and maintenance of equipment).

Two factors of vulnerability characterize this final stage: workers usually get involved in the timber activity during their late adolescence or early youth, within the framework of a precarious economy.

At 15 years old, I learned to saw the wood, here in Leticia, and the patrón was Colombian. I worked as assistant, for instance, they cut a log and I had to clean it. I watched, I was an assistant, I refueled the tank with gasoline, removed the gasoline, refueled the motor, that was the job. (*Interviewee 19. Timber worker. Santa Rosa*).

I already had experience since I was very young, even my dad was a timber worker, we felled with axes, our timber was close. I am from the Tigre River [Loreto], there I cut the wood with my family. I have worked since I was 11 years old; I helped my dad, there we learned how to cut everything. (*Interviewee 21. Timber worker. Santa Rosa*).

In the communities, a lot of people work in the timber, and I think this is the only means of income for the communities. The access to timber is the only source of income; timber and fishing. (*Interviewee 15. Carpenter and trader of lumber. Leticia*).

ii) Itinerant nature associated with the timber work

After the first experiences of victimization, the paths of workers show dynamics of itinerant nature associated with the timber activity: all individuals have usually performed timber activities in different places of the Amazon. Besides being willing to settle in the working camps for several months, workers settle temporarily in localities relatively close to the areas of timber extraction – instead of always returning to their places of origin – where workers are usually keeping doors open to chances of being recruited again for these tasks. While there are some cases of dependence on the same employer (facilitator), workers are usually recruited by different employers in their work history.

I traveled three days, from Leticia to San Martín de Amacayacu [Amazonas]. We entered into the area and we stayed there for five months, at the entrance, we entered 3 days, we were eight, then a cook came in, a hunter, the haulers and the cutters (...) then, the gentleman [the facilitator] told me to enter again and that he needed us and that we now shouldn't move. Then, we stayed in the community called San Martín de Amacayacu, only indigenous peoples live there, it's a large community. And I stayed there, I stayed in the community for almost eight months, waiting for the other job to come, because I was already grown up; then I stayed in the bush for almost two years. (*Interviewee 19. Timber worker. Santa Rosa*).

I used to live in Iquitos, and there I was hired by a company [timber company] to work in Brazil. I was there for several years, until I had an accident, a cut, and I came here to Islandia, I stayed here working in the timber. (*Interviewee 20. Former timber facilitator. Islandia*).

[He was hired] in Iquitos, a friend there told me to go to work in the timber, he told me to earn money daily, I was 25 years old. He gave me an advance payment of 500 soles, there in Iquitos, and I had to go to Pebas [district]. (...) to work, I came here [to Santa Rosa], to work, to go again and cut the timber. (*Interviewee 18. Timber hauler. Santa Rosa*).

According to interviews, facilitators are more itinerant in their tasks, because their trade dynamics also require travelling to the geographical areas of final sale of timber. These dynamics of itinerant nature generate opportunities for facilitators to evade responsibilities regarding the non-payment of wages, which is a persistent situation in the statements collected.

My brothers are not paid either, they ask and ask, and they don't pay them, because bosses are not used to pay, they deceive us a lot. (*Interviewee 30. Timber worker. Islandia*).

(...) [financers to facilitators] they give them 50,000 Soles. What do they do? Instead of giving money to their people [workers], they give them just a little, between 300 and 400 Soles. Then, with the money, he buys things for his home, then comes to ask the boss to give him more money. He spends the money and doesn't have money to pay to his workers. And nothing happens, because there is no law in the timber work, no law. (*Interviewee 20. Former timber worker. Islandia*).

iii) Specialization of functions

Victimization paths show that the itinerant nature associated with the timber work can occur simultaneously with a process of specialization of functions. Workers that start working as assistants acquire skills to use the machinery (chain saws), which allows them to increase their production and better capitalize on their work, besides occasionally performing tasks of timber preparation (processing, measurement and cutting of timber) for its entrance into the local trade circuits. Changes of modes of work, however, do not entail an improvement in the safety conditions at the workplace (on the contrary, they may increase the risks of cuts and bruises).

I work in the timber since the 1980s. It was not often, but from time to time, seasonally. Then, I watched what I worked, there I learned to cut. By then, I worked as an assistant, refueling. (*Interviewee 17. Timber worker. Santa Rosa*).

(...) [I performed functions as an assistant] I start and cut [the timber] right. Then, okay [the chain saw operator] looked at me and tells me, "you cut, you are here to cut", and I was already sawing, and he was not sawing any more. (*Interviewee 19. Timber worker. Santa Rosa*).

iv) Work partitioning and seasonality

Besides working as laborers and assistants in the timber activity, workers who settle in the areas under study also work part-time in fishing, transportation by river and/or trade of food items to complement their income – informal interviews also indicate that there are seasonal complementary works related to the growing

of coca leaves. This partition of work is due to the seasonality of the timber activity: in average, a campaign may last six months every year. In the rainy season, the river increases its level and higher tributaries and channels have enough water for the transportation of the harvested wood (and, therefore, exploitation increases). Sometimes, accumulation of capital allows workers to obtain their own production means, to permanently settle in the study areas and work as independent sawmills.

A synthesis of the periods in the work history of individuals suggests that there is i) an starting point of the labour relationship, where there is a first contact with the timber work and other activities (agriculture or trade), which starts in childhood or adolescence and is related to forms of work in their own families, family exploitation (by other families) or forms of exploitation by bosses (who used child labour) (a dozen of individuals report this situation). ii) A specialized learning period on the logging, where workers learn the tasks of *mateo* (clearing off the bushes), cutting, etc., which are associated with adolescence and youth and the need of a dependent work: which generates the search of an employer and migration. iii) A period where experience has been gained and the logging technique has been acquired, associated with youth and adult life where they are recruited over and over with advance payments in the timer exploitation, because it is the only work available to them. iv) In the logging, there are periods (seasonal periods) where there are other activities to be carried out (trade of lumber, agricultural activities, transportation in the port) limited by the economic precariousness of the individual and context. Earnings are very little during these periods, forcing workers to be reengaged as soon as the job is available.

Table 10. Victimization paths according to the exploitation structure and risk factors of forced labour

Periods in the victimization path	Starting of labour relationship	Period of specialized learning	Specialization of functions	Seasonal periods and complementary works
Exploitation structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family structure • Employer-based structure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employer-based structure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employer-based structure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employer-based structure • Family structure

Victimization factor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State of hardship • Use of child labour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dependence on the employer • Migrant condition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dependence on the timber work as source of income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reproduction of dynamics of precariousness, menace and forced labour
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Source: own preparation based on interviews.

Previous data suggest two ways of discussion. The first one is related to the idea of polyvictimization, where the same individual becomes the victim of many victimization events along his life's path. Thus, these individuals state that they were victims of forced labour in some periods of their lives, but also victims of other forms of labour exploitation that do not meet all forced labour indicators. Other times, they were victims of physical abuse, unpaid labour, and in some cases, also victims of human trafficking. The idea is, however, that not necessarily all forms of forced labour that were reported were the first events in their victimization paths and previous victimization facts in their life's paths are likely (hypothetically) to be associated with the subsequent dynamics.

On the other hand, the discussion on the dynamics of reengagement suggest that a large part of individuals disregard the severe conditions and risks of the timber work (and other types of activities), and while events and cases mainly characterized by deception are likely, data suggest a severe condition of precariousness that does not start or ends with the forced labour periods, and that are less associated with the complex organization of recruiters and more related to poverty, the lack of job opportunities and decent work, and the severe conditions of hardship in the area.

5. Internal migration, cross-border migration and forced labour in the triple border

The geographical areas of study are characterized by high population mobility. Borders are areas of human mobility, associated with trade and economic dynamics of migration and exchange. In scenarios of high presence of illegal economies and limited control of formal authorities, high vulnerability settings are created, allowing offences. Thus, there is the widespread perception that border areas can be settings where property offences are

committed (robberies of all sorts), sexual crimes, illegal drug trafficking, among others. Urban scenarios in the border areas create a high concentration of individuals who come from different areas of the region and from the three triple border countries. However, the areas of Amazonian rainforest surrounding the urban axes are relevant because there are several homesteads of indigenous peoples, settlers and floating population.

According to interviews, a significant group of recruited labour for timber extraction and preparation activities makes up an internal migrant population (in Peru) and another cross-border migrant population (mainly Colombian). In the internal migration, timber workers usually come from different localities of the Peruvian Amazon and have currently settled in the village that belong to the Peruvian border. While there is strong evidence of important timber areas in the eastern route from Benjamin Constant in the Brazilian side of the border, the access to this territory is difficult and empirical corroboration is still needed.

According to interviews, since a long time ago the population tends to migrate to towns and cities in the triple border. It is a regular trading area, with transportation by rivers that connect many locations of the three countries, turning this region into an appealing scenario; both as a pivot for human mobility and as trading spot symbolically relevant for labour opportunities.

According to interviews, people migrate on a voluntary basis. They have usually already had a previous experience with timber work and other forms of extraction and want to continue being recruited in the timber activities. Therefore, migrations to the triple border are, in many cases, part of an itinerant activity linked to the seasonality of the timber work. These migrations are not directly associated with a specific job offer, but with the idea that there is labour supply in that area.

Thus, forms of selective recruitment are very unlikely and forced migrations are difficult to see. In general, the recruitment dynamics through a cross-border tour or through the dynamics of individualized selection of individuals in their contexts of origin seems to be inconsistent. This is due both to the itinerant nature of an economic dynamic that uses unskilled workers who are geographically very close (and therefore there would be no economic reason to suggest long trips by the recruiter), and to the appealing nature of the

border as scenario for human mobility, which attracts large populations (without requiring a specialized demand).

On the other hand, cases have also been registered where the workers' facility in the Peruvian border responds to contingency strategies to face events related to fraud, deception and/or withholding of wages by employers. This means that they go to the border to look for the payment of their working days, and at the same time, they seek to be recruited in a new job (*reenganche*).

When I arrived, they didn't want to know about anything [facilitators didn't want to talk about the payment of salaries], they tell us... they passed the buck. "Go to see so-and-so", they told us to do that, until we were left like this, with nothing, they didn't pay us (...). And this is how, I stayed here [in Islandia], like that, because I didn't have money for transportation, and I didn't know, I didn't know how to work. There, a friend of mine asked me if I wanted to work, most of the work here is in sawmills, he told me "let's go to the sawmill", because I didn't know anything about sawmills, I had to learn there. And there, I have stayed... I haven't gone back anymore [to extraction areas], I have stayed right here to work, I work as chainsaw operator. (*Interviewee 29. Timber worker. Islandia*).

It is clear that most of the population in the border regions are not originally from that scenario. And it is clear that most of timber workers are migrants. With a migration condition, workers face the risk of being exposed to manifestations of forced labour situations in the timber trade dynamics, because this increases their dependence on this activity to support their family economies.

According to interviewees, the timber activity is the reason for immigration or transfer, which means that alternative and seasonal economic activities (such as cross-border transportation by river or retail trade) are complementary activities for their income. Since it is their main source of income, workers accept being recruited to carry out timber activities with elements of exploitation or precariousness, in exchange for salaries that do not allow them to have any savings or a significant improvement in their life conditions.

Here in the border, we lack many things, mainly here in Santa Rosa, because the State does not provide much help, there is no job. Then, you have to prepare your farm, grow the cassava. And this is only by season, one goes to Leticia to sell, to Tabatinga, for food. And another is fishing, and timber, because there is nothing else. (*Interviewee 17. Former timber worker. Santa Rosa*).

On the other hand, the migrant condition of bosses (patrones) themselves involves opportunities to impose forced labour on their workers. According to statements, bosses use to come from different cities of the Peruvian rainforest or from the city of Leticia, and their work is mainly itinerant. However, the Peruvian border does not have effective migratory controls, and workers know very little about the legal status of their bosses (and most of them are not aware of it at all). The anonymity of bosses and their retreat mechanisms among and across the borders keep criminal charges against the use of forced labour at minimum levels.

The patrón is Colombian, they come from Leticia, most of them are Colombians, they deceive you, they offer you 1.500 Soles, and then they don't pay. (*Interviewee 21. Timber worker. Santa Rosa*).

They told me “the patrón comes from Iquitos, he's going to bring the money”, one doesn't know how things will turn out, and finally, now they owe me three months (...) I didn't have any document to claim this, or to go the Ministry of Labour, I couldn't; what am I going to do on my own too. We could denounce this, since we're several workers, more than 50 without payment, but nothing, nothing has been done, what are we going to do. (*Interviewee 27. Timber worker. Benjamin Constant*).

The discussion on the vulnerability in the border scenario is related to, at least, three topics. i) On the one hand, the lack of protection of individuals from different countries where the work is carried out, and the distance from their homes. This is relevant, because migration causes severe problems that prevent the implementation of control mechanisms. It is, however, clear that control mechanisms are scarce, in relation to both the migrant and local population. ii) On the other hand, migration generates a human flow that is difficult to identify, due to the high possibilities of evasion, mainly in porous borders and scenarios associated with illegal economies. This is also relevant, but the presence of illegal economies is the most relevant variable. Thus, the triple border is highly permeable for traffic with different purposes (timber, cocaine, smuggling in general) and has a significant relation with the development of these dynamics. Thus, the migrant population is mobilized to work in illegal activities. This means that getting a stable employment or a formal job offer is not the main migration objective, but to engage in activities widely known for their itinerant nature (as timber extraction) and that support the local economy.

Photo 4. Informal transportation of items by river in the Yavarí river



Source: photographic register of fieldwork

Finally, since migratory objectives are related to informal or illegal labour dynamics, iii) there is a condition of clandestinity, both from aggressors and from a large part of victims (of forced labour, human trafficking, among others) that imply that authorities are potential recruiters and sanctioning agents of their activities. The cross-border dynamics is not different from the internal dynamics. With a porous, and mostly open, border, the logic of controls and safeguards does not seem to necessarily imply a change of dynamics in the locations of human recruitment and mobilization, but it is rather a *continuum*. In several important locations, however, especially in the river or in the forest, security conditions change due to the presence of insurgent agents or members of illegal economies without formal control.

6. Problems of formal control in the border

The triple border presents several problems both in terms of control of border crossings, and in terms of the deployment of national safety agencies in the urban scenarios of each country. While this is directly related to the gap between the capacity of agencies to control the broad borderline and the volume of population and commercial movement, and the comprehensive scenario of the Amazon forest, which is difficult to safeguard, it is also related to the presence of illegal economies in the whole territory. These conditions

generate a scenario of targeted surveillance in some locations of the border, and since most of them lack control mechanisms, a selective logic of control is adopted.

In the fieldwork, some problems of formal control have been identified in the areas under study in relation to the detection and control of forced labour and human trafficking for labour exploitation. Such problems were identified from the standpoint of civil servants in the border of the three countries. While with different emphasis, the access of safety agents and justice system operators is focused on urban scenarios. This hinders the capacity of monitoring the actions carried out in the Amazonian rainforest and the areas close to the main river tributaries, where most illegal activities take place, including forced labour and human trafficking.

This situation suggests that there is an operational problem: phenomena, as forced labour, do not seem too intense and severe in urban and peri-urban settings, compared to rural areas or camps in the Amazon. Therefore, cases known by authorities include only those cases that are denounced in police stations, police offices or centers linked to the justice system.

Photo 5. Border control in the Colombian side (Leticia)



Photo: register of fieldwork

In this logic, the operational arrangement of control agencies shows logistic difficulties related to the availability of resources to manage wrongdoings and complaints in the border areas and villages. The arrangement of police units is less complex than district police offices: they have fewer material resources, reduced staff; and are aimed at carrying out tasks of immediate assistance and registration of complaints. With regards to forced labour and human trafficking, police stations operate as intermediaries between the complaining victims and specialized agencies, as the Provincial Special Prosecutor's Office for Crimes of Human Trafficking and the Directorate Office of Trafficking in Persons and Migrant Smuggling Investigation of the Peruvian National Police, both located in the city of Iquitos (Loreto), but not as investigation or prevention units.

According to the officials interviewed, the geographical distance between the specialized agencies and the borders entails high costs in terms of time and resources to execute actions to prevent the crime and identify the victims, which slows down the control of these crimes and reduces opportunities for investigation, sanction and the appropriate assistance to victims. Operative resources are limited, and activities and latent threats are significantly broader.

What are my limitations? The police staff, also the geography. In other words, I cannot say “okay, tomorrow I will go to investigate”, because it takes me 24 hours to get there, it’s a long way, almost 15 hours travelling. Besides, the operational investigation is on the part of the police, and they don’t have per diems. And we have not heard complaints on these facts. (*Interviewee 31. Official of the Loreto Prosecutor's Office*).

The lack of materials and raids in these institutions in the Peruvian border are especially relevant due to the type of victimization related to forced labour and human trafficking crimes. Coercion and menaces applied on the victims may limit their chances of complaining due to the risk of retaliation, even after the exploitation has taken place. Resources need, therefore, to be mobilized to activate the control mechanisms from state control operations rather than from the complaints of victims, which is currently very unlikely, because formal activities are concentrated in urban centers.

On the other hand, according to interviews, the high frequency of staff turnover in the border police stations (mainly Peruvians) affects the internal inter-agency coordination among the police and the provincial public prosecutor’s office specialized in crimes of

human trafficking. The turnover of police officials is done on a quarterly basis, which is due to the precariousness of the workplace and the risks faced by police officials. According to interviews, this hinders a joint work between these police stations and the specialized public prosecutor's office due to the high costs of time and resources involved to train the staff every quarter to identify situations of human trafficking, forced labour and poor working conditions or precarious work. The staff needs to be trained again (not only in operational issues, but also in basic elements to identify a crime as human trafficking or forced labour).

[Turnover of police staff] This is a hindrance, the first barrier for us, because we cannot go to that place every three months, because obviously we have all the jurisdiction, lawsuits, investigations that we also need to take care of. (*Interviewee 32. Official of the Loreto Prosecutor's Office*).

Likewise, according to interviews, there are problems of cross-border coordination among state inspection agencies. While successful joint operation cases are registered and there are formal means of communication, interviewees say that bureaucratic costs for deportation of detainees and intelligence information flow are high.

We need more international cooperation among the three countries. Things are done, meetings are carried out, many things are said, but many times, things stay on the discussion table and in the field, things are different (...) Cooperation among the counties is very complex (...) when information is requested, and also the "red tape" [excessive bureaucracy], both from one side and from the other, it's chaos. Because, information is requested when a Brazilian or Peruvian person is arrested, suddenly it goes "no, that's international affairs" (...) often, one needs to get things done to continue executing one operation. (*Interviewee 24. Official of the Leticia Prosecutor's Office. Leticia*).

Moreover, there are successful raids, but they are not, *per se*, a solution, given the huge number of illegal acts, and the magnitude (unspecified) of forced labour and human trafficking for labour exploitation in the area. Thus, the dynamic of joint raids is important, but it represents a very broad gap in relation to the hypothetical magnitude of the phenomenon.

There is a scenario of coexistence between stakeholders and illegal activities and formal control dynamics in the border and neighboring national territories. This scenario shows i) targeted checkpoints (border checkpoints), ii) targeted points with limited surveillance

spectrums (police offices, for instance), iii) a broad non-controlled or unregulated movement of migrants, iv) an Amazon setting without any type of surveillance, v) broad presence of illegal economies associated with drug trafficking and illegal logging, vi) the relevant presence of forced labour indicators in these areas, where there is less control and presence of the State.

Conclusions and final considerations

Conclusions

1. The triple border among Peru, Colombia and Brazil is a porous border, with scarce formal control and little capacity by border state institutions. This setting is characterized by illegal and informal economic dynamics: smuggling, cocaine trafficking, illegal logging and timber laundering. The latter shows evidence of presence of forced labour and human trafficking indicators, associated with four aspects of risk and vulnerability: the recruitment of laborers (peones), the transportation by river to working areas, the execution of activities of timber exploitation and preparation, and, finally, the payment-collection of agreed salaries. The need of labour for strenuous energy-demanding tasks in remote areas of urban centers, the illegal and informal nature of logging activities, and the dependence on the purchase of timber to pay the workers create a setting of high vulnerability for the development of hazardous tasks, precarious work, forced labour and human trafficking for labour exploitation. This ratifies previous studies carried out in Peru in relation to these economic dynamics (Mujica, 2015; Bedoya and Bedoya, 2005).

2. The evidence of forced labour is concentrated in timber exploitation and extraction areas. In these points, the dynamic of withholding of wages or debt bondage are persistent, according to statements. The presence of forced labour and occasionally human trafficking for labour exploitation, entails the coexistence with individuals victimized by different types of practices, including confinement, withholding of wages, absence of food, even sexual exploitation (in the case of women in the logging camps), but also individuals who are not necessarily

victimized. Forced labour is associated with the precariousness of the timber extraction system, the absence of controls and the persistent dynamic of mobilization to settings located far away from urban centers. Although timber exploitation areas and the presence of forced labour are manifested in rural areas or in the Amazonian rainforest area, they are connected both with the seasonal dynamics of timber extraction, the itinerant nature of the exploitation dynamics, and the dynamics of constant recruitment in the river areas that are entries to the urban center.

3. Statements show that victimization situations are not fortuitous events or unplanned dynamics in the course of an individual's life. A group of individuals reports multiple victimization, both in the logic of forced labour and in relation to other crimes and practices (including human trafficking). Thus, victimization does not only result from deception due to the unawareness of individuals regarding the risks, but also from the fact that individuals are likely to know about the conditions that could entail forms of physical and psychological violence, and/or exploitation and labour in inhumane conditions. Local conditions are evident for the individuals, who know that this is likely to happen. But they prefer to take on this potential risk rather than not having any source of income at all. Thus, some individuals have been recruited in jobs with forced labour conditions more than once; and some would even do it again. There is another group of individuals who report other victimization facts in the course of their lives. Consequently, it is not about understanding deception and fraud as a mechanism associated with the absence of criteria on the part of individuals to make sound judgments, but about the absence of other options, which could be related to forms of vitiated consent.
4. Forms of recruitment are associated with a permanent demand of labour in the illegal and informal logging camps. The recruitment of an individual does not always entail the subjection to forced labour. Such condition is determined by the facilitator and the foreman of the extraction center and by the local conditions associated with the logging, extraction and processing of timber. Thus, a higher relative demand of timber by the potential buyer could generate a more intense exploitation of labour and forced labour. Likewise, not all individuals are victimized by forced labour, and this could be associated with a set of

characteristics in the potential victim (absence of family support systems, due to his migrant condition, lack of a support system to complaint against the situation, poverty, among others). Recruitment does not seem to be a selective activity. Apparently, professional logics are not working full-time in the activity outside the territory of extraction, or working to take people from very remote villages. The recruitment seems to be directly related to the seasonal demand of camps and concentrated in public locations (markets, ports, sawmills of urban centers).

5. Internal and external migration are important phenomena in the border area and an element that can maximize labour exploitation conditions and the presence of forced labour. The absence of social, family and economic support systems among migrant individuals increases their vulnerability conditions for exploitation and forced labour. While there are no data to think about forms of selective recruitment regarding non-local population, and migration conditions seem to be mostly voluntary and seasonal, the logic of activities in the field suggests that these conditions would indicate a higher possibility of forced labour victimization. This is related to the presence of indigenous peoples and the precariousness of the location.
6. The above-mentioned situation is directly related to the porous nature of the border, but especially to the vast geographical area without any kind of control. The vast area of the Amazonian territory lacks control mechanisms in most of its extension: members of local police and members of law enforcement agencies are concentrated in urban centers, and border crossings. So, you have a formal border, where those who want to be controlled approach them to regulate their activities by themselves, but in practice, the border is open, and most of it can be crossed without any kind of surveillance. Likewise, areas of timber extraction and other illegal activities in the surroundings of the border delimitate spaces that are controlled by illegal economies, drug trafficking or illegal loggers, of difficult access.

Final considerations

1. The study shows a plot on forced labour victimization that is associated with other forms of victimization in the course of an individual's life. Thus, while the legal framework establishes clear differences in the terms "human trafficking", "forced labour" and "labour exploitation" (which is very important for the proper identification and criminal prosecution of cases), it is consistent to think that these phenomena are manifested in individuals with similar characteristics. This is evident in the empirical register in contexts as the Amazonian context, characterized by severe conditions of precariousness and inequality that affect individuals in different ways. A study is still missing to assess whether relevant differences exist in the recordable characteristics and demographic data of victims of human trafficking and forced labour, or other forms of victimization; or perhaps these criminal conditions of victimization are rather associated with the criminal opportunity of the context itself.
2. The above is related to the evidence of a set of cases that report polyvictimization. While a complex analysis of journeys cannot be established in the sample, it is clear that individuals are victimized by different types of practices at different times in their lives. This suggests discussing the adequacy of differentiated interventions (for forced labour and human trafficking, for instance), and analyzing and promoting interventions addressed to associated elements among the phenomena (in terms of criminal investigation). Even when concepts are different, and the structural manifestation of phenomena has differences, the same individual could have been victim of more than one of these phenomena and tends to live in the same context of precariousness. In turn, this suggests the recommendation to discuss about the relevance, impact and adequacy of prevention and targeting strategies for crime control based on the intervention of specific events.
3. The dynamics of police control and border surveillance mechanisms are important, but they are always likely to be insufficient for the broad illegal dynamics of the context. Thus, while coordinated actions, inter-agency raids and control actions are necessary, it is also important to study the gap between the

possibility of control, and the broad illegal dynamics and criminal phenomena that occur in the scenario under study. This allows establishing an exercise to measure the State capacity in these settings and define the type of impact expected from interventions. The physical and operational impossibility of controlling a territory such as the Amazonian border, requires thinking about other mechanisms to regulate the illegal phenomena that take place in that territory: data collection strategies (by consulting with medical teams, for instance), identification of risk areas (based on projection models through the analysis of risk variables), intervention through the early detection of risk indicators (through the screening of potential victims in late childhood or early adolescence), among others.

Recommendations

1. The presence of forced labour in the timber extraction from the economic dynamics is associated with the illegal timber extraction and trade. The Peruvian State could take action in these logics through clean and forced labour-free timber programs. The demand for wood from illegal systems seems to be associated with the timber laundering and corruption dynamics it involves. Therefore, emphasis should be put on the logic of timber laundering in central sawmills, which involves both an intervention on labour rights and investigations on the origin of the timber.
2. Forced labour associated with timber extraction is linked to other forms of exploitation and various dynamics of the use of labour, including human trafficking. A selective intervention on only one of the typified offenses does not allow an impact or an understanding of the logic underlying these dynamics. Thus, in many cases, forced labour and human trafficking for labour exploitation take place jointly in the specific context of timber exploitation. Interventions should be put in place against the infringement of human rights and not only against one type of criminal offence.
3. The forms of recruitment take place in urban concentration spots: river port areas and commercial exchange areas (markets). Apparently, recruitment is not strategically organized from the locations of origin of potential victims. While, geographical locations of origin of greater intensity may be identified, these are

not necessarily settings of original recruitment, but settings with greater human mobility to different parts of the country. Information on recruitment and related risks should focus on the two above-mentioned locations.

4. The recruitment dynamics does not seem to be selective from the beginning and depends on forced labour. It seems to be a consequence of several factors that organize the exploitation (the greater or lesser demand of the final product, the budget of the facilitator or the *patrón*, the vulnerability conditions of the potential victim, among others). Thus, at the beginning of the working relationship it is not clear who, among people recruited, will be subject to forced labour. Therefore, specific indicators need to be established to measure the impact of preventive interventions at the time of recruitment or, if applicable, to evaluate targeting areas where efforts to reduce victimization will be made.
5. Victimization is not a sporadic event in the life of individuals. A large part of them have already had numerous previous experiences of victimization associated with the dynamics of timber extraction, including several previous periods of forced labour. In other cases, previous victimization is reported by several types of violence. Interventions to prevent victimization should be considered in early adolescence (period when the first facts of victimization are reported), to stop a chain of interwoven events in the following years.
6. Migration is a relevant phenomenon that can be associated with the increased vulnerability of individuals in cases of forced labour. This is also associated with the absence of support systems to face a potential victimization due to the remoteness of their support systems and environment. Mechanisms to promote complaints and denunciations should be considered for the internal and external migrant population to ensure the protection of the individual.
7. Forced labour seems to intensify in rural settings, which are located far from the control of law enforcement agencies, especially from those agencies that concentrate their efforts in urban areas. The design of mechanisms to have access to rural areas is recommended, by two ways. On the one hand, through strategic police units integrated to the Marine Authority. On the other hand, through

medical brigades, which are especially useful to have access to areas of illegal economic activities and to potentially collect data and information through them.

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