ACTION TO PREVENT CHILD TRAFFICKING IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE

A Preliminary Assessment

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ACTION TO PREVENT CHILD TRAFFICKING IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE

A Preliminary Assessment

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Children featured in this publication are not trafficked. Some of them are vulnerable to trafficking as they are living in the streets, are abandoned by their parents, have to work to support themselves and their families or were forced to migrate with parents to foreign country in search of better opportunities.

Cover: A boy at the UNICEF-assisted Centre for children living and working on the streets in Moldova. UNICEF/SWZK00263/Giacomo Pirozzi

Chapter 1: A boy carries a sack across a garbage dump in on the outskirts of the Albanian capital, Tirana. UNICEF/SWZ00882/Giacomo Pirozzi

Chapter 2: A boy working at traffic light in Tirana. Terres des Hommes/Andrea Motta

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Chapter 5: Education of children on risks of trafficking in Albania. Terres des Hommes/Andrea Motta

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Foreword

Countries in South Eastern Europe have been swift in responding to the first reports of trafficking in women and children to the region. Governments, international and nongovernmental organizations initially focused on strengthening law and law enforcement to fight trafficking and on establishing assistance programmes for victims of trafficking. These strategies indeed have had an impact and the number of assisted victims of trafficking decreased, as reported in the three consecutive SEERIGHTS Reports of 2003-05. However, the same Reports also indicate that current responses are not sufficient. They are not rooted in human rights. Pro-active prevention measures have not been at the forefront of anti-trafficking work. We can improve and make our efforts more effective and more responsive to children and young people.

This Report has been prepared to help in design of strategies to prevent child trafficking in South Eastern Europe and to improve the protection of children that fall victims to trafficking. It draws largely on lessons that have emerged from an assessment of current prevention responses in Albania, Republic of Moldova, Romania and the UN Administered Province of Kosovo. A special insight into children's experiences and soundness of current anti-trafficking responses has been gained through interviews with 25 child victims of trafficking. The Report underscores the importance of in-depth knowledge of specific, local situations, and good understanding and analysis of the multiple and inter-related causes for trafficking as essential elements of an effective prevention response. The Report indicates that children can be effectively protected only if parents, local institutions – including schools and health centers, as well as local authorities, work together and if they listen carefully to children. The Report confirms that an effective "protective environment" can reduce the vulnerability of children and can prevent their being exploited or trafficked.

We hope that this Report will serve policy makers, legislators, practitioners, and all other actors engaged in efforts to prevent trafficking in children in South Eastern Europe

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Mike Dottridge

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LIST OF INITIALS AND ACRONYMS

CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CRC	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRIC	Child Rights Information Centre
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes
EU	European Union
HIV/AIDS	Human Immuno-deficiency Virus / Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ILO	International Labour Office and International Labour Organization
ILO-IPEC	See IPEC
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (part of ILO, sometimes referred to as ILO-IPEC)
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NPF	Ndihmë për Fëmijët, Help the Children (an Albanian NGO)
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE)
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
SEE	South Eastern Europe
TACT	Transnational Action Against Child Trafficking (project managed by the Terre des hommes Foundation)
UAM	Unaccompanied minor
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
US	United States of America
USAID	US Agency for International Development (US government department responsible for development cooperation)

GLOSSARY

adolescent	Young person aged 10 to 18 years. The term is used in this Report to refer to children who have reached puberty but are still under 18.
child/children	Every girl and boy under 18 years of age (the definition used in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child).
commercial sexual exploitation (of children)	The commercial sexual exploitation of children consists of criminal practices that demean, degrade and threaten the physical and psychosocial integrity of children. There are three primary and interrelated forms of commercial sexual exploitation of children: prostitution, pornography and trafficking for sexual purposes. Other forms of commercial sexual exploitation of children include child sex tourism, child marriages and forced marriages.
controller	Generic term for a person who controls a trafficked child and makes money out of them, i.e., exploits them. In the case of commercial sexual exploitation, the controller is known as a 'pimp', but this term is not generally used to refer to an adult who makes money from child beggars.
exploited person	A child or adult who is subjected to exploitation as defined by the UN Trafficking Protocol.
internal trafficking	Cases involving adults or children who are trafficked and exploited within the country or without crossing an international border.
National Referral Mechanism	Procedure designed by ODIHR-OSCE to ensure coordination among government ministries, NGOs and others that are involved in caring for victims of trafficking and making decisions in regards to them.
protective environment	A range of measures that together work to protect children from violence, exploitation and abuse.
separated child	A similar category to 'unaccompanied children'. Separated children are separated from both parents, or from their previous legal or customary primary care-giver, but not necessarily from other relatives. The category includes children accompanied by other adult family members.
trafficker	A person who is involved in recruiting or moving a child or adult with the intention to expose them to exploitation. A 'trafficker' is distinguished from a 'smuggler' or other intermediary who helps a child leave home or cross a border illegally because of the "trafficker's" expectation that the child will subsequently be exploited. The term 'trafficker' also refers to a person who makes money exploiting a child when it is the same person who has arranged their transportation.
Trafficking Protocol	Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000).
unaccompanied minor (UAM)	Also referred to as 'unaccompanied child'. Someone under the age of 18 who is separated from both parents and is not being cared for by an adult who by law or custom has responsibility to do so. Routinely used to refer to children found in countries other than their own, including children who apply for asylum.
young person	'Young person' refers to adolescents (under 18) and young adults who are from age 18 to 23.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Report outlines some key findings and recommendations from an assessment of the efforts to prevent child trafficking in South Eastern Europe. Its main purpose is to increase understanding of the work on prevention of child trafficking, by looking at the effectiveness of different approaches and their impacts. The assessment covered Albania, Republic of Moldova, Romania and the UN Administered Province of Kosovo. The Report is based on a review of relevant research and agency reports as well as interviews with organizations implementing prevention initiatives and with trafficked children from the region.

The first part of the Report reviews key terms and definitions related to child trafficking, as common understanding about what constitutes trafficking and who might be categorised as a victim is crucial to devising prevention initiatives and guaranteeing adequate protection for trafficked children. Furthermore, to intervene in any of the phases of the trafficking process it is essential to understand specific factors contributing to the situation and the key actors involved. Different approaches to understanding the causes of child trafficking and methods for developing prevention initiatives are also explored. The Report notes that all prevention efforts should incorporate the principles that have proved essential in designing and implementing other initiatives in the areas of child rights and protection. That is, good prevention initiatives should be rooted in child rights principles and provisions, use quality data and analysis, apply programme logic, forge essential partnerships, monitor and evaluate practice and measure the progress towards expected results.

The second part of the Report focuses on the strategies implemented to prevent child trafficking in South Eastern Europe and points out the key gaps and constraints in current responses. Some of these weaknesses and gaps result from a lack of detailed information on the profile of child victims and patterns of trafficking and some are linked to weaknesses in programme planning. As a result, most prevention initiatives tend to focus narrowly on child trafficking, often ignoring the complex set of factors that lead to the problem. This limits their beneficial effect. However, new, more comprehensive approaches targeted to improving the performance of wider child protection services rather than just those directly related to child trafficking are emerging. These strategies are generally better positioned to address a wider range of risks and different aspects of children's vulnerability to trafficking. For example, Terre des hommes has designed initiatives aimed at children at high risk of being trafficked that combine several protection strategies at the community level, while UNCEF sees the strengthening of the child protection system as a priority for both preventing child trafficking and protecting the rights of child victims of trafficking.

The Report closes with a set of recommendations for all those involved in anti-trafficking action, highlighting that prevention should become a cornerstone of anti-trafficking efforts. For this to happen, data collection and understanding of causes and patterns of trafficking need to be improved, current initiatives should become more strategic and broader in their approach to the protection of children, while prevention initiatives should be better planned and regularly evaluated.

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

1. Preventing child trafficking in South Eastern Europe[1]

In the aftermath of conflict in the former Yugoslavia, in the mid-1990s and early 2000s human trafficking reached crisis proportions in the Western Balkans.[2] The chaotic situation created a demand for commercial sex which was met by trafficking of women and girls from across South Eastern Europe (SEE) as well as from some countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

The emergency responses to the sudden rise of trafficking were based on relatively little experience about what worked and what did not. The initial priorities were to convince governments and intergovernmental organizations that human trafficking was a serious problem and to provide effective forms of assistance to the women and girls who had been trafficked. A lot has been achieved since that time, predominantly in the institutionalization of anti-trafficking actions and mechanisms for protection and assistance to victims. New laws, procedures and structures were put in place to respond to human trafficking, while national plans to stop trafficking were adopted in countries throughout South Eastern Europe. When it comes to children, one of the important achievements was the articulation of standards for protecting and assisting child victims. UNICEF's Guidelines on the Protection of the Rights of Child Victims of Trafficking were endorsed by all the SEE countries under the auspices of the SEE Stability Pact Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings.[3]

However, less progress was achieved in preventing trafficking and devising the most effective techniques for doing so. There have been many public information programmes and campaigns to warn people about human trafficking. Still, the amounts of money invested in prevention remain much smaller than the cost of programmes to protect and assist those who have already been trafficked. And while the trafficking *crisis* in the Western Balkans may be over, it has left behind a pattern of trafficking in South Eastern Europe that continues to inflict damage on countless women, men, girls and boys from this, and other neighbouring regions. Thus, the need to put prevention in the focus of anti-trafficking strategies and to learn which prevention techniques work is as great as ever.

2. Brief overview of prevention efforts

The first attempts to prevent trafficking—of adults and children—in South Eastern Europe involved disseminating information about known cases of trafficking. The aim was twofold: to discourage migration and to warn of the potential dangers. Initial public information exercises were relatively simple and did not have a very specific message tailored to a narrow target audience. The driving motivation was to alert as many people as possible, as quickly as possible, about what was known about trafficking. However, many awareness campaigns continued this strategy, despite evidence that the number of people migrating was not declining.

Some organizations that target young adult women have progressed from the "don't migrate" message to offering information about how to check whether job offers abroad are safe and how to migrate abroad without being trafficked. Relatively few of these initiatives have been aimed at adolescents under the age of 18, apart from general advice to graduating students about how to look for and apply for jobs.

Furthermore, the impact of most public information programmes and campaigns has not been measured or evaluated. The attempts that have

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1 South Eastern Europe is comprised of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, Republic of Moldova and Romania.

2 Western Balkans is comprised of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro.

3 The Guidelines can be found at: http://www.unicef.org/ceecis/GUIDELINES_Protection_of_Victims_of_Trafficking.pdf

been made to evaluate the impact of information dissemination on people have usually consisted of checking whether their level of knowledge has changed but not whether their behaviour is likely to be different.[4] Only in cases of several NGOs, the evaluations were more systematically concerned with lessons learned-what worked and what did not-in their programmes. [5]

Apart from information campaigns, a relatively small number of efforts were devoted to ending the various forms of exploitation to which trafficked children are subjected, either in South Eastern Europe or in other destination countries. When such attempts have been made, they have generally focused on commercial sexual exploitation, i.e., prostitution, rather than tackling the demand for children for other purposes. Even then, the attempts to address demand for sexual services of trafficked women and girls relied on laws that make such transactions an offence rather than on more targeted ways of influencing the behaviour.

In fact, the principal tactic used across the region to deter traffickers, and thus to prevent trafficking, has been to amend laws by defining more carefully what is meant by human trafficking and child trafficking and to introduce heavier penalties for traffickers.[6] However, relatively few prevention efforts have sought to specifically influence the demand related to children.

Only in a few cases, such as in Albania and the Republic of Moldova where a disproportionately high number of children from a narrow geographical area or a particular social group have been found among trafficking victims, have special efforts have been made to identify the children who are at particularly high risk of being trafficked and to intervene on their behalf.

In the case of children at boarding schools in the Republic of Moldova, this involved organizing classes about trafficking and life skills training.[7] In the case of children belonging to a minority group in Albania, it has involved child protection measures that have been tried and proved in other parts of the world, such as income support for their families and intensive efforts to keep minority children from dropping out of school before finishing basic education. These have been accompanied by efforts to reduce the discrimination experienced by children belonging to a minority group, both at school and in the community.

There have also been some initiatives designed explicitly to prevent young women from being trafficked, by offering training on how to set up small business and providing micro-credit. However, business training is not available to girls or boys aged under 18. Vocational training has been offered to children who have already been trafficked and this has proven effective in enabling them to earn a living in their own country. Limited resources and job vacancies may be one reason that vocational training has not been tried more extensively in the region.

Other initiatives set out to 'empower' young women to take control of their lives and to resist gender-based discrimination. Some efforts to empower children have concentrated on developing their self-confidence, along with particular skills, such as how to negotiate with others and how to work in a team, enabling them to plan and develop realistic expectations about their future career.[8] On the whole, however, prevention efforts have

4 R. Rosenburg, S. Lazaroiu and E. Tyuryukanova, "Best Practices for Programming to Prevent Trafficking in Human Beings in Europe and Eurasia," Development Alternatives Inc. for USAID, 2004.

5 See in particular: G. Wolfensohn, "Responding to Child Trafficking: An introductory handbook to child rights-based interventions drawn from Save the Children's experience in Southeast Europe," 2004. O. Ginzburg, "Evaluation of Save the Children's Anti-Trafficking Programme in South-east Europe: Final Report," unpublished, Save the Children Norway, 15 October 2004. Terre des hommes and Ndihmë për Fëmijët, "Child Trafficking in South Eastern Europe: The Development of Good Practices to Protect Albanian Children," 2005. Terre des hommes Foundation "Peer Review: Albania, Transnational Action Against Child Trafficking (TACT)," unpublished, April 2005.

6 For example, an ILO-IPEC report suggests that the right people are not always targeted as traffickers and that it is important to understand what sort of people traffickers are and how they might be influenced. It also draws attention to the way "'lazy' border guards, corrupt law enforcement personnel and 'unknowing' consular or visa office staff who do not ask the right questions" facilitate trafficking. For more details see J. Kane, "Child Trafficking—The People Involved: A synthesis of findings from Albania, Republic of Moldova, Romania and Ukraine," ILO-IPEC, 2005, chapter 3.

7 The term 'life skills' refers to a set of skills that are considered important for making one's way in life. They include learning to negotiate, decision making, problem solving, critical thinking, communicating effectively, managing interpersonal relationships, resolving conflicts, being self-aware and empathetic towards others, and coping with emotions and stress. See: Child Rights Information Centre (CRIC/CIDDC), "Life skills education for prevention of trafficking in human beings: Evaluation Report," Republic of Moldova, October 2004.

8 R. Rosenburg, S. Lazaroiu and E. Tyuryukanova, op. cit., page viii.

adopted a strategy of frightening children rather than empowering them by evoking images of the dangers they risk if they travel abroad.

3. Broadening the approach from 'preventing trafficking' to 'strengthening child protection'

It is easy to observe in the prevention efforts described above that virtually no prevention programmes address the root causes of trafficking in South Eastern Europe. According to the latest SEERIGHTS report, the evidence which is needed to develop useful prevention strategies is still missing and further research is necessary.[9] This is especially in regards to the relationship between poverty, discrimination, child abuse and neglect, and trafficking as well as the demand for trafficking. Research on the relationship between European Union migration policies, unregulated migration in South Eastern Europe, demand for cheap unprotected labour and trafficking is also seen as important.[10]

Furthermore, the priority given to information campaigns as a way to prevent child trafficking also means that more strategic forms of child protection have been overlooked as a preventive technique in most parts of South Eastern Europe. In other parts of the world where large numbers of children have been trafficked, the strategy has been to strengthen locally based protection systems in villages and local communities. There have been a few programmes in South Eastern Europe that have identified categories of children who are at high risk of being trafficked and have improved the protection available to them and their families at the local level. The results strongly suggest that this approach is an effective way to prevent trafficking. Such experiences are important given that the safety net available to protect children in South Eastern Europe from harm is generally weak and sometimes non-existent. This is particularly true for children who appear most in need of protection, e.g., living in poor households in rural areas, those who belong to ethnic minorities that experience discrimination, and children without parental care who live in residential care institutions. The lack of attention given to strengthening child protection systems at a time of rapid social and economic change is alarming. More than a decade after all SEE countries acceded to or ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), there is a very slow progress in the fulfilment of their commitments and duties to children.[11]

The CRC imposes a wide range of obligations on the governments to protect children against abuse and exploitation. Article 35 requires that "States Parties shall take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent the abduction of, the sale of or traffic in children for any purpose or in any form." In addition, governments commit themselves under the terms of article 19 of the CRC to taking a wide set of measures (legislative, administrative, social and educational) to protect children from "all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse" and to set up effective procedures including those for "prevention and for identification, reporting, referral, investigation, treatment and follow-up of instances of child maltreatment."

The child's right to special protection measures was also recognized by the Member States of the Council of Europe in the new European Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (2005). Article 5 in the section "Prevention, cooperation and other measures" obliges all countries which ratify the Convention to promote a human rights-based and child-sensitive approach in the development, implementation and assessment of all policies and programmes designed to prevent trafficking in human beings. The same article states: "Each Party will take specific measures to reduce children's vulnerability to trafficking, notably by creating a protective environment for them."

Substantial commitments streaming from these instruments mean that the State is ultimately

9 B. Limanowska, "Trafficking in Human Beings in South Eastern Europe, 2004: Focus on Prevention in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and the UN Administered Province of Kosovo," UNICEF, UNOHCHR and OSCE/ODIHR, published by UNDP, 2005.

10 B. Limanowska, op. cit., page 86.

11 Most countries in South Eastern Europe acceded to or ratified the CRC between 1990 and 1993. Turkey, the last country in the region to do so, ratified in 1995. The CRC has been ratified by every country in the world except Somalia and the United States.

responsible for guaranteeing the rights of children. It means that governments must ensure that child protection agencies or other social services take actions to prevent abuses against children and to respond to those that do occur, whether in the family home, an institution or in the employment of another. Thus, effective prevention means ensuring that all forms of protection to which children are entitled are available in practice. This requires government and government agencies, including social services, child protection teams and the police, to take action to prevent child trafficking. They must also ensure that children are protected against all forms of discrimination, violence, abuse, exploitation and neglect.

In other words, the state parties must aim to create *a protective environment* around children. UNICEF and other organizations use the term 'protective environment' to refer to the different elements around the child that act individually and collectively to fulfil the rights of the child to protection from harm The protective environment is comprised of individuals in the family, community and society as well as of policies, legislative and regulatory frameworks, services, structures, professionals, institutions, and decision-making mechanisms that make up the system to protect children.

Building a protective environment for children means strengthening protection at three different levels by:

1. enhancing the capacity and accountability of those responsible for the child's primary care—parents, guardians or others who have the care of the child—to protect them from harm, to recognize abuse and exploitation and to act when they occur;

2. ensuring that there are appropriate policies and laws to protect children and suitable systems in place to ensure laws are implemented to protect and realize child rights; and

3. protecting children from adverse attitudes, traditions, customs, behaviours and practices.

To ensure a protective environment for children and to prevent trafficking, governments need to engage in a much wider set of actions to prevent children from being trafficked than has been the case so far. Thus, preventing child trafficking requires a specific child protection approach to ensure that action is taken so that the child's rights are protected and implemented. The challenge is great given that child protection systems are poorly developed in most of South Eastern Europe.

CHAPTER 2:

PURPOSE OF THE REPORT AND METHODS TO COLLECT AND ANALYSE THE INFORMATION

1. Purpose of the report

This Report is a contribution to the learning process. It focuses specifically on efforts to prevent children under 18 from being trafficked. For example, there has been an increased awareness in South Eastern Europe that girls younger than 18 are being trafficked into commercial sexual exploitation alongside adult women and that both boys and girls between ages 8 and 13 are being trafficked to earn money by begging. But when it comes to prevention, the same techniques used to warn adults who are thinking of migrating about the danger of being trafficked, were initially transferred to a younger target audience. However, the techniques used for recruiting and transporting children, the destinations they are taken to and the ways in which they are exploited, all differ in significant ways to the patterns involving adults from the same countries. Therefore, when it comes to prevention, the situation of children can and should be addressed in different ways to adults.

This is why this Report looks at the effectiveness of different approaches to prevention of trafficking as well as other protection techniques and their impacts. Virtually every initiative related to public awareness, prosecution or support of victims of trafficking is likely to have some preventive effect. The Report, however, examines especially the actions being taken to tackle the problem at its roots. It looks at: what constitutes good practice in the design of prevention; what strategies have been tried; and the strengths and weaknesses of individual projects and programmes that have been implemented in SEE countries as well as in destination countries outside the region. It also offers some general insights into different approaches to understanding the causes of child trafficking and methodology for programming prevention initiatives. Finally, it identifies the practices, policies and programmes that need to be put in place to protect children who are at risk of being trafficked.

2. Guiding principles—a human rights approach

Trafficking is a multi-dimensional problem, analysed and discussed from social, economic, criminal and other perspectives—and linked to issues such as gender, health, migration and development. Each perspective suggests different strategies to solve the problem and introduces different criteria for assessing the success of the measures taken. In determining what criteria were appropriate for assessing activities to prevent child trafficking, the author of this Report adopted a human rights approach.

In doing so, the author took into consideration especially the CRC[12] and the principles underlying the human rights approach to trafficking, set out in the "Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking" of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in 2002.[13] The first of these principles states: "The human rights of trafficked persons shall be at the centre of all efforts to prevent and combat trafficking and to protect, assist and provide redress to victims." Another key principle concerning the primacy of human rights points out that measures to prevent trafficking should not "adversely affect the human rights and dignity of persons"—either those who have been trafficked or others such as migrants.

Practically speaking, the human rights approach places people, in this case the children who have been or might be trafficked, at centre stage and assesses strategies on the basis of their impact on those individuals. The approach involves identifying the vulnerabilities of individuals or groups of persons to trafficking, analysing who is accountable to protect them and recommending what measures are required to ensure that human rights will be upheld and protected more effectively.

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12 The relevant principles from the CRC are outlined in Chapter 6 as the foundation stones for good programming.

13 UN document E/2002/68/Add.1, 20 May 2002.

3. Methodology

This Report focuses on: Albania, the UN Administered Province of Kosovo, Republic of Moldova and Romania, which the author visited between April and September 2005. The author interviewed staff from organizations involved in child protection or anti-trafficking activities. These included government agencies, intergovernmental organizations and NGOs.

The author also consulted a wide range of reports about human trafficking and child trafficking, both published and unpublished, from the four locations visited and from other countries in South Eastern Europe and destination countries outside the region, such as the Russian Federation, Turkey and the EU. Reports from other parts of the world, particularly South Asia, South-East Asia and West Africa, have been also consulted to identify any lessons that might be relevant for South Eastern Europe.

A total of 23 young people—22 girls and one boy—who had been trafficked as children within the last three years were interviewed in the UN Administered Province of Kosovo, the Republic of Moldova and Romania. The interviews with children intended to provide information complementary to other sources, especially on children's experiences before and after trafficking. The selected group of children was not intended to be a representative sample of children trafficked from the SEE countries. The contact with children took the form of structured interviews using a standard questionnaire (see Annex I).

Roughly half of the children interviewed had been trafficked abroad and half within their own countries. That balance was, however, different in each country: in the UN Administered Province of Kosovo all those interviewed had been trafficked internally; in the Republic of Moldova everyone had been trafficked abroad; and in Romania both groups were represented. Children were asked about their personal circumstances *before* they were trafficked in order to find out whether they had received any information intended to help them avoid being trafficked and whether any of their experiences prior to trafficking could be a factor in their being trafficked. Most of the interviewees had been living with parents, some had already left home and one had lived many years in a residential institution.

Specific procedures were observed in arranging the interviews[14]:

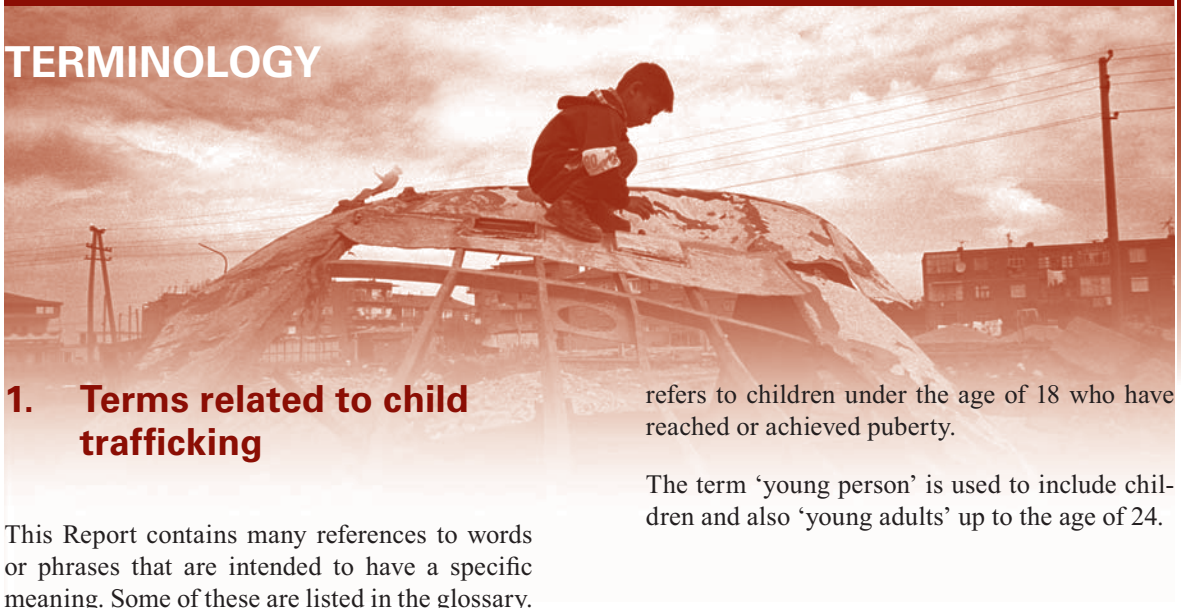
- The interviews were conducted in the language of the young person.
- The young persons were questioned by an adult whom she or he already knew and trusted, and the interview was organized as an informal conversation rather than a formal interview.
- Girls and young women were questioned by a woman, not a man.
- Every effort was made to ensure that the interview did not cause further harm to the child, e.g., by reawakening painful memories.
- To avoid asking questions similar to those which the child had already answered many times, a case manager or another professional familiar with the child's case filled in the basic information about the child's trafficking experience.[15]
- Written consent was obtained from parents, relatives or the managers of the shelters with legal responsibility for the interviewees under the age of 18.

14 Given the agreed criteria and procedures, the author did not carry out any of the interviews himself. In the UN Administered Province of Kosovo and Republic of Moldova the interviews were conducted by female staff from the shelters where the young people had received care. In Romania UNICEF employed a female sociologist to interview nine young people, four in the northwest and five in the northeast. No other persons were present during the interviews which generally lasted one or two hours; but in one case for almost five hours.

15 The questionnaire had two parts: the first was to be filled in by a professional and the second was to be answered by the child.

CHAPTER 3:

TERMINOLOGY



1. Terms related to child trafficking

This Report contains many references to words or phrases that are intended to have a specific meaning. Some of these are listed in the glossary. This section expands on the definition or description of some of the key ones.

1.1 Who is a 'child', an 'adolescent' and a 'young person'?

Following the definitions established by the CRC, the words 'child' and 'children' refer to *any* person under age 18. This concept is particularly important as most countries have laws and cultural conventions that allow children aged 14 to 17 years to have important responsibility, such as having a job or a driver's license, but also important accountability, such as being tried as an adult for a crime.

The word 'adolescent' is generally used to refer to anyone aged 10 to 18 years. In this Report it refers to children under the age of 18 who have reached or achieved puberty.

The term 'young person' is used to include children and also 'young adults' up to the age of 24.

1.2 Child trafficking

The word 'trafficking' is used to refer to a range of practices in which individuals are recruited by means of force or other forms of coercion for the purposes of exploitation. This has become the standard definition since the coming into force of the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children in 2003 (see Box 1). The phrases 'trafficking in persons' and 'trafficking in human beings,' are used interchangeably to refer to the same phenomenon.

'*Child* trafficking' is defined in the Protocol in the following statement: "The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered 'trafficking in persons' even if this does

Box 1: The definition of 'trafficking in persons' in the UN Trafficking Protocol

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

(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used;

(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article;

(d) "Child" shall mean any person under eighteen years of age.

Source: The United Nations "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (2000), supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000)"—otherwise known as the "Palermo Protocol."

not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article." This is often used as a definition of child trafficking. The inference is that the element of coercion is irrelevant in the course of the recruitment of child victims of trafficking. This means that *any* child under 18 years of age who is recruited or moved from one place to another to be exploited is considered to have been trafficked, even if no element of coercion or deception is used during recruitment or transportation. For this reason, understanding what constitutes 'exploitation' of children is essential if child trafficking is to be prevented.

1.3 Differences to note between trafficking in children and trafficking in adult women

The terminology used in the title of the UN Trafficking Protocol—"especially women and children"—recognizes the critical role of social hierarchy in trafficking. In other words, there seems to be a tendency for males to exploit females and for adults to exploit children. However, it is clear that children of both sexes have experiences and face issues which are distinct from adults, including women.

Lumping 'women and children' together in conceptualizing human trafficking has resulted in a

Box 2: Challenges in the definition of trafficking endorsed by the UN Trafficking Protocol (Palermo Protocol)

It is important to note following challenges which require further attention:

(a) There is a tendency for the trafficking debate and related understanding of the phenomenon, to gravitate into a criminal approach on the one hand, and a human rights or protection approach on the other hand. This creates a false impression of opposing perspectives when, in reality, both dimensions are inherently linked and are essential to prevent and combat trafficking.

(b) In the light of the Palermo Protocol, exploitation of the victim is a key element in the definition of trafficking. Despite its importance in any approach to the trafficking problem, there is no one single definition of exploitation and there is difficulty in determining the point at which exploitation begins.

(c) According to the Palermo Protocol, exploitation is perceived at the end of the trafficking chain, leading to interpretations according to which a woman or child cannot be said to have been trafficked until exploitation takes place. This approach may create difficulties in identifying and punishing the other forms of exploitation that might also occur during the entire process of trafficking (harbouring, transportation, etc.). It also creates problems for the determination of the responsibility of perpetrators before exploitation occurs.

(d) Trafficking is generally perceived as the movement of a person from a country of origin to a country of destination, in some circumstances through a transit country. This model paved the way to the Palermo definition.

However, the Palermo definition is not limited to cross-border trafficking and should be applied also to internal trafficking.

(e) There have been frequent reports in recent years of complex international trafficking networks associated with organized crime. In response, international legal instruments have, for the most part, focused on organized criminal groups. However, the Palermo definition also sets the legal framework for the prosecution of non-organized trafficking.

(f) There are potential links between trafficking and migration. When people move from place to place – at local, national or international levels – they are likely to become more vulnerable particularly at times of political crisis or in the face of social or economic pressures. Whether driven by desperate situations, or motivated to seek better life opportunities, they may willingly consent to being smuggled across a border. Once transported across the border they may find themselves abducted into a trafficking network, unable to escape and without access to legal advice or protection.

Source: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Innocenti Insight Trafficking in Human Beings, Especially Women and Children, in Africa, (2005).

focus on a form of exploitation which both groups experience, i.e. commercial sexual exploitation. While this is a critical issue for children, it is equally important to address other forms of child trafficking for activities such as domestic servitude and organized begging.

Similarly, while a focus on women and children carries the implicit assumption that what is good for women will also be good for children, it must be remembered that children are entitled to special protection measures.

1.4 Distinguishing between child trafficking and other forms of child exploitation

The terms 'trafficking' and 'exploitation' appear clear but, in practice, it is often difficult to distinguish children who are trafficked from children who find themselves abroad or in the situation of exploitation. For example, children who are separated from family or unaccompanied; children who leave home and go abroad on their own; children who are being exploited but who have not been trafficked; and children who earn money in the same ways as trafficked children but keep the money for themselves rather than handing it over to a trafficker or controller.

In theory, the Trafficking Protocol definition makes a clear delineation between 'exploitation' and other forms of child labour or economic activities involving children. 'Exploitation' is defined to include, at a minimum, "exploitation of the prostitution of others and other forms of sexual exploitation" and any other activity that involves a child being subjected to force, coercion or servitude—"forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude." Exploitation also includes the removal of a child's organs for financial gain.[16]

In practice, it can be difficult to distinguish between forms of dependency on adults that place obligations on children, especially those less than about 13 years old, and forms of exploitation. Younger children, of necessity, rely on an adult or older child for basic needs such as meals and shelter, and, in turn, they do as they are told. Furthermore, while recruiting children for hazardous work is not mentioned in the international definition of trafficking, the recruitment of children as beggars, pickpockets or thieves is generally viewed as trafficking when children are forced to hand over some or all earnings to another.

Infants and children who are the subjects of intercountry adoption are said to be 'trafficked' when the terms of international agreements on intercountry adoption are not respected. This is especially the case where birth parents are improperly induced into giving their consent to adoption or where intermediaries make large amounts of money out of illegal transactions. However, such cases are distinct from the forms of exploitation considered here and so are not specifically addressed in this Report.

1.5 Internal trafficking

In South Eastern Europe, as in most other parts of the world, governments concerned about child trafficking have been largely focused on children trafficked from one country to another—'transnational' or 'cross-border' trafficking. In large part this is because the Trafficking Protocol adopted in 2000 was linked to the UN Convention on Transnational Organized Crime. However, children are also trafficked *within* their own countries. In some cases, they are trafficked only a few kilometres from their original homes and in others to the opposite side of their country. In some cases, children are trafficked within the country that is not their country of origin. Such children are said to be victims of 'internal trafficking'. Cases of this sort have been reported in every country in South Eastern Europe, although the authorities are often slow to acknowledge that the children involved are actually victims of trafficking.

1.6 Separated children or unaccompanied minors

There are many adolescents who leave home on their own in search of a better life abroad but who

[16] The removal of organs from children with the consent of a parent or guardian for legitimate medical or therapeutic reasons is not considered exploitation. Interpretative notes for the official records [*travaux préparatoires*] of the negotiation of the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocols thereto, UN document A/55/383/Add.1, November 2000, paragraph 65.

are not trafficked. However, once abroad, these 'unaccompanied' or 'separated' children are vulnerable to abuse. They are young people who may resort to earning money in illegal ways in other countries, for example, by begging or stealing. If no one is controlling them or profiting from their activities, they are not considered victims of trafficking. However, some children who migrate abroad without being trafficked subsequently fall under the control of a pimp or another adult who makes money out of them. They are then victims of trafficking.

forms of protection can consequently be used to prevent children from being trafficked as well as made available to children who have already been trafficked.

Protection measures also include interventions during the process of trafficking. For example, to intercept a child who is being transported from one place to another, or to protect those who are already being exploited by withdrawing them from the control of the person who exploits and profits from them. Interception could be viewed as an effective form of preventing further exploitation or abuse. Protecting a child who is being subjected to abuse invariably involves assisting the child and ensuring that no further harm takes place.

Regardless of the stage in the trafficking process, the protection interventions should be in line with protection measures outlined in UNICEF's Guidelines on Protection of the Rights of Child Victims of Trafficking.

Box 3: Child migrants from the Oaş region of Romania

The Oaş region at the northwest tip of Romania is a poor rural area and has a long history of villagers leaving in search of work, often taking on dirty or difficult jobs. Before 1990 this migration was largely to other parts of Romania but since has expanded to other countries in Europe. Child migrants, as young as 13, are part of this outflow; and they typically regard stealing as an acceptable way of surviving once they are abroad. Between 2000 and 2002, hundreds of children from Oaş were arrested in and around Paris, France for committing offences. Some of them were picked up by child protection agencies in France and have been reported to prefer living with a foster family or in a residential care facility in France to returning home.

Source: Terre des hommes and La Voix de l'Enfant, «Mineurs 'isolés' d'Oas en France: Analyse de situation en vue d'une intervention de prévention » 2003, quoted in M. Dottridge, "Kids as Commodities? Child trafficking and what to do about it," Terre des hommes, 2004, page 90.

2. Prevention

At its most simple 'prevention' means taking action to stop something which is otherwise likely to happen. 'Action to prevent child trafficking' in this Report refers to a wide range of efforts to address the causes of trafficking, both to influence the actions of individuals and to tackle underlying and root causes. It also includes measures to strengthen the forms of protection available to children— protection to keep them from being trafficked as well as against other types of abuse that trafficked children commonly experience before being trafficked. It consequently includes a range of measures to improve the effectiveness of child protection services and other institutions involved in combating trafficking.

2.1 Protection

The word 'protection' usually refers to a wide range of measures that can be taken to prevent children coming to harm—not just trafficking, but other forms of violence, abuse, exploitation and neglect as well as actions to assist children that have been exposed to harm. Various similar

CHAPTER 4:

UNDERSTANDING THE CAUSES OF CHILD TRAFFICKING AS A PRECONDITION FOR PREVENTION

1. The process of trafficking

In its simplest form, trafficking involves a series of different phases, each of which offers opportunities for intervention to prevent the process continuing or to extract the child involved. These phases can be summarized as:

recruitment or movement → exploitation → withdrawal (by agreement, escape or outside intervention) → recovery and possible reintegration.

In reality however, trafficking is seldom a simple continuum. Testimonies by children trafficked internally in the UN Administered Province of Kosovo reveal that the same child can go in and out of exploitation a number of times. For example, an adolescent escapes from a situation of exploitation, finds refuge in a shelter or with a friend, sometimes even receiving police protection, but she is drawn back into exploitation, and escapes again. It is as if the children are in a maze from which they can escape only by chance or extraordinary intervention. Their accounts confirm that they could not control what happened to them and that, even when they came into contact with someone with a specific responsibility to protect them from harm, they were not necessarily safe.

To intervene in any of the phases of the trafficking process it is essential to understand specific factors contributing to the situation and key actors involved. For example, in the "recruitment" phase, the main factors influencing crucial decisions might be the family needs and expectations of income, the child's aspirations and her/his experience of physical and emotional security as well as the "recruiter's" expectations of profit. In contrast, the main factors in the phase of exploitation include the trafficker's income, the child's dependency and helplessness, and the willingness of "clients" to use services.

Each phase in the trafficking process offers different opportunities to intervene. The schematic presentation in Figure 1 indicates the pivotal individuals and some of their reasons for involvement in trafficking process, which can potentially be influenced to change the course of action.

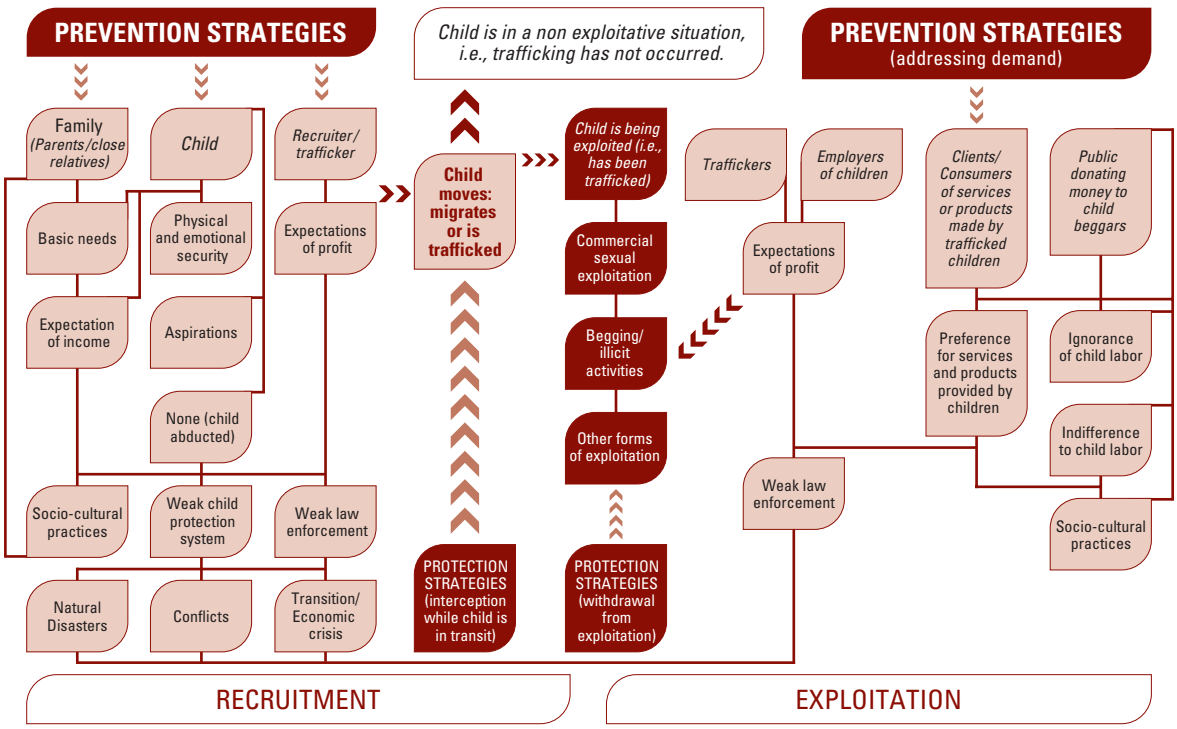


Figure 1: Trafficking process: individuals involved and causes of trafficking

Intervening during the trafficking process however, may be a case of 'too little, too late' unless the factors that determine behaviour of crucial actors are also addressed. This means that different causes of child trafficking need to be investigated and their interdependence analysed.

2. Determining and analysing the causes of child trafficking

Analytical models that are most frequently used to analyse the causality of certain social phenomenon include a model of hierarchical levels of causality, the economic model of "supply-demand" dynamic and the individual behaviour model. Each of these commonly used analytical models shows strengths and weaknesses when applied to child trafficking as illustrated in the following brief descriptions and commentary.

2.1 Different types and levels of causality

The causes of child trafficking, like other child rights violations, are of different types and occur at different levels. To develop a conceptual framework, the causes can be clustered into immediate, underlying and structural or root causes.

Immediate causes are related to decisions made by children, adolescents, their parents and other individuals around them that result in child trafficking. For example, an adolescent girl, who is out of school and does not find employment decides to go abroad to work at more-or-less any cost. Individuals in the community are offering to get her in contact with a possible employer in a foreign country. The trafficker recruits her and the border official turns a blind eye. Knowing which factors have contributed to decisions of different individuals is the first step to revealing the underlying causes.

Underlying causes are conditions that influence decisions taken by individuals that lead to trafficking in children. For example, in the case of the adolescent girl's decision, a low level of education and lack of income play a role in her desire to leave home and find a job abroad. She is not aware of the risks and trusts people from her community. Prospects of additional income motivate traffickers and border officials and weak law enforcement facilitates their actions. Demand for certain services also fuels the prospect of profits by procuring individuals for such services.

Structural or root causes are factors contributing to a social and economic environment in which child trafficking and exploitation can flourish. They include, for example, economic crisis in the adolescent's home country or community, social exclusion, gender discrimination, and a weak legal and social protection system.

The understanding and clustering of causes in the logical framework is only the first step in causal analysis. To decide upon the level and type of intervention it is necessary to map out the rights and duties of actors involved, identify who has the obligation and authority to act, the reasons for inaction as well as the conditions (capacities or resources) that are required to enable appropriate action. In other words, to design a good strategic intervention to prevent a poorly educated and unemployed adolescent girl getting trapped in trafficking, it is not sufficient to understand and address the factors that are influencing her decision to go abroad, but to understand also who has the obligation to protect her and remove and address all the reasons for inaction.

2.2 Analysing individual behaviour

Behaviour of individuals has been in the forefront of many existing anti-trafficking initiatives described in this report. When designing interventions, they have mainly relied on the understanding of factors that motivate or influence decisions taken by individuals. The understanding of motivations influencing the child's or parents` decisions is illustrated in Figure 2 below.

2.3 Using the 'supply and demand' logic in analysing causes of trafficking

The causes for child trafficking can be found simultaneously in two places, in the communities/countries where children are recruited and in the places/countries where they are exploited. Therefore, the causes can be clustered and analysed on both sides of the 'supply-demand' continuum.

The combination of causes for the circumstances in which children are trafficked was mentioned earlier in this chapter (2.1). They include decisions taken by different key actors, the motiva-

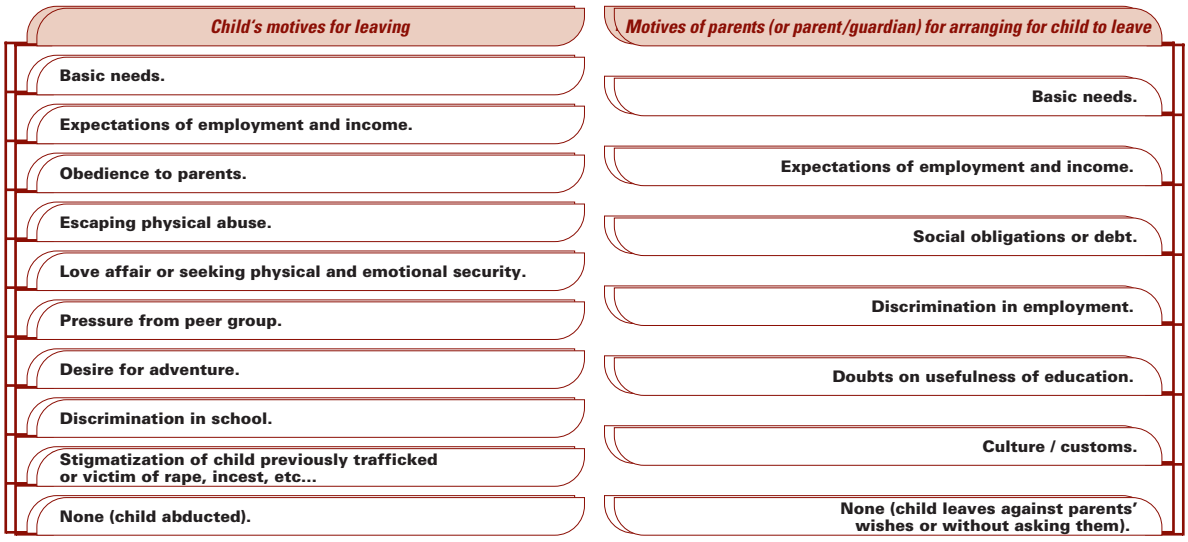


Figure 2: Reasons for a child leaving her/his usual place of residence

tion behind such decisions, as well as underlying and structural causes making up an environment where the 'supply' for trafficking is possible.

For example, the evidence provided by six girls interviewed in the UN Administered Province of Kosovo, all of whom were trafficked internally, reveals their motivation to pursue an income opportunity and points to failures on the part of both Centres for Social Work (social services) and the police. In one case, a girl who had been raped by her own father sought assistance first from social workers and later from police, but on each occasion she was sent back to her father until the time she decided to leave home and was consequently trafficked. This example also illustrates how at different points in time all those with duties to protect the child, including parents, social services, police and even school authorities have failed and the 'supply' of the child for exploitation was made possible.

Many recent international agreements urge that the 'demand' for the services of trafficking victims should be also understood and tackled more systematically.[17] However, few spell out what they mean by 'demand'. Frequently it is assumed that the only 'demand' to be analysed and addressed is the demand for commercial sex by men and boys. However, the main 'demand' for children who are trafficked actually comes from those who can potentially make a profit out of them, either in the course of recruiting and moving them or once they are exploited and earn money. In addition, traffickers also prefer young people because they are easier to intimidate into obedience than are older adults. The high 'profiting' potential, together with the shortcomings of migration and protection laws and failures of law enforcement enable the 'demand' by traffickers to recruit and make money out of children.

However, traffickers are not the only ones attracted by the prospects of a profit from trafficking children. Employers like pimps and the owners of brothels or sweatshops and various third parties such as recruiters, agents, transporters, 'controllers', corrupt law and migration officials and others also make money from the trafficking process. To understand and address the 'demand' it is important to understand all factors, actors and their interdependence. Some actors participate knowingly in human trafficking, others may be ignorant of the way they help traffickers, such as bus drivers or train conductors who take bribes from children to let them cross borders. Likewise, certain behaviours, such as giving money to child beggars can also indirectly motivate traffickers and controllers to demand children and not adults for begging.

Demand for certain services, such as commercial sex, has also particular characteristics, such as a high premium placed by clients on youthful looks that might increase the 'demand' for children.

17 The European Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (2005) of the Council of Europe states that in order "to discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking, each Party shall adopt or strengthen legislative, administrative, educational, social, cultural or other measures…" (article 6) and consider adopting "such legislative and other measures as may be necessary to establish as criminal offences under its internal law, the use of services which are the object of exploitation" when the person using these services is aware that the person is a victim of trafficking (article 19).

2.4 Analysing causes to design prevention interventions

Every analytical approach discussed here has some advantages and shortcomings when applied to child trafficking. To design a sound prevention strategy a combined analysis might be required. For example, the clustering and analysis of causes by levels might not necessarily reveal what roles the specific 'demand' factors are playing. Or one particular cause can be actually present at all levels. For example, a low level of education may contribute to children being unaware of risks; it might be the cause for poor employment prospects as well as for their family having a low income. Furthermore, some of the causes relate to the same issue, but make themselves felt in different ways at different levels or 'locations'. For example, economic conditions can create poverty that feeds the supply side of trafficking and, at the same time, an inclination on the demand side to exploit cheap or docile labour.

Analysis of the various causes of trafficking also reveals that the vulnerability of children to trafficking is closely associated with vulnerabilities to *any other* form of exploitation and violence. This implies that the vulnerability of children to these different risks may be addressed by similar strategies. For example, opportunities for education and employment, changes in legislation and social service structures, early identification and response to cases of violence, ending corruption or social exclusion will all have an impact beyond the prevention of trafficking.

Current programmes that aim to address the causes of child trafficking tend to focus on the immediate causes, while leaving other levels to be addressed by programmes with objectives that are broader than just the prevention of trafficking. However, if efforts are made to address the immediate causes of trafficking without simultaneously linking up and addressing related causes at the underlying and structural levels, the effects are unlikely to have a long-lasting effect or to be sustainable. A similar observation may be made in relation to the need to address causes on both supply and demand sides.

CHAPTER 5:

SOME ELEMENTS OF 'GOOD PRACTICE'

This chapter examines how some of the principles that are essential foundation stones for quality initiatives or 'good practices' in the areas of children's rights and protection, also apply directly to the work related to child trafficking. The elements to be considered for 'good practice' are rooted in child rights principles and provisions, use quality data and analysis, apply a logical framework, forge essential partnerships, monitor and evaluate practice and measure the progress towards established results.

These same elements can be used also as a reference point to assess which strategies to prevent child trafficking are appropriate and constitute good practice—and which do not.

1. Child rights principles and provisions

Among the basic principles and provisions set out in the CRC that underpin all good practice, the following are the most relevant in case of anti-trafficking work.

1.1 The 'best interests' of the child

Article 3, CRC

> *In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration.*

While the CRC is a legal instrument primarily committing States to respect child rights, this article explicitly also commits *others* to making the best interests of the child a primary consideration in actions and decisions affecting children, including actions to prevent trafficking. Hence, any organizations or agents working to prevent child trafficking have a responsibility to ensure their efforts uphold the best interests of all trafficked children and children at risk as well as the best interests of the individual child who stands in front of them. Customs, traditions, common practices, religious imperatives and group or collective rights may not take precedence over the best interests of the child. This is an important principle to keep in mind, especially when trafficked children come from a particular ethnic or religious group, or specific community.

1.2 Children have a right to express their views and to have these taken into account

Article 12, CRC

> *States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.*

The organizations and agents working to prevent child trafficking should listen to children who have been trafficked and take their comments and views into account when designing projects to prevent other children from being trafficked. For example, children can disclose whether and how prevention initiatives affected them and provide valuable information for re-adjustments of interventions. Children can also take an active part in efforts to prevent trafficking through, for example, peer education programmes.

1.3 Non-discrimination

Article 2, CRC

> *States Parties shall respect and ensure the rights set forth in the present Convention to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child's or his or her parent's or legal guardian's race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status.*

This principle has several implications in relation to child trafficking: it serves as guidance for finding out and analysing whether particular categories of children are being selected for trafficking, it informs on the nature and direction of protection measures and it serves as a benchmark for evaluating the effectiveness and impact of interventions on children vulnerable to trafficking.

1.4 The child's right to privacy

Article 6, CRC

> *No child shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her privacy, family, home or correspondence, or to unlawful attacks on his or her honour and reputation.*

This provision calls for protection of the privacy and identity of children who have been trafficked and for measures that ensure protection of the child's identity in the use and dissemination of information.[18] The principle is particularly relevant for organizations involved in protecting or assisting children who have been trafficked as well as for those that are planning and carrying out awareness raising campaigns and other prevention initiatives.

2. Data collection and analysis

Data and its analysis are of essential importance for effective strategic design. When it comes to trafficking, good quality, up-to-date, reliable and comparable data are in especially short supply. The clandestine nature of trafficking and its ever changing patterns and routes are making systematic collection of data very difficult and the timely up-dating and adjustment of interventions almost impossible.

For example, to convince the governments in South Eastern Europe that trafficking is a severe problem which requires immediate action, it was important initially to gather all the evidence and data available about experiences and abuse of girls and women trafficked for sexual exploitation in the region. Over the past decade the purposes for which information is collected in South Eastern Europe about trafficking in children and adults have changed. Today, there is no denial of trafficking and of its ever changing patterns and attention is shifting from emergency response to prevention. However, to design a prevention strategy, a different type of information and knowledge is required. This includes understanding the multiple causes of trafficking, specific vulnerabilities, risk and protective factors as well as behavioural patterns.[19] Assessing and analysing the characteristics of children who were trafficked can shed some light on risk and vulnerability factors. However, to identify any characteristics that distinguish children who have been trafficked from others, it is important to collect a number of specific demographic, socio-economic, family and personal history data. Getting answers usually means seeking information in more than one place: not just in the child's community and country of origin but wherever children have been exploited as well.

Some answers can be acquired from trafficked children who pass through shelters or transit centres; however, these are insufficient and can mislead the analysis and response. In the case of Romania, for example, very few trafficked children (only five) arrived back in Romania from Italy between June 2004 and September 2005,[20] suggesting that Italy was not a significant destination. In contrast, investigations by NGOs in Rome during 2005 revealed that a large proportion of the children providing commercial sex in the city came from Romania and revealed information about the children's places of origin in Romania.[21]

In the Republic of Moldova there has been a quite different barrier to obtaining accurate information. Under the administrative arrangement that exists between countries in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Volgograd Agreement,[22] children found earning money in the streets of a country other than their own are held in juvenile detention centres and transported back to their own countries. However, little attention is paid to finding out whether they have been trafficked and some cases of trafficking are therefore inevitably overlooked.

18 Guideline 8, paragraph 9, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Recommended Principles and Guidelines on Human Rights and Human Trafficking (2002).

19 See Chapter 5 for more details on the causes of trafficking.

20 Statistics provided by the Gavroche Centre, Bucharest, Romania, in September 2005.

21 FRCCF, CDS and the Terre des hommes Foundation, op. cit.

22 Signed by all CIS states except Turkmenistan on 24 September 1993.

Interviews with trafficked children might reveal some risk factors, such as their previous exposure to domestic violence. However, to confirm that this is a specific risk for trafficking it is necessary to assess whether the incidence of domestic violence is significantly higher than average in the households of children who are trafficked. It is also important to situate patterns of trafficking in the wider context of what happens to other children in similar socio-economic and other conditions. In other words, much could be learned from children who are not trafficked when others in their circumstances are.

For example, interviews with adolescent girls in the UN Administered Province of Kosovo revealed that most had left home when aged 14 or 15 and ended up in commercial sexual exploitation. By itself, this appears to suggest that girls of a certain age leaving home are at high risk of exploitation. However, without knowing what proportion of all girls leave home at a certain age and what proportion of them have found opportunities for positive outcomes, it is not possible to confirm that 'home-leaving' girls between 14-15 years of age are at high risk of sexual exploitation in the UN Administered Province of Kosovo. In addition, understanding protective factors through studying 'positive deviance' may also inform protection responses, which go beyond addressing the risk factors.[23]

Who collects the data from children will also influence the quality of data. For example, when children are trafficked within their own country, law enforcement agents could in principle collect these data as easily as an NGO. Yet children are likely to be more intimidated by a police interview than by questions from a professional who has looked after them. It is important to ensure that the respect of the child's dignity, privacy and protection of identity and the use of child-friendly questioning methods are included in the code of practice as minimum standards for professionals working with children.

In the case of cross-boarder trafficking, maintaining a quality information 'chain' becomes an additional challenge. When two or more countries are involved, police and other national agencies that have the authority to work in only one country have difficulty getting all the information needed from both ends of the trafficking chain.

The Department for Child Protection in Satu Mare, in northwest Romania, overcame such obstacles and developed links with the child protection authorities in Paris, France, as many children from the Oaş area near Satu Mare (see Box 3) were being found around Paris earning money by stealing.[24] It took several years to first become aware of the specific trafficking pattern, pinpoint it to specific locations in the two countries, overcome language and cultural differences and build a solid link.

These examples also highlight the importance of understanding the existing protection mechanisms and services and their shortcomings. Mapping and assessing existing regulations, professional mandates and practices, law enforcement and social protection services available to children at risk are crucial to identifying gaps in protection policies and practices. The gaps may reveal unclear mandates and a weak capacity to collect information on children at risk and a lack of services to respond to the risks. However, well trained and skilled police officers, sensitized school authorities and social workers—well connected through good referral mechanisms— may be crucial in early identification and response to children at risk and can go a long way towards preventing trafficking.

Understanding and addressing the gaps or failures in the existing protection system is in itself part of an effective strategy to prevent trafficking in children.

3. Programme logic

When identifying the causes of child trafficking and working out possible preventive strategies, policy makers and programme designers are inevitably preoccupied with 'cause' and 'effect'. First of all they have to understand the inter-dependence of different causes and then to assess what the impacts of their possible interventions are likely to be.

23 In Nepal, Save the Children and a local government committee developed a 'Positive Deviance Methodology' for learning why, in an area with a high rate of child trafficking, children in some families were not trafficked. These families were perceived to 'deviate' from a norm. A.M.J. Van Gaalen, "Review of initiatives to combat child trafficking by members of the Save the Children Alliance," Save the Children, 2003.

24 Personal communication with the General Manager, Department of Social Assistance and Child Rights Protection, Satu Mare, Romania, September 2005.

The key to predicting expected results of an intervention is ensuring that the links between 'causes' and 'effects' are logical and that all the links of the chain are addressed. In the language of programme design, this means ensuring that the 'programme logic' of a proposed intervention is sound. All too often, the programme logic is based on a leap of 'faith' that jumps over several links in the chain, predicting a result that is possible only if all the links are addressed. Figure 3 illustrates this point through the following example:

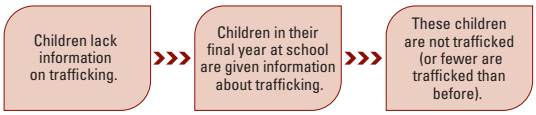


Figure 3: Model of programme logic

The logic here assumes that lack of information about trafficking is the main (only) cause for trafficking and that by providing such information, the trafficking will be prevented. This assumption turned out to be fatally flawed when discovered that *lack* of information was only a small factor for children who ended up being trafficked. Even if lack of knowledge *were* a main reason for the outcome of trafficking, the logic of the cause and effect chain is still insufficient, as it assumes that 'information' alone, without skills and competencies, will suffice for children to know how to protect themselves.

Organizations have developed various methods for demonstrating how their proposed interventions are intended to meet particular objectives, often using the 'logical framework approach' or 'logframe' that is required by many major donors, such as USAID.[25] In addition to demonstrating how various activities are expected to contribute to meeting objectives, these frameworks usually suggest how progress will be monitored, e.g., by measuring 'indicators', and point out any key assumptions on which the project's logic is based and on which its success depends.

Experience shows that projects aiming to prevent trafficking have a better chance to succeed when they are clear and modest in stating the expected results. Child trafficking is an emotional issue which can prompt both programme designers and donors to apply an emergency approach and seek rapid solutions. An extra complication is that demonstrating the programme logic of an intervention which is intended to prevent abuse from occurring is more difficult than demonstrating the logic of interventions with a positive result, such as an increase in knowledge and a resulting change of behaviour, or an improvement in child protection services.

Donors should look for reliable programme logic in all initiatives, including ones that involve disseminating information to children and ones that address 'demand'. Good programme logic has been missing in initiatives in these two categories in recent years. For example, projects that are claiming to address 'demand' for adolescent girls for commercial sexual exploitation, usually focus on legislative change and law-enforcement but routinely fail to address in any other ways men and boys who pay for commercial sex.

4. Participation

Many anti-trafficking programmes in SEE countries were initially developed as an emergency response by international organizations that are not well rooted in local communities. Therefore it is not surprising that insufficient attention was paid to the process, including to the participation of children.

Not only children but also adults who had been trafficked and other people in the communities have been left out of the programme design. A large part of anti-trafficking projects have been implemented from above without sufficient consultation with either the people who were supposed to benefit from preventive measures or others who are 'stakeholders' in these initiatives.

Participation is not only an issue of rights and ethics but also a practical one. The meaningful involvement of children and local communities is important because these people are all actors who have the potential to either help or hinder the success of anti-trafficking initiatives. It is, therefore, good practice to enable children to participate and also to consult and involve other members of the community.

4.1 Promoting the participation of children

Participation of children in designing and implementing measures to prevent trafficking is especially important as it addresses the profound

[25] Project plans using a 'logframe' usually propose a series of activities to achieve a larger objective or goal. The levels of action involve: (1) 'activities'; (2) 'outputs' or 'results' (the expected consequences of one or more activities); (3) 'objectives' or 'purpose' (the collective consequences of a set of outputs); and (4) 'aims' or 'wider objectives' (usually to solve the problem being addressed).

power imbalance of adults over children when it comes to child trafficking.

Some trafficking prevention efforts in South Eastern Europe have involved children in the following ways:

- Children who have been trafficked have been debriefed and their information and comments taken into account when designing prevention initiatives.
- Children have been consulted, e.g., during an evaluation or impact assessment, on the effects of previous protection efforts and their comments taken into account in future project design.
- Children have been 'messengers' and activists in education activities during the course of a project.

There are, however, *no* examples of children being *directly* involved in the *design* of a prevention initiative. In one project (described in more detail in Chapter 8), feedback from children about the information they received resulted in a significant re-orientation of the project. More emphasis was put on teaching skills such as how to communicate with others and how to work in a team.

Child participation needs professional expertise to ensure that children can express their views and needs freely and that these are given due weight in the project activities. However, children tend to focus on the immediate issues they face and have little interest in or capacity to conceptualize and envision what they might encounter once they leave school. Hence, it is ultimately the responsibility of programme designers to ensure the logic of any prevention initiative and decide on its priorities.

The substantial experience about ways in which children have been involved in efforts to combat commercial sexual exploitation can be transferred to efforts to combat trafficking.[26]

Peer education is one way to involve children in conveying information to other children. This method has been used in the course of life skills education at boarding schools in the Republic of Moldova, as well as in projects organized both in school and out by Save the Children throughout South Eastern Europe. There is evidence that peer education is an effective way of communicating with children, particularly on issues on which they think older adults are out of touch, such as HIV/AIDS and trafficking. However, some professionals think this approach undermines their role and authority: a school teacher in northeast Romania assured the author that middle-aged teachers can teach life skills just as well as young adults and a Romanian police officer was confident that police visiting schools to tell school children about trafficking was an effective way of communicating.

Some attempts have been made to involve children who have been trafficked as peer educators on the grounds that their personal experience and emotional involvement with the issue make them particularly influential. In Albania, for example, a child who had been trafficked to beg is reported to have been an effective 'communicator'. However, much caution is required in inviting children or young adults who have been trafficked into commercial sexual exploitation to talk about their personal experience. Recalling painful memories outside a safe environment may reawaken their own anxieties or result in stigma. On the other hand, it is relatively easy to encourage the participation of children who are relatively unlikely to be trafficked themselves and to engage them in anti-trafficking education activities.

In 2002, Save the Children ensured that children participated in anti-trafficking activities when it embarked on a programme in eight countries in South Eastern Europe. Children were involved in a wide range of initiatives.[27] An independent evaluation of the regional programme pointed out that child participation appeared to have four separate consequences:[28]

1. Children were taken more seriously by adults.
2. Children were better able to protect themselves.
3. There was greater community involvement and 'community ownership' of the project.
4. Finally, better understanding of the situation by those who design projects led to better quality anti-trafficking interventions.

26 C. Cotteril and G. Thompstone, "Prevention Programme for Children and Families at Risk," ECPAT International, 2001, available at http://www.ecpat.net

27 Examples can be found in: G. Wolfensohn, op. cit.

28 O. Ginzburg, op. cit., page 22.

The evaluation concluded that it is not enough simply to ensure that children participate: their participation should also increase the effectiveness and impact of a project. Measuring this 'added value' is potentially difficult, but it means programme designers should state explicitly how children's participation is expected to contribute to achieving a project's objectives and whether it will do so in ways which other techniques could not achieve.

4.2 Promoting the participation of other stakeholders

Efforts to prevent child trafficking in South Eastern Europe have paid less attention to involving members of the communities whose children are involved than have initiatives in other parts of the world. The majority of the initiatives involved consulting stakeholders who are influential at national level, such as the police and social services. However, the communities targeted by traffickers have tended to be overlooked. Sometimes there was a suspicion that members of the community were in league with traffickers. In other cases, there has been no obvious good reason except a lack of knowledge of who to involve and a shortage of time to develop the necessary links.

Finding the way to actively involve members of specific communities or ethnic groups is especially important when children from specific ethnic minorities have been trafficked, such as the Gakauz Turkic-speaking minority in the Republic of Moldova or children from the Roma and Egyptian[29] communities. In Albania and the Republic of Moldova adult members of these communities are reported to have been responsible for trafficking children: children from their own community in the case of Albania and non-Roma children in the case of the Republic of Moldova. When members of a minority which already suffers discrimination are trafficked, it is evidently important that initiatives to stop trafficking should contribute to reducing exclusion, rather than increasing prejudice.[30]

29 The minorities who describe themselves as 'Egyptian' in South Eastern Europe generally deny that they are Roma and assert that they came from Egypt.

30 The UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities (1993) states in article 2.3: "Persons belonging to minorities have the right to participate effectively in decisions on the national and, where appropriate, regional level concerning the minority to which they belong or the regions in which they live…." The OSCE has also urged governments to consult Roma and Sinti representatives in designing education policies that affect them.

5. Monitoring and evaluation

Anti-trafficking specialists around the world have been concerned that some initiatives to stop trafficking have had a harmful effect on the very people they were designed to benefit. This has led them to echo the health professionals' refrain that interventions must "do no harm".[31] This principle emphasizes the importance of assessing the impact of efforts to prevent trafficking both on intended beneficiaries, i.e., children who should not be trafficked as a result, and others closely linked to them, i.e., their parents, siblings and other children and adults in their communities.

Finding out whether an initiative to prevent child trafficking has met its objective successfully means measuring its impact on the children it is supposed to benefit, rather than just evaluating the work that has been done. This is the difference between confirming that the 'outputs' of an intervention have been produced and finding out what its results or impact have actually been.

In addition to finding out *after* an initiative has ended whether it has been a success, it is useful to measure progress while the initiative is still going on. Monitoring an ongoing initiative means looking at 'output indicators' (also known as 'process indicators') that show whether a project is doing what was planned and at 'results indicators' that show its impact. Both project managers and donors need to know whether projects are going according to plan and expectations. This allows for refinements and even abrupt changes, if warranted, to take place at any time.

5.1 Indicators

Indicators can help measure changes which are occurring, including trends and changes in the behaviour of individuals. However, when it comes to specific initiatives, the indicators should relate directly to the objective or objectives set for a project, the relevance of which is dependent on good programme logic. Indicators can be 'quantitative'

31 A. Jordan, "Comments on 'best practice' in relation to trafficking in persons," at the conference on 'Sharing best practices in preventing trafficking in persons, protecting victims and punishing traffickers' Inter-American Commission of Women and the Inter-American Children Institute, Organization of American States, Washington DC, 20 November 2003. Accessed 23 March 2004 at: http://www.oas.org/documents/trafficking/default_spa.asp

or 'qualitative,' measuring and describing intended change that has occurred. *Verifying* whether a change has occurred usually involves measuring something that is quantifiable in terms of numbers. Given that most prevention efforts in SEE countries have focused on raising awareness, the next section offers some examples of how to measure a change as a result of these activities.

5.2 Measuring changes as a result of giving children information

Various methods are available to test whether people acquire new knowledge as a result of information campaigns or educational initiatives. The principal method used has been to ask questions of a selection of individuals before and after they are exposed to new information. Other methods include conducting focus groups and carrying out in-depth interviews with smaller samples of people—some having received new information and others not. However, checking increases in knowledge or 'awareness' does not reveal whether the individuals concerned intend to or actually do change their behaviour as a result. Measuring likely behaviour changes—and even actual behaviour changes—is more difficult.

Projects to raise awareness about child trafficking have used a variety of indirect indicators to measure their impact: how many newspaper articles mentioning trafficking have been published; how many information sessions have been organized in schools; how many times have politicians asked official questions about human trafficking; and so on. One NGO devised three ways in which to measure the impact of its information programme on school children:[32]

1. questionnaires administered to ten percent of teachers and pupils receiving information;

2. a monthly report on the school information campaign, including lists of beneficiaries;

3. a qualitative comparison of members in the target audience before and after the campaign.

In-depth questioning of a small sample of the target audience would seem to be the most fruitful way of finding out whether children's behaviour might change as a result of their exposure to and recall of new information. Of course, the most authoritative—and expensive—way to measure the impact of information campaigns on future behaviour is to monitor members of the project's target audience over the long term and compare the results to a 'control group' of similar people who were not exposed to the project's information campaign.

32 Terre des hommes Foundation, TACT Project Proposal, 10 December 2002, unpublished, page 18.

CHAPTER 6:

PATTERNS OF CHILD TRAFFICKING IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE

1. Trends in child trafficking and exploitation involving children from South Eastern Europe

1.1 Why understanding patterns and trends is critical for prevention

Gathering detailed information about who is being trafficked, to where and in what circumstances helps determine the profile of child victims and patterns of trafficking which is vital for the design of targeted prevention efforts. To recognize that a disproportionately high number of children from a particular geographical area or social group are being trafficked, the public authorities or organizations that intend to prevent child trafficking need detailed information from different localities rather than general statistics or anecdotes. In addition to a reliable information system, it is crucial that all those involved in collecting information have a common understanding of what constitutes child trafficking and have ways and means of sharing information while guaranteeing its confidentiality.

Such understanding and good systems for data collection are still lacking in South Eastern Europe. Thus, assessing the scope of child trafficking proves difficult as few reliable statistics are available on the number of identified child victims. Most available information is collected in a variety of transit centres, shelters and rehabilitation centres. This poses some limitations on the quantity and quality of available data. For example, data from adults and children who return to their countries of origin tend to be collected most systematically. Centres run by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) provide assistance mainly to women and girls trafficked into commercial sexual exploitation abroad, so they have more information on this form of trafficking than any others. Transit centres are also less likely to provide assistance to victims of internal trafficking, thus these cases often go uncounted.

Information collected about trafficked children in destination countries is even patchier. This is partly because some forms of exploitation, such as commercial sexual exploitation, take place largely out of the public eye. Even children involved in relatively visible exploitation, such as begging on the streets, are weary of talking to researchers or of revealing the truth about their situation. Organizations providing protection or assistance to separated children in the Russian Federation or EU countries do not necessarily find out whether an individual child has been trafficked or not. Many trafficked children are consequently not counted as such but disappear into the statistics as 'unaccompanied minors'.

A further problem lies in the collating of information about individual cases into general categories by specialist organizations in order to identify patterns and trends. For example, this may be done to distinguish between individuals trafficked into economic exploitation and those trafficked into sexual exploitation. However, there is a danger that these general categories fail to reveal key details. Some organizations have reported how the information about cases varies according to the nature of the questions asked.[33]

Finally in estimating trends it is important to recognise that some sources of information may be unreliable. These are often reports in the media. For example, when the UN Special Rapporteur on the sale of children, child prostitution and pornography visited Albania in November 2005, his visit was reported in the Albanian press. One newspaper reported that the Special Rapporteur had said that "2,000 Albanian children" were being trafficked every year.[34] The Special Rapporteur had not, however, mentioned any figure and the reported number was simply attributed to him by journalists.

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33 IOM noted that in 2003 assistance was provided in Albania to 17 people who had been trafficked and only six were reported to be children. However, further questioning revealed that a total of 10 had been under age 18 when they were first trafficked. R. Surtees, "Second Annual Report on Victims of Trafficking in South Eastern Europe 2005," Regional Clearing Point, IOM, 2005, page 90).

34 "Dy mijë fëmijë shqiptarë trafikohen në vit", Koha Jone (Albanian daily newspaper), 8 November 2005 (translated by the Terre des hommes Foundation).

All this means that precise information on profiles of trafficked children and patterns of trafficking in South Eastern Europe are not available. However, it is possible to identify some trends based on existing information.

2. Key characteristics and profiles of child victims of trafficking in South Eastern Europe

Two distinct age groups targeted by traffickers in South Eastern Europe have been pre-pubescent girls and boys considered suitable for begging and older adolescent girls trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation. It seems that relatively few children between ages 12 and 15 are among those trafficked abroad. Although some children in this age group drop out of school (and rates of school attendance are reported to be falling in several countries), going to school remains the norm for most children under 16 in South Eastern Europe.

Reports compiled on the basis of information provided by individuals who have been trafficked as children reveal a series of other characteristics about the children themselves and the households they lived in before being trafficked. They reveal information about the child's level of education and ambition, and the fact that some of those trafficked have disabilities. As far as the households are concerned, the reports indicate: the income levels of the household the children left—usually poor, but not always so; whether they were located in cities, towns or villages; the incidence of various forms of abuse in the household, including alcoholism and domestic violence; and other characteristics.

However, the great diversity of characteristics makes clustering and comparison difficult. Furthermore these characteristics are only relevant if they occur among trafficked children in a disproportionate way. And even when they do, knowing for example, that most children who are trafficked come from poor families does not do much to help design prevention initiatives. The characteristics are more helpful if they are analysed together with other factors and seen as an element of the causal link with trafficking.

In other regions of the world, trafficking in children is closely associated with the migration of adolescents and younger children from rural areas to towns and cities, either within their own country or abroad. Although this pattern is present in South Eastern Europe—virtually all the children interviewed for this Report came from villages rather than towns—there are also reported cases of adolescents living in small towns and cities who decided to seek work abroad and ended up being trafficked. These adolescents were enticed by reports that salaries were much higher in other countries than in the cities, let alone the rural areas, of their own country.

In some instances it has become clear that children belonging to a specific social group were being trafficked in relatively large numbers: the Jevgjit[35] in Albania are the best documented example. However, this over-representation of a specific ethnic group being exposed to exploitation did not occur because outside traffickers descended on a vulnerable community, but rather because members of an extremely poor social group have taken children from within their own community to earn money for them abroad. Although hard evidence is lacking, there are reports from other countries about disproportionately high numbers of Roma children being trafficked. It would be worth analysing in what way the fact that Roma communities throughout South Eastern Europe do not consider education of their children worthwhile, and often expect the children to start working full-time when they are relatively young, might contribute to the trafficking of Roma children.

In some cases, traffickers are very opportunistic and *are* on the lookout for adolescent girls in households with certain characteristics, e.g., the family is poor and the girl is keen to get away, often because there is domestic violence in the household. In yet other cases, traffickers spread their net wider and look for any teenage girls who have left home recently and appear vulnerable. This pattern was reported in the UN Administered Province of Kosovo in 2005 and suggests that more could be done to protect adolescent girls who chose, for a variety of reasons, to leave their parental home.

35 'Egyptians', a minority in Albania who are also known in Albanian as 'Evgjit' and 'Jevg' and sometimes referred to in English as 'Gypsies'. Many Jevgjit maintain that they are not Roma but came from Egypt. Terre des hommes and Ndihmë për Fëmijët, "Child Trafficking in South Eastern Europe: The Development of Good Practices to Protect Albanian Children," 2005, page 10.

Box 4: The characteristics of children at risk identified by Save the Children

Towards the end of their first three-year regional programme against child trafficking, Save the Children organizations in South Eastern Europe concluded that the criteria for assessing which children are at high risk of being trafficked "differ across national contexts." However, key risk factors were identified:

- children who suffer family violence and abuse;
- children who lack family support and protection, e.g., separated children, children in institutional care;
- children out of school;
- children belonging to an ethnic minority, e.g., Roma and Egyptian; and
- children who have been trafficked.

Source: O. Ginzburg, op. cit., page 48, quoting a Save the Children proposal for future activities.

3. Patterns of trafficking

3.1 Forms of recruitment

Information about how children are recruited by traffickers is important for prevention purposes. For example, it is important to find out whether a child's parents were actively involved in arranging their child's departure and whether children were recruited by traffickers at their place of residence or only after leaving home or going abroad.

Older adolescents and young adults in South Eastern Europe regularly report that they were trafficked because they were taken in by false promises—that is, they were victims of deception. Girls have reported that they were trafficked after being deceived by boyfriends who offered to take them away to get married.

Both boys and girls report being taken in by bogus job offers which turned out to be a trap for sexual exploitation. Two out of the eight Moldovan girls interviewed for this report were deceived in this way. One thought the offer of a job as a domestic cleaner in Turkey sounded genuine. The other considered a job offer in Moscow to be safe; she had heard that Turkey was a risky destination, but could not recall hearing any warnings suggesting that Russian Federation was also dangerous. It seems that information campaigns have omitted to integrate important facts. The information on trafficked Moldovan children who have received assistance on their return to the Republic of Moldova reveals that from the beginning of 2002 until September 2005, far more children had been trafficked to Russian Federation (30) than to Turkey (5).[36]

An adolescent girl trafficked within the UN Administered Province of Kosovo into commercial sexual exploitation also reported being deceived by a false job offer. However, she was in a position to escape from her predicament more easily than someone taken abroad, so additional forms of coercion were used to keep control of her.

In many situations children are trafficked because they place their trust in people that they know. Testimonies of adolescents who have been trafficked regularly mention a boyfriend, a close relative, a neighbour or a friend who made an 'attractive' offer and subsequently betrayed the child. Two of the girls interviewed for this Report said they had been trafficked after accepting invitations by female cousins, in whom they and their parents had confidence. This readiness to trust adults, including relatives has been identified as a cause of child trafficking by one NGO which has explored ways of promoting children's vigilance.[37] However, it is difficult—and a very delicate matter—to intervene in the relationships of trust among families and friends without undermining or upsetting basic social relationships in families and tight communities; or, indeed, eroding the self-confidence of children to find their way in the world.

36 IOM Chişinău Counter-trafficking Unit, trafficking cases assisted in 2000-September 2005.

37 See Terre des hommes and Ndihmë për Fëmijët, op. cit., page 43.

3.2 Forms of exploitation

Children from South Eastern Europe are trafficked in order to be exploited in several ways. The two most commonly reported are commercial sexual exploitation and begging which is sometimes associated with theft and other street crimes. Children are also recruited for more conventional forms of employment, e.g., as domestic servants and farm workers, in circumstances which leave it unclear whether the term 'trafficking' should be applied. It is perfectly legitimate in most countries for older adolescents who have finished their compulsory education to take on such jobs. However, in Romania during 2003 dozens of children of school age from the northeast part of the country were found to be working in the south. Their recruitment and subsequent exploitation had all the hallmarks of trafficking.[38]

Children involved in commercial sexual exploitation are mostly girls aged 16 or 17, but sometimes younger. Older girls are reported to be involved in much the same forms of commercial sexual exploitation as young adults in a variety of destinations in the EU, Russian Federation and Turkey, as well as within their own countries. Sometimes they are put to work on the streets, sometimes in bars, and they are often kept as captives in apartments that serve as brothels. Some adolescents decide to earn money in return for sex without having been trafficked. However, those who are recruited to work in bars as waitresses and are expected to earn money for the bar owner by prostitution or who are held captive in any way are clearly victims of trafficking.

The commercial sexual exploitation of adolescent boys occurs in smaller numbers, in part because of cultural taboos against male-male sex in the countries of origin. It appears that these social attitudes have some preventive effect on the trafficking of boys for sex. Nonetheless, it does happen. A recent investigation of Romanian children in Rome, Italy revealed that significant numbers of Romanian boys aged 16 and 17 were providing commercial sex.[39]

Children used as beggars are generally younger and include both boys and girls. In a few cases, they are accompanied by a parent who is also under the control of traffickers and is made to beg. In addition to begging directly, children are given musical instruments to play in public, services to perform, such as washing car windscreens, and items to sell, such as flowers and paper handkerchiefs. In each case, it is the adult controller who determines how the child will earn money. Some child beggars are disabled, while others must pretend to be disabled in order to generate more pity—and more money.

The trafficked child beggars about whom most information is available are Albanians taken to Greece, almost all of whom are recruited from the Jevgjit community in Albania. The numbers involved are reported to have peaked at the end of the 1990s and to have declined over the past five years. Some children were trafficked by an adult relative and others by unrelated adults who controlled them in Greece. In both cases, there were reports of the children being subjected to corporal punishment or torture to make them obey orders. In the case of some Albanian children who were taken to Greece by their own parents to beg and earn money for the family, it is difficult to describe them as 'trafficked'—even though they were involved in the same activities to earn money as trafficked children.

There are also fears—and recurring stories—that some children are trafficked so that a body organ, such as a kidney, or body fluids can be taken from them and used for transplant or other medical reasons. Some evidence is available that such cases occur, but many allegations turn out to be anecdotal or false.[40]

3.3 Destinations

Over the past five years children are reported to have been trafficked in various directions in South Eastern Europe:

1. within their own country;
2. from one country in South Eastern Europe to another;
3. from a country in South Eastern Europe to a country outside the region, either to an EU country, or the Russian Federation, or, Turkey;

38 Information provided to the author at the Centre for Transit for Children Victims of Trafficking, Iaşi, September 2005.

39 FRCCF, CDS and the Terre des hommes Foundation, "An increase in prostitution among Romanian minors in Rome: Results of a three-month research project on unaccompanied Romanian children in Rome," Terre des hommes Foundation, 2005.

40 E. Pearson, "Coercion in the Kidney Trade? A background study on trafficking in human organs worldwide," GTZ, 2004, page 10.

4. and, much less frequently, from a country outside the region into a country in South Eastern Europe, sometimes then being moved onto a second or even third country, either within the region or beyond.

The patterns of recruitment and exploitation of children and adult women are routinely reported to be quite different, even when comparing the destination of trafficked girls with adult women. In the case of the Republic of Moldova, for example, where the majority of adult women victims who were repatriated between 2000 and September 2005 had been in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the UN Administered Province of Kosovo and Turkey, the largest number of trafficked girls returned from the Russian Federation.[41]

In 2005, the patterns in each of the four countries continued changing.

- In **Albania**, teenage girls were reported to be trafficked to Italy and from there on to other countries. The number of Albanian children trafficked to beg in Greece was reported to have fallen considerably, while the numbers trafficked to beg within Albania and in the neighbouring UN Administered Province of Kosovo were said to be increasing.

- In the **UN Administered Province of Kosovo**, the number of teenage girls trafficked *into* Kosovo from abroad was reported to have decreased drastically, while the number trafficked within Kosovo was said to have increased.

- In the **Republic of Moldova**, the Russian Federation was said to be the principal destination for children, both for commercial sexual exploitation and for begging. However, children were also trafficked internally within the Republic of Moldova, and Turkey was reported to be a destination country for girls trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation.

- In **Romania**, EU countries were reported to be the main destinations for trafficked children. However, Romania also appeared to have a significant number of cases of internal trafficking, but they are often not recognized as such.

41 IOM Chişinău Counter-trafficking Unit, op. cit.

3.4 Changes in the patterns

The presence of large numbers of foreign men in the Western Balkans in the aftermath of the conflict in former Yugoslavia, led to thousands of women and girls being trafficked from all over South Eastern Europe to provide commercial sex. This crisis appears to be over and the patterns of recruitment and exploitation have changed in the countries concerned. For example, whereas four trafficked children returned to receive assistance in the Republic of Moldova from Bosnia and Herzegovina each year in 2001 and 2002, by 2004 there were none.[42] However, it was never established that the market for commercial sex in Bosnia or the UN Administered Province of Kosovo ever created a major demand for trafficked children, rather than young adults.

General reports about human trafficking in South Eastern Europe have noted changes in the number of women and girls trafficked from particular countries on the basis of the numbers of victims who receive assistance. IOM noted that Albania, the Republic of Moldova, Romania and, to a lesser extent, Bulgaria and the UN Administered Province of Kosovo accounted for the largest number of trafficking victims receiving assistance in South Eastern Europe during 2003 and 2004.[43] The next largest group came from Ukraine, outside the region defined as South Eastern Europe. However, the statistics in such reports are not routinely disaggregated to show how the patterns differ for children and adults. This is how certain stereotypes develop, e.g., about the nationality of those being trafficked in largest numbers or the most common destinations.

Another common observation made in various parts of South Eastern Europe over the past two years is that "the number of children being trafficked is increasing." For example, the 2005 IOM survey of regional trends notes that the number of trafficked children who received assistance and came to IOM attention increased in 2003 and 2004 compared to previous years.[44] However, even if the proportion of children among assisted victims has increased, this information needs to be analysed very carefully in light of the reduced number of young trafficked women being assisted.

In the UN Administered Province of Kosovo, for example, anti-trafficking organizations told

42 IOM Chişinău Counter-trafficking Unit, op. cit.

43 R. Surtees, op. cit., page 32.

44 R. Surtees, op. cit., page 13.

the author in September 2005 that the number of teenage girls being 'internally trafficked' had increased and that Kosovar men and boys (rather than foreign men) constitute the main market for their services. However, it was clear that the predicament of Kosovar women and girls being trafficked internally was receiving more attention than when large numbers of foreign women and girls were being trafficked into the UN Administered Province of Kosovo.[45]

A few patterns seem clear. The identified number of Albanian children trafficked to Greece to beg has declined. The identified number of Romanian children subjected to exploitation in EU countries has increased since Romanian nationals stopped needing visas to enter some EU countries. But the fact that the numbers of identified Romanian trafficking victims repatriated from countries such as Spain has increased is not necessarily evidence that they were trafficked directly from Romania. Children might have left Romania on their own account and have only become prey of traffickers after arrival in an EU country.

Some patterns can only be identified over the long term. For example, if traffickers take children to beg in EU countries over the summer and such children are gone by the autumn, it does not mean that the problem has been resolved, but rather that traffickers are exploiting seasonal opportunities.

It is equally important to be able to reach conclusions about patterns that remain unchanged. For example, the statistics collected in the Republic of Moldova show fairly consistently that the Russian Federation is an important destination for trafficked Moldovan children, with few new destinations appearing.[46] While this is not surprising, as the Russian Federation attracts large numbers of Moldovan migrants, it suggests that preventive efforts could specifically tackle the routes to the Russian Federation and the ways trafficked children are exploited in the Russian Federation.

45 B. Limanowska, op. cit., page 121.

46 IOM Chişinău, Counter-trafficking Unit, op.cit.

CHAPTER 7:

PREVENTION STRATEGIES APPLIED IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE

This chapter considers the different strategies that have been tried in South Eastern Europe to prevent children from being trafficked. It distinguishes between strategies pursued in the areas where children are recruited, i.e., the supply side, from those used in the areas where trafficked children are exploited, i.e., the demand side. As children from South Eastern Europe are regularly trafficked outside the region, some of the strategies described on the demand side come from destination countries outside the SEE Region.

To relate these strategies to the trafficking process (Figure 1 in Chapter 4), this chapter starts out by listing those strategies according to target group—children, parents or traffickers. This list is followed by references to strategies aimed at strengthening child protection and addressing root causes.

1. Prevention on the supply side—where children are recruited

1.1 Influencing children

Different ways of influencing children have been tried, each with different objectives:

a) Giving children information about trafficking

This strategy involves telling children what trafficking involves and what behaviours on their part might increase or decrease their risk of being trafficked. Public information campaigns started in Central and Eastern European countries in the late 1990s to warn women and girls that they were at risk of being forced into prostitution if they went abroad to earn money.

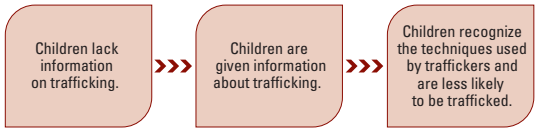


Figure 4: Information campaigns and their goals

The campaigns recognized that adolescent girls, rather than boys, and also young women, were at risk of being trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation. So, the anti-trafficking message was disseminated through a variety of media, including classrooms, posters and films. Initial efforts focused on the risks for girls when they left school and reached adulthood. The strategy involved is summarized in Figure 4:

The messages to children included warnings that:

- providing sex in exchange for money is a slippery slope that leads to greater danger;
- migration abroad carries with it the risk of deception and abuse; and even
- adolescent girls should stay at home because seeking work outside the home may result in their being trafficked.

It was only later on, once cases were identified of children being trafficked to beg when they were much younger, that efforts were made to inform pre-pubescent children about the risk that they might be trafficked. When messages *were* specially designed for younger children, e.g., for Albanian children at risk of being trafficked to beg in Greece, both the messages and their intended impact have been different. The messages still informed children about the abuse suffered by children taken abroad. However, the intention was that children should talk about this at home as it was assumed that children themselves would not be able to influence the decision about whether they left home or not.

b) Educating children and developing skills that help them avoid being trafficked

Efforts have been made across South Eastern Europe to introduce subjects into the school curriculum that would give children information and skills of a non-academic nature that will, nonetheless, help them when they confront the 'real world' outside school—including the inducements that often precede trafficking. Topics range from sex education to how to apply for a job. These 'life skills' are useful to all children, not just in the context of preventing trafficking.

Life skills include:

- communicating effectively;
- learning to negotiate;
- managing interpersonal relationships;
- resolving conflicts;
- coping with decision making;
- problem solving;
- being self-aware and empathetic towards others;
- critical thinking; and
- coping with emotions and stress.

In many cases, it is the *lack* of these skills that anti-trafficking projects and children themselves have identified as one of the reasons why young people are trafficked. Some of these skills are associated with a child's development and socialization and are not only or even primarily learned at school. However, in societies experiencing rapid transition, many adolescents grow up ill-equipped to cope with all the personal and social challenges in a fast-changing world. For example, they face risks such as HIV/AIDS, other sexually transmitted infections, addiction to alcohol, cigarettes or other drugs, and the enslavement and degradation involved in human trafficking.

The strategy behind teaching life skills is a two-pronged one, as Figure 5 illustrates:

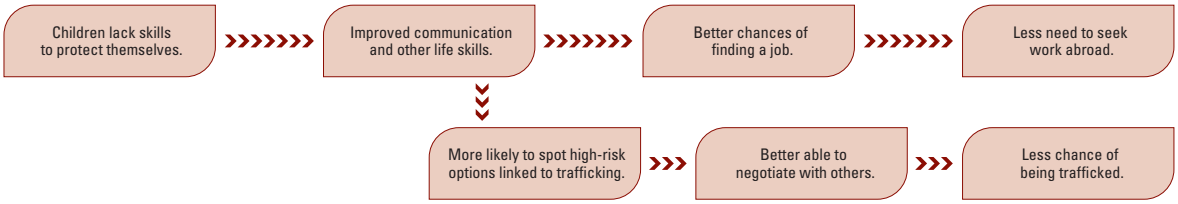


Figure 5: The 'life skills' strategy

c) Urging children to stay in school

One strategy for preventing children from getting involved in harmful forms of work or being trafficked is to urge them to stay at school and to provide support to those who appear most likely to drop out. The classic method for discouraging children from starting work before they have completed their education is for governments to make school attendance compulsory for a minimum number of years. This approach is formally in place throughout South Eastern Europe. Still, a policy or rule needs to be implemented, as discussed in Section 1.3 (b) below.

The strategy of urging children to stay in school, coupled with efforts to persuade parents that it is in their children's best interests to stay in school, has been used in areas where evidence shows that children under age 14 have dropped out of school shortly before being trafficked. For example, in southern Albania the attempts by Terre des hommes Foundation and its partner Ndihmë për Fëmijët (NPF), Help the Children, to keep minority children at school until the end of compulsory education were a major plank in their efforts to prevent trafficking.

d) Promoting employment near to home for school leavers—vocational training and better job opportunities

Providing school leavers with vocational training and information about how to find out about job vacancies are strategies to integrate school leavers into the employment market in their own countries. The expectation is that they are less likely to migrate abroad and, as a result, less likely to be trafficked. IPEC has promoted youth employment in several countries as a strategy to prevent both child trafficking and the employment of children in the 'worst forms of child labour'. For example, in the Republic of Moldova an IPEC action programme trains school personnel to act as career advisors and puts them into contact with local employment agencies in the hope that schools will get better information about the local job market.[47] This is a step towards ensuring that school leavers are as well informed as possible about any jobs that are available. However, it does not resolve a more fundamental problem—the shortage of jobs in the Republic of Moldova.

[47] Information from the IPEC coordinator in the Republic of Moldova, September 2005.

e) Giving adolescents information about how to migrate safely and to check whether job offers abroad are genuine—and safe

Amidst numerous efforts to warn children about the dangers associated with the lure of working abroad, only a few initiatives have sought to give adolescents explicit advice to help them secure safe, legitimate jobs abroad. The few sources of advice to which adolescents have access were designed for young adults rather than adolescents, such as a telephone help-line operated by the NGO La Strada[48] in the Republic of Moldova.

There are various reasons why organizations that give information to adolescents about trafficking decide not to give them advice about how to migrate safely. In some cases, the organizations feel that emigration is damaging their country and wish to discourage it, although few say so explicitly. The fear of being held liable, either morally or legally, if an adolescent subsequently gets into trouble may well be a reason why intergovernmental organizations and others do not provide practical tips on sensible precautions for young people to take when migrating. The types of advice that have been found useful in other regions of Europe are mentioned at the end of Chapter 8.

1.2 Influencing the behaviour of parents

The following are some of the ways used to try to influence the behaviour of parents who have contributed to trafficking in some way.

a) Telling parents, and other adults, about trafficking

This strategy is intended to have a special effect on parents who are themselves involved in decisions that may put one of their school-aged children into the hands of a relative, friend or intermediary to earn money elsewhere. In such cases, the strategy is to influence parents by pointing out the abuse their child may be subjected to and to dissuade them from allowing their child to leave home. This approach was adopted by the Terre des hommes Foundation in Albania. However, information for parents was just one of the approaches used and efforts were also made to enable parents to resist financial pressures by offering them income support. In other cases, when older adolescents make decisions for themselves, this strategy is intended to influence children indirectly via their parents.

b) Urging parents to keep their children at school

Giving parents information about the importance of education and explaining to them why they should keep their children from dropping out of school before completing compulsory education complements the efforts already mentioned that try to persuade children to stay in school. However, influencing parents to place a high premium on school can be harder than convincing children, especially if the 'out-of- pocket' costs for education are high and if parents think that their own experience proves that education is not useful.

c) Reducing poverty and supporting household income

When the poverty and deprivation of particular families is identified as a cause of parents sending their children away to earn money, tackling the poverty of these households is an obvious prevention strategy, albeit a costly one. This relatively classic protection strategy is used in other parts of the world to prevent child labour by reducing parents' dependence on the earnings of school-aged children. Like other resource-intensive strategies, its use in South Eastern Europe has so far been limited to intervening on behalf of children who have been identified by NGOs with a relatively high degree of precision as being at risk of being trafficked. While income supplements are provided by state-run social services to households in extreme poverty or whose adult members are unable to work because they are disabled or ill, they are not known to have been used by any state-run social services in South Eastern Europe with the specific objective of preventing exploitation and trafficking.

d) Reducing domestic violence

Many trafficked adolescents report domestic violence in their family—apparently higher than average rates. Tackling this violence is evidently a strategy to address a root cause of trafficking. There are numerous programmes in SEE countries to reduce violence against women. In the long term these may reduce the incidence of violence in poor, mostly rural households that provokes adolescent girls (more than boys) to leave home. However, to be meaningful as a strategy to prevent trafficking, the children in abusive

[48] An NGO, the "La Strada" International Centre for Women's Rights Protection and Promotion belongs to a network working to stop human trafficking throughout Central and Eastern Europe, particularly trafficking in women and girls.

households must be provided with special protection. On the whole, social services and law enforcement agencies in South Eastern Europe have a history of not intervening in domestic violence and consequently of not meeting their obligation to protect the children.

1.3 Improving systems to protect children in their places of origin

National child protection agencies and systems designed to protect children from trafficking frequently perform ineffectively or fail to function altogether.[49] Identifying these shortcomings and remedying them is a strategy to prevent trafficking as well as other sorts of child abuse. Table 1 lists some of the problems and suggests ways they can be addressed.

An effective child protection system is a priority for both preventing child trafficking and protecting the rights of child victims. Ensuring that the child protection system is effective means having adequate laws and policies in place; having structures, organizations and professionals with relevant mandates and resources to implement these measures; and making sure there is adequate coordination and information exchange among private and public agencies and organizations from different sectors.

Meeting these criteria presents special challenges in the case of trafficking, where the agencies that need to coordinate their activities perform widely varying functions, such as police, social services and NGOs, and have quite different structures: governmental, non-governmental and intergovernmental. However, none of the organizations or sectors involved is responsible solely for children or solely for child protection, let alone for the issue of child trafficking, thus none can deliver results in isolation from other parts of the system. Taking up corresponding obligations, adopting a common policy framework, and ensuring interaction and coordination between sectors at national and subnational levels as well as between public and private agencies are imperative for child protection.

49 The child protection system does not exist as a distinct, easily identifiable 'entity'. However, it can be envisaged and mapped out by identifying all the obligations for child protection within the social sectors, justice and law enforcement systems. The 'map' that emerges is actually a network of provisions, measures, structures and services that reveal the intersectoral and cross-sectoral nature of the child protection system.

Different components of the child protection system have mandates to protect children against trafficking. Some act to prevent children from being trafficked, while others are intended to protect children who are in transit or once they are being exploited. As the latter help to interrupt the cycle of trafficking or prevent re-trafficking, they are also contributing to prevention efforts.

a) Identifying children vulnerable to trafficking

Different state institutions and sectors have explicit responsibility—as enshrined in the CRC and other relevant human rights standards—to act proactively to identify children who are vulnerable to trafficking as early on as possible. The minimum needed to design a prevention strategy is knowledge about the causes behind trafficking, a shared understanding of the obligations of each component of the protection system and acknowledgement of the shortcomings in fulfilling these obligations.

For example, the exposure of children to violence and abuse at home or in the community may be one cause contributing to child trafficking. In this case, health, education and social services, as well as law enforcement, all have an obligation to prevent, identify, report, refer and treat cases of abuse or violence. This can be done through existing institutions rather than the development of specialized services. The important thing is that professionals in contact with children are able to recognize children at risk, know how and where to refer them for assistance, and that those in charge know how to assist children in the best way. The same goes for children who are vulnerable to trafficking due to poverty or lack of parental care, such as children in institutions and children working or living on the streets.

b) Keeping children in school

The education sector has a specific responsibility to ensure compulsory attendance and to prevent the exclusion of children with special needs or those from ethnic minorities. Making sure children stay in school is a basic strategy for reducing the likelihood that children become employed in abusive forms of work. By definition, this strategy means that all children should continue attending school until they are either 15 or 16, reducing the potential for the children to drop out of school and start work before reaching this age or for their parents to dispatch them away from home to start earning.

However, the strategy only works if the necessary systems are in place to monitor whether children drop out of school, to react if they do, to monitor the age of adolescent workers, and to react if they are found working when they should be attending school. Monitoring systems at the local level, involving teachers and others, are also only likely to function vigilantly if the central government sends a strong message to that effect.

Shortcomings	Possible remedial actions
1. Professionals, including social workers, teachers, caregivers, health workers and law enforcement officials fail to identify and assist children who are vulnerable to trafficking due to poverty, violence or abuse.	Set up mandates and procedures for early identification of violence against children; provide clear guidelines on behaviour that is abusive or illegal; establish protocols for referral of cases; provide training for all relevant professionals.
2. Schools and youth institutions fail to warn children about potential abuse and children leave school poorly informed or ignorant of the abuse to which they might be subjected and how to protect themselves.	Introduce 'life skills' education as integral part of curriculum.
3. Failure of government to establish adequate institutions for social protection with clear mandates and responsibility for early identification and assistance to children vulnerable to trafficking.	Strengthen social protection institutions, with NGOs potentially playing a temporary role to fill the gap and help develop the capacity of the State's social protection institutions.
4. Failure of social services to provide children who have already been trafficked with appropriate assistance, resulting in the same children being trafficked again.	Improve protection for trafficked children in line with UNICEF Guidelines for Protection of the Rights of Child Victims of Trafficking.
5. Ineffective implementation of laws against child trafficking or against the exploitation of children; failure of law enforcement officials to identify children who have been trafficked and to intervene to withdraw them from the control of traffickers.	Identify characteristics common to trafficked children, including the activities in which they are involved. Provide training for law enforcement agencies (police, immigration service and labour inspectors) and others in contact with trafficked children to enable them to identify children in need of protection.
6. Inadequate coordination among the various agencies involved in anti-trafficking activities in the same country.	Establish a National Referral System or appoint a National Rapporteur on human trafficking to report publicly on any shortcomings in the system.
7. Inadequate coordination between agencies in different countries which are responsible for stopping child trafficking.	Bilateral agreements between countries.
8. Corruption among police or border guards who collaborate with traffickers or allow children to cross borders illegally.	Monitor corruption in general, particularly reports by children who have been trafficked; take appropriate remedial action.
9. Police or prosecutors fail to identify cases of child trafficking and instead hold trafficked children responsible for their involvement in illegal acts (such as earning money from sex); courts fail to punish traffickers adequately.	Provide training for law enforcement officials (police, prosecutors and judges) about child trafficking and the associated forms of child exploitation. Introduce procedures during investigations and trials that protect children who are victims or witnesses from further harm.

Table 1: Shortcomings in the child protection system that contribute to child trafficking

The high level of both trafficking and emigration of children of compulsory school-age in some areas, e.g., the Oaş area of northwest Romania or the Egyptian community in southern Albania, indicates that there has been neither the necessary political will nor the resources to fully implement this strategy. Nevertheless, school attendance until 14, 15 or 16 remains the norm throughout South Eastern Europe, including in the Republic of Moldova where the school drop-out rate is reported to have increased steadily over the past decade.

1.4 Challenging the discrimination that underpins trafficking

Discrimination is one of the root causes of trafficking, both discrimination against girls and women, discrimination against ethnic minorities and, in destination countries, discrimination against foreigners and immigrants.

The strategies to combat discrimination are very varied. In the case of girls, they include efforts to reduce discrimination in the job market and to increase the options available to girls leaving school, who in some rural areas are expected to continue living and working at home until they are married. They also include efforts to change discriminatory practices concerning inheritance and property ownership in areas where land and houses are inherited exclusively by sons. Taken altogether, such changes could eventually increase the economic independence of girls and women and consequently reduce the pressure on them to migrate and risk being trafficked.

In the case of Roma, Egyptians and Ashkali minorities, current initiatives by the EU and Soros Foundation are intended to reduce discrimination and to end the economic deprivation affecting many Roma. However, specific communities affected by child trafficking, such as the Egyptians in Albania, are excluded from these initiatives, at least for the moment.

2 Prevention on the demand side—where children are exploited

Efforts to influence the traffickers, controllers and pimps who make money out of trafficked children have been largely confined to law enforcement strategies. This approach acts on the logic illustrated in Figure 7.

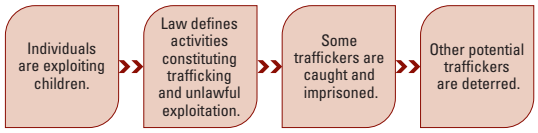


Figure 6: Logic for deterring traffickers

However, this simple deterrence strategy has only partially addressed the factors that make traffickers and others engage in trafficking of children. There have also been attempts to influence people who pay for the services of trafficked children, e.g., paying for sex, or who in effect pay traffickers or controllers by making donations to child beggars.

2.1 Influencing traffickers, pimps, employers of trafficked children and other intermediaries who profit from child trafficking

Governments widely interpret the UN Trafficking Protocol to mean they should intensify their efforts to arrest and punish traffickers and thereby deter others from engaging in trafficking. This is undoubtedly because the Trafficking Protocol supplements a convention concerned with transnational crime, although the Protocol also mentions measures to protect people who have been trafficked and various types of prevention in addition to law enforcement. Governments in South Eastern Europe have also been urged by both EU governments and the US to increase their efforts to detect cases of human trafficking and to prosecute and punish traffickers and their associates.

Conventional strategies to prevent the exploitation of the prostitution of others, i.e. the activities of pimps and others profiting indirectly from prostitution, involve making it a criminal offence to run a brothel or to make money indirectly out of prostitution. These strategies do not try to distinguish between victims of commercial sexual exploitation who have been trafficked and others who have opted to earn money by providing commercial sex.

2.2 Influencing people whose money makes trafficking profitable

In Western Europe attempts have been made to influence employment agencies that provide farmers and others with manual workers—who may have been trafficked—and consumers who buy products manufactured by children outside Europe who are victims of forced labour, some of whom have been trafficked. In South Eastern

Europe efforts to influence 'consumers' have focused on two separate groups whose money ends up in the hands of traffickers: men and boys who pay for sex and members of the public who donate money to beggars who have been trafficked.

a) Influencing men and boys who pay for sex

Laws vary across the region as far as paying for commercial sex with children under age 18 is concerned. It can be an offence to pay for sex with girls under 18 and some laws prohibit *any* sexual activity with girls at an age lower than that determined for sexual consent.[50] Once again, in many countries a crime is only considered to have occurred if the male who pays for sex with an adolescent girl can be shown to have been aware, or had no reason for not realizing, that she was below 18 or below 16.

b) Influencing members of the public who donate money to child beggars

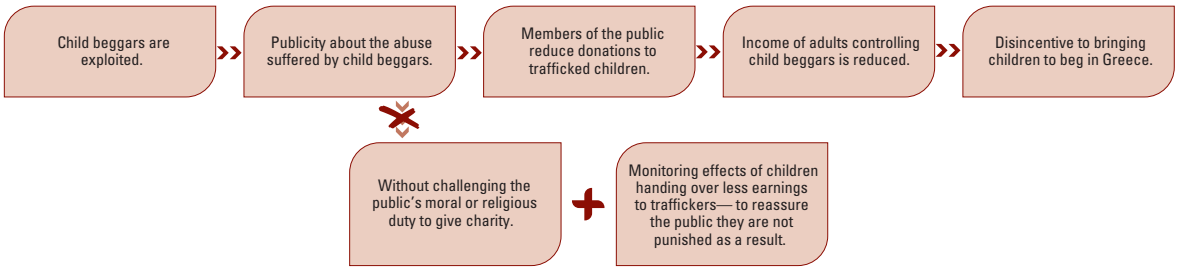


Figure 7: Logic for protecting children from forced begging

Law enforcement strategies sometimes discourage begging, but rarely focus on members of the public who donate money to beggars. The strategy adopted by an NGO in Greece, illustrated in Figure 7, was to discourage donations to children who had been trafficked without either challenging the benefits of giving charity in general or causing extra harm to the trafficked children who were begging. However, this level of behavioural change is difficult to attain and can hardly be achieved on a larger scale by NGOs alone.

2.3 Improving systems to protect children in areas through which children are trafficked and where they are exploited

Just as there are some elements of the child protection system that act to protect children in the areas where they are recruited to be trafficked, so other elements of child protection or other systems, such as law enforcement and border control, are intended to protect children who are in transit or once they are being exploited. These are also meant to address the demand for trafficking. Once again, these systems often fail to perform adequately, thus strengthening them is another route to prevention.

a) Identifying trafficked children in transit

There are various opportunities to intercept children while they are being moved from their usual place of residence to somewhere else to be exploited. The first step in interception is to look for suspicious signs that a child who is travelling is being trafficked. Some police forces in EU countries issue immigration officials with a checklist of signals. While looking out for children who may be being trafficked, state services and institutions as well as organizations that try to intercept trafficked children obviously have to be sensitive to other child rights, such as their rights to travel and to seek employment away from home.

Intercepting children who are being trafficked within their own country is more difficult than intercepting those crossing an international border. However, there sometimes are obvious places through which trafficked children routinely pass and where they could be observed or intercepted. In the case of children trafficked within Albania, for example, children regularly travel by railway to holiday resorts in order to earn money there by begging[51].

50 Laws concerning prostitution vary from country to country in Europe. In some areas, such as Greece and the UN Administered Province of Kosovo , it is now an offence to purchase sexual services from women and girls when the purchaser is aware that they have been trafficked. This is not the same as making it an offence to purchase sexual services from anyone who has been trafficked, whether or not the purchaser is aware that the woman or girl concerned had been trafficked.

51 Personal communication, Terre des hommes Foundation staff in Albania, May 2005.

b) Special requirements for children crossing borders

Border points give law enforcement officials a special opportunity to check the age and identity of young people crossing the border, whether it is an airport, sea port, river, train or road border crossing. Of course, smugglers and traffickers can avoid formal crossing points. Some children have been trafficked by making them walk across borders, e.g., between Albania and Greece, either alone or accompanied. Others have been smuggled in secret in the back of vans and trucks.

However, many children from South Eastern Europe who have been involved in transnational trafficking (possibly the majority, although no reliable data is available) report that they moved openly across border points, sometimes with their own passport, sometimes with one obtained for them by traffickers and sometimes with a forged one describing them as 18 or older.

There should be appropriate procedures and measures put in place that will ensure the proper checking of documentation and prevent corruption among border officials. The requirement that foreign nationals should obtain visas before entering a foreign country has sometimes given consular authorities an opportunity to investigate whether children seeking visas were being trafficked. However, this practice has become less common within Europe and freedom of movement has been encouraged both within the EU and between the EU and countries that are scheduled to join the EU shortly (Bulgaria and Romania at the moment). This growing freedom of movement has been interpreted by some border officials to mean that they are less obliged than in the past to protect children by checking whether children who are unaccompanied are safe and whether the adults who are accompanying children are in fact their parents or legal guardians.

Some countries have legislation that requires children who leave their own country unaccompanied by either parent to have the explicit authorization of their parents or, if accompanied by only one parent, to have the written agreement of the parent who is not with them. In theory this measure can help border officials identify children who are leaving their country without their parent's consent and therefore may be being trafficked. However, this may also lead to a restriction of children's mobility and choices and may render children more vulnerable.

c) Regulating the employment of young people in the informal sector

Various methods can be used to regulate the employment market for young people, even in the informal sector, in order to reduce the number being trafficked into exploitation, either in their own country or abroad.

A number of EU countries have recently taken steps to stop migrant workers being forced to work in jobs or working conditions against their will. For decades authorities have tried to regulate *au pair* employment by fixing a minimum age for adolescents from abroad to come and work as part-time nannies and domestic helpers. Measures to stop trafficking and forced labour by regulating the employment market for cheap, compliant foreign workers have been adopted primarily to benefit adult workers, but may potentially have some spin-off benefits for older children. These measures are, once again, a way to influence demand and prevent trafficking.

Systems to monitor the employment of adolescents or younger children in the informal sector and to enforce labour laws also need strengthening in SEE countries. This is another way to apply pressure on the demand side and stop the exploitation of children who have been trafficked internally or from one SEE country to another.

d) Efforts to identify children earning money in the informal sector

Exploitation is difficult to regulate when it is carried out illegally or in secrecy, such as commercial sexual exploitation conducted in apartments in countries where prostitution is illegal. However, by definition those running brothels or 'massage parlours' seek to advertise their services to members of the public, albeit in a restricted way, giving the police an opportunity to gather intelligence about the places being used and the individuals providing sexual services. In other cases, when children are begging in public, they are relatively visible and it should be possible to detect them without much difficulty and to check on their circumstances and establish whether they are working under the control of others or not.

e) Ensuring adequate cooperation between agencies involved in child protection in different countries

Some of the failures mentioned in Table 1 occur in destination countries, notably when the authorities are uncertain how to respond to the

arrival of foreign children begging on the streets or which agency should be responsible for protecting such children. Often, however, authorities do not regard foreign nationals aged 16 or 17 as children who have a right to protection.

Countries with a National Referral Mechanism (NRM) have an institutional framework for ensuring cooperation between agencies in the same country. The NRM is a coordinating structure which develops recommendations for national policy and procedures concerning victims of trafficking and ensures they are referred to the services they need and that their human rights are respected. An NRM usually has a national co-ordinator, often a high-level government official, and consists of a round-table made up of senior representatives of government agencies and civil society.[52] All countries in South Eastern Europe have an NRM.

In contrast, no such standard model has been developed for cooperation between organizations in separate countries. Consequently there are impediments to agencies in different countries working together effectively—impediments that traffickers are ready to exploit. In some countries with recognized origin-destination traffic there are bilateral agreements for the return of unaccompanied children, e.g., Romania and France and Romania and the City of Turin in Italy. However, bilateral agreements between States often take a long time to prepare. After several years of discussions, a bilateral agreement specifically concerning protection and assistance for trafficked children was signed by Albania and Greece in February 2006. As part of this, both States agreed to establish a 'responsible authority' to ensure cooperation between relevant institutional bodies and focal points within the police authority of each country to ensure cooperation between the police in the two countries.[53]

Both the need for such agreements and the delays in finalizing them suggest that major shortcomings in existing protection systems need to be remedied.

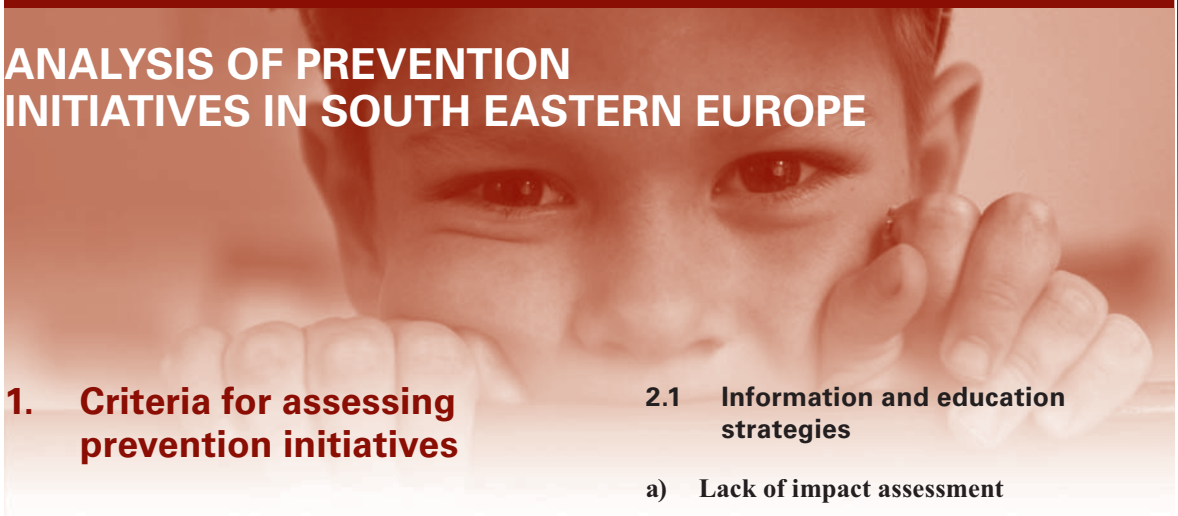
Deploying just one of the strategies mentioned in this chapter is unlikely to be sufficient to prevent children from being trafficked. Combinations of strategies that have been tried are discussed in the next chapter.

52 OSCE/ODIHR, National Referral Mechanisms. Joining Efforts to protect the Rights of Trafficked Persons. A Practical Handbook, 2004, page 15. The OSCE/ODIHR handbook is found at: http://www.osce.org/odihr/documents.html

53 Articles 7.2, 7.3 and 3.4 respectively of the Agreement between the Government of the Hellenic Republic and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Albania for the protection and assistance of children victims of trafficking (27 February 2006).

CHAPTER 8:

ANALYSIS OF PREVENTION INITIATIVES IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE



1. Criteria for assessing prevention initiatives

This chapter presents and comments upon prevention initiatives that have already been implemented in South Eastern Europe. The analysis takes into account whether the principles for good programming (described in Chapter 5) have been followed and whether evidence is available that the initiatives were effective.

One additional element which is evident in many good prevention initiatives is the degree to which an initiative addresses coordination with other agencies pursuing similar objectives in the same or different countries. In theory cooperation is not in itself a criterion for success, but in the context of human trafficking, where the victims are moved from place to place, it is virtually essential. This issue is examined in section 4 of this chapter.

Anti-trafficking efforts have been going on in South Eastern Europe for most of a decade but relatively few initiatives have been subjected to formal evaluation. This means how effective they are goes undocumented or even unknown—a cause for serious concern and an urgent justification to get on with systematic evaluations.

This chapter clusters the strategies according to the 'supply' and 'demand' sides. Comments that apply to several different strategies are presented only once. The analysis also notes the different ways of combining strategies. Finally, the chapter reviews some prevention strategies from other regions that may be applicable to South Eastern Europe.

2. Strategies on the 'supply' side

The analysis in this section focuses on strategies to protect children who are considered to be at especially high risk of being trafficked.

2.1 Information and education strategies

a) Lack of impact assessment

A review of USAID-financed counter-trafficking programmes noted that by 2004 public awareness campaigns had been conducted virtually everywhere in Europe and Central Asia. However, the review observed that reports to USAID about the campaigns "provided little information that could be used to assess the impact of the campaigns in a way that would be useful in determining best practices for similar programs in the future."[54] The same comment can be made about most information campaigns financed by other donors, making it difficult to know whether they have had the impact which those organizing and funding them intended.

Various methods are available to test whether people acquire new knowledge as a result of information campaigns. The principal method used in South Eastern Europe is 'before' and 'after' questions to some of the persons exposed to new information. This is just one of several methods that can test whether someone's knowledge has increased but it does not measure whether their behaviour is likely to or does change.

b) Avoiding stereotypes

Informally, anecdotally, some information campaigns are reported to have had a high impact on children but exactly, authoritatively what that impact is remains unclear. The information initiative with the highest profile was the film *Lilya-4-ever*[55] which warns of the risks involved in accepting money for sex. The film tells the story of a teenage girl in an anonymous Russian city whose single mother emigrates, leaving her behind. Lilya is trafficked to Sweden by a young man who pretends to be her boyfriend. She is kept locked up in a flat and forced to have sex with men who pay her captors. The film has a tragic ending.

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54 R. Rosenburg, S. Lazaroiu and E. Tyuryukanova, op. cit, pages 7 and 8.

55 A film by Lukas Moodysson. 2003.

In the Republic of Moldova, a cinema chain agreed to give free showings of *Lilya-4-ever* in cinemas around the country during the winter holidays of 2003-2004. Between 30,000 and 50,000 Moldovans are estimated to have seen the film.[56] A number of initiatives were run in parallel with the film: organizations handed out leaflets in cinema lobbies to young people attending the film and cinema-goers were questioned about what they thought they had learned from the film. Representatives of the NGO La Strada are reported to have talked with young people leaving the cinema to make sure they did not think that only girls abandoned by parents were in danger of being trafficked or that Sweden was the only destination.

There is increased awareness about the importance of emphasizing that there are no easy 'profiles' of traffickers, trafficking and the trafficked. For example, all too often traffickers are presented as sleazy male criminals or predatory young men. However, some of the 23 young people interviewed for this report had been trafficked by a close female relative. There are many other reports of adolescents being trafficked by female relatives or friends of the family rather than anonymous criminals. Using stereotypes in an information campaign can leave adolescents off guard, e.g., as in the case of a trafficked girl interviewed for the author in September 2005 who had unwittingly agreed to accompany a relative on holiday.

The ways in which children and adolescents can protect themselves against people with whom they have close social ties are bound to differ from warnings about 'bad company' intended to make them wary of possible criminals and predatory men. One starting point is to avoid any stereotypes in information campaigns.

c) Targeting a specific audience

On the whole, information campaigns aimed at children have drawn too much upon models used to target adult women, rather than upon other efforts to influence children's behaviour. Many lessons can be taken from related fields such as advertising, advocacy and public health on how to run awareness campaigns that positively influence children.

The field of public health has a great deal of experience in measuring the impact of awareness-raising efforts on people's behaviour, notably in relation to HIV/AIDS. In one country, for example, it has been established that children who have higher levels of general education are more responsive to awareness-raising campaigns, more likely to modify their behaviour and less likely to become HIV-positive.[57] Reviews of efforts to influence children's sexual behaviour emphasize the importance of:

- finding out what the target audience already knows before deciding what message to deliver; and
- pre-testing the information materials on a focus group so materials can be modified before being distributed widely.

Once it is known from where children usually get information on a given topic, an attempt can be made to influence the information being transmitted along this channel. For example, if children routinely rely on information from their mothers, it is the mothers who need influencing. If most children rely on particular television shows (for example, soap operas) for their information about the outside world, these may be a suitable media for reaching them. A more systematic approach that includes all of these tactics has not been significantly tried in SEE countries, perhaps because funding for public education campaigns tends to come in the form of numerous, relatively small grants.

It is, however, now clear that there have been so many awareness-raising efforts that their novelty has worn off. Consequently new campaigns have to be innovative, well targeted and integrate the improved knowledge and understanding of the causes of trafficking, the profiles of victims and the entire trafficking chain, including trafficking routes. Donors should pool their money to mount campaigns that meet all these requirements, including knowing the target audience before launching a campaign and following up with an impact assessment.

d) Tailoring the messages

Most initiatives in schools have focused on the risks to adolescent girls and are aimed at students in their final years of compulsory schooling when they are aged 15 or 16. The review of USAID-financed efforts makes the logical proposal

[56] Reported as 30,000 by B. Limanowska, op. cit., page 29.

[57] D. de Walque, "How Does the Impact of an HIV/AIDS Information Campaign Vary with Educational Attainment? Evidence from Rural Uganda," Policy Research Working Paper Series 3289, The World Bank, October 2003. Accessed 1 November 2005 at http://ideas.repec.org/p/wbk/wbrwps/3289.html

that classes should also be conducted in primary schools in areas where younger children have been trafficked rather than in secondary schools only.[58] In theory this should not be difficult to organize, particularly if an international organization such as UNICEF advises the Ministry of Education at the national level and NGOs or other social activists advise schools at the sub-national level.

When younger children belonging to the Egyptian minority were identifed as trafficked from southern Albania to Greece, the Terre des hommes Foundation asked schools to let its staff talk to students between ages 11 and 14 and produced a special cartoon leaflet for this age group. The cartoon tells the story of an Albanian boy, Dritani, who is taken out of school, sent away to beg in a foreign country and eventually transformed into a 'robot'—a term which trafficked Albanian children used to refer to their colleagues who were still being forced to earn money in Greece.[59]

Terre des hommes naturally expected its school sessions and Dritani cartoon to have a useful preventive effect. However, by May 2005 the project director, while regarding the exercise as useful, was less confident that the classes had really had a preventive effect. The director felt that the practical support given to individual children and their families had much more impact.[60] Nonetheless, in a few cases, children who had attended information sessions informed Terre des hommes staff when a child dropped out of school and they feared he or she was about to be taken abroad.

Both the Dritani cartoon and a similar illustrative story about an Albanian girl were developed in response to a specific pattern of child trafficking in a specific area. Furthermore, Terre des hommes staff gave children information about trafficking without ever using the technical term 'trafficking' and their function was widely perceived by school children to be preventing children from dropping out of school. This was considered more appropriate than using the term trafficking because the term automatically implies that parents who send their children abroad have committed a crime. This in turn could have been interpreted as a criticism of a tradition which the community regards as part of its culture, rather than criticism of a particular sequence of events that damages children. Thus, in creating this campaign Terre des hommes also took into account the fact that younger children do not have the same degree of agency or control over their own lives and actions as older adolescents. They may agree to go abroad and earn money with someone else when told to do so by their father or mother even if they know enough to be afraid of trafficking and exploitation.

e) The content of anti-trafficking messages

In her SEERIGHTS review Barbara Limanowska found that anti-trafficking materials in South Eastern Europe were "quite often" interpreted by the (mainly adult) target audiences as anti-migration propaganda. She felt this weakened their impact.[61] The authors of the review of USAID-financed programmes also noted that raising people's awareness about trafficking sometimes has unintended and even counter-productive side effects, such as provoking a fall in school attendance by girls in parts of Albania because their parents were afraid they might be abducted.[62] Citing some images as "disturbing" and "scary," the authors of the review said it was "not enough for those at risk to know only about the dangers and possible negative consequences" but that they also need to be given information "that can minimize risks even if this potentially increased the interest in migrating abroad of some of those receiving the information."

Few of the messages indicate exactly what young people should do in order to avoid being trafficked, i.e., how they can make a decent living without migrating or how they can migrate and minimize risk. Too often the first step in warning young people about trafficking has not been followed by other steps to give young people the knowledge and skills they need to keep out of the hands of traffickers.

Not enough has been found out about the impact of materials aimed at children to know for certain how these are interpreted by children, but they have certainly tended to emphasize the 'scary' aspects of trafficking and failed to present information on how to minimize risks, other than by staying at home or not migrating.

When information campaigns contain more specific messages, particularly proactive ones that say what individuals should *do* as well as *not*

58 R. Rosenburg, S. Lazaroiu and E. Tyuryukanova, op. cit., pages 43-44.

59 'Dritani Robot', illustrated by Fadil Fyshku, Terre des hommes Foundation (Albania), 2002.

60 Personal communication, May 2005, in Albania.

61 B. Limanowska, op. cit., page 31.

62 R. Rosenburg, S. Lazaroiu and E. Tyuryukanova, op. cit, page 14.

do, it is usually easier to determine what recipients remember. Following a general information campaign in Latvia, an impact assessment asked adolescents and young adults whether they had heard of a list of recommendations on how to migrate abroad without being trafficked and, if so, how many times and from which sources. The main lesson was that "an information campaign is not so much about supplying the information but about supplying it on a repeated basis."[63] The conclusion was: "Repetition was, in many ways, more important than diversity of content."

f) Improving children's skills

UNICEF has urged ministries of education throughout South Eastern Europe to introduce the teaching of life skills into the school curriculum. However, curriculum reform is slow and introducing sensitive new topics, such as sex education and trafficking, provokes opposition from various quarters. Despite the seriousness of trafficking, therefore, many school children in areas with high rates of trafficking are not being taught life skills.

The introduction of 'life skills' education in South Eastern Europe is relatively recent, however, and this makes it difficult to assess its impact as a technique to prevent trafficking. In the Republic of Moldova, boarding school graduates have made up a disproportionately high share (10%) of the victims of trafficking assisted by the IOM. So, in 2002 the Child Rights Information Centre (CRIC), with support from UNICEF, began a project in boarding schools entitled "Life Skills Education for the Prevention of Trafficking and Unemployment." Experience indicates however, that it may take a long time to know whether the life skills classes given to 14- and 15-year-olds are having a preventive effect. In the past, boarding school graduates who have been trafficked have been in their early 20s by the time they returned to the Republic of Moldova and came to the attention of the IOM.

An additional factor in the Republic of Moldova concerns the way that the life skills curriculum has developed. In the CRIC project, priority was given to ensuring the participation of the students both as peer-to-peer educators and by encouraging feedback from them to refine the curriculum. At first CRIC staff and volunteers concentrated on older students (Grade 9, 15- or 16-year-olds in the final year of compulsory education) and produced a special "Guide for Graduates." This included contact details for officials responsible for child protection around the Republic of Moldova and information on trafficking, as well as advice on how to get a job.

Although CRIC staff did *not* conclude that the Guide was *not* useful, the feedback from students suggested that it would be more useful to address a broader group of students, starting with 11-year-olds in Grade 5. Staff also began learning what problems the students themselves considered priorities. In this way child participation became a reality and influenced the content of the messages relayed to children. Ironically, however, this feedback loop reduced the focus on dangers that children might face after leaving school and shifted emphasis on to immediate issues for the students such as acquiring skills in communication, teamwork, decision making and conflict resolution. It remains to be seen if these equip the students to avoid being trafficked, either as children or as young adults.[64]

While learning life skills certainly helps boarding school graduates cope with the world outside their schools, the lack of employment prospects in the Republic of Moldova may persist as a reason for young people to migrate abroad. The question then will be whether life skills are enough to keep young migrants from falling under the control of traffickers.

It would be useful to monitor what happens to these children and compare with the progress of children who have not been taught life skills.

2.2 Improving adolescents' employment prospects near home

Strategies that emphasize getting decent jobs for school leavers face serious barriers. Firstly, only a limited number of jobs are available in South Eastern Europe, particularly in small towns and rural areas. Secondly wages for those who do get jobs are relatively low. A Romanian girl trafficked to an EU country said factory wages in Romania were so low it was not worth working.[65]

63 A. Boak, A. Boldosser and O. Biu, "Smooth Flight: A Guide to Preventing Youth Trafficking," IOFA, 2003, page 95. For the list of recommendations, see the end of this chapter.

64 The project started in 9 general boarding schools and is now running in 11—out of a total of 19 in the country. (There are 63 residential institutions run by the Ministry of Education, out of a total of 67 in the country, reported to house 13,000 children in 2004.) CRIC, op. cit., supplemented by information from CRIC staff in September 2005.

65 Interviews in Romania, October 2005.

Vocational training has proved effective in keeping children who have been trafficked from being re-trafficked. New skills enable them to find a job and earn an income in their own country. In Chişinau, the capital of the Republic of Moldova, the Island of Hope training centre has provided training for girls who have been trafficked. While living in residential accommodation, they acquire vocational skills varying from hair styling to construction work. Students are reported to have found satisfactory jobs upon graduating.[66]

However, if larger numbers were trained in the same vocational skills, the employment market would swiftly be saturated and trainees would be unlikely to find jobs in the Republic of Moldova. Vocational training then needs to be closely coordinated with job openings. This strategy can create a supply of people with skills needed by the market, but it cannot overcome the inertia of an economy in the doldrums.

Different attempts have been made in the Republic of Moldova and elsewhere to promote business skills and help kick-start the economy—and thus prevent migration and trafficking. However, these attempts have focused on young adults rather than under-18s.

In communities where a significant proportion of adult women have been trafficked, NGOs have tried encouraging young women to establish their own businesses. A pilot scheme of this sort was implemented by the Italian Consortium for Solidarity (ICS) in 2003-2004 in a rural community in the Republic of Moldova where less than half the population of working age was employed. It involved giving training and small grants to women between ages 18 and 30 to start their own businesses and was judged by ICS to have been a success.[67]

However, in the case of girls and boys under 18 vocational training and employment experience, such as apprenticeships, are likely to be more appropriate than investment capital and training to start their own business.

66 According to several graduates interviewed in September and October 2005.

67 Italian Consortium of Solidarity, "Final report on the impact evaluation of the Project for preventing unsafe migration and trafficking in young vulnerable women through business plan training and in-kind grants, implemented February-September 2003," July 2004, unpublished.

2.3 Influencing parents

For the most part, parents have responded positively to both information about trafficking and efforts to supplement their household income and reduce their dependency on the earnings of a child trafficked abroad. In the case of information, however, the impact has sometimes been counterproductive, e.g., the case mentioned above where parents in one area of Albania became too fearful to let their daughters attend school. When information about the potential harm to children is combined with practical support for families at high risk, the results have proved more positive.

2.4 Addressing violence against children

When social services are responsive to cases of domestic violence or child abuse, they have a choice between (a) taking action that protects the child in the home and (b) providing a safe alternative for the child outside the home. In the first case, an abusive parent might be given an official warning and required to attend a course on anger management and violence reduction. However, few initiatives of this sort have been reported.

In much of South Eastern Europe the second option has consisted of placing children from abusive families in boarding schools or other residential institutions. When it is necessary to separate a child from abusive parents, the choice of placement has to be guided by the best interests of the child and in consultation with the child. Little attention has been given to developing alternatives to institutional placements for such children.

Options of this sort have been made available to children who have already been abused, but not many are accessible to children who have not yet been identified as 'victims' of some form of abuse. In the UN Administered Province of Kosovo an NGO has developed a semi-independent living project for adolescent girls who have been subjected to commercial sexual exploitation. The project allows the girls to return to school and to get jobs while continuing to live in an apartment that is supervised by NGO staff. In a culture where adolescents who have been trafficked or abused are widely expected to return home afterwards (and are sometimes held in virtual captivity as a result), this is one of the few options opened up to adolescent girls who do not consider returning home a real option. It looks like a much more effective alternative than sending older adolescents

to boarding schools or abandoning them to look after themselves. However, this option is more expensive and often perceived to undermine the traditional authority and structure of the family.

In addition, the lack of policies and measures that will enable early identification and timely referral to appropriate services remain the major weakness in addressing the violence against children in South Eastern Europe.

2.5 Identifying and protecting children at 'high risk'

When evidence shows that particular categories of children are being trafficked in greater numbers than others, e.g., children belonging to a certain ethnic group or from a particular geographical area, special efforts should be made to understand specific reasons and design actions to prevent the trafficking.

The analysis of existing data about children who have been trafficked reveals that the nature of the characteristics which they have in common varies. Only in the case of ethnicity is it relatively easy to pinpoint the common link with some confidence. When a disproportionately high number of children are being trafficked from a particular geographic region, such as the Iaşi area in north-eastern Romania, it is obvious that preventive efforts should be concentrated there. In addition to investigating the causes for this trend it is also important to identify which and why particular children are most vulnerable and extend special protection measures to them and their families.

When it comes to common experiences that trafficked children had at home, e.g., domestic abuse, efforts might focus on ways to identify cases of maltreatment and to assist victims. Typically domestic abuse is evenly spread across South Eastern Europe rather than clustered in particular locations, so the only way to improve identification and assistance is to improve child protection systems across the board.

The same is true in the situation in the Republic of Moldova where girls from boarding schools have been identified as being over-represented among trafficked victims receiving assistance.[68] Apart from the specific measures taken *in* boarding schools, a broader effort needs to be made to prevent unnecessary placement in boarding institutions, ensure family contact and prevent abuse and violence in these institutions.

68 CRIC, op. cit., page 7.

Box 5: Children from Iaşi

The case of the Moldova area in north-eastern Romania is one where it seems obvious that more could have been done to identify the children most at risk of being trafficked and the types of households they lived in.

In 2001 and 2002 the Department for Child Protection in Iaşi, the main town in Moldova, only knew of 12 children who had been trafficked abroad and had returned to the town to receive assistance. These were too few to observe distinct patterns indicating which sorts of children had been recruited.

Much more information became available in 2003 and 2004, when many more trafficked children returned from abroad, 27 and 25 children respectively. In addition, more than 70 adolescents (boys and girls) who had not finished compulsory education were discovered to have been recruited in rural areas near Iaşi to work on farms in the south of the country.

However, at the time the author visited Iaşi in September 2005, it was still not clear that the relevant authorities, such as the Department for Child Protection, schools and school inspectors, police, local government officials and NGOs, had digested the implications and identified the profile of children at high risk or taken any specific measures to protect them.

The Romanian national plan of action for preventing and combating trafficking in children includes the development of specific services to support families in difficult situations, especially in high risk areas. However, implementation of the plan relies chiefly on action being initiated by the authorities in the capital, meaning that those at the provincial and local level are not sufficiently encouraged to take initiatives, even though they are best placed to know or find out the profile of the children who are being trafficked.

Sources: Statistics from the coordinator of the transit centre for trafficked children in Iaşi, September 2005.
Objective 5, National Plan of Action for Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Children and for Social Reintegration of Victims, 2004 to 2007 (English translation).

Even when the current profile of children who have been trafficked can be narrowed down, it is still vital to strengthen protection for a wider category of children. This approach can go a long way in preventing trafficking and in helping to avoid re-victimizing those who are already victims.

For example, in Albania, the Terre des hommes Foundation decided to provide all the children in the areas where children were being trafficked with information about the experience of children who had already been trafficked, rather than targeting only children in the Egyptian community who were at high risk. At the same time, the NGO did focus its information sessions in schools known to be attended by children from the Egyptian community and did focus its most important protection measures, such as income subsidies, on households in the Egyptian community.

Identifying the profile of children being trafficked is just a first step towards understanding *why* they are being trafficked in disproportionate numbers

Box 6: Combining information and support to protect children 'at high risk'

The "Transnational Action Against Child Trafficking" (TACT) project implemented by the Terre des hommes Foundation in Albania intended simultaneously to:

1. establish a relationship of trust between project staff and both children and their families in the Roma and Egyptian community; this meant, for example, avoiding being identified too closely with the police;
2. identify school-age children who were considered to be at relatively high risk of being trafficked, either because they had already dropped out of school and started work near home or elsewhere in Albania, or because their parents were reported to be planning to let them start work or to go abroad;
3. provide advice and material support to families with 'children at risk', identifying the incentives that traffickers offered to such families (loans and other payments) and offering in-kind income supplements to reduce the pressure to accept these incentives;
4. provide children at risk with extra tutoring so that they caught up with other pupils, enjoyed school more and were less inclined to drop out;
5. provide children with information about the experience of children who have been trafficked, not only in the Roma and Egyptian community but to all children in parts of the country from where children were being trafficked.

The TACT project went much further than simply identifying children in the Egyptian community in southern Albania as being at risk of being trafficked. It used classic social-protection techniques to assess which specific children in which specific communities were at highest risk and concentrated protection measures on these children. It was found that when a child dropped out of school it was the equivalent of an alarm bell warning that the child was about to be trafficked.

A series of social conditions was also found to define children as being at high risk of being trafficked:

→ the households faced economic difficulties – in forty percent of cases neither parent was employed and in eighty percent at least one parent was unemployed;

→ the families had a housing problem, usually sharing a single room even when the household had four or six members;

→ parents had a low level of education – six percent of fathers and only three percent of mothers had finished the compulsory eight years of school in Albania;

→ in one in four cases, the child's parents were no longer living together.

Source: Terre des hommes and Ndihmë për Fëmijët (NPF), Child trafficking in South Eastern Europe: The Development of Good Practices to Protect Albanian Children, 2005, page 10.

and what action might succeed in protecting them and preventing them from being trafficked. When the profile of children at risk of being trafficked is identified successfully, a range of protection techniques can be implemented.

One such example is the Transnational Action Against Child Trafficking (TACT) project implemented by the Terres des Hommes for children from the Egyptian community in Albania that is used here to assess the effectiveness of such initiatives. This project combined provision of information to children with efforts to prevent children from dropping out of school and provision of specific assistance to vulnerable children and families (see Box 6 for more details).

2.6 Stopping children at high risk from dropping out of school

The prevention work of the Terre des hommes Foundation and NPF in Albania found that, of the children identified as being at high risk of being trafficked, one third had fallen three years behind at school, while almost two thirds were more than a year behind. The organizations concluded that sometimes children dropped out for practical reasons, e.g., family poverty, lack of income, failure at school, and sometimes for cultural reasons, e.g., a history of not attending school linked to discrimination that Egyptian children experience at school.[69] In the first case, the NGOs could provide either material assistance to the household or assistance to a child to help him or her learn more effectively. For example, NPF took the lead in providing catch-up education and helping children who dropped out of school to restart. This included persuading school directors who were reluctant to reintegrate children out of concerns that these children would drop out again and further increase the drop-out statistics of a school.

Tackling the cultural reasons involved efforts to increase the value attributed by the families concerned to school education and thereby to influence their behaviour. For example, NPF organized vocational training for some children and provided them with money to start their own income-generating activities after leaving school. They also talked to other members of the child's household about issues that indirectly affected school participation, such as health and how to deal with officials.

69 Terre des hommes and Ndihmë për Fëmijët, op. cit., page 24.

a) Income supplements for households and other assistance to enable parents to withstand pressures from traffickers

Terre des hommes and NPF provided in-kind support to deprived households with children assessed as being at 'high risk' from dropping out of school and being trafficked. This took the form of food, rather than money to ensure that resources went for the wellbeing of the whole family, especially the children.

All material assistance to families was made conditional on the child or children continuing to attend school. Terre des hommes and NPF felt this requirement established a reciprocal relationship between the NGOs and the families rather than a conventional patron-client relationship.[70]

Both organizations entered this project aware that cash support might reduce efforts by adults in the household to seek work and that some families are likely to deliberately take their children out of school to become eligible for assistance. They were also aware that the impacts of receiving money may vary as some families are better at managing money for the benefit of the household and children than others. These concerns were taken into account when considering which families were best qualified for assistance.[71]

b) Effectiveness of the TACT project

According to the NGOs involved, the project helped prevent trafficking and re-trafficking of children that benefited from the project but also had other positive effects on the situation of these children (for example, increased access to education).[72]

TACT is the only project in South Eastern Europe that had such a tight focus on a specific community and deployed a variety of targeted measures

70 Terre des hommes and Ndihmë për Fëmijët, op. cit., pages 23 and 28.

71 Other lessons on how to administer income supplements to prevent the economic exploitation of children can be drawn from larger-scale schemes which have used this technique, e.g., the Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour ('PETI') in Brazil, which provided 'school scholarships' to the families of children who had dropped out and started work while still of compulsory school age.

72 By early 2005 1,323 Albanian children, including 165 that were earlier trafficked had benefited from the project, Terre des hommes Foundation (Albania), Transnational Action Against Child Trafficking (TACT), Peer Review (unpublished), April 2005, page 16.

to prevent children from being trafficked. Such a combination of strategies aimed at addressing some of the main causes for child trafficking among the Egyptian community was one of the main features of the project's success.

Furthermore, the ability of implementing organizations to gain and maintain the trust of the families they were assisting was vital for the project's success—a feature that was often missing in other initiatives addressed to vulnerable ethnic communities. Apart from the conditionality attached to eligibility for material assistance, mutual trust was gained by ensuring respect for commitments which were agreed and providing real incentives for children to stay in school by securing their subsequent employment. The latter was especially important in a country with a non functioning economy, where members of certain ethnic groups experience discrimination and high levels of unemployment.

However, the project was relatively expensive to run since NGOs had to employ their own social workers to identify children at risk, develop a relationship with individual families and provide in-kind support. This also meant that NGOs unintentionally (but consciously) created disincentives for state social and education services normally responsible for the protection of targeted children and their families to fulfil their obligations. This is often the case when it comes to NGO led initiatives. In this case, this was remedied in part by the training that Terre des hommes provided to social services staff concerning the implementation of measures to protect children at risk of dropping out of school or being trafficked, endorsed in the new Albanian National Strategy on Social Services.

2.7 Improving child protection systems

There is no shortage of good intentions to improve systems for protecting children from trafficking as witnessed in national action plans adopted at the national level. Some countries have plans specifically focused on child trafficking. For example, Romania's National Plan of Action for Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Children and for Social Reintegration of Victims (2004-2007) includes the intention to support families in difficult situations *especially* in areas of the country where a high number of child trafficking cases are reported. However, there has been little, if any, tangible progress in translating these plans into action at the local level.

This is due to many different reasons: lack of financial and human resources to implement the plans; inadequate coordination among different agencies and rapid changes in the institutions at the national level responsible for coordination; strong central planning and weak participation of local authorities and services in direct contact with the most vulnerable children; and competing priorities at local level that often give lower priority to the prevention of trafficking.

All this suggests that plans and approaches that focus narrowly on child trafficking might be less effective than plans intended to improve the performance of child protection services across the board. As noted earlier, many of the steps required to prevent child trafficking are similar to those needed to protect children from a wide range of other forms of abuse. Thus improvement of child protection systems, especially their ability to identify children's vulnerability at an early stage and to provide adequate protection measures and support services to child victims, may go a long way towards preventing child trafficking and protecting child victims.

Yet as seen in chapter 7, the child protection systems in South Eastern Europe have many weaknesses (see Table 1, chapter 7) and are failing to protect children from trafficking. There are also few initiatives to support reforms in the social protection systems of the countries of origin of children who are trafficked.

In this context, it was a sign of progress when the National Authority for Child Rights Protection in Romania decided during 2005 that, rather than having different strategies to respond to different forms of child exploitation in Romania, the Authority wanted a new inter-ministerial group to be set up to deal with *all* categories of child exploitation and related abuse—including trafficking, child labour and also domestic abuse and applications by children for refugee status.[73]

UNICEF is also one of the actors that made the strengthening of child protection systems, in both preventive and protective measures, a cornerstone of its approach. This is being done partially through advocacy and technical support for the implementation of UNICEF's Guidelines for Protection of the Rights of Child Victims of Trafficking, and partially through other UNICEF's programmes aimed at strengthening protection for

[73] Interview with the programme director of Romania's National Authority for Child Rights Protection, September 2005.

children exposed to violence, abuse and exploitation, children in conflict with the law and those at risk or already deprived of parental care. One example of this approach is the recent Albanian National Strategy on Social Services developed with technical assistance from UNICEF, which includes provisions for protection of children from trafficking.

2.8 Ensuring adequate cooperation between agencies involved in anti-trafficking action at national level

Another approach to reinforcing preventive and protection measures focused on linking different agencies mandated to protect children from trafficking and providing a framework for a co-ordinated response through the establishment of National Referral Mechanisms (NRM). In all countries this included the establishment of either a National Committee or National Coordinator for Combating Human Trafficking, or, as in the Republic of Moldova, a subgroup for combating child trafficking.

So far NRMs have not been particularly attentive to the issue of prevention and have been weak in coordinating prevention activities. There are several potential reasons for this. Firstly, anti-trafficking activities in South Eastern Europe were predominantly focused on protection of adults and children who had already been trafficked. Secondly, each of the organizations involved in anti-trafficking efforts has its own priorities stemming from their mandate and expertise, resulting in a patchwork of mostly small-scale interventions rather than well-coordinated or extensive programmes. This problem is not overcome by the development of a national plan of action as different organizations still compete or have different views about what action is needed to implement the plan. This appeared to be the case in the UN Administered Province of Kosovo in late 2005 when different organizations launched separate media initiatives to inform the public about changes in patterns of trafficking in the UN Administered Province of Kosovo and the remedial action necessary.

Furthermore, National Referral Mechanisms are routinely coordinated by the Ministry of the Interior responsible for law enforcement. This means there may be a bias towards prevention strategies based on a law enforcement approach that do not address the social protection needs of children at risk of being trafficked.

2.9 Intercepting children who are being trafficked from one country to another at border crossings

There have been numerous initiatives in South Eastern Europe to tighten up procedures around children crossing borders.

In countries belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), such as the Republic of Moldova, children are still allowed to cross national borders without a passport. Moldovan children used to be able to travel to Ukraine and the Russian Federation with only their birth certificate. As these contained no photograph or other personal details, they provided no guarantee that the child named on the certificate was the one who was travelling. One of the Moldovan children interviewed for this Report said that her traffickers showed border guards a different child's birth certificate and were consequently allowed to take her out of the Republic of Moldova. Save the Children (Moldova) called for a change in the law and at the end of 2004 it became obligatory for children to have a formal identity card when visiting other CIS countries.[74]

In Romania children who leave their country unaccompanied by either parent are supposed to carry a letter of authorization signed by their parent and duly confirmed by a notary public. In theory this should enable immigration officials at Romanian border points to check that children have parental consent to leave the country. In practice the effort and cost of having a letter confirmed by a notary public is a disincentive to using this protection measure. Border guards in Romania are reported to be urged on a regular basis to ignore this requirement, again undermining the potential benefits of such letters as a prevention measure. However, it does sometimes work. Romanian border guards are reported to have intercepted an adolescent girl being taken via Hungary for commercial sexual exploitation in Austria when she was found to have no letter of permission to travel from her parents.[75]

Since 2002 Romanian children do not need a visa to enter Schengen Agreement[76] countries in Europe.

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74 Interview with the director of Save the Children (Republic of Moldova), 1 October 2005.

75 Case reported by the Coordinator of the Centre for Assistance and Reintegration of Child Victims of Trafficking in Satu Mare, Romania, September 2005.

76 A total of 15 countries have entered into the Schengen agreement: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Spain and Sweden.

This has made it easier for Romanian children to travel to these countries —and many had travelled to France before they could do so legally—and likewise easier for traffickers to take adolescents to France, Spain, Italy and other EU countries.

Child rights organizations in Bulgaria and Romania are not reported to have called for the reintroduction of visas or other checks at borders to protect children. However, in view of the vast disparities in income between households in countries on track to join the EU (Bulgaria and Romania) and those in Western Europe, large numbers of vulnerable children are likely to continue travelling to EU countries. Some and maybe many will end up being exploited unless more efforts are made at the frontiers of Bulgaria, Romania and EU countries to check the age of young travellers and to clarify whether they have their parents' authorization to travel abroad.

Furthermore, inadequate efforts are made to put in place systems to monitor what happens to children once they enter a country, especially the Schengen states. This monitoring may help protect children if and when they are exploited. One positive exception is the United Kingdom. In this country, immigration officials are required to fill in a special form whenever an unaccompanied child arrives at a border post. This is used to record basic information about the child, his or her identity documents and details about their intended itinerary. The form is also used to record details about anyone who meets the child or who is scheduled to receive them. A copy of the form is forwarded to the relevant child welfare or social services department in the area where the child is scheduled to be going so that she or he can receive a follow-up visit and assessment by a social worker.[77] This technique is not effective when false information is provided, but if a child cannot be located subsequently, it is still important as it triggers efforts to locate the child.

3. Strategies on the 'demand side'

3.1 Deterrence by prosecution

A law enforcement strategy to detect and stop human trafficking appears to be quite straightforward. It would involve: (1) amending criminal codes and other related laws to bring them in line with the provisions of the UN Trafficking Protocol; (2) redefining what the offence of trafficking involves and increasing the penalties; (3) equipping law enforcement agents such as police and border guards with equipment and training to detect trafficking and secure evidence; and (4) bringing traffickers to court and, if convicted, sending them to prison.

In practice, it is difficult to implement this strategy (especially points 3 and 4) effectively, for several reasons. Firstly, it is often difficult to distinguish children who are being trafficked from other children who are on the move. To identify child victims, law enforcement and police officials need a good understanding of the patterns and techniques that traffickers use. It is also important that they are aware that it is irrelevant whether trafficked children have been subjected to coercion or deception during their recruitment; in contrast to adults, children who have been subjected to exploitation should always be treated as children and as victims of trafficking. This means that trafficked children should not be mistaken for illegal immigrants or criminals.

Secondly, taking evidence from children is very sensitive as it must be done without causing them further harm. Indeed, at every stage, law enforcement strategies have to ensure that the best interests of the child are a primary consideration. This means ensuring that the procedures used for children who are victims or witnesses are as child friendly as possible. It may mean refraining from involving them in legal cases if it seems likely to re-traumatize the child or put her or him at unacceptable risk of reprisals from traffickers or their associates. However, the experience from South Eastern Europe shows weaknesses in overall protection measures for children who are victims or witnesses in criminal cases, including during the process of questioning and taking evidence.

Thirdly, for this strategy to give results it is not just a question of whether criminals who have trafficked children are prosecuted and convicted. It is also important that such prosecutions result in key criminals being imprisoned and entire networks being dismantled so that trafficking chains are broken up and the incentives for prospective traffickers dashed. In many cases prosecutions have involved minor players in trafficking networks, who are swiftly replaced by others.

The results of trials are also important for this strategy to be effective. When sentences are so light that a trafficker is free before the child who

[77] Details on 'Operation Paladin' from a press release issued by the UK National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 17 May 2004.

has been abused has recovered from her or his ordeal, they not only fail to prevent trafficking but also put children at risk of traffickers' revenge. This was the case of a Kosovar girl who was abducted at the age of 15 and forced into prostitution in 2002 and who testified against the pimp who exploited her; he was convicted and sentenced to two and a half years in prison. Just as she was rebuilding her life and relations with others, the pimp was released from prison and took his revenge by ordering her boyfriend to be beaten up. The combination of a short sentence and inadequate police protection contributed to her being subjected to yet more harm.[78]

3.2 Reducing demand—the income on which traffickers depend

Strategies that address the people whose money ends up in the hands of traffickers, have had very varied results. A specific set of tactics employed in the UN Administered Province of Kosovo reduced the exploitation of trafficked adult women and some girls, while a campaign in Greece helped reduce donations of money to trafficked children who were begging on the street.

a) Barriers to challenging demand for commercial sex

Between 2001 and 2003 the UN Interim Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) took steps to reduce the commercial sexual exploitation of trafficked women and girls. UNMIK Regulation 2001/4 made it a crime to use or procure "the sexual services of a person with the knowledge that that person is a victim of trafficking in persons." The regulation provides for sentences of up to 10 years' imprisonment if the person trafficked was less than 18 years of age; and 5 years in the case of an adult.[79] However, in practice, the difficulty of proving that men or boys paying for commercial sex were aware that the women involved had been trafficked makes it hard to turn arrests into prosecutions and prosecutions into convictions.

UNMIK also developed a list of bars and premises where it was suspected that prostitution was occurring. These places were declared off-limits to individuals employed by UNMIK and to foreign military personnel. Although this strategy was aimed at curbing the demand for commercial sex in general, it is widely regarded as having led to a reduction in the numbers of women and girls trafficked into the UN Administered Province of Kosovo. Thus, in some situations, where there is enough evidence to show that a high proportion of the women and girls providing commercial sex have been trafficked, the action to curb all forms of commercial sex as a measure against trafficking might be justified.

Campaigns to reduce 'demand' in the context of commercial sexual exploitation might also be useful if they are clear about their aims and targets and if it can be proved that they led to a change in the behaviour of those targeted. This has not been the case in the South Eastern Europe. In the UN Administered Province of Kosovo, IOM organized an information campaign about victims of trafficking, aimed principally at men from overseas who were working in the UN Administered Province of Kosovo. The campaign slogan was: "You pay for her for a night: she pays with her life." Save the Children in the UN Administered Province of Kosovo also organized a campaign in 2003 to influence men and boys who paid for commercial sex and to make the general public aware that Kosovar girls and women, not just girls and women from other countries, were being trafficked. The NGO reckoned that the message could change behaviours on the demand side. Two years later, publicity campaigns were organized in late 2005 with much the same message, suggesting that it did not have the desired effect the first time around.

Both law enforcement strategies and supporting information campaigns that aim to discourage men and boys from paying for sex sound as though they *should* be able to impact demand. However, their message fails to highlight the principle that adolescents under age 18 should never be involved in providing commercial sex. Furthermore, not enough evidence has been collected to know how the men and boys targeted respond. Some evidence from other regions indicates that men or boys who pay for sex will refuse to do so if they are aware that it involves a girl who has been trafficked.[80] However, recent research in South Asia showed that clients paying for sex did not consider 17-year-olds to be 'children'. In many parts of Europe, popular perceptions are not yet in line with the CRC and 16- and 17-year-olds are seen as young adults rather than children.

78 Interview in the UN Administered Province of Kosovo, September 2005.

79 UNMIK Regulation 2001/4 on the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons in the UN Administered Province of Kosovo, (12 January 2001), Section 4 (Using or Procuring Sexual Services of Person in a Situation of Sexual Exploitation).

80 See Terre des hommes, A study of trafficked Nepalese girls and women in Mumbai and Kolkata, India (summary of findings), October 2005.

b) Reducing donations to trafficked beggars

When Albanian children first appeared on the streets of Thessalonica and other Greek cities in the late 1990s, washing car windscreens to earn money, child rights organizations in Greece were unsure how to respond. In particular, they did not know whether the children were indeed desperate and in need of charity to survive. A Greek NGO, ARSIS, responded by setting up a drop-in centre for these street children and began to collect information about their circumstances. ARSIS learned from Terre des hommes in Albania that the children were victims of trafficking and set about influencing policy makers in Greece as well as city officials, police, prosecutors and social services.

It was some years before ARSIS concluded that it would be in the children's best interests to cut the supply of money upon which the traffickers depended—the money which the Greek public donated to children who washed their windscreens and later begged outside churches, played music and sold flowers and other articles to people in restaurants. This meant telling the public that the children were being exploited and suggesting they would be better off without donations.

ARSIS targeted its messages: "Don't give money to children in the streets." "You don't help children in the streets by giving them money." The awareness campaign explained that the children were being abused but did not go into detail about trafficking. The message dealt with the moment of contact between members of the public and the begging child. ARSIS enlisted the support of journalists in getting the message across, particularly once members of the public expressed concern that the children might be punished by their controllers if their earnings fell.[81] In 2004 the campaign was re-oriented to deal with the concern of both ARSIS and Terre des hommes that Albanian children might be trafficked to Greece in large numbers to beg during the Olympic Games.

The number of Albanian children begging in Thessalonica and other Greek cities has fallen considerably. It seems likely that this is for several different reasons, possibly including the campaign to reduce donations, although further research would be needed to determine the real impact of the campaign.

c) Regulating the employment of young people in the informal sector and in sectors known to practice forced labour

Several EU countries have made efforts to stop migrant workers being trafficked and subjected to forced labour. The UK adopted a new law in 2004, the Gangmasters (Licensing) Act, to regulate the activities of the employment agencies which were believed to be responsible for the worst excesses. The law creates a compulsory licensing system for gangmasters and other agencies supplying workers for agricultural activities, gathering shellfish and related processing and packaging activities. The legislation was proposed after 23 migrant cockle collectors were drowned by rising tides in a well-publicized incident in 2004 that raised the issue of whether the workers and other migrants were victims of forced labour.[82]

Other sectors in which trafficked children have been made to work in the UK, such as domestic work, remain largely unregulated. In most of the countries which are destinations for children trafficked from South Eastern Europe, there are still sectors of the economy which are largely unregulated and where children can be exploited for financial gain. Despite recent initiatives at the international level to prohibit the exploitation associated with trafficking and the 'worst forms of child labour',[83] along with renewed efforts to stop the use of forced labour, many industrialized countries in which these practices have been reported have been relatively slow to act.

d) Investigating job offers to find out if they are genuine

Setting up telephone help lines was one of the strategies applied to help young people find out more about job offers abroad. For example, over half the requests which one such hotline operated by La Strada in the Republic of Moldova received in the first two years of the hotline's operation (2001-2003) were about employment abroad. There were a smaller number of inquiries about working as a domestic *au pair* and marriage abroad.[84] Only a

81 Information from ARSIS staff in Thessalonica, November 2003, and Tirana, May 2005.

82 Temporary Labour Working Group (Ethical Trading Initiative), A licence to operate. New measures to tackle exploitation of temporary workers in the UK agricultural industry, 2004.

83 The 'worst forms of child labour' were defined by Convention No 182 (the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention), adopted by the ILO in 1999.

84 Out of a total of 11,027 calls. La Strada (Republic of Moldova), "Hot Line Statistics. Calls breakdown by issue. September 1, 2001-September 1, 2003." Accessed 5 October 2005 at: http://www.lastrada.md

small proportion of inquiries come from children: during 2004, just under 4% of the calls were from adolescents under age 18.[85] Hotline staff are reported to make suggestions about how to distinguish between offers of acceptable jobs and deceptive offers that may be a trap.

Branches of La Strada in other countries such as the Ukraine have also reported increases in the number of telephone callers asking how to assess job offers abroad. This suggests that countries with high rates of emigration have a responsibility to ensure that good advice and support is available for young people thinking of emigrating to get work. Some standard advice can be offered to all young people seeking work abroad (see below), along with lists of examples of job offers that have proved to be covers for attempts to force migrants into some form of exploitation.

4. Cross-cutting strategies

4.1 Child participation

Efforts to prevent child trafficking have involved children in passing information and advice to other children, e.g., as peer-to-peer educators, but have not otherwise developed imaginative ways of enabling children to participate. Information from children has been taken into account at the design stage, but the level of detail and the extent to which the information supplied by children is taken into account has varied a great deal. Even when trafficked children have been interviewed about their experiences, too little attention has been given to documenting their experiences and knowledge of possible risks before they were trafficked.

Future initiatives could give more attention to involving children in prevention efforts in order to enhance their overall effectiveness.

4.2 Cooperation between organizations based at different ends of the trafficking chain

The experience in South Eastern Europe and other parts of the world suggests that efforts to prevent child trafficking have benefited enormously from coordination between the areas where children are recruited and those where the same children are exploited. This was especially the case for fact-finding investigations and follow-up counter-trafficking initiatives. This proves the need for separate organizations to systematically work together to prevent child trafficking, within one country, bilaterally (in countries of recruitment and exploitation), or across the region. There are examples of cooperation at all three of these levels.

1. Within a single country: in Albania, six NGOs set up a coalition in 2001 called së Bashku Kundër Trafikimit të Fëmijëve (BKTF), All Together against Child Trafficking. It had nine member NGOs by the end of 2003 which continue to work separately but have coordinated activities on several occasions, e.g., responding in 2003 to a new government draft strategy on child trafficking.

2. Bilaterally, between an area of recruitment and an area of exploitation: the Terre des hommes Foundation and NPF in Albania developed good working relations with ARSIS in Greece.

3. Save the Children's Regional Programme against Child Trafficking in South Eastern Europe brought together six countries in its first phase and seven in its second phase which began in September 2005.

There have been various examples of government agencies in areas of 'supply' and areas of 'demand' establishing direct contact and improving their impact as a result. On the whole, however, making connections between areas of 'supply' and 'demand' remains difficult to organize. In particular, governments and government agencies in separate countries have found it more difficult to work together closely than have NGOs. For several years the Stability Pact (for South Eastern Europe) Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings worked systematically to encourage cooperation between SEE countries[86] but similar cooperation between SEE and EU countries has proved difficult to bring about. Bilateral agreements between the countries might be very useful for inter-country cooperation. However,

[85] 197 out of 4,987 calls. Information from the La Strada (Republic of Moldova) coordinator, September 2005.

[86] The Task Force wound up in 2004. Its web site explained that it existed "to encourage and strengthen co-operation between the countries of South Eastern Europe as well as to streamline existing efforts in the combat against human trafficking". http://www.stabilitypact.org/trafficking/default.asp

for such agreements to be effective in preventing re-trafficking, they must include clear protection standards for victims of trafficking. The recently signed agreement between Greece and Albania is the first one that includes clear standards for the protection of children, such as issuing residence permits to children-victims, referral of child victims to competent officials, appointment of a temporary guardian, individual case assessment in determining durable solutions, etc.[87]

4.3 The advantages of organizations providing assistance to trafficked children also implementing prevention initiatives

Organizations which work on the issue of child trafficking may focus exclusively on prevention or combine prevention work with other activities such as providing practical assistance to children who have been trafficked. Organizations providing assistance to children who have already been trafficked have some advantages when it comes to designing prevention initiatives. Their day-to-day contact with trafficked children gives them direct access to information about the children's experience, as well as the ways in which previous attempts to prevent trafficking have affected such children. In contrast, other organizations rely on second-hand information or on general reports that do not reveal all the salient details. When trying out a new strategy (or combination of strategies), rapid feedback from trafficked children as the initiative develops enables an organization to introduce the modifications which may be necessary to make it effective.

4.4 Coordinating several strategies simultaneously

It is clear by now that effective prevention initiatives usually combine several of the strategies and ensure some coordination of efforts in areas of 'supply' with those in areas of 'demand'. One general conclusion is that efforts to make children aware of the risks of being trafficked are unlikely to be sufficient by themselves and can only be justified as a temporary measure. A second conclusion is that there is no single recipe of how to combine strategies.

87 Agreement between the Government of the Hellenic Republic and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Albania for the protection and assistance of children victims of trafficking, 27 February 2006.

4.5 Sustainability: how to pass an NGO practice over to public social services

Overall, NGOs cannot and should not replace the obligations of governments to protect children. This implies that NGOs should work in close collaboration with public authorities. Most NGOs would say they are doing so, although with varying degrees of success.

For example, in the case of Albania, the country's Parliament approved a Law on Social Services in March 2004 that created a framework for the reform of the country's social protection system. This was followed by the adoption of a National Strategy on Social Services that was developed with technical assistance from UNICEF. These events created an expectation that the state's own social services will soon be able to protect children at risk of dropping out of school or being trafficked. To support this process, Terres des Hommes staff in Albania organized a seminar jointly with social services staff in May 2005 to start enabling social services to actively engage in anti-trafficking efforts.

4.6 Preventing trafficking while challenging discrimination against a minority

The most controversial projects to prevent trafficking in South Eastern Europe have been those which focus on children belonging to Roma or Egyptian minorities, particularly when the people making money out of the children belong to the same communities. Criticism of the projects has been voiced by members of the minorities concerned. They have challenged the accuracy of the research data that identified children from these minorities as being trafficked in disproportionate numbers and objected to the way that non-Roma organizations have been put in charge of projects focusing on Roma children.[88]

Initiatives concerning children belonging to these minorities, whether intended to stop trafficking or other forms of exploitation, or even 'cultural practices' such as early marriage or withdrawing children from school to start work before completing their primary education, all have to contend with the high levels of discrimination that

88 See Rut Feuk, Assessment Trip to Albania on Trafficking in Children from Roma and Egyptian Communities, Report, 16 - 21 June 2003, ODIHR and OSCE Contact Point for Roma and Sinti Issues (CPRSI).

these minorities have experienced throughout Europe for many centuries and have to ensure that their interventions contribute to combating discrimination rather than reinforcing prejudice. Initiatives designed specifically to prevent Roma or Egyptian children[89] from being trafficked should consequently be analysed alongside other initiatives to prevent their economic exploitation and to enable children from minority groups to exercise their human rights.

One general conclusion is that any organization that intends to combat trafficking that involves Roma or Egyptian children should build links with the community concerned from the outset and invest in developing methods which involve members of the community as much as possible—even if this is difficult.

5. Some prevention strategies from other regions/countries that might be relevant for the SEE region

5.1 Community-based protection networks

On the whole, less priority has been given in South Eastern Europe to mobilizing resources at the community level—unlike other parts of the world, such as South-East Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, where 'community level protection networks' have been set up to try and prevent trafficking or related forms of abuse, such as domestic violence and child labour, or behaviour that is considered likely to lead to abuse, such as children dropping out of school. In communities where children have been recruited especially to take part as combatants in armed conflict or to earn money for others in prostitution, networks of this sort have been set up specifically to prevent local children from being recruited and trafficked.[90]

The composition of protection networks varies, as do the tasks they perform. In parts of South-East Asia, village volunteers are involved in identifying children and young people considered to be 'at risk' and providing them with various forms of support. The theory sounds good but in practice some protection networks have ended up abusing child rights, for example by imposing blanket bans on children leaving their home community—because the village leaders failed to distinguish between trafficking and other forms of migration.

Although no special networks are reported to have been established in countries in South Eastern Europe, most local communities have professional people who could participate in a network, such as school teachers, health workers and the police. Even in the absence of social workers, in many communities these professionals already share information about children dropping out of school or showing signs of neglect or physical abuse. When someone takes the initiative to convene these professionals on a systematic basis within a community, a 'multi-disciplinary team' comes into existence which may also act as a community-based protection network.

In the capital of the Republic of Moldova, Chişinau, for example, the 'Amicul' Centre for the Prevention of Child Abuse is reported to act as convenor for such a network, holding meetings every two months for representatives of both national authorities (such as the Procuracy), international organizations (like the IOM) and the city's own child protection authority. This model could potentially be replicated at provincial or local level, although this has not yet occurred in the Republic of Moldova and even in Chişinau it has proved difficult to persuade representatives of all the relevant organizations to attend.

Some key elements for any protection network include:

1. some form of coordination, either by one of the professionals or by a community leader;

2. knowledge of what reaction is appropriate when a child is reported to be experiencing abuse or is believed to be at risk—a reaction which must protect a child rather than making her or his situation worse in any way;

3. ensuring the privacy and the confidentiality of any information that is circulated about individual children.

89 Although the situation of Roma, Egyptians and Ashkali is often presented as if it was similar, no evidence has been published to indicate that Ashkali children have been trafficked.

90 For example, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (to prevent recruitment of child soldiers) and in Cambodia (to prevent children being recruited for commercial sexual exploitation).

5.2 Enabling older children to migrate safely—risk minimization strategies

In much of South Eastern Europe, current rates of emigration are so high that between 10-20% of all young people aged between 18 and 25 are likely to seek work abroad. In this situation it seems sensible to provide *all* young people with basic information about how to avoid being subjected to abuse including trafficking and other sorts of abuse. As some youth leave the country before they reach 18, waiting until they are adults to provide such information is too late. Furthermore, schools offer a unique opportunity to reach virtually all the adolescent population: once they have left school there is no equivalent opportunity.

However, the issue of 'safe migration' is often mentioned in anti-trafficking initiatives but interpreted to mean a variety of things. Governments and intergovernmental organizations usually assume it refers to *legal* migration, moving to jobs for which people have already applied and been accepted before they leave one country for another. Job seekers in South Eastern Europe are aware that far more openings exist in other countries than the ones they can find out about at home, so they often do not regard legal migration as the most viable option.

There are also different interpretations of what 'safe migration' means for both older adolescents and young adults. This means giving advice on how to check whether advertisements and job offers abroad are genuine and tips on what to do to minimize the chances of being trafficked and abused. In this case, it means giving young people information about what trafficking is and how traffickers work so that they will deliberately adopt methods that reduce their chances of being entrapped. Governments may not be happy with this approach because they want all migration to be legal and controlled. However, such advice may enable young people to protect themselves more effectively than if they are provided with no advice.

a) Standard precautions to advise young migrants to take

NGOs involved in efforts to prevent trafficking of adolescents and young adults in Latvia developed a series of recommendations for young people who were considering trying to earn money abroad. These were tips on how to ensure jobs were legitimate, as well as tips which might help if someone ended up in trouble (see Box 7).

The problem with this approach is that it is not foolproof. It is likely to reduce the chances of someone being trafficked and to improve their

Box 7: IOFA advice to young people thinking of migrating abroad

In Latvia **the International Organization for Adolescents (IOFA)** ran an anti-trafficking campaign targeted at adolescents and young adults. Here is its checklist of things to do to protect against false job promises abroad:

1. verify whether a job agency or opportunity is legitimate;
2. ask for an employment contract;
3. have someone review a contract and comment on it;
4. review and sign a contract for employment;
5. leave a copy of the contract with relatives or friends;
6. leave a copy of a passport with relatives or friends;
7. leave contact information with relatives or friends;
8. leave the employer's contact information with relatives/friends;
9. create a password/code language to let people know, "I'm in trouble";
10. attend to a career counselling session at a youth centre.

Source: A. Boak, A. Boldosser and O. Biu, Smooth Flight: A Guide to Preventing Youth Trafficking, IOFA, 2003, page 95.

chances of escaping from the clutches of traffickers. However, a 17-year-old who follows all the advice above might still be captured by traffickers and complain subsequently that the advice was inadequate or even that on the basis of the advice she or he ended up in trouble. This risk is not a reason for failing to give young people advice, but clearly any advice needs to be accompanied by a clear explanation that the techniques suggested are not foolproof.

b) Documenting the circumstances in which children depart and tracing them

Some rural communities in South-East Asia in which there is a high level of emigration have introduced techniques for monitoring children's departures and emigration in order to track what happens to them. Instead of assessing which children are at high risk of being trafficked before their departure, this option involves assessing the level of risk to them when they depart (or just afterwards) on the basis of the information that relatives or others have about the child's intentions and travel plans.[91] On this basis, it is possible to assess whether the child's departure is risky; if it is, attempts are made to seek information about the child in a systematic way afterwards, mainly from organizations based in the country or countries to which the child is believed to be travelling. Once again, for this strategy to succeed, agencies based in several different countries have to agree to participate in a network.

5.3 Telling intermediaries about trafficking and recruiting them to help identify and intercept trafficked children

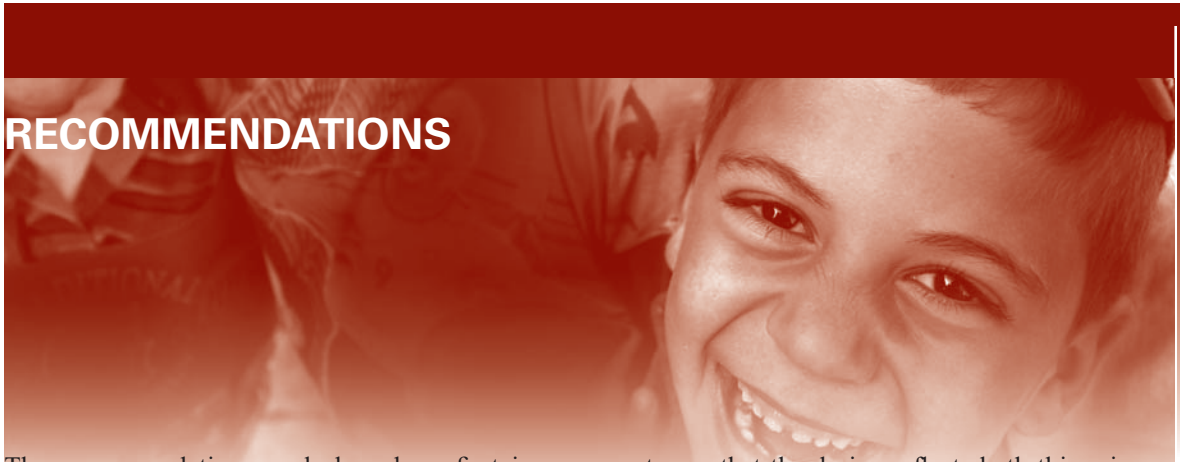
In various regions outside Europe efforts have been made to recruit people who come into contact with traffickers or trafficked children along trafficking routes. The aim is both to identify children who are being trafficked and to help intercept them. In Nepal, for example, transport workers have been recruited to report when they suspect that children whom they encounter are being trafficked: bus and taxi drivers, cart owners and others who provide transport for Nepali children travelling to India.

Transport workers face the same difficulties as others in trying to distinguish between children who are migrating in relatively safe conditions and those who are under the control of traffickers, especially if the traffickers are not actually accompanying them. There is a risk that transport workers, like members of community protection networks, will be overzealous and report on every child and adolescent who is travelling, rather than recognizing the tell-tale signs of trafficking.

91 Information from UNICEF/UNIAP (United Nations Inter-Agency Project on Human Trafficking in the Greater Mekong Sub-Region), TRACE (Trafficking from Community to Exploitation) Project document, 12 May 2003.

CHAPTER 9.

RECOMMENDATIONS



The recommendations made here have first in mind government officials and public-sector authorities across South Eastern Europe, especially those responsible for social protection and child protection. Some of the recommendations focus on the 'demand' side of trafficking outside the SEE region and are aimed at child protection agencies and policy makers in EU States, as well as those in the Russian Federation and Turkey.

The recommendations are also relevant for donors that finance anti-trafficking initiatives and organizations that carry them out, e.g., intergovernmental organizations, international and local NGOs, government agencies and departments, national referral mechanisms and child protection agencies at national and local levels.

1. Improve the collection and analysis of data about children who have been trafficked

This Report emphasizes the importance of debriefing children, systematically and sensitively, who have been trafficked in regards to their experience—both those who return home and those who remain in the place or country of destination.

The information typically gathered in current post-trafficking interviews with police, psychologists and others, is collected to see whether criminal charges are justified and possible and does not try to elicit information about the causes of trafficking, Thus, specific research to assess risks and vulnerabilities to trafficking and their causes should also be conducted.

Good prevention initiatives need to build upon detailed and specific information provided by trafficked children but also by others directly involved or affected by trafficking. Donors should request such evidence in programme proposals and should not be satisfied with prevention initiatives based on general statistics about trafficking in the region. They should scrutinise proposals to see that the design reflects both this primary evidence and a solid understanding of the broader causes of trafficking. Project design should also provide for incorporating feedback during the implementation stage.

2. Be ahead of trafficking: 'go to where the children are'

A 2001 IPEC evaluation of initiatives designed to stop child trafficking and the commercial sexual exploitation of children emphasized that there was a need to go "where the children are" rather than trying to do anti-trafficking work out of an office.[92] NGOs concerned with trafficked children working on the street have also stressed the importance of 'street work', e.g., deploying social workers to contact children on the streets and to observe what is happening around these children.

The Terre des hommes Foundation and NPF coined the phrase "strategic parallelism" to describe what they consider a vital technique. The term means that the work of anti-trafficking organizations should both shadow and anticipate the work of traffickers—and the trafficked—so that there is at least a counterbalance to the lures that lead to being trafficked and better yet, a proactive and preventive action. Strategic parallelism means that anti-trafficking initiatives neither place nor accept geographical limits on their area of operation, i.e., they get involved both at the recruitment and exploitation ends of the trafficking chain and anywhere in between. It means working in a network of like-minded organizations, just as traffickers work in networks. It means securing the trust of children and children's parents or family members and convincing them that the ultimate outcome is a material benefit accruing to them.[93]

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92 IPEC, "Action against Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation of Children. Going where the Children are…: An Evaluation of ILO-IPEC Programmes in Thailand, Philippines, Colombia, Costa Rica and Nicaragua." 2001.

93 Terre des hommes and Ndihmë për Fëmijët, op. cit., page 7.

Understanding the tactics used by traffickers has important implications for the design of preventive initiatives. However, there are also limitations. For example, government agencies and NGOs have to respect national borders. There are also barriers to cooperation between countries with more resources and poorer countries. It is essential that governments and organizations in destination countries address the causes of trafficking that reside with them, and extend appropriate protection to victims of trafficking and, in the case of children, ensure durable solutions are identified and implemented. UNICEF's Guidelines to Protect the Rights of Child Victims of Trafficking outline the minimum standards to be observed in dealing with child victims of trafficking from the identification phase to the implementation of durable solutions.

3. Make information campaigns more strategic

This Report has emphasized the need for information campaigns to be tailored to the audience or area that they target, rather than being 'off the shelf' or a straight re-application of an awareness strategy used elsewhere. A good information campaign has to apply good programme logic, collect and analyse information and demonstrate how a course of action can reasonably be expected to provoke the changes which are sought, i.e., influencing the behaviour of children and their parents/relatives in such a way that they will not be trafficked or are less likely to be trafficked.

Likewise, the efforts to reduce demand should be targeted more strategically. For example, the experience of ARSIS in Greece has shown that the public can be influenced to stop donating money to child beggars who have been trafficked. In contrast, messages given to men and boys who pay for sex need further refinement in terms of targeting a more specific audience with a clear message. Countries that consider commercial sex unacceptable in any circumstances, such as Sweden, do have a clear message but lack a special focus on the plight of girls and women who have been trafficked into the commercial sex sector.

In countries where some categories of commercial sex are regarded as acceptable or tolerable (or impossible to eradicate), efforts to discourage men and boys from paying for sex with adolescents under 18 and with anyone who has been trafficked should be more carefully targeted and monitored. Rather than starting with nation-wide campaigns it might be more effective for authorities at national or local levels to formulate a variety of different messages and then test them on a pilot basis in order to evaluate their different impacts. Then those that work the best could be scaled up or applied in similar circumstances.

Furthermore, the exploitation of trafficked children has repeatedly been facilitated because consumers, clients, employers, law enforcement officials and members of the general public have not realized that activities in which they see children involved (particularly foreign children) are abusive—or have not known what an appropriate reaction would be. Thus, providing clear information to both children and adults on what constitutes child abuse and what to do about it when it occurs is crucial. One way of doing this is through specially designed campaigns aimed towards law enforcement officials and the general public.

4. Put life skills education in every classroom

Life skills education has been recognized as having many benefits, including reducing the vulnerability of children to being trafficked. However, many children in regions with high rates of child trafficking are still not being taught these skills. While this is partly because of resource constraints and the time it takes to introduce new topics into the school curriculum, in several cases there has been vocal opposition to its introduction. In such cases, those responsible for the delays should be held accountable for indirectly allowing the abuse of children to continue unchecked.

In addition to life skills education, it might be also necessary to design complementary and locally sensitive education campaigns, especially in areas with potentially high risk for abuse and exploitation of children.

5. Develop effective child protection systems

Preventing children from being trafficked requires strong child protection systems, especially in areas where disproportionate numbers of chil-

dren are known to have been trafficked. Research into the destination/exploitation of trafficked children typically reveals that authorities responsible for child protection in the places of origin were unaware of the children's recruitment and emigration.

Governments in all SEE countries must make it clear that protecting children is their priority. All of these countries have begun to implement reforms to their child protection systems. In general, reforms are aiming to transform existing systems and establish a 'continuum of services' to prevent, identify, report, refer, address/treat and provide services to children at risk of being trafficked and their families. UNICEF child protection programmes in South Eastern Europe are actively contributing to the development of this continuum of services.

Nevertheless, more decisive political commitment and additional resources are needed to make and manage the necessary changes. Governments in South Eastern Europe can make a difference by increasing budgets for social services, clearly defining the mandates and accountabilities of agencies, promoting communication and cooperation among different stakeholders, and ensuring greater participation of children and their families.

Cash assistance is generally available to families in need but the targeting could be improved to reach children and families at evident risk of trafficking directly. For example, income support could be extended on the condition that a child attends school until the end of compulsory education. Establishing eligibility would require social workers to spend more time assessing individual families and acquiring new skills. This approach might require more social workers than the numbers currently employed in each of the countries in South Eastern Europe, as well as the establishment of a community-based information system to identify and report on cases where children drop out of school or appear likely to do so.

Improvements are also needed to the parts of the child protection system responsible for checking that children crossing borders are not being trafficked. The same goes for the parts of the system charged with identifying trafficked children in areas where they are exploited. The improvements in child protection systems are not just relevant for countries of origin but also transit and destination countries to identify trafficked children in a timely way and ensure adequate care and protection. In addition, child protection agencies in countries of origin, transit and destination need to establish better collaboration mechanisms. Bilateral agreements between States concerning trafficking of children and other unaccompanied children are one way of improving such cooperation. However, alternative frameworks to allow close exchange of information, including intelligence about patterns of child trafficking, are also needed.

6. Make sure programmes respect 'good practice'

This report has highlighted the importance of rooting prevention initiatives in child rights principles and provisions, good quality data and analysis, programme logic, monitoring and evaluating practices and measuring progress towards the expected results.

All prevention efforts, at minimum, should be designed to uphold the best interests of trafficked children, respect their privacy, ensure that rights of all trafficked children are respected without discrimination, and ensure children's views and comments are taken into account. They should be based on good quality, up-to-date and reliable data on risks and patterns of trafficking as well as existing protection mechanisms and services and their shortcomings. Having such data is crucial to understanding the causes of trafficking and predicting what the impact of specific activities devised to address the causes is likely to be. So, establishing these links clearly is a basis for designing good prevention initiatives. In many respects, it is better to focus on modest results, achievable through planned prevention activities, rather than hoping for results that depend on factors that cannot be influenced by the planned intervention.

Furthermore, each separate prevention initiative should be evaluated and its impact assessed, while findings should be widely and actively shared with other stakeholders in child protection.

Most donor organizations are aware of the need for evaluation and impact assessment and are willing to provide financing for these phases of a counter-trafficking project. Donors could also make the inclusion of an evaluation a condition of financing.

Lessons about the effectiveness of individual initiatives to prevent child trafficking are likely to

remain relevant long after the specific pattern of trafficking that was targeted has come to an end. Countries such as the Czech Republic and Poland, which were areas of recruitment for women and girls being trafficked into the EU in the 1990s, have since become both transit points and destinations for trafficking victims.

Economic and social conditions—and their impact on trafficking—may change in individual countries, but the opportunities that traffickers identify and exploit rarely disappear on their own. They, too, just change shape. Consequently, the need to prevent trafficking and the exploitation of children is ongoing.

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ANNEX 1.

QUESTIONNAIRE CONCERNING THE EXPERIENCE OF CHILDREN WHO HAVE BEEN TRAFFICKED (WITHIN THEIR OWN COUNTRY OR ABROAD) AND SUBSEQUENTLY PROVIDED WITH SHELTER AND/OR ASSISTANCE IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY

Note for translators and for people asking the questions:

These questions have been prepared as part of a project supported by UNICEF to investigate the effectiveness of initiatives to prevent children from being trafficked and of efforts to protect children who have already been trafficked. Terms such as 'trafficked' are explained in a glossary below.

These questions are intended to be put to children who have themselves already been trafficked (moved from one place to another in order to be exploited, either within their own country or from one country to another), both girls and boys. While the questions are intended primarily for children aged under 18, they are also intended for young adults who were trafficked when they were still aged under 18, whatever their current age. However, for the purposes of consistency, the terms 'child' and 'children' are used throughout even though the trafficking survivor may be older than 18 years at the time of the interview.

The questions are intended to seek information about three issues:

(i) the child's awareness of any measures to prevent trafficking (and how the child reacted to these, even though they were not successful);

(ii) the child's views about any assistance or support which they received after being trafficked, particularly in their own country.

(iii) the child's level of vulnerability and how these factors were addressed – before, during or after the trafficking process.

On many occasions researchers ask trafficked children the same questions as police investigating the crimes committed against them or health professionals who are assessing what assistance might be appropriate for them. In order to reduce such repetition, the set of **questions in the second part of this questionnaire (Part 2) are intended to be asked by an adult whom the child already knows and trusts** – rather than asked by people meeting the child for the first time. As the adult that will be interviewing the child probably knows the answers to many of the questions without asking the child, **the first part of the questionnaire is designed be filled in by the person most responsible for providing assistance to the child**: it concerns some basic information about the child and her/his experience of abuse and exploitation. In the case of young adults who have been trafficked as children, it is important that they should be asked whether they are happy for this information to be provided before the information is filled in. If the person asking questions is not responsible for providing assistance to the child, she or he should ask someone who is doing so (or has done so recently and who is familiar with the child's case) to fill in the first part of the questionnaire.

The second part of the Questionnaire contains questions to be answered by the child. Rather than repeating the same question in many different ways in order to address the different situations experienced by children, this section explains in the left hand column what the researcher wants to find out and allows the person conducting the interview to reformulate the questions in the most appropriate way.

While conventional questionnaires leave just a few lines where answers are supposed to be filled in – and lose much of the detail given in answers – the answers to the second part of this questionnaire do not have to be written on the paper of the questionnaire, but can be written down separately – in which case, the number of the question being answered should be noted to keep track of the question it relates to. It is important that the notes relating to one child should not be mixed up with those concerning someone else. The responses can either be translated into English subsequently, or their meaning can be explained to the researcher when he comes to visit.

As mentioned, the second part of this Questionnaire contains some specific questions for children who have been trafficked. However, it is up to the person asking questions to adjust the words used in the questions to the language and terms used by the child being interviewed – to ensure they are familiar and understood. The questions avoid using the word "trafficked" as few people who have been trafficked recognise what the word means. However, if the child understands the word and considers that s/he was trafficked, it would be appropriate to use the word.

It is important that the child should not feel under any sort of coercion to respond to these questions, so Part 2 starts with an explanation to read to the child being interviewed. **In the case of children under 18 responding to these questions, in principle the child's guardian or the person who is legally responsible for the child should give consent to the child being questioned.** In the case of a child who is living in a shelter and who is reticent about being in contact with her/his parents, consent should be obtained from the person temporarily in charge of the child's protection and care (for example, the Director of the shelter).

In order to avoid confusion, a glossary or short explanation is included about the precise meaning of terms used in this questionnaire. Terms which are defined elsewhere in the glossary appear in italics.

Glossary	
abuse	All forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including *sexual abuse*, in this case which have a detrimental effect on a child, physically, psychologically or emotionally. In addition to abuse inflicted on a child directly, the questionnaire is also concerned about abuse directed at others in the child's family or place of residence, for example a father who regularly hit his wife or other children.
child/ children	Every boy and girl under 18 years of age (the definition used in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child). The term 'child' is used to refer to relatively mature teenagers who are 16 or 17, as well as to younger children.
commercial sexual exploitation (of children)	The sexual *exploitation* of a child (anyone under 18) for remuneration in cash or in kind, usually but not always organised by an intermediary (parent, family member, procurer, *trafficker*, etc). This includes making money from a child involved in either prostitution or pornography. Making money in this way is prohibited by international law whenever someone aged under 18 is involved. In some countries it is legal when the person involved in prostitution or making pornography is 18 or older.
coercion	Any form of physical, psychological or moral pressure, applied by one person to another in order to make them obey instructions, including threats to them and threats to harm a relative or loved one.
exploitation	Taking money from someone involved either in *commercial sexual exploitation* (prostitution) or in working or earning money in other ways while being subjected to some degree of force or *coercion*. Common forms of child exploitation involve arranging for children to earn money by begging or selling items in public places, or involving them in stealing or other forms of petty crime.
guardian	Both the person who has long-term parental responsibility for a child whose parents are dead or absent **and** someone who is given short-term responsibility for a child who is not accompanied by a parent or who has been trafficked.
home	A child or adult's usual place of residence, if they have one, including the house or apartment of a parent or parents, if a child has gone on living there, or a place where they live independently, alone or with friends. In the case of children or adults who have been trafficked, *home* refers to their usual place of residence before their departure.
prevention (of child trafficking)	Efforts to influence decisions which result in trafficking occurring and to influence the factors that make some children particularly vulnerable to being trafficked.
residential facilities/ residential facility	Any form of institution where a child resides away from their family or normal place of residence, including orphanages, reception centres, juvenile detention centres, correction facilities and *shelters* for victims of trafficking and/or domestic violence. This includes both institutions run by the State and others run by non-governmental organisations or private charities.
restraint	*Coercion* applied to stop someone leaving a place, for example by locking them in a room or apartment, suggesting they may be arrested if they leave the apartment or house, or threatening to harm a friend or relative.
sexual abuse	Acts of sexual violence (such as rape), incest, and other socially unacceptable acts of a sexual nature, including sexual suggestions, sexual fondling, genital exposure, exposure to adult masturbation, oral sexual behaviour (e.g. fellatio), vaginal or anal interference by an object, including fingers or penis, exposure to pornography or allowing the child to be used for pornographic purposes, child sexual behaviour with an animal, voyeurism, and sexually exploiting a child for commercial gain, either in cash or kind.
shelter	An institution where people can live, usually on a temporary basis, and be protected from someone who might abuse them.
trafficking	Moving someone from one place to another in order to subject them to *exploitation*, usually to make them earn money. Sometimes this involves moving from one country to another, but the movement can also be within a person's own country and involve only a short distance. In the case of adults who are trafficked, some form of *coercion* or deception is involved in the recruitment process, but as far as *children* are concerned, a case is one of trafficking whether the child was aware of how she or he would be earning money or not, whether the child agreed to this or not, and whether the child accompanied a trafficker willingly or not. A person is said to be "trafficked" whether they reach their intended destination and start earning money there or are intercepted before starting to earn money, for example at a border. A child who is accompanied by her or his parent is not usually said to have been trafficked, unless handed over into the control of another adult. A child taken abroad by her or his parent may be subjected to exploitation (such as commercial sexual exploitation) without being trafficked.
trafficker	A person who is involved in recruiting or moving a child or adult with the intention that they should be subjected subsequently to *exploitation*. A 'trafficker' is distinguished from a 'smuggler' or other intermediary who helps a child leave home or cross a border illegally by his or her **intention** - an expectation that the child will be exploited.
young person	'Young person' refers to both *children* (under 18) and young adults who are now 18 or up to the age of 23. In the context of this questionnaire it refers to people who were trafficked before they were 18.

PART 1 – BACKGROUND INFORMATION ABOUT THE CHILD

To be filled in by the person interviewing a child who has been trafficked or responsible for providing assistance to a child or young person who has been trafficked.

Explanation

The first part of this questionnaire is designed be filled in by the person most responsible for providing assistance to the child who is to answer the questions set out in the second part of the questionnaire. It concerns some basic information about the child and her/his experience of abuse and exploitation. If the person who is going to ask the questions in Part 2 of the questionnaire is not responsible for providing assistance to the child, she or he should ask someone who is doing so (or who has provided assistance to the child recently and is familiar with the child's case) to fill in the first part of the questionnaire.

These questions are about children who have already been trafficked (moved from one place to another in order to be exploited, either within their own country or from one country to another), both girls and boys. While the questions are intended primarily for children aged under 18, they are also intended for young adults who were trafficked when they were still aged under 18, whatever their current age. However, for the purposes of consistency, the terms 'child' and 'children' are used throughout, even though the trafficking survivor may be older than 18 years at the time of the interview.

These questions have been prepared as part of a project supported by UNICEF to investigate the effectiveness of initiatives to prevent children from being trafficked and of efforts to protect children who have already been trafficked. Terms such as 'trafficked' are explained in a glossary above.

The questionnaire is intended to seek information about three issues:

(i) the child's awareness of any measures to prevent trafficking (and how the child reacted to these, even though they were not successful);

(ii) the child's views about any assistance or support which they received after being trafficked, particularly in their own country.

(iii) the child's level of vulnerability and how these factors were addressed – before, during or after the trafficking process.

The first part of this questionnaire starts by asking for personal information about the child. This is for reference purposes only and will not be shared or divulged to others. The next questions ask for information available about the child's background and experiences before being trafficked, in particular about any experiences which may have increased the child's vulnerability to being trafficked. Finally, there are questions about the child's experience while being trafficked, to find out whether she or he was subjected to exploitation or abuse and to find out what her/his subsequent treatment and experiences have been.

It is important that the child should not feel under any sort of coercion to respond to these questions. **In the case of children under 18 responding to these questions, in principle the child's guardian or the person who is legally responsible for the child should give consent to the child being questioned.** In the case of a child who is living in a shelter and who is reticent about being in contact with her/his parents, consent should be obtained from the person temporarily in charge of the child's protection and care (for example, the Director of the shelter). Finally, in the case of young adults who have been trafficked as children, they should be asked whether they are happy for this information to be provided before the information is filled in. If they are unwilling for someone else to provide information about their case, please ask them to fill in the answers themselves and please indicate clearly that it was the young person herself/himself who provided the answers.

1. Name or reference to child being interviewed .....

(Her/his name will not be revealed publicly or to others and is only required in order to avoid possible confusion. If the institution where s/he is living or which is providing assistance uses another sort of unique reference for her/him, this can be used instead).

2. Name of the adult filling in the Questionnaire and asking the questions (and responsibilities of this adult towards the child, if any)

Name .....

Role/responsibilities .....

3. Name of the shelter or organisation to which the adult is affiliated.

.....

4. **Consent of the person with current responsibility for the child to the child being asked the questions below for UNICEF's research project:**

I agree that ..... (child's name) may be asked the questions below and that the responses should be communicated to Mike Dottridge, a researcher contracted by UNICEF.

Name ..... Date .....

Status with respect to the child .....

Signature .....

INFORMATION ABOUT THE CHILD

5. Approximate date and place of birth

.....

6. Age today .....

7. Sex: Female / Male

8. Usual place of residence before being trafficked

.....

9. Do you know anything about this child's background or experience before being trafficked which you think may have contributed to this particular child being trafficked? (*Factors which could be relevant include: the circumstances in which the child was living; any abuse to which the child was subjected and action (or lack of action) in response to this; and any discrimination against the child or her or his family, either due to their ethnic or other social identity.*) Please give your own views here: these will be treated as confidential and not shared with the child.

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(please continue on a separate sheet if necessary)

10. Where was the child living immediately prior to being trafficked? (Please tick or ring one of the following)

a) With parents/guardian? (Please indicate if you know s/he was living with only one parent or with both parents)

b) With other relatives (e.g. due to parents' absence abroad, death or separation)

c) In residential facilities (e.g. an orphanage)

d) Independently, for example with friends

e) Other (please explain)

.....

11. Does the child belong to any minority community (national, ethnic, religious, etc) or is her or his family or community regarded by others as having any special characteristics, particularly ones which may have made the child more vulnerable than others to being trafficked)?

Yes / No (Please ring the correct answer)

If yes, please say what the group is called:

.....

12. Had the child already completed the usual period of compulsory education BEFORE being trafficked?

Yes / No

13. Number of years of school completed by the child or date when the child left school

.....

14. Was the child still attending school regularly when trafficked?

Yes / No

15. Are you aware of any evidence that the child had been exposed to any sort of abuse *before* being trafficked? (Not only direct abuse, whether physical violence, sexual or emotional abuse, but also other violence or abuse directed at others in the child's family or place of residence, for example father regularly hitting mother or children)

Yes / No

If Yes, I am interested in knowing what category of abuse (not any details), both to find out whether it resulted in any intervention by Social Services and to assess whether it was a case in which social services or others *could* reasonably be expected to intervene if it was to occur now).

Any details of type of abuse or problems experienced *before* child was trafficked:

.....

.....

16. Do you know if the abuse resulted in the family being contacted by Social Services or by any other organization offering advice or assistance?

Yes / No

Any details of the support or advice given by Social Services:

.....

.....

INFORMATION ABOUT THE CHILD'S TRAFFICKING EXPERIENCE (if already known)

17. It is clear that the child definitely was trafficked? (The term 'trafficked' is explained in the Glossary above; it refers to a child who was moved from one place to another, whether in the same country or to another country, in order to be exploited (to make money) by someone other than her/his own parents, either to make money in commercial sexual exploitation or in another way, such as begging or stealing).

Yes / No

Please comment if you believe the child *may* have been trafficked, but are not sure if this was really the case – for example, if the child was intercepted before being subjected to any sort of exploitation, or if the child was taken abroad to make money by her/his own parents.

.....

18. How old was the child when s/he was trafficked (i.e. when s/he was recruited to be taken someone to be exploited)?

.....years old

19. From where was the child taken and to where was s/he taken?

From: .....

To (1st destination): .....

And also (if the child was subsequently moved to other places) to:

.....

20. If s/he crossed a border, did s/he have a passport or other legal identity document with her?

Yes / No / Not relevant (i.e. if trafficked within the country) / Not known

If Yes, was it a forged or fraudulent document?

Yes / No / Not known

21. Was the child used to make money for someone else?

Yes / No

INFORMATION ABOUT THE CHILD'S EXPERIENCE MAKING MONEY FOR OTHER PEOPLE (not relevant if the child was intercepted before any exploitation started)

22. If the child was subjected to some sort of exploitation, please indicate what sort:

a) Commercial sexual exploitation (prostitution)

b) Begging

c) Theft or other crime

d) Several different ways of making money (which ones?).....

e) Other (please explain)

23. Where was the child while s/he was exploited?

a) In own country?

b) Abroad?

Name of country and place

.....

24. If abroad, did s/he have possession of own passport or other identity document?

Yes / No / Not known

25. Was the child subjected to any coercion or forms of restraint to stop her/him from escaping?

For example, did the child have a passport which was kept by someone else, was she confined to a particular house or room, or was s/he threatened?

Yes / No / Not known

If yes, pleases summarise what:

.....

26. Was the child subjected to any coercion or forms of restraint to make her/him do as instructed?

Yes / No / Not known

If yes, pleases summarise what.

.....

.....

27. How did the child's period of exploitation come to an end?

i.e. Did the child escape from the control of traffickers herself/himself? Was s/he allowed to return home? Was there some sort of intervention by the police or others to secure the release of the child?

Please indicate roughly what you understand to have happened.

.....

.....

.....

28. Approximately when did the child's period of exploitation come to an end?

Date .....

29. With whom did the child come into contact after the exploitation ended (i.e. police, social services or another agency or individual)?

.....

30. In the case of a child trafficked abroad, was an individual or agency ever appointed to care for the child up until s/he had to leave the country?

Yes / No

If so, what agency was appointed?

.....

31. When did the child arrive in a shelter or start receiving support or assistance?

Date .....

32. How was the child identified as someone who had been trafficked and by whom?

.....

INFORMATION ABOUT A CHILD TRAFFICKED TO ANOTHER COUNTRY

33. If the child was trafficked abroad, was s/he placed in residential facilities for any time in the country to which s/he had been trafficked?

Yes / No / Not known

If Yes, where and for how long? .....

34. If the child was trafficked abroad and spent time in residential facilities, was s/he given medical attention or any other form of care for stress or ill-health before returning home?

Yes / No / Not known / Not relevant

If Yes, please specify what sort of care was provided.

.....

35. Are you aware of any risk or security assessment being carried out prior to the child returning to his/her home country (concerning possible threats to the child from traffickers or others or any risks to the child from returning to her/his family)?

Yes / No / Not known

If Yes, by whom? If known, please indicate if this concerned:

a) Possible threats to the child from traffickers

b) The conditions in which the child's parents or family live

c) Other risks to the child if she or he was to return to live with parents or family

d) Other risks (what?)

36. Approximately when did the child return to her/his home country?

Date: .....

37. Was s/he:

a) Put on a plane (or other form of transport) by the authorities abroad?

b) Handed over at a border by the authorities of another country to the authorities of your country?

c) Asked to leave but allowed to travel when s/he wanted?

d) Returned in some other way (please explain how)? .....

Please indicate which one of these applies.

38. Was s/he accompanied by an adult on the return journey?

Yes / No / Not known

INFORMATION ABOUT THE CHILD'S PROGRESS AFTER BEING TRAFFICKED

39. Is the child in residential facilities (or in a shelter), or has s/he been?

Yes / No

40.a If the child has been in residential facilities, please indicate the approximate dates of arrival and departure, or, if the child is still in a shelter or in residential facilities today, the date of arrival.

Arrival.....

Departure .....

40.b If the child has NOT ever been in a shelter or in residential facilities, please indicate where the child has been living (not the address, but whether with own parents or family members, with friends, independently, etc):

.....

41. Has the child's physical and psychological health been assessed?

Yes / No

If yes, when?.....

42. If the child's health has been assessed, was any treatment recommended?

Yes / No / Not known

43. Was treatment available/accessible?

Yes / No / Not known

44. Is the child undergoing any form of treatment at the moment?

Yes / No / Not known

45. Has any sort of 'reintegration plan' been drawn up concerning various different aspects of the child's future?

Yes / No / Not known

If so, by whom? ?.....

46.a Has the child been in contact with her/his parents or guardian?

Yes / No / Not known

46.b If No, is this because:

- the child herself/himself did not want to contact them?
- or because their whereabouts are unknown r it if difficult to contact them?
- or is there another reason?

.....

46.c If Yes, was the contact preceded or followed by any attempt to assess by any agency whether the child could return to live in the household safely?

Yes / No / Not known

47. How does the child spend her/his time at the moment?

a) Has s/he returned to school (even if it is school holidays at the moment) or is s/he intending to do so? Yes / No

b) Is s/he attending any training course? Yes / No

c) Has s/he got a job or is s/he involved in any income generating activities (if so, what)? Yes / No

.....

48. Do you or those running the shelter (if the child is in a shelter) consider that the child is at risk of being contacted again by those who trafficked her or him? ('contacts' include any attempts to re-recruit the child and also any threats made against her/him).

Yes / No

49.a Have the police or prosecution authorities investigated the child's case and any offences against her/him?

Yes / No /Don't know

49.b If Yes, is the investigation still going on?

Yes / No /Don't know

49.c Is there any possibility that the child will be asked to give evidence to help prosecute someone?

Yes / No /Don't know

50. Have the police or prosecutors given any advice on protecting the child from intimidation?

Yes / No / Not known

PART 2 – QUESTIONS FOR THE CHILD

Every child who is interviewed should be given a standard explanation of the purpose for asking them questions on this occasion. Likewise, every effort should be made to put them at their ease by talking to the child in a place where others cannot overhear or interrupt. The text below can be read or adjusted to take account of the child's maturity.

Explanation

An international organisation which advises governments on assistance for children, UNICEF, has asked a British researcher to investigate whether anything can be done to improve the ways used in this country to prevent children from being recruited to make money by others and then abused – the process sometimes referred to as 'trafficking' or 'being trafficked'. We would like to ask you some questions to help find out whether recent attempts to prevent children from being abused affected you at all and also want to find out whether the assistance provided to you and other children/young people who have been abused is as appropriate as possible.

The answers you give will be mentioned in a report being prepared by the researcher which will be read by people in government, but it will not mention your name or contain any personal details about you or your experience which would identify you. We hope that the report will help improve the ways of preventing children from being trafficked and also improve the assistance provided to those who have been trafficked, so your answers should help others.

You do not have to answer these questions, or you can decide not to answer a particular question. Are you happy to listen to the questions and to try and answer them?

51. Date when the child was questioned .....

Questions about prevention

WHAT WE WANT TO KNOW	QUESTIONS FOR CHILDREN
Child's reasons for leaving home or usual place of residence before being trafficked. Was it the child's own decision to migrate, or was the decision made by a parent or guardian?	52. At what age did you leave home? 53. What was your life like before you left? ***(Please note: this is an open-ended question, intended to allow the child to talk about both positive and negative aspects of living at home [including in a residential facility, if that was where the child was living]. If the child is reticent about answering, please prompt her/him with some general questions, such as 'Were you happy or sad' and 'Was there anything different about your life at home compared to that of other children'? If any questions subsequently asked below have already been answered, please do not ask the question again)*** 54. What prompted you to leave? 55. *If appropriate, ask further*: Was it any sort of trouble or pressure at home, or the attraction of earning money elsewhere? 56. Was the decision entirely your own, or did anyone else put pressure on you to leave (such as a parent, boyfriend, etc)? 57. How were you expecting to earn money once you had left?
Questions for children **living at home before being trafficked** What assistance or advice, if any, was provided to the child or the child's family by any social service agency before s/he was trafficked? **(for children who were not living at home, go to Question 62)**	58. Had your family home ever been visited (before you left home) by representatives of agencies concerned with social problems, such as social services or a municipal or religious organisation? 59. If so, do you know whether they provided any sort of assistance or advice to your family and what it consisted of? 60. How would you describe your relations with each of your parents? Father: Good / OK / Poor Mother: Good / OK / Poor 61. Did you experience any particular problems in your family, such as your father hitting your mother or others in the household?
Questions for children **living in residential facilities before being trafficked**: to find out what preparations, if any, were made to help the child live independently on leaving the residential facility.	62. How long did you live in a residential facility? 63. What were the reasons you were there? 64. While you were there, did you receive advice or assistance in deciding what to do after you left, either where to live or how to earn a living? 65. While you were living in residential facilities, were you already in contact with anyone who was later involved in making money out of you? 66. *If Yes*, was this someone from outside who was able to come and meet you, or someone you met outside? Or was it someone in the residential facility?
Questions for <u>all</u> respondents. What information, if any, had the child received before being trafficked about the risks associated with travelling and living away from home.	67. While you were at school, do you recall anyone talking to you about the possibility that you would be subjected to abuse if you went to work abroad or travelled away from home/abroad? • *If Yes*, please indicate what sort of information you received 68. Apart from school, do you remember these sorts of risks (of abuse when working abroad or away from home) being mentioned to you by anyone else at any other time? • *If Yes*, please indicate what sort of information you received and from whom 69. If you were given any information about any risks, do you think the information influenced you in any way later on – for example, influencing decisions you made? If so, could you say how?

What information had the child received (*before* being trafficked) about various forms of sexual abuse.	70. While you were at school, do you recall any teacher talking to you about the risks of being subjected to sexual abuse? 71. Did anyone outside school, either in your family, at a youth club or among friends, talk to you about these risks (of being subjected to sexual abuse)? • *If Yes*, where? 72. If you had heard about the risks, had anyone talked to you about how to avoid these problems or what to do if you were abused? 73. Had you received information about the existence of sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including HIV/AIDS, and of ways of reducing the likelihood of contracting these? 74. Once again, do you think any of the information you had received influenced anything you did later on? If so, could you say how?
Questions only for children who were trafficked abroad, to find out if they had taken any precautions or if anyone else made efforts to check whether they were being trafficked. **Please ask all children question 76.a,** but only continue with the 5 other questions under '76' if you think the child may have taken *some* of these precautions: we want to avoid suggesting they were at fault by *not* taking them.	75. What sort of information had you received before you left your country about what it would be like abroad? 75. aWas it only information indicating it would be a positive experience (such as television programmes showing images of rich countries)? 75. bOr also information warning that it might be unpleasant and that you might be at risk of abuse? 76. Had anyone given you advice before you went abroad on ways of staying safe? For example: 76.a Had anyone given you advice on how to avoid getting into problems if you worked abroad? 76.b Has anyone suggested you try and obtain a job abroad via an employment agency (and did you try this)? 76.c Were you aware of what legal documents you needed in order to travel abroad legally, such as a passport, visa, or work permit? 76.d Had anyone suggested you should ask for a job contract, specifying what work you would be doing, before you accompanied someone or accepted a job? 76.e If you had a passport or other identity document with you, did you have a photocopy of it anywhere? 76.f Did you have any sort of telephone number to contact in emergency, either in the country you were travelling to or in your own country? If Yes, whose, and did you ever use it? If No, do you recall if anyone ever suggested this or had you never heard of the idea? 77. Before you embarked on the trip, did you know where you were going (or think you did)? 78. Did anyone else at home know where you were going or with whom? 79. When you travelled abroad, were you alone (with whoever was organising your trip) or did you travel with a friend? 80. Did you cross borders legally (rather than avoiding border posts)? 81. If so, did any of the officials at a border or elsewhere (e.g. consulate officials if s/he applied for a visa) talk to you and mention the risk that you might be abused in their country?
Questions for children who have been subjected to exploitation: in what way were they kept under someone else's control and what attempts, if any, did they try to make to escape?	82. Once you were making money for someone, did you try and leave at any time? 83. *If so*, did they put any pressure on you to stay? How? 84. Did you try to contact any authorities such as police, doctors or others at any time? 85. *If so*, what was their response?

Questions about protection provided after the trafficking

Note: Different questions are suggested for children who have had different experiences (such as those who have been trafficked abroad versus those trafficked internally, and those still living in a shelter versus those living elsewhere).

*Note: the first group of these questions (86 to 96) are intended only for children who were **trafficked outside their home country** and who have come back to their home country, not for those trafficked within their own country ("internally trafficked"). These questions concern the circumstances in which they returned to their home country.*

Only for children who were abroad and have returned to their home country: What were the procedures surrounding the child's return to her/his own country and were basic safeguards and rights respected? The detailed questions in '84' should only be asked if some sort of guardian was appointed.	86. Once you had stopped making money for someone else, where were you residing and who was looking after you? 87. Were you able to contact your parents or family? If you did not, was it because you chose not to, or because you were unable to do so? 88. Do you know if anyone else made contact with your parents or family or made inquiries there? 89.a Was an adult appointed to look after you on a temporary basis - your temporary legal guardian? 89.b If so, did you see this person often? 89.c What was her or his role? 89.d Did you receive any information from the guardian about what was going on? 90. Did you meet a lawyer at any time while you were still in that country? 91. Were you ever asked about what you wanted to happen to you next – whether you should stay in that country or come back here? If so, who asked you? 92. Did you want to come back to this country or did you express any worries about what would happen to you once you were back here? 93. Do you know who was involved in making the decision that you should come back to your own country? 94. Before you left the other country, did you know what was going to happen and where you were gong to go once you arrived back here? 95. On your return journey to this country, did you travel by yourself, or were you always accompanied by someone else? 96. Once you arrived back here, did you feel safe, or did you think you were in danger from anyone? If so, from whom?
The next set of questions (97 to 101) is intended only for children who have been trafficked internally in their own country.	
In what circumstances was s/he identified as a victim of internal trafficking and what assistance or protection were provided?	97. Can you explain the circumstances in which you stopped having to make money for someone else? 98. Were you at any time accused by the police or others of committing crimes yourself? 99. Who was involved in finding out what had happened to you and what sort of assistance you needed? 100. Once you had stopped being used to make money, who looked after you and where? 101. Were you able to contact your parents or family? If you did not, was it because you chose not to, or because you were unable to do so?

Note: The next set of questions deal with where the person is living. There are two different sets of questions. The first (102 to 111) is only for children who are still living in a shelter (or residential facilities). The second (112 to 124) is for those who are not in a shelter (whether they are now living with their family or elsewhere). **Please choose only one set of questions to ask.**

Questions only for children who <u>are</u> still living in a shelter, to find out what services they have been offered, who else is in the shelter and whether they have experienced any problems.	102. Where do you live at the moment? 103. How long have you been living there? 104. Are you in contact with your parents or other relatives? 105. If so, have they been helpful or have there been any difficulties between you and them? 106. What age are the other people living in the same place? 107. Are you in contact with other people the same age as you in the place where you are living? 108. Since you arrived here, has anyone talked with you about what might help you next? For example, whether you need any medical attention or other practical assistance? If so, what assistance was on offer? 109. Similarly, since you arrived here, has anyone talked with you about whether you should go back to school or on a training course which might help you find work? If so, what was suggested? 110. Have you experienced any problems caused by other people while living where you are at the moment? 111. Do you want to go on living where you are for the moment or would you like to be living somewhere else?
Question only for children who are **<u>not</u>** currently living in a shelter or in residential facilities, to find out what services they have been offered and whether anyone is checking whether they are safe.	112. Where do you live at the moment? 113. How long have you been living there? 114. Are you in contact with your parents or other relatives? 115. If you are in contact with your family: • Do they know anything about what happened to you? • Have they been helpful or have there been any difficulties between you and them? 116. Have you talked to others where you are living now about what happened to you? 117. Have you experienced any problems with other people where you are living at the moment, which you think are due to what happened to you? If so, what sort of problems? 118. Did you previously spend some time living in a shelter or in residential facilities? 119. If so, where and for how long? 120. Did you feel the time in a shelter helped you? 121. Was there anything about the time you spent in the shelter which you wished had been different? If so, what? 122. Since you left a shelter or started living where you are now, have you been offered any further support to ensure that you are alright? 123. Is anyone paying attention to what happens to you? Would you like more or less of their attention, or is it about right? 124. Have any of the people who made money out of you in the past tried approaching you again?
Questions about planning and managing the child's reintegration (for everyone)	125. Is anyone helping you decide what to do next? 126. Is there any social worker or person in the social services department who is in contact with you regularly? If so, how often? If not, would you want to meet with someone that you could talk to about future plans?
Questions about access to health care	127. Have you seen a doctor or had any other health checks? 128. Are you still worried by the experiences you have had? 129. Has anyone talked to you about the experiences in order to help reduce your worries? 130. Has any treatment been offered to you which you refused or did not want? 131. Are there any treatments or care that you wanted but could not have?

Questions about access to education / training / employment opportunities For children who are not in a shelter or in education/training, and may be working	132. Did you miss out of any of your regular schooling as a result of going off to earn money? 133. Are you due to attend school or go on any vocational training course this autumn or have you already been attending school on a course? 134. If you have already gone back to school, are you attending ordinary classes with people of the same age? 135. Are you earning any money at the moment? If so, how?
Questions about access to justice	136 Have the police questioned you at any time? If so, did they tell you afterwards what they were planning to do about your case? 137. Would you like the people who made money out of you to be investigated or prosecuted? 138. Have you been in contact with a lawyer or advocate in this country at any time? 139. If not, has anyone suggested you should contact a lawyer or advocate?
Questions about privacy to find out if the child's privacy has been respected and if questions like these are too intrusive or asked too frequently.	140. Has anyone passed any information to others about what happened to you that you wanted to keep private? 141. Do you feel you have been asked questions like these too many times? 142. Were these questions that have just been asked alright, or did you feel they were too intrusive?
Question about the future	143. How do you see your future?

End of questions.

Concluding comments from the questioner:

Thanks for answering so many questions. We hope all your answers will help improve things for other children in the future. Is there any other information about your experience which you think it would be useful for us to know about and which you would like to give us?

Please note any points mentioned at this time.

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