

Other Forms of Trafficking in Minors: Articulating Victim Profiles and Conceptualizing Interventions

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Abstract

This paper will consider trafficking in minors from and within southeastern Europe (SEE), with particular attention to trafficking for labour, begging, delinquency and adoption, manifestations of trafficking that are increasingly being identified in the region. Through a discussion of these forms of trafficking and an exploration of profiles of affected victims, we will seek to identify trafficking risk. This equips us with a carefully derived picture of the contributors to trafficking, individual and social sites of vulnerability and victim's recruitment and trafficking experiences. In so doing, this paper aims to challenge the hegemonic representations of trafficking in minors, which have primarily focused on trafficking of young adult women for sexual exploitation. In addition, this paper will consider the existing assistance framework in the SEE region and how this does (or does not) meet the needs of minors trafficked for these less-considered forms of exploitation. Answers to such queries provide potential windows of policy and programmatic opportunity. The overall objective of this paper is to move toward a more accurate understanding of the issue and, perhaps most importantly, more effective policy and programmes.

1: Introduction

Trafficking in persons significantly impacts each of the countries/entities of southeastern Europe, affecting Bosnia–Herzegovina (BiH), Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia², Serbia and Montenegro³ and the province of Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro)⁴ as countries/entities of transit, destination and, increasingly, of origin. It also involves Albania, Romania, Bulgaria and Moldova as major countries of origin. To a lesser, but increasing, extent, persons from the region were trafficked within their home countries. Of those trafficked, a significant percentage were minors.⁵

Combating this complex, multi-sectoral problem requires informed civil society and government actors. However, there has been a dearth of concrete, factual data, which has served as a significant inhibitor to practitioner's and policymaker's ability to formulate counter-trafficking interventions and policies. The need for this primary, victim-centred data was the central rationale for the establishment of the Regional Clearing Point (RCP), at the request of the Stability Pact Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings (SPTF).⁶ The overall objective

¹ This paper was originally presented at the Childhoods Conference in Oslo Norway, June 29 to July 3, 2005. The preparation and presentation of this paper was made possible by the support of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the NEXUS Institute to Combat Human Trafficking. The NEXUS Institute, based in Vienna, is a multi-disciplinary research and policy centre conducting research and analysis that will serve as the basis for better-informed counter-trafficking policies and practices. By analyzing policy and practice-oriented issues confronted by those in the field, NEXUS seeks to generate new ideas and innovative strategies needed to achieve more tangible, effective and sustainable counter-trafficking results, including laws, policies and practices. NEXUS brings to its work extensive anti-trafficking research experience from SE Asia, SE Europe and further afield as well as experience in the programme evaluation and victims assistance. The NEXUS Institute's advisory board includes the OSCE Special Representative on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre and the Protection Project of Johns Hopkins University. For further detail, please see www.nexusinstitute.net.

² Hereafter referred to as Macedonia.

³ While the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Montenegro together constitute one country (the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro), the two republics are analysed separately in the context of the RCP research in an effort to better understand trafficking to, through and from the two republics. This is in no way a political statement.

⁴ While Kosovo is a province within the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, in this analysis it is separated out as a distinct entity in an effort to analyse the specific trafficking context of the province. This is done in an effort to provide a more detailed picture of trafficking patterns, trends and profiles within and between each country/entity of the region. It should in no way be read as a political statement.

⁵ A minor refers to anyone under the age of 18 years, as outlined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the 2000 UN Trafficking Protocol. In this document, the terms child(ren) and minor(s) are used interchangeably.

⁶ The RCP was established under the framework of the Stability Pact Task Force in Trafficking in Persons in 2002 in order to produce standardized regional data on trafficking victims and victim assistance and to support the further

of the RCP programme is to contribute to improved trafficking programmes and policy through a better understanding of the trafficking phenomenon in the southeastern European region, with particular attention to the needs and experiences of victims throughout the trafficking process. The information presented in this paper was collected in the course of fieldwork for the RCP's second annual report,⁷ published in July 2005.⁸ The focus of the RCP's second annual report, decided in collaboration with the SPTF and counter-trafficking actors in the region, is victim-centred data, incorporating description and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data concerning assisted trafficking victims in southeastern Europe⁹ and victim assistance in the region.

2: Other Forms of Trafficking in Minors - Victim Profiles and Trafficking Experiences

In total in 2003 and 2004 respectively, 1329 and 1226 trafficking victims were identified and assisted, primarily in SE Europe. These figures mainly pertain to women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation – 85.3 per cent of victims assisted in the SE European region in 2003 and 84.9 per cent in 2004.¹⁰ However, it may be more accurate to say that this was the form of trafficking most commonly identified. Less considered manifestations of trafficking were increasingly identified in 2003 and 2004, with victims trafficked for labour, begging and delinquency both within southeastern Europe and into the European Union. In addition, there is the, arguably new or at least newly verified, phenomenon of babies trafficked for illegal adoption into various European Union countries.

As can be seen in the table below, minors accounted for a noteworthy percentage of assisted victims trafficked for these various forms of exploitation. In addition, many minor victims were exposed to dual forms of exploitation.¹¹ For example, 14 of the 15 Bulgarian minors trafficked

development of victim assistance throughout southeastern Europe (SEE). The RCP, which opened its office in Belgrade in July 2002, was initially managed by IOM and the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC), subsequently by IOM and as of June 2005 by the Nexus Institute to Combat Human Trafficking in Vienna, Austria. The RCP works in partnership with all actors involved in combating trafficking in human beings in southeastern Europe as well as destination countries in Europe. This includes government officials, NGOs and international organizations. For a complete list of the RCP partner organizations, please see Appendix #3. The RCP programme was generously funded in 2004 and 2005 by the Swiss Development Cooperation (SDC), USAID, the US Government, the Austrian Technical Cooperation and the International Organization for Migration's Facility 1035.

⁷ Surtees, R. (2005) *Second Annual Report on Victims of Trafficking in Southeastern Europe*. Geneva: IOM & RCP.

⁸ The second annual RCP report provides verified figures regarding the number of trafficking victims assisted in the region as well as SEE nationals trafficked abroad; analyses profiles and trafficking experiences of assisted victims in the SEE region; identifies significant and emerging trafficking patterns throughout the SEE region, including forms of trafficking and different aspects of the trafficking process; and provides an overview of the referral and assistance framework available to trafficking victims within the SEE region. For a full discussion of the RCP research methodology and process, including its strengths and limitations, please see Appendix #2. The RCP's findings, provided in partnership with governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international organizations (IOs), are valuable toward the development, tailoring and amelioration of services and assistance frameworks. For a full listing of partner organizations, please see Appendix #3.

⁹ The presentation of victim profiles is intended as a means to identify sites of vulnerability to trafficking and for ensuring that assistance meets their needs and interests. It is not intended to "explain" the crime or unduly focus on the victim over the perpetrator. Too much attention on the profile of the victim draws attention away from the perpetrators of the crime. Trafficking cannot be explained solely by an exploration of victim characteristics and behaviours and such factors contribute to, but are not the sole explanation for, trafficking (Brunovskis and Tyldum 2004a: 41). While the RCP research and data presented herein focuses mainly on the victim side of the trafficking equation, studies bearing on the other side of the trafficking equation – the traffickers – are also needed. By taking a victim-centred approach, we in no way intend to suggest that the problem of human trafficking can be solved simply by changing the behaviour of victims or that victims are in any way culpable in their exploitation. Rather, it reaffirms the urgency of strengthening law enforcement capacity and of the legal, social and economic reforms that lead potential traffickers to reconsider human trafficking as an economic strategy (Surtees 2005: 19).

¹⁰ Similarly, the RCP's first annual report focused primarily on trafficking for sexual exploitation as very few assisted victims pertained to other forms of trafficking (Hunzinger and Sumner Coffey, 2003: 11).

¹¹ As most service providers do not systematically document when victims were exposed to dual forms of exploitation, it is difficult to present a full picture of this trend. Some cases listed as sexual exploitation may have been dual forms of exploitation. However, as precise information about the second form of exploitation was unavailable, these cases have been counted only as sexual exploitation. In Bulgaria, 30.8 per cent of assisted victims in 2003 and 20.5 per cent in 2004 were trafficked for sexual and another unspecified form of exploitation. Indeed, 21.1 per cent of assisted victims in 2003 and 10.8 per cent in 2004 suffered dual forms of exploitation.

for begging and delinquency in 2003 and 2004 were obliged to both beg and steal. Similarly, Albanian minors were occasionally trafficked for combinations of labour, begging and delinquency, which generally involved begging and selling.

TABLE 1		
PERCENTAGE OF ASSISTED TRAFFICKING VICTIMS OF SEE NATIONALITY WHO WERE MINORS, 2003 & 2004 ¹²		
Country/Province of Origin	2003	2004
Albania	Sexual exploitation: 21.1%	Sexual exploitation: 23.6%
	Labour, begging & delinquency: 100%	Labour, begging & delinquency: 93.2%
BiH	Sexual exploitation, labour & begging: 17.8%	Sexual exploitation, labour & begging: 60.7%
Bulgaria	Sexual exploitation: 8.5%	Sexual exploitation: 5.7%
	Labour: 0%	Labour: 0%
	Begging & delinquency: 100%	Begging & delinquency: 50%
	Adoption: N/A	Adoption: 100%
Croatia	Sexual exploitation, labour & begging: 0%	Sexual exploitation, labour & begging: 0%
Province of Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro)	Sexual exploitation, labour & begging: 68.8%	Sexual exploitation, labour & begging: 58.9%
Macedonia	Sexual exploitation: 42.9%	Sexual exploitation: 25%
Moldova	Sexual exploitation: 8.1%	Sexual exploitation: 10.3%
	Labour: 21%	Labour: 15%
	Begging & delinquency: 35.7%	Begging & delinquency: 39.1%
Montenegro	Sexual exploitation, labour & begging: 33.3%	Sexual exploitation, labour & begging: 80%
Romania	Sexual exploitation: 16.3%	Sexual exploitation: 26.8%
	Labour: 4.6%	Labour: 50%
	Begging & delinquency: 0%	Begging & delinquency: 88.9%
Serbia	Sexual exploitation, labour & begging: 20%	Sexual exploitation, labour & begging: 65%

Numbers of minor trafficking victims presented above are likely underestimations. Victim's age refers to his/her age at identification rather than at recruitment, as most service providers in the SEE region do not systematically record the victim's age at recruitment. This makes it difficult to accurately calculate the number of trafficked minors and some victims who were identified as adults were possibly minors when trafficked.¹³

However, even with these potential underestimations, the number of trafficked minors is striking. That being said, the prevalence of minors among assisted trafficking victims fluctuates quite substantially according to country of origin, year of assistance and form of

¹² Due to limitations in the format that data was provided by some partner organizations, it was not possible to note the percentage of minors amongst all victims of non-SEE nationality. As such, we focus here on victims of SEE nationality for whom we have full information.

¹³ A noteworthy illustration of the importance of noting age at recruitment comes from Albania. Because service providers assisting foreign victims recorded the victim's age at recruitment (as well as at identification), it was possible to see that ten of the 17 victims (58.7%) in 2003 were minors when trafficked. If we had calculated according to age at identification, the findings would have differed substantially, with only 35.3 per cent being minors at identification. This highlights the importance of recording victim's age at recruitment, in order that we can measure the specific vulnerability of various age groups and formulate interventions accordingly.

trafficking. In some countries, like Moldova, Bulgaria and Albania, assisted victims of trafficking for labour, begging and delinquency were more likely to be minors than victims of sexual exploitation. In other countries, like Romania, this changed over time, with minors increasingly represented amongst assisted victims of trafficking for begging and delinquency in 2004 (88.9%) than in 2003 (0%).

Numbers aside, what is clear is the importance of thinking beyond sexual exploitation in terms of identifying risk factors and assistance needs, particularly when considering the needs of minors in SEE. What is needed – and what this paper will seek to do – is outline these “new” or at least “newly documented” manifestations of trafficking in minors. Through an analysis of victim profiles, we will consider the personal characteristics and family backgrounds, victim’s recruitment, transportation and trafficking experiences, toward disentangling sites of vulnerability and trafficking risk. Further, victim’s stories will be contextualized in and read against the backdrop of the socio-cultural environment in which they take place. This analysis equips us with a carefully derived picture of the contributors to trafficking as well as the individual and social sites of trafficking vulnerability.

2.1: Trafficking for Labour, Begging and Delinquency

Labour exploitation was an increasingly prominent form of exploitation to SEE in 2003 and 2004, amongst victims of all ages.¹⁴ Victims exploited exclusively for labour purposes accounted for 7.2 per cent of assisted victims from SE Europe in 2003 and 4.1 per cent in 2004.¹⁵ This included agricultural work, domestic work, bar work, construction and selling small items on the street. Amongst minor victims, this form of trafficking was documented to a varying degree in the different countries of the region. As well, victims were trafficked for begging and various forms of delinquency, accounting for 4.1 per cent of all assisted victims in 2003 and 6.4 per cent in 2004.¹⁶ Minors were also represented amongst these victims, forced to undertake tasks such as begging, petty crime, theft, robbery, pimping, and drug dealing. In many circumstances, victims were exposed to more than one form of exploitation.

While these forms of trafficking were documented amongst minor victims throughout SE Europe, most victims originated from Albania, Bulgaria, Romania and Moldova. In some ways, these minors were very similar and had much in common across national boundaries. They tended to have low education levels and were unmarried, due, at least in part, to their young ages. Many came from poor economic backgrounds and their economic circumstances contributed to their decision to migrate. In other ways, however, profiles of victims differed from country to country, sometimes in noteworthy ways. We will consider these profiles briefly in an effort to understand how and why minors fell victim to trafficking as well as to pinpoint what services and assistance are (and are not) appropriate and available for minor victims.

Because of the limited number of minor victims of these forms of trafficking in each of the countries, it is not possible to assert the quantitative significance of these statistics. Rather, it is largely a qualitative picture of assisted minor victims of trafficking, which is being sketched.

¹⁴ Moreover, in International Labour Organisation (ILO) research on forced labour and trafficking, the organization documented 298 cases of forced labour in its database, 186 (62.4%) of which were trafficking. The research covered Moldova, Albania, Romania, Ukraine, France, Germany, Hungary, Japan, Russia, Turkey, UK, and USA. Of those trafficked, 26 per cent were men. While the majority were cases of forced labour for sexual exploitation, 16.8 per cent were for construction work, 12.8 per cent were for entertainment/dancing/bartending, and 12.3 per cent were for agricultural work (Andrees and der Linden, 2004: 10-11). Identifying cases of forced labour in destination countries proved to be difficult because irregular migrants were reluctant to risk discovery and deportation by sharing their experiences or to cause trouble for their boss. Similarly, many could not see the immediate value of the research and did not want to divulge personal and often humiliating experiences (Andrees and der Linden, 2004: 16).

¹⁵ In 2003, the RCP documented 1264 assisted victims from SE Europe, 91 for labour trafficking and 1165 in 2004, 48 for labour trafficking. When one considers victims trafficked for a combination of labour and other forms of exploitation, the percentage increased quite significantly, to 25.8 per cent in 2003 and 12.6 per cent in 2004. Most commonly, victims were trafficked for a combination of labour and sexual exploitation. This data refers to all assisted victims and is not specific to minors (Surtees 2005).

¹⁶ In 2003, the RCP documented 1264 assisted victims from SE Europe, 51 trafficked for begging and/or delinquency and 1165 in 2004, 75 trafficked for begging and/or delinquency. When dual forms of exploitation involving begging or delinquency were considered, the percentage increased to 5.8 per cent and 8.9 per cent respectively. This data refers to all assisted victims and is not specific to minors (Surtees 2005).

The information is often presented in statistical formats for ease of presentation, with the essential caveat that these are not quantitative findings.

2.1.1: Bulgarian minors trafficked for labour, begging and delinquency

Bulgarian minors were trafficked exclusively for begging and/or delinquency rather than for labour, as outlined in the table below. Of note is that almost as many Bulgarian minors were trafficked for begging and delinquency as for sexual exploitation.¹⁷ This highlights that a disproportionate focus on sexual exploitation does not represent the trafficking reality for Bulgarian minors, nor does it effectively address their assistance needs.

TABLE 2		
NUMBER OF ASSISTED BULGARIAN MINORS TRAFFICKED FOR LABOUR, BEGGING AND DELINQUENCY, 2003 AND 2004 ¹⁸		
Form of Exploitation	2003	2004
Labour	0	0
Begging & delinquency	9	6

Individual Characteristics: Most assisted Bulgarian minor victims of begging and delinquency in 2003 and 2004 were female – 100 per cent in 2003 (or nine victims) and 83.3 per cent in 2004 (or five victims). This stands in contrast to victims trafficked from Albania who were, for the most part, male minors. Victims were, with only one exception in 2004, of Roma ethnicity and from rural areas or small towns. They lived with their families and often also in an extended family environment, with many relatives living in the same community. All reported originating from poor economic circumstances.¹⁹ Importantly, all victims were begging in Bulgaria prior to being trafficked abroad. Most reported coming from "normal" family environments, without violence or conflict.²⁰ Only two victims – one assisted in 2003 and one in 2004 – were abused prior to being trafficked. One victim – the male minor assisted in 2004 – was physically handicapped. The other victims had no mental or physical disabilities at recruitment.

Recruitment Experience: Generally, the recruitment process involved some type of "bonded labour" whereby the victim was sold by his/her parents for a set sum, generally 200 to 300 euros, and once the victim recouped this money, she was to be able to keep a portion of her "earnings". In one case, the minor victim returned to Bulgaria with a kilogram of gold "earned" while begging in Austria. Many minors were aware of the recruitment process, including the amount that was paid for them, and, in some cases, were even a little proud of the amount of money they commanded. The apparent normalcy of such arrangements makes rescue and reintegration more problematic. In many cases, the minor is not the only family member in such an arrangement. One female minor trafficked to Austria and assisted in 2004 came from a family of eight children, five of whom were in Vienna, "working" there as beggars with different recruiters.

Most Bulgarian minors trafficked for begging and delinquency were recruited by a male/female pair, generally a family member (this was a Bulgarian national of Roma ethnicity), although it was not always clear whether a close or extended family member. The

¹⁷ In 2003, eleven Bulgarian minors were trafficked for sexual exploitation, while seven Bulgarian minors were trafficked for this form of exploitation in 2004.

¹⁸ The total number of Bulgarian victims of trafficking for labour, begging and delinquency (minors and adults) was 13 in 2003 (four for labour, nine for begging and delinquency) and 12 in 2004 (three for labour and nine for begging and delinquency).

¹⁹ This must be read with the caveat that economic status is based on the victim's self-described economic situation, rather than on an objective measure of wealth. Further, each country in SEE has different economic standards and conceptions of "poor" or "average" vary accordingly.

²⁰ Analysis of family relations is based on victims' self-described assessment of family and home relations. As such, it is not only informed by the victim's individual subjectivity, but also linked to the victim's relationship with the interviewer, with victims less likely to provide intimate details about family violence and conflict in the absence of an existing relationship of trust.

precise relationship and recruitment dynamic merits further investigation, as it affects reintegration efforts and options. Of note is that amongst unaccompanied minors identified in Vienna in 2004 the majority travelled with a notarized letter from their parents, signalling family involvement in trafficking.²¹ At least one minor in 2004 was trafficked directly by his mother.

Trafficking Experience: Victims were generally trafficked alone (unlike victims from Moldova and Romania who were often trafficked as a family), although their families were often aware that they were to migrate and that they would beg and steal as their "task". All victims crossed borders legally and with legal documents, indicating that their parents had consented to their work abroad and provided the requisite paperwork to allow for their unaccompanied crossing of borders. Destination countries for minors were generally EU countries, consistent with adult victims of these forms of trafficking.

Year	Trafficking for Labour		Trafficking for Begging and Delinquency	
	2003	2004	2003	2004
Austria	0	0	6	3
Belgium	0	0	1	2
Italy	0	0	2	0
Serbia	0	0	0	1
Total	0	0	9	6

In most instances in 2003 and 2004, the victims were obliged to undertake both begging and petty crime. They were generally trafficked to Belgium, Italy, Austria, and Germany. In only one instance was this not the case; the male Bulgarian minor trafficked in 2004 was sent to Serbia and forced to beg.

Victims trafficked for begging and delinquency reported living together in large numbers in one house, furnished only with mattresses, where their "supervisor" organized food and transported them to their begging locations. Minor victims generally suffered violence when the trafficker felt that they were too independent and feared they would try to escape. However, most reported few problems and no physical abuse on a day-to-day basis. There may have been sexual abuse in the cases of some minors but this was not clear to service providers at the time of assistance. Most commonly, minor victims of begging and delinquency were identified by the police when arrested for stealing.

2.1.2: Romanian minors trafficked for labour, begging and delinquency

The percentage of Romanian minors trafficked for labour, begging and delinquency increased over time. While only one of 22 victims of labour trafficking in 2003 (4.5 per cent) were minors, this percentage increased to seven of 14 victims in 2004 (or 50 per cent). Similarly, whereas no assisted victims of trafficking for begging and delinquency in 2003 were minors, the vast majority in 2004 (87.5% or seven victims) were minors.

Form of Exploitation	2003	2004

²¹ Correspondence with Claire Potaux, IOM Counter-Trafficking Focal Point, IOM, Vienna, Austria, 21 June 2005.

²² The total number of Romanian victims of trafficking for labour, begging and delinquency (minors and adults) was 27 in 2003 (22 for labour and five for begging and delinquency) and 23 in 2004 (14 for labour and nine for begging and delinquency).

Labour	1	7
Begging and Delinquency	0	8

Individual Characteristics: Minor victims in both years were both male and female, although the majority of Romanians trafficked for labour were female. Amongst victims of begging and delinquency, roughly equal numbers of victims were male and female.

While there was limited information available about the ethnicity of minor victims,²³ NGO Salvati Copii asserted that minors of Roma ethnicity were heavily represented amongst Romanian minor victims trafficked for labour, begging or delinquency.²⁴ Further, data from a qualitative study of trafficking in Romanian minors documented that 14.6 per cent of victims were of Roma ethnicity (ILO-IPEC 2003b: 20). The link between these forms of trafficking and ethnicity merits further examination.

All Romanian victims trafficked for labour, begging and delinquency attended some formal schooling. However, overall they had low education, including, in some cases, less than primary education. That being said, the low educational attainment, at least in 2004, is, likely due to the low age of victims. Overall, victims of trafficking for labour, begging and delinquency came from "poor" economic backgrounds.²⁵ However, in 2004, one-third of victims trafficked for begging and delinquency, the majority of whom were minors, were from "average" economic backgrounds (Surtees 2005). These findings are consistent with recent research on vulnerability to trafficking in Romania, which found that intending migrants do not usually have a very low financial status. And, in terms of an objective measurement of income, there is often little difference between 'vulnerable' girls and 'average' households (Alexandru and Lazaroiu, 2003: 34).

Recruitment Experience: In both years, the vast majority of victims trafficked for labour, begging and delinquency resided with their family at recruitment. Strikingly, no victims were residing in an institution at recruitment in spite of the high number of children in Romania in state institutions. However, the way in which data is collected does not always accurately capture data about this indicator. Some victims living alone or with friends may have been raised in an institution.²⁶

A victim's relationship to the recruiter can be a central facilitator in recruitment. Where the victim has an existing relationship with the recruiter, they are less likely to be suspicious of the work offered and promises made. Certainly this is borne out amongst Romanian victims of labour exploitation, begging and delinquency, who, for the most part, were recruited by someone known and trusted by them. These findings make clear the role that trust and contacts play in both the migration and trafficking process.

Trafficking Experience: Increasingly, victims trafficked for labour exploitation, begging and delinquency passed borders legally and with legal documents. This trend has also been noted throughout the region as a strategy of traffickers to render victims less visible.²⁷

As many Romanian minors trafficked for begging and delinquency were accompanied by parents or relatives, legal crossing was feasible. Some parents stayed with the child in the destination country, while others returned to Romania, leaving the child with relatives or

²³ This is because most service providers in Romania did not systematically record this information as part of case management.

²⁴ Interview with Daniela Nicolaescu and Daniela Munteanu, Salvati Copii, Romania, January 2005.

²⁵ This must be read with the caveat that economic status is based on the victim's self-described economic situation, rather than on an objective measure of wealth. Further, each country in SEE has different economic standards and conceptions of "poor" or "average" vary accordingly.

²⁶ This is corroborated by the findings of one survey in which one victim who had been raised in a state residential care institution was, in fact, living on the streets at recruitment and had done so for years (ILO IPEC, 2003b: 20). This was also noted amongst Romanian victims of sexual exploitation.

²⁷ This is feasible because Romanian citizens are now able to enter the Schengen region without visas.

friends.²⁸ This implies that families provided the necessary consent for their children to travel internationally and may even have been complicit in trafficking. Family involvement in trafficking raises questions about reintegration possibilities as well as the risk of re-trafficking. Generally, minor victims of labour trafficking were not trafficked with their families, although one minor male was trafficked with both of his parents to work on a pig farm in Croatia.

Victims of labour trafficking were exploited for different types of labour – domestic work, agriculture, industry, waitressing and selling. Victims of begging and delinquency were obliged to undertake various acts of delinquency, although, in most cases, these were begging and petty crime. In one unusual case, the victim herself, having been trafficked to Italy, was given the “choice” of whether to steal, provide sexual services or beg in front of the local grocery store. She chose the latter.

Year	Trafficking for Labour		Trafficking for Begging and Delinquency	
	2003	2004	2003	2004
Croatia	0	1	0	0
Italy	1	2	0	8
Romania	0	1	0	0
Unknown ³⁰	0	3	0	0
Total	1	7	0	8

In 2004, five of the victims (62.5%) were trafficked for petty crime, while three victims (37.5%) were trafficked for begging. There were also instances where victims suffered multiple forms of exploitation. One victim in Italy was forced to beg, do all of the domestic work for the family with whom she was living and was also obliged to provide sexual services to male family members.

In both years, living conditions for victims of labour trafficking were, for the most part, “poor”. However, some changes occurred, which may signal an overall improvement in conditions. From 2003 to 2004, fewer victims endured “very poor” living conditions and more victims in 2004 reported “average” living conditions. Amongst victims of begging and delinquency, living conditions were “poor”,³¹ although 2004 saw an improvement, with some victims reporting “average” or “good” conditions. There were no parallel improvements in working conditions. Of note was the use of sexual violence in 2004 for victims of both labour and begging/delinquency. Abuse was used as a means to break down the victim’s resistance to the trafficker as well as increase their work efficiency. Particularly worrisome is the impact that this form of abuse have on minors. Most minors trafficked both for labour and begging/delinquency were identified by law enforcement authorities.

²⁸ Interview with Daniela Nicolaescu and Daniela Munteanu, Salvati Copii, 27 January 2005, Romania, cf. ENACT & STC, 2004: 64.

²⁹ Destination countries for adult victims included EU countries (Belgium, Greece, Italy and Spain) as well as SE European countries (BiH, Croatia, Macedonia, the province of Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro). Please note, while Kosovo is a province within the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, this province is separated out as a distinct entity in an effort to analyse the specific trafficking context of the province as well as to provide a more detailed picture of trafficking patterns, trends and profiles within the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro as well as the SE European region more generally. It should not be read as a political statement.

³⁰ Due to limitations in the format that data was provided by some partner organisations, it is not possible to note the destination country for all Romanian minors trafficked for labour in 2004.

³¹ This is consistent with research on trafficking of minors for begging and delinquency, which found victims exposed to harsh living conditions, deprived of proper housing, adequate food and rest time and exposed to the risks of street life (ILO IPEC 2003b: 38).

2.1.3: Moldovan minors trafficked for labour, begging and delinquency

Moldovan minors were trafficked for all three forms of trafficking. Further, data from destination countries, like Russia, suggest that the prevalence of trafficking of Moldovan minors for begging and delinquency was higher than is reflected in the table below.

TABLE 6		
NUMBER OF ASSISTED MOLDOVAN MINORS TRAFFICKED FOR LABOUR, BEGGING AND DELINQUENCY, 2003 AND 2004 ³²		
Forms of Trafficking	2003	2004
Labour Exploitation	13	3
Begging and Delinquency	5	9

Individual Characteristics: Moldovans minors trafficked for labour were both male and female from 2002 to 2004. Those trafficked for begging and delinquency were exclusively female until 2003 when four male victims of trafficking for begging and delinquency were assisted. Some were trafficked on their own, while some were trafficked only with their families. In 2004, among assisted victims were six male minors, all of whom were trafficked with their family. In one case, an entire family – father, mother and two sons – were trafficked for begging to Poland. In other instances, male minors were trafficked only with their mothers. This phenomenon of “family trafficking” may provide some degree of protection for minors, although how much is unclear. Victims trafficked with their children were usually not sent out to beg with their children. Rather, they were assigned other children and their children sent out with other adults, a strategy serving to constrain escape attempts. As many assisted minor victims were, in fact, trafficked with family or their mother, it would also be worth considering what factors lead to parents being trafficked with their child rather than leaving the child at home. One victim was badly abused by her husband and, in an effort to escape, accepted a work offer that led her (and her two children) to being trafficked for begging.

Victims of labour trafficking were without any noted physical or mental disabilities whereas disabilities were noted amongst minors trafficked for delinquency and begging in 2003. In one instance, a female minor was trafficked to Russia for begging where she was forced to sit in a wheelchair and simulate a physical disability. To make her foot numb, her traffickers injected her leg with an anaesthetizing substance (IPP, 2004: 40, 10).

Overall, victims trafficked for begging and delinquency were quite poor.³³ Whereas victims of labour (and sexual exploitation) were sometimes from “average” or even “well off” economic backgrounds, only one victim of begging/delinquency (assisted in 2003) was from an “average” economic background. Rather, the majority of victims were either “poor” or “very poor”. The strong correlation between economic background and trafficking vulnerability for this category of victim is perhaps not surprising, given that a poor appearance is directly germane to the enterprise of begging.

Recruitment Experience: The majority of victims from 2002 to 2004 were residing with their families at recruitment, a residence pattern that did not provide adequate guard against

³² The total number of Moldovan victims of trafficking for labour, begging and delinquency (minors and adults) was 76 in 2003 (62 for labour and 14 for begging and delinquency) and 46 in 2004 (23 for labour and 23 for begging and delinquency). The precise age of all 23 assisted victims of labour exploitation in 2004 was unknown; precise data was available only for 20 of the 23 victims. While there were other Moldovan victims of trafficking for labour in 2003 and 2004, this was generally a combination of labour and sexual exploitation, with sexual exploitation as the primary objective of trafficking. These cases are excluded in an effort to draw clearer profiles of victims of other forms of trafficking. In only two instances do the cases involve dual forms of exploitation – one in 2003 and one in 2004 – when the victim was both a victim of trafficking for labour and for begging. In these cases, the victim was an adult, and so not considered in the data above.

³³ This must be read with the caveat that economic status is based on the victim’s self-described economic situation, rather than on an objective measure of wealth. Further, each country in SEE has different economic standards and conceptions of “poor” or “average” vary accordingly.

trafficking.³⁴ While victims resided with their families, the exact composition of these families – nuclear or extended, one, two or three generations, specific family composition, etc. – is unclear. Attention to these variables may identify relevant sites of vulnerability as well as entry points for preventative interventions.

Most victims of trafficking for begging and delinquency were recruited by strangers, which stands in contrast to victims recruited for labour exploitation who were, for the most part, in 2002 and 2003, recruited by persons known and trusted by them, such as friends and family.

Trafficking Experience: Whereas in 2002 all victims of begging crossed at illegal border crossings, by 2003 and 2004 more victims crossed at legal borders and travelled with legal documents. As many minor victims were transported with their parents, this likely mitigated the risk of detection.

Year	Trafficking for Labour		Trafficking for Begging and Delinquency	
	2003	2004	2003	2004
Province of Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro)	1	0	0	0
Macedonia	1	0	0	0
Moldova	0	1	0	0
Poland	0	0	2	6
Russia	1	0	3	2
Ukraine	1	1	0	1
Unknown ³⁵	9	1	0	0
Total	13	3	5	9

Victims trafficked for begging/delinquency were generally exposed to poor working conditions. Living conditions were also quite poor, with many victims living together in one room. They generally had some freedom of movement, but victims reported that traffickers were particularly attuned to victims who posed flight risks and abused those who might be tempted to flee. This had a restraining effect on the others. Victims were generally deprived of sufficient food and some even returned home malnourished. This is particularly worrying in the case of minors, as lack of nutrition has a deleterious effect on physical and mental development. Victims were often forced to sit in the streets for long periods without moving, without food and exposed to the elements, which, in destinations like Poland, Russia and Ukraine, can be severe. Those who did not earn enough money were punished with violence.³⁶ Working conditions for those trafficked for labour exploitation were also cause for concern. One victim trafficked as a domestic worker in Turkey worked long hours every day and received no time off, contrary to what she had been promised at recruitment. Two other victims trafficked to Ukraine for agricultural labour worked under very strenuous conditions from 4:00 am to 10:00 pm, were kept confined and received no payment.

³⁴ This finding is consistent with a qualitative study in which only ten of 48 families of migrating children opposed their decision to migrate for work (IPP, 2004: 24). This lack of intervention or further investigation of the migration options by families is noteworthy.

³⁵ Due to limitations in the format that data was provided by some partner organizations, it is not possible to note the destination country for all Moldovan minors trafficked for labour in 2003 and 2004.

³⁶ According to one qualitative study, children trafficked for begging worked on average eight to twelve hours a day/night, and slept for seven to eight hours. Forty-four of the 60 children surveyed worked seven days a week and 21 of them worked seven nights per week. Of the 60 children, only three reported that their employer gave them the money that they had earned, while the remaining 57 said they received no payment for their work (IPP, 2004: 39).

Service providers report a greater likelihood that victims of trafficking for labour, begging and delinquency return having earned and saved some money. Over the course of trafficking, they may have sent remittances home and/or may return home with some money. While far less than what was promised, these victims generally have a greater chance than victims of sexual exploitation of returning home with some funds.³⁷ Earning money may lead victims of labour trafficking not to perceive themselves as victims, which, in turn, may influence their decision to seek or accept assistance. One service provider expressed concern about the reintegration of this particular group as they have been exposed to the possibility of earning money through begging – EUR 100 to 200 passed through their hands in a day – making reintegration, in which they receive only minimal financial assistance, problematic.

While most victims of labour exploitation in 2002 and 2004 were identified by law enforcement authorities, victims identified and assisted in 2003 were identified by a range of other actors as well – NGOs, IOM, embassies, and victim’s themselves. Whereas in 2002 and 2003 all victims of begging/delinquency were identified by law enforcement, in 2004, victims were identified in roughly equal numbers by law enforcement, international organizations, and NGOs.

2.1.4: Albanian minors trafficked for labour, begging and delinquency

Albanian minors were trafficked for both labour and for begging or delinquency. In two cases in 2003 and 2004, they were also exposed to dual forms of exploitation – forced to sell and beg on the street.

TABLE 8		
NUMBER OF ASSISTED ALBANIAN MINORS TRAFFICKED FOR LABOUR, BEGGING AND DELINQUENCY, 2003 AND 2004 ³⁸		
	2003	2004
Labour Exploitation	5	10
Begging and Delinquency	20	30
Labour, Begging and Delinquency	1	1

Individual Characteristics: The majority of Albanian victims of trafficking for labour and begging were male – 69.2 per cent in 2003 and 70.5 per cent in 2004. This contrasts with other SEE countries where victims trafficked for labour, begging and delinquency were primarily female. It is unclear what accounts for this radically different gender composition.

Victims had low education levels due, at least in part, to their young age. In a large number of cases, minors had less than primary school education or no education at all.³⁹ Further, the number of victims with no education increased over time. A corollary and perhaps partial explanation for the low education level of victims is the overall low educational attainment of victims’ parents. Among minors assisted by TdH and NPF (both trafficking victims and minors “at risk”), only 6 per cent of fathers and 3 per cent of mothers had more than eight years of schooling (NPF and Tdh, 2005: 10).

³⁷ That being said, there are some destination countries in the SEE region where victims trafficked for sexual exploitation were able to save and even remit funds to their family. Earning a small sum, albeit less than what was promised, is apparently a strategy on the part of traffickers to stifle the desire to escape and to forge compliance with their exploitation. Cf. Surtees 2005, Andreani and Raviv, 2004, Hunzinger and Sumner-Coffey, 2003.

³⁸ The total number of Albanian victims of trafficking for labour, begging and delinquency (minors and adults) was 26 in 2003 (five for labour, 20 for begging and delinquency and one for a combination of the two) and 44 in 2004 (12 for labour, 31 for begging and delinquency and one for a combination of the two).

³⁹ Many victims were Roma or Egyptian, who have a relatively low average education level. Overall, Roma attended four years of school, while Egyptians attended an average of five years. Further, a large number of ethnic minorities have never attended school, accounting for 62 per cent of Roma and 24 per cent of Egyptian between the ages of seven and 20 years (Beddies et al., 2003: 100).

A disproportionate number of victims were from ethnic minorities, Egyptian, Roma, or mixed ethnicity – 88.5 per cent in 2003 (or 23 victims) and 70.9 per cent in 2004 (or 22 victims). These findings are particularly striking as only an estimated 3 per cent of the population of Albania are Roma (World Bank, 2001). It is acknowledged that Roma and Egyptian minorities are among the poorest and most socially marginalized in Albania. Service providers report that a significant number of victims of labour and begging are without identity documents and that, in many cases, their birth has never been registered. As such, they lack access to social support and benefits, such as medical care, educational programmes, social assistance, etc.

Generally, victims came from "poor" or "very poor" economic backgrounds,⁴⁰ again in line with the overall living standards of Roma and Egyptian minorities in Albania who constituted a significant minority of assisted victims.⁴¹ Of note, in 2004, a handful of victims reported coming from an "average" economic background, the first year in which this finding was documented.⁴²

It may also be in the more subtle family tensions that we can identify behaviours that increase trafficking vulnerability. Many minors assisted by TdH and NPF (both trafficking victims and minors "at risk"), came from what was termed "unstable" family environments. In 25 per cent of cases, the biological parents no longer lived together, with 13 per cent living with one parent, 5 per cent without any parent and 6 per cent living in a recomposed family (NPF and Tdh, 2005: 10). Other overarching family issues may include lack of quality family interaction, poor communication between parents and children, and weak integration into the family environment. Social relations more generally may also be salient, especially given that so many victims of trafficking for labour, begging and delinquency were from poor and socially marginalized groups.

Recruitment Experience: An increasing number of assisted victims were working at recruitment, polishing shoes, selling items on the street, working as a salesperson and begging. Indeed, a large proportion of victims were begging at recruitment – 80 per cent in 2003 and 73.3 per cent in 2004. For the most part, victims were recruited with promises of tasks that they were already undertaking in Albania.

Also salient is the employment rate of victims' parents, given that all victims were minors and residing with their family at recruitment. Of the minors assisted by Tdh and NPF (both victims and "at risk" minors), 80 per cent of their families suffered unemployment (NPF and Tdh, 2005: 10; cf. ILO-IPEC, 2003a: 9).⁴³ As such, the unemployment of parents is an important contributor to trafficking and makes clear the need for vocational training and job placement programmes that specifically target the parents/families of trafficked minors. Where parents are able to work and support their families, there is decreased pressure for children to work. However, the social acceptability of child labour in Albania also complicates prevention efforts.

⁴⁰ This must be read with the caveat that economic status is based on the victim's self-described economic situation, rather than on an objective measure of wealth. Further, each country in SEE has different economic standards and conceptions of "poor" or "average" vary accordingly.

⁴¹ Roma and Egyptian household incomes are less than half that of Albanian urban household incomes at the national level. Further, over 40 per cent of Roma families and 30 per cent of Egyptian families do not have running water in their homes, most live in makeshift or dilapidated homes and face difficulties in obtaining social assistance (Beddies et al., 2003: 15).

⁴² Investigating the background and recruitment experience of victims from "average" economic backgrounds would be useful in determining alternative contributors to these forms of trafficking. In some cases, poverty may not be the single most critical push factor for trafficking. One push factor is the desire to realize personal and/or professional aspirations. Victims from "average" economic backgrounds may be particularly dissatisfied with the limited options available to them at home. It would also be helpful to identify what, if any, strategies are used by the poor in Albania to guard against trafficking. Many poor children are not trafficked but it is not clear whether this is due to protection and prevention strategies having been developed and mobilized within their communities.

⁴³ In 2002, the national unemployment rate level was approximately 16 per cent. However, unemployment among Roma and Egyptian was far higher – 71 per cent and 67 per cent respectively of the working age population. Further, 88 per cent of Roma and 83 per cent of Egyptian were unemployed for more than one year (Beddies et al., 2003: 18).

Trafficking Experience: Minor victims of labour exploitation were primarily tasked with selling, generally small items on the street. In such cases, there is a degree of fluidity with begging and two victims were required to both beg and sell. Minors trafficked for begging and delinquency were generally tasked only with begging, which differs from minor victims from Bulgaria who were often obliged to both beg and steal.

The majority of victims crossed borders illegally, either with false documents or no documents at all. This differs from minors trafficked from Moldova, Romania and Bulgaria. One victim described his journey to Greece as follows: "A person came by car to our house with two other children and a woman. Close to customs only we, the children, got out of the car. A young boy took us and ordered us to follow him without talking. It was dark and the road was difficult. The other two children, who were smaller than me, were exhausted. After midnight we met up with the person again and the woman. They were waiting for us with another taxi, this time with a Greek license" (ILO-IPEC, 2003a: 25)

For all victims assisted between 2001 and 2003, Greece was the intended destination country. In 2004, a few victims were promised work in other locations, including France and Italy, the province of Kosovo and within Albania. Overall, victims were trafficked to the country/entities where they were promised work. Some minors were also trafficked internally within Albania. One 11-year-old boy from Elbasan was trafficked to Durres where his sister-in-law forced him to beg. This may be an emerging trend, possibly due to greater difficulty in crossing borders and increased public awareness of the issue in destination countries/entities.

Until 2004, the majority of victims were identified by law enforcement. In 2004, slightly fewer victims were identified by law enforcement, with marginally increased number of victims identified by NGOs. This is likely due to the increased activities of NGOs in origin and destination countries. Also noteworthy is the number of self and family referrals, suggesting that assistance and services are increasingly visible in the community, both within Albania and abroad.

2.2: Trafficking for Adoption

To date, there have been only nine cases of trafficking for adoption documented amongst assisted victims in SEE, all from Bulgaria and all in the latter part of 2004. In addition to assisted cases, there were other signals of this form of trafficking. The Bulgarian border police investigated 30 cases of trafficking for adoption to EU countries.⁴⁴ And one victim, assisted by Animus Association, reported that her traffickers had threatened to sell her baby for adoption. She escaped before this could happen.⁴⁵

Recent media reports suggest that this form of trafficking poses serious risks to minors in the region. In July 2004, French police uncovered a baby trafficking ring that had allegedly sold at least two Bulgarian children to French couples (Bell, 2004), while in Italy, police arrested six people who had recruited pregnant Bulgarian women to trafficking their babies (AGI, 2004). One source from the Department for Youth Affairs of Balti City in Moldova recounted a case of a mother selling her newborn baby to traffickers who took the baby abroad to foreign parents for adoption (IPP, 2004: 7). Other investigations in Italy uncovered trafficking for illegal adoption, including eight children in 1998 and 1999, seven Albanians and one Belorussian (IOM, 2001: 160). There were also serious allegations of trafficking for adoption from BiH, with adoptive parents originating from Austria and Germany (Andreani and Raviv, 2004: 48). Moreover, in 2003, the media reported the case of an Albanian boy trafficked to Italy for adoption. His parents were said to have received a television as compensation (Wood 2003, cf. Albanian News Agency, 2003; Pulaj, 2004; ILO-IPEC, 2003a: 10). The opaque nature of the adoption systems in many countries provides ample space for the exploitation of

⁴⁴ Interview with Svetoslav Tanev, Head of Sector, National Border Police Service, Ministry of the Interior, Sofia, Bulgaria, 8 February 2005.

⁴⁵ Interview with Nadia Kozhouharova, Animus Association, Sofia, Bulgaria, 9 February 2005. Similarly, one victim trafficked to Montenegro was threatened with the sale of her child when she fell pregnant during her trafficking experience. She escaped before the baby was born (Surtees, 2005).

birth families, children, and potential adoptive parents.⁴⁶ Some children may be trafficked abroad through an illegal adoption process to new families by whom they are raised, while, in other cases, adoption may be used for the purpose of exploiting the child's labour (UNICEF, 1999: 2).

Far more information is needed about this form of trafficking to appreciate not only the causes and contributing factors but also the assistance and protection needs of this profile of victims. As a step in this direction, below we provide an outline of this form of trafficking to illuminate both risks and assistance needs.⁴⁷

2.2.1: Bulgarian minors trafficked for adoption

To date, there have been only nine cases of trafficking for adoption documented amongst assisted victims in the region.

TABLE 9		
NUMBER OF BULGARIAN MINORS TRAFFICKED ADOPTION, 2003 AND 2004		
Form of Trafficking	2003	2004
Adoption	0	9

Individual Characteristics: In all cases, it was the mother who was directly involved in the trafficking process. Seven of the nine mothers were between 18 and 25 years, while two were between 26 and 35 years of age. Babies of both sexes were trafficked for adoption as newborns. Mothers went to the destination country while pregnant; the baby was born there and immediately adopted. Six of the mothers were unmarried, two were married, and one was a widow. In seven of the nine cases, the women were (or would become) single mothers. Many of the women already had children. One mother – a woman of just 24 years – was the mother of ten children already when she became pregnant.

Education levels of mothers were very low – three had no education, three had less than primary school education, and three had only primary school education. These education levels were lower than Bulgarian victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation, but generally consistent with Bulgarian victims of trafficking for labour, begging, and delinquency.

Most victims (66.7% or four victims) were from "very poor" families, while equal numbers (16.7% or one victim respectively) were "poor", and from an "average" economic background.⁴⁸ There may be an ethnic component to this form of trafficking, with the majority of victims – 77.8 per cent or seven victims – originating from an ethnic minority. How ethnicity and trafficking intersect in these cases is unclear, as poverty and social disenfranchisement is closely associated with being an ethnic minority in Bulgaria.

⁴⁶ Romania was formerly a "source" country for international adoption. However, on 21 June 2004, Romanian President Iliescu signed into law a draft adoption bill that limits international adoption to a child's grandparents. The US government raised objections to this law on the grounds that the Romanian government does not have the domestic capacity to care for children in institutions (JCICS, 2004a and 2004b). By contrast, the EU commended Romania on the new law, concerned that Romania's adoption system was open to abuse by child traffickers. While the government placed a moratorium on international adoptions four years ago, hundreds of adoptions out of Romania proceeded nonetheless. The new law states that adoption would be considered as a "last resort" for orphaned or abandoned children, and that Romanian couples seeking to adopt children would be given priority over foreign nationals (AFP, 2004).

⁴⁷ In the presentation of these cases, one caveat is essential. The main source of information was the mothers. Those who have been complicit in trafficking their child will have a vested interest in conveying their experience in ways that diminish their criminal complicity. This is not meant to imply that all mothers whose babies are trafficked will be criminally complicit, only that the information must be read against this possible backdrop.

⁴⁸ However, in three cases, information about this indicator was incomplete. Further, this section must be read with the caveat that economic status is based on the victim's self-described economic situation, rather than on an objective measure of wealth. Further, each country in SEE has different economic standards and conceptions of "poor" or "average" vary accordingly.

Family relations were variable. Most mothers reported "good" or "normal" family relations, while a minority reported "difficult" relations.⁴⁹ Although only one mother had suffered domestic violence, three others had suffered some form of abuse prior to trafficking their child, by a friend or an acquaintance. As such, four of nine mothers were victims of abuse or violence prior to trafficking.

Recruitment Experience: Seven mothers lived with their families when they were approached to adopt out their child, while one lived alone, and one lived with a friend. None were employed at recruitment. Recruitment was generally by male strangers or acquaintances, although one woman was recruited by a friend. Of the six victims assisted by IOM, the recruiters were mainly Roma, both from Bulgaria and the destination country. There were also victims recruited by ethnic Turkish recruiters.

Recruitment experiences varied. Most victims were pregnant when they were recruited, although one victim became pregnant as a result of recruitment. The precise sequence was difficult to ascertain in all cases. Further, mothers' complicity in trafficking for adoption can, in different instances, be difficult to establish. Some mothers may have been genuinely deceived, lured by the promise of money. Others seem to have been semi-aware of what was to take place and still others agreed to the trafficking but subsequently changed their minds. In these nine cases, the mothers were apparently complicit in trafficking and were aware of the purpose of their journey to the destination country. The level of threat or coercion used by traffickers/recruiters was unclear.⁵⁰

In all cases, the mother was promised money for the adoption.⁵¹ And, in at least three cases, these women were also offered the possibility of work abroad. But this was often not the mother's only motivation. Most mothers said that they felt that the child would have a better life if s/he were adopted and living abroad. As many of the mothers already had children, adoption was also a means to support the children they already had. One mother was ill during her pregnancy and feared being unable to care for her child, which she said led her to accept the adoption offer.

Trafficking Experience: All mothers crossed borders legally and with legal documents. They generally travelled overland, by car or bus, although one victim travelled by air. Usually the women travelled in the early stages of their pregnancy, making it difficult for border authorities to identify anything suspicious. The two destination countries for trafficking for adoption were France and Greece. In addition, information from police sources indicated that Italy was also a country of destination, although not among these nine victims.

Mothers trafficked to Greece were accommodated in places owned by the recruiters. They remained at these premises for several months, the duration of their pregnancy. The women generally reported "normal" living conditions and receiving regular pre-natal medical consultations and examinations. They did, however, complain about receiving poor quality food and being denied freedom of movement. In addition, a number of mothers complained about suffering abuse – mental (2), physical (1), mental and physical (1), and sexual (1).

After giving birth, the women received a small amount of money and were returned to Bulgaria. The child was immediately adopted. The process was facilitated in some cases by a Greek national –generally the adopting father – claiming the child and listing himself as the child's birth father. Several months later the mothers returned to Greece to receive the rest of

⁴⁹ Analysis of family relations is based on victims' self-described assessment of family and home relations. As such, it is not only informed by the victim's individual subjectivity, but also linked to the victim's relationship with the interviewer, with victims less likely to provide intimate details about family violence and conflict in the absence of an existing relationship of trust.

⁵⁰ More information is needed about the full recruitment dynamic if we are to prevent the proliferation of this phenomenon as well as identify means by which such victims can be assisted and reintegrated.

⁵¹ Police sources report that mothers received between EUR 1,000 and 1,500 from the trafficker who then sold the baby for EUR 10,000 to 12,000 (Interview with Svetoslav Tanev, Head of Sector, National Border Police Service, Ministry of the Interior, Sofia, Bulgaria, 8 February 2005).

the promised sum and to finalize the adoption procedure. The adoption was legalized through an adoption company. In many cases the adoptive parents were not only aware of the trafficking process, but were also involved in the operation, most often providing the means of transport to the destination country and care during the pregnancy.⁵²

Law enforcement authorities identified most cases of adoption. In both instances – in France and in Greece – this was the result of joint law enforcement efforts of the Bulgarian police and their Greek and French counterparts. In one instance the mother, who had originally agreed to the adoption, changed her mind and approached the police in France for assistance.

3: Conceptualizing Interventions

The analysis above is a first step in the articulation of victim profiles of minors trafficked from and within SEE for labour, begging, delinquency and adoption. This allows us to pinpoint sites of vulnerability and risk factors as well as better understand recruitment and trafficking experiences. But this understanding is only the first step, albeit an important one. It is urgent that we move rapidly from understanding to policy and interventions that prevent and redress these manifestations of trafficking in minors. The profiles outlined above flag some key areas for consideration in terms of the development and tailoring of interventions and assistance. As such, we will now consider the existing assistance framework in the region and how this does (or does not) meet the needs of these minors. For example, where families were complicit in the trafficking of their children, what options are available for sustainable reintegration? In communities where labour exploitation and begging are commonplace and socially normative, what possibilities and solutions does the standard reintegration model present? What are appropriate programmatic responses for minors of these different forms of trafficking? What specific options are appropriate for minors who have been trafficked for adoption by their mother?

Currently in SE Europe, the available assistance is geared toward a prototypical trafficking victim – a young, poor, uneducated woman trafficked for sexual exploitation for long periods of time and exposed to extensive and myriad forms of abuse. However, this report highlights that trafficking for other purposes is increasingly being identified in SEE, particularly amongst minors. And specialized assistance for minor trafficking victims is lacking throughout the region. Many service providers in SEE continue to handle cases of trafficked minors in much the same way as trafficked adults. In most countries, there are no specialized interview procedures, identification processes or formal referral mechanisms in place for minors. Further, many states do not routinely appoint legal guardians for minors; most minors are sheltered with adults and receive the same medical, psychological, legal, and repatriation services as adults. While there are a number of positive examples in various SEE countries,⁵³ significantly more attention must be paid to the development of services for minors. Consideration should also be given to the needs of minors at different ages, at different stages of development and with different experiences of exploitation. Specialized assistance is needed for babies who have been trafficked for adoption, children trafficked with their mother/families, children born as a result of their mother's trafficking experience, male minor trafficking victims, and minor victims of varying ages. Service providers (and donors) should be increasingly flexible in terms of services provided as well as aware of the specific and changing needs of different profiles of victims. Some of the issues and gaps that were noted in the course of this research are highlighted below. While it is not an exhaustive list, it can be read as a starting point for discussion in the development, tailoring and implementation of services for minors of these less considered forms of trafficking.

⁵² Correspondence with Nikolai Nenkov, IOM Bulgaria, 28 May 2005.

⁵³ These include the children's wing in the IOM Rehabilitation Centre in Moldova, good parenting classes offered by Salvati Copii (Moldova), UNICEF and UNMIK's Kosovo's handbook *Developing Effective Communication with Child Victims of Abuse and Human Trafficking*, shelters tailored for minors in Romania and Bulgaria and government return procedures for Bulgarian minors. For more details of the specialized assistance available to minor victims of trafficking in SEE, please see the Regional Clearing Point's *Second Annual Report on Victims of Trafficking in SE Europe*. Various SEE countries have initiated measures to ensure protection and assistance to minors, which are outlined in the individual country reports. See Surtees 2005.

3.1: Availability of Services and Protection for Male Minors

Currently victims in SE Europe are generally assisted in the context of shelters designed to respond primarily to female victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation. As such, many service providers are ill equipped to support male minors who are identified. While young male minors can and, at times are, accommodated in these shelters, this is seldom an appropriate and healthy environment for the minor or for other residents.

Some male minors were accommodated alongside their mothers and in these circumstances this may be feasible in the short term and as an emergency approach. This allows mothers and children to stay together. It is not, however, ideal either for the mother/son or for the other victims accommodated at the shelter unless separate facilities and services are provided. Even more difficult is assistance for unaccompanied adolescent male minors who require accommodation, short or long term. In such cases, it is uncommon for service providers to provide even this temporary and less than ideal shelter option. In one instance in 2004, a 16-year-old male minor from Bulgaria trafficked to Serbia for begging, was temporarily accommodated in the shelter for foreign (female) victims while his documents were secured. However, because the shelter was not equipped to accommodate him and other services were not identified by the referring agency, he was sent home after only a few days. As problematic was the return itself. He was given a train ticket and sent home unaccompanied and without notifying service providers at the destination. No family or security assessment was undertaken in spite of the fact that he was trafficked by his mother. He was also not referred for assistance in Bulgaria and the Bulgarian service providers had not been contacted by or provided assistance to this minor.

More thought is needed to the services available to male minors trafficked abroad and within their own country. Shelter and other assistance programmes should be able to accommodate and assist boys as well as girl minors. Male victims have the same rights as female victims and often require similar forms of assistance and protection. Service providers will require skills to support and assist male victims as well as be able to identify their needs.

3.2: Assistance Tailored to the Specific Needs of Minors

Also salient is the type of assistance available to minor victims generally. As noted above, most assistance has been designed and tailored to the needs of young adult women trafficked for sexual exploitation. However, trafficked minors for all forms of exploitation have their own specific assistance needs. While on paper the inventory of assistance and service may appear the same, in practice, this is not the case. Not only are the assistance needs different but so too are the ways that this assistance must be implemented. That is, while all victims require access to medical care, the type of service will vary. Minor victims of labour trafficking will generally need medical assistance that considers how labour exploitation has impacted their physical development and general health. This might include injuries sustained while labouring, the impact of beatings and abuse, retarded growth due to insufficient food, chronic illness exacerbated by lack of medical care, etc. Further, in cases where labour trafficking involved sexual abuse, gynaecological exams are needed but must be implemented according to "child friendly" protocols. Someone trained in child psychology rather than a generalist should provide psychological care to minors. Similarly, legal assistance must be adapted to the needs and specific context of minor victims including the appointment by the state of a legal guardian and the capacity of minors to fully understand and make informed decisions about the legal process. Moreover, all interactions and interviewing of minors must be guided by child-friendly techniques and all social care actors trained in these skills.

Beyond immediate assistance, there is a need for long-term support and reintegration of minor victims of trafficking. This includes, but is not limited to, family mediation and counselling, education⁵⁴ and training programmes, long term medical care and psychological

⁵⁴ Lack of education and often even the lack of basic literacy underlines the importance of education reinsertion programmes, alternative education models and vocational training for minor victims. As well, there is a need to consider how prevention efforts can be better targeted as many minors do not have access to information through formal schooling or even informal education programmes or clubs. With low education amongst many victim's parents, the educational and training needs of parents also have a place within the assistance framework. Further, prevention must target parents in appropriate venues and at an appropriate education/literacy level.

support. Case monitoring and follow-up constitutes a gap in many countries in the region and this poses particular problems in the case of minors. There needs to be continuity of care in the long term and enduring attention to minors, which is not always necessary (or desirable) for adults.

Moreover, the development of programmes for minors is an ongoing process with new groups of “at-risk” and “vulnerable” minors regularly being identified. Service providers at the Minors and Child-Friendly Wing of the IOM rehabilitation centre in Moldova currently work with five distinct target groups of minors: (1) minor victims of trafficking (generally 14-16-year-old girls trafficked for sexual exploitation); (2) children trafficked with their mother/parent; (3) mothers who return home pregnant or with a baby; (4) children left in Moldova while their mother was trafficked and reunited with the mother during her rehabilitation, and (5) minors victims of trafficking (young males, 16-17 years old). Attention to diversity within minors and changes in profiles and experiences is essential.

3.3: Reintegration Options when Families are Complicit in Trafficking

Families were variably complicit in the trafficking of minors discussed in this paper. In Bulgaria, all victims were recruited by a family member, although some were close and some were extended family. In Albania and Romania, trafficking frequently occurred with family awareness, if not consent. And in both Moldova and Romania, trafficking often involved trafficking of the family as a whole. While, ideally, family reunification (accompanied by family counselling and support) should be pursued for minors, the issue of family involvement in the trafficking poses serious difficulties in reintegration. Return to a family that has been complicit in trafficking places the minor in an acutely vulnerable position with serious risks of re-trafficking.⁵⁵ Even where parents were not overtly complicit, as in the Moldovan cases where parents thought that the family was migrating for work, there are issues in terms of reintegration, with both the parent and child requiring assistance and case monitoring. As critical is that traffickers may seek to re-traffick minors and their families may be without the power to stop them. One boy explained of his return: “When I came home I did not feel really welcome. They (the parents) already knew that I had escaped from the exploiter. He called them and threatened them, asking them to give back the money he had spent on my trip to Greece if I did not go back. My father was angry because he could not see a way to pay him back” (ILO-IPEC, 2003a: 32).

At the same time, alternatives to reintegration in SE Europe are sorely lacking. The poor quality of care in state institutions in all four countries makes this a less than ideal alternative. And generally, other care options – like temporary placement with a foster family, boarding schools, community-based care for vulnerable children – have not been widely explored and implemented. These should be considered in greater profile. For example, foster care placements could be considered in the case of trafficked minors, where the family was complicit. Where this is to be pursued, appropriate training and orientation of foster families is essential to facilitate the successful placement of the minor as well as mitigate tension in the family. Further, while foster care presents one care option to be further explored, it is difficult to have foster care in countries like Bulgaria, Romania, Albania and Moldova where there are so many minors in need.

Another pivotal challenge is the issue of reintegration of victims of trafficking for adoption. In all cases, the baby was returned to the mother following identification. Efforts were made to mobilize the support of the local level commissions and child protection agencies throughout the country to support reintegration. The risk that the babies will be re-trafficked either for adoption or when they are older for other purposes remains a concern. Unless the material and social conditions that contributed to trafficking are addressed, re-trafficking poses a

⁵⁵ That family and security assessments are a requisite component of the return of all Bulgarian minors stands as a good practice by Bulgarian authorities and serves to anticipate some of the problems of family reintegration. These recently implemented mechanisms for family and risk assessment should, in the future, identify where there has been family involvement in trafficking and develop a reintegration plan for the minor that takes these risks into account.

serious threat to the protection of these children.⁵⁶ From a criminal perspective, determining the mother's complicity is both essential and problematic. Excessive focus on the criminal prosecution of mothers poses serious problems for reintegration efforts. It also ignores the mother's own social victimization which, based on preliminary victim profiles, appears pronounced. At the same time, the criminal complicity of parents cannot be ignored, if for no other reason than it affects directly the care and safety of the child.

3.4: Targeted Prevention Programmes for Minors

In the development of prevention messages, specific attention is needed to how minors process information and how they digest messages. Minors and children have different ways of seeing the world and we are not always effective in our messages to them. Vivid illustration of this point can be found in a recent study on trafficking awareness which reviewed awareness-raising campaigns from the perspective of minors, with attention to how they saw and reacted to the messages. Often minors saw and understood the messages differently from how they were intended. In considering one poster in which a woman is portrayed as a Barbie doll in a box with a price tag of US\$ 600, one Albanian boy responded "She's worth more than that". Similarly, another poster that used a bar code metaphor (a woman trapped behind a bar code to symbolize commoditization of women in the trafficking process) was often misunderstood by children, with one minor noting, "I don't think it is a good idea to stand behind pipes". Children surveyed likely did not understand the imagery of the bar code, possibly because they came from rural areas and had not been exposed to the use of bar codes (Gimon et al., 2003). The report detailed various misinterpretations of the posters by minors, highlighting that age and individual experience does inform how minors digest (or fail to digest) prevention and protection messages. More attention is needed to how minors see and understand messages and information. We also need to increasingly access information about children's decision-making processes – who they consult (peers, teachers, parents, etc.), at what point they make their "decision" and how we can reach them before their decision has been made.

Also critical to note is that most minor victims were residing with their families at recruitment, flagging the need for prevention programmes that target families as a whole alongside those for specific target groups. Prevention should include not only awareness-raising efforts but also more systematic prevention efforts, like employment placement, vocational training and community development initiatives, with "at-risk" groups.

3.5: "Best Interests of the Child"

In terms of assisting minors and considering their "best interest", we, as researchers, practitioners and policymakers, need to think through what this means in real terms. We need to have concrete examples, options and guidance for people working within minors. The "best interests of the child" is an oft-repeated principle, which intends much but which, in practice, specifies very little. Without more specific and practical guidelines, social care actors, those who lack resources and support are often without the guidance, expertise and resources to appropriately and adequately assist minor victims. This can, and at times does, mean that minors do not receive the specialized care that they require. This has particular resonance in SEE where there is a lack of government and NGO agencies who are skilled in service provision for minors.

We need an increasingly concrete framework of what "best interests of the child" means in practice. Within this structure, attention must be paid to different profiles of victim, their experiences of exploitation as well as what variables are most relevant in determining "best interests". For example, in cases where children have been trafficked for adoption by their mothers, what is in the "best interest of the child"? We must consider the type of risk and benefit involved in the child's reintegration and if this differs from minors trafficked for other forms of exploitation. Similarly, minors trafficked with their parents may require different assistance than victims trafficked by their parents, even when they are trafficked for the same form of exploitation.

⁵⁶ One of the nine mothers had been a victim of trafficking herself, trafficked as a minor for delinquency.

Determining the “best interests of the child” is an area of specialization, requiring the mobilisation of expertise to formulate a framework within which training and assistance can take place. As well we must consider that “the best interest of the child” is measured differently by different actors – by service providers, the criminal justice system, across borders, etc. They all have different perspectives and balancing and accommodating these is intensely complex.

3.6: Interventions Tailored to Different Social Groups

In Bulgaria and Albania, there was a strong link between minors trafficked for labour, begging, delinquency and adoption on the one hand and ethnicity on the other.⁵⁷ The specific situation of trafficking victims from ethnic minorities requires specific attention, in efforts both to prevent trafficking and assist trafficking victims. Thought is needed about how different social groups consume and digest prevention messages, access information, their levels of education and literacy, etc. Further, while targeted prevention efforts are essential, these must go beyond awareness-raising and tackle the more systemic issues of socio-economic disenfranchisement. For example, in Albania, where many victims are not registered, birth registration can serve as an aspect of trafficking prevention. Employment placement and vocational training targeted at ethnic minorities, who often face discrimination in the job market, are also potential prevention strategies. And broad based community development efforts with minority communities can also play a valuable preventative role. There is also a need to consider what assistance best meets the needs of already trafficked victims and how reintegration can be supported and made most effective. As so many of the victims in both years were minors, there is a critical role for social workers and the social welfare system.

As well, there is a need to think beyond the category of “ethnicity” and pinpoint the specifics of different ethnic groups including their variable vulnerability to trafficking. Further, we must consider the diversity within ethnic minority groups. There are many different sub-groups within the Bulgarian Roma community and not all may be equally vulnerable to trafficking. We need to think beyond general social categories and situate our interventions in the specifics of victim’s lives and experiences. Identifying these specifics many allow us to identify resiliency factors required to combat trafficking. A more carefully situated analysis may also allow us to identify risk factors amongst other social groups, such as class, religious and culture groups.

3.7: Socially Normative Practices impacting Effective Response

Central to an understanding of the contributing forces of trafficking is how this practice is understood within the country of origin and how it forms part of traditional social structures. Is bonded labour accepted as a temporary solution to an economic crisis? Is child labour a socially tolerable, even acceptable, economic option? Is trafficking for some types of work more acceptable than for others? Is there stigma attached to people who have been trafficked or is it something that is accepted by the community as a possibility of life? Understanding such dynamics, even in a partial sense, provides insight into trafficking and bonded labour as a cultural and historical event and, by implication, the meanings of such behaviour and mechanisms to victims and perpetrators themselves.⁵⁸

The degree to which it is viewed as socially acceptable for children to work abroad and even be sold or rented out for work must be considered. One Bulgarian minor trafficked for begging to Vienna came from a family of eight children, five of whom had been “sold” for work abroad. In environments where bonded labour is socially acceptable, efforts to redress this practice must have a firm understanding of the conditions that foster its continuation. Also salient is the normative nature of migration abroad (both legal and illegal) and the social acceptability of this economic strategy in all four countries discussed in this paper. This social acceptability may influence a victim’s willingness to accept work. Further, some people may be pressured

⁵⁷ All but one of the Bulgarian minors trafficked for begging and delinquency in both years were Roma and all victims of trafficking for adoption were from an ethnic minority – Pomak, Turkish or Roma. Similarly, from Albania the vast majority of minors were ethnic minorities – either Roma, Egyptian or a mix of ethnicities. There is a lack of information about the link between ethnicity and trafficking in Moldova and Romania because service providers do not systematically record this information as part of case management. This information is valuable in formulating if and how this is a site of vulnerability for minors.

⁵⁸For a discussion of the links between trafficking and socially normative practices in other environments, please see Surtees 2005b, Surtees 2003 and Surtees 2000.

by family to migrate to fulfil what, in some cases, may be seen as a responsibility or obligation to family. Given that minors were trafficked during such formative years, there is a risk that they will conceptualize these experiences of “migration”, “work” and exploitation as normal.

Significantly, the socio-cultural conditions that generate “problems”, like trafficking, are often simultaneously the key to their remedy. By better understanding the cultural context in which this trafficking occurs and the normalcy or acceptability of certain behaviours would be a valuable starting point in developing solutions – both preventive and protective. Recognition of the value of cultural understanding would be helpful in the development of anti-trafficking efforts given that cultural information is often viewed as “background” or “irrelevant” (Van Esterik, 1989: 6). It may also be in the identification of risk that we can pinpoint resiliency factors that can mobilize victims to guard themselves against trafficking or re-dress its abuse.

3.8: Considering the Assistance Paradigm – Child Trafficking or Child Protection?

Finally, one question remains. What has been discussed so far are the specificities of minors trafficked for various forms of exploitation. And in response to these forms there is an emergent, but still underdeveloped, assistance framework in SEE. But we do need to consider if this specialized assistance model for trafficking victims is the best strategy in terms of appropriate services and toward sustainability. That is, is it preferable to assist these minors within a specific paradigm of trafficking or are their needs better met through more broad-based assistance to migrating minors and exploited children, under the framework of child protection?

Central to this discussion is a consideration of whether the needs and experiences of trafficked minors are sufficiently distinct as to merit specialized assistance. For example, minors who migrate for labour, begging or delinquency without being recruited and transported by others are also often victims of exploitation at the destination. Similarly, does the act of movement always amplify vulnerability or are there minors who have not been transported who are equally vulnerable? Here we might consider street children and working children and if their needs are also distinct from trafficking victims. In what ways (if any) are the needs of trafficked minors different to those of abused and/or exploited minors more generally?

There are also questions to be asked about sustainability in the long term. Are parallel assistance frameworks viable in the long term and will donors continue to support these? Can we reasonably expect a government, particularly those in transition as in SE Europe, to have diverse and disparate assistance models, one that offers assistance according to the type of abuse? Or is it more sustainable to assist trafficked minors within existing care facilities and social protection frameworks, albeit providing tailored trafficking assistance as needed?

Currently in SE Europe, there are some organizations assisting trafficking victims within a broader framework of child protection rather than tailoring their programmes specifically to trafficking victims. Among these is the Foundation for Local Democracy in BiH, which assists national female victims of violence, an increasing percentage of whom are trafficking victims. The service for both groups are similar, although there is also tailoring of assistance for different victims, as needed. For the most part, however, social workers report that many of victim’s experiences and needs similar. Similarly, in the province of Kosovo, NGO Hope and Homes has a programme (shelters and a programme for semi-independent living for young adults) for youth who are victims of violence generally. Lessons from these organizations can tell us much about the advisability and efficacy of this approach. At the same time, attention should also be paid to situations in which trafficking victims are simply absorbed in the child protection framework, with little attention paid to the specific needs of trafficked victims. Balancing the two approaches is paramount.

4: Concluding Remarks

In many ways this paper has asked more questions than it has answered. This is because it is meant as a starting point for discussion and re-evaluation of our understanding of trafficking in minors in the SEE region and the assistance available to them. Answers to these and other questions provide potential windows of policy and programmatic opportunity for trafficked minors. As is clear from the profiles outlined above, minor victims were trafficked for a range

of different purposes and their trafficking experiences were equally disparate. Through a presentation of these other forms of trafficking and the specific socio-cultural environment in which they take place, this paper aims to challenge the hegemonic representations of trafficking by development agencies and the media, which has largely focused on trafficking of adult women for sexual exploitation. In presenting profiles of minors trafficked for less-considered forms of exploitation (both male and female) as well as some issues related to assistance to minors, we take a step toward a more accurate understanding of the issue and, perhaps most importantly, more effective policy and programmes.

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Appendix #1: General Findings of Assisted Victims Trafficked to, through or from SE Europe

The table below outlines the country of origin of trafficking victims identified and assisted within the region as well as victims from southeastern European countries who have been trafficked abroad. It contains case data consolidated from the RCP's individual country reports.

TABLE 10						
NUMBER OF TRAFFICKING VICTIMS ASSISTED IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN 2000 AND 2004						
Country or Entity of Origin ⁵⁹ /Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total
Victims of SEE nationality						
Albania	219	445	375	345	366	1750
Moldova	319	382	329	313	300	1643
Romania	163	261	243	194	193	1054
Bulgaria	46	96	164	172	143	621
Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro)	54	67	165	192	90	568
BiH	0	0	8	17	29	54
Serbia	0	1	10	13	21	45
Croatia	0	0	1	1	6	8
Montenegro	0	0	2	3	5	10
Macedonia	0	0	0	14	12	26
Total number of assisted victims of SEE nationality	801	1252	1297	1264	1164	5779
Victims of other nationalities, assisted in SEE						
Ukraine	68	97	104	47	41	357
Russia	7	22	21	5	4	59
Belarus	8	9	1	2	1	21
Georgia	0	3	2	0	2	7
Czech Republic	0	0	2	0	0	2
Hungary	1	0	0	0	0	1
Latvia	1	0	0	0	0	1
Lithuania	0	0	1	0	1	2

⁵⁹ In 2003 and 2004, Albania, Moldova, Romania and, to a lesser extent, Bulgaria and the province of Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro) were the main countries/entities of origin of southeastern Europe. Albanian victims alone accounted for 26 per cent of all victims assisted in 2003 and 30 per cent in 2004, while Moldovan victims were 23.7 per cent of victims in 2003 and 24.5 per cent in 2004. Simultaneously, victims from traditional countries of transit and destination were found trafficked within the region as well as further afield. An increasing number of victims were trafficked from Bosnia –and Herzegovina, Serbia, Macedonia, Croatia, and Montenegro, signalling their potential emergence as countries of origin. Victims from these traditional destination and transit countries were trafficked both internally and abroad. Also of note was the presence of less usual countries of origin, arguably signalling changing routes and emergent countries of origin. In 2003 and 2004, assisted trafficking victims originated from countries as distant as China, Iraq, Georgia, Mongolia, Lebanon, Armenia, and Uzbekistan. More proximate and relatively prosperous countries were also represented in these years, including Germany, Slovenia, Slovakia, and Hungary. Ukraine was a primary country of origin throughout the reporting period, with Ukrainian victims trafficked to all countries/entities in the SEE region.

Mongolia	0	0	0	2	0	2
Slovakia	0	0	0	1	1	2
Slovenia	0	0	0	0	1	1
Italy	0	0	1	0	0	1
Iraq	0	0	0	0	1	1
Morocco	0	0	0	0	1	1
Uzbekistan	0	0	0	3	0	3
China	0	0	0	0	2	2
Kazakhstan	0	0	0	1	0	1
Thailand	0	0	0	2	0	2
Hungary	1	0	0	0	2	3
Greece	0	0	0	1	0	1
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	2	2
Germany	0	0	0	1	0	1
Armenia	0	0	0	0	2	2
Poland	0	0	1	0	1	2
Total number of assisted victims of non-SEE nationality	86	131	133	65	62	477
Consolidated number of victims assisted in SE Europe of both SEE and non-SEE nationality	887	1383	1430	1329	1226	6256 ⁶⁰

Assisted victims documented in the RCP research were voluntarily returned to their countries of origin through assistance programmes or identified in their country of origin upon extradition and subsequently assisted. In addition, victims were identified during police operations and investigations and subsequently referred for assistance. And, in an increasing number of cases, victims were self-referred, either in the destination country or upon return to their home countries.

Given that trafficking is widely recognized as a prolific trend in SE Europe, the numbers presented herein appear very low. However, it is critical to stress that the RCP methodology contains only details of assisted trafficking victims within the region and from a handful of organizations in EU countries. And assisted victims represent only a portion of the total number of trafficking victims, with many more victims never identified or assisted and still others declining assistance. Information drawn from a range of primary and secondary sources – victims, governments, non-governmental organizations, and international organizations – strongly suggests that the actual number of trafficking victims is significantly higher than the number of assisted victims.

⁶⁰ The figure of 6,256 assisted victims in SEE is comprised of 5,779 trafficked persons from countries of southeastern Europe as well as 477 victims from other countries assisted within the region. These figures were calculated by adding the numbers of trafficked victims collected from service providers in SEE, as well as the handful of cases of SEE nationals collected from service providers in EU countries according to the RCP research methodology.

Appendix 2: Research Methodology and Process

The RCP research is based on both primary and secondary data from throughout the SE European region as well as some EU countries. The RCP established and conducted the following information collection mechanisms.

Primary data: Primary data about victims of trafficking was collected from service providers in the field currently working with and assisting victims, according to a standardized set of questions. Service providers in all countries/entities of the SEE region completed these standard questionnaire for assisted victims, excluding victims who overlapped with other services providers. In addition, the RCP received some information from organizations working in destination countries. Among the indicators collected were:

- Individual Characteristics (sex, age, education, marital and family status, ethnicity, area of origin, disabilities, economic status, nationality);
- Recruitment (sex of recruiter, relationship to recruiter, work promised and reason for leaving home, living and working situation at recruitment);
- Transportation and Movement (use of legal or illegal documents and legal or illegal border crossings, destination, transportation routes);
- Trafficking Experience (form of trafficking, length of time trafficked, working and living conditions, abuse suffered, mental and physical well-being);
- Post-trafficking (identification, means to exit trafficking, re-trafficking and assistance declined).

Interviews and correspondence aimed at clarifying figures and victim profiles were conducted with organizations and service providers, particularly during site visits to each of the project countries.⁶¹ Figures were cross-referenced with other service providers in order to avoid duplication. For example, where a victim received initial sheltering and medical services upon return to her home country from one organization and was subsequently referred to a different organization for follow-up services, the victim's case was only represented once within the data. Data collection did not include confidential information, such as the victim's name, address or medical history, to avoid compromising the security and anonymity of victims.

Secondary data: The RCP also accessed secondary data through in-depth interviews with frontline counter-trafficking personnel, including anti-trafficking police units, outreach workers, shelter managers and professionals providing medical, psychosocial and legal assistance for national and foreign victims. More generally, RCP met with counter-trafficking organizations and government departments working in the field of anti-trafficking prevention and policy. Standardized interviews were conducted with critical issues including: victim profiles and trafficking experiences, trafficking trends and patterns, victim's needs at identification, victim identification process, assistance programmes available and problems and issues in the assistance framework. Data was collected in the course of field research and sites visits to each of the ten project countries/entities as well as through email and telephone communication. Secondary data was then verified, cross referenced for accuracy and analysed.

Methodological Strengths and Limitations: The RCP research has numerous methodological strengths. It provides standardized quantitative data on trafficking victims from the ten countries/entities of SE Europe. This constitutes the only consolidated data about assisted trafficking victims at a national or regional level. In addition, the RCP presents primary data that frames and considers trafficking from the perspective of the victim. Further, the RCP accesses data through service providers who have an existing relationship with victims, thereby avoiding unnecessary interviewing and stress for victims. Finally, the RCP captures and presents the transnational nature of trafficking by embracing a regional approach.

⁶¹ With respect for victims' privacy rights and recovery period, and in accordance with UN Recommendations on Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking, section 3 on Research, Analysis, Evaluation and Dissemination, RCP did not conduct interviews with, or directly obtain information from, trafficked victims.

Nevertheless, the RCP methodology has some limitations that are explored in fuller detail in the RCP report but flagged briefly in the context of this paper. First, information about victim profiles and experiences was collected only from assisted trafficking victims who were trafficked to, through or from SEE. And, as is widely recognized, there is a difference between number of trafficking victims in SEE and the number of assisted victims. Information drawn from a range of primary and secondary sources strongly suggests that the actual number of trafficking victims is significantly higher than the number of assisted victims.⁶² Secondly, in some countries, high numbers of assisted victims is also a measure of a country's efforts to tackle trafficking rather than in indictment of their inaction. As such, findings should be read with this caveat. Third, while there have been substantial improvements in the identification skills of counter-trafficking actors, there remain varying levels of skill and experience in the identification of trafficking victims. Some victims of trafficking were misidentified as victims of violence generally or not identified at all. In other circumstances, victims of violence were misidentified as trafficking victims. Fourth, assisted victims represent a particular subgroup of trafficking victims, those who were willing and able to access assistance. This subgroup is likely to differ systematically from other victims of trafficking, an issue which must be borne in mind in both the analysis and presentation of data and profiles.⁶³ This data can be read only as representative of assisted trafficking victims. A fifth limitation is that the time period presented reflects the year that the victim was assisted, rather than when s/he was trafficked as service providers do not systematically record the year that victims were trafficked. This poses a difficulty in the analysis of trends and patterns, as victims assisted in one year may have been trafficked over a long period of time. Ideally, data should be analysed based on the year in which victims were trafficked. Sixth, RCP efforts to collect information from service providers in key destination countries were largely unsuccessful as many organizations lacked time and resources to assist in the research, or were prevented from doing so by institutional regulations on information sharing between organizations. With more victims staying in destination countries due to residency options, the lack of data from these countries can result in repressed figures. The number of victims may appear to decline, giving rise to a misperception that trafficking has been addressed. The true rate of identified and assisted victims is only revealed when victims are counted at both origin and destination.

⁶² In BiH, for example, in the town of Tuzla alone, there were allegedly numerous unassisted victims with one motel housing approximately 50 victims (Andreani and Raviv, 2004: 47). However, the total number of identified and assisted victims documented by the RCP in BiH in 2004 was 108. Similarly, in Macedonia, according to testimony of one victim, over 150 Moldovan victims were trafficked to bars or nightclubs in the village of Velestra. However, the total number of identified and assisted victims documented by the RCP in Macedonia in 2004 was 25.

⁶³ Cf. Brunovskis, A. and G. Tyldum, 2004b and Surtees, 2005.

Appendix 3: RCP Partner Organizations – Sources of Information

The following organizations and institutions provided primary data about assisted trafficking victims according to the methodology outlined above. This required substantial time, effort and resources on the part of service providers, for which the RCP is grateful.

Country/Entity	Organizations and Institutions
Albania	Women's Counseling Center (WCC), Vatra Women Hearth, Terre des Hommes (TdH), Help for Children/Ndihme Per Femijet (NPF), Femijet e Shqiperise dhe botes, Tjeter Vision, IOM Mission in Tirana, Së Bashku Kundër Trafikimit të Fëmijëve (BKTF), European Committee for Training and Agriculture (CEFA), International Social Service (ISS), Different and Equal, National Reception Centre (NRC)
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Lara, Foundation for Local Democracy, La Strada/Mostar, International Forum of Solidarity (IFS), Zena BiH, IOM Mission in Sarajevo
Bulgaria	Nadja Center, Animus Association – La Strada, National Service to Combat Organized Crime (NSCOC) – Ministry of the Interior, National Border Police Service (Ministry of the Interior), Medecins San Frontiers (MSF), Bulgarian Red Cross, Caritas Bulgaria, IOM Mission in Sofia
Croatia	Organisation for Integrity and Prosperity (OIP), Croatian Red Cross, Women's Association Vukovar, Center for Women War Victims – Rosa, Centre for Disaster Management, IOM Mission in Zagreb
FYROM Macedonia	For a Happy Childhood, Open Gate/La Strada Macedonia, Temis, Organisation of Women of Skoplje, Macedonian Bar Association, National Coordinator (Ministry of Interior), IOM Mission in Skopje
Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro)	Center for the Protection of Women and Children (CPWC), Gjakove Women's Safe House (WSH), Women Wellness Center (WCC), Interim Secure Facility (ISF), Center to Protect Victims and Prevent Trafficking (PVPT), Hope & Homes, United Methodist Committee of Relief (UMCOR), Victims Advocacy and Assistance Unit (VAAU), Center for Women and Children (ASB), IOM Mission in Pristina
Moldova	La Strada-Moldova, Salvati Copiii, Interaction, Gencliar Birlii, Rehabilitation Center, Italian Consortium of Solidarity (ICS), Center for the Prevention of Trafficking in Women (CPTW), IOM Mission in Chisinau
Montenegro	Women's Safe House, Montenegrin Women's Lobby, IOM Mission in Podgorica
Romania	Social Alternatives, Connexiuni, Reaching Out, Young Generation, Armonia Association, Arhiepiscopia Ortodoxa Romana A Timisoarei, Artemis, Save the Children – Salvati Copiii, Transit and Assistance Shelter for Victims of Trafficking, Resource Centre for Combating Trafficking in Persons (Ministry of Interior), IOM Mission in Bucharest
Serbia	ASTRA, Counseling Against Family Violence (CAFV), ATINA, Agency for Coordinating Assistance to Victims of Trafficking in Human Beings, Anti-Trafficking Team (Ministry of Interior), IOM Mission in Belgrade
Other countries	Koofra (Germany), Poppy Project (UK), STV La Strada (Netherlands), Dutch Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings - NRM (Netherlands), PARSEC Association (Italy), IOM Counter-Trafficking Service (Geneva), IOM Counter-Trafficking Database (Geneva)

In addition, the RCP accessed secondary data, interviewing and corresponding with numerous counter-trafficking actors from governments, non-governmental organizations and international organizations. These individuals were helpful in illuminating key issues and trends in terms of trafficking as well as outlining the counter-trafficking efforts currently

underway in each country, with particular attention to victim identification, referral and assistance. These organisations include the following:

Country/Entity	Organizations and Institutions
Albania	Coordinated Action Against Human Trafficking (CAAHT), International Catholic Migration Committee (ICMC), Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Management Systems International (MSI), Ministry of Public Order, National Coordinator's Office (Ministry of State), Centro Murialdo, Save the Children (STC), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Buducnost, State Coordinator, Ministry of Internal Affairs, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), United Nations Office of the High Commission for Human Rights (UNOHCHR)
Bulgaria	State Agency for Child Protection (SACP), Ministry of Justice, Central Commission for Combating Child Delinquency, Child Crime Unit (Ministry of the Interior), National Police Service (Ministry of the Interior)
Croatia	National Coordinator (Office for Human Rights), Ministry of Interior, Croatian Law Centre
FYROM Macedonia	Transit Centre (Ministry of Interior), Department of Anti-Organised Crime (Ministry of Interior), Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe – OSCE (Rule of Law and Police Development Unit), Sector for Minors and Delinquency (Ministry of Interior), Border Police Section for Illegal Migration (Ministry of Interior), Esma, Produzen Zivot
Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro)	Trafficking in Human Beings Services in Pristina (UNMIK/THBS), THBS Prizren, Save the Children, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, Prime Minister's Office, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Pillar 1 – Anti-Trafficking Coordinator, Department of Justice
Moldova	CARITAS, Border Police, UNICEF
Montenegro	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Exterior – Office of National Coordinator, Department for Aliens (Ministry of Interior), Save the Children
Romania	Center of Urban and Regional Sociology (CURS), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), International Labour Organization / International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC), Ministry of Administration and Interior, Institute for Crime Prevention and Research, Society for Children & Parents (SCOP)
Serbia	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), National Coordinator (Ministry of Interior); Department of Border Police (Ministry of Interior); Anti Trafficking Centre (ATC); Victimology Society of Serbia; Provincial Secretariat for Labour, Employment and Gender Equality; Wise, Persistent, Liberal, Authentic (MILA); Energy, Vision, Action (EVA); Centre for Social Work – Sombor; Beosupport; Incest Trauma Centre; Group 484; Catholic Relief Service (CRS); Save the Children; Kvinna till Kvinna; SOS Village; Roma Information Centre
Other countries	Stability Pact Task Force - SPTF (Vienna); BLinN – Humanitas & Novib (Netherlands); End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking – ECPAT (Netherlands); Scharlaken Koord (Netherlands); TAMPEP (Netherlands); IOM Mission in the Hague (Netherlands), KARO (Germany); FAFO Institute (Norway); OSCE/ODHIR CPRSI (Poland)

Appendix 4: About the Organizations

NEXUS Institute to Combat Human Trafficking (NEXUS)

The NEXUS Institute to Combat Human Trafficking, based in Vienna, is a multi-disciplinary policy and research centre dedicated to aiding governments and non-governmental organizations by conducting more rigorous research and analysis to serve as the basis for better-informed and more effective counter-trafficking laws, policies and practices. The NEXUS Institute is a member of the OSCE Alliance Expert Coordination Group and its advisory board includes IOM, the OSCE Special Representative on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, the Protection Project of Johns Hopkins University and the European Training Centre for Human Rights and Democracy.

NEXUS brings over a decade of experience addressing human trafficking, migration policy and related issues to its work, including extensive anti-trafficking research, policy and programmatic experience in Europe as well as other regions. This experience includes a number of recent trafficking studies and analysis. *Child Trafficking in Sierra Leone* (2005) outlines the scope and nature of child trafficking in the country; *Victim Assistance Programmes in SE Europe* (2006) explores existing assistance and support for trafficking victims in the region and *Trafficking for Labour: Developing Appropriate Protection and Assistance* (2006) maps the rate of labour trafficking in SE Europe and explores appropriate prevention and protection responses for this form of trafficking.

NEXUS works globally and is currently engaged in a study on why some trafficking victims decline assistance and a study of traffickers and organised crime in SE Europe. For more information about the NEXUS Institute to Combat Human Trafficking, please see www.nexusinstitute.net. Or contact Stephen Warnath, Executive Director, at swarnath@nexusinstitute.net.

International Organization for Migration (IOM)

IOM is committed to the principle that humane and orderly migration benefits migrants and society. As an inter-governmental body, IOM acts with its partners in the international community to: assist in meeting the operational challenges of migrations; advance understanding of migration issues; encourage social and economic development through migration; and work towards effective respect of the human dignity and well-being of migrants. After half a century of worldwide operational experience, IOM has become the leading international organization working with migrants and governments to provide humane responses to migration challenges.

Established in 1951 as an intergovernmental organization to resettle European displaced persons, refugees and migrants, IOM has now grown to encompass a variety of migration management activities throughout the world through:

- rapid humanitarian responses to sudden migration flows,
- post-emergency return and reintegration programmes,
- assistance to migrants on their way to new homes and lives,
- facilitation of labour migration,
- assisted voluntary return for irregular migrants,
- recruitment of highly qualified nationals for return to their countries of origin,
- aid to migrants in distress,
- training and capacity-building of officials,
- measures to counter trafficking in persons,
- migration medical and public health programmes,
- mass information and education on migration,
- research related to migration management and other services for migrants

For more information about IOM, please see www.iom.int.