

HUMAN TRAFFICKING

IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA



Ministry of Security of
Bosnia and Herzegovina



HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The report on scientific research concerning a scope and nature of human trafficking phenomenon in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including children trafficking, internal trafficking and trafficking of particularly vulnerable groups has been developed under „*Support to the Ministry of Security BiH in implementing the Counter Trafficking Strategy in BiH (2013- 2015) Project*“, funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (US-AID). The essence of this type of counter-trafficking assistance to the BiH authorities has supported implementation of a comprehensive theoretical and empirical study in this field: it has been identified as one of core strategic priorities in suppressing this phenomenon in a planned, organized and compliant fashion.

In this regard, scientific research on the issue of trafficking in BiH (referred as a “*criminology analysis*” in strategic terms), more exactly results of such study should serve as a basis for developing new policy documents. This will result with elaboration of specific intervention programs, including ones serving as deterrents. Such programs should be based to the greatest extent on objective indicators of cause and status of this issue.

Accordingly, this research has addressed a scope and nature of human trafficking in BiH, including children trafficking, “internal” trafficking (refers to trafficking within the state), as well as trafficking of particularly vulnerable groups. The issue of child and minor trafficking has to be addressed inevitably, in particular with respect to organized and wide spread child street begging, which has become an every-day life scene in BiH with no appropriate and efficient response by authorities.

The research has been conducted based on the agreement between the Ministry of Security BiH and Criminal Policy Research Center (CPRC), as an implementing party. It has been an additional effort in spurring cooperation between governmental institutions and civil society organizations (with academic background in this specific case) aimed in creating a comprehensive, fact-based and anticipated counter trafficking policy in BiH.

Project life has lasted for nine months. In this period, many activities have been undertaken in order to address a project task by using prior experience, practice, theoretical knowledge and examination of actual scope of trafficking in BiH, based on available, accurate and relevant data

In the course of research, we have established cooperation with numerous public sector institutions and civil society organizations engaged in counter trafficking efforts. Without their support and cooperation it would be a difficult task to accomplish bellow results. In this regard, we would like to point out our cooperation in particular with the State Coordinator’s Office for Combating Trafficking and Illegal Migration in BiH, which serves as an institutional mechanism for coordinating activities of large number of institutions and subjects all levels in the state.

Globally, a role of research should be to facilitate a process of developing the new Counter-Trafficking Strategy and Action Plan document. Study's results have been structured in such a way to serve as an „early warning system“ on the issue of trafficking in BiH.

With respect to subject, the research encompassed etiological and phenomenological dimensions of the issue of trafficking, which has been a very complex subject for undertaking any scientific research due to its complex, latent and hardly reachable aspects.

We assumed that current counter trafficking policies in BiH, laid out in previously adopted and implemented strategic plans should be improved in qualitative terms; and additionally specify measures and activities of responsible institutions in order to suppress trafficking efficiently.

In the course of research, our imperative has been to hold permanent consultations, exchange views and ideas between all stakeholders involved in counter-trafficking affairs in order to gain legitimacy and support implementing strategic activities.

It has been evident that research on trafficking has not been simple one. Shortage of accurate, measurable and reliable information on actual scope of the issue, its forms of manifestations (that evolve permanently), as well as real causes represent crucial obstacles.

This has been a situation not specifically associated only with Bosnia-Herzegovina, rather a general phenomenon faced by researchers worldwide. To this end, major number of available indicators on trafficking in the certain area (irrespectively of size of research's perimeter) represents various country's assessments, progress reports and others developed as a result of recurring, but unsubstantiated data and information. There has been a general consensus on this statement in scientific literature. This approach has been present in BiH also, whereas data on scope, structure and movement of the issue of trafficking have been the outcomes of various assessments; subject of frequent reiteration and multiple uses for various needs. Such indicators frequently set funding priorities to donors in a decision making process concerning technical assistance to certain states. This has been understandable and generally accepted as practice as there have not been any or very limited alternative attempts to address the problem by use of scientific, measurable and fact based approach. Kelly (2005) points out that even rare scientific research on the issue have certain methodological deficiencies. To this end, there has been a need to apply a multi-disciplinary approach while exploring trafficking in order to increase current knowledge on the issue and lay down firmer foundations for creating and assessing counter trafficking strategies.

In this regard, our subject research has initially focused on assessing efficiency of the Counter Trafficking Strategy and Action Plan in BiH 2012-2015 in order to identify and distinguish areas fully and thoroughly treated in strategically from the areas with no or semi treatment. The evaluation results contained in this policy document represent a starting point for developing the concept on research of trafficking.

Further, an internal (*desk*) research has been conducted in order to establish a subject, goals and research methodology; wherein potential scientifically relevant paradigm have been identified often used in trafficking research process, with due consideration of geographical area where research is being conducted.

Accordingly, it has been established that paradigm tend to be focused on the three crucial areas or directions relevant for trafficking research process. In the first case, the researches usually tend to research number of trafficking victims and differentiate actual victims from registered ones, then analyze criminal court proceedings against traffickers and conduct other similar scientific efforts. Secondly, the researcher's focus may be placed on analyzing an entire process of trafficking, including each individual phase, then the focus may be placed on exploring traffickers social networks, and/or establishing certain connections between the states of origin, transit, and destination for victims of trafficking as well as learning about "micro-businesses" and family ties typical for certain forms of trafficking. In closing, there is a multi-disciplinary research that encompasses research of typical patterns relevant to trafficking, criminal enterprises, offenders' characteristics, and good practices in assisting victims and prosecuting traffickers (Putt, 2007). In accordance with available sources and selected methodology, our research has dealt with certain, aforesaid issues, frequently addressed by counter trafficking experts.

The research (and its results presented in the following text) should contribute to a data gathering process on trafficking in order to:

- Follow up a situation concerning trafficking in BiH,
- Develop future counter trafficking strategy and policy,
- Develop future counter trafficking program interventions, and
- Follow up and report to international committees and treaties.

Accordingly, research outcomes should contribute to the improvement of data gathering system in BiH and also strengthen capacities of existing experts to prepare, design and implement research and training. In addition, relevant stakeholders, professionals and general public should get familiar with results, findings and recommendations stemming from research deliverables.

Therefore, our research has intended to question general public, pre-professionals and professionals and obtain their views, perception and attitudes concerning trafficking as well as to test their willingness to tolerate or suppress trafficking decisively.

On the other hand, we strived to determine number, type and features of victims of trafficking based on available documents and records; while considering all forms of trafficking including sexual and labor exploitation, human organs and embryo trafficking. We shall strive to determine facts and relations that generate certain perceptions, views and opinions concerning trafficking within society, by use of scientifically and empirically acknowledged information and data. Additionally, we shall separately examine general public and professionals' views on the phenomenon, in order to build a realistic policy aimed to suppress this type of organized crime and set specific actions and sustainable activities by responsible institutions and organizations.

In a more specific and narrow sense, the research should result with relevant knowledge on actual state of trafficking and relations associated with higher causes of the phenomenon.

Nature of trafficking appearance includes several causes and multi modality pattern in BiH, as a society and geographical location, and such can be comprehended only by pursuing aforesaid approach.

The process of girls and women trafficking started to progress in a post-war period and culminated in early 2000, while labor exploitation of children (in particular minor Roma population) has been present for a while and remains to date as a severe criminal and socially deviant phenomenon.

In early 2000, sexual abuse of women occurring in many clubs was suppressed by police and judicial law enforcement actions, accompanied by public pressure, as a result of many counter-trafficking tailored programs and campaigns in BiH. However, today public believes *that trafficking has been extended to other areas (e.g. labor exploitation, especially of children), while sexual abuse has been "displaced" from clubs to illegal sites, private dwellings, and thus that the organized crime has been orientated "to domestic sources and markets"*. In order to verify empirically presence of aforesaid and similar views, perceptions and attitudes of BiH general public, we have created a methodological approach in researching trafficking.

Scientific goal and fundamental aim of research

The research has set a socially pragmatic goal (as laid out in terms of reference), and additionally scientific **research goal** in order to: determine stance of certain active population members with respect to a criminal appearance of trafficking; analyze some of the present forms of exploitation with criminal source; and determine relevant features of behavior and attitudes' with respect to trafficking, as a criminal and socio deviant phenomenon.

Fundamental issues of our research have been the following:

- How much certain general perceptions on trafficking have been expanded? What type of attitudes and readiness to express socially acceptable behavior certain groups of population exercise? (The terms "active" refers to citizen's role and position in the society)? *(A descriptive-inferential goal)*
- What have been the main components of these perception and attitudes? What homogeneous groups with respect to them could be established by use of inductive approach in such classification? *(A classification goal)*
- Is it possible to foresee (anticipate) socially acceptable attitudes and behavior with respect to trafficking, pending on certain characteristics of participants and their knowledge on subject as well as demonstrating their belief on such phenomenon occurrence in BiH presently? What can be foreseen? *(Explanatory forecasting goal)*

- How much a *labor exploration* has been present, perceived through organized child begging at streets of BiH? How can social welfare services assist and what type of assistance they provide presently?
- What has been a current status of criminal procedures concerning *sexual exploitation* of trafficked girls/women today with respect to processes conducted ten years ago?; What can serve as a proof of its organization, concealment, predator's nature and exploitative cruelty?

PART I- THEORY

[HUMAN TRAFFICKING, LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND SECONDARY INDICATORS]

Determination of human trafficking

Current societies face frequently one of extremely complex and dynamic phenomenon, which represents a serious and complex social problem due its invisibility, mobility and level of organization in national and international terms. This phenomenon has been translated in BiH constitutive peoples' official languages as "human trafficking". In general, its "heritage" has been associated with development of civilization. If one would like to associate trafficking with some common and reasonable term in history, than we could state that such phenomenon implies slavery. The history of trafficking has been connected with ancient slavery when people were held in legal slavery status, deprived of human rights and in possession of other people or community. People were in slavery against their free will, whereas others received their material, financial, sexual or other benefit for others. In historical view, slaves were used as free labor force with no rights to refuse or leave their work or gain something in return. Through history, slavery has been a constituent part of various cultures, but has been regarded as unacceptable and non human.

Widely represented and accepted slavery has been present since the time of Mesopotamia around 1800 years BCE through ancient Greece, Rome, Persia, China, then civilizations of people of Maya, Aztecs and India until Byzantine, Arabia and Ottoman empires. The number of slaves prevailed over the number of free people in many communities. Slaves were subjected to harsh, but not utterly cruel treatment, as they were "precious goods". Slavery had existed prior to written recorded history on all continents. After introducing letters, examples of slavery (including sex slaves) have been noted among various Arabic and Indians tribes, then on New Guinea, New Zealand, and territories held by Germans and Vikings (Gallagher & Holmes, 2008). The new chapter in trafficking area started with discovery of America and creation of the first colonies in 15th century coinciding with commencement of transatlantic slave trade from Africa to America. Several tribes and villages located in Western Africa (present area of Congo, Angola, and Guinea) were taken away and sold. In total, this number was close to 11 million of children, women and men. Over 250 known mutinies led by African slaves occurred on ships which were transporting them to far New World.

France, Great Britain, Portugal, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands were the European countries involved in this trade, while some other states have their companies involved in such business. Slaves have played a significantly important role in economic development in any slavery society. In particular, this has been evident in Brazil, Bermuda, Cuba,

Haiti, Jamaica, Dominican Republic and the US. In 1808, a ban to import slaves to the U.S. entered into force, however approximately 300,000 slaves had been imported prior to the ban. The following generations of slaves were born on the U.S soil. Tensions concerning the issue of slavery between slave prone South and moderate North are considered to be one of causes for outbreak of the American civil war in 1861 (Nieuwenhuys & Pécoud, 2007). In the course of history, various attempts to liberate certain groups of peoples from slavery have been made. Once the U.S. terminated slavery, the process of liberating slaves wide world has progressed faster. However, the Convention on Slavery in 1926 enacted by the League of Nations made a whole change. Furthermore, article 4 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations in 1948 strictly and explicitly forbidden slavery (Gallagher, 2001).

According to United Nations estimates, currently four millions of individuals became victims of trafficking every year, while this illegal “industry” makes a profit of up to 10 billion of dollars, thus being the third illegal industry according to profit following the illegal trade of drugs and arms. At the end of 20th century, trafficking has been more intensified due to economic and social changes, more exactly transition process targeting Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

In the Balkans, an expansion of trafficking occurred as a consequence of fall of former Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia and war outbreak, followed by huge destructions, displacement and spontaneous migration of population in presence of large number of domestic and foreign military groups. Wars and poverty have impacted a better visibility and representation of this phenomenon in our society. Some authors acknowledge that links between war and state’s collapse as well as human trafficking on the other hand have just recently become subjects of open discussion (Cameron & Newman, 2008).

Pace and proportion of trafficking expansion in Eastern and South Eastern Europe has astonished everyone, as presently victims from this area represent a share of 25% of the total number of registered victims of trafficking while a decade ago they were not exposed to recruiting and exploitation for this crime at all. In any regard, human trafficking has become a global phenomenon present in every state, including Bosnia-Herzegovina. Due to its expansion, forms of human exploitation have expanded beyond a forced prostitution to include acts of forced labor as well. Recently, actions such as theft of human organs, sexual abuse for sex industry and other types of slavery have become even worse types of trafficking.

It has been an alarming trend that the age of victims, of whom many are children (girls primarily but boys are also present), gets lower and thus cause severe violation of fundamental human rights and freedoms requiring appropriate protection. This affects primarily children and minors, but other marginalized population groups.

UN and other organizations involved with trafficking report that number of trafficked individuals increases every year progressively, since this crime has become more profitable and perfidious due to various forms of persons’ exploitation.

The International Justice Mission, an NGO involved in human rights advocacy, points out that profitable business of smuggling has accomplished outstanding proportions. They reiterate statistics on trafficking, in particular data gathered by National Geographic. Accordingly, a total number of current victims of trafficking amount to 27 million to date. This means that presently there are more people in slavery in comparison with Transatlantic export of African slaves taking place 400 years ago.

Also, 2012 International Labor Organization's report (encompassing period 2002-2011) states that there was 20.9 million of victims of forced labor worldwide, of whom 5.5 million have been children victims of trafficking. Some assess this data as conservative one given that trafficking represents not a criminal offence, rather a process composed of several phases (recruiting, transportation and exploitation) which alters and readjusts to supply and demand request (Daniel-Wrabetz & Penedo, 2015, p. 5). The 2006 Report on Rights of Children worldwide paid an attention to the assessment concerning the most vulnerable children whose rights to safe and healthy childhood are hardly protected. Children grow beyond a scope of development campaigns, but are omitted of major activities such as organizing public discussions and legislation, through statistics and media news. Abused children, detained at homes by their traffickers with no access to school remain unnoticed entirely. It is likely possible to follow up their lives and estimate numbers. In accordance with this report's data, approximately 8.4 million children work in the most difficult circumstances; they are subjected to prostitution and debt collection blackmailing similar to slavery in order to pay off debts of their families. Nearly 2 million children were involved in sexual service trade, whereas children suffer sexual and physical violence. Estimates show that millions of children become victims of trafficking in underground and illegal surroundings; under coercion they perform forced, dangerous and humiliating labor, including prostitution. Significant number of children serve as servants in private households. They are banned to attend school and subjected to physical molestation, lack of food and fatigue.¹

According to United Nations' research, trafficking has been a global phenomenon affecting countries in political and economical transition, (often victims' countries of origin). However, economically developed countries appear to be transit and final destinations countries. Over the last years, trafficking has been receiving public attention by citizens, international and domestic governmental and non-governmental organizations in BiH due to its severe consequences, in particular those that affect children and women.

This phenomenon breached many UN and international treaties, such as UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights; this treaty has been a part of the BiH Constitution ratified by BiH authorities, namely the BiH Parliamentary Assembly and BIH Presidency. Accordingly, it is to reiterate that trafficking has been a crime against an individual, and differs from migration, smuggling and prostitution, as there is no consent or a free will of victim.

1 www.unicef.org/sowc/06, acceded on 4 June 2015.

What makes this phenomenon complex?

The phenomenon of human trafficking would be less dangerous unless it would evolve constantly into new forms in rapid fashion. Expansion of this phenomenon has led to a fact that human exploitation has not been limited only to sexual exploitation, but to more intensified forms of forced labor and prostitution. Recently, it has evolved into new forms such as organ trafficking, pornography and other sexual services within such industry as well as other forms of slavery. It has been alarming in particular that the age of victims (primarily girls, but boys as well) goes lower, thus making this problem more complex and problematic with respect to violating fundamental human rights and freedoms, as well as to providing appropriate protection to children and minors and other marginalized groups of population (foreigners, refugees, immigrants, minorities and other poor persons...) (Wooditch, 2012).

It is noteworthy that there are insufficient empirical research and theoretical generalizations on trafficking, with respect to a large media attention provided by governmental and non-governmental organizations. Lack of systematic knowledge and concealment has affected a whole range of confusions with respect to terms used in media, official and unofficial reports, but also academic papers locally and internationally.

What seem to be the most frequent misconception in defining human trafficking, as a phenomenon?

Frequently, trafficking has been misconceived with the following terms: smuggling, migration, street begging and prostitution, although at times they may lead to trafficking as a consequence. In addition, prostitution has been perceived as a form of trafficking, and this can not be regarded as accurate statement entirely: as opposed to trafficking, consensual prostitution contains a free will and consent. There should be a clear definition of fundamental terms associated with this phenomenon accompanied by explanations in order to avoid misconception and confusion of terms.

Trafficking has been a part of new terminology used for presenting the issue of human slavery. Therefore, the simplest definition of this term would read that "human trafficking in particular of women and children, has been trade of human sufferings, representing one of the largest crimes of our area (Bjelica, 2001; Cockburn, 2003). It has been one of the largest and most profitable criminal activities globally along with trade of drugs, weapons and money laundering. This crime includes: recruitment, transportation, transfer, sale, purchase, intermediating services in sale, harboring a person, by means of force, of threat, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability, of the abuse of hard conditions of others, of keeping other's ID cards, or of the giving or receiving of payments or other benefit. People are subject to trafficking for purpose of labor exploitation, forced labor, commitment of crimes, prostitution, other forms of sexual exploitation such as pornography, street beginning, slavery or other relationship with similar purpose, organ removals and as combatants in armed conflicts.

As stated, trafficking denotes recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of a person by use of force or other means of coercion, of abduction, of deception, of 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. The term of exploitation shall include, in particular the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. The term trafficking also encompasses the following forms of criminal offences: slavery and transportation of persons in slavery, smuggling, international recruiting for prostitution, illegal withholding identification documents and others. In addition, it encompassed criminal offences of child exploitation for purpose of pornography, introducing pornography to a child, production and distribution of child pornography, and instigation to prostitution (UN General Assembly, 2000).

On the other hand, migration is movement of people from one country to another one (Vidanović, 2006). Migration implies consent of person to leave his country. It is a voluntary action taking place without deception, coercion, exploitation and use of force. Migration (in Latin migration: movement) represents any change of residency of an individual or of larger or smaller people group. There are two types of migration including: emigration- leaving a home country by its population and immigration- settling in a foreign country. The causes of migration could be various, and they represent the following: natural causes – epidemics, weather disasters, catastrophes; social causes – wars, political instability, religious intolerance and economic causes – hunger, poverty and better life prospects.

As a consequence, migration implies primarily a change in spatial displacement of population, more exactly its concentration in cities and industrial centers and departure from villages. The linkage between migration and trafficking could be established if migration is utilized to identify future victims of trafficking, which happens frequently. However, the terms denoting migration and trafficking respectively can not be regarded as synonyms. The real causes of migration and trafficking are overlapping significantly. Limitation of scope of women's rights has been a core causal factor present in trafficking and migration of women. Situation which spurs trafficking expansion will be created by countries when they fail to protect civil, political, economical and social rights of citizens (US Department of State, 2009).

Further, the term prostitution has been misplaced contextually in relation with trafficking. The etymology of the word prostitution derives from a Latin word *Prostituere*, meaning "public exposure", more exactly it has been perceived as selling of sexual services for money or other benefit.

It has been frequently mentioned colloquially as the "oldest profession in the world". Today, prostitution occurs in a variety of forms. There have been brothels, street prostitution, escort services, sexual tourism and others. A person who engages in sexual activities commercially is called a prostitute. Women primarily are engaged in this "business", while their services are sought by single men searching an adventure or curiosity. However, some men are also engaged in prostitution; they provide their services to women or gay men for the aforesaid reason. Female prostitutes often have their "procurer" who

collects frequently a major part of their earnings, and at times by use of violence and extortion. Women who engage in prostitution freely are mainly motivated by money. A very small number of prostitutes are sex addicts or persons looking for adventure or revenge to parents or spouses. In 1949, UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on Combating Trafficking and Forced Prostitution. This Convention repealed a range of other conventions covering some aspects of forced prostitution, while its title differentiates these two terms.

However, involuntary (forced) prostitution is engaging in sexual activities commercially by persons under coercion and without consent. There has been a wide range of forms of prostitution, starting from one with "consent and awareness" up to "semi-consensual one" based on pressure of circumstances, and forced recruiting through coercion or by use of force. Sexual slavery includes most forms of forced prostitution. The term concerning involuntary prostitution has been addressed in international and humanitarian conventions, but applied inconsistently due to a lack of full comprehension.

Forced prostitution means imposing control over a person who is forced to engage in sexual activities.

All forms of forced, involuntary prostitution are considered to be criminal offence in all modern societies today. On the other hand, various countries treat voluntary prostitution differently in legal terms as allowable or fully forbidden stipulating capital punishment.

As a positive result, there has been a global civilization consensus regarding children prostitution: it has been forbidden legally worldwide.

Another term „persons smuggling“, denoting illegal transfer of persons throughout border in order to gain profit, has been used as synonym frequently with "trafficking" (Vidanović 2006). Smuggling implies illegal entry into a state and such actions represents a crime against the state, but not against a respective person who gave his consent for such migration. Trafficking and smuggling have been two different phenomenon, which have certain similarities (mainly associated with migrations), but have distinctions as well. Smuggling usually involves international illegal migration supported by criminal actions partially, while trafficking can be bounded only for one state and take place within country's boundaries. In case of smuggling and illegal migration, legislation governing border crossing and foreigners' obligations are violated; meaning that state and its borders have to be protected.

In the event of trafficking, fundamental human rights are to be protected from violence, exploitation and abuse. With regard to smuggling, relationship between migrants and smugglers organizing illegal border crossing cease once this action is completed. However in the event of trafficking, the relationship between victim and trafficker including exploitation and dependence continues in the destination country.

Table 1. *Matrix of distinction between “trafficking” and “migrant smuggling” (Britton & Maljević, 2010)*

	Trafficking (adults)	Trafficking (children)	Migrants smuggling
Age	>18	< 18	Not relevant
Mental element	Intention	Intention	Intention
Physical element	act; method; for purpose of exploitation	act; for purpose of exploitation	act: intermediating in illegal entry • purpose: gaining financial or other material benefit
Consent of person subject of trafficking or smuggling	Not relevant, once methods have been established.	Not relevant, methods do not have to be established.	Smuggled person provides consent voluntarily
Transnational character	Not required	Not required	Not required
Involvement of organized crime group	Not required	Not required	Not required

An initial step of the law enforcement agencies’ efficient efforts against organizations involved with trafficking is to make a distinction between trafficking and smuggling. Since it has been very hard to penetrate into trafficker’s organizations, efficient use of victims in a capacity of witnesses can be valuable asset. Furthermore, if the law enforcement officers comprehend accurately nature and situation faced by detained victims , they shall be more capable to recognize and respond to victims’ needs. The law enforcement services should consider proving legal, psychological and economical assistance to victims, acting as witnesses in court proceeding, in cooperation with appropriate non-governmental organizations and in line with relevant legal framework, more exactly with national and transnational referral mechanisms. Authorities may undertake actions to gain victim’s cooperation in the capacity of witness, by cancelling her/his deportation or alternatively by granting a visa stay, temporary stay or even permanent residence. The law enforcement services must recognize an intention that prosecuting traffickers would be an impossible task in most instances, if cooperation with victims fail.

There has been a thin distinction between aforesaid phenomenon, due to awareness on relevance of such distinction in treating properly human trafficking, wherein this term may be even soft for describing such social pestilence.

The text bellow shall present a range of this phenomenon in everyday life.

Manifestations of “trafficking”

Many authors agree that trafficking has been affecting adversely an individual only, as an object of a criminal offence, but also social and economical aspects of modern society. Today, it implies several criminal actions, subject of sanctioning, whereas the most important ones include: recruiting, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons by means of force, of abduction, of deception, of fraud, 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.

In a previous period, major investigations concerning trafficking as a criminal offence, were focused on cases involving sexual exploitation. In the following period, it will be necessary to intensify actions involving investigating and prosecuting trafficking as criminal offence for purpose of forced labor, organized forced street begging, arranged marriages and other crimes that could favor trafficking or could be associated directly or indirectly such as child pornography and pedophilia. However, it should be recognized that trafficking is a complex criminal offence, whereas all domestic and international protection mechanisms must be engaged in order to reveal, classify and prove the case. Trafficking as an international issue requires international reaction. This fact has been associated with a definition of trafficking as a complex crime which clarifies its elements and requires states to build their protection mechanisms respectively. In this regard, the Protocol to Suppress, Prevent and Punish trafficking in persons, in particular of women and children (the Palermo Protocol), along with the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNCTOC) of 2003 stipulate complex definition of human trafficking. As provided by Palermo Protocol, this detailed definition composed of several layers is to encompass a volatile nature of trafficking, considering victims' profile and perpetrator's modus operandi. The new regional approach, set out in the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (CoE Convention) expands level of protection stipulated under the Palermo Protocol, in order to encompass an internal trafficking. International standards clearly stipulate that trafficking represents violation of international legislation, and thus bind member countries to undertake efficient measures concerning offenders criminal prosecution and victims safety as well as other measures serving as deterrents (see more: Figure 1).

Criminal offence Act	Modus operandi	Purpose of exploitation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recruiting • Transportation • Transfer • Harboring • Reception 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Threat or use of force • Other types of coercion • Abduction • Deception • Abuse of function • Abuse of other person's vulnerability • Giving or receiving bribery 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploitation of other persons' prostitution • Other forms of sexual exploitation • Compulsory work • Slavery or acts similar to slavery • Servitude • Organ transplantation without consent • Other

Figure1. Matrix of elements comprising trafficking as criminal offence (the Palermo Protocol and the European Convention)

The Protocols' provisions define "trafficking" as violation of international law; while trafficking's constituent elements are prescribed by relevant international instruments. The first comprehensive definition set out in Palermo Protocol reads that: "trafficking" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring 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 (Britton & Maljević, 2010).

It is noteworthy that exploitation includes, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. It has been very important that definition refers to the Convention on Right of Child whereas "a child" shall mean any person under eighteen years of age.

In general, finding from several researches show that the most frequent circumstances that lead a person to become a victim of trafficking have been associated with the following: social exclusion - poverty; family violence; low education level or inadmissible education; health status (e.g. mental immaturity, mental illness, persons with physical disadvantages etc); parents' reflectance; addictions (alcohol and drugs); working conditions. Disturbed family relationship and other reasons such as gender, race, age and ethnical origin can make a greater risk for person's recruitment. Children, as a particular vulnerable category, could be recruited more easily and thus become victims of trafficking (Gallagher & Holmes, 2008).

The most frequent circumstances following child recruitment for purpose of trafficking could include: socially and economically endangered family; families living in rural areas dependant on financial aid of children capable to work; children without parents; children of divorced parents, or children who become war orphans without one or both parents; children residing in facilities; children whose parents work abroad. Also situations involving families where other family members have physical or mental disadvantages, or have been addicts, where family has not had registered residency (e.g. Roma families and displaced families); children from families tolerating late going out and other similar situation involving insufficient parental supervision (Association „Zemlja djece“ Tuzla, 2015).

The indicator represents one of several reasons to believe that a person can be a potential victim of trafficking. Indicators serve as a tool to interpret perceptions, facts, statements and other information concerning a person, suspected victim of trafficking. However, each indicator does not have to be necessarily present in every situation involving trafficking. Presence or absence of individual indicator or several ones cannot prove or disapprove an occurrence of trafficking under one person. In order to conduct such a task, an integral assessment on personal life circumstances of a person, suspected victim of trafficking is required. Even when some indicators are in place such a person does not have to be necessarily trafficked. For example, asylum seekers could be accompanied with several indicators and yet not be subjected to trafficking.

The most represented general indicators suggesting to trafficking are: Injuries that seem as result of physical attack; injuries or disorders typical for certain businesses or results of applied control measures, signs of child's neglecting; signs indicating to control of movement (e.g. a person cannot leave a venue without permission, presence of adults who supervise them); Legal invisibility- persons have not been registered in public records; Exclusion from a school system or irregular class attendance; Constant change of statements; Expressing displeasure with work performed; Instigated to believe that they work freely. Furthermore, they or their family members are exposed to violence or such threats; they show disrespect towards authorities; they conceal their real identity; they show fear from detecting their migrant status; they don't possess passport or other IDs; they were found on site or close to site frequently used for exploitation or arrive from places known of trafficking practices; they lack local language skills, they are unaware of their residence or work address; they allow others to speak on their behalf when approached directly; they lack of salary or other work compensation or no access at all; they work long hours without days off; they live in scarce or uncommon living conditions; they have no access to health and social care; they lack of exercising any or only limited interaction and contacts with others, including their parents; they have been dependant on others; they are accompanied by adults who are not family members; they contact persons involved in crimes; they show capability of a child not typical for his/her age; they react like they received instructions from someone; they show specific reactions to traumatic experience; they live in wedlock or forced marriage; they lack friends beyond their workplace; they look frightened and behave untypically as children of their age and show fear or anxiety; they travel unaccompanied by adults; they travel in groups with adults who have not been their parents or guardians; they frequently change a place of residence; they are foreign nationals without legal status; their exploitation has been organized efficiently (transportation to specific venue, existence of

work supervisor, etc); they spend most time in street without parents; they wear outfit inappropriate to weather conditions and age; they are present in the popular city spots in late evenings without parents; they show deviant behavior or/and signs of addiction; they use mobile phones to have short and frequent phone calls; they show change of moods after phone conversations; they don't have free time or time to play; they are illegally adopted (Association „Zemlja djece“ Tuzla, 2015).

On the other hand, indicators of sexual exploitation are the following to: pregnancy and child abortion; injuries inflicted due to sexual exploitation, suspicion to forced sexual activity followed by child's sexual diseases; suspicion of sexual activity of children bellow the age of 14; involuntary and voluntary minor's marriages and wedlock; intimate inappropriate relation with adults who are not family members; intimate inappropriate relation with adults who are family members (incest); specific tattoos indicating group belonging (marked child); receipt of gifts by adults especially those inappropriate for child; lack of own funds; inappropriate outfit or presence of outfit and equipment for engaging in sexual activities; group living or travelling with persons who don't speak the same language occasionally; language skills limited only to a few words of foreign language associated with sexuality and limited knowledge of local language; sexualized and erotized children behavior (Association Zemlja djece“ Tuzla, 2015).

Concerning labor exploitation as a form of trafficking, the following indicators may be present: children were found in performing work inappropriate for child or child's age in inappropriate location and/or in appropriate time; children were stranded with goods for sale or work equipment; the equipment has been redesigned to allow children's use; children perform household jobs and are likely hidden from wider community; they live in collective accommodation facilities, frequently in inappropriate spaces such as agricultural and industrial facilities or at their workplace without right to leave the premises; they don't have access to their earnings; they depend on employer who fulfils their basic needs; they are subjected to security measures in order to remain at workplace; there are indications that labor legislation has been infringed as there are no employment agreements (for minors from age of 15 to 18); children feel extreme fatigue and underweight; they perform work at public places not typical for children (Association „Zemlja djece“ Tuzla, 2015).

Organized street begging - Indicators of exploitation for purpose of street beginning and petty crime: One possesses significant amounts of money or other valuables; There is poor physical appearance (underweight, clothing does not match child's age nor season); They are found while begging or committing crime; They are armed; They have physical disabilities likely made due to physical abuse; Children smuggle or sell drugs; They participate in criminal group activities; They move in large groups and passes large distances; They represent a huge group of children who share the same "guardian"; They incline to pathological forms of behavior (drugs, alcohol); They are aggressive and volatile; They carry written signs asking for help; They show neglected hygienic and behavioral conditions; They move in "gangs" and carry gangs' labels as sign of distinction; There are new forms of crimes associated with "gangs" (blackmailing, new forms of peer's violence).

Organ Transplant Abuse - Among many forms of trafficking, three crucial categories of the crime could be recognized, namely primary forms of exploitation for purpose of trafficking. Sexual exploitation, labor exploitation and organ transplant abuse represent those primary forms of categories with various modalities of trafficking developed under. Additionally, there are some new forms of exploitation (for example arranged marriages) that have been discussed just recently. While trafficking for purpose of sexual exploitation has been well known phenomenon substantiated with large number of available information, labor exploitation as a form of trafficking has become in the focus of public at later stage. Currently, it has been treated as any other conventional form of trafficking. On the other hand, there is concern associated with various organ transplant abuse, which don't fall under trafficking legal control mechanisms and therefore adequate reaction is required. This involves various forms of organ removal and transplantation, which happen on the edge of law or otherwise possess all crucial features of trafficking as defined by legislation. There is a well developed demand driven system of trade with human organs, accompanied by various formal and informal agents who seek profit in this activity. Well known cases of organ abuse could be distinguished in several classifications. There are voluntary and involuntary organ transplantations pending on consent or its absence of a donor person.

Otherwise, persons can be under direct or indirect coercion to have their organs removed. Direct coercion implies forced violence and abduction, while indirect form of coercion implies extortion, taking advantage of victims poverty and hard living conditions and deception. Cases involving children's abduction and sale for purpose of obtaining their organs as well as their homicides are cause for worry in particular. Pending on type of organ, there has been a distinction of transplantation of kidney, liver, heart, pancreas, retina, lung and any other organ that could be medically transplanted. In this area, abuses of human tissues and cells have recently become relevant as well. This is due to a wider trade of embryos, women reproductive cells and other parts of human body which are used in reproductive medical science.

Some theories make distinctions and classify the three basic manifestations of human organ abuses including: (a) coercion or deception of victims aimed at donating their organs, (b) provision of formal or informal consent on organ transplantation by the victim, who is deceived in financial terms by receiving no payment or significantly lower amount than the agreed one and (c) providing a false medical treatment in the facility by treating simulating non existing illness whereas the person has been deprived of his organ secretly. Human organs trafficking has been organized criminal activity in major cases wherein several agents intermediate, including medical professionals and other involved in criminal scheme with a clear division of roles and responsibilities. In this regard, certain "agents" are in charge of recruiting the victims as they become aware of such vulnerable victims; others are in charge of transporting and accommodating victims at the site where surgery will be performed; and engagement of medical professionals (surgeons, anesthesiologists, transfusiologists, nephrologists, auxiliary medical staff) who perform surgeries often in unregistered and unknown clinics. On the other "demand" side there are agents, organ vendors as well as specialized companies for organ conservation and transportation. It is a known fact that those networks have been very well organized, and hidden behind some legitimate business activities. There are some persons frequently known as "controversial businessmen" on the top of criminal

group pyramids, who hold financial power and influence and who may be involved in corruptive actions targeting public services. It is noteworthy to observe that some less developed countries are prone to “transplantation tourism” whereas numerous stakeholders get involved and where illegal low-cost transplantation occur in fast and easy manner by circumventing or violating legislation.

Legal framework governing trade of human organs as a part of human trafficking involves cases of trafficking for purpose of trading with such organs, while isolated organ trade has been beyond legislation. Additionally, victim’s consent and/or determination an organ price represent aggravating circumstance to prove crime of trafficking, unless other elements exist such as coercion, deception, abduction, abuse of power, position, taking advantage of one’s vulnerability, payment and other typical actions associated with trafficking. In this context, organ removal has been stipulated in art. 3 (a) of the Protocol to UN Convention against transnational organized crime, as well as by provisions of domestic criminal legislation stipulating trafficking. Nevertheless, some research has showed that such approach has not reached anticipated outcomes since investigations, either separate or within organized crime, has been unsuccessful. Some authors suggest applying different strategies worldwide by adopting separate legal instrument to govern only this area, while at national level state should govern systematically organ donating procedures (pursuant to explicit or implied consent of donor), and carry out specific campaigns adjusted to local context (Kelly, 2013).

We are unaware of ratio of organ transplant abuse within a trafficking as whole, as there is scarce information on this phenomenon resulting with hardships in its revealing and prosecuting.

Cases involving human organ abuses are learned *post festum*, in particular in following situations: fatal outcomes of medical interventions; process involving missing person search particularly children who tend to be vulnerable category in particular; situations involving seeking a medical help due to aggravation of his/her condition; person’s awareness that his/her organs had been removed. Prior identification of potential organ abuse victims has been the most pressing task for the law enforcement officer, requiring systemic and permanent cooperation of all relevant stakeholders in a process of combating this crime. International cooperation in exchanging data and information, and conducting joint investigations are very relevant in suppressing human organ trafficking since organ demand and supply exist in various states or even continents. Prosecution activities should focus on criminal groups organizers involved in criminal activities and encompass all stakeholders involved.

Forced (Involuntary) marriages - similar to illegal organ trafficking, forced marriages have been on edge of human trafficking and were associated primarily with practices involving slavery, which has been forbidden for a while in world.

Forced marriages mean conclusion of formal marriage or wedlock (equalized to marriage), whereas one or both spouse have not provided their full and free consent due to physical and/or psychological coercion. Persons who have been forced to marriage/wedlock are minors at times, primarily females, who have been forced to marry by their

parents, close relatives or friends and/or by their future spouse. In legal terms, there has not been a precise definition of forced marriages as constituent of trafficking; rather it has been defined as modern type slavery. Manifestations of such slavery include selling, transportation or inherited marriages. Protocol to the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime recognizes such forced marriages for purpose of trafficking under the term “practices close to slavery”.

Domestic criminal legislation has stipulated the similar terms (the Criminal Code of BiH and Criminal Code of Brcko District), but recognizes clearly forced marriages as a form of trafficking (Criminal Code of Republika Srpska). Speaking of term “practices similar to slavery” encompassing forced marriages as form of trafficking, its content has been previously determined through Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery in 1956. According to this international treaty, practices similar to slavery include any institution or practice whereas: (a) women has been promised or given for marriage and deprived of a right to refuse, while her parents, guardian, family or any other person or group receives money or appropriate favor in return; or (b) husband, his family or relatives are entitled to give wife to another person in return for certain favor or similar; or alternatively (c) widow, after her husband’ death is to be transferred to another person.

Within phenomenology of forced marriages, there are instances where physical force, psychological violence, deception, and other actions are used in order to compel a victim to marry someone due to payment, favor, agreement or other arrangement made without victim’s participation or consent. “House servitude” also has been closely associated with forced marriages, as a separate phenomenon, consisting of exploitation and abolishing freedom of movement of female persons who were likely subjected to forced marriages arrangements. It is considered that forced marriages represent severe violation of human rights, in particular if targeting children or minors, who don’t have possibilities and rights to refuse such damaging arrangements. There is prejudice that links forced marriages with very specific social, religious or ethnical groups, however they appear in many countries and need to be controlled. It is particularly important to identify organized criminal group activities in charge of contracting and organizing forced marriages on the territory involving two or more states, as this criminal activity implies payment of larger fees for arranged marriages and child trafficking.

Due to secrecy and inability to access communities where practices of concluding or contracting forced marriages occur, it has been very difficult to obtain any data concerning size of phenomenon and its typical forms of manifestation. To this end, legal and criminal treatment of acts of arranging forced marriages as trafficking faces paramount resistance in communities with such practices and lack of local authorities support in charge of preventing and surprising such crime. It is of great relevance to involve social welfare services entirely in a process of recognizing and revealing cases of forced marriages. Also other actions involving children enrollment in birth registers, awareness raising activities and change of culture customs of population need to take places. Once the case is discovered, the victim needs an accommodation, safety and support; thus it is required to provide appropriate therapy to the victim, prepare her for proceedings follow up and reintegrate her to society.

It is noteworthy that full engagement of services and organizations assisting victims has been established thanks to legal treatment of forced marriages as a form of trafficking by criminal legislation. Also, it is needed to raise awareness and knowledge on this phenomenon, in order to create a perception that forced marriages represent a “corridor” to human trafficking or various forms of exploitation. In this regard, particular attention should be made to identifying and supporting children affected by migration (children migrants, asylum seekers, internally displaced children, returnees, children-victims of trafficking) as a particular vulnerable group.

South East Europe, the region of trafficking

In global terms, trafficking has received a major attention as it evolves into new forms, changes its structure and features and grows as phenomenon. Therefore, trafficking has been a subject of many research, scientific and professional debates, and campaigns as it attracts attention of political policy makers at national, regional and international level. Globalization, economic crisis, political instability, conflicts, social differences, market economy development, gender discrimination, as well as social transformation processes have contributed towards large migration movements worldwide in the previous decades, as well as to creation of new, more complex and illegal migration trends and trafficking thereof. Criminal organizations have taken the advantage of new circumstances and structural in equivalence and thus created illegal migration and trafficking channels, by taking the advantage of persons forced or willing to migrate.

Trafficking has been occurring throughout South Eastern Europe (SEE), the region of origin, transit and destination for victims, including their recruiting, transportation and exploitation. Victims coming from Asia and Africa, as well as from South Eastern Europe transit through the SEE region on their way to Western European countries for purpose of exploitation there or in the SEE region but to a less extent. In the past, adult women were identified as victims of trafficking predominantly, but recently identification of male victims got increased who have been involved in labor exploitation. Also, minors have been identified as victims of trafficking and subjected to exploitation for providing sexual and labor services or committing petty crimes at the street. Old and disadvantage persons have been the victims of traffickers and subjected to exploitation for street begging. Additionally, a few cases concerning organ and tissue trafficking have been reported in this area.

Armed conflicts, political transition, accompanied by social and economical instability in South East Europe in the course of last decades have caused an illegal migration increase from and through the Balkans towards Western Europe. These practices and movement of people have contributed to evolvement of trafficking in or throughout the aforesaid region.

In course of late 1980, trafficking started to appear and this process was coincided with the transitional processes in the region. Trafficking reached its peak, but milestone as well in 2002. Since this period, there has been a significant declining prevalence and trends associated with trafficking, but also less visible due to changed methods. In

the second half of 2002, a decline of identified and supported victims started to occur. Raid actions in night clubs, as predominant actions against trafficking have not reached anticipated results, as small number of victims was identified at such occasions. Police believed that stranded women were victims, but they frequently refused assistance by disapproving such belief by saying that they work as prostitutes, entertainers or waitresses (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights [OHCHR]&Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe/Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights [OSCE/ODIHR], 2005). This period coincided with accelerated ratification and implementation of the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its supplementing Protocol on Preventing, Suppressing and Punishment of Trafficking, in particular of women and children, and early stipulation of trafficking as crime in criminal legislation in all countries in the region. Since 2010, situation concerning trafficking trends in this area has been mainly steady with minor oscillation, as depicted in below graph (Southeast European Law Enforcement Centre [SELEC], 2014).

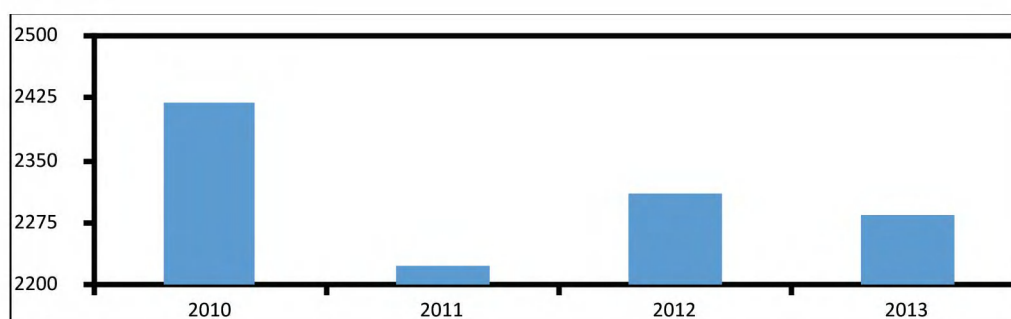


Figure 2. Total number of identified victims of trafficking in South East Europe in period 2010-2013.

Today, trafficking in South East Europe involves several patterns, diversified forms of exploitation and several forms of victims vulnerability and coercion. However, there are many additional cases than ones that have been discovered by official channels.

South East European Law Enforcement Center (SELEC) statistics show generally stable situation concerning number of trafficking cases in a recent years, but public and professional concern need to be displayed. In the course of 2013. A total of 2,284 victims in this region were identified while in 2012 such number was slightly smaller and got decreased for 26 victims. From total number, adults represented 78% and minors remaining 22%. In total, 49% victims were subjected to exploitation abroad, beyond SELEC region, while 35% was subjected to exploitation within SELEC countries, and remaining 16% ere foreigners coming outside of SELEC region but subjected to exploitation within the region. A number of foreign victims in 2013 in the region has not been declining with respect to 2010-2012 period, while significant increase of 56% was recorded in 2013. The number of victims has decreased internally for 13% in 2013. Western European countries have been the main destination for victims coming from the region. More exactly, 61,4% from a total number of adult victims were subject of sexual exploitation, while 34,6% were subject of labor exploitation. Speaking of minors, 74,1% was subjected to sexual abuses, following forced labor (10%), and remaining 12% were subjected to various forms of street crime. In total, 2,029 persons were suspects in trafficking in the

course of 2013, representing increase of 14% in comparison with 2012, but decrease of 11% in comparison with 2011.

SELEC's reports, containing compiled data on this region point out that organized criminal groups involved in trafficking conduct their criminal activities as any other business. They have a structure division of work, whereas each member performs certain scope of actions. In additions, reports show that forced practices are less used in "persuading" victims to sex work, rather repealed with "soft methods" d including emotional dependence, "lover boy" tactics or sharing a profit with victims (SELEC, 2013)

Like any other crimes, the official statistics do not always reflect a real scope of the problem, due to inaccurate interpretation and lack of victims identification mechanisms and other reasons associated with a "dark figure of crime" (the amount of unreported/undiscovered crime); especially this refers to new forms of trafficking. This deters public and authorities' understanding concerning scope and complexity of trafficking. SELEC's statistics obtained from individual countries show that the most difficult situation pertains to Romania, Bulgaria, and Moldavia, while considered to be under control generally in other countries, as shown by bellow chart.

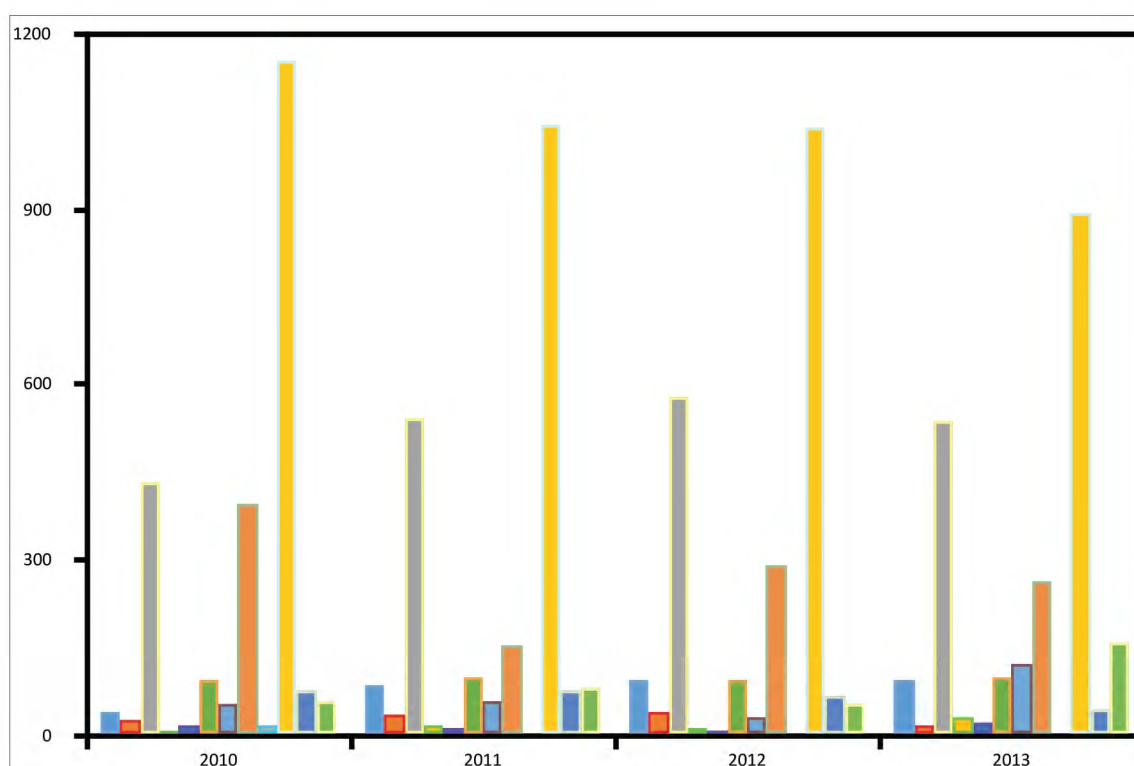


Figure 3. Review of official indicators on identified victims in trafficking in SEE 2010-2013.

In absence of the issue's thorough understanding, decision makers can neither prioritize trafficking, nor develop skills to understand volatile trafficking modalities and specific trafficking networks nor work with non-governmental workers and researchers to develop strong fact-founded policy. Such policy will serve as foundation to build capacities for suppressing trafficking (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2014). Therefore, one of goals of aforesaid research is to assist BiH in identifying such

shortages, which may lead to inaccurate understanding of the issue and hamper efforts in developing effective responses to trafficking. Authors acknowledge that this subject area requires more clarity despite of efforts spent in the last decade to build, define, redefine, and implement appropriate counter trafficking policy (van Duyne, 2007).

The situation has changed as a result of developing and implementing counter-trafficking actions, stemming from the international treaties and national policy developed in each respective country, as well as within international governmental and non-governmental organizations. The first relevant decline of trafficking scope which stabilized overall situation could mean that counter trafficking policies were successful and efficient in the last decades and suppressed trafficking in the region. Alternatively, the scope of trafficking could have remained the same, but became less visible and hidden in the underground. It is most likely that both processes take place in parallel including: a process of declining number of identified victims in the region, as a result of successful implementation of counter-trafficking efforts partially, but also due to new trends appearance. The latter required some time to elapse prior discovering new trends, developing new victims identification mechanism and prosecuting such perpetrators.

Despite of actual period of relative political stability in the region, trafficking remained a very complex security threat and challenge in the region. Vulnerable groups and group at risk still face limitations in finding secure and legal job, access to assistance and support to themselves and their families. Due to unemployment and poor job prospects, they tend to accept informal job offers, without existence of any safeguards usually provided by the government, union or legislation, and thus expose themselves to huge risks of becoming a victim of trafficking.

Types of exploitation, old and new forms of trafficking

Over the last decades, global sexual exploitation has been the most frequent identified form of trafficking, but not the only one per data reviewed. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) reports show that forced labor and other forms of exploitation were also identified by the authorities, NGOs and international organizations (UNODC, 2009). Trafficking for purpose of forced labor prevailed in Eastern Europe and Central Asia (35%), rather than Western and Central Europe (29%). Forced labor cases, in Western and Central Europe, were detected in agriculture, construction and catering sectors. Cases involving exploitation of victims as household workers or servants were also detected in Western and Central Europe. In addition, 7% of victims were trafficked for such purpose of exploitation that have not been clearly specified in the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking. From a total number, 2% identified victims were used for street begging. Sporadic cases of trafficking for purpose of concluding forced marriages were discovered and documented. With respect to pornography, some cases (0.1%) were documented, but in a less extent in comparison with trafficking for other purposes. Nevertheless, geographical scope of detected cases shows that this phenomenon should not be neglected in Europe (UNODC, 2012)

Currently, there have been some new trends or trafficking forms, including new meth-

ods identified in the SEE region (SELEC, 2013). The new trends reflect in growing number of minors, identified as victims and an increase of internal trafficking (as oppose to foreigners) excluding border crossing.

The most represented types of exploitation include provision of sexual services, forced labor and committing street crimes. However, the victims were subjected to exploitation for purpose of child pornography, forced marriages conclusion, abuse of “surrogate mother” to deliver children to be sold further, and sporadic cases involving organs and tissues selling. Victims’ work exploitation occurred in agriculture, civil construction, wood processing and household servitudes (SELEC, 2012)

Victim’s gender and age also predetermine type of exploitation, in a sense that young girls are used for providing sexual services, while children for street begging. Recruiting victims voluntarily, use of “soft methods” or sharing the profit with victims has been noticed as a growing trend. Exploitation process has been done with less use of physical force, but increased psychological control and financial dependence. The new form of trade has been “social tourism” when poor persons are brought to Western European countries: they obtain a stay permit and receive social welfare benefits. Once such persons start receiving financial benefits they are sent back to their home countries while traffickers continue to receive social welfare benefits on their behalf. One of recent trends also involves trafficking of pregnant women for purpose of babies selling.

Traffickers have been individuals primarily, they are close to victims’ families or share the same minor group as the victim. Certain traffickers have been highly organized, at times in smaller criminal groups, while others became traffickers once they gain an opportunity to exploit others. Criminal groups involved in trafficking, especially the smaller ones have been organized efficiently with a clear distinctions of roles: recruitment, transportation and control (IOM, 2014). However, even large criminal groups (enterprises) have been involved in trafficking. Basic features of trafficking criminal enterprises include: conducting criminal activities based on common principles of legitimate businesses; developing complex skills representing a part of their strategic and long-term plans based on physical abuse and coercion of victim; binding group membership through family connections, ethnical background or mutual interests; increase of female membership; changing communication methods between group members aimed at disabling or hampering surveillance by the law enforcement services (Rizvo, 2010).

Major identified victims in the aforesaid region have been young victims for purpose of sexual exploitation. Recently, age of female victims goes down and often includes minors. Major part of identified victims comes from rural and poor areas. Family violence, accompanied by physical, psychological and emotional abuse, parent’s negligence and extreme poverty have been common features of trafficking in the whole region (IOM, 2014). The victims have been usually recruited through personal contact, but also by traffickers’ advertisements posted on internet or by private employment agencies. Recruiter methods include a promise of getting a well paid job or marriage, allowing a concerned person to abandon difficult domestic circumstances. Methods of keeping a person under recruiter’s control vary starting with a strict control of movement and physical violence up to use of coercion, intimidation or blackmailing a victim and/or her family members. Those changes have been logical, as traffickers realized that use of

non-violent coercion means is hard to prove in the event of criminal procedures.

Since illegal migration have been closely connected with human trafficking, it is noteworthy that migration in the region change their trends rapidly and significantly, but also offer traffickers new possibilities. FRONTEX has identified new trends associated with migration and trafficking: criminal groups borrow funds irregular migrants for purpose of smuggling assistance. In order to repay such debt, migrants serve as guides in smuggling operations of other migrants from Asia on their smuggling route through the region. Such arrangements, while in transit, can last for several years until debts get repaid. This situation illustrates a new form of exploitation and trafficking, whereas appropriate reaction has not been found. Despite of modest efforts, authorities are capable of identifying victims within such groups of illegal migrants (European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union [FRONTEX], 2013).

In closing, trafficking has developing further it in the region, by altering its trends and patterns with respect to organization of traffickers, forms of recruiting, purpose and type of exploitation, types of control imposed to victim, routes of traffickers and victims as well as profile of persons involved in process. Such situation imposes new, complex and growing challenges to the authorities and societies of the region overall. It reiterates a requirement to raise awareness and knowledge on trafficking by both general public and professionals as well as to develop evidence based policy aimed at suppressing trafficking.

History of trafficking in Bosnia-Herzegovina

In the Western Balkans, trafficking has appeared primarily due to war and dissolution of Ex Yugoslavia, accompanied by huge destructions, displacements and uncontrolled migration in presence of large number of military formation. Trafficking's speed and scope of progression in the area of South and Eastern Europe was astonishing. Ten years ago persons from SEE were not targeted by this crime at all, while today they comprise more than 25 percent of victims (Obradović, 2004). Trafficking has been a global phenomenon, occurring in any state including Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It has been indisputable that Bosnia-Herzegovina has been placed within the region with significant presence of trafficking. In addition, Bosnia-Herzegovina has been a post-conflict country in transition, with very complex political and administrative structure. Poor economic situation, high level of unemployment, high numbers of local refugees and displaced persons, insufficient migration management, porous borders and modest law enforcement capacities have made Bosnia-Herzegovina a country of origin, transit, and final destination of victims. In the late 1990s, the first cases of trafficking in BiH appeared explicitly due to sexual exploitation of young women coming from the former Soviet Union and due to demand locally created by international military, police and other forces. In this respect Kalaitzidis's report (2005) finding stated that at certain period of time north area of BiH called "Arizona" had been known as a hot spot for trafficking in this area of Europe, which has been labeled as very severe one for victims. He

emphasized that this open market place was built up by American army funding right after the war with an intention to reconcile ethnic groups, but due to lack of appropriate legal status and management it turned in a harbor for various crimes including trafficking. However, there were no specific indicators on scope and structure of trafficking in a period prior to 2003. This was due to a fact trafficking was stipulated as a crime in the Criminal Code for the first time in 2003, as a part of overall criminal legislation reform.

In parallel, there have been the first scientific and empirical researches on this issue in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In his research, Obradović found that 93% of the victims identified in Bosnia-Herzegovina were citizens of Moldavia, Romania or Ukraine. The fact that victims were mainly coming from aforesaid three countries proved a thesis that BiH at those times was a final destination country with well-developed routes for purpose of sexual exploitation. With respect to means of recruiting, the trafficker used their friends or acquaintance to create a false picture on attractive job offer abroad. Nearly 93% of victims interviewed in that period reported that they wanted to work abroad in order to earn enough money for decent life. Most victims expected that they would work as waitresses, shop-assistants or shall have similar job. Some others have expected to become factory workers or au pairs, while the remaining ones assumed that they will be nigh-club entertainers or sexual workers.

A few victims openly admitted that they had been aware of probability to be involved in some work associated with sexual services (Obradović, 2004). This research covered reported cases of trafficking in a period from 1996 to 2003. To this end, a process of recruitment, transportation, smuggling, purchase and sale of victims of trafficking, client's profile, work and stay conditions and exposure to certain forms of abuse, violence and coercion was analyzed. Most victims have decided to travel abroad in order to obtain a well paid job. According to structured interview results, positions of waitresses, shop-assistant and/or nurses were promised. Of course according to victims' statements, any of them did not anticipate to work within "sexual exploitation industry". At that occasion, only one fifth of victims decided to leave their home to work in BiH as dancers or prostitutes, which helped creating a wide spread common thesis that "experienced prostitutes arrive to BiH to seek a new market" (Obradović, 2004).

This research has been the first serious step made in the attempt of providing a thorough analysis of causes and manifestation of trafficking in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This statement can be substantiated with an index of citation of particular study; to this end it has been one of the most frequently used sources of data in criminology that placed a focus on "trafficking".

In accordance with aforesaid study, every secondly interviewed victim was "exposed to fear that she would be charged for illegal crossing/entry into BiH by showing forced documents, due to absence of appropriate travel documents. This made her vulnerable to mental abuses, coercion and abduction" (Obradović, 2004).

By analyzing data on purchase and pre-sale of victims, the author of study found that persons were treated like commodities, whose price ranged from 2000 KM up to 5000 KM in a process of trafficking. From criminal point of view, author stated that such

amount was presented as victim's debt that she had to repay to her "master" (a buyer/night club owner) by offering sexual services to domestic clients primarily. Usually they would have four clients primarily per day; they would receive no payment for provided services; they would not exercise freedom of movement nor medical treatment; and they would live in inhuman life conditions, accompanied by constant physical and mental abuse and sexual violence" According to author, victims of trafficking could be classified to the following: as undisputable victims (34,0 % of interviewees were forced to prostitution and sexual exploitation), situational victims (48,4% of interviewees who were aware of certain risk or probability to increase earnings in sexual engagement, but were exposed to exploitation and abuse) and doubtful victims (17,6% of interviewees who were in recruiting stage promised unrealistically high salaries such as waitresses and dancers, or were directly offered to work as prostitutes to which they agreed, but not to be sexually abused) (Obradović, 2004).

Obviously, this phenomenon included one or several elements of violation of human rights and freedoms such as confiscation of travel documents, limitation of freedom of movement, inability to use medical services, upholding salary payment, as well as psychological and sexual abuse. According to Dr. Obradovic's classification, the following degrees of trafficking victimization were in place: full slavery (each of five forms of abuse and maltreatment was present); partial slavery; severe forms of victimization; middle forms of victimization; soft forms of victimization and no forms of victimization. According to this research, every fifth victim of trafficking suffered a full slavery status in BiH, while every third victim suffered severe forms of victimization (Obradović, 2004).

The study also included an additional analysis of victim's psychological profile. Such section contains a narrative analysis of life stories of "trafficked" and sexually abused victims (N =238), a case study of "La Strada" shelter victim (counter trafficking program) from Mostar (N =10) as well as psychiatrist examination and treatment of victims placed in IOM shelter (N =257). The life stories of victim show repetition of almost identical pattern of events during the various phases of trafficking (start of trafficking, inclusion in trafficking, debt slavery, abuse and limitation of freedoms and human rights (Obradović, 2004).

At that point of time, certain misconceptions were noted by prosecuting authorities and authorities in charge of social control, due to ignorance of core elements of trafficking as specific criminal offence. According to results of this research, it was noted that trafficking is crime in BiH which provokes a great deal of sufferings to victims. It makes a severe damage to physical and psychological health of victim, but additionally causes additional problems in case of approaching police. This included their treatment as they were law offenders, namely illegal migrants resulting with deportations from BiH. This data was justified with fact that in a period from 1997 to 2003, there were 226 newspaper articles writing on topic of trafficking and prostitution on BiH language area. Only five percent of articles addressed the topic from trafficking point of view, while 36% treated the subject as prostitution, and remaining 42% considered trafficking and prostitution jointly. Therefore the author concluded that "process of informing the public was absolutely lead by sensationalistic content highlighting prostitution" (Obradović, 2004).

In the recent period, there has been a new form of trafficking in BiH. In this regard, victims have been drafted locally for purpose of sexual exploitation in other regions of BiH. Accordingly, the number of foreign victims has been declining, while number of domestic victims within BiH has been inclining slowly. Large number of victims in BiH have been drafted and trafficked for purpose of sexual exploitation. This data has been substantiated by official statistics of BiH authorities, in particular the Ministry of Security.

Statistical data on total number of identified victims in BiH in a period from 1999-2013 as well as ratio of domestic and foreign victims has been presented in chart bellow.

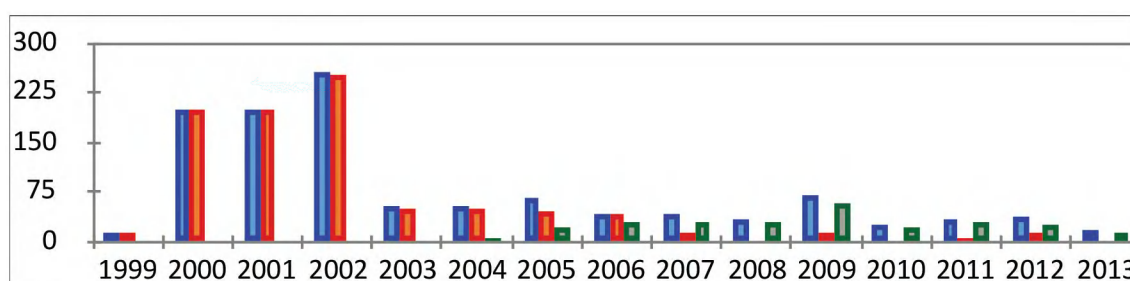


Figure 4. Review of identified victims of trafficking in BiH in a period from 1999 to 2013.

BiH authorities undertook significant measures in suppressing trafficking by following actions: defining national policies and plans since 2001; adopting laws and other legislation governing fight against trafficking; allocating funds and other resources; building capacities of competent institutions; and establishing close partnership between authorities and civil society. These actions resulted with a significant progress in the overall situation by decreasing a number of identified victims.

Yet, trafficking has not been uprooted but rather changed its *modus operandi*. Since 2004, trafficking has become a carefully planned undercover activity, whereas sexual exploitation takes places in motels, private houses and apartments. Additionally, victims were taken abroad for the same purpose or were forced to work or were subjected to another type of exploitation.

Speaking of labor exploitation, one of its new forms involve exploitation of BiH male citizens as construction workers at sites abroad. However, the most present and visible problem has been street begging, usually associated with Roma population, as a result of complex economic and social situation in the country. Organized and compulsory child begging has been a complex behavioral pattern which keeps victimized children vulnerable to exploitation and compulsion to beg for their families or criminal groups. Certain subject and official reports address the scope of issue and possible methods of treatment (The Institution of Human Rights Ombudsman of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2010). In the past, this issue pertaining to children who live and beg in public places has not been recognized as trafficking. Therefore, the authorities did not undertake any serious intervention, although there were some sporadic reports, media articles and comments concerning children and their long hours of work at streets.

Bellow chart shows age and gender characteristic of identified victims of trafficking in BiH, and types of trafficking exploitation imposed to determined victims.

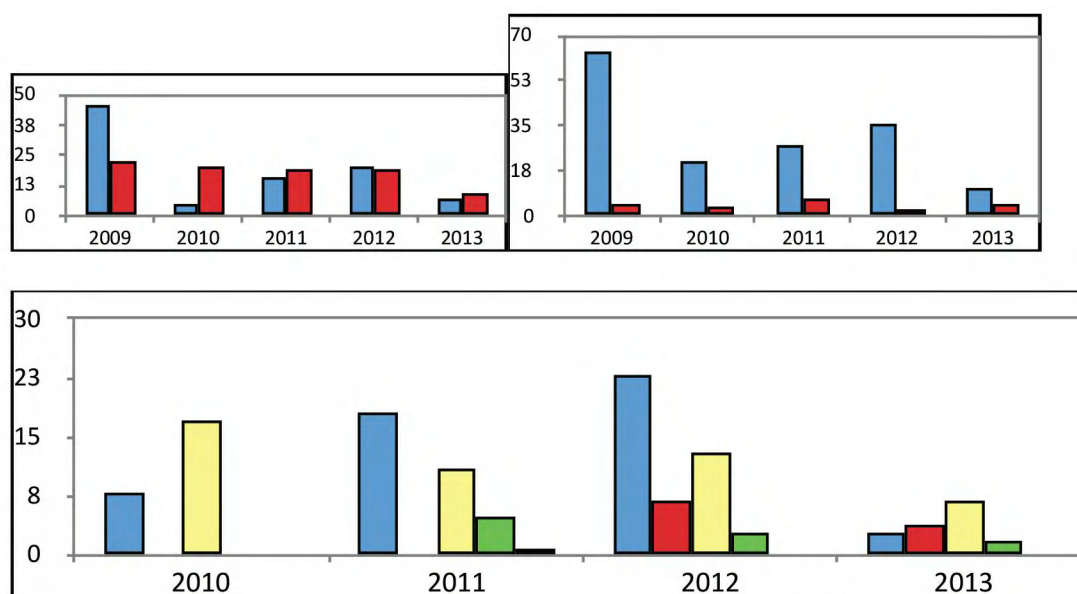


Figure 5. Indicator on structure of identified victims of trafficking

The State Coordinator for Fight against Trafficking and Illegal migration's report state that there are no such indicators suggesting that organized crime has been a prevailing form of trafficking for purpose of labor exploitation in BiH. In this regard, available information suggest that trafficking for purpose of work exploitation has been committed by individuals in order to gain personal financial profit. Some BiH citizens were involved in such cases, but also citizens from neighboring countries occasionally.

Speaking of jurisprudence, small number of trafficking cases for purpose of labor exploitation were prosecuted to date due to difficulties in offence classification and existence of "grey areas" in these cases. This refers to criteria used in decision making whether a case represent an offence of trafficking for labor exploitation or simply poor working conditions and underpaid work; in closing the latter interpretation prevails and abuse is treated as misdemeanor under labor legislation. It has been hard to make a clear distinction in theory between trafficking for purpose of labor exploitation, forced labor, illegal employment or infringement of labor rights. This task becomes even more complex in practice (OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2011).

The most relevant characteristics of registered cases of labor exploitation include: abuse of victim's vulnerability and health conditions, tourist visa stay and illegal work abroad, smaller salary then previously agreed, abolition of salary payment, long working hours, freedom of movement limitations, absence of adequate medical assistance in case of inflicting injury at work, involvement of private employment agencies that charge high fees, passport confiscations, illegal stay abroad, indebtedness applied as method of control, debt increase by use of interest rate, punishment in case of rules violation at work and after working hours, charging unrealistic costs of accommodation, transportation,

food, etc.² The aforesaid characteristics coincide with indicators for trafficking for purpose of labor exploitation developed by the International Labor Office (ILO). At the same time, it has been noticed that many victims despite of their hard circumstances, rather continue to remain in such situations than to return home with nothing. Many of those returnees become desperate at home countries, and attempt to go back abroad and seek an employment (OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2011).

Police activities in country including investigations, indictments and trials aimed at suppressing trafficking along with a process of on-going legal reform, have changed some patterns in trafficking (Maljević, 2007). However additional work has to be done.

Actual situation concerning trafficking in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Politically instable, social and economical difficult situation in country still creates an environment that facilitates trafficking. In addition, Bosnia-Herzegovina has been a post-conflict country in transition with fragile institutions. In such environment, many factors that attract and boost trafficking (pull and push factors) have been recognized such as: position of women, position of children, position of disadvantaged persons, position of national minorities in particular Roma population, widespread corruption and its linkages with trafficking, poor economic situation and high unemployment, insufficiently developed mechanisms for victims' rights protection etc. While a number of foreign victims declined, the number of BiH citizens identified as victims within borders of BiH increased. Bosnia- Herzegovina has become a country of origin, transit and destination for victims of trafficking (US. State Department, 2007).

Additional aggravating circumstance has been associated with a new form of children exploitation: various children come from several heterogeneous communities while criminals organize their work (street begging). This form of trafficking has been neglected by authorities, due to ignorance of the issue that differs from sexual exploitation which used to be considered as the only form of trafficking. Additionally, this problem has been neglected due to a lack of will and initiative to undertake required actions against this form of trafficking, and due to discriminatory stance of certain individuals towards minorities. Therefore, a social system as whole omitted to react properly, deter and penalize such type of children trafficking (IOM, 2014). The recent reports show an increasing trend of forced minors marriages among Roma population, who have been vulnerable in particular to this type of exploitation (Group of Countries against Trafficking in Human Beings [GRETA], 2013).

In the past, the issue of children living and working at streets has not been categorized as children trafficking, but over the time the authorities started recognizing and connecting children street begging as trafficking for purpose of exploitation (State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Migration, 2010). Nevertheless, authorities have failed to provide adequate serious intervention or services to children even when they receive reports on children who work all day long in the streets (OSCE

² Quotation from indictment raised by the BiH Prosecutor's Office in case Serbaz, as the first type of trafficking for purpose of sexual exploitation in BiH.

Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2011). Speaking of children in movement, this issue has not been associated always with sexual exploitation; in fact there have been more cases associated with economic exploitation, compulsory labor, begging, and parents' neglecting. Roma women and children have been primarily exposed to this type of abuse.

In 2014, there were 49 victims of trafficking. Concerning their age, 12 victims were full of age (11 women and 1 man), while 37 were minors (24 girls and 13 boys). In terms of gender, 35 were female victims, while 14 were men.

Further, from 35 recorded female victims, 11 victims were full of age and they were trafficked for the following purposes: sexual services (4 victims), combined compulsory work and begging (3 victims), begging only (3 victims) and production, possession and display of child pornography (1 victim).

As said, there were 24 female minor victims who were trafficked for the following purposes: sexual services (6 victims), begging (14 victims), forced marriage and subsequent begging (4 victims). Speaking of street begging, only one person has been adult, while 13 were minors.

Looking as whole 49 victims, the following were areas of exploitations: sexual services (10); forced/compulsory work (3); begging (31); production and display of pornography (1); forced marriages/begging (4). Only three victims were foreign nationals (Kosovo³, Sri Lanka and Croatia) while remaining 46 victims were citizens of BiH.

In the course of 2014, safe houses(shelters) assisted 14 potential victims, 21 potential victims were assisted by daily center/acceptance site in Banja Luka, while one person was accommodated in orphanage Bjelave, Sarajevo. Remaining 13 potential victims refused the assistance (State Coordinator Office for Counter Trafficking Operations in BiH, 2015). In the course of 2007, although number of total victims for purpose of sexual exploitation has been the lowest one since beginning of recording. However, BiH nationals who were identified as victims of sexual exploitation exceeded foreign victims. As the 2014 Council of Minister's report show, number of identified potential victims has significantly exceeded foreign victims.

With respect to role of women in society, gender stereotypes still determine women's choice of profession and employment and they represent one of important factors to inception and presence of trafficking. Large number of women have been employed with non-formal economic sector with limited access to managerial and other well paid posts on labor market. The women still don't have the equal possibilities, despite of progress in developing institutional and legal framework to promote and protect their rights in BiH. Women in BiH need to enjoy their rights without discrimination (Sarajevo Open Centre & Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, 2013). Political measures are directed to promote and accomplish gender balance, and fight against women violence that would result with change of women's position and enjoyment of their fundamental rights.

3 According to UN Security Council 1244 Resolution, the use of name Kosovo does not determine a final status of southern Serbian province.

With respect to children rights, they s have still been neglected and no sufficient funds exist to support an effective child protection policy.

Lack of law enforcement, shortage of children funds, and insufficient data on children, undeveloped cooperation between NGOs and authorities, increased violence among children, lack of appropriate school system with insufficient teachers skills, inappropriate programs and child participation level represent signs of neglecting (Informal network of NGOs "Jači glas za djecu", 2011).

The Law on Protection of National Minorities recognizes and protects 17 national minorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. These groups include Albanians, Montenegrins, Czechs, Italians, Hungarians, Jews, Macedonians, Germans, Slovaks, Poles, Roma, Slovenians and Ukrainians. The law provides that in addition to enjoying all rights as BiH nationals, additional protection and rights with respect to historical, cultural, habit, tradition, language, educational and religious freedoms are secured to minorities. Roma population has been the largest minority in country but at the same time live in the most difficult social and economical circumstances. Total number of registered Roma in 2013 was approximately 17,000 but it has been estimated that this community has between 30.000 and 40.000 inhabitants (Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees of BiH, 2013). Despite of limited Roma population, there are many complex challenges in securing dwellings, education, employment and health protection (The Institution of Human Rights Ombudsman/Ombudsmen of BiH, 2012). This situation accompanied by cultural prejudice and stereotypes create an environment prone to trafficking, in particular of minors for purpose of sexual and labor exploitation as well as forced and arranged marriages.

Correlation between trafficking and corruption, and the latter impact to trafficking seem to be neglected in a process of developing and implementing counter trafficking policy and actions. Corruption among local police favors infrastructure involved human trafficking in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Balkans ACT [Against Crime of Trafficking] Now!, 2013). Number of indictments concerning high profile cases has been modest, only with a few adjudicated cases whereas convicted criminals spend little or no time in prison (Brady, 2012). Such approach can discourage counter trafficking initiative and diminish efficiency of the response to fight trafficking.

Poor economic prospects have been likely the most relevant factor in explaining trafficking in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Gross domestic product (GDP) in Bosnia-Herzegovina was \$ 17.83 billion in 2013. Bosnian BDP holds a share of 0.01% world economy. National poverty rate displaces that 17.9% of population live bellow a poverty line (World Bank, 2014). The unemployment rate has increased from 44.38 percent in November 2012 to 44.54 percent in December 2012 (Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2012).

Insufficient protection of victims rights has been a factor favoring the existence of trafficking in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the course of criminal procedure, victims obtain only general protection of rights as any other party participating in court proceedings. Right to information access has been allowed as a general rule to any party participating in the criminal trial. Any person who suffered any kind of damage by criminal offence has

a right to be informed on the criminal procedure status and prosecutor's actions; nevertheless those legal safeguards are not available to specific categories of victims including victims of trafficking. Witness protection in criminal proceedings and afterwards is governed by the Law on Protecting Witness under Threat and the Law on Witness Protection Program, which have been applicable to victims of trafficking (under caveat that Law on Witness Protection Program applies only to cases before the state BiH court).

One of additional deficiencies was a matter of providing compensation to a victim, which has been very generalized and almost unaffordable in trafficking cases. Any damaged party in criminal proceedings can submit his/her request for damage compensation in the course of proceedings. Accordingly, a damaged party in a capacity of witness in the criminal proceedings and at time of providing his/her testimony should be asked about aforesaid request. It could be associated with damage compensation, thing repair or legal transaction annulment. Despite of these legal grounds, there are rare occasions when those provisions get enforced.

However, there are some immigration law safeguards available to foreign victims of trafficking, which allow them to stay on humanitarian ground in Bosnia-Herzegovina. All potential victims have a right to assistance including: food, clothing, hygienic items, medical care, psychosocial assistance, legal aid and representations, reintegration services, access to labor market, access to vocational training and education, including work and occupational therapy, at the job training, professional education, etc.

Prosecution of Trafficking in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Prosecution of traffickers seems to be insufficient and inefficient. The number of investigations conducted and indictments raised has been volatile and showed a declining trend constantly. An average number of investigations conducted was at 34.8 levels while an average number of indictments was 14.3 annually. There has not been a clear rationale for aforesaid instable figures in the respective overview. The number of court decisions rendered was similar: 12.4 per annum. In total, there were 278 investigations completed, 115 indictments raised and 99 court decisions rendered in a period from 2006 until 2013.

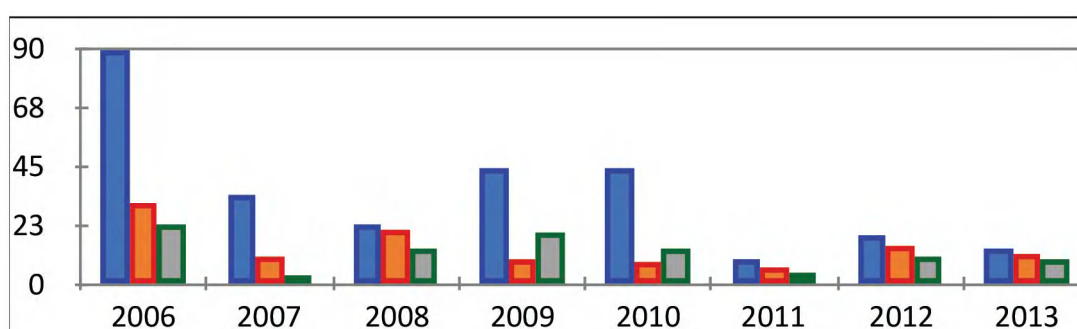


Figure 6. Overview of investigations conducted, indictments finalized, and court decisions rendered for criminal offence of trafficking and other associated criminal offences in a period from 2006-2013

Common court practice is to render sentences close to the lowest sanctions threshold for the offence of trafficking as stipulated by criminal legislation. Therefore, penalty policy could be considered as a soft one with respect to severe impact and danger of trafficking as criminal operation (Balkans ACT [Against Crime of Trafficking] Now!, 2013). Traffickers have not been convicted and penalized in all cases; at times there is plea bargain; confiscation of illegally acquired assets has not been done efficiently. In 2013, an average penalty imposed to traffickers amounted two years of imprisonment (State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Migration, 2013). Compulsory labor hasn't been yet recognized as a form of trafficking in BiH judiciary, especially in the case of child trafficking. Such cases have been considered and prosecuted as minor offences whereas children were addressed as offenders.

With respect to prosecution of trafficking in BiH, there have been several difficulties of various nature and origin, which lead to weak results in suppressing this phenomenon. Other research also confirm that some difficulties and deficiency have been universal. For example, Australian author David (2008) found that the most frequent factors that lead to efficiency of traffickers' prosecution have been associated with the following: (a) partial, vague and inappropriate legal framework in the area of substantive and procedural criminal law, (b) transnational nature of criminal offence which hinders a proofing process (c) relying to victims' statements who have been frequently sole witnesses in the proceedings, (d) victims' reluctance to testify due to fear and recurring victimization, (e) inconsistency and incredibility of witnesses' statements given in investigation phase with those at main hearings, and (f) lack of substantive evidence on keeping a victim in slavery which has been an often perception of trafficking. Other author, Albonetti (2014) in his research on criminal prosecution practices in the USA, found that there were 59 verdicts rendered in cases of compulsory labor for purpose of trafficking in a 10 year period (2001-2010).

He found that an average period of sanctions amounts to 11 years of imprisonment. The author notices that there has been an evident change in court practice, as it became more severe and displayed its effect in increased average time of imprisonment for those crimes.

Speaking of BiH, according to official statistics of judicial institutions in charge of criminal prosecution and adjudication of trafficking offences in line with positive criminal legislation in Bosnia-Herzegovina⁴, these offences have been adjudicated in court practice but not up to the extent of their real scope in actual life. Nevertheless, this statement has been subjected to speculations, due to a shortage of systemic research that would show the actual number of trafficking cases in BiH, or estimates on dark figure associated with this crime. In order to depict an actual state of prosecuting trafficking in BiH, this report, through its preliminary analysis, focused on a five year period substantiated with official reports data. Data were systematized and showed with respect to the three phases of criminal procedures, provided by relevant legislation. It is noteworthy that

4 Subject to analysis were data on operations of prosecutor offices and courts in charge of criminal offence of trafficking. Data from police were not considered due to their inconsistency in keeping statistic and non reliability of police's preliminary qualification of offences, which frequently get corrected by competent prosecutor's office which are authorized to qualify offences and to change qualification of certain criminal actions up to certain point of criminal procedure underway.

below text shall show data in each three phases separately, as most cases continued in the following years, more exactly they were not completed in the same year when they commenced.

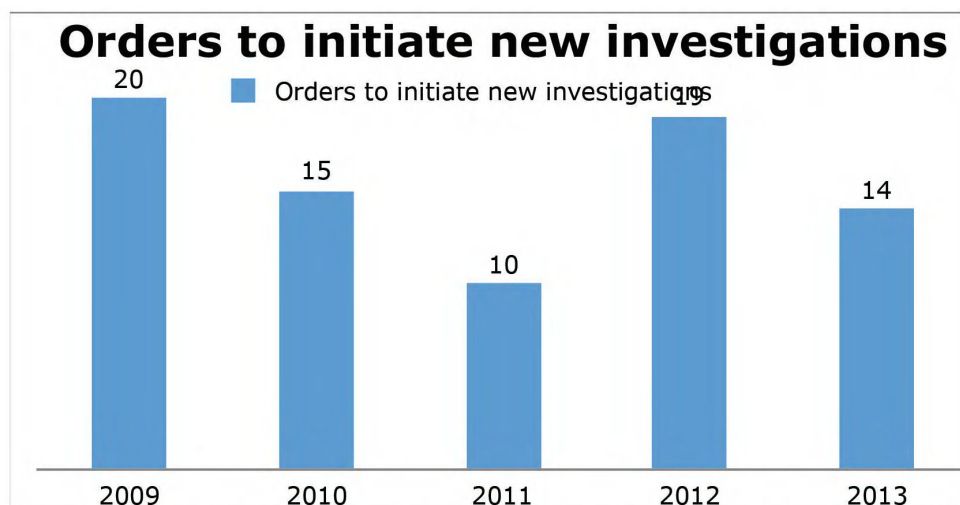


Figure 7. Orders to conduct investigations for criminal offence of trafficking, made by competent prosecutor offices in BiH

This chart shows scope and dynamic concerning number of orders to initiate and conduct investigations by prosecutors' offices, following receipt of police reports as shown in prior Figure 7.

In the course of last five years it was evident that there had not been major oscillations concerning investigations in this particular phase of procedure, and this may be caused by impact of several factors. Nevertheless, it would not be wise to speculate on causes and reasons for that situation, but aforesaid data and dilemma will serve as indicators for defining individual hypothesis in the following phases of this research project

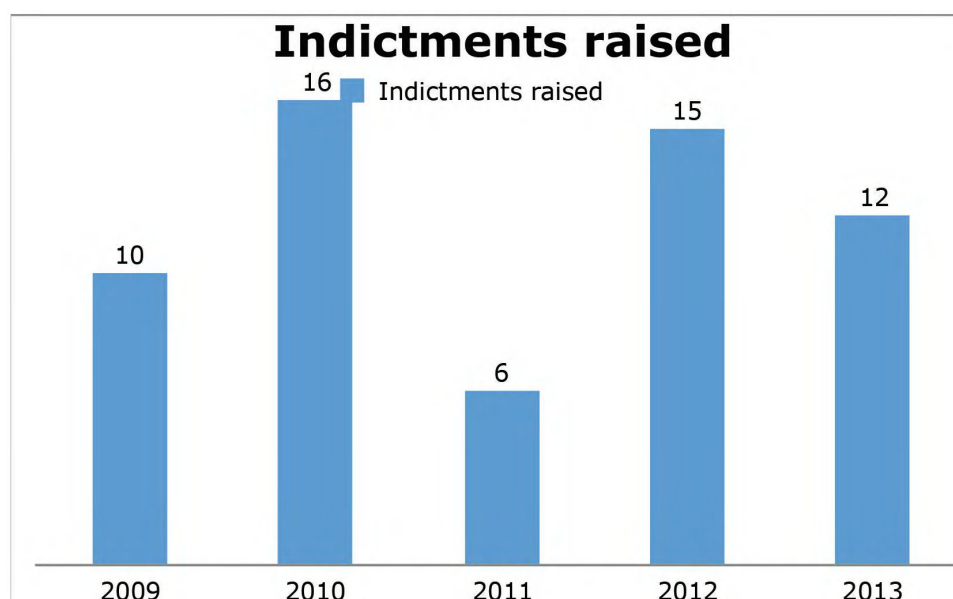


Figure 8. Raised indictments concerning criminal offence of trafficking by competent prosecutors offices in BiH

Our observations of concerned five year period in BiH show that completed investigations have resulted with approximately total of 20 official charges (indictments) annually. Data on raised indictments have been presented in chart no. 2, with certain analogy noticed between number of investigations and number of indictments, with the exception of 2009. The year 2011 was in particular intriguing due to significant decline of investigations followed by even larger decline of indictments. These tendencies are a special challenge for this research and will require detailed data analysis in order to detect causes of such situation.

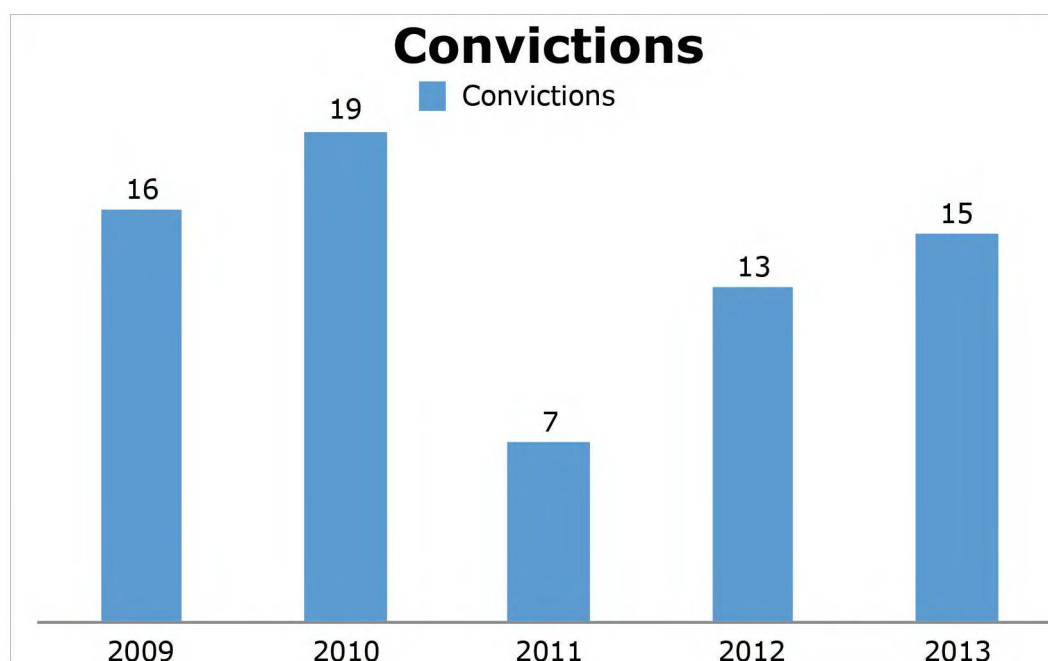


Figure 9. *Convicted for criminal offence of trafficking at competent courts in Bosnia-Herzegovina*

Figure 9. is a breakdown of completed court proceedings cases. The data enlisted refer to suspects who were convicted at the end of proceedings. There has been a recurring symmetry concerning a number of convicted individuals in a five year period with similar ratio of investigations and indictments concerning offence of trafficking.

The above indicators, demonstrating a pace of actions and ratios within various phases of procedure, will serve as a foundation to lay individual research directions in our project. Operations of BiH judiciary concerning this crime will be considered as well, as this type of offence represents less than 1% of overall crime rate in our state. We deem that these circumstances should be considered with special attention.

System Deficiency

Lack of energetic, decisive research of cases involving trafficking for purpose of sexual and labor exploitation accompanied by less aggressive process of indicting and prosecuting traffickers represent the first and likely paramount deficiency within a counter trafficking system.

This attitude has corresponded with general perception of public that criminal judiciary response to criminal operations and penal policy associated with trafficking has been very mild. Major problems associated with efficient trafficking prosecution arouse from drastic and various interpretations of criminal legislation provisions on trafficking, which result with different law enforcement practices by prosecutors and police. As a result, there has been a confusing court practice present to this end. At times, investigations are launched as cases of trafficking, but further continues as a case of instigating to prostitution or parent's neglecting of a child.

There are no clear criteria for distinction of prosecutor office jurisdiction,; this may lead, up to certain extent, to legal insecurity and discrimination of victims. In this situation, victims may suffer severe consequences.

Additionally, prosecutors don't have the same standards, skills and experience in cases involving trafficking, which may cause certain level of victims discrimination due to inappropriate level of protection and support.

It was a good decision to prioritize trafficking of foreign victims for purpose of sexual exploitation in 1990s. Internal trafficking occurring in BiH has been invisible for a while. In mass influx and presence of foreign victims, police focused on obvious indicators of trafficking such as: travel documents, illegal stay, signs of physical abuse, limitation of freedom of movement and lack of language skills. Currently, police officers lack experience and training to recognize internal trafficking, which occurs in many forms, including through labor exploitation primarily. Accordingly, the BiH authorities need to develop a wide range of actions. Also, forced labor cases have not been a familiar form of trafficking for judiciary, particularly cases associated with child street begging, whereas only children are subjected to prosecution and punishment.

In accordance with indicators developed so far, factors that caused and spurred trafficking in BiH include: family violence; unequal gender balance and gender based violence; violence under children; poverty; very bad economic and social position of minorities, Roma in particular: large number of internally displaced persons and refugees. Poor awareness on trafficking, its causes, consequences, and methods of preventing and removing consequences (Arula, 2013) has been the additional factor.

A detailed analysis is required to determine gaps in criminal prosecution actions in order to overcome those deficiencies and ensure efficient investigations and prosecution of those crimes. That action would lead to imposing appropriate sanctions and deter potential traffickers in undertaking crime operations. Special attention is to be paid to new forms of trafficking for purpose of labor exploitation and child trafficking, including the use of special surveillance means.

The following deficiency is an absence of efficient mechanism to suppress corruption associated with trafficking. Trafficking and corruption have been closely and frequently associated activities. The process of overcoming this deficiency is dependent on actual method of treatment. At first, it is necessary to acknowledge corruption and its impact to trafficking. Therefore it has been important to explore corruption role in trafficking and its impact on trafficking augmentation.

Secondly, it is necessary to investigate and prosecute acts of corruption decisively, including identification of the most present forms of corruption associated with trafficking. Such approach would lead to aborting separate criminal prosecutions of trafficking and of corruption of individuals who allowed or tolerated trafficking. There are some typical forms of corruption associated with trafficking such as: use of forged travel documents to transport (transfer) victims of trafficking, issuance of visa or other travel documents (*laissez passer*) without meeting conditions required etc (UNODC, 2011). Aforesaid could be accomplished by improving legal framework governing these subjects and by harmonizing practices and know-how of the institutions in charge of combating trafficking in order to build their capacity to recognize such criminal activities.

The third relevant deficiency is pro-active approach to field work aimed at identifying victims in particular those forced to beg at public places and subjected to other forms of exploitation (primarily targeting children). Bosnia and Herzegovina must ensure that its law enforcement officers, labor inspectors, social workers and other officers apply a pro-active approach and undertake intensified actions aimed at detecting and saving potential victims of trafficking, particularly of the most vulnerable ones- children subjected to exploitation by other adults. At the same time, further actions need to be undertaken in order to provide appropriate assistance and protection to victims. In addition, it is required to make efforts to facilitate victims reintegration to society, including having traffickers compensate damage to victims. Therefore any future training should be designed to improve knowledge and skills on providing appropriate assistance and protection to victims of trafficking.

The fourth deficiency has been associated with a low level of awareness on trafficking, in particular concerning new forms of labor exploitation and children exploitation at public places. Thus, it is required to conduct comprehensive public campaigns targeting general public and also specifically tailored campaigns targeting vulnerable groups. Those actions, serving as deterrents must coincide with implementation of other wide spread actions aimed at improving general living conditions and standards of vulnerable groups including women, children, minorities, refugees and internally displaced persons.

The fifth deficiency is associated with absence of relevant research on trafficking in order to determine the scope and trends of trafficking, as well as factors favoring and facilitating trafficking in BiH. Additionally, the relevant research should contain recommendations for future counter-trafficking policy and actions taken by government and civil society. In this regard, this subject research tends to make available certain knowledge and propose some solutions which will facilitate counter trafficking efforts.

Bosnia-Herzegovina has been faced with the problem of trafficking in the post war period in particular. To this end, organized efforts to suppress this problem in the country commenced in 2002. In the previous period, various activities have been planned and implemented as a part of several BiH counter trafficking action plans (the 1st plan 2002-through 2004, the 2nd document 2005-2007, the 3rd : 2008-2012 and the last one: 2012 through 2015.

Current activities are implemented in accordance with the Strategy on Suppressing Trafficking in BiH 2013-2015; this document specifies efforts to suppress, prosecute and strengthen institutional mechanisms as well as to provide safeguards for victims of trafficking. Efforts to strengthen local capacities of the Center of Social Work's have also been envisaged by the planned activity schedule. Their purpose is to ensure unique professional standards of operations, establish methods of action taking in certain situations, boost cooperation between various sectors and multi-disciplinary approach in dealing with trafficking cases. .

Trafficking and organized crime

Well organized criminal networks facilitate complex and demanding actions of trafficking, as a crime, therefore it is hard to view trafficking as the isolated phenomenon. Words "to organize" and "to hide" seem to be in most instances associated with trafficking. These words tie this "disease" with another phenomenon of organized crime, which has been also a recent phenomenon in BiH, addressed by positive legislation in the course of the last two decades. It has been almost mission impossible to organize trafficking operations without support of "an organized criminal group". Therefore this issue also requires some analysis in its correlation with trafficking.

This report will not provide a detailed overview of all available conceptions of organized crime from various angles such as: legal, criminal, social, criminal political and others, but will reiterate that human exploitation, namely trafficking has been associated with organized crime and is one of its most profitable branches.

This was caused by fact that trafficking's manifestation require involvement of several offenders, their particular role and interaction in action-taking, time continuity in offence commitment, use of force under victims, and bribing public officers with one goal: to gain material (financial) profit from criminal actions.

Additionally, there is a linkage between trafficking and organized crime given that international or transnational aspect has been frequently embedded in trafficking. It is possible to determine such relationship by analyzing minimum number of legal elements required to constitute a term of organized crime.

More exactly, this term gathers collective actions of several offenders, as a social phenomenon, under specific legal determinations in order to treat them appropriately within a criminal justice system. Once aforesaid legal elements are defined and compared with analysis describing trafficking phenomenology as well as criminal and legal features of incrimination in domestic and international legislation, it is possible to assess how much trafficking has been embedded within organized crime structures in each respective case.

In a process of perception of both conceptions of trafficking and of organized crime respectively, it is of vital importance to differentiate organized crime from organized criminal groups, of whom the latter performs such criminal activities. These two terms

have different meaning and should be separated and treated carefully while discussing organized crime and trafficking. The concept of organized crime has been larger with respect to an organized criminal group, which has been defined differently dependent on use of national or international legal instruments. Nevertheless, organized crime involves criminal operations but also legitimate businesses whereas some actions of organized criminal group were incorporated partially. This has been very important in respect with manifestations of trafficking, whereas certain forms of illegitimate business look like legitimate ones such as accommodation and catering services providers, entertainment clubs, agriculture production, child care services, employment agencies and others and have been used for committing crimes by organized crime groups.

Further, it has been evident that term describing organized crimes in practice, faced by law enforcements agencies, police in particular has been wider significantly then the term as defined by legal provisions. In this regard, this distinction should be accepted due to its relevance in effort of explaining international and domestic organized crime legal categorizations whereas crimes are committed as a group. The UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime has been one of the most important universal international sources that governs a struggle against organized crime.

It is noteworthy that Bosnia-Herzegovina has ratified the convention fully by its incorporation in domestic legal order ("Official Gazette- BiH International treaties" no 3/2002).

According to provisions of the Convention, an organized criminal group" shall mean a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit (art. 2, paragraph 1, line a)

Nevertheless, certain common determinations of criminal groups pertain to: several persons involved (three or more); constant division of tasks between the members while committing serious crimes or felonies (as defined by domestic law in using certain criteria); and illegal impact to public officers. Gaining material benefit is an ultimate goal of such organized criminal groups and their members.⁵

⁵ The Criminal Code of Federation BiH defines a criminal group, with certain differences, as an organized group of three persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more crimes for which the Law prescribes three or more years of imprisonment (article 2., paragraph 18). Organized crime incrimination was legislated in the provision of art.342 of Criminal Code of FBiH. The Criminal Code of Brcko District defines an organized criminal group as a group of three or more persons in order to gain material benefit which exists in a certain period and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more crimes for which the Law prescribes three or more years of imprisonment (art. 2, para 20). Organized crime has been incriminated by art. 336 of the Criminal Code of Brcko District BiH

The Criminal Code of Republika Srpska uses a descriptive term" a criminal enterprise" to define an organized criminal group, which defines it as an enterprise of three persons whose members gather to commit crimes jointly. In accordance with legislation description, actions of a higher degree criminal enterprise has been directed to exercising and retaining supervision over certain business and other operations, by use of intimidation or force to impact others either for joining or submitting purposes. The criminal enterprise has accomplished strong linkages between its members, internal organization based on hierarchy and discipline as well as work division. In closing, the law clearly stipulated that criminal enterprise has been foundation for term of organized crime (art.147, para 13). The criminal offence of organized crime

In accordance with aforesaid, organized crime, as a term has been closely associated with legal defining of organized criminal group within international and domestic norms, following such standards when determining a scope of criminal and legal stake with respect to phenomenology of committing a crime as group. Also, appropriate provisions of BiH four criminal laws defining organized crime/criminal groups significantly follow the path of international standards, which stem from the most important conventions and other treaties. Those provisions incriminate various forms of individual actions within or associated with organized criminal groups (e.g. establishing or leading the group; group membership; attempt to commit or committing criminal offences within the group; establishing standards for “serious crimes or felonies” in order to define a minimum threshold for sanctions to be imposed to criminal groups/criminal enterprises (three years or above pending on specific criminal legislation); group members/organization consensus and agreement in order to obtain material gain and others.

There are formal and legal circumstances in place in BiH to prosecute traffickers as constituents of organized crime, with respect to legal stipulations of trafficking within individual criminal laws in BiH (the sanctions range from one to ten year of imprisonments, or minimum three years of imprisonment, depending on applicable criminal legislation). Nevertheless, factual description of any specific case, followed by fulfillment of other legally required elements for criminal groups represent additional circumstances required to connect trafficking and organized crime.

Legal framework governing trafficking

Unfortunately trafficking is a phenomenon provoking the attention of global public, and this results with numerous and content wide international activities in order to advance legislation and efforts to combat this plague of modern society. Its scope, peace of spreading, structure of types in particular represent a complex challenge for current society tasked with innovating and improving its social response system and oversight under trafficking. A special challenge is to invent such safeguards to deter or suppress trafficking from the most vulnerable categories of population such as children, women, disabled persons, as well as inhabitants affected by economical, political, racial, religious or other forms of discriminations.

Legal stipulation of this phenomenon, locally and internationally has been the most important action in suppressing trafficking and special aspect of social response. Legal framework has been a starting point for deterring and suppressing all wrongdoings. It lays a foundation for future responses which should be efficient in achieving goals and effective in providing institutional reactions.

Legal stipulation of trafficking has been considered and implemented locally and internationally. Accordingly, this section of the report shall place an attention to the most relevant international and domestic legal instruments.

has been stipulated by provision of articles 383 and 383 (a) of the RS Criminal Law.

International binding instruments governing trafficking

Bosnia-Herzegovina, as a member of several international bodies including United Nations (UN), International Organization of Labor (ILO), Council of Europe (COE), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) is requested to follow and undertake legislative and institutional activities in order to fulfill its obligations in subject area. To this end, aforesaid stakeholders have a wide and diversified scope of activities aimed at improving national legislation. In this respect, they pose legislative benchmark for member countries when prescribing substantive, procedural and enforcement provisions in the area of criminal legislation but other areas of law as well.

The ***Convention on the abolishing of slavery, the slave trade and institutions and practices similar to slavery*** has been one of the earliest global international conventions in the area of human trafficking.⁶ This convention was adopted by the League of Nations that evolved into the United Nations, and was signed on 25. September 1926. Prior to this document, there were many international agreements in place, which intended to abolish slavery in all forms as well as slave trade at land and sea.

To this end, the Act of Brussels Conference of 1889-1890 and Saint German of 1919 were important documents in developing international legal framework against trafficking. The Convention was signed by the representative of previous common state⁷ followed by its publication in the official gazette. The progress related to the document included defining forms of slavery actions and trafficking as well as signatory countries obligations to combat efficiently human slavery and trade. This implied that any country on its territory provide judicial reaction as well as protection and guardianship over victims of wrongdoings.

The Convention indented to prevent compulsory work, treated as a special form of slavery under a person who happened to *“be in such status or conditions, deprived of any or all powers concerning ownership rights”* (Criminal Policy Research Center & Caritas Bishops’ Conference of BiH, 2015). Signatory countries commit to undertake effective measures in deterring and curbing slave trade, and abolition of all slavery forms. In addition, the Convention requires severe sanctions form signatory countries in order to be more successful in suppressing such serious wrongdoings.

There have been several legal agreements concluded between the countries in the first half of XX century in process of developing appropriate legal instruments to advance international reaction against trafficking and other wrongdoings associated with trafficking. In this regard, the *International Agreement for the suppression of White Slave traffic*, was adopted in 1904. Then, there was *International Convention for the suppression of White Slave traffic* in 1910, and the *Convention for the suppression of women and children trade* in 1921, adopted by the League of Nations. The last listed convention made a foundation for drafting the *International Convention for the suppression of*

6 See: <http://www.centarzztlj.rs/eng/images/zakoni/1.%20Konvencija%20o%20ropstvu%20iz%201926.godine.pdf>

7 Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Document published in the officila gazette no. 234/29.

adult women trafficking adopted in 1933, while the *Convention for the suppression of human trafficking and prostitution exploitation* adopted in 1949 as UN treaty encompasses all previously adopted legal agreements in the area of trafficking.

Over the years, United Nations' operations aimed at advancing suppression of trafficking have resulted with numerous treaties in order to promote international and national efforts to deter and repress such wrongdoings. The following documents of this organization have been the most important:

- *Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Women Discrimination (1979);*
- *UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000);*
- *Protocol to prevent, suppress, and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, supplementing the UN convention against transnational crime (2000);*
- *Convention on Rights of Child;*
- *Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography.*

UN's Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women [CEDAW] (the Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees BiH – Agency for Gender Equality BiH, 2006), described as international bill of rights for women has been one the most relevant documents concerning women protection aimed to suppress any form of their trade and exploitation for purpose of prostitution. Document was adopted on the session of the United Nations General Assembly in December 1979, and was the first international and comprehensive document addressing rights for women exclusively. To date, 179 member countries to the UN signed the document, including Bosnia-Herzegovina. This document has been an integral part of the BiH Constitution. Due to this fact, the document has a priority over other laws in BiH legal system and has been enforced directly. Gender based discrimination as a definition was established by this document, while some Convention segments have become fundamental source and content for BiH Law on Gender Equality (2003) adopted in 2003. Although, the Convention defined basic implementation instruments proficiently, many reports and sources show quite opposite reality impact. It has been assessed that women compose nearly 70% of 1.2 billion which represents a total number of poor throughout the world. When experiencing poverty, women have the least access to food, health protection, education, training and employment prospects and face difficulties in meeting other human needs. However, the Convention provides a comprehensive framework and ability to improve efforts in reaching equality and justice by its means, and implement specific actions to overcome women's poverty, discrimination and exclusion within signatory countries.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women represent a call to countries signatories to develop such measures which will protect women effectively and in particular with respect to discrimination committed by individuals, institutions or companies.

There have been certain areas which direct Convention's enforcement, and reiterate social, cultural, economical, political and any other protection. In order to ensure adherence to fundamental equality principles and abolish discrimination against women,

states are expected to undertake the following actions:

- incorporate the principle of equality between men and women in their respective Constitution;
- undertake appropriate legislative and other measures in order to accomplish the principle in practice;
- within competent bodies and other institutions, establish efficient protection from discrimination;
- and change legislation, rules and practices that lead to women's discrimination.

The Committee on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women was set up in 1982 in order to monitor Convention's enforcement. In addition, countries signatories are required to monitor their system as well as make and submit periodic reports to the aforesaid Committee. In addition, the Optional Protocol was made in 1999 as the addendum to the Convention, subject to acceptance and ratification by Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Major international efforts in the counter trafficking area started to occur in early 20th century. To this end, the *UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*⁸ and its optional protocols including *Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking, in particular of women and children* and *Protocol against smuggling of migrants by land, sea, and air* as well as the *Protocol against illegal production and trade of firearms, its parts and ammunition* represented a result of unified international efforts to advance legal response in fighting transnational organized crime including trafficking. This valuable document was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly resolution (2000), and available for country's signatures at the Conference in Palermo (Italy) from Dec. 12-15, 2000, and afterwards at the UN headquarters in New York (US) until 12. December 2001. This international treaty was accepted by 170 UN members as well as by the European Union.

Keeping in mind goals of this research we deem that we should pay a particular attention to one of protocols to the *UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime*. Namely, *Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking, in particular of women and children* has been a fundamental legal instrument, with comprehensive international approach to be applied in the countries of transition, transit and final destination. It set out measures to prevent such trade, prosecute traffickers and protect victims of such trade in particular.

In addition to many other international instruments containing rules or specific safeguards against exploitation, the Protocol intends to protect victims of such trade including their internationally recognized rights. It was created, as a result of desire to create universal instrument dealing with all aspects of trafficking, and to save the most vulnerable population such as women and children from harm.

8 On February 5, 2002 the BiH Presidency made a decision to ratify the Convention (Official Gazette BiH 3/02), and thus it become a constitutional part of our legal system. Please see: <http://www.uino.gov.ba/download/ugovori/Ugovor%20sa%20Hrvatskom.pdf>

This protocol defines a phenomenon of trafficking (Criminal Policy Research Centre & Caritas Bishops' Conference of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2015), by provisions of art. 3(a),⁹ while art. 3(b) governs that victim's agreement to intended exploitation would be considered as irrelevant if any of means, as set out in art 3(a) were used. Furthermore, the provision under art. 5 orders the states to: *"adopt such legislative and other necessary measures to submit such wrongdoing with intention, as prescribed by art. 3 of the Protocol, as a criminal offence."* Matters concerning assistance and protection of victims of trafficking are governed by article 6.¹⁰ Also, deterrents to trafficking are listed under art. 9¹¹ while art. 10 reiterates a need for efficient information exchange between relevant authorities and their training to enforce legislation and immigration.¹²

International Labor Organization (ILO), is a specialized UN agency which promotes social justice and internationally recognized human rights, particular workers' rights. Within its scope of activities, this international and specialized agency reiterates an importance to combat forced labor and engage countries in legislative efforts. This is required to promote respective legal frameworks against all forms of labor exploitation, including

9 "Recruiting, transportation, transfer, accommodation or reception of person, by virtue of threat or coercion or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of deception, of abuse of power or position of vulnerability or of giving or receiving payment or benefit to achieve person's consent controlling other person, for purpose of exploitation. Exploitation, as minimum involves exploitation of prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, compulsory labor or services, slavery or practice similar to slavery, servitude or organ removal"

10 Any signatory country will ensure that domestic legal or administrative system contains such measure which facilitate victims with the following: information on relevant court and administrative procedures; assistance to express their views and concerns in appropriate phases of criminal proceedings, but not to jeopardize the right of accused person. Any country signatory shall consider implementation mechanisms to offer physical, psychological and social recovery of victim.. Any signatory country shall strive to ensure physical security of victim for the time of stay at its territory...."

11 "Signatory states shall introduce comprehensive policies, programs and other measures: in order to deter and fight trafficking; and protecting victims, especially women and children against re-victimization. Signatory country shall attempt to undertake measures such as research, public campaigns in media, and other social and economical initiatives in fight against trafficking.

Policies, programmes and others measures were introduced in accordance with this article, when appropriately they will engage in cooperation with NGOs, other organizations and other elements of civil society. The signatory state shall undertake or strengthen measures, including bilateral or multi lateral cooperation to mitigate factors such as poverty, unequal possibilities and underdevelopment which make humans, especially women and children vulnerable to trafficking.

The signatory countries will adopt or strengthen legislative or other measure, such as educational, social or cultural measures, including bi-lateral and multilateral cooperation in order to discourage demand for any type of exploitation of people, especially women and children leading to trafficking"

12 **Law enforcement agencies, immigration and other relevant authorities when appropriately will cooperate mutually by exchanging information in accordance with their domestic legislation in order to establish: ..means and methods used by organized criminal groups for purpose of trafficking, including recruitment and transportation of victims, routes and linkages among individuals and groups involved in such trade and potential detection measure.**

Signatory countries will introduce or boost training events to be delivered to law enforcement officers, immigration and other related officers in charge of preventing trafficking. Training should be focused on methods used in preventing trafficking, traffickers criminal prosecution and protection of victims' rights, including safeguarding victims from traffickers. Training should also consider a need of other related issues associated with human rights, gender rights, children rights, and thus should encourage cooperation with NGOs, other relevant organizations and other elements of civil society..."

trafficking. ILO's most important documents addressing wrongdoings, at times containing elements of trafficking, include:

- *Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention* ;
- *Resolution on Abolishing of child labor* (ILO, 1996).

As a member of Council of Europe, Bosnia-Herzegovina is required to implement decision of this international political organization. The COE reiterates that trafficking violates human rights and affects the lives of large number of European nationals but also of citizens from other countries. By performing diverse activities, this international organization aims to prevent and suppress trafficking, protect victims of trafficking, instigate smugglers to criminal prosecution, promote coordination of national activities and international cooperation in this respect. The particular aspect of action-taking has been reflected by the Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (GRETA). In the area of governing counter-trafficking, the most important documents of this organization include:

- Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms;
- Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings; ;
- European Convention on Extradition;
- Optional Protocol to the European Convention on Extradition;
- Second Optional Protocol to the European Convention on Extradition. .

Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (2005) is a treaty between COE country members and other signatory countries to reach a unity among its member states in legislating trafficking as severe wrongdoing. It also considers other previously adopted legal agreements.

The first chapter defines a subject and scope of the Convention while reiterating a principle of non-discrimination and lists definition of terms used throughout its text. Provision defining a scope of convention has been relevant in particular, by stipulating that the Convention is applicable to all forms of trafficking on both national and international level regardless of linkages with organized crime.

The second chapter stipulates content of deterrents, modes of cooperation and implementation of other measures required. Deterrents refer to a process of establishing or strengthening state members coordination mechanisms in charge of deterring and fighting trafficking. The section of chapter describing modes of cooperation contain provisions stipulating measures to discourage demand for services of exploited persons, as well as border guards' measures and norms defining country standards in the area of travel and ID documents concerning their security, control, legality and validity.

The separate chapter dealing with security measures and rights promotion specifies rights of trafficking victims, in particular a guarantee concerning gender equality. Convention's provisions in detail order the state to ensure legislative and institutional framework which will guarantee a high level reliability concerning victim identification. In addition, this chapter set out other numerous legal mechanisms aimed to protect and

assist private life of victims, their period of recovery and reflection as well as procedures concerning stay permits for victims of trafficking. Other articles provide an obligatory compensation and property return as well as the assistance travelling to their home countries while developing, implementing and advancing gender equality measures.

The fourth chapter prescribes substantive criminal law provisions. Criminal stipulation of several terms including: trafficking, use of services of victims travel or ID documents were precisely defined by those provisions.

They provide high incrimination standard concerning human trafficking, and represent the most comprehensive legal framework that encompass various forms of wrongdoings in the criminal legislation area. In addition to the provisions intended to special sections of criminal law, this chapter also defines general legal instruments of criminal legislation. In this respect, specific articles precise provisions on accomplices and particular phases of commission of offence which incriminate assistance or aiding and attempting the commission of offence.

High criminal legislation standard is also demonstrated by provision stipulating legal entity's responsibility in case of their involvement in trafficking crime. The separate articles define general provisions on criminal sanctions including sanctions and aggravating circumstance for the offenders and considering previous court verdicts when deciding upon sanctions for offenders.

At the bottom of this chapter, there is a provision suggesting states not to impose sanctions to victims who were forced to participate in illegal and unlawful actions. This provision attests large sensibility for protecting rights and dignity of victims of trafficking. Procedural criminal legislations sanction are included in the fifth chapter of the Convention. The separate articles stipulate procedures for cases known as *ex parte* and *ex officio* in legal practice. Protection of victims, witnesses, and persons cooperating with judicial authorities concerning trafficking, as well as issues concerning specialized institutions and coordination bodies, then implementation of legislative procedures and finally principles governing jurisdiction have also been regulated by this chapter of the Convention.

Additional chapters regulates matters with respect to international cooperation, cooperation with civil society, convention oversight mechanisms, relations with other international legal treaties as well as procedures on adopting amendments to the convention and final provisions. They also serve to enhance convention implementation on national, European and internal level. In closing, European Convention on Action against trafficking has been an outstanding instrument to upgrade national criminal and other related legal framework in many countries in order to combat more efficiently with trafficking as one of the most horrible crimes nowadays.

Organization for European Security and Cooperation (OSCE), devotes significant attention with respect to counter trafficking as a proof of its overall devotion to human rights based security. To this end, the Council of Minister's decisions support systemic and sustainable efforts in struggle against forbidden and damaging phenomenon

of trafficking. In addition, activities of OSCE Special Representative and Coordinator against Trafficking, based in Vienna directly back up OSCE's Counter Trafficking Action Plan. In addition to supporting member states' efforts in combating trafficking, the aforesaid activities should be a comprehensive tool for prosecuting trafficking offenders and persons involved in crime facilitation. They should also serve as deterrents to trafficking and protect the victims. The most important document of this international organization include:

- Decision 2/03 on suppressing human trafficking

International documents that regulate issues associated with counter-trafficking show that there are several provisions which could serve as a qualitative source for national legislation responses to this negative phenomenon.

On one hand, there has been a satisfactory balance in prescribing norms to formulate various legal responses, including substantive, procedural and enforcement norms, while on the other hand several norms were developed by documents of the international organizations aiming to improve institutional functioning.

In particular, this refers to system coordination, efficient and effective investigative operations and overall judicial activities.

Non-binding (recommended) sources of international law regulating trafficking

European Union through its bodies promotes and supports actively combat against any form of wrongdoing. The European Parliament has been the most important body, as its members are directly elected by nationals of member states, and as such it plays a critical role in creating Union's policies. The European Parliament, along with the Council of European Union adopts legislative decisions which reflect on everyday life of Union's citizens. As the sign of commitment in upholding active counter trafficking policy, the European Parliament in cooperation with the Council adopted the following documents in this area:

- Directive 2011/36/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 April 2011 on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims, and replacing Council Framework Decision 2002/629/JHA
- Directive 2012/29/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2012 establishing minimum standards on the rights, support and protection of victims of crime, and replacing Council Framework Decision 2001/220/JHA

The aforesaid directives represent a portion of global actions taken in suppressing trafficking. These documents encompass activities involving the third countries in order to strengthen EU external impact in counter trafficking actions. Accordingly, it is necessary to conduct such actions in third countries, including countries of origin and countries of

transfer of victims, in order to raise awareness, decrease vulnerability and offer support to victims of trafficking. Also, there is a necessity to fight causes of trafficking by encouraging and supporting the third countries to adopt appropriate legislation to suppress trafficking.

Directives adopt and accept wider understanding of trafficking and additionally include other forms of exploitation as oppose to concept established by prior Decisions¹³. In the light of aforesaid documents, street begging should be considered as a form of forced labor or services as defined by the ILO Convention concerning forced or compulsory labor (Convention no. 29). The reasoning section of the Directive states that the exploitation of begging, including the use of a trafficked dependent person for begging, falls within the scope of the definition of trafficking in human beings only when all the elements of forced labor or services occur.

The relevant case law suggests that validity of any potential consent for providing such work or service should be assessed in every specific case respectively. The aforesaid definition also includes trafficking for purpose of organ removal, which constitutes a gross violation of human dignity and physical integrity, as well as other wrongdoing such as illegal adoption or forced marriage accompanied with elements of trafficking. Furthermore, this legislative activity also alters a penal policy. The level of punishment in a process of sentence determination become more rigid, and this reflects on member states' concern regarding new manifestations of trafficking. To this end, if a crime has been committed under special circumstance (for example against a particularly vulnerable victim) sentence needs to be stiff.

The aforesaid documents, in particular Directive 2012/29/EU provide that in the course of criminal proceedings, victims receive appropriate information, support and protection as well as the invitation to participate in trial. The member countries are advised to ensure that recognized victims receive a professional, respectful and sensitive adjusted treatment by authorities. At the same time, the countries are obliged to act in a non-discriminatory fashion when approaching victims support services or other competent authorities involved in some aspect of criminal proceedings. Rights established by aforesaid directives refers to all victims without discrimination on any ground.

Trafficking in domestic legislation of Bosnia-Herzegovina

Criminal legislation in BiH¹⁴ makes a core part of legal system for suppressing trafficking. Although both legislation adjustment processes including in-country adjustment (State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2013) as well as adjustment with international sources, have been agreed, they have not been entirely completed yet. As stated by the State Counter Trafficking Coordinator's report, amendments to the Federation BiH Criminal Code

¹³ This refers to Framework Decisions 2002/629/JHA.

¹⁴ Criminal Code of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Criminal Code of Federation BiH, Criminal Code of Republika Srpska, and Criminal code of Brčko District.

have been prepared on recurring basis, but have never been adopted. Previously, it has been agreed that a state-level legislation will be harmonized after the same process at the entity level and Brčko district got complete, but the BiH Parliamentary Assembly had adopted amended *Criminal Code of BiH* (2015) in May 2015, whereas the Code legislated trafficking with an international component. In addition to the aforesaid Code, current Criminal Code of Republika Srpska (2013, Art. 29) and Brčko District (2013, Art. 9) respectively have been harmonized as well with regard to trafficking.

The state level BiH Criminal Code's (2015, Art. 11-14) new provisions regulate offences definitions in a separate section of the Code, including *International trafficking; Organized international trafficking; International instigation to prostitution; and Organizing group or criminal enterprise for purpose of "migrant smuggling"*.

Concerning criminal offence *International trafficking* (Criminal Code of BiH, 2015), previously defined as Trafficking (Criminal Code of Trafficking of Bosnia- Herzegovina, 2003, art. 186), paragraph 1 contains additional provisions describing qualified forms of trafficking and particular offence features in addition to its fundamental form. The fundamental form of trafficking has been adjusted with the *Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking*, and particularly with art.4 thereof: the amended provision provides as sufficient a proof that trafficking actions were directed towards any exploitation of a person who is not a national or resident of particular state. This is a distinction from a prior provision which stipulated respectively specific purposes for committing the offence.

Further, this amendment expands a scope of legislation and includes wrongdoings that were not specifically associated with one of the stipulated purposes¹⁵, respectively set out in the law; rather it is sufficient to prove that action was directed towards any form of exploitation.

In addition, amendments foresee severe sanctions for the offence: they range between five and twenty years of imprisonment, more exactly they are set by the general maximum term of imprisonment with respect to prior penalty framework whereas the Court was entitled to adjudicate a 10 year of imprisonment, as a special maximum term. The amended sanction stipulation also meets the requirement of the art.23 of the European Convention on Action against Trafficking which prescribes sanctions and measures to be adopted by signatory countries in their respective legislation.

The first qualified form of trafficking relates to undertaking actions of exploitation¹⁶ targeting persons under the age of 18, and this corresponds with the provision under the art. 24 of the European Convention on Action against Trafficking, which obligates the

15 In the prior Law it was stipulated that the offence will be considered as completed one if it was committed for the purpose of „ exploitation of prostitution of the other person or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or servitude, slavery or other similiar form, removal of human organs and other types of exploitation....”

16 Paragraph 2 set out the following actions: „...recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbour or receipt of a person under the age of 18, for purpose of exploitation by prostitution or other form of sexual exploitations, forced labour or sevicees, slavery or similiar practice, servitude, removal of parts of human bodies or other exploitation...”

states to prescribe crimes against children, as severe felony. Accordingly, domestic legislation changed the previous minimum term of imprisonment from five to ten years for this offence. The following third paragraph of amended Law also fulfilled an obligation from aforesaid article of the European Convention which ordered the states to stipulate as a severe felony the same crime if committed by civil servant or officer in the course of his duty. Further, the sixth paragraph provides that the Court is entitled to adjudicate a sentence of 10 year of imprisonment (as a special minimum term) or long term imprisonment ranging from 20 to 40 years for other severe forms of felonies. These are the felonies which derive from a fundamental form of crime or have targeted minor victims who suffered severe health consequences, severe physical injury or causes even their death.

General provisions of the BiH Criminal Code regulate forms of accomplices and phases of crime commitment in a way to encompass international forms of trafficking, as set out in the aforesaid law. This implies that the obligation from art. 21 of the European Convention on Action against Trafficking concerning incrimination of attempting, aiding and abetting international trafficking has been fulfilled by domestic legislation.

The provision of the aforesaid Convention concerning incriminating the use of services provided by victims as well as incriminating actions associated with travel or ID documents have been adopted by the following provisions of international trafficking¹⁷.

To this end, domestic law penalizes actions of forging, procuring or issuing the ID or travel document or alternatively misusing, upholding, confiscating, altering, damaging or destroying of one's travel or personal documents for purpose of enabling international trafficking by imprisonment from one to five years. Also, the separate paragraph prescribes an imprisonment from six months to five years for a person who used services of person, victim of international trafficking.

New provisions stipulate an obligation to confiscate assets, means of communication and objects used for committing international trafficking, and accordingly fulfill requirements of art.23, paragraph 3 and 4 of the European Convention on Action against Trafficking. The local regulation has been adjusted with the aforesaid international document with respect to a status of victim of international trafficking, Separate paragraph provides that criminal offence exists regardless of victims' consent concerning exploitation, this allows an immediate enforcement of art.4, line b of the European Convention.

The following paragraph provides that a victim who was forced by a trafficker to commit other crime will not be subjected to criminal proceedings¹⁸ as foreseen by art.26 of the Convention.

Prior provision concerning organized perpetration of trafficking was legislated as a separate line within an article on fundamental crime, but evolved into a new form, stip-

¹⁷ Paragraph IV, articles 19 and 20 of the European Convention on Action against Trafficking stipulates an obligation to amend substantive criminal law provisions in order to penalize use of services provided by the victims as well as offences associated with personal or travel documents.

¹⁸ In regard with this provision, it is necessary to prove that such actions were an immediate consequence of a status of victim of international trafficking.

ulated in a separate article of amended law (Criminal Code of BiH, 2015, art. 186a). The fundamental type of this offence has not been significantly amended with respect to prior legislation provision, with respect to crime's specific unique elements and prescribed sanctions.¹⁹ Nevertheless, a fundamental form have been complemented by two additional paragraphs whereas the first refers to crime perpetration within a group or enterprise set out in the fundamental type of offence or other assistance to the group or enterprise. Concerning sanctions for this offence, a minimum term of imprisonment is set to ten year while there has not been a specific maximum threshold, so a perpetrator can be sentenced with up to 20 years of imprisonment representing general maximum for this criminal sanction.

The following third paragraph stipulates that a member of organized group or other enterprise stemming from a fundamental type of this criminal offence are also subjected to the provisions in the law's section concerning organized crime.²⁰

Provisions concerning international recruitment for purpose of prostitution were slightly amended in the new legislation. In this regard, the legislator set out that a fundamental type of the offence contain such incriminating actions described by paragraph 1 and 2. Nature and type of legal sanctions were not changed as well, while the most significant change concerns an absence of stipulating a child or minor as victim of crime. However this is not associated with decriminalization, since penalizing of international recruitment or instigation to prostitution of persons bellow the age of 18 has been regulated by general provisions on the International trafficking (Criminal Code of BiH 2015. art. 186, para. 2).

Legal sanctions imposed for this offence were not subjects of amendments, so the courts are entitled to impose a term of imprisonment in the range from 10 years up to 20 years representing general maximum term.

The last substantive criminal legislation amendment referred to a change of title from *Organizing a group or enterprise for purpose of committing criminal offences of trafficking and migrant smuggling*²¹ to *Organizing a group or enterprise for committing a criminal offence of "migrant smuggling"*.

Following the previous example, this article did not decriminalize this wrongdoing, as "Organized perpetration of international trafficking" was prescribed by a separate article as explained in prior text. Speaking of specific unique features of fundamental

19 By this incrimination, our law has been harmonized with the provision of art. 24 line d of the CoE Convention on Action against Trafficking.

20 More precisely, the Law provides an obligation of enforcing paragraph 4 and 5 from art. 250 Organized Crime as following:

(4) Who becomes a member of criminal organized group that by common actions commit or attempt a criminal offence, prescribed by BiH legislation, shall be punished by one year of imprisonment, unless the Law provides a severe penalty. (5) A member of criminal organized group referred in paragraph 1 to 4 of the aforesaid article who reveals a criminal organized group may be exempted from sanction.

21 This incrimination marked as art. 189a, was prescribed by art. 73 of the Law on Amendments of Criminal Code of BiH, Official Gazetter of BiH no 8/10.

and special forms for this criminal offence, the only change referred to omit “trafficking” from a specific determination of this crime.

The analysis of recently amended Criminal Code of BiH show that a legislator has successfully completed adjustment of the local regulation with the COE Convention on Action against Trafficking, and thus fulfilled one of relevant conditions for suppressing international trafficking in its all forms which represent international criminal standard. Remaining work is associated with completing the internal entity level harmonization process, particularly in Federation BiH and amending criminal procedure legislation as well as other legislation targeted by European Convention.

It is of critical importance to align the Federation BiH Criminal Code with the amendments of the state level BiH Criminal Code, whereas the latter refers only to victims without residence or citizenship of country where his/her exploitation occurs. This has created a legal loophole for internal trafficking on the territory of Federation BiH. This may become a serious issues for the law enforcement bodies and general efforts aimed at suppressing trafficking unless amended Criminal Code Federation BiH get adopted soon.

In addition to substantive criminal legislation, other legislation such as criminal procedural codes and family laws respectively at the state, entity and Brcko district level significantly contribute to counter trafficking efforts. Speaking in legislative terms, other laws that pertain to trafficking in a more wider context include: *The Law on Movement and Stay of Aliens and Asylum in BiH*; *the Law on Border Control of BiH*; *the Law on Witness Protection Program in BiH*; *the Law on Protecting Victims under Threat and Vulnerable Victims in BiH*; *the Law on Protecting Personal Data*; *the Law on providing international legal assistance and the Law on gender balance in BiH*.

At the state level of BiH, several by-laws (Antitrafficking Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2015) pertaining to protection of victims have been adopted as an important legal addendum to primary legislation provision and thus improved a legal framework for suppressing this wrongdoing. This primarily refers to *Rules on Protecting Victims of trafficking and Victims Witnesses in BiH*; *the Book of Rules on Protecting Foreign Victims of Trafficking*; *the Book of Rules on international protection (asylum) and Book of Rules on terms and procedure for visa issuance to foreign nationals*.

PART II- EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Methodological Approach

When considering trafficking it is important to perceive **general public's** perception, attitudes and values as its awareness and behavior determine tolerance or absence of tolerance concerning this phenomenon and accordingly its occurrence in the BiH society. In addition, it is relevant to note perception and stance of **professional community** (*judges, social workers, policemen, non-governmental organizations activists*) towards occurrence of certain forms of trafficking and their assessment of counter trafficking activities and measures in every day criminal practice in BiH. In order to perceive stance on trafficking as phenomenon of future professionals and retain age influence constantly, we have involved so called **pre-professionals** - *namely students of law school; school of criminology, criminalistics and security study; then the faculty for education and rehabilitation and future social workers*. This group of highly skilled experts will be involved directly in the operations aimed at protecting and assisting victims and counter trafficking practices to suppress this criminal and sociopath logical phenomenon. In addition to aforesaid groups, we deem as necessary to consult views and perception of **special public**- *namely of taxi drivers and hotel receptionists*, as they face sexual exploitation as one form of trafficking, frequently and directly due to nature of their occupation.

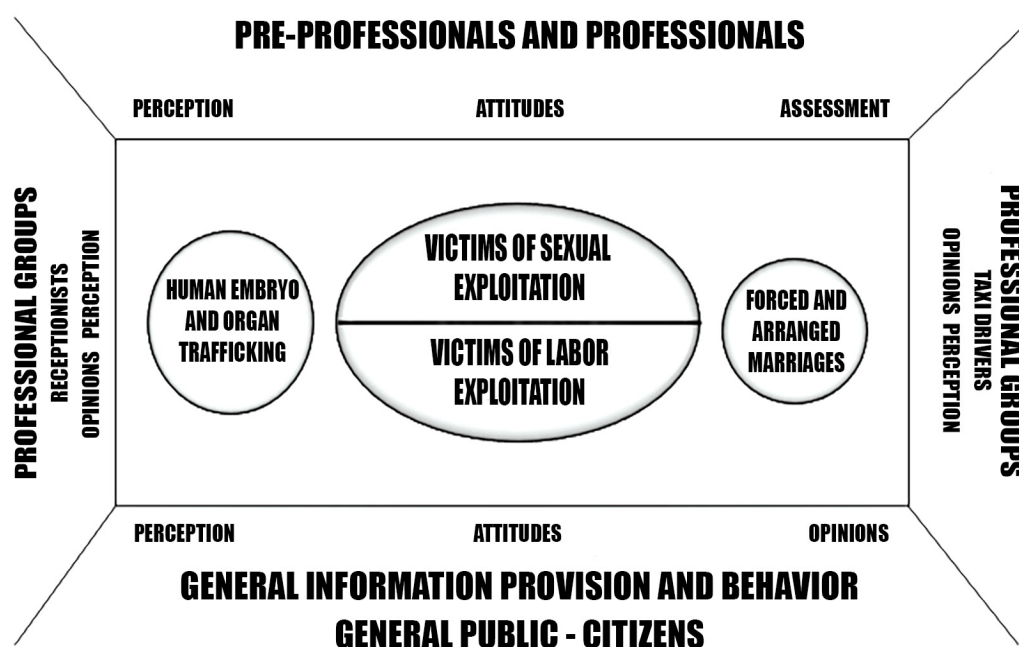


Figure 10. Framework draft on Research of Trafficking in BiH

The research was targeting several levels of “public” whose perception, views and behavior are viewed as significant push and pull factors with respect to efficient and comprehensive fight against trafficking within their community.

To this end, if public within a society fails to support activities combating trafficking, then it facilitates its occurrence, by expanding venues for offering sexual services and clientele. The same applies to labor exploitation, in particular of children who are forced to beg and collect money to be given to an older family member or trafficker who purchased the child from his/her parents or who simply adopted an orphan. Sexual services consumption provided by (potential) victims regardless of person's status or donating money to child beggar will support directly aforesaid forms of sexual and labor exploitation. Indirectly, it will increase tolerance and group blindness with respect to this criminal and socio pathological phenomenon and thus weaken generally allowed and institutional efforts aimed at its suppressing. Boomerang effect of this social tolerance will be to accept "illegal brothels and clubs" as places where foreigners prostitute do their business for money. Additionally, Roma children organized begging scheme at public places will be explained by cultural pattern of this population who prepare children for life in this way. These social justifications (rationalizations) contain cultural and gender discrimination.

Approaching the subject of research

As stated in framework draft research we perceive **general public- citizens** as the main social background of public opinion that does not tolerate trafficking in general, and then its respective forms. We developed an e questionnaire containing 48 questions that covers the following: citizen's perception (5), assumed behavior in case of (potential) encounter with any form of trafficking(4); public perception concerning all areas prone to trafficking (13); indicators (stances) towards trafficking (17) and general information on participants who took place in research (9).

Identical content of question was addressed to pre-**professional public - students**; the students of the *Faculty of Criminalistics, criminology and security studies in Sarajevo; students of Law faculties in Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka and students of Social work department within the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo*. At the same time, similar but expanded questionnaire was sent to the representatives of **professional community**: judges, prosecutors, police inspectors asked with trafficking affairs, social workers and NGO workers dealing with counter trafficking efforts: the questionnaire contained additional 25 questions on BiH operations and criminal practices in BiH concerning trafficking. In addition to these three segments of "public" we deem worth to explore views of the **special public**, namely "hotel receptionists and taxi drivers" who encounter knowledge on prostitution, as specific sociopath logical appearance and potential involvement of sexually exploited, abused and trafficked girls and women. The content of questionnaire intended for the two groups of special public (receptionists and taxi drivers) was identical with the content of questionnaire disseminated to general public and pre-professionals (students).

More exactly, the research used two types of instruments for data collection. This implied protocols used for analyzing life stories of the victims (involved in sexual P1 and labor P2 exploitation) as well as separate questionnaires tailored for professionals but general public as well. The questionnaires intended to approximate a status of traffick-

ing in BiH through views of professionals (police, prosecutors, judges, inspectors, official guardians, health professionals and teachers).

The questionnaires tailored for wider public considered general public (see attachment U-1), but also secondary school students (see U-4), hotel receptionists from Sarajevo (see U-3) and taxi drivers from Sarajevo (see U-6)

A special questionnaire was designed for “students”, as a separate group targeted by survey. While structuring this instrument we attempted to follow the example of instrument tailored for professional community along with certain details specific to general population. Therefore we opted for students of such faculties that serve as “recruiting” center for future employment in the law enforcement bodies in BiH. Accordingly, these were students who study criminology, criminalistics and security studies, law, and social work from Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Mostar. This portion of sample was called “pre-professionals”, which denotes our expectations concerning information contained in the questionnaires (see U-5).

By analyzing life stories, we intended to structure various features of victims of trafficking in BiH. To this end, current analysis did not provide sufficient material to typify factors determining victim-like features of trafficking victims in BiH. Therefore, we decided to make a comprehensive analysis of all victim-like features that could be analyzed further (see P-1 and P-2). We attempted to define common questions for wider public and professionals. Our goal is to measure the issue sensibility and awareness. A special attention was devoted to common questions made for “professional” audience, “wider” audience and “pre-professional” audience (see U-1 through U-6).

Research Sample

By reviewing numerous research literatures, we learnt that snow-ball sample has been widely spread and used. We have used such sample-taking technique and received the following replies through the web-survey:

- 684 representatives of general public
- 199 pre-professional public- students
- 212 professional public/community – judges, prosecutors, police officers, social workers and NGO activists
- 59 representatives of special public – hotel receptionists and taxi drivers (23 receptionists and 36 taxi drivers)

Size of samples taken allowed to apply *multivariate analysis*, but can not be regarded as representation sample due to “snow-ball” sample taking method.

Also, web based polling and snow ball technique targeted reachable, more educated and computer literature groups of population which led to asymmetric distribution of general (citizen) sample. This has been illustrated by general public (citizen) sample.

General public- citizenry

The following chart illustrates educational background structure of general public (citizenry) participants who were targeted by our research;

Table 2. Overview of participant's educational structure- general public (citizenry) sample

19 or 2,8%	PhD	}	52,8%
93 or 13,6%	master		
249 or 36,4%	B. A		
36 or 5,3%	completed high school	}	19,3%
96 or 14,0%	students currently		
163 or 23,8%	completed secondary school	}	27,7%
16 or 2,3 %	completed primary school		
12 or 1,8%	no answer conc. educat.background.		
684 100%			100%

The sample covered over a half of participants (52,8%) with a high educational background, followed by one fifth (19,3%) with higher education or student status and thus corroborated a stance on very educated public whose opinion and views represent *active and influential public opinion*.

On the other hand, their views do not reflect an image of ordinary BiH citizen, but rather of an *urban, educated and well off citizen* (50,3% persons consider that they live well, although cannot afford many things, while further 27% persons are satisfied with their income and living standard.)

Concerning a goal of our research, it was important to find out a participants' level of information exposure to certain types of media, as participants included urban, highly educated citizenry with solid income, as shown in the following table.

Table 3. Review of Reply to question “We assume that you receive an information on local, in-country and international events on a daily basis. Therefore, please answer how often do you read, watch or hear news?”

General public in %						
Replies choices	TV public broadcast	Local TV	Foreign TV	Internet news	You read newspapers	You listen to radio
a) Every day	19	15	18	67	21	18
b) Almost every day	23	19	28	17	18	23
Total a + b	42%	34%	46%	84%	39%	41%
c) Once per week at least	14	13	18	6	17	13
d) Several times per month	10	12	12	4	13	9
Total c + d	24%	25%	30%	10%	30%	22%
e) Very rarely	23	26	16	4	23	26
f) Never	10	14	7	1	8	10
Total e + f	33%	40%	23%	5%	30%	36%
No replies	1	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL %	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(684)	(684)	(684)	(684)	(684)	(684)

Source of data: Original data containing replies on questions of 34 questionnaires intended for general public.

Difference relevance collected in summarized, offered, and standardized replies show that on-line news represents a *statistical significant relevant* insight into information consumption: 84% of tested sample (general citizenry) daily consumes predominantly these type of information with respect to other information providers such as TV, radio and newspapers (Chi square= 31,90712 with 2 degrees of tolerance has been relevant in statistical terms, proving that our participants watch more frequently foreign TV program than local ones).

Other relevant finding refers to comparison between watching foreign and local TV stations. Our participants in statistically relevant terms (Chi square = 6,7068 with 2 degrees of tolerance has been relevant and retain to the level of 0.05) more frequently watch foreign TV programs than local ones, while there has not been *statistically relevant* difference between watching open TV public broadcast service with respect to local TV or other foreign TV programs.

In summary, general citizenry participants have been primarily focused on reading on-line news (84%) on a daily basis, while they consume news from public broadcast TV, newspapers and radio significantly less. These differences become even more evident when comparing replies falling under categories “very rarely” and “never”. In this scenario, only 5% concerned participants did not use internet as information provision tool. Speaking of non-watching foreign TV programs this percentage amounts to 23%, followed with 33% concerning public TV broadcast service.

Therefore, we find that internet has become the most influential information channel for current citizen and urban public living in BiH and we recommend using that media in maximum terms for all presentations, programs, activities and counter- trafficking operations. It has been also significant finding that participants sampled watch *significantly in statistical terms* foreign TV programs (most likely from the area of ex Yugoslavia) more frequently than local TV programs. To this end, use of local media for promoting anti-trafficking operations will be the least effective and thus will omit one third of this population target as they consume public TV, radio or newspaper at rare occasions. However, these data on use of certain information channels would likely be significantly different if other population group chosen randomly or if focused on a group with poor living standard that use less IT and no habits or needs of consuming on-line information.

Local TV programs and radio news may be more appropriate and useful communication channels when trying to present counter trafficking programs and measures to such groups of population. Through this participant sample, our research grasped primarily contemporized citizen profile of BiH population as whole, who are relevant in creating **active public opinion**. This fact should be considered in all future interpretations of results provided.

Pre-professional public- students

In the course of prior e-mail contacts with student population from Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Mostar and Tuzla we collected 199 questionnaires with their replies through the *web-based* survey. Speaking of structure, the largest number of questionnaires was answered by Sarajevo students (in total 140), and thereof primarily by the Faculty of Criminalists, Criminology and Security Studies student (99), while the others were provided by Law School, Faculty for Education and Rehabilitation and Social Work School with the Faculty of Political Science. To this end, structured sample targeted a large number of students whose occupation will be associated with crime investigation or protection of victims associated with such crime. In most instances, e-mail contacts with senior students were made and therefore we name them as **pre-professionals**.

Table 4. Review on Replies given to the following question: „ We assume that you got informed on local, in-country and international events. Therefore, please answer how often do you listen, watch or read news?

Summarized modalities	Pre professionals in %					
	TV public broadcast service	Local TV	Foreign TV	Internet news	Reading newspaper	Listening to radio
a) Almost every day and every day	38	38	36	83	27	24
b) Once per week or several times per month	23	19	28	17	18	23
c) Rarely or never	32	35	26	6	31	46
No reply	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

On-line news represent a predominant information provision channel among students, whereas 83% students read news from the internet almost every day, while only 38% follow the news regularly on TV public broadcast service and local TV programs. Distinction between news monitoring on domestic channels with respect to foreign TV programs are not *statistically relevant* on this research sample. Comparing these data with the data from general citizenry show that there has been identical communication and information matrix in place that arouse from similar social and educational status of both samples. This social and educational component has been significant *antecedent variable* and will enable us to assess different views concerning trafficking between general public (who should not have an engaged view on that phenomenon) and pre-professionals (who will be engaged professionally with the subject and who are certainly more interested in than general public).

Professionals

By use of e-mail, we approached various professionals, including judges, prosecutors, police inspectors, social workers, health and education professionals, non-governmental and governmental organizations representatives who are directly or indirectly involved with trafficking and asked them to fill out a web based survey. The standard survey was expanded to include questions on appropriateness concerning BiH legislative and criminal practices with respect to trafficking. In total, 212 participants responded to our survey and their professional structure is as following:

Table 5. *Review of professional participants who are employed with:*

a) police authority	118	55%
b) court and prosecutor's office	11	5%
c) inspection	7	3%
d) social work centers	36	17%
e) NGOs	16	5%
f) health care facility	4	
g) humanitarian organization	1	
h) education	5	
i) legal aid office	5	
j) students activists	3	
k) citizen's association	1	
l) others	5	
	8 Sum to m	15%
Total	212	100%

Within a whole sample of professionals, more than half of participants are employed with law enforcement authorities (55%), then Centers for Social Work (17%), and NGOs (5%); the remaining portion of sample is associated employees with judiciary and prosecutor offices, health, humanitarian and educational organizations. The aforesaid data show that answers were made by appropriate **professionals** who participate in witness protection program or are involved with counter trafficking otherwise.

Special public

Receptionists and taxi drivers represent also relevant source of information regarding a status of trafficked women/girls for purpose of sexual exploitation. Therefore we consider relevant to include these professionals into research project, with a note that their views, attitudes and perception will be primarily used as quantitative background for qualitative and analytical approach to sexual exploitation phenomenon. Total number of questionnaires filled out by taxi drivers and receptionists make a satisfactory sample (N=59) to be used in complex analytic work. On the other hand, there will be other significant discrepancies in comparative analysis on awareness of female trafficking for purpose of sexual exploitation, based on replies and data provided by other general public groups, pre-professionals and professionals. In this light, their views and attitudes will serve as certain corrective for other groups of public' views.

Data processing and analytical approach

The questionnaires tailored for all levels of public were designed in that way to offer answers on dichromatic scales concerning a question if such phenomenon can be regarded as trafficking.

Additionally, two direction scale of views were used with a neutral zero point, it served as the center of an "agreement or positive" scale consisting of five degree placed on one side, while other five degree "disagreement" scale was placed on the opposite side. In that regard any statement or view corresponding with a certain type of view's indicator has been measured by a degree of participant's agreement or disagreement. This has been a scale taken over from Q methodology that is suitable for testing participant's agreement or disagreement with certain claim in order to value correspondent's subjectivity by offering several choices: agreement, disagreement and/or neutral position. These are a two direction scale, where one direction is positioned on the right side (from zero to +5), and to the opposite side (from zero to -5). The application of wide range of measurement (consisting of 11 degrees) has allowed a more significant variability of results and high reliability of tools (Cramer's Rule Alpha value for pre-professionals =.924, professionals =.903, and general public 687). Also, it allowed us to have a more comprehensive and safer insight into structure, valence and intensity of the views expressed. This research data collection procedure namely Q Methodology facilitated defining an expanded neutrality zone from -1 through 0 up to +1, then (dis)agreement zone (from -/+2 through -/+3) as well as the zone of extreme (dis)agreement (from -/+4 through -/+5) with a certain claim. Once the answers were collected by using a two direction scale, a conversion took place in order to express data in positive numbers on the one-way scale ranging from 0 to 10, whereas 5 denotes a neutral standpoint.

Data converting on this two way scale resulted with the following intervals :

From 0 to 1	from 2 to 3	from 4 over 0 to 6	from 7 to 8	from 9 to 10
Extreme disagreement	Disagreement	Neutral	Agreement	Extreme Agreement

This conversion was required to conduct mathematics operations, which are used in multivariate analysis. The following analysis were conducted over data received through *on-line* questionnaires at all segments of our sample.

- Univariate analysis of the frequency of each response to questionnaire's question and appropriate percentage
- Bivariate inferential and correlation analysis aimed at determining significant indicators concerning opinion and views of certain portions and categories of public.
- Multivariate analysis including factor, cluster and regression analysis (multiplied, nominal and logic one)
- Based on factor analysis findings, composite measure of variables was made.

Construction of composite variables

Our questionnaires contained three groups of questions:

- Views on trafficking that included questions on potential situations that imply trafficking according to participants' views, whereas the participant was requested to express his own view through replies offered: 1)- yes, 2)- no, 3) I am not sure if it implies trafficking in aforesaid case.
- Claims that indicated participants' views on trafficking and its respective forms (for purpose of labor, sexual and children exploitation). The participant was required to either agree (from +1 to +5) or disagree (from -1 to -5) with the claim by using a two-direction scale composed of 11 degrees, where 0 denoted a neutral position. Such scale allowed a larger variability of result and "forced" respondents to differentiate mutually in a more intensified fashion.
- Perceptions (of actual or anticipated) behavior when encountering a certain form of trafficking, in particular potential sexual or labor exploitation. Participants could chose one of replies offered, describing their actions when encountering situations involving trafficking. Possible replies included: 1) – I would pretend that I have not noticed it and mind my own business; 2) –I would call secure, free police phone line "Crime Catchers" that secure anonymity of a caller. 3) – I would call and inform my friend who is a policeman, and ask him to report a crime; 4) –I would call competent police station and report the crime;. 5) –I would go directly to the police station.

This regular behavioral scale gave us an insight of individual's willingness to respond to trafficking, more exactly to suppress or withdraw when faced with such situation.

Composite variables were determined for group of claims that indicated views, in a way that we summarized each participant' reply provided to certain scales within an individual group of questions. Previously we have conducted a factor analysis²² to obtain claims on views and found latent variables (factors) were denoting that several views exist among general population sample (such views are manifested through claims raised in questionnaire)

I. General view concerning trafficking (based on 7 manifest variables- claims)

II. View concerning forced marriages of minors and removal of human organs and embryos (based on 5 manifest variables- claims).

III. View concerning use of sexual services of (potential) victims of trafficking (based on 4 manifest variables- claims).

22 Factor analysis is a complex analytical procedure using an intercorrelation between group of variables to manifest data (manifest variable) provided by each participant in order to establish common factors (latent variables) that are subject of the highest correlation with manifest variable. In this way, research will go deeper than simple data and establish their relevance.

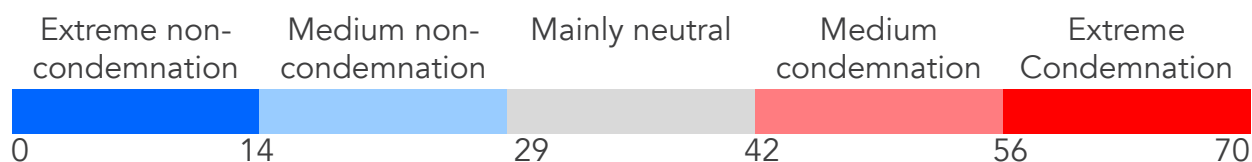
IV. View concerning ability of local communities and non-governmental organizations to assist female victims of trafficking and other victims (based on 2 manifest variables). In this way, we established variables (claims) that belong to a common view component and also established participants' individual replies to certain claims and then summarized²³ replies per groups of claims in accordance with factor analysis.

Previously, we have changed codes of genuine scale, as following

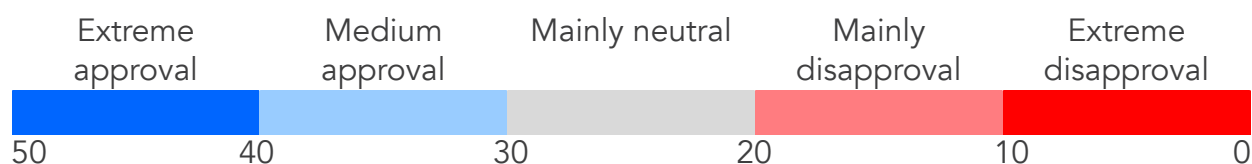
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	changed to
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

Accordingly, each participant gained a sum result based on claims that neutralize certain view that allows to determine their total result. Pursuant to such overall result for all participants, distributions were made, which could be further divided to the several fields and view their intensity.

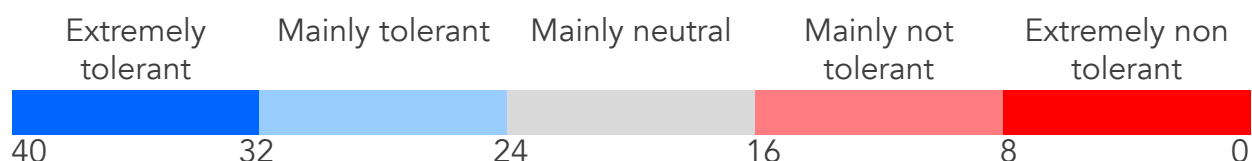
I General attitude concerning trafficking



II View concerning forced marriages and sale of human organs and embryo



III View concerning use of sexual services by potential victims of trafficking



IV View concerning abilities of local communities and NGOs to assist victims

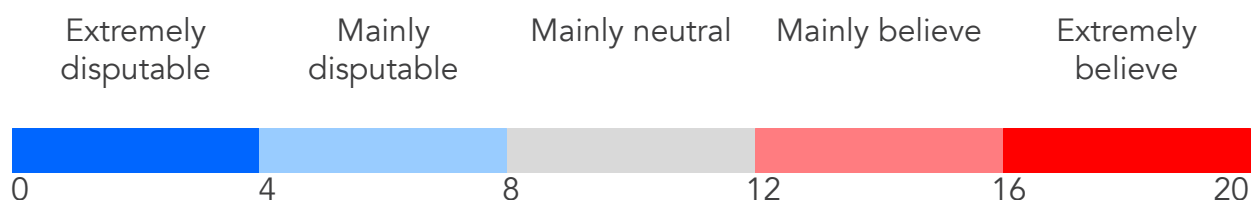


Figure 11.Valencefields and view intensity concerning trafficking

²³ Therefore, these variables are entitled as summative variables in professional literature but we favored a term a composite result, used by Guilford (1966) in his famous work Fundamentals of psychological and pedagogic statistics"; this term has been created by aggregating results accomplished on range of items included in the test.

On this chart, we have illustrated valence fields and view intensity more exactly an area of result distribution result whereas an ideal- type would fit participant's approval or disapproval with groups of claims that substantiate view.

We have mentioned that original data provided on the two way scale from -5 through 0 till +5 were converted into scale with values from 0 to 10 where 5 replaced a zero position. In this way, we could perform complex analytical procedures; their result will be presented in the heading "Multivariate Analysis and Their Findings". The view fields are results of entries of certain scale degrees with number of scale which encompassed a certain view. For example, separations of "mainly neutral" field within General attitude concerning trafficking set (bellow border) by multiplying 4 (degree) x7 (number of claims) = 28 and upper border 6 (degree) x7 (number of claims) = 42 and upper border 6 (degree) x7 (number of claims) = 42;

Bellow border that separate "extreme non-condemnation" from "medium condemnation" was a result of multiplication of 2x7 (number of claims) = 14, while an upper boundary that separates "extreme condemnation" from "medium condemnation" was a result of multiplying degree 8 with 7 (no. of claims) = 56.

The same method was used when establishing fields of other view groups, whereas it was required to turn a direction of view. Accordingly, lower values receive positive directions, while larger values receive negative, since approval of the claim meant tolerating negative phenomenon, while disapproval meant its condemnation. Composite variable present in other segments of research have been arranged identically. Their distribution and analysis on discrepancies relevance within medium values and standard divergence will be presented in a separate chapter in the further text.

Collecting data on victims of sexual and labor exploitation

Our research has focused on actual (recorded) victims of sexual and labor exploitation. These data were collected through a document so called "protocol". The information were obtained from shelters and centers for social work as well as through additional interviews with victims. Accordingly, we collected data on 51 victims of sexual exploitation who resided in shelters in a period from 2006 to 2014 and were recorded by the police or non-governmental organization.

Protocol for collecting data on victims of sexual exploitation

This document named "protocol" contained 42 question on various aspects on victims life including her origin; family relations; recruitment; method and place of arrival to BiH; life conditions; type of promised job; sexual exploitation and places where prostitution/sexual services took place; earnings, fear of traffickers; psychological problems, further life expectations and willingness to testify against trafficking offender/master. The questions were accompanied by optional replies with a space to provide additional remarks concerning events and features of interest for conducting a qualitative analysis.

Protocol for collecting data on victims of labor exploitation

This protocol has been primarily applied to children labor exploitation through organized begging in the street. The protocol included 64 questions on victim's origin, life style and duration of exploitation. Data on types of assistance provided to a victim were listed separately as well as data describing victim's duties in the course of exploitation, victim's treatment specifying abuse actions and her/his fear and psychosomatic disturbances. Unfortunately, 18 questions were responded poorly or not at all and lack of answers prevented their inclusion into more complex analysis. Accordingly, we had to apply the elementary quantitative analytical procedure. Multivariate analysis were used for the rest of data/replies on the remaining 50 protocol questions.

THEORETICAL- METHODOLOGICAL PARADIGM ON VIEW RESEARCH

Establishing causality in a sphere of humanities is hampered by multiple causality present less or more in all social occurring. Also it is hampered by intentional human operations that change social reality under impact of intensive push and pull factors in the environment or due to a two way causality of the phenomenon which impacts research. Only by use of complex quantitative analysis methodology, it is possible to get an insight into phenomenon structure, relations between its components, and factors that impact phenomenon individually or jointly. Without the analysis, a floor is open to speculations and use of the most expensive method of experience based learning and/or the least irrational “trial and error” method.

Therefore we conducted complex multivariate factor and cluster analysis on the data received through a web-based survey and by use of composite variables. As mentioned, factor analysis represents a complex analytical procedure whereas each participant provides data (*manifest variable*) as a basis for determining **common factors** (*latent variables*) that are connected with manifested variables in most instances. We say that they correlate with each other.

Cluster analysis is a complex procedure of establishing homogenous groups of interviewees based on their group affiliation or group diversity. It is different from factor analysis that focuses on common features.

Factor analysis provides an insight on common determinants of features subjected to research, more exactly the insight into their latent background. We have used this analysis as a guidance on established and common features of views concerning trafficking and its special forms; sexual and labor exploitation.

Recent research on views and behavior

A term “attitude” denotes positive or negative manifestations of judgment and claims with relation to object, person or events. However in order to fully comprehend its meaning, it is necessary to explain its structure and main components and show how much they affect behavior.

Attitude’s main components are as following:

- Cognitive component involves person’s opinion and belief.
- Affective (emotional) component expresses person’s emotional aspect.
- Behavioral component indicates person’s intention to behave in a certain way regarding someone or something.

Behavioral component will be receiving primary consideration due to a goal of our research on trafficking. Early research on attitudes assumed their connection with behavior, more exactly that person's attitudes will determine person's action. To this end, a common sense suggests such relationship.

The research conducted in late 1950 (Festinger, 1960) have suggested **cognitive dissonance theory** which aimed to explain connection between attitudes and behavior in more realistic terms.

Dissonance means inconsistency, while cognitive dissonance relates to any contradiction between two or more attitudes of an individual or the inconsistency between his behavior and attitude expressed to certain phenomena, persons and events. Festinger assumed that any form of inconsistency is uncomfortable and is motivated to try to reduce this dissonance and discomfort. This type of dissonance really exists and nobody can avoid it in his/her attitudes.

More recent research (Kraus, 1995) showed that attitudes anticipate person's future *behavior* and they corroborated Festinger's genuine belief that such relation may be stronger if more alleviating variables are considered. A point that attitudes are composed of the three components, including cognitive, affective and behavioral promotes understanding of their complexity and mutual relationship between attitudes and behavior. It should be noted that all three components are highly interconnected. Our beliefs and opinion (cognitive component) are followed by either positive or negative emotions concerning an object, while behavioral components indicates person's intention to behave in a certain way regarding someone or something.

The most recent research (Kraus, 1995) established that the strongest moderators include: *attitude's relevance, its specificity and availability, existence or absence of social pressures and existence of personal experience concerning attitude*.

Attitudes reflecting fundamental values, personal interests or identification with certain accredited persons or groups are particularly relevant. The attitudes *considered to be important* by individuals are usually tightly connected with their behavior.

As an attitude becomes more *specific followed by more specific behavior*, their interconnection will be stronger. *Easily accessible* or remembering attitudes will foresee behavior better than attitudes which can not be memorized easily. It is easy to remember an attitude which is expressed frequently. In this way, as we speak more on our attitude concerning certain object, it is more likely that we would memorize that attitude which will affect our behavior. If *social pressures* concerning certain behavioral pattern are high, it is more likely that there will be larger compliance between attitude and behavior.

Although major studies on attitudes impact on behavior provided positive results, researchers have recently established even greater opposite correlation by studying impact of behavior to person's attitudes. Such approach has been called a **self-perception theory** and provided some promising results to be considered in this particular research as well.

When asked about their attitude on certain subject, people tend to recollect their previous behavior and derive their attitude thereof. While traditional relation of attitudes towards behavior has been affirmative in general, *relation concerning behavior towards attitudes is equally strong*. This applies to undetermined or ambiguous attitudes, since a lack of experience or thinking concerning certain issue associated with attitudes will cause behavior-based attitudes. However, when our attitudes have been established and well defined for certain period of time, they will likely shape our behavior.

Multivariate attitude analysis on Trafficking

Further, we shall show results of analysis conducted including factor and cluster multivariate procedures analysis as well as composite variable distribution analysis for any segment of our research sample including general, pre-professional, professional and special public.

Factor analysis - explanation and interpretation of general public sample

Replies to claims indicating to participants' attitudes within a general public sample were subjected to a factorization procedure. Its results allow perceiving common latent backgrounds and their high correlation with data collected by some reliable research instrument. Accordingly, a factor analysis is procedure establishing mutual linkages (intercorrelation) of all results in accordance with all variables involved in factorization. In this process a height of intercorrelation of all results (entitled manifest variables) form factors (frequently called latent variables, main components and/or dimensions). In our scenario, these manifest variables are claims indicating to attitudes towards various forms of trafficking, while results are responses recorded on the scale with values from zero to ten, where extreme values (9 and 10) denote full approval of claim and opposite extreme values from (0 and 1) correspond with full disagreement with the claim. Accordingly, factor is composed of highly correlated data deriving from claims; whereas through those correlations claims have been linked within a certain factor. At the same time, factorization procedure differentiates factors provided that must not correlate with each other. Therefore, claims which "entered" one factor have correlated poorly or not at all with claims that entered other factors. This means that some researchers go deeper into substance and expand a scope beyond surface data based on percentage of predetermined responses to manifest variables. They use inductive method of data classification including features, events and perceptions, rather than deductive method based on own speculations and uncritical reference of cites from other literature.

Accordingly, factorization allows us to focus research interest and efforts to relevant features which make a significant component or attitude dimension concerning trafficking in this instance. As such they exist in latent awareness of population group which served as research sample. In this way, we establish an insight into latent variables (factors, components, and dimensions) serving as foundation to manifest variable generations. As a rule, several highly correlated variables with certain factor explain a factor's share in total variance of all factorized data. Percentage share of individual factor within

a total variance will be dependent on its importance and relevance for understanding joint factors called components or attitude dimensions.

We have received three common factors with claims-variables structured therein, when we factorize data from the general public sample.

Factor analysis results

Manifest variables –claims (component – dimensions)

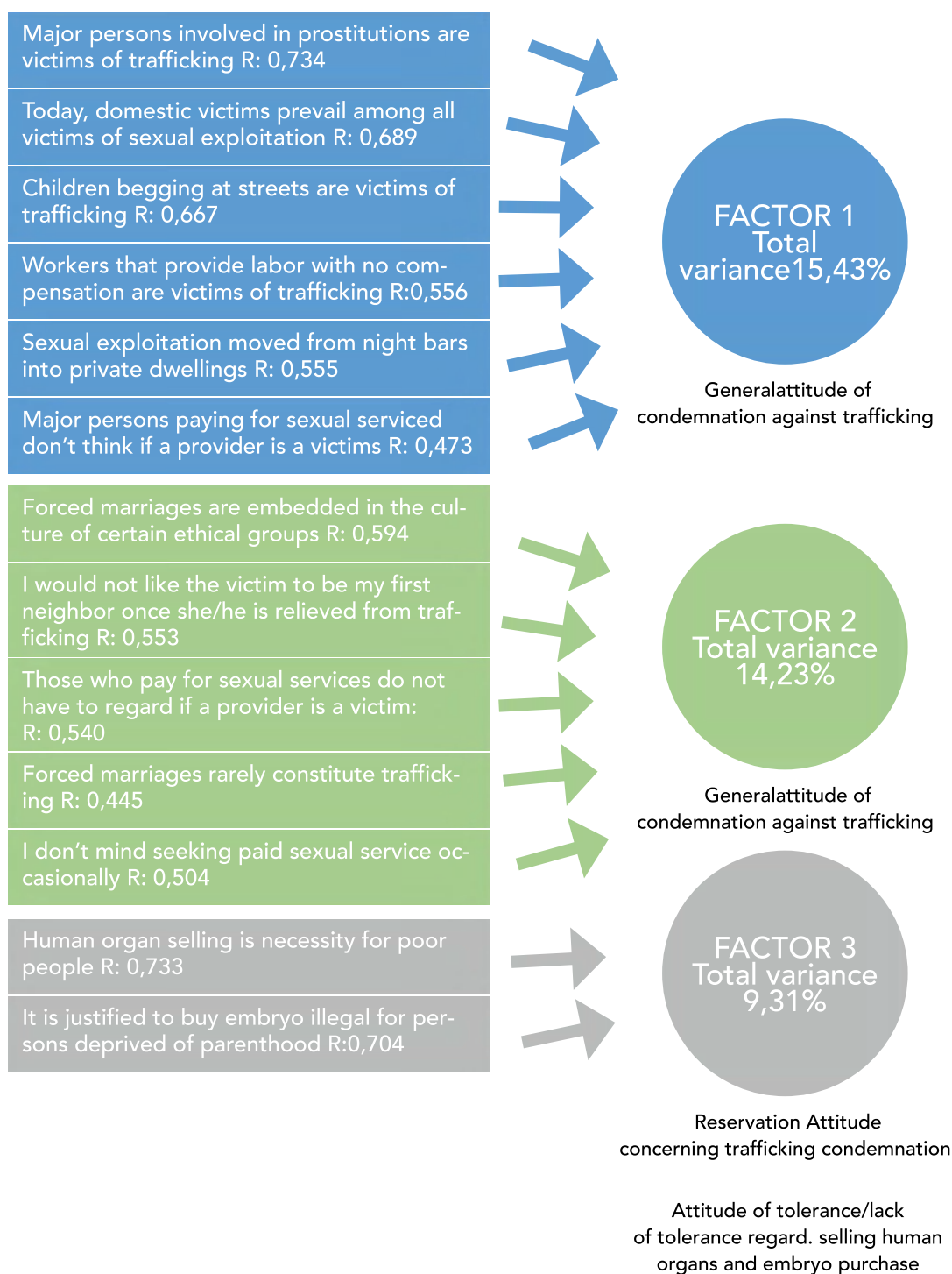


Figure 12. Factor analysis results concerning replies to claims - GENERAL PUBLIC sample participant

Remark: The width of arrows denotes size of correlation coefficient between a respective claim and a corresponding component, while factor percentages represent a total variance of results. More exactly, they explain variation in research results conducted over general public participants. More exactly, those percentages show how much a component saturates a total variance of results. A sum of individual components percentages (in our case factor result analysis within professionals category) show that we explained for six factors a sum of 67,499% of entire variation in results.

Graphs depict factor analysis results made on data concerning approving or disapproving the claims that represent attitude indicators concerning trafficking and were provided by general public participants. These claims have been marked in “attitudes” section of questionnaires by numbers from 1 to 17 followed by a two-direction scales of agreement/disagreement with a claim that has a neutral zero position in the center. The factors or main components (representing an attitude dimension towards trafficking) were result of calculating intercorrelation of each claim with another one.

The first main component has been comprised of GENERAL CONDEMNATION OF ALL TRAFFICKING TYPES, starting with sexual exploitation through child beginning at street and workers providing labor for significant time at no compensation. This component’s relevance reflects to size of total variance of all results which have been explained by component.

The second main component included opinions that reflect RESERVATION ATTITUDE FROM CONDEMNATION OF TRAFFICKING expressed by tolerating use of sexual services of potential victims; distance from victim who ended her/his trafficking situation, consideration of forced marriages as a certain ethnical groups cultural specificity and belief that trafficking rarely occurs in case of forced marriages.

The third significant component includes that THE ATTITUDE OF TOLERANCE OR LACK OF TOLLERANCE REGARDING HUMAN ORGANS SALE AND EMBRYO PURCHASE AT ILLEGAL MARKET.

It is noteworthy that general public- citizens and professionals- judges, police officers, social workers, and NGO activists build their attitudes concerning trafficking using the same components. In closing, general condemnation of trafficking or neutral relationship illustrate relation of general public concerning trafficking. Also, two additional dimensions have emerged that explain variance of all results provided on claims which indicate attitudes concerning trafficking from content perspective.

These results indicate that there is one general awareness attitude concerning trafficking exercised by citizenry (a source of our sample); it incorporates “old forms” of sexual exploitation along with “new forms” of child beginning and labor without compensation. In addition to this general attitude, there are two other dimensions including: reserved stance in condemning old and new forms of trafficking and tolerance and non-tolerant stance of forced marriages and human organs selling or embryo purchasing at illegal market. These general public dimensions show a need to consider a cognitive element whereas trafficking has been condemned in general, but accompanied by dissonant attitudes concerning forced marriages and prostitution (the latter is frequently justified with some understanding for individuals using the services of “the oldest profession

in the world.”). In general, we could conclude that there has been a public consensus in disapproving trafficking accompanied by aligned cognitive, affective and behavioral components, while on the other hand there has been a *cognitive dissonance* among the attitudes and likely among these attitudes and anticipated behavior.

Aforesaid dimensions indicate that active BiH public recognize clearly new forms of trafficking associated with organ sale and embryo purchase at illegal market, as well as the forms stemming from the most severe labor and cultural discrimination targeting Roma children and unpaid workers.

Therefore, trafficking needs to be regarded in more comprehensive and wider fashion, and thus expanded beyond boundaries of sexual exploitation to include new forms of crimes such as organized child begging and worker exploitation. In this situation, children and workers who work with no compensation are deceived by false promises and exposed to all forms of deprivation of their human rights and respectful treatment.

Composite Variable Result Review and Analysis

Composite (summarized) variables show summarized results on claims that saturate an individual dimension of attitude concerning trafficking. In order to understand and justify our results, we have structured our claims in the following components:

- Dimension representing a **general attitude concerning trafficking** has been structured by seven claims. Following a result summarizing and justification process within respective areas and attitude intensively, we have gained below results, broken down to general public (citizenry), pre-professionals (students) and professionals.

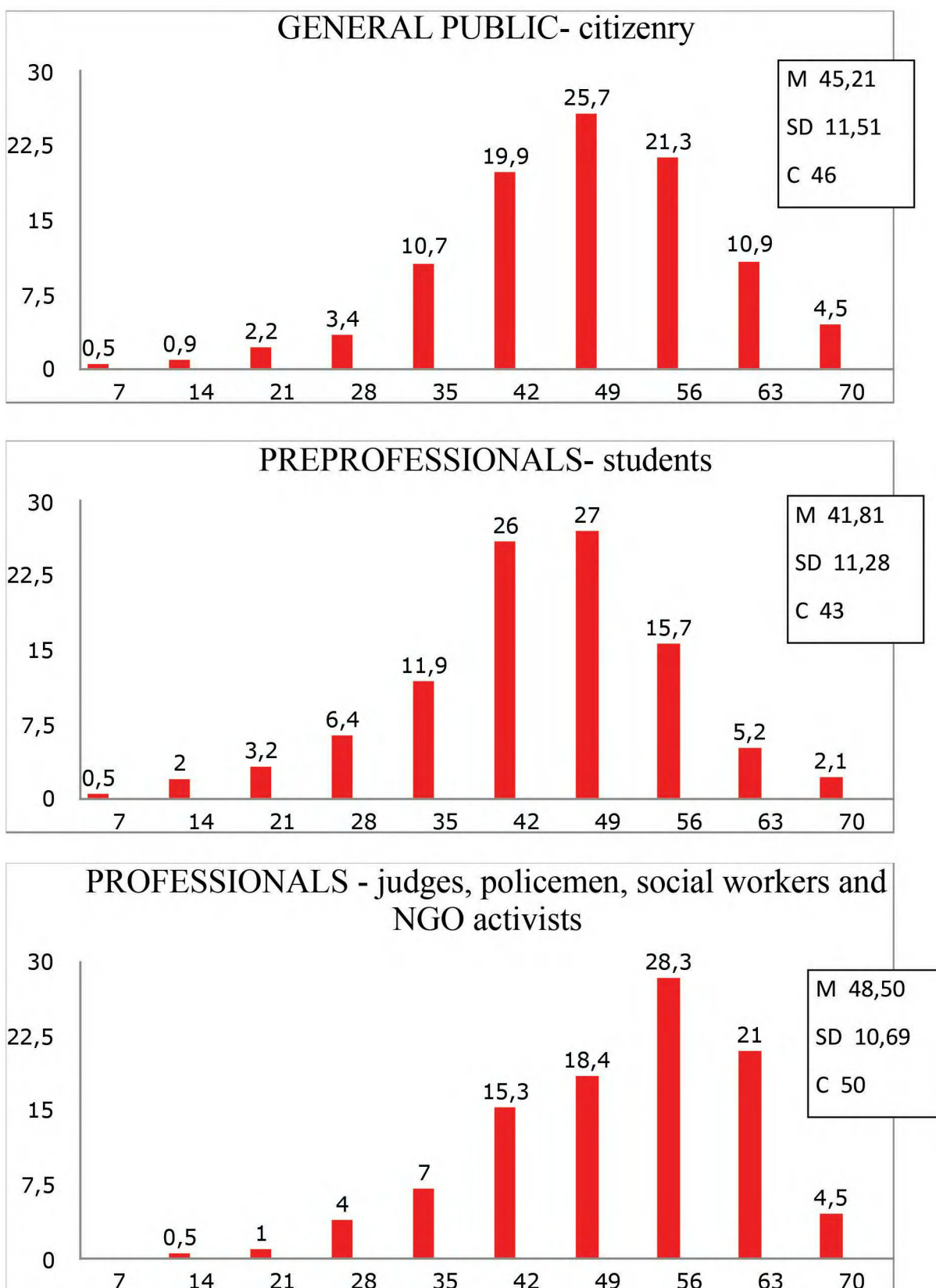


Figure 13. General Attitude concerning trafficking by active professionals- citizenry, pre-professionals (students) and professionals- judges, policemen, social workers and NGO activists

General public- citizenry

Result distribution regarding a general attitude concerning trafficking shows that 62.4 % of the *active citizen public* condemn trafficking, thereof 25,7% express modest condemnation, while 21,3% medium and 15,4% severely condemn this phenomenon in any form. On the other hand, there are only 7% of the participants who “have understanding” for this socio-pathological and criminal appearance. However, 30,6% of persons who express neutral attitude concerning trafficking should not be neglected. In our view, the last attitude should be considered as problematic withdrawal from this socially and individually unacceptable crime which violates human rights.

Pre-professionals - students

As oppose to general public (citizenry) this group of population shows a lower percentage of representation from severe up to extreme condemnation (50%), then neutral attitude (37,9%) and significantly irrelevant tolerance concerning trafficking (12,1%).

Students who took participation in the survey and who are future professionals involved in suppressing trafficking have been *significantly less critical* then participants from general citizen population. This urges a necessity to tailor specific training programs aimed at informing and educating students on a criminal nature of trafficking and its impact to human rights and democracy development in BiH. Such program should target a student population as a whole, but particularly students from aforesaid faculties.

Professionals

This group condemns trafficking to the greatest extent (72,2%) which seems as reasonable response as it involves professionals in charge of suppressing trafficking. However, a total value assessment must regard a fact that there has *been ¼ of professionals who express neutral position (22,3%) while remaining 5,5% show tolerance for this phenomenon in BiH society.*

In a process of interpreting and evaluating results, this survey should be considered as a some type of snapshot on trafficking phenomenon currently in BiH, as perceived by urban, educated and well off public. Therefore it is not justified to anticipate anyone with opposing attitude within professionals dealing with issues of trafficking. In a process of data consideration concerning participants with opposing attitudes, one should note that any result bellow 5% are considered irrelevant. This represent a general consensus accepted in a public research process. As showed by data distributions, severely opposing attitude which fail to condemn trafficking has been expressed by a scarce percentage of professionals, while students' overall percentage reach 12% of those failing to condemn trafficking in severe and expressive fashion. Therefore attention should be made to comment those interviewees who expressed their neutral attitude; this has been every fifth interviewee. Due to use of Q methodology, this means that this neutrally expressed subjectivity manifest some other cognizant and affective status concern-

ing trafficking. A fact that every 5th professional and every 3rd pre-professional participating in the survey, has made a neutral attitude concerning a crime to be suppressed by them presently or in future represents an issue. It requires a pro-active stance and action aimed at its resolution and clarification, considering attitudes formation and their impact to behavior generally. This neutral attitude does not have cognitive or affective component form, and therefore individuals' behavior will not be engaged but rather passive.

In general, we can find that active general public - represented by citizenry research sample - has demonstrated such attitude with strong condemnation against trafficking. This has been likely a result of programs and campaigns aimed at informing on trafficking the BiH public.

Previous statements concerning attitudes, *cognitive dissonance and self perception* (including attitudes persistence manifested in behavior) should be considered while interpreting aforesaid results and training pre-professionals and professionals. The aforesaid research processes have showed that attitudes foresee future behavior and corroborated that such relation can be stronger if considering relevance, specificity, availability, direct experience and existence of social pressures. Attitudes, regarded as important ones by people, are highly correlated with behavior, whereas intensity of attitude and behavior determine intensity of their correlation.

Therefore professional and pre-professional community should regard their attitudes concerning trafficking as paramount and special ones. In addition, representatives of general active public should regard this phenomenon as important one that halts human rights affirmation and democracy development in BiH.

Media support to "anti—trafficking programs" and campaigns should make publicly available such materials which explains acts and reasons for suppressing the crime at individual and society level. In particular, "a white and black cliché" should be avoided by proclaiming all forms of sexual services, beginning and unpaid work as trafficking.

However, at the same time all forms of exploitation which exceed boundaries of socially acceptable and ethical behavior and arise from gender, work and cultural discrimination should be faced in a more rigid fashion.

Aforesaid research reiterates specially that severe social pressures favoring certain behavior pattern will influence a larger compliance between attitudes and behavior. Therefore, it is of paramount importance to develop social awareness methods targeting stakeholders which would stress a need to undertake actions suppressing "older" anti-sexual exploitation as well as other forms of trafficking, including child beginning and labor exploitation. This should be done to abolish unjustified belief that: a girl/ women counter trafficking problem has been resolved; a belief that new forms including forced marriages and Roma children begging are part of cultural heritage; and lastly a belief that poverty of certain population groups justify sale of children, human organs and embryos. Constant but proportional social pressure should decrease neutral subjective attitudes concerning trafficking as an exclusive matter of concern of police, judiciary and non-governmental organizations.

Other dimension of attitude concerning trafficking has been singled out as a special attitude with respect to **forced marriages, human organ and embryo trade**. This composite variable has been composed of five claims with an interval from 50 to 0, whereas a direction has been opposite since higher values mean agreement with suggested claim, while lower values mean disagreement with forced marriages and human organ and embryo sale at illegal market.

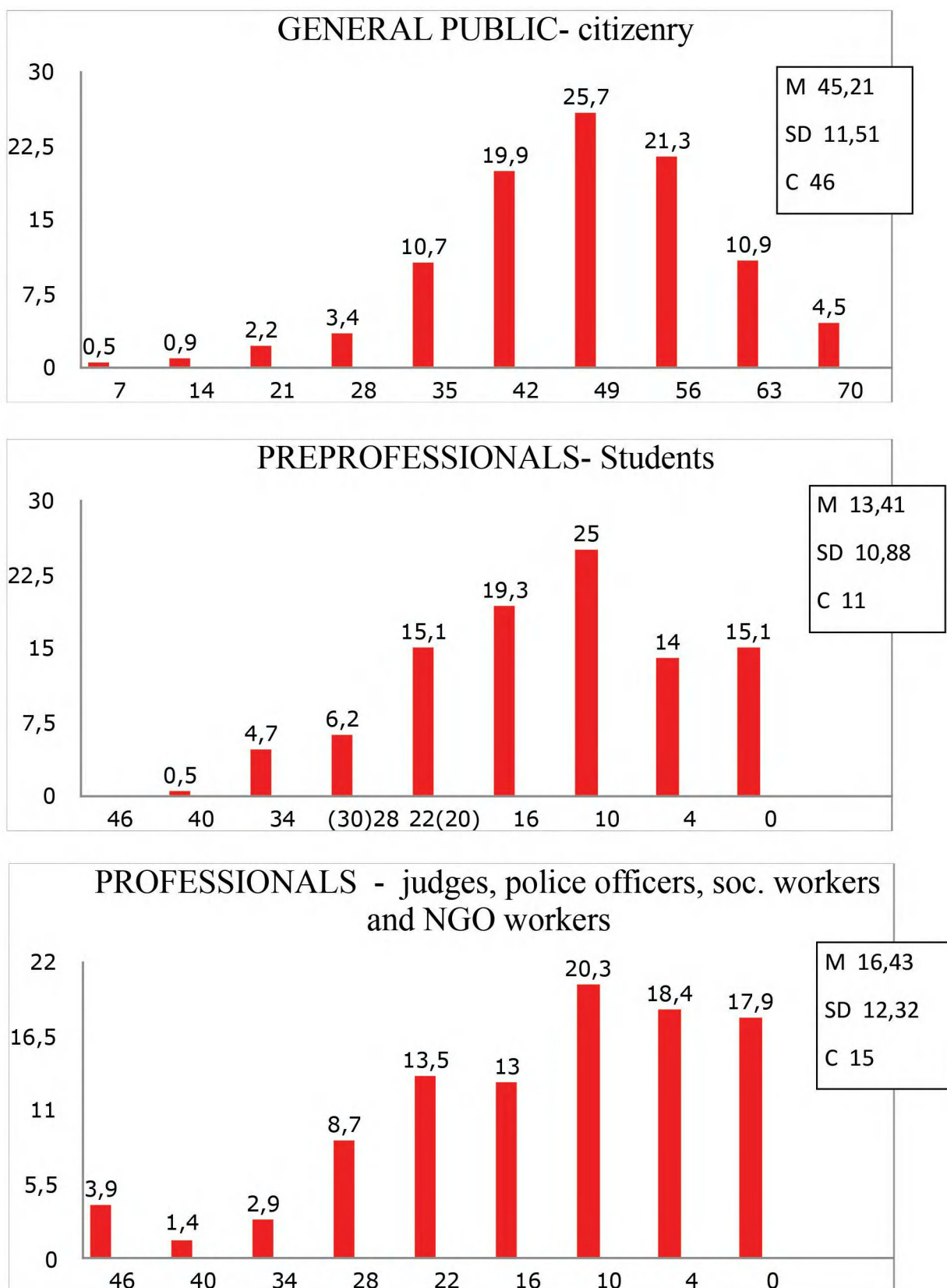


Figure 14. Attitudes concerning forced marriages of minors and sale of human organs and embryos expressed by general active public- citizenry, pre-professionals and professionals- judges, police officers, social workers and NGO workers.

General public

Result distribution shows a method of attitude group formation concerning approving or disapproving minor marriages and human organ and embryo sale, more exactly how many participants take a neutral position with regard to all types of trafficking. Active general public representatives (citizenry) absolutely disapprove (79,7%) these types of trafficking, while only 13,7% take a neutral position. The irrelevant percentage of 6,6% approves such phenomenon: they address cultural tradition of certain ethnical groups (Roma) and justify human organ and embryo sale by extreme poverty.

Pre-professionals

With respect to this component of attitude concerning trafficking, pre-professionals (students) have significantly differed from general public representatives, however their stance have been very similar or even the same as the ones owned by professionals.

Professionals

Both groups of professionals, including pre-professionals and professionals express significantly a disapproval or express significantly a neutral position, or even approve those appearances (14,5% professionals) in comparison with general public representatives (6,5%).

At this particular level of analysis, it is not possible to explain this finding that professionals who are engaged with trafficking or will be in a near future, *have significantly higher "understanding"* in statistical terms for issues involving forced marriages of minors, human organ and embryo sales than general public.

As a potential assumption, professionals and pre-professionals may view only sexual exploitation as a form of trafficking and accordingly hesitate to accept other new forms of exploitation as trafficking. However, active general public disapproves absolutely and indisputably forced marriages of minors, and human organ and embryo sale under no justification or a rationale. Any legislative and repressive action against these types of trafficking would be accepted and supported absolutely by general active public in BiH. One third of students who have neutral attitude (21,3%) or even approve phenomenons (10,4%) should be approached directly with information on criminal, legal and human rights features of these wrongdoings.

Dimension concerning **attitude on use of victim's sexual services**. This composite variable has been consisted of 4 claims and its total interval ranges from 40 to 0 (in an opposite direction due to content of addressed claim).

Sexual exploitation of young women and girls who were brought to BiH by deception in late 1990s and early 2000s, and were subjected to abuse, molestation and forced pro-

vision of sexual services, while living in debt-slavery conditions, seems to be less visible issue nowadays. Some believe that the issue was resolved entirely in BiH, while others deem that it got concealed. However, it has been hard to assume that organized crime perpetrators accepted a loss of such profitable and low risk businesses gained by female trafficking and sexual exploitation. Some sources claim that trafficking moved from the clubs to private houses and dwellings, while the number of local victims involved in sexual exploitation increased.

The following table illustrating views of well informed public such as taxi drivers and receptionists corroborate this finding.

Table 6. *Comparative review of special audience representatives- taxi drivers and receptionists on status of sexual exploitation.*

Claim content:	Modalities			
	Degree of (dis) agreement	Neutral	Agree	Total
„Although there are no more other night clubs as before, I think that providing of sexual services was displaced to illegal venues entirely.”	9 15%	12 20%	40 65%	61 100%
„Domestic victims prevail among victims of sexual exploitation”	9 15%	16 26%	36 59%	61 100%

The views of this well informed special public corroborate our findings based on interviewing victims from safe houses (shelters) which prove the case that venues for providing sexual services moved to private houses, apartments and some motels illegally. A small percentage involve clubs premises where victims are employed as fraudulent waitresses.

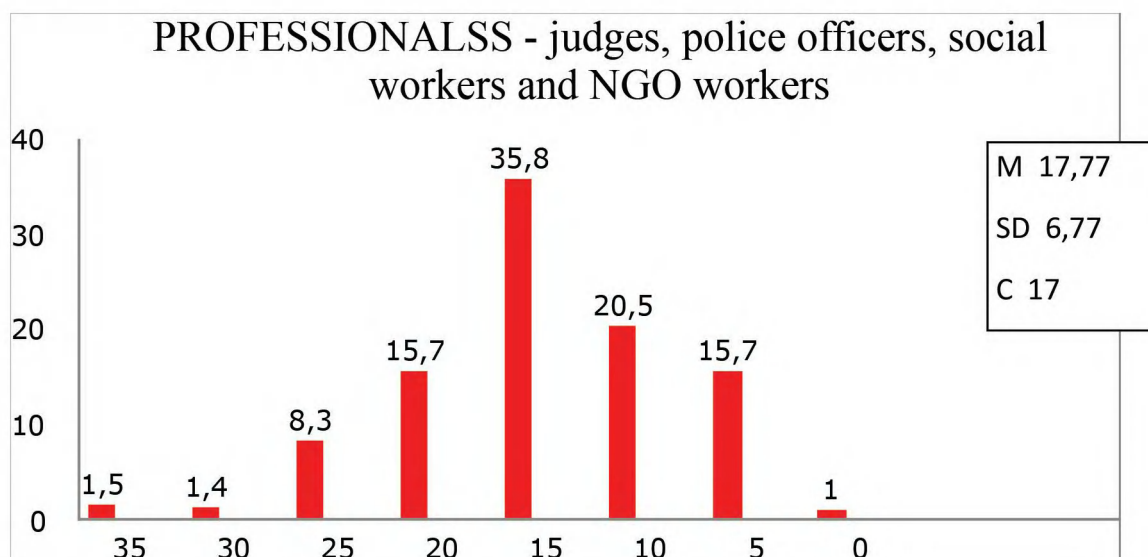
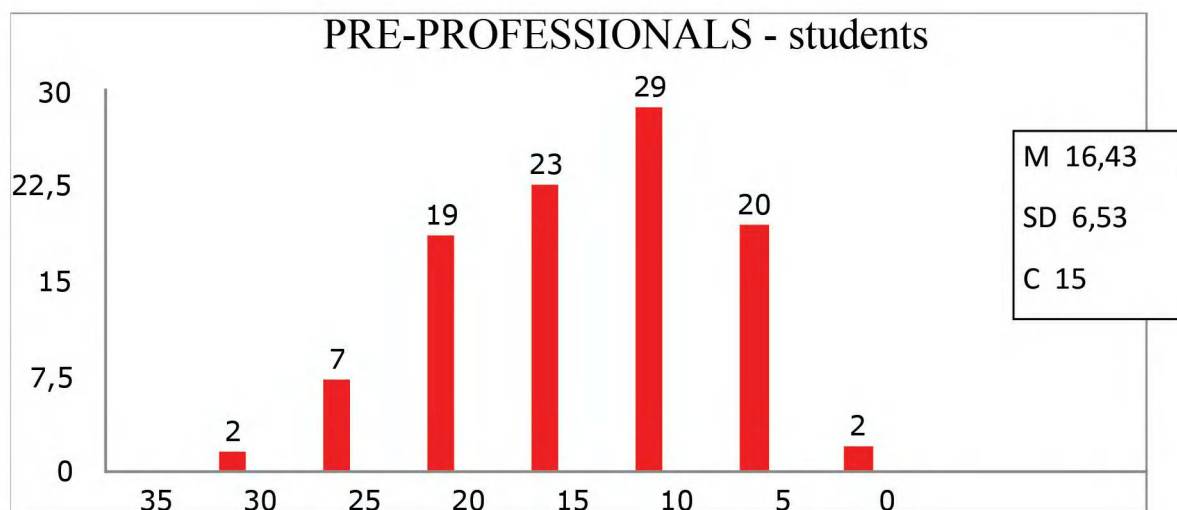
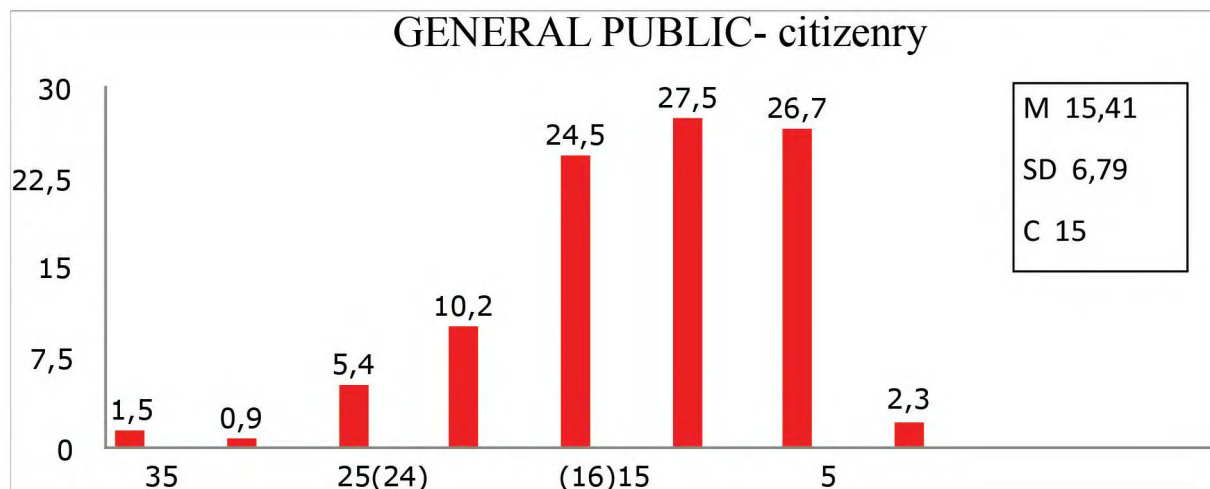


Figure 15. Attitudes concerning consuming sexual services provided by victims

The general audience, pre-professionals and professionals' attitudes have been reflected in summarized replies to 4 claims pertaining to use of sexual services of potential victims. The claims have been positioned in such a way that their approval means non-condemnation of the claim, while disapproval means condemnation of claim concerning behavior by services "customers". Therefore, their total interval ranges from 40 to 0.

Data collected have been a surprise to us!

At first, all three groups representing public have showed less condemnation concerning use of sexual services by providers who may be victims of trafficking realistically, compared to their general attitudes on trafficking and particularly their attitudes with respect to disapproval of forced marriages of minors and sale of human organs and embryos.

Secondly, appropriate professionals including judges, prosecutors, police officers, social worker, NGO activists condemn less such behavior than general and pre-professional public.

There is a twofold commentary on results obtained: more educated categories and female representatives prevail at general population sample. This lead to severe condemnation of "paid sex" whereas customers disregarded if victims of trafficking were providers of such services. Within the same pattern, pre-professionals (students) were heavily influenced by their age concerning the view on usage of sexual services. On the contrary, professionals facing publicity of this phenomenon cannot have doubts if provision of sexual services implies prostitution only whereas customers are exempted from immediate condemnation. This implies an understanding that provision of sexual services is regarded rather as a misdemeanor, and not as criminal offence, which does not impose any penalties to customers.

Regardless of background to such significantly different professional attitudes, one questions remains: does a more tolerant attitude reflect to a professional conduct? If yes, this represent an issue of subjectivity limitation factor that may lead to bias actions in line with their respective attitude.

Composite variable of claim that **local communities in BiH** have available resources that enable them to include victims of trafficking or any other socially vulnerable individuals in social events (integrations). The second claim pertained to understanding that **non-governmental organizations (NGOs)** exercised better readiness to assist victims then the state authorities.

In summary these two claims suggest that trafficking adverse effects suffered by victims could be managed and resolved by local communities and non-governmental organizations.

The following graph illustrates results provided by composite variable with a total interval from 0 to 20

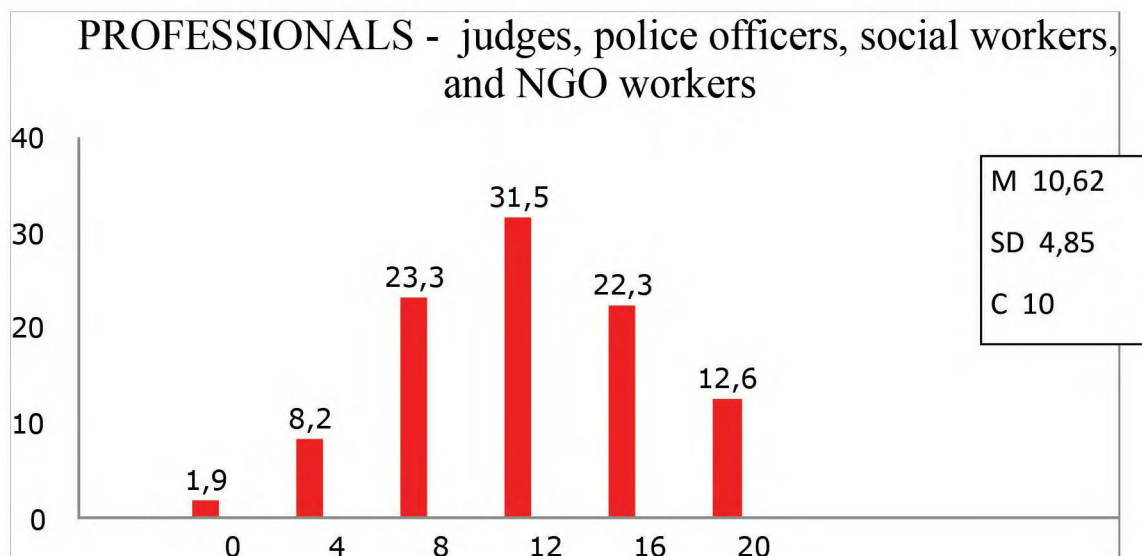
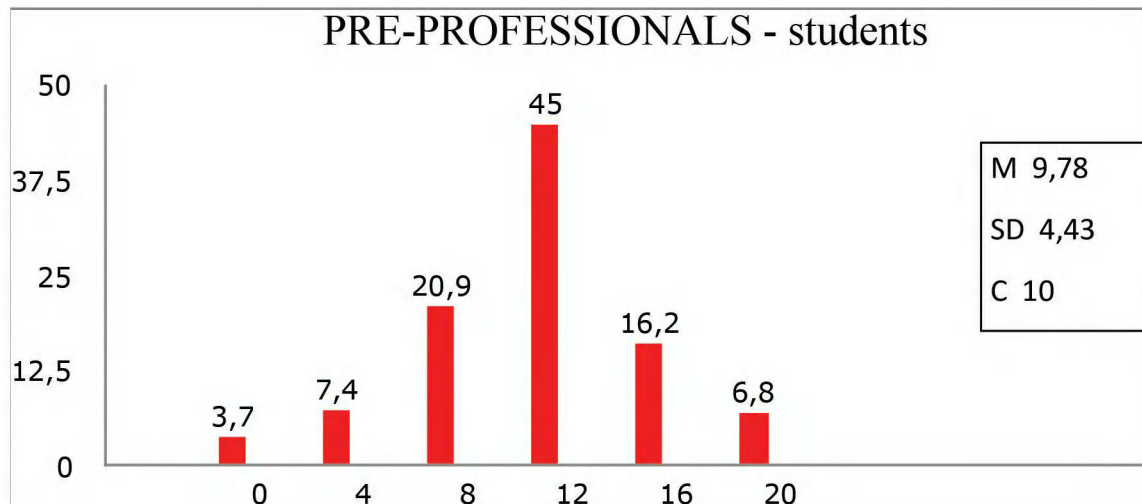
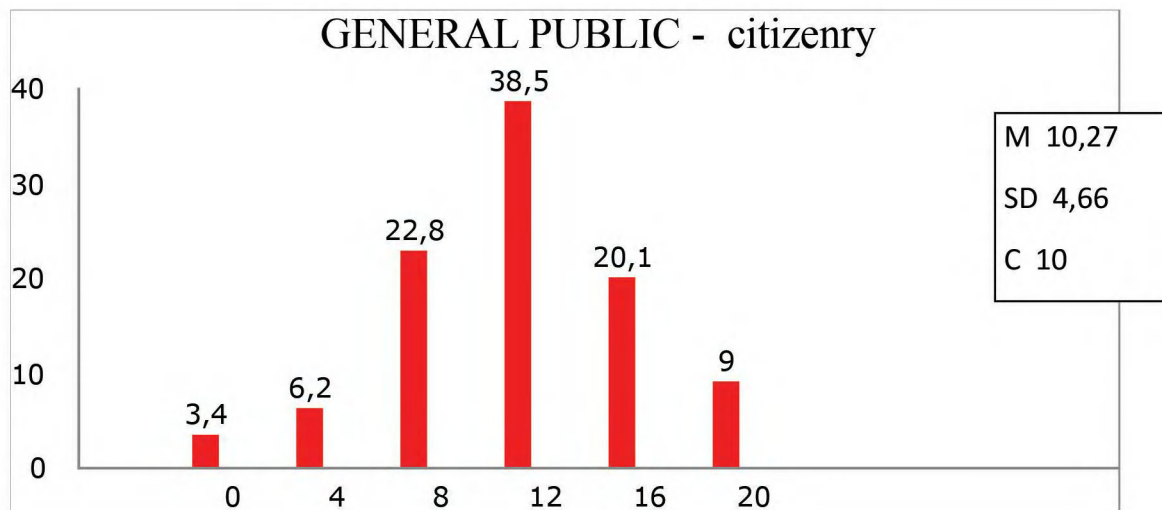


Figure 16. Attitudes concerning local communities and NGOs' abilities to assist victims.

With respect to this component of attitude concerning management of trafficking impact, views of pre-professionals (students) differ from general and professional public. To this end student take a more neutral position (45%), while 32.5% of general public and 31.5% of professionals opted for that position. On the other hand, representatives from three groups don't differ significantly concerning with disagreement with such claims. More exactly, approximately one third of participants deems that local communities don't have sufficient resources either nor that NGOs seem to be better equipped than state authorities.

In addition, every forth pre-professional representative agree with the claims as well as every third representative of general and professional public. It is likely that students have inclined to a more opportunistic and non-conflicting view in their considerations and thus chose a neutral reply. As a general finding, general public and professionals don't assess local community resources as significant ones, nor regard highly NGO capacity to resolve adverse impact of trafficking. Accordingly, expression of own satisfaction by local communities and particularly by NGOs with their social role and counter trafficking operations have not been substantiated in the perception of general public and professionals.

Relation towards children beginning as organized labor exploitation

There have been many scenes of child begging (involving children bellow age of 5) and as well as similar scenes of windshield washing services (provided by older children) at the streets of Sarajevo and other major BiH towns. Another frequent scene includes mothers with babies and/or small children at streets who stop drivers at crossroads, in particular foreign ones, and ask for money. They encourage their children to participate at the same begging scheme. According to police information, such practice represents an organized begging scheme whereas older persons transport children to pre-determined junctions. When they arrive to pick them up they also collect their half-day or daily begging earnings. Considering children's age, their neglected appearance and behavior, it seems that begging practice will determine their "life pattern" and other deviant behavior that evolves to petty crimes, drug and commodity smuggling, burglaries and other severe crimes at later stage.

Tendency towards "collective based economy" has been very present at Roma population and this intrusive begging should be regarded as introduction to a more serious socio-pathological behavior. Through this activity, child becomes an object of exploitation, whereas all begging earnings are taken away and its only basic needs are met. Child's neglected appearance speaks for itself; they are frequently sold to a "big boss" abroad, frequently in Italy and forced to commit various offences starting with pick pocketing, thefts and burglaries. A special form includes a sale of very small children, a habit present at so called "white Roma" and a habit of concluding forced marriages of minor girls in return for financial compensation provided to her parents.

It is noteworthy that even if an older boy is engaged on semi-legal business such as garbage collection or re-sale of petty goods, car parts, he is subjected to a severe labor

exploitation imposed by work organizer. If such organizer happens to be a boy's father, he has an additional obligation of collecting sufficient funds "to purchase a bride". If certain portion of the purchase amount is missing, the boy will fall under a debt slavery of a person who borrowed a money e.g. parent, cousin or some other person.

These cases involve some type of human trafficking, although appropriate legislative sanctions and police repressive action concerning such behavior don't exist. However, research in other states show that there has been a very low level of police authorities sensibility concerning labor exploitation. Moreover, police enforcement authorities of some developed countries don't comprehend this particular form of trafficking as the issue. The following are the most frequent causes for such state: (a) a lack of clarification in defining labor exploitation for purpose of trafficking, (b) illegal migrant status which contribute to vague comprehension of the issue; (c) formally demonstrated social control pressures to illegal migrants which results with deeper labor exploitation; and (d) traditional comprehension that criminal legislation can not protect laborers rights (Barrick et al., 2014).

We attempted to find out an attitude of certain population categories concerning wide spread begging scenes in Sarajevo and other towns and whether citizens support it y own behavior. To this end, we asked two appropriate questions- claims.

- „Children who beg at junctions are mainly victims of trafficking!“
- Although, at my subconscious level I know that it has not been good, I give my money often to beggars at junctions.

Table 7. Comparative view of disapproving the claim; "the children who beg at junctions have been primarily victims of trafficking!"

Areas of dis/approval	Level of public in %			
	general	Pre-professional	Professional	Special
0 – 1 extreme disagreement	4,0	5,6	4,8	18,2
2 – 3 medium disagreement	5,4	9,7	2,4	9,0
4 – 6 neutral	24,2	24,0	10,5	16,5
7- 8 medium agreement	16,7	25,5	16,7	12,7
9 – 10 extreme agreement	49,7	35,2	65,6	43,6
Total %	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	(684)	(199)	(212)	(60)

Chi square test = 32,4765has been *relevant in statistical terms* along 12 degrees of deviations at level of 05.

Discrepancy relevance primarily between dis/approval with aforesaid claim between professionals and general public, and in particular between pre-professionals and pro-

professionals show that there have been different perceptions concerning the same phenomenon. Therefore, there should be a graduated and fine-tune approach in order to adjust attitude concerning this sociopathological phenomenon and differentiate accompanying criminal activities.

It is noteworthy that absolute majority considers begging as a form of trafficking (65,6% agree extremely and 16,7% agree moderately). Major portion of general public also recognized it as a form of trafficking (69,7% agree extremely, and 16,7% agree moderately), while every 10th interviewee disagrees followed by every 4th interviewee with a neutral position.

Student population assesses begging as a form of trafficking in a less rigid manner, and thus differentiates substantially from the perception of professionals and pre-professionals.

In general, BiH public has recognized begging as a form of trafficking and this has been a predominant view of professional public. Accordingly, it is strange that there has not been appropriate social response that would determine permanent activities and measures, primarily at providing social welfare to victims and penalizing concerned offenders.

Attitude cognitive dissonance with respect to trafficking

We have mentioned that behavior is frequently inconsistent with attitudes. This feature was defined as *cognitive dissonance* by Festinger (in late 1990s) which implies any discomfort notice between two or several attitudes of the individual, or alternatively between his behavior and attitude.

Specifically, participants were confronted with their own inconsistency through the two aforesaid claims: the first one stated that children beggars are mainly victims of trafficking, followed by another expressing participants' approval/disapproval with habit of giving money to beggars, although subconsciously knowing that it has not been a good practice.

Table 8. Comparative review of dis/agreement with claim " Although I know subconsciously that giving money to beggars represents a bad practice, I give the money frequently to beggars at street junctions"

Fields of (dis)agreement	Level of public				in %
	General	Pre-professionals	Professional	Special	
0 – 1 disagree extremely	27,6	17,8	31,8	16,4	
2 – 3 disagree moderately	9,5	8,6	8,0	1,6	
4 – 6 neutral	19,9	21,3	20,0	24,6	
7-8 agree moderately	15,9	19,8	14,2	19,7	
9 – 10 agree extremely	21,1	32,5	26,0	37,7	
Total %	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	
N	(669)	(196)	(211)	(61)	

A total Chi square *has not been statistically relevant*, nor the partial chi squares between individual levels of public.

This statistical statement means that participants representing an each level (group) of public behave similarly when exposed to situations involving begging.

Affective (emotional) component of the attitude has been responsible for such behavior, as it corrects a cognitive component and modifies behavioral component; in this light participants agree on cognitive level that begging represents a form of trafficking, however they can not stay immune emotionally to situations when small children or mothers with babies beg. Accordingly, 37% of general public participants and even 40,2% professionals behave in accordance with described fashion (sum of replies under line "d" and "e").

Size of *cognitive dissonance* between the attitude that begging represents trafficking and behavior which happen in specific situations of begging are provided with following details.

Table 9. Matching data arising from replies concerning two claims:

GENERAL PUBLIC								
"I give my money to beggars (in particular to children and old people), although I am aware subconsciously that this is not a good practice."			"Children who seek money at junctions are mainly victims of trafficking ."					
	Disagree		Neutral		Agree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Disagree	21	33,8	51	31,7	17	39,6	247	37,1
Neutral	16	25,9	42	26,1	74	16,7	132	19,9
Agree	25	40,3	68	42,2	193	43,7	286	43,0
Total	62	100,0	161	100,0	442	100,0	665	100,0

Chi square *has not been relevant*, therefore we conclude that regardless of its professional background (professionals) all groups of participants behave similarly when encounter begging scenes. More exactly, this is a total of 43,7%, whereas every 2nd interviewee who realized that begging practices in streets represent trafficking still gives money to beggars while being aware of his wrong practice supporting trafficking indirectly. This happens due to emotional component which makes his behavior inconsistent with his attitude. Those who have a neutral attitude concerning begging as a form of trafficking (42,2%) also follow a practice of giving money to beggars. It is interesting that the last group of interviewees which did not consider begging practice as a form of trafficking has also supported actively by the same percentage (40,3%) this socio-pathological occurrence.

Accordingly, we can find that a begging phenomenon has been directed to an emotional component of the attitude, and resistant to any individual knowledge on this practice as a form of trafficking. This creates a **cognitive dissonance** in behavior which happens in specific situations. This likely justifies conduct of law enforcement officers who don't undertake any actions with the exception of inefficient warnings failing to suppress begging as deviant practices mainly performed by minor Roma children under supervision of crime organizers.

Therefore, there is a need to make a throughout approach with regard to begging, as a form of trafficking, which will encompass all situations when traffickers transport groups of children to junctions and later pick them up and confiscate their daily or semi daily begging earning. It is likely that concerned children have a similar age and thus could not all be biological children of trafficker: he organizes a begging scheme and punishes a child who hide certain amount of money or simply who don't earn expected "profit" for his parent/master.

In accordance with **a self-perception theory** finding, our attitude concerning begging practices has become more tolerant, while behavior more social in situations when

exposed to begging scene. Large frequency of situations whereas children beggars provoke our sympathy corrects a knowledge that mainly such occurrences represent trafficking and we behave in *dissonant fashion* with respect to our rationale beliefs and attitudes. The public would start to change its affective component, if there would be appropriate media presentation on the subject organized in cooperation with social workers and police followed by consistent implementation of welfare measures targeting victims and severe repression against offenders. This would affect people's behavior in order not to support actively the minor children begging practices which occur in urban areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of course, the comprehensive approach should include both: social welfare measures for victims and judicial sanctions imposed to crime organizers and parents who neglect and abuse their children.

As long as people behave in dissonant fashion opposite to their attitudes and beliefs regarding begging as a social occurrence, it will continue to last and develop further. Also, it will continue to provide large profit consisting of real estates and assets to the organizers. This fact has been illustrated by a recent example of Roma boss' pompous funeral in Rome.

Relation towards exploitation of workers who work without compensation as a new form of trafficking

Severe economic situation in BiH that has been manifested in a large number of unemployed persons allow company owners and their managers not to pay salaries to their workers for significant period, while they receive large salaries and bonuses simultaneously. This occurrence has not been encompassed by a term of trafficking but represents one of risk factors for introducing various practices of labor exploitation for purpose of trafficking. It is of particular interest that criteria for identifying victims of trafficking, including labor exploitation make an eternal dilemma among researchers. In order to define a victim of labor exploitation, it requires consideration of each state specifics and of its industry sector where exploitation occurs. This is in accordance with analyses of two contradicted concepts, whereas one is founded on a coercion criteria, while the other focuses on victim's consent. In this regard, Aronowitz (2009) provides a data there has been a worldwide labor exploitation with certain specific features in certain regions. For example, workers from Mexico and Guatemala have been exploited on plantations in Florida, while other federal states exploit foreign workers primarily in catering sector.

Similar situation exists in the Western Europe where foreigners are subject to exploitation in the restaurants or garment factories where famous brand garments are tailored (Italy). Internal trafficking for purpose of labor exploitation has also been present on plantations in Brazil, while foreign workers are mainly exploited in factories there. The countries with developed fishery industry also face work exploitation in this sector. The author further claims that there have been registered cases of exploitation in brick factories in China. In general, scope of migrant workers exploitation did not receive a sufficient attention in comparison with sexual exploitation practice. There are some

anomalies and difficulties in determination of this form of trafficking as it is necessary to establish if an uninterrupted chain between recruiting and potential worker exploitation exists. In this light, there is a certain fragmentation of actions undertaken by an offender, whereas some employment agencies facilitate workers smuggling by making job offers abroad and then abandoning them in foreign country with no funds and personal documents (Kelly, 2005). One of widely accepted criteria to this end is a criteria of the International Labor Organization which include a question; "Do you feel free to change your work at any moment". The reply to aforesaid question represents a crucial turning point between poor working conditions and exploitation for purpose of trafficking. As there is no universal criteria for establishing victims of labor exploitation, it could be stated that **absence of freedom to abandon a post where exploitation occurs** seem to be appropriate for defining victims of trafficking (Ray, 2008).

Risk factors may lead to labor and workers exploitation in BiH presently, as there are such trends in place throughout the world and in BiH as well. This annoys individuals, and their families as well as general public. In particular, young unemployed persons have been annoyed with fictitious advertisements published on a pro-forma basis. Also, there is a general belief that any accomplishment is possible only by use of bribe, connections and corruption acts in general. Disregarding causes of country's economical, political and social state, our research focused on a widely spread thesis that lack of payment for work provided for a longer period accompanied by exploitation represent one of possible forms of trafficking. In order to substantiate this thesis, we list the following facts which are present in sexual exploitation as well:

- False promises and fraud that they will be paid for their services at a later stage.
- Psychological abuse due to lack of certainty faced by a worker and his/her family,
- Threats and coercion associated with loss of job applied in a situation when a worker is unwilling to work without financial compensation,
- Demanding slavery loyalty and acceptance of such a state.
- Continuation of performing unpaid work.

All these elements have been present at sexual exploitation whereas trafficked women/girls are deceived by false promises, and forced to render sexual services with no compensation. They are subjected to slavery obedience by use of psychological threats and other forms of abuse. Also, some researchers are faced with methodological difficulties in cases of exploring labor exploitation in the Western countries, whereas clear indicators of such occurrence exist, in particular of illegal migrants, then servants and maids engaged in households (including diplomats' households).

Illegal migrants exploited in agriculture and construction sectors, minor workshops and facilities are socially isolated and deprived of social connections. This is an intentional action by exploiters in order to make these persons invisible and "disguised" to social control authorities as well as to researchers addressing this subject (Zhang, 2012)

It may look inappropriate to seek similarities between a position of female victims, subjected to sexual exploitation and position of workers with several unpaid salaries

subjected to hard labor exploitation, but the latter exploitation is to be considered trafficking form as well.

We wanted to explore a scope of thesis that labor exploitation may be treated as a form of trafficking and also to measure its intensity and expansion within general public.

Table 10. Comparative review of dis/agreement with claim "Workers who work without compensation for a longer period are victims of trafficking!"

Areas of (dis)agreement	Level of public in%			
	General	Pre-professional	Professional	Special
0 – 1 disagree extremely	11,5	11,8	9,4	20,0
2 – 3 disagree moderately	7,7	8,2	6,1	3,3
4 – 6 neutral	24,9	36,2	28,9	36,7
a) 7 - 8 agree moderately	15,5	12,7	19,9	13,3
b) – 10 agree extremely	40,4	31,1	35,6	26,7
Total %	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
N	(684)	(199)	(211)	(60)

Chi square has *not been statistically relevant*. This statistical statements shows that BiH public, regardless of social and professional status, think that there is trafficking in place in a situation of forcing a worker to work without compensation along with threats on dismissal. Accordingly, this thesis has been examined on the level of general public perception, without distinguishing a border between poor working conditions and labor exploitation. A stronger accent has been placed on exploring sensibility of general public concerning human exploitation, as labor force for purpose of trafficking. In total 44,4% of active general public followed by 36,5% of professional strongly agree with the claim on exploitation. If this is added with a choice "agree moderately" than half of general public participants (55,9%) and professionals (55,5%) condemn such a situation. Students and special public (taxi drivers and receptions) have a lower level agreeing judgments with the claim that "workers who work a longer period without compensation are victims of trafficking"; however 36% opted for neutral judgment in this respect.

Such general social perception warns that measures to protect workers' human rights and freedoms must be undertaken since public view is close to condemnation and protest; the public would likely support workers' demonstrations which could lead to civil riots and revolution developments. Workers of certain companies and/or other representatives of public have already taken participation in some protests, which occurred recently and thus corroborated aforesaid statement which could not be illustrated as too unrealistic or complex otherwise.

However these considerations have been addressed on **general level of society and its politics**, while our consideration involves exploration of such state at **the individual level**. Therefore it is important to clarify that that lack of salary disbursement throughout months and even years represent etiological and *de facto* trafficking of human subsistence and perspectives at the level concerned.

Cluster analysis—results and interpretation on samples of general public, pre-professionals, and professionals

By factor analysis, we determined common components within a joint attitude towards trafficking by exploring intercorrelations between certain characteristics of the participants. Additionally, by cluster analysis we have determined homogenous groups that associate participants with respect to their similarities into one group and also creates the other group with respect to differences, as established by the same procedure. Accordingly, by cluster analytical procedure of comparison features of an each individual participant with the features of all other participants, homogenous groups are being created. They happen to be very similar internally but also different at the same time. In this regard, a cluster analysis proceedings recur until reaching a full classification where further division is not possible or logical.

The following scheme show that in particular:

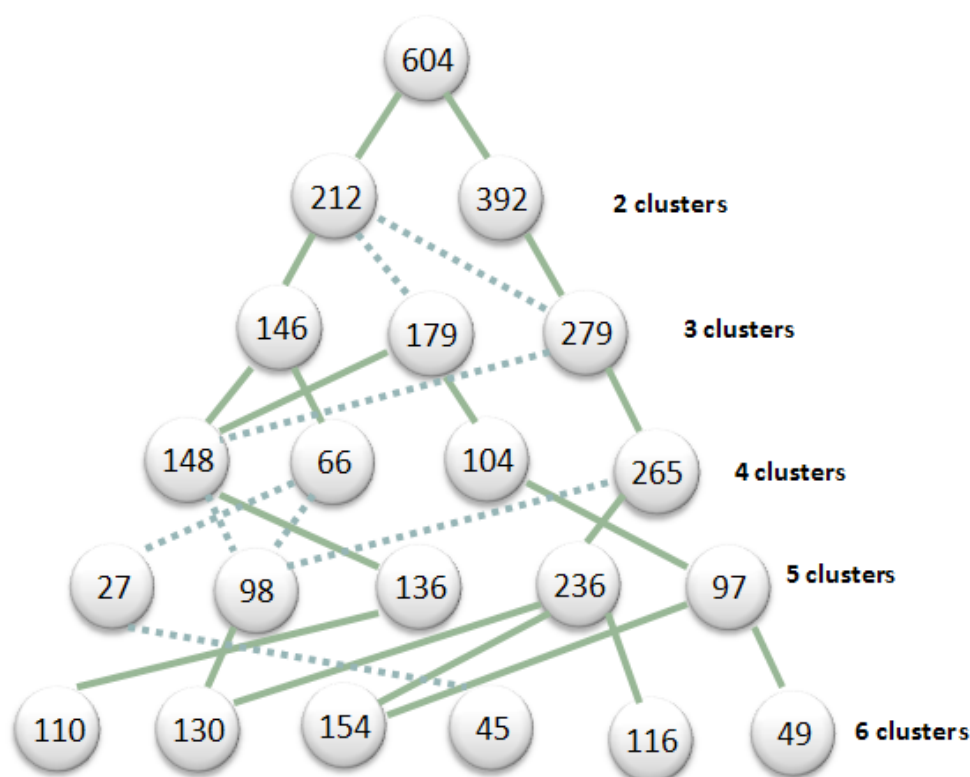


Figure 17. Division of individual clusters conditioned with their number increase- an example deriving from general public data samples

Pursuant to data including participants' responses to claims on attitudes concerning trafficking, seven homogenous groups (*clusters*) were created thanks to a cluster analysis. On the previous scheme, we have illustrated a quantitative method of general public division (classification). The following table shows a quantitative expression of participants' classification from the 6th to 7th cluster.

Table 11. Review of participants' classification from the 6th to 7th cluster on a general public sample

Clusters Numbers of cases	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total %
1	48	1	61	0	0	0	0	110
2	11	83	0	32	0	4	0	130
3	43	0	0	0	0	110	1	154
4	0	8	15	0	22	0	0	45
5	0	0	0	77	0	39	0	116
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	43	49
Total %	102	92	76	109	22	153	44	604

We can perceive that out of six clusters in total, the 1st cluster was dissolved into the first and third cluster, followed by the 2nd cluster dissection into the 2nd and 4th cluster and so on.

Homogenous groups of general public participants- citizenry

The following table shows characteristics of seven groups respectively, whereas groups were composed of general public meaning citizens.

Table 12. Review of final centers of cluster analysis in accordance with certain features of general public participants

Variable reference	Abbreviated name of variable	Clusters- final-centers						
		CI/1	CI/2	CI/3	CI/4	CI/5	CI/6	CI/7
V 9	..sex. exploitation moved to illegal venues (houses)	7	9	8	9	10	8	6
V 10	..prostitutes are mainly victims of trafficking	5	8	6	9	8	6	3
V 11	Domestic victims prevail	5	8	6	9	8	6	2
V 12	Major clients do not think about victim	9	9	8	9	10	9	6
V 13	..Clients would not have to take care about victim	2	3	4	1	8	1	2
V 14	.. He uses sexual services on his own	1	1	2	0	5	0	0

V 15	.. children beggars are mainly victims	6	9	6	9	9	8	4
V 16	..a person is aware of trafficking, but still gives a money	6	6	7	5	9	3	4
@ 17	.. minors' marriage is treated as acceptable	2	3	5	0	7	0	1
@18	Arranged marriage is rarely trafficking	5	6	6	3	8	2	2
V 19	Unpaid workers are victims of trafficking	6	9	6	9	9	6	2
V 20	Sale of human organs is necessity	4	5	8	1	9	1	2
V 21	It is justified to buy embryo	2	2	5	0	7	0	1
V 22	I would not like a victim to be my neighbor	3	3	6	1	7	1	2
V 23	Most victims have been responsible for their position	4	5	6	3	9	2	2
V 24	Local communities have sufficient resources	3	5	4	5	9	2	2
@25	NGOs are better equipped	6	8	6	8	9	6	3
I Comp. var.	General Attitude to Trafficking	38	55	42	56	64	43	21
II Comp. var.	Attitude concerning Forced Marriages and Organ Sale	16	18	29	5	39	5	8
III Comp. var.	Attitude concerning sexual services provided by victims	16	18	21	13	31	12	11
Total N 604 N in cluster		108	92	76	109	22	153	44
% per cluster		17,9	15,2	12,6	18,0	3,6	25,4	7,3

Cluster Analysis Interpretation Result

CI 1 (108 or 17,9% - neutral mainly) – participants within this cluster have prevailing neutral attitude concerning trafficking, more exactly to sexual and labor exploitation and believe that domestic victims of sexual exploitation prevail. They also show a neutral standpoint concerning victim's responsibility for his/her own status as well as a belief that domestic victims prevail. In addition, they regard neutrally sale of human organs due to poverty, and don't believe fully that arranged marriages of minors hide trafficking. However, they are extremely against purchasing human embryo at illegal market which contradicts the previous view. They show the largest level of criticism concerning behavior of sexual services consumers who don't pay attention if "the other party", more exactly a provider may involve a potential victim of trafficking. They estimate local communities as weak ones while NGO's capacity to assist victims as average ones. It is of interest that this group of citizens condemn expression of prejudice concerning former victims regardless of its many neutrally based views.

Summarized results based on composite variable with respect to a general attitude concerning trafficking fall under a neutral zone. In addition participant show neutral view concerning forced marriages, sale of human organs and usage of sexual services from (potential) victims.

CI 2 (92 or 15,2% - critical and neutral) – they agree that major persons involved in prostitutions have been victims of trafficking as well as children beggars and workers without payment. They deem predominantly that domestic victims of sexual exploitation prevail. They are neutral with respect to organ sale due to poverty, but condemn a purchase of human embryo at illegal market. In addition, they are neutral with respect to the responsibility of victims of sexual exploitation. They disapprove behavior of sexual services customers who disregard a probability that "the other party" may be potential victim. They disapprove cultural justification for forced marriages of young persons, but stay neutral concerning belief that they include trafficking. They deem that NGOs are prepared better to respond to state authorities and local communities to assist victims.

In accordance with summarized results of composite variables, participants of this particular cluster are critical in their general attitude concerning trafficking. However, they mostly disapprove forced minor marriages and sale of human organs and embryo while remain neutrally concerning sexual exploitation more exactly of use of sexual services from potential victims.

CI 3 (76 or 12,6% neutral fully) – They are extremely neutral as well as individuals from the first cluster, however they differ with regard to a large neutrality concerning forced marriages, human organs sale and embryo purchase at illegal market. They also condemn less the behavior of sexual services consumers. Participants of this cluster consistently take neutral positions on all composite variables.

CI 4 (109 or 18,0% extremely critical) – They condemn extremely trafficking and female sexual exploitation, child begging, unpaid work, illegal organ and embryo sale/purchase, forced marriages of minors, and any form of prejudice targeting former vic-

tims. They are only neutral concerning resources of local communities, while they deem NGOs more equipped than official authorities. They take an extremely critical position concerning every of three composite variable.

CI 5 (22 or 3,6% dissonant) – they condemn sexual and labor exploitation of adults and forced children begging, while agree fully with justification for forced marriages of minors that are not considered as a special form of trafficking. In addition, they agree with actions involving sale/purchase of human organs and embryos at illegal market. In addition they agree with a view that those who decided to pay for a sexual services should not be accountable if a provider may be a victim! At the same time, they are the only representatives of all clusters who have a neutral attitude concerning a personal use of paid sexual services.

In accordance with summarized results of composite variables, participants of this particular cluster hold the most critical spot placed on composite variable of general attitude concerning trafficking. At the same time, they mainly approve or tolerate occurrences involving forced marriages of minors, sale/purchase of organs and embryos and tolerate extremely use of sexual services from potential victims of trafficking.

CI 6 (153 or 25,4% critical) – they agree with a view that children beggars are victims of trafficking, but stay neutral concerning sexual and labor exploitation of adults. They condemn extremely the occurrences involving forced marriages and sale/purchase of human organs and embryos. In addition, they disapprove extremely a statement that users of sexual services should not be concerned if provider is a victim. They are very critical concerning local communities resources to assist victims, and neutral concerning NGOs capacities.

Pursuant to summarized results of composite variables, participants of this cluster take a neutral position within their general attitude concerning trafficking. They are critical extremely concerning composite variables associated with forced marriages of young persons, sale/purchase of human organs and use of sexual services from potential victims.

CI7 (44 or 7,3% contradicting) – they disapprove extremely that major persons offering sexual services and children beggars represent victims of trafficking. They also regard identically workers who work without compensation in a course of longer period. At the same time, they condemn practices involving forced marriages, illegal sale/purchase of human organs and embryo and are very critical concerning behavior of customers who are ignorant of the other party-provider's potential victim status. They assess negatively both local communities and NGOs regarding their capacities to assist the victims.

Summarized results of composite variables show that participants disagree (moderately up to extremely) on general attitude concerning trafficking occurrence. They are very critical concerning forced marriages of minors as well as with regard to sale/purchase of human organs and embryos and as of sexual services provision by potential victims of trafficking.

By use of inductive and objective criteria, cluster analysis has classified all participants to seven separated groups in accordance with their views concerning trafficking.

Critical individuals have been placed under the fourth cluster (extreme critical 18,0%), the sixth cluster (critical 25,4%), then the second cluster (critical and neutral 15,2%). Accordingly, there are 58,6% individuals with critical views against trafficking who belong to general active population of public.

Neutral participants have been positioned within the third cluster (totally neutral 12,6%) and the first cluster (neutral medium 17,9%). In total, there are 30,5% neutral participants that may involve also critical and neutral participants from the second cluster (15,2%)

Dissonant participants have been positioned within the fifth cluster (dissonant 3,6%) and the seventh cluster (contradicting 7,3%).

In general, one could find that general public has been segregated to a large extent concerning its basic attitudes on trafficking. There are 43,4% of indisputably critical persons (sum from clusters 4 and 6). Further, there is 30,5% of persons with neutral attitude concerning trafficking and its forms and additional 15,2% critical neutral persons. Accordingly, we can conclude that there is almost half of participants with such neutral attitude that should be targeted by media and other actions to articulate their views and perceptions on trafficking in a more specific manner.

Homogenous groups of pre-professionals (students)

Cluster analysis established five homogenous groups of participants within a student sample.

Table 13. Homogenous groups of pre-professionals - students

Variable reference	Abbreviated name of variable	Clusters- final-centers				
		CI/1	CI/2	CI/3	CI/4	CI/5
V 1	..sex. exploitation moved to illegal venues (houses)	8	9	10	5	8
V 2	..prostitutes are mainly victims of trafficking	5	7	9	2	5
V 3	Domestic victims prevail	5	7	7	2	6
V 4	Most clients do not regard if a provider is a victim	8	9	9	6	8
V 5	..Clients do not pay their attention if a provider is a victim	4	1	7	2	2

V 6	..He seeks and pays for social services by himself	1	1	1	0	0
V 7	..children beggars are mainly victims	6	9	9	3	7
V 8	..I frequently give money to beggars	7	6	6	5	6
@ 9	.. minors' marriage is treated as acceptable	4	1	6	2	1
@10	Arranged marriage is rarely trafficking	6	2	7	2	3
V 11	Unpaid workers are victims of trafficking	6	9	8	3	5
V 12	Sale of human organs is necessity	7	2	8	3	2
V 13	It is justified to buy embryo	4	1	4	0	1
V 14	I would not like a victim to be my neighbor	5	1	4	3	1
V 15	Most victims have been responsible for their position	6	2	8	3	4
V 16	Local communities have sufficient resources	4	4	6	2	3
@17	NGOs are better equipped	5	8	8	4	5
I Comp. var.	General Attitude to Trafficking	39	52	56	21	40
II Comp. var.	Attitude concerning Forced Marriages and Organ Sale	24	7	29	11	9
III Comp. var.	Attitude concerning sexual services provided by victims	19	14	25	13	14
Total N 184		58	42	16	23	45
% per cluster		31,5	22,8	8,7	12,5	24,5

CI 1 (58 or 31,5% neutral) –they agree mainly that sexual exploitation moved to illegal venues and agree that customers of sexual services don't pay attention if a provider represents a victim. They respond neutrally with respect to following claims: local victims prevail in current structure of victims of trafficking; children beggars are the victims of

trafficking; arranged and forced marriages of minors can be rarely treated as trafficking; unpaid workers; local communities and NGOs are efficient in assisting the victims. In summary, their beliefs concerning all forms of trafficking range from medium up to full neutrality. According to summarized results of composite variable, they take full neutral position concerning their general attitude concerning trafficking; also they remain neutrally in regard with forced marriages of minors and purchase/sale of human organs and embryos; as well as to use of sexual services from potential victims.

CI 2 (42 or 22,8% critical) – they consider that there is no justification for lack of ignorance on provider of sexual services that may involve a victim. They believe strongly that children beggars and unpaid workers are victims, as well as that NGOs are equipped better to assist victims than authorities. They disagree strongly with cultural justification concerning arranged marriages of minors as well as with sale/purchase of organ and embryo. They don't consider that victims are partially responsible for their status and condemn severely any prejudice against former victims. Accordingly, their critical position concerning all forms of trafficking has been very persistent.

Pursuant to summarized results on composite variables, they are very critical concerning continuous occurrence of trafficking, compulsory marriages and sale/purchase of organ and embryo. In addition, they have been critical concerning use of sexual services from (potential) victims of trafficking.

CI 3 (16 or 8,7% critical mainly) – they fully agree that sexual exploitation moved to illegal venues of private houses and apartments; also agree that most of persons involved in prostitution include victims of trafficking. However, they don't believe that a purchaser of sexual services has to pay attention if a provider involves a victim of trafficking, and nor that domestic victims prevail among sexually exploited persons. They are fully confident that children begging at public places represent victims of trafficking, and are slightly less confident that unpaid workers represent victims as well. They are mainly neutral concerning a view that arranged marriages of minors are acceptable and don't find trafficking occurrence within such marriages.

According to summarized results on composite variables, they have been extremely critical concerning their general attitude on trafficking, but pretty neutral concerning compulsory marriages of minors and purchase/sale of human organs and embryos. They are pretty critical concerning use of sexual services provided by potential victims of trafficking. Also, they are extremely critical concerning capacities of local communities and NGOs to provide appropriate and efficient assistance to victims.

CI 4 (33 or 12,5% opposing ones) – they keep a neutral view concerning an assessment if a provision of sexual services got displaced to illegal venues, including private dwellings. They negate a statement that most of persons providing services actually represent victims and that domestic victims prevail nowadays. Children who beg at public places and unpaid workers are not considered as victims trafficking by them. However, they disagree with justifying compulsory marriages and purchase/sale of organs and embryos. They disapprove strongly that local communities have sufficient resources to assist victims and other vulnerable citizens; while keep a neutral view with respect to

NGOs on this. According to summarized results of composite variables, they express a negative attitude concerning a continuous presence of trafficking and refer negatively concerning sexual exploitation of victims.

They find no justification for compulsory marriages and sale of human organs/embryos. They show a neutral stance concerning capacities of local communities and NGOs.

Cl 5 (45 or 24,6% pretty neutral) – They express a neutral attitude concerning a claim that persons who provide sexual services represent victims of trafficking. They have a neutral attitude concerning a claim that unpaid workers also represent victims of trafficking. They keep the same neutral attitude concerning a belief that victims are responsible for their situation partially, since they entered into unsecure adventure leading to trafficking. They are extremely critical against compulsory marriages of minors and sale/purchase of human organs and embryo, as well as against prejudice against victims of sexual exploitation. Summarized results of composite variables take up a neutrality upper segment of the general attitude on trafficking. However, they are extremely critical concerning sale of human organs and use of sexual service of potential victims of trafficking. They disagree extremely that local communities resources are insufficient to assist victims of trafficking, while they are neutral concerning NGO's capacity to offer assistance than state authorities. In general, this cluster analysis classifies all our participants into five separate groups (clusters) of pre-professionals who have similar beliefs and attitudes on trafficking;

Critical participants have been grouped within the following clusters: the 2nd cluster (critical extremely 22,8%), the 3rd cluster (critical moderately 8,7%) and the 5th cluster (selective and neutral critical 24,6%). In total summarized percentage shows that 56,1% of pre-professionals (students) express more or less critical attitude, and therefore shall support any action and measure in the area of suppressing trafficking.

Neutral participants have been grouped under a cluster one (neutral 31,5%) as well as under the cluster five (neutral moderately 24,6%) which makes 56,1% of participants from student population which keep and manifest neutral stance concerning trafficking.

Dissonant participants have been grouped under a cluster four, called as "opposing participants", as their attitude deny old and new forms of trafficking and thus make them dissonant with respect to other homogenous groups made by cluster analysis. Their presence within student population has not been unremarkable, since they represent future professionals whose professional work will focus on trafficking and assistance to victims. There has been only 31,5% students with a critical view concerning trafficking (sum of the second and the third cluster) from the total number of vocationally specific pre-professional participants. That specific percentage has been drastically lower than percentage of general public (58,6%) and can not be regarded as a satisfactory one.. as they represents future implementers in charge of counter-trafficking efforts and victims' assistance measures. It is unacceptable that every second pre-professions (or 56,1% from a total number) have a neutral attitude, while 12,5% have persistently opposing views and belief concerning trafficking. This has been also remarkable due that within a group of 31,5% critical ones, there has been only 8,7% extremely critical that exercise

a criticism only concerning compulsory marriages and sale of human organs practices, while being neutral to their general attitude on trafficking as well as to sexual exploitation of possible victims.

If one adds an additional percentage of dissonant- opposing views (12,5%) to previous sum, it is quite obvious that appropriate training programs and campaigns are required among student population. They would be tailored to explain specifics of the issues and a social necessity aimed at suppressing all forms of discrimination along with it.

We would suggest organizing such student campaigns, which incorporate interesting topics on violation of human rights and freedoms as well as specific case studies showing all sophisticated trafficking aspects of cruelty.

Also, it may be useful to organize an event to discuss research findings in order to accomplish a qualitative educational impact through academic discussions on the issue, point out to its sociological and cultural roots and structure of criminal networks involved in this particular type of organized crime in BiH.

Homogenous groups of professionals-groups of professional public-police, judiciary, social workers and NGOs

Cluster analysis conducted on professional public sample has resulted with four clusters whereas all participants were grouped together in accordance with a criteria of homogenous attitudes concerning trafficking. The following table shows similarities of attitudes and their positioning within composite variables.

Table 14. Cluster analysis results concerning data provided by professionals

Variable reference	Abbreviated name of variable	Clusters- final-centers			
		CI/1	CI/2	CI/3	CI/4
V 1	..sex. exploitation moved to illegal venues (houses)	9	7	9	9
V 2	..prostitutes are mainly victims of trafficking	8	4	6	9
V 3	Domestic victims prevail	9	6	8	8
V 4	Most clients do not regard if a provider is a victim	9	9	9	9
V 5	..Clients do not pay their attention if a provider is a victim	1	2	4	6
V 6	..He seeks and pays for sexual services occasionally	1	1	1	3

V 7	..Children beggars are VoT	9	6	9	9
V 8	..I frequently give money to beggars	5	3	5	6
@ 9	..Minor marriages are acceptable	0	2	4	7
@10	Forced marriages are rarely trafficking	3	3	6	9
V 11	Unpaid workers are victims of trafficking	7	4	7	8
V 12	Sale of human organs is necessity	1	2	6	8
V 13	Illegal purchase of human embryo	0	1	3	7
V 14	After" departure" not my first neighbor	1	2	3	6
V 15	Victims are partially responsible	3	3	5	8
V 16	BiH can do victims of reintegration	5	2	4	7
@17	NGOs are better equipped to assist	4	4	5	8
I Comp. var.	General Attitude to Trafficking	55	34	49	57
II Comp. var.	Attitude concerning Forced Marriages and Organ Sale	6	10	21	37
III Comp. var.	Attitude concerning sexual services provided by victims	15	14	19	26
Total N 195		61	46	60	28
% per cluster		31,3	23,6	30,8	14,3

CI 1 (61 or 31,3% - extremely critical) – they agree extremely that sexual services procurement has been moved to illegal private dwellings, however that most of clients don't pay attention on potential victims ; that children who beg at public places are considered as victims of trafficking, but to the less extent this refers to unpaid workers. They disagree extremely with sale of human organs and embryo in particular at illegal market. They disagree extremely with cultural justification of compulsory arranged marriages and consider them as trafficking. They condemn any prejudice to victims of sexual

exploitation, but remain neutral on understanding of victim's partial responsibility for her/his suffering. According to summarized results of composite variables, these participants are considered as extremely critical ones in accordance with all three composite variables positions.

CI 2 (46 or 23,6% neutral and critical) – they have been neutral concerning individuals that may fit under categories of victims; they also don't consider as victims, persons involved in prostitution and unpaid workers. They don't justify compulsory marriages and their rare association with trafficking. This group condemn prejudice to former victims of sexual exploitation and condemn severely sale/purchase of human organs at illegal market. According to summarized results on composite variables participants within this cluster fit a neutral zone concerning their general attitude on trafficking. Also they fit to an extremely critical zone concerning acceptance of compulsory marriages, then sale/purchase of human organs and embryos, and use of sexual services by potential victims of trafficking.

CI 3 (60 or 37,6% selectively critical) – they consider strongly that domestic victims prevail as victims of sexual exploitation; they regard children beggars as victims of trafficking but not to the same extent unpaid workers. They are neutral with respect that poverty motivates people to sale human organs and embryos. Also, they are neutral concerning cultural justification of compulsory marriages and mainly agree that trafficking has been associated with such practice. Also, they are neutral concerning use of sexual services whereas they don't consider a potential victims as service provider. They consider that NGOs are better equipped to assist victims than state authorities. According to summarized results on composite variables, they show extremely critical attitude concerning trafficking, but are neutral concerning certain types of such occurring, as well as of forced marriages and use of sexual services.

CI 4 (28 or 14,4% dissonant) – they agree fully that major persons involved in prostitution and children beggars represent victims of trafficking. Slightly less, they agree that unpaid workers for a longer period also represent victims. However, they consider victims partial responsible for their exploitation status, find that compulsory marriages are justified in cultural context and rarely consequence of trafficking. Also they find that poverty justifies sale of organs by certain individuals. They also approve a purchase of embryo at illegal market for persons who could become parents only by utilizing this method. They are neutral concerning responsibility of sexual services customers with respect to potential victims of trafficking. They agree, to the largest extent with respect to other clusters, with a view that NGOs seem to better equip than state authorities.

According to summarized results on composite variables, participants of this cluster show cognitive dissonance in their attitudes concerning trafficking. While they express extremely critical general attitude concerning trafficking, they justify certain behavior which represent forms of trafficking indisputably.

In general, the cluster analysis has classified all professional participants into the following groups:

Critical participants have been grouped together into cluster one (extremely critical 31,3%), three (selectively critical 30,7%). In accordance with this classification, there are 52,0% critical participants. It is disputable how can one treat unconditionally as neutral and critical participants belonging to the cluster 2 (23,6%) within a group of professional participants. This group has been sufficiently critical concerning trafficking due to their professional conduct including suppressing this crime and/or assisting the victims. There has been a certain cognitive dissonance noted among their attitudes, so it is noteworthy to ask if such neutral attitudes affect their behavior?

Neutral and critical participants saturate a second cluster whereas the data assessment shows that each forth participant (23,6%) with such attitude has been disputable. It has not been clear how the participants from this cluster could have a neutral attitude concerning individuals that may be potential victims of trafficking. At the same time, they are reserved concerning a statement that major persons involved in prostitution represent trafficking victims. In addition, they decline understanding on labor's exploitation in criminal sense whereas workers' right to salary compensation and/or redress were withheld. As a result such actions jeopardized workers' subsistence and destroy their dignity while exploiters obtain enormous profit and property (e.g. real estates and other assets). Accordingly, participants from the 2nd cluster show dissonant attitudes and represent a slightly opposing element within a critical section of professional public.

Dissonant participants (14,4%) have been grouped within a cluster fourth and show typical cognitive dissonance between a very critical general attitude concerning trafficking followed by tolerant (uncritical) understanding of compulsory marriages of minors, sale of organs and embryos, and use of sexual services provided by potential victims.

In summary, there has been a main division of professionals' attitudes concerning the attitude on compulsory marriages of minors and the attitude one of sexual services provided by potential victims on the other hand. Therefore, there is a different functioning of cognitive dissonance among two groups of attitudes; ¼ participants (23,6% of neutral and critical persons within cluster two) don't accept a general attitude that major persons involved in prostitution could be considered as victims of trafficking, but condemn use of sexual services by potential victims of trafficking and customer's ignorance on provider. Neutrality with respect to children, beggars and unpaid workers show that their relation concerning trafficking has been predominantly focused to sexual exploitation of actual victims of trafficking and to disapproval of compulsory marriages and sale of human organs. At the same time, they can not regard cognitively and affectively that children beggar and unpaid workers as victims of trafficking.

One third of participants (37,6% the 3rd cluster) have been critical selectively with respect to previously referred participants, they retain their neutral attitude concerning justification of compulsory marriages and sale of human organs. Also, they have a tolerant and neutral understanding concerning provision of sexual services by potential victims of trafficking. Unlike to previous statement, they highly regard children beggars as victims of trafficking and also retain a critical view concerning labor exploitation of workers who are deprived of salaries for longer period of time. Accordingly, they remain in cognitive dissonance with respect to their general critical view on trafficking and tolerance (absence of critical view) concerning other forms of trafficking. They regard highly

children beggars as victims of trafficking and incline to similar understanding of workers who perform unpaid work services for a longer period of time.

Obviously, there is a need to develop an active discussion on the matter of trafficking within professionals and face cognitive and affective dissonance of their attitudes and understanding of “Janus” nature of this phenomenon, which diminish the course of their behavior and actions.

Relevance of differences and linkages between participants and their general attitude concerning trafficking

The third primary issue of the subject research was set by question: Is it possible to anticipate socially accepted attitudes and behavior concerning trafficking dependant on certain features of participants, level of their information awareness and manifestation of concerned belief currently in BiH?

The following chart illustrates our approach on data processing and verification of aforesaid relations process:

FEATURES	BELIEF ON PRESENCE OF TRAFFICKING IN BIH	BEHAVIOR
26 Gender		
27 Years		
28 Education		
29 Marital status		
30 Usucaption		
31 House/apartment ownership		
32 Un/employment		
33 Financial circumstances		
34a Watching public broadcast		
34b Internet News		

GENERAL ATTITUDE CONCERNING TRAFFICKING

Figure 18. *Diagram on establishing differences and linkages between beliefs, attitudes and actions concerning trafficking in BiH*

Aforesaid diagram guides and explains an approach to verify relevance of certain features of general public participants concerning beliefs, attitudes and conduct (behavior) concerning trafficking. Furthermore, the same diagram illustrates interrelation between beliefs and general attitude of a (non)condemnation of trafficking and particularly interrelation between beliefs and behavior as well as between attitudes and behavior. Result processing process has been retained at a non-parametric statistical model: it verified the impact of general public certain features to behavior and additionally relationship between beliefs, attitudes and behavior.

Due to nature of our data, we could only apply a contingency coefficient.

Interrelation between participants' features and their conduct in a situation of encountering the victim

Table 15. Review of relevant contingency coefficient- association of certain features belonging to general public reps with their behavior (conduct)

Participants features	CONDUCT			
	5 I would not/ would report a sexual exploitation	5.1 Method of report	6. I would not/ I would report	6.1 Method of reporting
28 Gender	.500	.493	.489	.484
29 Usucaption	.508	.533	.517	.528
30 Education	.491	.484	.482	.490
31 House/apartment owner	.437	.481	.491	.476
32 Un/employment	.606	.659	.658	.661
33 Financial circumstances	.666	.712	.710	.716
34a Watching TV public broadcast	.668	.716	.714	.716
34b Internet news	.668	.713	.712	.712
	.751		.775	

Remark: Contingency coefficient (CC) shows an interrelation between category variables whereas parametric statistics method cannot be applied.

The size of contingency coefficient is interpreted as an association measure of two groups of data classified within several categories which establish how much data from higher categories within one variable associate with the same categories data of the other variable. The same applies to interrelation between average and lower value data placed on variable that correlate. The size of contingency coefficient has been interpreted in the same manner as with correlation coefficient (Pearson's *r*); no interrelation up to 200 ; from 201 – 400 weaker interrelation; from 401 to 600 significant interrelation;

from 601 to 800 very significant interrelation; and from 801 and above extremely high intercorrelation.

It is noteworthy that these criteria have been primarily applied by psychological researchers, while other social researchers use significantly lower and lenient contingency coefficient relevance criteria. All contingency coefficient presented in table 14 have been relevant and show the following features of participants: female gender, longer residence, highly educated and permanently employed, owners of dwellings who deem to be in a better financial situation than others, those who watch TV public broadcast and internet news. Participants with aforesaid features are in statistical terms extremely willing to report cases involving sexual and labor exploitation at directly and non-anonymously than other categories. We have not anticipated such high impact of certain participants' features. It has been justified to assume that their own feeling of security, associated with this category and their stable status (with respect to education, financial stability, real estate ownership), has influenced their willingness to react directly on situations involving sexual and labor exploitation and report the crime to police directly or by phone.

The table shows a contingency coefficient that marks interrelation between situational conduct and method of response chosen by participants. Contingency coefficients have been significantly relevant concerning sexual exploitation and they amount to .751, while in a situation of labor exploitation they amount to .775. The following table illustrates such situation:

Table 16. Review on participants' representation of respective category in a situation involving sexual exploitation and method of reaction- general public sample

Method of response	Conduct when encountering a situation of sexual exploitation					Total %
	1 I would pretend that I have not noticed	2 I would report to some other authority	3 I would report to NGO	4 I would report to Social Work Center	5 I would report to police	
1 I would pretend that I have noticed anything and would mind my business	40	8	23	1	6	78 or 11,2%
2 I would call a toll free anonymous police phone line	6	17	25	9	127	184 or 26,5%

3 I would call and tell a story my friend policeman, and ask him to report an event	2	4	10	5	52	73 or 7,38%
4 I would call a competent police station	-	5	4	10	213	234 or 23,21%
5 I would go directly to police station	2	1	3	8	109	123 or 17,73%
Total N	50	36	65	33	507	691
%	7,3	5,2	9,6	4,8	73,1	100,0

Chi square = 901,043, with 16 degrees of tolerance has been statistically relevant to .000. Contingency coefficient of $CC = .751$ denotes a significantly interrelation of conduct in a situation of noticing a victim's sexual exploitation and method of response.

The absolute majority of participants who say that they would pretend not to notice such appearance and mind their business would stay within the same category. Others who would call by phone or go directly to police station predominantly opt for alerting police and don't select other replies offered. The table shows a high data association of one and other scale respectively ($CC=.751$); those "who pretended of not seeing anything" remain expectably in the same category according to their method of behavior. From a total number of 50 (7,5%), 40 participants would remain within the same conduct category, but 10 participants would call, due to remorse, a free toll police line (6) or a friend employed with police (2), or would go directly to police station and report the case (2). Accordingly, there is a dissonance between two types of conduct to the same stimulant. Although, they were not ready to react immediately, other attempted to undertake socially correct actions when realized their social accountability with this respect. However, the other data is of interest as it shows a fear with respect of noticing trafficking and appropriate reaction. Accordingly, from 507 interviewees (73,1%) who would report a case to the police, 127 persons would call a toll phone line in order to remain anonymous, while 52 would use a less formal way by alerting their friends employed by police authorities. In total, 179 participants or approximately 35% (every third participant) feel a fear of being exposed to criminals or corrupt policemen in case of reporting a crime! In this regard, public trust concerning police operations with this crime and likely others should be strengthened. Local police work has a great potential and need for further development in this respect.

Relation between belief on trafficking occurrence in BiH and general condemnation attitude and exploitation

By asking a simple and identical question concerning trafficking occurrence in BiH, the following answers were provided that illustrate general public beliefs on the issue. The following choices of answers were offered:

- I think that there is no such phenomenon and such estimates have been exaggerated.
- I think that such phenomenon has been modestly present in BiH, but it is not a reason to be concerned for.
- I think that such phenomenon has been strongly present in BiH and it would be hard to undertake anything against it.

The following table illustrates matching results concerning a conduct pattern with a belief on trafficking expansion pattern in BiH.

Table 17. *Stance on Belief on Trafficking in BiH and readiness to react in compliance with social accountability*

Conduct in situation of noticing provision of sexual services /labor exploitation	1 I think that there is no occurrence	2 I think that it has been modestly present	3 I think that it has been strongly present	Total
1. I would pretend that I've not noticed anything and would mind my business	13/5	20/38	16/34	49/76 7,2/9,8%
2. I'd make a report to some other authority or do something otherwise	1/12	15/34	20/16	36/92 5,2/13,0%
3. I'd make a report to an NGO	1/-	24/14	40/29	65/43 9,4/8,6%
4. I'd make a report to the center for social work	1/5	17/67	15/66	33/138 4,7/19,6%
5. I'd make a report to police	10/10	244/168	246/163	507/341 72,9/48,4%
Total cca. 5,92/.6,24	32/32	321/321	337/337	690/690 100/100%

Remark: data have been presented jointly, more exactly data on trafficking overall have been separated by slash from data on sexual/labor exploitation of children due to similarity of questions and the same type of multiple-choice questions offered. Quantitative differences between numbers presented in certain

category are actual numeral differences concerning the same size of total number of interviewees within certain categories of beliefs and within entire categories of conduct. At bottom of table, under heading "total" there is an appropriate number and percentage, to underline distinctions in replies of certain categories concerning a question of selecting a conduct in a situation of sexual and labor exploitation.

Contingency coefficient between belief on trafficking occurrence in BiH and reaction to situation of sexual exploitation $CC=.592$ and labor exploitation $CC=.624$ show profound variation in data of the same kind, within each respective variable. This means that individuals who believe that this occurrence is significantly present in BiH would make a report to police, while others who consider its modest occurrence (or statistically irrelevant) would report to the Centers for Social Work, other authority or NGOs.

In closing, a small percentage of general public (5%) negate trafficking occurrence in BiH, while the assessment results on trafficking "modest presence" and "strong presence" are almost equally distributed.

With respect to quantitative differences, there has been the largest discrepancy in regard with reporting cases of sexual exploitation (72,3%) to police with respect to drastically lower instances of reporting labor exploitation of children beggars (48,4%) from total number of general public participants.

Interrelation between general stance on condemning trafficking and situation of sexual and labor exploitation

We stressed a relevance of cognitive dissonance in a process of theoretical paradigm consideration with respect to selecting a methodology approach of attitudes assessment. Its effects will be noted when establishing data association, gained at cognitive variable of general attitude concerning trafficking and (potential) conduct when a participant encounters examples of sexual and labor exploitation.

Table 18. Contingency coefficient concerning a general attitude on trafficking and conduct in situations of sexual and labor exploitation and methods of reaction

Conduct and reaction	General attitude condemning trafficking	
5 How would I behave if encountering a situation involving sexual exploitation of victim	— .263	statistically irrelevant statistically relevant on sig.006
5.1 How would I report a case to police or some other organization		
6 How would I behave in encountering a situation involving labor exploitation-children beggars	— .274	statistically irrelevant statistically relevant on sig.018
6.1 How would I report a case to police or some other authority		

Contingency coefficient have not been relevant statistically when associating data on composite variable with data on conduct scale, while they are relevant but associated poorly with method of conduct concerning sexual and labor exploitation. More exactly, individuals that condemn trafficking in general do not differ greatly from other individuals showing lack of any conduct in a potential situation involving a victims of sexual or labor exploitation.

Speaking of method of response, individuals with significant general awareness and condemnation stance would more frequently call or approach police than individuals with weaker condemnation stance. This finding evidently shows a very intensive cognitive dissonance between attitudes and conduct and guide us to express a very critical reserve stance concerning general condemnation of trafficking due to lack of linkages with socially accepted behavior and reactions to this crime. It seems that a reserved attitude of major public concerning police work in this particular case has not been the cause, although many believe that it makes little efforts in suppressing sexual and labor exploitation.

With respect to methodological approach, it is noteworthy that general public attitudes remain at level of cognitive and partial affective component regarding trafficking. There has been an absence of behavioral component, more exactly participants were not ready to corroborate actions with appropriate behavior (conduct). In other words, our survey contained detailed opinion and feelings concerning trafficking, while it insufficiently addressed participant claims showing approval/disapproval leading to better understanding of individual's conduct. This cognitive dissonance of general attitude concerning trafficking and inappropriate behavior indicate indirectly a large participants discomfort in reporting a crime to police.

Labor Exploitation of Children

Thanks to data and records provided by Centers for Social Work, police authorities and NGOs, we were able to access data of 110 girls and boys registered for sexual and/or labor exploitation who were recipients of some assistance. Several assessments state that enormous number of children have been subjected to work exploitation, through begging at public places. This problem has been present in many countries of developed world, which have been the destination countries for children exploitation due to their economic potential. Regardless of some deficiencies within definitions on children labor exploitation made by the International Labor Organization, they yet remain crucial regulations in this area.

However, despite of available control mechanisms, the implementation effects of such treaties remain weak and they depend on political will of member countries which tend to avoid their international commitments in this area (Vinković, 2010, p. 99). Data collected by the research were processed at level of univariate and bivariate analysis, while factor and cluster analysis were applied within multivariate processes.

The following overview on victims of labor exploitation contains data on the year of

registration, as well as basic demographic victim's data such as: gender, year and state of birth, nationality, places of victim's origin and prior residence (to include a 5-10 year timeframe before she/he became a victim). Also, the next chart will provide data on institution which identified a victim, a city where identification took place, as well as data concerning victim's age (minor or adult) with remark if he/she possessed personal and travel documents.

Table 19. *Review of data on year of registration and year of victim's birth*

Years of registration			Years of victim's birth		
2010	6	5%	Until 1989		6%
2011	21	19%	1990-1994	6	5%
2012	30	28%	1995-1999	40	37%
2013	21	19%	2000-2004	43	39%
2014	31	28%	2005-2009	14	13%
No data	1	1%	Total	110	100%
Total	110	100%			

A half of concerned victims were recorded by 2012, while other half was recorded in the course of 2013 and 2014. According to year of birth, victims were predominantly minors, more exactly 89% of victims were born after 1995. Speaking in precise terms, from a total number of 110 victims, 84 were born after year 1997 and accordingly they were minors. According to gender structure, 78 victims (71%) were female victims. Pursuant to further data collected and processed in a moment of victims identification, there were 85 minor victims from total of 110 and thus only 11 individuals were in possession of their personal and travel document. Almost one half of victims (51) were identified by police, 16 victims were identified by social services, further 40 victims were identified by NGOs and remaining three victims were identified by school staff. Accordingly, it is obvious NGOs have been extremely active and actually undertook significant workload on behalf of social welfare services. According to further data, police interviews take place with 68 victims, but not with other 42 victims, so one could ask the following question: How much data were they able to reveal on delinquent acts of victims under coercion and also data about crime organizers?

Table 20. *Origin of victims of labor exploitation (children)*

State of birth		Other state of birth	
Bosnia- Herzegovina	81 or 74%	Croatia	1
Some other state	14 or 13%	Kosovo	1
No data	15 or 13%	Macedonia	1
Total	110 or 100%	Germany	3
Oregon	2		
Serbia	5		
Total	14		

It is of importance that data show (disregarding “protocols” lacking data on state of victim’s birth) that every 7th victim has been born outside of BiH, meaning that their parents migrated from other states to BiH. Data matching process involving year of birth and state of birth shows that major of victims were born in other states, after completion of BiH war, more exactly after 1997. This means that their parents returned to BiH in a post war period (after 2-3 year period). In particular from 14 victims who were born outside of BiH, eight were born after year 1996, with the following breakdown: 2005 (2 persons), 2002 (1 person), 1997 (3 persons), 1996 (two persons), followed by three victims born during the war period, and last three in a pre-war period specifically in 1988 and 1987. It is not a likely to conclude that victims, born abroad, have been the outcome of war migrations. Further data matching process involving victims born in other states and their ethnic origin, show that they are predominantly Roma population that migrated after a war to BiH urban areas.

Table 21. *Gender and Ethnical Origin of Victim*

Victim’s gender		Ethnical Origin of Victim		
Female	78 (71%)	Roma	64	58%
Male	32 (29%)	Bosnia	3	3%
Total	110 (100%)	Serbian	1	1%
		No data	42	38%
		Total	110	100%

Table 22. *Place of origin and residence of victim*

Victim’s Hometown		City of residence for the last 5-10 years	
Zenica	35 (32%)	Zenica	30 (27%)
Sarajevo	10 (9%)	Sarajevo	18 (16%)
Other towns in BiH	39 (25%)	Other towns in BiH	37 (34%)
Towns beyond BiH	26 (24%)	Towns beyond BiH	15 (13%)
Total	110 (100%)	Total	110 (100%)

Table 23. *Town of victim’s identification*

Town of victim’s identification	
Banja Luka	37
Brčko	4
Kalesija	1
Lukavac	2
Mostar	27
Sarajevo	10
Teočak	1
Tuzla	8

Visoko	3
Zenica	2
No data	15
Total	110

Towns were victims were identified were not the towns of their residence. Accordingly, this data has to be considered in further data interpretation.

Life conditions of victims

Victim has been stranded on inappropriate venue or time, or in a status of performing inappropriate work. From the total number of 110 victims, 76 victims (69%) were stranded in such conditions, while no data exist for other 34 victims. In addition, there were insufficient data on victim's accommodation and other persons sharing a household with victim. According to our information, one victim has been living with her mother, eight victims with their respective sister, and three victims with their brothers respectively. In summary, 11 % of victims shared a household with close family member. Furthermore, eight victims were with their cousins, two victims with a group of unknown children and three victims with other adults. Accordingly, there is a significant number of persons who were detached from their family life and taken over by begging crime organizer. Unfortunately, there are no data with respect to 85 victims (77%) so previous data show for illustration purpose.

Business performed by victims :

In total, 61 victims claimed that she/he had been forced to beg, five victims were subjected to compulsory marriage, while remaining smaller number of victims worked in catering facilities. It is noteworthy that five victims claimed to be subject to exploitation by their mother and aunt, while further five victims show concern for their families after being apprehended by police and center for social works' officers. The remaining three victims who were willing to respond to us, stated that they suffer from certain psychosomatic disturbances. However, a specific finding based on these data can not be made and thus serve for illustration only.

According to records, 55 victims (50%) lived in degrading and inhuman premises, while no data have been available concerning remaining 55 victims. In total 82 victims including absolute majority (75%) declared that they were subjected to exploitation at public places, and thus easily accessible by police or center for social work officers. However, most of victims were offered accommodation by NGO activists.

So, one could ask if this is a sign demonstrating insufficient work and lack of care exercised by social and police services, in charge of controlling public order?

From the total number, only five victims have acknowledged their public begging activities, while additional 55 victims carried out identical activities at public places. Eight victims were identified at closed facility, while data have not been available concerning 42 victims. The following table illustrates victims' living conditions:

Table 24. Question: "Was a victim detained, more exactly was her/his freedom of movement violated?" and reply

a. He or she could move if escorted	38 (35%)
b. He or she was under lock and key	20 (18%)
c. No data	52 (47%)
Total	110 (100%)

This table data show that slightly over 50% of victims were subjected to limited freedom of movement, while 18% of victims were under lock and key. Although a large percentage of replies contain no data, we consider that even limited data show indicative conditions of control imposed to victims. In addition, they proved indirectly that an organized begging scheme has been in place whereas victims were displaced to their work site. The money earned would be taken away by an organizer during the day or at its end. The following replies were collected to a question concerning victim's earnings:

Table 25. Reply to question: "How much did victim earn on specific day?"

a. Up to 10 KM	3 (2%)
b. from 10 to 20 KM	6 (5%)
c. from 20 to 30 KM	3 (2%)
d. from 30 to 60 KM	2 (5%)
e. from 60 to 100 KM	2 (5%)
f. over 100 KM	2 (4%)

Although there has been a large number of victims (including 91) who did not provide any data on their earnings, it seems justified assumption that other participants in this activity make similar earnings. We asked a question whether a victim has had an access to its earnings. We received affirmative replies from eight victims, while further 10 victims responded negatively. This means that almost a half of victims, who declared that they earned certain amount of money per day, were deprived of their earnings.

Therefore, we assume that similar ratio has been present among 92 victims (more exactly 84%) who provided no replies to these questions. If one assumes that average salary per victims amounts to KM 25 per day than begging organizer who controls only five victims would earn monthly between KM 3500 and KM 4000.

The following data on victims depict indirectly their life conditions:

- seven victims had poor hygienic and child neglected appearance
- one victim had body injuries that were consequence of mutilation
- one victim had aggressive and intrusive stance when received
- one victim declared that she was forced to use drugs

- one victim declared that she was forced to take part in criminal operations
- eleven victims were subjected to physical and sexual abuse
- four victims have declared that they were a part of huge group of children who shared the same adult “guardian” slave driver.

Although many victims have not provided their respective responses, even limited data illustrate well living and working conditions of victims of organized begging scheme. Those conditions have been far from human ones and their criminal aspect reflects well a scope and method of victims’ abuse and compulsion. Therefore, the question has not been if the organizer was a parent of child victim, but rather a level of coercion applied to his/her child in order to get it involved in organized begging scheme. Many persons believe that this represents a specific Roma culture and economic pattern and that child begging represents an introduction in this activity.

Parenthood could not be regarded as mitigating circumstance for child abuses in a situation when this statement is confronted with large profits made by organizers by use of children, whereas small or no portion of such profit has been invested in child’s living standard. Scope of criminal acts concerning organized child begging has been extremely large and difficult. We consider that these data show a requirement for direct intervention within this phenomenon.

Multivariate analysis on children- victims of labor exploitation

By use of arranging and recoding procedure, one portion of data within the protocol, was possible to turn into *dummy variables* which are applicable for multivariate analysis. This included data on types of assistance provided to victims. The following table denotes such type of assistance.

Table 26. *Type of assistance rendered*

Type of assistance rendered:	
a) short term accommodation	48 (43,6%)
b) mid-term and long-term accommodation	28 (25,5%)
c) medical emergency	31 (28,2%)
d) long term medical assistance	30 (18,2%)
e) urgent psychological assistance	56 (50,9%)
f) long term psychological assistance	29 (26,4%)
g) humanitarian aid	95 (86,4%)
h) family mediation	10 (9,1%)

i) transportation	13 (11,8%)
j) housing subsidy	2 (1,8%)
k) financial assistance	9 (8,2%)
l) education	56 (50,9%)
m) finding position	3 (2,7%)

Almost every victim was offered humanitarian assistance consisting of food and clothing, as well as accommodation including short term stay (43,6%) followed by medium and long term stay for further categories (25,5%).

Accordingly, 69,1% of victims were accommodated in certain premises at disposal to social welfare services. In this respect one third of victims was not accommodated in such facilities and remained in previous living conditions and one could ask how it could be possible to affect any change in their behavioral patterns under unchanged circumstances. There were no available data if any judicial action was undertaken to prosecute perpetrators of this crime committed under young people, including their parents and/or work organizers.

Psychological medical emergency was rendered to a half of victims (50,9%) while a long term assistance was gained by additional 26,4% victims. Accordingly, one could say that absolute majority (77,3%) received some type of psychological treatment. However, it has been almost impossible to find out treatment type and effects. If psychological treatment showed a requirement for family counseling then only 10 victims (9,1%) received that type of assistance. Accordingly, impact to victim's family was poor or scarce.

There are no substantial reasons justifying poor involvement in family counseling by social services (which are equipped with sufficient field personnel). This would have resulted in larger oversight concerning behavior of minors and their parents. Urgent medical assistance was required by 31 victims (28,2%) while a long term medical assistance was accomplished by additional 20 victims (18,2%). Accordingly, almost a half of victims gathered by this research required some type of medical assistance, and this represent a data of high concern, as respective children were in the age from 5 to 13 years. Furthermore, social welfare centers operations could be accessed through the following data on financial aid provided for purpose of public transportation, housing and subsistence allowances.

Only 21,8% of victims accomplished aforesaid assistance in accordance with the following data: transportation allowance (13 victims), housing allowance (2 victims) and financial aid (9 victims). We believe that these have been relatively scarce funds allocated to victims from the social protection fund which disposes with significant financial means. There are no firm findings but rather justified assumptions concerning motives for aforesaid actions whereas a prejudice to Roma populates played certain role. Education assistance was provided to every second victim, while it could cover all children of aforesaid age who should attend school on regular basis.

Only 50,9% of victims were included again in school programs and processes through social work services; this data illustrates their insufficient responses in terms of scope of Roma population that should be subject of care. This assessment was substantiated by another fact that only three victims of organized begging/ children labor exploitation were assisted in seeking employment (older minors/younger adults) and gaining their labor rights and subsistence.

Table 27. *Data on period of assistance provided to victims* Period of assistance

Period of assistance	
a) up to 1 day	14 (13%)
b) from 2 to 8 days	14 (13%)
c) from 9 to 24 days	15 (14%)
d) from 25 to 60 days	10 (9%)
e) from 61 to 180 days	10 (9%)
f) from 181 to 300 days	7 (6%)
g) over 300 days	8 (7%)
h) no data	32 (29%)
total	110 (100%)

In regard with 78 valid specific data, we determined that central value represents 23 days, whereas 50% data were placed bellow and above central value. Accordingly, upper boundary of the first quartile with 25% results amount to 20 days, while an upper boundary of the 3rd quartile with over 25% data amounts to 183 days. Accordingly, one could say that social services spend one month in dealing with one individual. This does not represent small amount of time, but their effects should be measured, given that family as primary group has not been involved in this process, nor its behavior or impact were controlled. These variables were subject to rearranging and recoding in dummy variable, whereas each assisted participant of research was allocated code 1, while unassisted participant was assigned code 0. Accordingly, we gained *dummy variables* that could be factorized and subjected to cluster analysis.

Table 28. *Results of factor analysis of assistance to victims (varimax rotation)*

R	Manifest variable	% Total variance
Factor 1	Family counseling/mediation and subventions	28,602%
k .936	Family counseling/mediation	
h .863	Transportation	
g .659	Housing allowance	
f .641	Long term psychological assistance	
Factor 2	Long term assistance	28,431%

b	.855	Medium and long term accommodation	
d	.933	Long term medical assistance	
e	.809	Medical Emergency	
f	.579	Long term psychological assistance	
Factor 3		Short term assistance	18,679%
a	.856	Short term shelter	
h	-.785	Training	
E	.612	Urgent psychological aid	
Totally explained 75,713%			

We received three clear interpretable factors which explain a high degree of total variance of 75,713%. The first factor entitled *family counseling and subvention* explains a total variance percentage of 28,602% of all research results. It consists of high interconnection with a factor variable involving family counseling, transportation, housing subventions and long term psychological assistance. Accordingly, among fundamental factors there are some which demand investing fund and fostering communication efforts with a victim and her/his family.

The second factor was entitled *a long term assistance*, and it was saturated with a very high coefficient of correlation with variable factor, including medium and long term accommodation, long term medical assistance, medical emergency and other types of long term psychological assistance. This factor has been covered by variation of results of those questionnaires that require medium and long term accommodation as well as long term medical and psychological aid. The third factor was entitled *a short term assistance* since it has been saturated with high correlation coefficient specifically .856 of short term shelter requirement. In addition, it has been associated with minus coefficient correlation specifically of -.785 education showing that persons receiving short term assistance were deprived of educational/training assistance. Also, this factor with a significant level of interconnection still requires urgent psychological assistance with coefficient correlation of .612. This factor explains 18,679% of total variance of all results and regards those interviewees requiring short term shelter and urgent psychological assistance, while no school training intervention was requested or received by them.

In general, all our variables have been structured within three relevant dimensions. The first dimension requires fostering linkages with family and investing funds to interviewee. The second factor stipulates a long-term assistance including provision of accommodation for longer and medium stays along with a long term medical and psychological assistance. The requirements of the third factor are actually met once a shelter and urgent psychological aid are provided. Accordingly, relevant result components, subject of variation through aforesaid 13 variables, actually consist of common latent variables that serve as foundation for all aforementioned manifest variables.

Accordingly, attention should be drawn to long term psychological assistance and family counseling aimed at establishing communication with family as well as with providing

grants to cover transportation costs and housing subvention. The second dimension involves provision of long term assistance in terms of facilitating continuous communication with the interviewed victim for a longer period and providing accommodation for longer stay, medical services and long term psychological aid.

The third factor deals with a short term shelter, representing the most important variable and explaining such factor accompanied by requirement for providing urgent psychological aid. Factor analysis actually defines the structure of common components which consist of relevant variables that are responsible for overall research results variations.

It should actually decrease a number of variables required for research purpose and further point out to common foundations and variables relevant for results interpretation. However, it also denotes certain less relevant variables which are not subject of interpretation or further processing. In this event, the following variables are: variable "i" denoting employment, variable "j" denoting reintegration grants, variable "l" denoting financial aid and variable "m" denoting humanitarian assistance.

These variables have been left out by factor analysis entirely and their variations don't make a difference among interviewees sample subjected to factor analysis, more exactly we may consider them as irrelevant for interpreting differences among interviewees.

Homogenous groups of labor exploitation victims

Cluster analysis was applied to rearranged labor exploitation data related to victims subjected to organized begging scheme. The aim was to establish how our interviewees have been structured in homogenous groups concerning types of assistance rendered.

Table 29. Cluster analysis results (final centers)

Cluster analysis results (final centers)				
15 questions contained in the Protocol	C L U S T E R S			
	CI 1	CI 2	CI 3	CI 4
a. accommodation for longer and medium stay	0	0	0	1
b. accommodation for shorter stay	0	1	0	0
c. urgent medical assistance	0	0	0	1
d. long term medical services	0	0	0	1
e. urgent psychological assistance	1	1	0	1
f. long-term psychological aid	1	0	0	1
j. reintegration grants	0	0	0	0
g. housing subventions	0	0	0	0
l. financial aid	1	0	0	0
n. transportation	1	0	0	0

m. humanitarian aid	1	1	1	1
k. family counseling/mediation	1	0	0	0
h. education	1	0	1	1
i. Seeking employment	0	0	0	0
No. of interviewees (N=69) (100%)	6 8,7%	25 36,2%	28 40,6%	10 14,5%

Remark: The number of interviewees is less than a total sample, since cluster analysis procedure requires that all variables concerning all interviewees are filled out fully.

CI 1 (6 or 8,7%) – has included urgent and long term psychological aid and establishing contacts with family; coverage of transportation costs; and regular school attendance.

CI 2 (25 or 36,2%) – this homogenous group of interviewees has had a need for short stay accommodation and urgent psychological assistance; however provision of accommodation seems to be the highest priority. In this regard, slightly over 1/3 of interviewees received a short term stay accommodation.

CI 3 (28 or 40,6%) – the assistance included an intervention to continue school attendance. These individuals have not accomplished any additional assistance with respect to other variables.

CI 4 (10 or 14,5%) – represent homogenous group of interviewees which received the most comprehensive assistance including: accommodation for short term stay, urgent medical aid, long term medical assistance, urgent psychological assistance, long term psychological assistance and intervention in the education area. According to this finding it is noteworthy that only 14,5% interviewees, subject to this cluster analysis with objective and inductive method, were assisted greatly with respect to long term accommodation, long term medical and psychological assistance as well as school inclusion process. In our view, this represents a small percentage of victims who were assisted fully by social welfare services and thus integrated to some extent within social system.

Individuals from other clusters, in particular clusters 2 and 3 representing a total of 76,8% of all results have received minimum assistance in particular in a form of short-term stay (interviewees from the cluster 2) or no assistance at all from social services. In our view, this data should be a matter of concern, as it reveals that social services in charge of care and protection of such individuals have been engaged insufficiently in rendering more comprehensive and intensified assistance to children, victims of labor exploitation.

In accordance with data available, it seems that humanitarian aid distribution represents only steady operation performed by social services. Additional, these data create a finding that short and long term social services rendered by institutions to victims of labor exploitation, should be analyzed in qualitative terms as well. *In accordance with these*

data absolute majority of labor exploitation victims have been entirely excluded from the social welfare system, with an exception of receipt of humanitarian aid. In this way, one could not deal with labor exploitation issue or ensure more quality life to victims. We deem justified to state that victims of labor exploitation- organized begging have not been in the focus of social welfare system and thus remain beyond a scope of efficient, qualitative protection and reintegration.

In accordance with data presented only victims from cluster 1 and 4 representing 23,2% of all victims have used all available social welfare services and benefits offered by institutions. As this minority group mainly consists of Roma population, such victims have been exposed to certain ethnical discrimination.

Sexual exploitation

Sexual exploitation of girls/women in BiH emerged after the war and has been occurring in particularly from 1997 through 2003. In this period, local and international (IPTF) police forces initiated raids within their highly controlled actions aimed at closing night clubs. However, many raids failed to identify sexual exploitation offenders and customers *in flagrante* or locate money paid out by customers. Internal controls have showed that high corruption had been present among some local and international police officers connected with organized criminals who supervised sexual exploitation implementation and were directly involved with recruiting, transporting, smuggling, purchasing and sale of women/girls. To this end, many of corrupted officers have been privileged customers allowed to use free of charge sexual services provided by trafficked girls. In addition it is assumed that large bribe was paid for purpose of providing raid alerts, as at many occasions raids failed even in situation of highly controlled conditions aimed at retain operation secrecy. Some raids failed since organized crime used simple notification procedure²⁴ applied at any situation involving concentration of police cars in night hours within perimeter of disputable night clubs sites. These clubs employed trafficked girls as waitresses or dancers formally, while informally they were forced to offer sexual services to club guests. Large number of night clubs throughout BiH offer publicly or semi publicly sexual services which price varied from KM50 (half an hour) to KM 100 (one hour) while cup of coffee was KM 5. In similar fashion price of other drinks was arranged.

It has been evident that most clubs engaged foreign women/girls from Moldavia, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, Russia and Belarus and local public believed that they represented prostitutes who had arrived to BiH to earn money from international clientele-foreign soldiers and other members of international community in BiH. Major number of media headlines supported by articles and photos this perception. In 2002-2003 period, public perception started changing due to efforts made by IOM, UN and non-governmental organizations (Lara, La Strada) when some media start publishing critical articles.

²⁴ Author was present in unsuccessful raid in Vitez in 2004 which occurred in night club Vila, where 17 girls worked as dancers. Despite of well coordinated and carefully coordinated raid, it failed as owner was alerted that police cars are concentrating within a nearby police station. Afterwards, the convicted criminals in Zenica prison admitted that they would hire a man (for a fee of KM 20) who lived in close vicinity of police station to monitor police's station yard and make alerts in case of vehicles concentration and other suspicious situations that signal to upcoming raids.

In their stories, they aimed to explain background and nature of this organized transnational crime which use deception and false promises to recruit, transport by use forged documents smuggled girls (often minors) who were subjected to sexual abuse at arrival of transiting countries (Serbia, Croatia, and Hungary) and then sold /purchased for purpose of providing sexual services by use of physical and psychological threats. The victims would experience a debt slave position (in order to return money invested in their purchase) as well as limitation of freedom of movement. Such actions were accompanied by constant threats directed to victims or their families which resulted with victim obedience. This scenario would end after certain period time due to victim's resale, while aforesaid but new cycle of sexual exploitation would be continued by another criminals.

Concerning this sexual exploitation pattern, one could say that BiH become well known not only in domestic but in regional and international terms well. In this respect, some international forces members placed with the Eagle base near Tuzla would purchase girls "as assistants for households" and would take them to nearby rented houses and rent them to their friends and mates. The largest percentage of publicly organized provision of sexual services by trafficked girls occurred within motels placed along the highway to Croatia (through Brod town), and in particular in the vicinity of Tuzla-Brcko road ("Arizona" area). Concerning RS area known towns included Prijedor (e.g. luxury hotel Sherwood forest with a pool, zoo and other amenities), then in Banja Luka and its surrounding area. At the respective time of research (2004), as mentioned in introduction of the report, only four traffickers/club owners were adjudicated and in particular due to significant efforts made by international prosecutors in BiH.

Cooperation among criminals from countries of victims' origin, transit and final destination in BiH, was fully harmonized and coordinated with the assistance of some individuals employed with border police and customs authorities. Interesting information were recorded in the course of an interview with convicted traffickers in 2004, who were serving their imprisonment in Zenica. They said that price of transporting a victim with forged personal and travel document amounted to KM 500. Further, police has never stopped concerned vehicle transporting victims and group of traffickers due to a presence of other front criminal's convoy vehicle which would intentionally make a traffic offence in case of encountering traffic police and accordingly alert his mate driver (in another vehicle) on danger.

These situations involving corrupted practices of border crossing and uninterrupted travel to place of destination have discouraged victims to seek police help. Furthermore, they were additionally discouraged with a fact that some local policemen were visitors and customers of places where they were forced to work. In addition, the victims were stranded in a foreign country without travel documents, money and knowledge of local language. Also, police was aware of fact that girls were stranded, physically and sexually abused in private apartments in Belgrade, Srijemska Mitrovica and Novi Sad, selected, purchased and transported for purpose of sexual exploitation in BiH by networked night club/brothels owners.

Furthermore, there has been a lack of standardized approach by Republika Srpska and Federation BiH entity police with regard to trafficking of women/girls for purpose of sexual exploitation, which further aggravated operations aimed at suppressing this

crime in BiH. The most frequent forms of deception of trafficked women/girls included false job offers for positions of waitress and dancers occasionally, with no mentioning of sexual services at any occasion.

In accordance with information available to police, women/girls were frightened frequently that they would be exposed to prosecution for entering BiH with forged travel documents. Victims, often minors whose data births were forged in documents, were exposed to threats associated with reporting their illegal stay to police, imprisonment and deportations. The girls were forced to provide their sexual services, but at times also persuaded and deceived by false promises on large profits made by older female “associates” of club owners, who acted as “madams”. Almost all trafficked women/girls were subjected to “debt bondage”. Trafficker, club owner or master (as called by victims) requested from girls to offer sexual service in order to repay his money invested in acts of their purchase, transport, border smuggling, clothing and food.

Trafficker deceived victims further by stating that their share of profit from providing sexual services will be deposited at his place and then paid out to victim by certain date based on their verbal agreement. Victim’s request for payment would not be complied ever, in fact in such situation she would be released to the owner of other brothel or was shut down by use of threats and abuse. In this way, debt bondage turned into real slavery where trafficked girls/women had to work without any payment for their work and ability to abandon such places, terms and circumstances of their living. Trafficked women/girls were exposed to sexual abuse by their masters and guards, friends, drunk and perverse customers but additionally to every-day physical and psychological abuse. In many instances their families, including children and parents in the country of origin received threats as well. In most instances, these life-taking threats were made by home country criminals, if a victim managed to escape on her own or thanks to police raid and if providing her testimony at court.

This criminal engagement in country of origin proves profound organization of trafficking as crime, as respective criminal act would not have been completed by victim’s transfer to another criminal group which transported and/ or smuggled victims to BiH, rather it had a feedback impact in the country of origin by threatening victim’s family. Accordingly, trafficker’s chain involved traffickers from home country who recruited, deceived and transferred vulnerable groups of women/girls, whereas they used media advertisement and/or formed private employment agencies offering jobs of waitresses, dancers, etc. At some occasions, such agencies would organize an erotic dance course that would be attended by girls who were required to pay such “course”. At this moment, many girls would fall into slavery bondage, as they have not had money to pay home country criminals for manufacturing forged travel documents and transportation/smuggling costs to countries requiring entry visa. Scarce number of girls who were trapped in trafficking managed to escape or were released in actions carried out by international police forces (at the end of 1990s) or domestic police forces which intensified their engagement (at early 2000).

Saved girls/women were provided shelter by IOM, UN as well as by non-governmental organizations and there they awaited repatriation to home countries or western countries, the latter representing their preference. The sense of social stigma due to circum-

stances and compulsory activities, were accompanied by various psychosomatic disorders and fear from traffickers' revenge.

This resulted with victims reluctance to serve as witnesses in traffickers court proceedings and caused their failures, whereas only few victims made their testimonies at court.

Our main research question relating to primary subject research is closely related with aforesaid finding and it reads:

What has happened with a criminal prosecution of sexual exploitation in regard with the same crime a decade ago; What proves its existence and what are similar or different features of the crime in comparison with previously referred period?

In this period, the issue of female trafficking has been wrongly perceived by public as a form of prostitution, which favored significant presence of international military forces and organizations in BiH. Today's perception regard trafficking as a semi-legal voluntary prostitutions of foreign and local women whose services are used by international forces members and domestic well off class. An equal share of profit among person who provides such services and club owner or other organizer has been perceived as a just solution by public. There is informal belief that such type of female trafficking has been suppressed and thus occurs rarely in BiH, with no reason for concern.

We have considered such belief on trafficking in quantitative terms by reviewing participants representing general public sample, whereas 45,8% of population believe that female trafficking happens rarely in BiH. Also, there is another general belief that although many night clubs were shut down, trafficking moved illegally to private houses and apartments. In total 76,2% of general public agrees with this statement. Such belief has certain empirical background and our efforts are made in this regard to verify data presented in this section of our report.

However, it has been more relevant public belief concerning perception on distinction of real victims involved in prostitution, as oppose to individuals who freely entered in such business and made arrangements on profit share with masters. Therefore, there is a certain public contradiction regarding trafficking perception. It starts with understanding that trafficking has been present modestly but can be hardly suppressed, along with a belief that it involves more form of classical prostitution rather than trafficking with debt bondage and sexual exploitation.

This section data should be considered for purpose of providing answers to following questions:

- Is a process of female trafficking for purpose of sexual exploitation still present in BiH?
- Is of, where and when does this process take place currently?
- Which features show and prove that such acts represent organized crime involving female trafficking for purpose of sexual exploitation?

Presence of female trafficking for purpose of sexual exploitation

According to available records, we have collected data by interviewing 51 victims who were accommodated in shelters during 2006-2014. This refers to a period when IOM transferred its operations concerning provision of victims' accommodation and protection to domestic institutions, in particular local NGOs which specialized in this area. The following data will show their personal features and situational circumstance that corroborate existence and nature of female trafficking, including victims' sexual exploitation by the club owner, as well as the last element in organized crime of trafficking chain.

Table 30. *Data on year of registration and age of victims subjected to sexual exploitation*

Year of registration	Year of birth
2006 (6)	1973 – 1977 (6)
2007 (8)	1978 – 1982 (9)
2008 (10)	1983 – 1987 (4)
2009 (3)	1988 – 1992 (9)
2010 (5)	1993 – 1997 (16)
2011 (7)	1998 – 2002 (7)
2012 (9)	Total 51 victims
2014 (3)	
Total 51 victims	

Table 31. *Data on age of victim at the time of her sexual exploitation*

Age of victim at the time of her sexual exploitation
31 victims were minors (bellow age of 18) (61%)
20 victims were full of age (beyond 18 and more) (39%)

Criminology literature often speculates on “dark figure of crime”, which seem to be understandable and logical, but rarely verified and founded in empirical terms.

As a rule, information on crimes committed are based on statistics kept by police forces, which seem to be insufficient at many occasions. In this regards, Maguire, Morgan & Reiner (2012) comparative review shows a great distinction between police statistical data and crimes which really occurred (BCS research was done in England and Wales in the course of 2005-2006). This research has determined a proportion between “dark figure of crime” concerning certain crimes as following:

- Group violence **1 : 5,3**
- Violence with injuries inflicted **1 : 2,3**
- Burglaries **1 : 4,7**
- Total crime rate as specified in police records **718 000 : 2 349 000** on data gained in presenting crime, a following relation of **1 : 3,3** crime rate registered by the police against crimes which actually occurred and faced by individuals (in accordance with research)

In a process of approximating actual figure on victims of trafficking one should regard that less developed countries with a smaller GDP have also lower reporting rate on sexual abuse and trafficking in comparison with developed states. In this way data on reporting rate are aligned with human development indicators in certain area/country. Women are usually recruited from poor countries where women tend to report crime rarely. In addition, victims are less willing to report crimes due to their fear of inflicting revenge and exile/deportation to their home countries. Therefore it has been assumed that major number of cases have remained unknown to prosecutors offices (Kangaspunta, 2007). Since trafficking represents a well organized transnational crime, its deep latency has been controlled by internationally networked criminals who make large profit on this dirty business with less risks then ones present in drug or weapons trade.

Therefore we acknowledge that ratio of identified victims of trafficking (51 victims of sexual exploitation) should be twice as larger than reported ratio concerning group violence 1 : 5,3.

We estimate realistically that more than 500 female victims of trafficking for purpose of sexual exploitation in BiH are currently subjected in this actual crime. This estimate has been corroborated by information that major portion of sexual services are provided secretly in private houses and apartments. According to our fact finding, previous clubs have been transformed into coffee shops or motels which facilitate contacts with persons offering sexual services, and thereof significant portion includes sexually exploited women/girls. Since many employees in such facilities speak our language fluently, it is very likely that domestic organized crime shifted its recruiting focus to local nationals, primarily vulnerable minors.

The findings of Romanian micro study show that such young minors come from dysfunctional families, and/or from minors correctional facility. Also, they often involve minors who already had engaged in other crimes like consumption of illegal drugs. Urban areas of BiH, in particular smaller towns where non-adjusted minors are easily spotted represent useful areas for detecting and recruiting actions by traffickers.

Once drafted, victims are then collected and accommodated in hidden protected area by the time of their assignment to final destinations, night clubs where they formally serve as waitress but actually got sexually abused and exploited as victims. There is a common sense question posed: Why girls/women did not run away? Also, why the girls, who were rescued by police or NGO interventions had been reluctant to reveal data on traffickers and night bar owners who were in charge of their sexual exploitation?

A reply rests with a statement that scope of realistic threats directed to victims and their families accompanied by various type and intensity of abuse fully changed victims character up to level of Stockholm syndrome. Intimidation of victim's family in particularly with respect child (in case of parenthood) have been very efficient tool, once a victim had received a confirmation that serious threats were made to her family. That would happen in case of revealing data on traffickers that would harm trafficking operations in destination country. On the other hand, many world wide research show on drastic changes with respect to crime offender- victim of sexual exploitation, where traditional methods of physical abuse and control were replaced by refine forms of victim's oversight. Currently, persons in charge of exploitation provide certain amount of money to victims for basic subsistence, others have an ability to live in their own apartments, and also at times their exploiters treat them politely (Simmons et al., 2013).

Our research findings showed that victims have faced fear for their lives and lives of their families and thus were not willing to act as witnesses at court trials.

Therefore, we assume that this transnational and networked crime has not ceased in BiH. It is not likely that criminals would give up of low-risk business which provides large profits by renting sexual services of women whose costs of subsistence are at minimum.

In accordance with presented arguments, we deem that our data should be enlarged for potential "dark figure of crime". It would show that minimum 500 victims were involved in sexual exploitation in the period from 2006 – 2014 whereas every 10th victim has been saved. This data applies to victim located at shelters that were available and willing to participate in our interview.

In accordance with data presented in previous table, 61% of victims were minors at the moment of their exploitation (Table 31), while per a year of birth (Table 30), seven victims were born after 1998 meaning that they are not yet adults. *Accordingly, organized crime of female trafficking for purpose of sexual exploitation has been oriented to minor vulnerable girls primarily. Presence of brothels indicates that traffickers have no fear to be prosecuted by judicial and police authorities; they have not been afraid of high penalties imposed for committing prostitution/trafficking of minors, and still freely operate their business in their clubs.*

Therefore question concerning police and law enforcement operational actions should be raised since they have not been aware of such clubs where victims render sexual services?!

Table 32. Data on victim's state of birth

Victim's state of birth		
-Bosnia and Herzegovina	29	57%
-Montenegro	1	} 10 (20%)
-Croatia	3	
-Macedonia	1	
-Slovenia	2	
-Serbia	3	
-Bulgaria	1	} 12 (23%)
-Moldavia	4	
-Romania	1	
-Ukraine	5	
-Iraq	1	
Total	54	(100%)

Pursuant to data presented, **every second victim** has originated from BiH, while every **fifth victim** has been from one of countries of former Yugoslavia, and in closing every **fourth victim** has been a foreign national from the Eastern Europe.

Comparison review with data made in 2004 show a drastically changed image. At that time, there were only foreign nationals identified as victims of trafficking with no BiH nationals. In this regard, domestic criminals have created networks and shifted their focus to known local areas with developed networks of recruiters and favorable sources of easily accessible victims.

Recruiting and sexual exploitation process

Data from following table shall present a method of recruitment and exploitation of trafficked girls and women.

Table 33. Data on Victims' Residency

Residency in the course of last 5 – 10 year prior to becoming a victim (only BiH nationals)	
Brčko	7
Tuzla	6
Bihać	3
Derventa	2
Banja Luka	1

Lukavac	2
Doborovci	1
Gradiška	1
Ilijaš	1
Kakanj	1
Kalesija	1
Sarajevo	1
Travnik	1
Total	29

In total, there were 51 women/girls who were recorded in shelter over a period from 2006-2014, of whom 29 BiH nationals, mainly coming from Brčko and Tuzla. These data show that main recruiting sources of victims have been the following towns: Brčko and Tuzla, as well as Bihać, Derventa and Lukavac. Although, recruiters were less active in other towns, yet a whole urban territory of BiH was targeted by this crime. Pursuant to these data, minors recruitment in the areas of Brčko and Tuzla has reached large proportions, and therefore responsibility of police in charge of these areas should be examined.

Almost half of foreign victims (46,7%) illegally cross BiH border, by use of forged documents through legal border crossings, or by boats through the Drina or Sava. The remaining victims, with possession of absence of visa (at the same proportions) cross the BiH border with Serbia and Croatia. Due to less number of formal requirements and control, organized criminals smuggle foreign girls/women by utilizing relatively smooth border crossing procedure. An element involving transportation and smuggling for purpose of sexual exploitation has been less relevant, but other elements yet remain and prove that the organized crime is in place.

Table 34. *Data on presence of other women at site of victim's residence*

Were other victims accommodated at the same site with a respective victim?	
No data	24
No, I was alone	14
One additional girl	2
Additional four girls	1
Additional five girls	3
Additional six girls	2
Additional seven girls	1
Additional eight girls	1
Additional 15 girls	2
There were 20 girls in addition	1
Total	51

Data received as answers to this interview question seem to be alarming. Girls were deceived by false job offers (e.g. waitress (10), house assistant/au pair (2), shop assistant (2), and dancer (1), while three victims were explicitly offered to work as sexual workers. Then, they were accommodated in separate premises along with additional girls (as depicted in previous table). Such “temporary” collection centers could not exist, if police operations would have been more efficient. Such collection centers were organized in Sarajevo (3), Tuzla (3), Zenica (2) as well as one center respectively in Bihać, Bjeljina, Busovača, Cazin, Doboj, Lukavac and Vitez.

The presence of collection centers hosting approximately 5-6 girls (up to 50 in one particular case) directly proves organized crime existence and its functioning in BiH as a whole. Efforts to uproot that crime will be accompanied by difficulties.

The following table depicts current process of sexual exploitation. It corroborates a statement that business involving sexual services was displaced to private houses from previous night clubs which were shut down or turned into coffee shops at later stage.

Table 35. *Data on Site of Victim’s Sexual Exploitation*

Where was a victim forced to act as prostitute?		
Used premises		Combination of used premises
At street 1		Street + private house 1
At rented rooms 1		Rented rooms + private houses 1
At night bar/coffee shop/motel 7		Rented rooms + hotel rooms 1
At hotel rooms 2		Coffee shops + private house 1
At luxury furnished apartments 2		Hotel rooms + luxury accommodated flats 1
At motel 1		Coffee shops + hotel rooms + private houses 1
At private houses 10		At street + hotel rooms + private houses 2
total 24		total 9
No data 18		
TOTAL 51		

In cumulative terms, private houses were used at 16 occasions, and luxury apartments in two instances; this means that 35% of victims (from total number of 51) used aforesaid dwellings as venue for providing sexual services. Furthermore, coffee shops were used at 10 occasions, followed by hotels/motels at eight instances.

Our data corroborate an empirical stance only partially that provision of paid sexual services has been moved to private premises due to currently absence of visible night clubs. Sexual services have been displaced partially to private houses and apartments, but also kept within the same night clubs which may only have changed their title to

conceal their purpose. However they continue to operate the same business in a more sophisticated fashion, whereas its clientele is aware of their services.

Accordingly, previous “social polluters” of BiH society, namely night clubs (brothels) have only formally changed their titles, but their operations remained the same. It is not likely to assume that general public, but professionals in particular from respective towns/communities are not aware of their operations. Thus, it sounds even less credible that domestic police forces have not been aware of club owners’ crime associated with sexual exploitation and trafficking. This requires addressing the responsibility of police authorities and other social services in charge of deterring such crime. The further analysis show that owners make enormous profits in this crime.

Victims features

How can a victim be identified and what proof is required to prove that acts include organized crime of trafficking for purpose of sexual exploitation? Firstly, it is required to review data on minors’ representation (61%) among victims and consider that victims have been gathered and detained collectively at hidden places throughout BiH. In addition, data on venue of where they were forced to providing such services has been relevant too, as it shows indirectly features of crime organization which preceded to immediate sexual exploitation.

Data on type on **promised job** have been incomplete significantly, given that 31 victims did not answer this question. From 20 victims who answered the question, only three victims admitted that job offer was associated with sex industry. Other victims state that they were strictly offered the following jobs: waitresses (10), household assistants (3), workers (2), shop assistant (1), dancer (1), au pairs (2), and stipulate that no sexual services were mentioned. They further state that their engagement in sexual industry was never mentioned at any occasion.

Although three aforesaid persons were placed in shelters by police authorities and/or NGOs, with their own consent, we deem that in *objective terms they can not hold a status of victim nor they feel as victims of sexual exploitation*: they freely engaged in sexual services provision and in return received percentage of earnings by the club owner.

The actual nature of sexual exploitation of trafficked girls/women is showed in situations of compulsory work without any compensation.

Table 36. *Data on modalities of earnings split between victim and exploiters*

What share of profit did victim receive ?	
No data ²⁰ (40%)	
NO EARNING RECEIVED EVER	19 (37%)
A victim received one quarter (25%) of earning	1 (2%)

A victim received one half (50% of earning)	8 (15%)
A victim received a whole earning (100% of earning)	2 (4%)
It received earning only when she worked as a waitress	1 (2%)
Total	51 (100%)

From a total number of our research sample, **19 victims (37%) declared explicitly that they received no earning** ever from profit made. Two victims, among this group, claim that they received pocket money (5-10 KM) to buy cigarettes. This question was left unanswered by 20% or 40% of victims that represent a high percentage of reply abstinence. Nevertheless, a shortage concerning this data has not differentiated significantly from other missing data with respect to site of their work (as the latter has not been answered by 15 victims or 35% of them). This abstinence could be treated as non-systemic variation and accordingly such results (even without replies) can be considered.

Once “missing replies” are deducted, replies from 31 remain. In total **62% of victims never received any compensation for their services**, while others negotiated some arrangement with the owner, and usually receive 50% of amount earned. Here, one should acknowledge a notion of self-comprehending status of the victim, as Kelly (2005) views trafficking as a process whereas victims believe that they made an arrangement concerning their smuggling operation. An exploitation element has been learnt by victim at the end of process, once traffickers require debt bondage or when victims discover that any of promised money was not sent to their families. Accordingly a deception, as a tool for manipulating victims represent a main *modus operandi* of traffickers with respect to recruiting and abusing of victims.

Our data illustrating a full sexual exploitation and slavery show a real, exploitative nature of these criminal activities. However, large profits received from organized sexual service scheme due to work of victims in slavery position has been a primary purpose. This has been shown by data that daily profits were large depending on duration of time starting from KM 50 (a half an hour), KM 100 (a full hour) and from KM 250 to KM 400 for a whole night rental. The average number of customers ranged between four and five per day. Working hours ranged from 8 hours and more in an average, but most victims did not have any free day in the course of week. We were told this by victims in the course of the interview.

Accordingly, real profits made by victims for their employers/purchasers ranged from KM 200 to 400 KM per day, while on a monthly profits ranged from KM 6000 to KM 8000 per victim.

Profit of the club owner was dependant on a number of girls/women purchased and gained, and such profit has never been taxed. Such sexual exploitation of women/girls lasted for months and years.

Among the victims, there were two persons engaged in the same business but who were entitled to their complete salary. They can not be regarded as victims due to an arrangement with a club owner (trafficker), but rather as **situational victims** as depending on other conditions that they were exposed to, this criteria of salary division²⁵ either excluded or permitted them to remain within victims' category. Additional nine women in trafficking chain received a half of their income (50%), while one received a ¼ of her income in accordance with a business arrangement with the club owner. They could be hardly treated as persons with victims status, but rather situational victims.

More exactly, this implies that they accepted an imposed situation, adjusted their behavior and became "an associate in business" which yield large profits to the club owners, provided that they had not been exposed to other types of maltreatment and limited in freedom of movement. With regard to this question, the actual status on profit division has been presented in the following table. In its research on financial aspects of trafficking for purpose of sexual exploitation Petrunov (2011) finds that an usual division of profit between traffickers and girls involved in prostitution (victims) ranged between 30% and 50% of total profit depending on victim's experience and profit made. If situation involved experienced girls and women involved in prostitution, that provide larger profits to their exploiters then they are provided with a larger share.

Table 37. Comparative data on division of profit and presence of victim's abuse

Comparative review on data matching on profit division and (mal)treatment						
Division of profit	It can not be established	(Mal)/treatment				total N %
		She has not been subjected to abuse	She has been only sexually abused	Sexual and another abuse	Sexual and additional two and three abuses	
No data	5	3	7	6	15	40 78%
One quarter of victims (25%)	1	-	-	-	-	1 2%
One half of victims (50%)	-	4	2	1	1	8 16%
Whole profit (100%)	-	1	1	-	-	2 4%
Total	6 12%	8 16%	10 19%	7 14%	20 34%	51 100%

Chi square equals to 22,332, while contingency coefficient CC amounts to 0,552 and has been statistically relevant to level of likelihood starting from .003

²⁵ Division of profit to equal shares 50%:50% has been considered within prostitution and criminal world as a fair division.

Once data on profit division were matched with data on several forms of abuses (or its absence) the following outcome was made: victims receiving share from business *differ significantly in statistical terms* from victims without earning. This distinction in statistical terms has been shown in contingency association with a relatively high value from $CC=0552$ and shows significant linkages between two variable categories.

Accordingly, victims that managed to reach a deal with the club owner have been less abused in statistical terms than others with no such deal.

According to our data related with specific numbers, two victims who made an arrangement to retain a whole profit were not subject of abuse, followed by four victims (from total of 8) who were not abused, while remaining four victims were subjected to abuse. Two victims have stated that they suffered only sexual abuse, followed by one who additionally suffered physical and/or verbal abuse, and one victim who suffered several forms of abuse (including sexual one). Nineteen victims (47,5%) with no salary suffered two or three types of abuse, in addition to sexual one. According to this data, persons who managed 100% profit can not be regarded as victims. However, persons who made a deal to share a profit on equal shares (50%-50%) but were sexually or in another form abused could be regarded as victims.

These data have been compatible with once showing a profit division along with limiting freedom of movement. From a total number of eight victims who shared profit with the traffickers, four persons have not commented their status on freedom of movement; two victims declared that they could move without escort, while remaining two victims required escort. Accordingly, we can establish that no instance of disabling freedom of movement was in place, in other words they were not under lock and key. In general, there was one half of victims belonging to situational category who were free from maltreatment and oversight (adjusted freelancers), and accompanied by another half who had experienced oversight by traffickers/ club owners and sexual abuse by clients. This finding corroborates a theses made by researches involved in trafficking: due to changed methods of overseeing victims of sexual exploitation, understanding of particular victim situations is fundamental with regard to spatial and time process of social interaction. In this regard, history of relationship between victim and offender as well as situation that favor such relationship in order to manipulate a victim for criminal purposes, should be a main focus of interest in risk assessments, and strategies aimed at revealing and prosecuting this type of trafficking (von Lampe, 2011; Simmons et. al., 2013).

In closing this could be defined as “compulsory work with imprisonment” for absolute majority of victims who were faced with a situations involving full limitations of freedom of movement and surveillance and no earning from offered sexual services.

Exposure to maltreatment

In order to provide a full overview on oversight and surveillance of victims, the data were provided in the following table.

Table 38. *What form of abuse was a victim exposed to?*

No reply	6 (12%)	-
No abuse	2 (4%)	-
Sexual abuse	16 (31%)	(37%)
Drug taking	2 (4%)	
Sexual intercourse with no protection	3 (6%)	
Sexual and physical abuse	2 (4%)	
Sexual and verbal abuse	2 (4%)	
Sexual+ verbal + physical abuse	12 (23%)	(63%)
Sexual and drug abuse	1 (2%)	
Sexual abuse + drug & alcohol consumption	1 (2%)	
All forms of abuse	4 (8%)	
Total	51 (100%)	

Only six victims from a total number of 51 did not provide their answer to this question, while two victims reported no abuse against them. It is an usual practice that traffickers use various threats and abuses to ensure victims' compliance and obedience for purpose of providing sexual services. On the other hand, victims receive no payment for such "work", but only food and accommodation. Aforesaid data show ratio and forms of abuse, which are used as a tool to force girls/women to offer their sexual services obediently.

These data show a reason for concern, since they prove that abuse practices following trafficking and sexual exploitation are not less present with respect to previous decade, rather they tend to include **drug** abuse cases (3 cases) that were not present in previous instances of victims' maltreatment. This has been relatively a good cause to launch additional research which would analyze the issues of victims' vulnerability who had been subjected previously to sexual exploitation. To this end, vulnerability can be manifested in several dangerous situations. Vulnerable individual is disabled to consume his autonomy (independence) due to effects of various factors (threats, violence, etc) which hinder his ability to resist an undesired behavior. Vulnerability stem from internal factors which prevent full independence of an individual, such as lack of cognitive development or poverty resulting with opportunity shortages (Martinelli, 2015, p.35).

Data presented in previous table show that 53% of victims from the entire number, more exactly 63% of those who claimed to be abused, more exactly majority were exposed to all combinations of coercion including yelling, cursing, verbal threats, slapping and beating.

This proves literally a cruel nature of employer's behavior and terms of victim's capture and detainment illustrating a modern slavery.

Victims classification and triage (treatment)

Two methods were used in victims classification:

- By applying a deductive approach through developing subjective impressions received from victims, more exactly their data in the course of interview, and I
- By applying an inductive approach through developing cluster analysis of establishing homogenous victims groups that considered all replies provided on all variables which were involved there.

Classification and treatment by deduction method

Three general variables were constructed based on replies provided to questionnaires.

- Deceived victims
- Non abused victims
- Non victimized victims

Table 39. *Data on victims that were (not) deceived*

(NON)DECEIVED VICTIM	
What method was used to attract and deceive victim to a destination where she was exploited sexually?	
1. It has not been possible to determine	15 (29%)
2. Promised job offer for the post of worker/shop assistant, marriage proposal or other form of security	20 (39%)
3. Promised job offer of waitress without additional request for sexual services	8 (16%)
4. Promised job offer of waitresses, dancers, and others who knew about the expectations for providing sexual services.	2 (4%)
5. Promised jobs in the prostitution field	6 (12%)
Total	51 (100%)

We were unable to determine if false promise was made to 15 victims (29%) by reviewing interview data. Other 39% of victims have explicitly addressed certain occupations that have not been related in any regard with prostitution. Additionally, there have not been any such indications while providing training to victims.

These victims were offered jobs in factories and service sector, while at two occasions they were offered marriage and general protection. Accordingly these girls were fully

deceived by false promises and fraudulent job offers available once they arrive to place of destination. These offers were not associated in any way with prospects of providing sexual services nor such clues were visible to victims.

Eight victims (16%) were promised a job of waitress, but they could not assume expectations to provide sexual services. Only at two occasions, they were told that in addition to being a waitress and/or dancer, occasional sexual services may be sought to ensure extra income prospect to victim. Other remaining six cases of trafficked girls/women were directly offered a job of prostitutes..

Table 40. *Data on (mal)treatment of victims*

(MAL) TREATMENT OF VICTIMS		
2. How was a victim maltreated during the course of sexual exploitation?		
1. It can not be determined	6 (12%)	-
2. No abuse (as per victim's report)	8 (16%)	-
3. Sexually abuse by client	10 (19%)	27%
4. Sexually abuse+one additional method	7 (14%)	19%
5. Sexually abuse+ two/three additional methods	20 (39%)	54%
Total	51 (100%)	(37) 100%

Only six victims failed to provide the answers to this question, while eight additional victims declare that they were not maltreated in any way. Accordingly, the data positioned on the right side of table show percentage of victims that were subjected to some type of abuse. In this regard, 27% of victims were abused by clientele at certain form, followed by additional 19% of victims abused sexually as well as in physical or psychological manner, while remaining 54% of victims suffered abuse in several forms (including a sexual abuse).

These data show that trafficked girls and women were subjected to several forms of abuse, and that they could have been only saved by accepting imposed terms and situations or by waiting salvation from police authorities.

Table 41. *Data on degree of victims' victimization*

DEGREE OF (NON)VICTIMISATION		
Which category does a victim fall under?		
1. It could not be determined	4 (8%)	-
2. Not a victim	7 (14%)	-
3. Dubious (partial) victim	7 (14%)	17,5%
4. Situational victim	13 (25%)	32,5%
5. Undisputable (full) victim	20 (29%)	50,0%
Total	51 (100%)	(40) 100%

According to this table's data, we have determined 13 **situational victims** who accepted an imposed situation and thus facilitated their own terms of stay and work or managed to receive even some compensation from profit. From a total number of 51 victims, this implied one third (32,5%) of such victims whose features were subject of analysis.

A term **dubious victim** denoted those who received 50% of compensation for their sexual services and who did not suffer abuse (by traffickers) with the exception of sexual abuse by clientele. Due to occurrence of abuse at later stage, we added a term "partial victims". It should be acknowledged that among the victims of sexual exploitation, there have been girls/women who engaged in prostitution while being aware of a risk of becoming victim. The reason is that such business offered them prospects for new and better life that would be otherwise unavailable to them (Katsulis, Weinkauff & Frank, 2010).

Remaining 50% victims represent **undisputable (full) victims** in line with all criteria used in deductive classification:

- They were fully deceived concerning their occupation and terms of living
- They were fully deprived of any compensation for providing their sexual services
- They were fully exposed to several form of abuse and limitation of freedom of movement

According to data presented, this category includes 20 victims from total of 51 victims. If specialized NGOs engage in treating women/girls who were trafficked for purpose of sexual exploitation by applying the deductive classification method, they will be faced with issue of classifying particular person within a particular category. The individuals who perform this task can not be consistent in judgments by use of several characteristics.

Accordingly, such deductive classification has been unsecure and unreliable and therefore insufficient for correct treatment of victims of sexual exploitation.

Secondly, a fine tune approach is required when classifying victims to assess criteria of their vulnerability with respect to recruiters as well as sophisticated deceptions and frauds as long as sexual exploitation is in force. Victims have been deceived several times: at first by false job promise and lack of payment, and secondly by false promises on payment after settling down their debt to traffickers. Such debt would include a purchase price for a victim as well as her transportation costs (including smuggling costs and bribery). It would continue to rise reflecting to extended period of victim's debt bondage. Once a debt bondage would be completed, trafficker would convince a girl that he would keep her earning by the time they finalize their "contract on providing sexual services".

Since such contract did not exist, victims' sexual exploitation and abuse continue while their behavior and movement were under surveillance.

All these factors created a helpless feeling without prospects of leaving such circumstances. At some occasions, victim would be persistent in requesting certain payment and change of living and labor conditions, but such actions would result with her re-sale to another trafficker. In this way, a cycle of her slavery would just continue to repeat.

Depending on actual situation of a victim, appropriate triage (treatment) is required with due consideration of victim's vulnerability and level of exploitation and human degradation.

Homogenous group of victims, as result of cluster analysis based on inductive method

Use of multivariate analysis has been illustrated in consideration of attitudes on trafficking, primarily cluster analytical procedure of establishing homogenous groups based on several features of research participants. In this example of inductive classification of female victims of trafficking for purpose of sexual exploitation, the same procedure was applied. It included 36 variables (features) that sought the largest similarities of victims involved in one cluster as well as their largest differences with regard to other clusters. Accordingly, positions of individuals at all variables involved in analysis were connected by use of inductive empirical method, whereas certain groups (clusters) were made from all concerned victims. This procedure has excluded any subjectivity in judgment based classification and allows classification per features valid for subjected phenomenon in objective and inductive fashion. It is not likely to believe that any assessor regardless of triage skills and experience, could memorize such classification based on several criteria that would result with a valid triage without any dilemma and/or false judgments.

The following chart illustrates how sampled victim (N=51) were subject of clusterization when applying several cluster options (two, three and four cluster options).

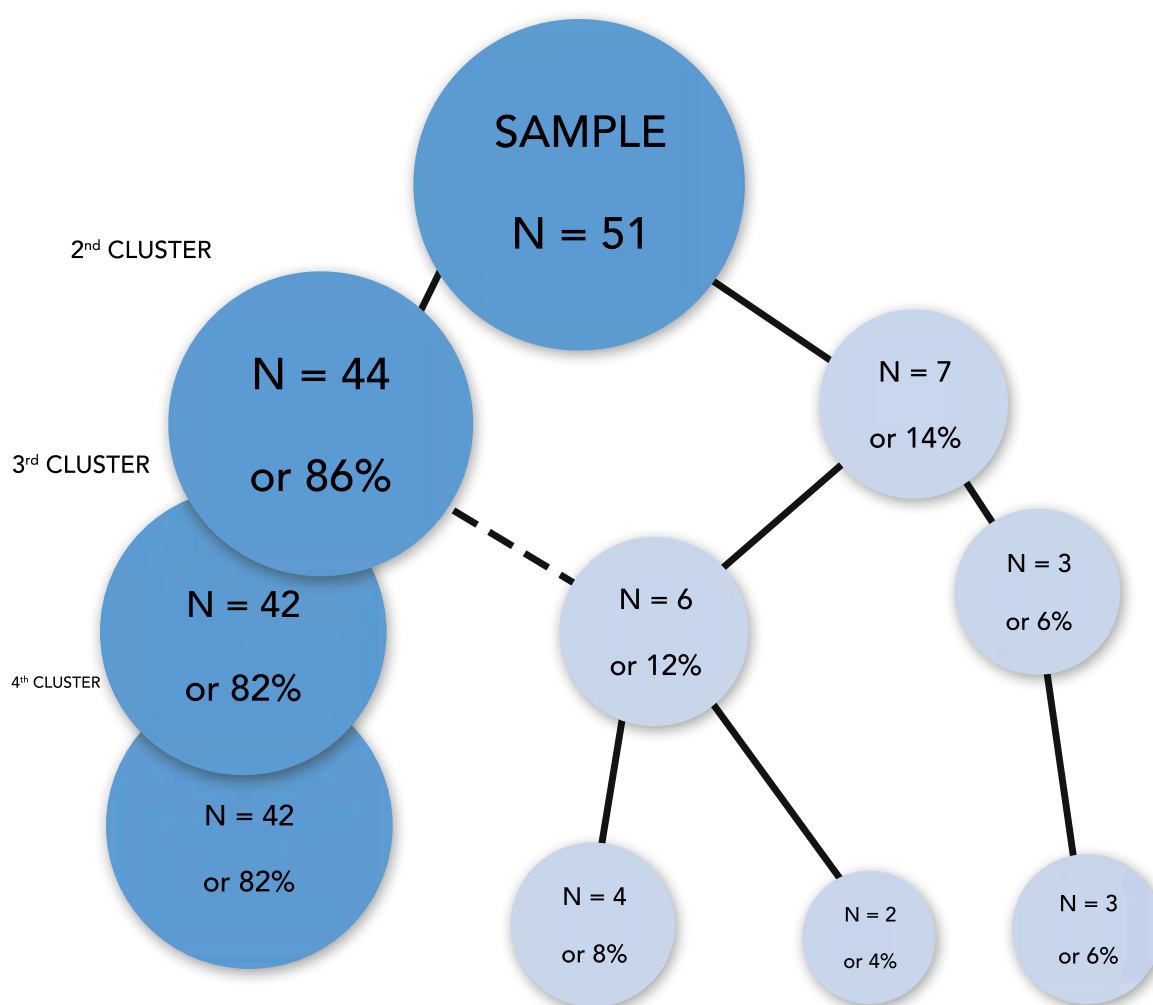


Figure 19. Division of victims sample of female trafficking for purpose of sexual exploitation in regard with combination of cluster number

By applying a cluster analysis under term of the 2nd cluster we received an unexpected concentration of victims within the first cluster, 44 victims (86%) and 7 victims (14%) within the second cluster.

Accordingly, earlier mentioned deductive, subjective classification differentiated various categories of victims (e.g. person who can not be regarded as victims, dubious victims, situational victims, and undisputable victims), while this objectively inductive method resulted with one dominant cluster, which has not changed with various level of cluster analysis. In the second attempt of classifying all victims from our sample within three homogenous groups (clusters) one can notice that the first cluster got smaller slightly (N=42 or 82%), while the second one was divided to second (12%) and third cluster (6%). At the third trial, whereas clusterization is impossible and pointless due to small number of clusters, the first cluster retains the same number of victims and was not subject of change, while the second cluster has been dividing victims of sexual exploitation to the fourth (8%) and second (4%) cluster.

The following table shows differences among homogenous groups under four clusters set.

Table 42. Review of initial centers of cluster analysis that differentiate certain homogenous groups of victims.

Ref. variable	Title of variable	CI 1	CI 2	CI 3	CI 4
24	Parents' (dis)approval concerning departure	6	0	1	0
28	Relationship with father	1	6	6	4
50	When did victim decide to take an offer	2	3	0	2
83	How were her services charged	2	3	7	5
85	How much did she receive from profit	0	50%	100%	0
86	How much did she make per day?	0	120KM	200KM	300KM
89	How many hours did she work per day	8	8	8	15
81	Where was she forced to prostitute	15	4	1	10
105	Was/Wasn't she mislead by job offer	2	4	5	1
106	Was she abused	5	2	3	5
107	Category of victim to be included in	5	3	2	5
Number / % of victims		42/82%	4/8%	2/4%	3/6%

Remark: The review shows variables whereas its criteria relevance of victims distinction was made by variance analysis ANOVA.

Homogenous groups of victims by inductive method (cluster analysis)

From structural perspective, the cluster analysis has been focused on one dominant cluster whereas absolute majority of victims of sexual exploitation (82%) have been classified. Other three clusters have differentiated with regard to the following features:

Cluster 1 (42 or 82%) – the victims from this cluster have cheated their parents and left their home; the parents did not know about their decision on departure, rather sensed this feeling, but were unable to change or influence their decision. Relations with victim's father were likely bad, causing victim's acceptance of trafficker proposal immediately. The victims has not been aware of an individual charging for her sexual services and has not got any share from profit. Victims from these cluster were forced to work 8 hours per day at least (without weekend) and this amounted to 240 hours per month. The victim was deceived by false job offers of a worker or shop assistant; alternatively they received a marriage proposal or other type of security, while any prospect of providing sexual

services was not mentioned or indicated at any occasion. Sexual services were offered in coffee shop room and private houses. A victim was exposed to several forms of maltreatment and can be classified as **undisputable (full) victim**. Accordingly, this empirical classification **classifies absolute majority of our research sample (82%)** within a group of **undisputable victims** by use of inductive method. Fine tuning of remaining portion (18%) has been differentiated by three following clusters.

Cluster 2 (4 or 8%) – victims under this cluster don't respond to question how their parents received their decision concerning departure and acceptance of job offer. Usually father either passed away or left his family, while they made a decision to accept a job offer after certain period of consideration. They have been aware of a fact that sexual services were paid by a waiter or guard, while they received 50% of its earning.

Their earnings amounted to approximately KM 120 for a full working day. Sexual services were mainly provided in hotel rooms. When negotiating a job, an individual was promised a job of waitress with possibility of providing additional sexual services in order to increase her earning. This was accomplished by entering into business arrangement with a trafficker. Such persons stipulated explicitly that they were not subjected to abuse. They fall under a category of dubious, partial victim in accordance with deductive classification. In accordance with an overall content of this cluster one could state that they can not be regarded as victims.

Cluster 3 (2 or 4%) – women/ girls of this cluster analysis are beyond a category of victim of sexual exploitation. They grew in families without further, and they decided to leave their home without mother approval that were unable to influence their decisions. They don't answer a question regarding a situation when they decided to accept a job of providing paid sexual services. They received an entire (100%) earning, in an average KM 200. They worked 8 hours every second day or 4 hours per day. They experienced a full unescorted freedom of movement. They were abused sexually by drunk and pervert clients. These persons can not be regarded as victims. We are not aware of reasons leading to accommodating them in the shelter as they can not be regarded as victims. We interviewed them at shelter.

Cluster 4 (3 or 6%) – these women/girls did not answer to question regarding their parents reaction to accept a job offer involving prostitution. They say that a relationship with their father was pretty good. They immediately accepted a job offer, while they could assume what type of business it would involve. However it could be assumed that they were offered a very profitable job in sex industry with favorable terms, as their daily earnings amounted to KM300 per day. They provided sexual services up to 15 hours daily at streets or private houses and occasionally worked as waitresses in the clubs. They have not provided any data regarding their percentage of income, but services were charged by their boss, namely trafficker on his own. Data don't prove whether victims within this cluster were deceived, but they claim that they suffered several forms of abuse. It seems reasonable to state that a trafficker played a crucial role of a procurer, and that they were classified to a group of **special indisputable victims** concerning their behavior and treatment in line with deductive classification. The content of this cluster has defined them in such fashion. **In general, a cluster analysis finding shows a more precise classification of victims of sexual exploitation, and appropriate treat-**

ment of victims and non-victims of trafficking in BiH. This has been made possible due to use of empirical data and of inductive method over a classification process.

Also, cluster analysis indisputably corroborate a **status of undisputable victim** concerning absolute majority of sexually exploited women/girls who live in hopeless slavery conditions in BiH.

Nominal logistical regression analysis

In order to establish accuracy of prediction based classification (by use of deduction method), multiple nominal regression analysis procedure has been applied.

By use of earlier referred deductive approach, we strived to develop such classification to include non-victims, dubious victims, situational victims and undisputable victims (Please note that this method involves a subjectivity and systemic mistakes in fact finding). Then we applied objective procedure of cluster analysis and determined four clusters which were previously interpreted. At the end of multivariate analysis process made on this sample of girls/women, a logistical regression procedure²⁶ will be applied to ensure an insight of prediction accuracy based on data showing abuse and impression-based classification. This will allow satisfactory data for forecasting real position of person concerning her victimization. This multivariate analytical regression procedure will establish percentage of prediction accuracy concerning classification within respective cluster, based on abuse impressions and general victimization of sexually exploited girls/women.

Table 43. *Prediction accuracy (deductive) approach in relation with inductive method of victim classification*

Assessment of general victimization	Cluster	Production percentage
It can not be determined	1	100%
	2	-
	3	-
	4	-
No victim	1	42,9%
	2	14,3%
	3	28,6%
	4	14,3%

²⁶ Regression analysis will establish an influence that variation of one appearance (criteria variable) affect variations of other influential factor (predictors). Due to statistical nature of variable use that belong to category variables, it was not possible to use a linear rather logistical regression analysis, namely nominal analysis, used to check regression influence in a situation when criteria variable contains two categories/levels. In concerned case, it contains four clusters.

Dubious victim	1	85,7%
	2	14,3%
	3	-
	4	-
Situational victim	1	92,3%
	2	-
	3	-
	4	7,5%
Undisputable victim	1	85,0%
	2	10,0%
	3	-
	4	5,0%

An overview shows precise percentages of frequencies (number of victims) that could be expected in certain cluster given that a view on appropriate triage (treatment) was based on general impression of girl/women's victimization in sexual exploitation. These data show a percentage of likelihood of victim's appearance in certain cluster.

In other words, this has been an **expression of forecast accuracy** that could offer subjective general impression required in providing accurate triage (treatment) to victims of sexual exploitation victims.

Reasoning of forecast gained²⁷

1. In a situation, when a victim is *not able or willing* to provide relevant data on herself through the interview, it will not be possible to determine *at all* a status of victim by use of general victimization process.

By use of inductive and objective method which combines other data describing conditions of victim's stay, one can forecast with 100% likelihood **that such victims belong to cluster 1 and not to any other cluster, more exactly that they represent undisputable victims.** *In psychological terms, avoidance of providing relevant replies represent an expression of their victimization.*

2. If we would consider that a certain individual **is not a victim** based on general impression, such forecast would be **inaccurate**, since such person could be classified in cluster 1 (*undisputable victims*) with 42,9% likelihood, followed by forecast on *questionable victims* (14,3%). The cluster 3 (*a person without victim's status*) has been represented by only 28,6%, while the cluster 4 (14,2%) contains *particularly disputable victims*. **Accordingly, forecast accuracy can not be accomplished on general impression concerning person's victimization, if she had been classified earlier within a disputable victim category.**

²⁷ This type of analysis was triggered by very uncritical or hypercritical arbitrary assessments brought up at events discussing human trafficking for purpose of sexual exploitation.

3. Individuals that were labeled as *disputable victims* pursuant to general impression on victimization could be regarded as *undisputable victims* with 85,7% accurate prediction, while only 14,3% of prediction has matched cluster 2 that also assesses victims credibility.

It would be a major mistake to triage (treat) victims based on general impression criteria.

4. If we would chose *situational victims* pursuant to general impression, we would make an error as the inductive and objective method classifies them as *undisputable victims* with 92,3% accuracy rate (within the cluster 1). ***Our error would be 7,5% with respect to victims classified under cluster 4.***

5. In closing, if we would fully opt for undisputable victims in accordance with general impression, such judgment would classify the same victims with 85,0% accuracy rate in the cluster 1 which determines victims true status. However such victims could be also ***with 5% of potential mistakes*** classified among cluster 4 as special indisputable victims.

Also, a process of nominal regression analysis could lead to an additional error for 10% of victims that would be classified in cluster 2 along with rented sex workers, who were not subjected to abuse or freedom of movement.

Therefore, we consider that deductively based classification pursuant to general impression on victimization can not be a sufficient framework for direct triage (treatment) of individuals stranded in circumstances prone to trafficking.

Accordingly mistakes, made by not declaring a status of victim or disputable victims, are large and s could not be neglected in triage process.

CLOSING REMARKS/FINDINGS

For a longer period of time phenomenon of trafficking has been in the focus of general public and professional community due to its complex and disguised nature. Further, there are diverse views if it involves several forms of human exploitation for criminal purposes aimed at yielding illegal benefit for traffickers. This research attempted to reveal and establish a scope and structure of trafficking at worldwide, regional and national level by use of formal indicators presented by various international and regional organizations in charge of trafficking and competent authorities in our state. Data presented show that despite of various interventions made by formal control authorities, trafficking continues to exist, but change its forms and got adjusted to suppressing measures. New practices and trend also take place in BiH with respect to victim's origin and structure: they (women mostly) are primarily recruited from domestic population, with a worrying increase of trafficked children.

On the other hand, detecting and prosecuting practices seem not to be adjusted with more disguised and organized nature of trafficking, resulting with authorities' modest successes. Also there has been a slow pace of an internal, criminal legislation amendment process, with regard to trafficking and matter of conflict of jurisdiction in BiH. This leads to unoptimistic initial assessment of trafficking, as the issue in BiH. Nevertheless, this subject research aimed to go a bit further than official statistics and indicators, by grasping a wider perception and going deeper to the core of issue.

We organized a general population survey in order to identify potentials for undertaking more severe and determined responses to trafficking. By this survey we also wanted to determine a level of public's readiness to accept such efforts by state authorities in a future period. This aspect has been critical, as various groups of population provide legitimacy to tackle the issue and diminish it; this issue has not been researched thoroughly, especially in regard with structuring population groups covered by questions on trafficking as it has been the case with our research. A more clear and sharp picture depicting this issue can be made when considering both: this report's results and findings covering a 8 year period experience of identifying victims of labor and sexual exploitation in BiH.

Nevertheless, our ultimate research goal was to develop an objective background for creating and implementing strategic programs and activities aimed at suppressing trafficking in BiH. This should ensure that competent institutions and organizations are aware of their directions and operations, either as deterring or repressive programs, the latter denoted as *ultimo ratio* against trafficking. In this regard, we will point out the most important findings of this research, including authors' recommendations that stem from every specific finding. The recommendations are presented in consequent fashion, following each crucial finding.

With regard to questioning views, perception and attitudes of the three public categories (namely general public, pre-professionals and professionals) on trafficking in BiH, it has been evident that this research sample covered representatives of modern citizenry in BiH. It evidently has all required features of active public which plays a critical importance in accurate understanding and reaction to the pending issue and gaining public support for its resolution.

An initial benchmark for reviewing public opinion has been cognizance that there has been a developed awareness, consisting of awareness of traditional forms of trafficking (sexual exploitation) and recent ones (labor exploitation, child begging and other types of abuse for purpose of sexual exploitation). Accordingly, an assumption that general public differentiates actual dimensions and specificity of these two phenomena within trafficking has been proved through this research. At the same time, a general condemnation of aforesaid issues has been in place, followed by two aspects of such attitude: departing from condemnation of "old" and "new" forms of trafficking and (i) intolerance to forced marriages and sale of human organs/embryos at illegal market. This affirms a previous thesis on importance of considering so called "cognitive binding element" which shows a general public condemnation with respect to trafficking. Simultaneously, there are opposing dissonant views on forced marriages and prostitution, as latter involves a certain understanding of customers needs for "*the eldest profession in the world*". This finding could be corroborated with a widely accepted view that similar tolerant attitude is held by professionals employed in institutions in charge of suppressing trafficking. This creates an urgency for raising awareness of general public and professionals in order to overcome such non-adjustments and stereotypes associated with certain traditional forms of trafficking.

Accordingly, there has been a satisfactory social consensus with regard to the issue of trafficking condemnation in BiH, but also a *cognitive dissonance* between views and expected behavior associated with forced marriages and sale/purchase of human organs and embryos. Aforesaid facts show that active BiH public clearly recognizes new forms of trafficking including the sale/purchase of organs and embryos at illegal market, then work and cultural discrimination of Roma children and workers subjected to the severest labor exploitation without any financial compensation.

This finding results with recommendation that trafficking should be treated in a more comprehensive fashion and thus expanded beyond sexual exploitation in order to encompass new forms namely criminal schemes of child begging and workers exploitation, whereas the latter are deceived by false promises and deprived of all human rights and decent treatment.

This means that one third of general public interviewees possess a neutral general attitude concerning trafficking, and this ambivalent attitude and stance should be changed definitely. Similar attitude applies to pre-professionals, namely students of specifically selected faculties. To this end, specific information and training programs addressing criminal nature of trafficking and its adverse impact to human rights and democratization in BiH should be developed for them. As anticipated, professionals' attitude in condemning trafficking has been intensive, but yet there are 30% of professionals who hold neutral attitude or even understanding on presence of trafficking in BiH. Previous

assumption on possession of such stance by professionals has been proved and they need to be changed. Persons holding such attitude will behave in passive fashion, as their attitude consists of incomplete cognitive and affective components which influence such non-active behavior. As a general conclusion, active general population, represented by general public categories as sample possesses the attitude of trafficking condemnation. This result has been likely associated with public campaigns, organized for purpose of informing the BiH public concerning the issue of trafficking.

Therefore it has been recommended that pre-professionals and professionals regard their respective attitudes on trafficking as relevant and special ones, as well as that active general public representatives regard it as pending issue which hinders human rights affirmation and slows down democratization process in BiH. Development of specific anti-trafficking public campaign with purpose of informing public with notion, forms and adverse affects of trafficking has been regularly included in the content of any counter-trafficking policy document in BiH.

In line with research results, media support to “anti-trafficking programs” and campaigns should make available appropriate content that explains suppressing actions taken at individual and society level.

With respect to media campaign, our recommendation would be to avoid a white & black clichés and proclaim as trafficking all forms of sexual services provision, begging, and unpaid compensation to workers. Simultaneously, one should confront strongly all forms of exploitation that goes beyond social boundaries and that stem from gender, labor and cultural discrimination.

Therefore it is critically important to develop social awareness of relevant stakeholders, by use of all possible means and forms, on enforcing appropriate suppressing actions and programs which will target existing sexual exploitation along with new forms of trafficking, namely children begging and labor exploitation. This should be done in order to diminish a belief that the issue of trafficked girls/women has been resolved. Also it is required to abolish belief that new emerging forms such as minors forced marriages and beginning represent part of cultural heritage, as well as that poverty represents an excuse for selling children, human organs and embryos. Constant but proportional social pressure should diminish a neutral and subjective attitude that trafficking is a sole matter dealt by police, judiciary and non-governmental organizations. General public absolutely disapproves at any ground or justification forced marriages of minors, but also sale of human organs and embryos. Any legislative and repressive activity against this type of trafficking would be largely approved and supported by ordinary citizens in BiH.

It is recommended that students with neutral attitude (21,3%) or ones with attitude of approval (10,4%) should be addressed in more direct fashion and explained criminal and legal background associated with these forms of trafficking.

Firstly, all three groups have disapproved to a less degree a practice of providing sexual services by persons who could realistically be victims of trafficking in comparison

with their general condemnation on trafficking and their particular disapproval of minors forced marriages and sale of human organs/embryos.

Secondly, professionals including judges, prosecutors, police officers, social workers, NGO volunteers condemn less in statistical terms such behavior than general public and pre-professionals.

We could comment results gained in two directions: more educated category of citizens along with major number of women prevail within general population thus leading to a stronger condemnation of “paid sex” with a general excuse that clientele should not regard if services were provided by victims of trafficking.

By use of the same pattern, pre-professionals (students) were under influence of their age concerning the use of sexual services. On the contrary, professionals who deal with public aspect of this phenomenon are facing a dilemma that standard prostitution is predominantly present in this area and that their customers should not be judged in advance. This is likely supported by fact that provision of sexual service constitute a minor but not criminal offence, with no legislative penalties for customers.

The following questions focus on interviewees assessment on capacities available for purpose of combating trafficking? As a common finding, both general public and professionals don't assess local communities' resources as significant ones to deal with trafficking consequences. Accordingly, local communities and NGO content with own activities and social role in this regard don't reflect perception on their successful work held by general public and professionals.

Difference in significance between (dis)approval with aforesaid claim by general public and professionals, and in particular by pre-professionals and professionals show various perceptions on the same phenomenon, which occurs on daily basis. Therefore, we recommend a fine-tuning and gradual approach in order to align various attitudes concerning this crime in order to differentiate criminal activities.

As a general finding, BiH public has recognized begging as a form of trafficking, in particular professionals show such strong belief. Therefore, it is hard to comprehend an absence of social response that would impose permanent sanctions on concerned criminals and introduce social welfare measures for individuals.

It is noteworthy that all groups of participants behave similarly when encountered by a scene of begging. Every second interviewee (43,7%) noticed that a children begging scene mostly represents trafficking. Although participants know that a practice of donating money, even to children is not a good one which further spurs crime and indirectly trafficking, they are inconsistent with their attitude due to attitude's emotional component. Also, 42,2% of persons who displayed a neutral attitude with respect to begging practices, as a form of trafficking also give money to beggars. Interestingly, a group of 40,3% interviewees who have not considered begging as trafficking has also actively supported this crime.

Accordingly, begging phenomenon has been directed to emotional component of attitude, and thus resistant to all information on trafficking in individual's possession, causing behavioral **cognitive dissonance** at specific situations. This has been likely justified with absence of police actions, with an exception of inefficient formal warnings and threats. As such they don't suppress even partially such deviant practices involving minor Roma children under diligent surveillance of trafficking organizers.

Therefore recommendation reads that approach to begging, as a form of trafficking must be carefully studied and selectively directed to notice any situation involving transporting, positioning at streets and picking up a group of children by the same individual who collects their half or full day earnings. A trafficker is not likely a father of all children (with due consideration of their similar age) but rather the organizer of begging scheme who punishes a child if it hides a part of earning or is unable to collect expected amount.

Large media coverage, in close cooperation with social workers and police followed by consistent enforcement of social protection measures with regard to victim and repression of criminals in charge of begging scheme, would affect public. In this regard, public would start to change its affective component of attitude on trafficking, and this would impose certain limitation in behavioral pattern. Also, it would reflect to human behavior in a way of discontinuing support to minors begging in urban areas of BiH.

Of course, this approach should be inclusive and involve several efforts in parallel: providing social protection; punishing criminals in charge of begging scheme and parents who neglected, abused and finally sold their own children.

With respect to labor exploitation, BiH public regardless of its social and professional status agrees that a situation involving workers' labor with threat on dismissal and without compensation represents one form of trafficking.

This social perception warns relevant stakeholder and unions to undertake measures aimed at protecting workers' rights and freedoms since public condemnation may result with street demonstrations. Accordingly, public would likely support workers' riots and demonstrations that could easily turn to civic riots, unrests and revolutionary movements. This has not been a harsh and unrealistic assessment, since in the recent past, there were many protest events where workers of certain companies or members or certain public categories had already shown their discontent in major cities throughout BiH.

In general terms, general public has been very classified with regard to their fundamental attitudes concerning trafficking. There are 43,4% citizens who show undisputable and critical attitude concerning trafficking (cluster 4 and 6), while there are 30,5% of interviewees with neutral attitude and lastly 15,2% individuals with critically neutral attitude.

One could conclude that over a half of general public participants should be targeted with appropriate actions, including by use of media, in order to articulate their perceptions and views concerning trafficking.

By adding additional dissonant-opposing attitudes (12,5%), it is quite obvious that student population should be targeted by such educational programs and campaigns aimed at developing a critical view on trafficking by explaining its specificity and social demand for suppressing of all forms of discrimination.

We suggest development of students campaigns to address interesting topics involving violation of human rights and freedoms and review of actual case studies showing cruelty and sophistication present in this crime.

In general, professionals don't share the same view concerning respective attitudes on forced marriages of minors on one hand, and attitudes on use of sexual services provided by potential victims on the other hand. Accordingly, there is a different functioning of cognitive dissonance between this two types of attitudes; 1/4 participants (23,6% of interviewees with the 2nd cluster- including neutral and critical participants) don't accept a general attitude that most persons involved in prostitution are actual victims, but condemn provision of such services from (potential) victims and customer neglected on the status of provider. They regard only sexual exploitation (and victims) as a form of trafficking, along with disapproval of forced marriages and sale of human organs. But, they express neutrality with respect to children beggars and unpaid workers, and thus not treat them as victims of trafficking due to their cognitive and affective components of attitude.

One third of participants (37,6% under cluster three) have been selectively critical with regard to previously commented participants, and they retain their neutral attitude concerning justification of forced marriages and sale of human organs. They also display a tolerant and neutral relation concerning use of sexual services from (potential) victims of trafficking. However, they regard highly children beggars and workers without compensation as victims.. Accordingly, they are subjected to cognitive dissonance with respect of their critical view on trafficking and tolerance (lack of criticism) with respect to other forms of this crime, while they regard highly children beggars and unpaid workers as victims. *It is obvious that active discussion programs should be developed within professional groups. They should address current forms of trafficking so that participants are able face cognitive and affective dissonance of their attitudes and get understanding on Janus-faced nature of trafficking which hinders their behavior and act indisputably.*

It is recommended to strengthen public confidence in police when dealing with this crime, but others as well. In this respect, police operations in local communities concerning this matter show a great potential for further development.

This finding has obviously showed a large cognitive dissonance between persons' attitudes and behavior. Also, it creates our criticism concerning interviewees general attitudes which condemn trafficking, given that it was not associated with appropriate social behavior and reactions to this crime.

It seems that reservation, more exactly disbelief of major population with police work (whereas police efforts in suppressing sexual and labor exploitation are considered as insufficient) has not been a cause. In accordance with methodological approach, general

population attitudes remained at level of cognitive and partially affective component of trafficking, with no manifestations in their behavior. In other words, our questionnaire was designed in a way to grasp opinion and feeling on trafficking, while it covered insufficiently claims indicating behavioral patterns (by agreeing or disagreeing with a claim).

This cognitive dissonance shown in general attitude on trafficking condemnation and inappropriate behavior indirectly shows a high level of distrust concerning reporting such crime to the police by our interviewers.

With respect to research on registered cases of **trafficking for purpose of laborexploitation of children beggars at street**, we collected data on 110 registered girls and boys, subjected to labor and sexual exploitation that received some form of protection and assistance. In this process, our data were registered on concerned official records kept by centers for social work, police authorities, and NGOs.

In total 61 victims declared that she/he was forced to beg, while five victims were subjected to forced marriages. Remaining victims usually worked in some catering facility. It is noteworthy that five victims claim that their mother and aunt were exercising their exploitation, while further five victims show fear for their families in a form of potential consequences due to their detainment by police or center for social work. Remaining three victims claim to suffer from psycho somatic disorders. Unfortunately, these data don't allow making any conclusions, rather they serve only for illustration purpose.

According to records, 55 victims (50%) lived in degrading and inhuman premises, while there are no data for the other half. Absolute majority, namely 82 victims (75%) declare that they were exploited at public place. There they could have been easily spotted and apprehended by police, but in most instances they were detained by NGO personnel. One could ask if this serves as a proof of non diligent work of social services and police.

Data collected show indisputably that over 50% of victims had imitated freedom of movement, while 18% were under lock and key. Although a large number of replies lacked certain data still they controlled conditions of life and indirectly prove that there was an organized begging scheme in place. At these occasions, victims were brought to their "work" site, and then visited by trafficker in a mid or at the end of day to submit begging proceedings.

Such conditions were not humane and their criminal dimension is reflected in scope and type of coercion and abuse applied to victims.

Accordingly a primary question has not been with regard of parenthood relationship between a crime organizer and trafficked child, but rather a scope of coercion applied to involve the victim in organized begging scheme. Many people will say that this involves a specifically Roma culture with prevailing "collecting nature of businesses" whereas child begging represents an introduction to such businesses.

Parenthood could not be regarded as mitigating circumstance for traffickers, as they make extremely large profits using their own children for "business" and in return make no or modest investments into a life standard of the own child.

Criminal act dimension associated with organized child begging has been extremely large and heavy. We deem that these data indicate a necessity for direct interventions on such phenomenon.

Accordingly, impact to victim's family has been almost insignificant or none. It is difficult to rationalize small efforts made by social service that are equipped with sufficient number of field workers. They could have been more involved in family counseling and thus exercising a larger control under minor and their parents behavior!

In total 31 victims (28,2%) were in a need for medical emergency while other 20 victims (18,2%) required a long term medical assistance. Accordingly, almost one half of victims covered by research required some type of medical assistance. This is an alarming data since victims involve children at age from 5 to 13 years.

Educational assistance was provided to every second victim, but without reasoning why such assistance was not available to absolute majority, as victims involve children of school age that should be attending school classes regularly. Only 50,9% of victims were included in school programs through intervention of social services; however this has not been sufficiently and proves inappropriate response in grasping modest number of children that they should take care of.

This assessment has been corroborated by fact that formal employment assistance by services was offered to only three older minors (who reached a legally required age to work) and who were previously subjected to organized begging scheme and labor exploitation. This represents an absolute modest number of assisted victims in finding regular employment with appropriate labor rights and subsistence means.

According to research social services would have spent by average a one month of working days per beneficiary. This does not represent a small amount of time, but such efforts are questionable if beneficiary's family, as a primary group, was not involved in such process nor its impact and behavior were controlled.

According to results of analysis addressing engagement of social welfare services with respect to trafficking only, it has been noteworthy that only 14,5% interviewees received a full attention of social work services and were provided with a long term accommodation, medical and psychological aid and school enrolment intervention. Aforesaid percentage involves interviewees whose data were processed by use of cluster analysis based on objectively and inductive method.

Accordingly, quantity and quality of services provided by Centers for Social Work to victims of labor exploitation should be examined carefully. Such examination would need to encompass both short term and long term services.

According to this data, absolute majority of victims of labor exploitation have been beyond the social protection system, with an exception of humanitarian aid distribution. This approach can not accomplish resolution of the labor exploitation issue and ultimately provide a better life to victims. We deem that victims of labor exploitation,

namely organized begging scheme, have been beyond a focus of social welfare system and thus not receive efficient protection and reintegration assistance.

According to data collected, only 23,2% victims use social welfare benefits and assistance offered by such services. Since majority involve representatives of Roma ethnical group, they are additionally exposed to a certain form of ethnical discrimination.

In closing, phenomenon of trafficking in BiH in the **area of sexual exploitation** was researched pursuant to available data on victims who were accommodated in shelters. Accordingly, we collected and analyzed data by reviewing interview notes with 51 victims who were accommodated in several shelters in the period from 2006-2014.

Speaking of relationship among registered versus actual crime of trafficking, we've accepted that such actual number is as twice larger than the registered number of victims (namely 51 victims of sexual exploitation. For example ratio of assumed versus registered victims of group violence amounts 5,3:1.

In this regard, we estimate realistically that over 500 female victims have been involved in organized crime of sexual exploitation schemes throughout BiH. Such estimate was corroborated by information that major sexual services were provided in some type of "illegal facilities" including private houses and apartments, but also within "the same trafficking night clubs" that were turned to coffee shops and motels. At such places, it is possible to encounter individuals providing sexual services, whereas significant number included trafficked and sexually exploited women/girls. Since majority of "employees" speak well local language, it is likely that organized crime has shifted their recruiting efforts to local nationals, including vulnerable minors. This finding requires prompt and determined actions of all competent institutions at all levels in BiH, which are directly or indirectly involved with trafficking.

Other countries' research on trafficking of women, girls and minors for purpose of sexual exploitation have showed the following similarities: dysfunctional families that rise minor; certain period of stay in minor correctional facilities; previous crimes usually associated with drug consumption. If one perceives a recruiting process in BiH, than urban areas, in particular small towns where neglected minors are easily spotted, represent the area where organized criminals detect and recruit local victims.

In the course of our research victims have directly declared that they feared for their life and life of their families and thus were reluctant to cooperate with judicial authorities including to provide their testimony at court.

Therefore we assume that this type of transnational and networked criminal did not cease in BiH. It is not likely to believe that criminals would give up of a low risk profitable business of renting sexual services of trafficked women at high price. It provides enormous untaxed cash profits and low costs of victims subsistence.

Accordingly, our data on number of victims should be increased for possible "dark figure of crime". As a result, over 500 female victims were trafficked for purpose of sexual

exploitation in a period from 2006-2014, whereas only every 10th victim was available for interview.

Our sample involved 61% minor victims at the moment of their exploitation, while additional seven victims are still at minor age, as they were born after year 1998.

Accordingly, organized crime in a form of trafficking for purpose of sexual exploitation has focused predominantly to minor vulnerable girls, and use publicly certain clubs/brothels for such purpose.

This fact illustrates criminals' fearless arrogance and stance to official judicial and police authorities. Accordingly, such criminals are not afraid of large prescribed penalties for minor prostitution offence and particularly minor trafficking crime. Rather they still operate public facilities (motels, hotels, restaurants, and clubs) that scarcely conceal their real purpose. Therefore, our recommendations is addressed to police and intelligence authorities in the whole state that should permanently work on detecting and collecting information on identified spots (venues or facilities) which facilitate sexual exploitation as form of trafficking.

The following question addressed by research dealt with structure of identified victims of trafficking. Data shows that **every second victim has originated from BiH**, while every fifth one came from the area of ex Yugoslavia, while every fourth victim represents a foreign victim from Eastern Europe.

When current data are compared with data originated from 2004, one can see that situation has changed drastically. There were no domestic victims at that time, but only foreign nationals. Accordingly, domestic criminals created their linkages and oriented themselves to well known local areas with network of recruiters and available sources of victims. In total there were 51 women/girls who were recorded in shelter from 2006 to 2014, of whom 29 victims were locals, mostly from Brcko and Tuzla area. These data show that recruitment sources have been primarily focused on Brcko and Tuzla, followed by Bihac, Derventa and Lukavac. Nevertheless, the review of other cities show that almost whole urban territory of BiH has been covered by this type of network crime.

Victims transfer from one state or location to another one represents features of criminal offence of trafficking. Less than one half of victims (46,7%) of our sample cross border illegally, by using fraudulent travel documents on land line border posts. Also, smugglers use boats to cross the border through the Drina or Sava. Alternatively, some victims cross the BiH border with Croatia and Serbia legally, with visa or without visa (at the same proportion).

Due to decreased formality and control, organized criminals still smuggle foreign girls and women and this activity is facilitated by a relatively easy legal border crossing process. Certain phase of transportation and smuggling process are diminished in the trafficking/sexual exploitation chain, but other links still remain and are directly implying to organized crime.

Accordingly we recommend that state border authorities, which enforce the legislation on foreigners' entry and stay, intensify border controls and checks at border posts with respect to foreigners who enter and stay in BiH in order to spot trafficking indicators. This applies also to other police authorities that deal with foreign nationals which should use aforesaid indicators in their every day work.

Method of recruiting victims of trafficking and sexual exploitation has been extremely important in order to recognize trafficker's method of performance and conceive deterrents. This interview question resulted with alarming replies. The victims were deceived by fraudulent job offers such as waitress (10), maid/au pair (3), shop assistant (2), dancer (1) and prostitute (3). They were accommodated in special premises along with another girls. Such "temporary collective accommodation facilities" for girls could have not been organized if police work had been more efficient. Such facilities were organized in Sarajevo (3), Tuzla (3), Zenica (2) while one facility existed in Bihać, Bijeljina, Busovača, Cazin, Doboj, Lukavac and Vitez. Accordingly, deception and fraud have been the most frequent form applied in recruiting victims of sexual exploitation, while gathering victims at one place certainly demonstrates perpetrators organizational efficiency. Our data corroborate partially and empirically belief that although night clubs are not operating as earlier, nowadays sexual services are provided in private premises (more exactly to entire "legal area").

Currently, sexual exploitation has been moved partially to private houses and luxury apartments, but at the same time retained yet within the same night clubs. In the meantime, those clubs changed their image and organization and offer the same services in a more discrete and sophisticated fashion, but their customers have been very much aware of such places. Accordingly, previous "social polluters" of the BiH society- night clubs/brothels have only formally changed their titles, but their operation remained the same. It is not likely to assume that general public and professionals in particular from such towns/places are not aware of their functioning. It sounds even less likely that domestic police is not aware of criminal activities there performed by sexual exploiters and traffickers.

In this regard, it seems as justified question of addressing police and other social services' responsibilities, in charge of deterring such crime, as it makes huge profits to the criminals. Victim fine tuning and classification has been noticeable with regard to sexual exploitation proceeding division. Nineteen victims (37%) explicitly stated that they received no money from profit. From this number, two victims claim that they received a pocket money for cigarettes (from 5-10 KM). However, this question was left unanswered by 20 or 40% of victims, and this has been a high percentage. However, this cumulative data has not differed significantly from replies made to a prior question concerning a venue of services provision (no replies from 15 victims or 35%) Therefore such abstinence could be regarded as non-systemic variation which allows consideration of results without abstinence replies. In this regard, when abstinence replies are deducted 31 answers remain.

In total 62% of victims have never received any compensation for providing sexual services, while others arranged some deal with club owners and mostly received one half of their proceedings.

Data on entire sexual harassment and submitting victims to slavery represent a direct proof of exploitation nature of these criminal activities. However, organized scheme of sexual services provision by victims submitted to slavery was used to accomplish its real purpose: large profits. This proves that daily profits ranged from KM 50 (a half an hour), through KM 100 (a whole hour) and up to KM 250-400 for whole nights. There were between 4 and 5 clients per day. Working hours ranged from 8 hours and more, but most victims were forced to work without weekend breaks. These were data provided by victims themselves in an interviewing process. Accordingly, actual profits for traffickers ranged from KM 200 up to KM 400 daily, which leads to monthly proceedings from KM 6000 up to KM 8000 per victim.

Club owner profit was dependent on number of girls/women that he was able to purchase. Such profit has never been taxed in any way. Such sexual exploitation under girls and women would last for months and even years. In a process of victim classification with respect to proceeds division, we noticed that there had been two individuals, who received a full payment for their services. They could not be regarded as victims, as they made a deal with a club owner (trafficker) for providing their services and made more than a decent salary. They could be considered as *situational victims*, since due to other conditions that they were exposed to, this aspect of proceeds division either exclude or leave them under category of victims. Other nine girls/women who were in the trafficking chain received one half of profit (50%), while one individual received one quarter (25%) based on her deal with trafficker. They could be also regarded as **situational victims** who accepted or negotiated such deal, after they had been already forced to offer sexual services. Although they were not exposed to other forms of abuse and could move freely, they accepted an imposed situation and gained a status of associate who likely brought large daily profits to the club owner.

It is noteworthy that victims who managed to make a deal with the club owner were abused less than victims who failed to make such arrangement. This only corroborate a thesis made in comparative research analysis showing that this type of trafficking has recently taken a more malicious form. To this end, traffickers use frequently "soft techniques" of victim exploitation, which reflect in partial split of proceeds with the victims of sexual exploitation.

Two individuals who managed to receive a whole financial compensation were not subjected to abuse, followed also by four non-abused individuals (out of eight) who managed to receive a half of their compensation. Two victims have declared that they were abused only sexually; while one victim was abused in several forms (including a sexual abuse). Unlikely nineteen or 47,5% victims deprived of payment were abused in several ways (including sexually). Accordingly, victims who made a full payment could not be regarded as victims. Others who managed to receive a 50% payment, were abused sexually or by some other way, and that fact determines their victim status.

There is a compatibility between matching data on profit division with limiting freedom of movement. In this regard, four victims (out of eight) who shared their profit with traffickers don't answer a question concerning freedom of movement, two persons declare that they were able to move without escort and two persons claim opposite. At no single instance they were detained and disabled from moving. Accordingly, half of situational victims who

split a profit with traffickers could be perceived as adjusted “freelancers”, as they were deprived of abuse and surveillance. Clients’ sexual abuse and traffickers’ surveillance were exercised under other half of victims. In general there was a “compulsory work in prison like terms” whenever the victim was subjected to freedom of movement impediments and surveillance with no financial compensation. This scenario was shared by major victims.

Research results show that 53% of total number of victims (more exactly 63% who declared their abuse) were exposed to several forms of coercion including yelling, cursing, verbal threats, slapping, beating. Obviously this illustrates a cruel nature of relationship “employer-master” and terms of victims slavery like existence including detainment and imprisonment.

These data show that trafficked girls and women were subjected to a several model abuse whereas their rescue would be to either accept an imposed situation and terms or to wait salvation by police forces. Our research established that there were 13 situational victims who accepted the aforesaid situation and thus facilitated their terms of stay or even managed to receive some type of compensation. Our analysis covered characteristics of one third of victims, precisely 32.5% out from 51 victims. A term “disputable victims” denotes such victims who received a 50% of compensation for providing sexual services and that were not abused with the exception of sexual abuse by clientele. Due to such form of abuse, we’ve referred to them as “partial victims”

In accordance with deduction based classification, other victims (50%) represented undisputable (full) victims in accordance with all used criteria:

- Entire deception with regard of engagement offered including type of business and living conditions,
- Full absence of any compensation for provided services, and
- Full exposure to a several type abuse and impediments to freedom of movement.

According to aforesaid data, this category included 20 victims from a total number of 51. Our research has reiterated one of crucial problems present in the course of efficient human being trafficking. This problem actually involves type of victim’s identification (victim of sexual exploitation) and their reliable classification for purpose of adjusting treatment to each respective victim.

Pursuant to deduction based classification procedure, NGO personnel in charge of triage (urgent treatment) of female victims of trafficking will face a problem of classifying a victim within appropriate category due to lack of clear data (known as foundless deduction process). The officer who carries out the triage process will hardly remain consistent in his judgment, based on several characteristics of the victims.

Therefore, deductive classification has not been reliable and consistent one. It is not sufficiently valid for procedure of correct treatment of victims of sexual exploitation. Additionally, we would like to draw attention to a need for better fine tuning of victims pending a vulnerability criteria for recruiters up to sophisticated methods of deception and fraud in force in a whole sexual exploitation period.

Victims have been deceived in terms of their job prospects and (non) payment of salary, and even further deluded that their payment will be paid once they settle their debt to trafficker with respect to their purchase and other costs (bribery, transportation and smuggling costs). Such debt continues to grow and slavery chain extends further. Once such debt bondage ends, trafficker convinces victims that he will keep their deposits and pay them out once a contract on “provision of sexual services” ceases. As there is no such contract, their sexual exploitation followed by abuse will be continued further, with due surveillance of their behavior and movement. This creates a situation of victim’s hopelessness. There were several examples that victim insisted on receiving certain payment and changing her work and life conditions; as a result her master would have re-sell her and her slavery cycle continued.

With respect to victims identification and classification, persons in charge of providing urgent treatment (triage) should consider an actual situation of the victim and consider the following criteria: (1) victims vulnerability, (2) exposure to exploitation and dehumanization.

Empirical victims classification was made for the first time thanks to inductive method with respect to actual state of trafficking in BiH. Major victims from our sample **(82%) have been classified within the category of indisputable victims**. Fine tuning of other remaining share (18%) has been differentiated through the three clusters, including:

(a) four victims (8%) –victims grouped under this cluster do not respond to the question concerning their parents response to their decision of accepting a job offer. They don’t have father as he died or left a family. Victims who decided to accept a job offer after certain period of reflection. They are aware of a fact that a waiter or guard charged services, while they would receive a half of profit (in average KM 120 per day for 8 hours). The services were mainly rendered in the hotel rooms. They would have been offered a job of waitress, with a proposal of earning additional income by providing sexual services. The victim would accept such arrangement by entering a business arrangement with a trafficker. They acknowledge explicitly that they were not abused and thus fall under disputable (*partial*) victims. According to entire content of this cluster, there is a finding that they could not be regarded as victims.

(b) 2victims (4%) – pursuant to cluster analysis these girls/women have been classified among a category of victims of sexual exploitation. These girls abandoned their home despite of their mother disapproval, they were raised only by mothers who were unable to prevent their departure or influence their decision. They don’t answer on question concerning a timing when they decided to accept the engagement with clear indications made to them on type of business. Whole earning was made available to them. In an average they earn at least KM 200 per day with a following time schedule: 4 hours per day, or 8 hours every second day. They were able to move freely without escort.

They were sexually abused by drunk and pervert clients. These persons could not be addressed as victims, but we encountered them in shelters where we interviewed other victims.

(c) 3 victims (6%) – these women/girls have not provided their answers how their parents reacted to their decision to accept a job in sexual industry.

They state that their relationship with their father has been good. They have immediately accepted a job offer, although it's not assumable what business offer was made. However the amount of their daily earning (KM 300) one could assume that they were explicitly offered a job of providing sexual services under favorable terms, with an exception of long hours. They worked up to 15 hours per in two capacities as a prostitute and a waitress in the club. They offered their sexual services primarily at streets and private houses. They have not provided data on share of profit, but state that their profit was charged by a club owner (trafficker) himself. It is not possible to create a clear finding whether persons within this clustered were deceived, however they reported a several type of abuses. It seems logical that trafficker actually was in capacity of their procurer. Due to their behavior and treatment, it has been undisputable that they belong to a category of *specialy undisputable victims* pursuant to deductively based classification. They have been treated in such way content of this cluster.

Victims classification based on empirical data through inductive method precisely differentiate and determine a position of sexual exploitation victim. Currently, it provides a more legitimized background for providing the urgent treatment to victims of trafficking than non-victims in BiH.

Also, cluster analysis data indisputably corroborate a **status of undisputable victim to absolute majority of sexually exploited women/girls who live in slavery alike conditions in BiH**. The research sample represents a top of the iceberg and this area is governed by feudal or slavery laws and criminal practices. The subjected research has attempted to answer a range of complex questions on presence and characteristics of trafficking in BiH, and also to offer some specific policy solutions in combating trafficking in BiH with the assistance of scientific and other methods.

The most important findings and recommendations were presented in previous sections, in closing we would like to point out to some limitations of this research. It concerns sample taking and ability to access data representing universal issues to any research including this one. Traditionally it has been a difficult task to research the issue of trafficking, as many questions were left unanswered due to specific nature and secrecy surrounding this phenomenon, ethical concerns encountered while interviewing victims and other associated hardships. One of general questioning deficiency of general, pre-professionals and professionals dealt with structure of general public. Such public has been mainly active, educated and informed population, but it likely does not represent whole BiH public. Pre-professionals and professionals have had a better representational role, since we selected such institutions and professionals that represent majority sample in dealing with the matter and specific population. This research also focused on life stories of several victims, and that may be its largest strength as most studies are deprived of focus to real life perspective of victims, but was limited to certain number of victims that were identified by official authorities.

In any event, no research should attempt to answer all questions concerning the subject matter; this applies to this one as well. The research and its findings have stated at several occasions that each specific issue should be explored and researched further, since objective and reliable information on trafficking matter could be obtained only in that way.

This has been expected by public, professionals, and lastly by one of the most important population categories that deserve more attention and research efforts on their side of story. These have been victims of trafficking that have such expectations from us, and we are obliged to comply with them.

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