



Save the Children

Children speak out

**What Influences
Child Trafficking in
Southeast Europe**

**Bosnia and Herzegovina report
May 2007**

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Save the Children

Child Trafficking Response Programme

Southeast Europe

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Children Speak Out

What Influences Child Trafficking in Southeast Europe

Bosnia and Herzegovina report

Forewords

Child Trafficking Response Programme Regional Management Team

Save the Children's Child Trafficking Response Programme (CTRP) is a 3-year project aimed at providing support to at-risk and trafficked children in South East Europe. The Programme includes Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Bulgaria, the UN administered province of Kosovo, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia. A comprehensive regional, child participatory and community-based research programme was started in March 2006 in order to learn more from children about what factors expose some of them to the risk of trafficking and exploitation, and what children's own strengths and resiliencies are in the adverse conditions many of them face. This report presents children's own perceptions of their lives, in their families, with their peers and in the wider community. It presents their fears as well as their hopes and dreams and gives valuable insight and understanding to anyone who is committed to improving children's lives, protecting them from abuse and exploitation and helping them fulfill their hopes and dreams. The views of parents, teachers and other responsible adults are also presented for an interesting comparison. Many thanks to all the children and adults across the region who have participated in the research and made this report possible! We should re-pay them by increasing our efforts to minimise the risks many of them are faced with and helping increase their resilience. Let us listen to children, take account of their views and include them in our efforts to achieve these goals!



Veslemoy Naerland
Programme Manager

State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H and Save the Children Norway South East Europe Regional Office

Trafficking in people, particularly in children, is a phenomenon which has been present in Bosnia and Herzegovina for a number of years. Despite all efforts made by B&H society, with the selfless support of international organisations and friendly countries, to eliminate trafficking in human beings, the results are still insufficient. The first set of reasons why trafficking in people is still present in our country include economic and political instability, the great number of displaced persons, poverty, unemployment, and limited opportunities. Secondly, a very significant reason is the fact that organised crime groups have found an interest in trafficking in human beings as a means of earning great profits. Simultaneously with changing circumstances related to the reasons for the existence of human trafficking, which are caused by (anti-trafficking) activities of our society, the methods of human trafficking are also changing, because traffickers try to adjust their activities to new circumstances. Therefore, it is extremely important to conduct on-going research and situation assessments about the trends of trafficking in people in order to ensure prompt planning and implementation of activities that will prevent its negative development. Research on the topic of child trafficking and related forms of child exploitation will certainly provide a plethora of information about the lives of children in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially since there has been no serious research on this topic in some time. In addition, the research will provide recommendations for the future action of governmental and non-governmental organisations which work in this area.

Save the Children Norway in its efforts to support fulfilment of the rights of the child to protection from all forms of violence, abuse and exploitation, considers research studies, the recommendations of which directly contribute to the realisation of this right, to be very useful. Such research studies contribute to an improved understanding of the phenomenon of violence by identifying the root causes of the problem, revealing the gaps in the system and child protection mechanisms, and by providing recommendations for their improvement. By conducting research, such as “Children Speak Out: What influences child trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, the issue of child protection from violence, abuse and exploitation is approached with the complete seriousness which this problem deserves.

The particular value of this research is the fact that the violence against children is observed in the wider context of child protection, education and social exclusion. The results and recommendations of this research talk about the complexity of the phenomenon of violence against children and the necessity for a rapid and systematic response to this problem in order to reduce the number of children victims of all forms of violence to the least possible rate, and also ensure adequate protection in cases when violence does occur.

Even though this research has been conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is a part of a regional programme, which will enable the results of this research to be used for the identification of common problems and the development of inter-regional protection mechanisms.

Samir Rizzo

State Coordinator for
Combating Trafficking in Human Beings
and Illegal Immigration in B&H

Senija Tahirović, PhD

Regional Director
Save the Children Norway
South East Europe Regional Office

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Data anonymity

proMENTE protects the anonymity of respondents. All questions / variables that contain information that could be used to identify respondents are removed from the report and the final database(s). This means that the answers given by respondents are physically separate from data that relates to their identity. proMENTE will reject any attempt by any party to identify respondents.

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List of abbreviations

B&H	Bosnia and Herzegovina
BSC	Bosnian-Serbian-Croatian language(s)
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSW	Centre for Social Work
CTRP	Child Trafficking Response Programme
EUPM	European Union Police Mission
FB&H	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPTF	International Police Task Force
KM	Convertible Mark (currency of B&H)
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NPA	National Plan of Action
OHR	Office of the High Representative, B&H
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
RCP	Regional Clearing Point
RS	Republika Srpska
SBS	State Border Service
SEE	South Eastern Europe
SFOR	Stabilisation Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina
STOP	Special Trafficking Operations Programme
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNMIBH	United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
WHO	World Health Organization

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Executive summary

Between May 2002 and May 2004, Save the Children carried out Phase I of the South East Europe Regional Child Trafficking Response Programme which piloted six anti-trafficking projects with at-risk and trafficked children in Albania, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia and Romania. Strengthening our understanding of children's vulnerability to trafficking is critical if we are to implement effective and targeted protection interventions. Given this, Save the Children identified research as a priority for Phase II in order to address gaps in the knowledge base on this issue. The situation in B&H was that in 2002 Save the Children Norway SEE regional office (SC Norway SEE) together with UNICEF B&H had conducted national-level research on trafficking for the purposes of labour and sexual exploitation. As a member of the Phase II regional research consortium, SC Norway SEE was interested in building on this national research both in terms of gathering more information on children working in the street and on specific risk factors for trafficking, as well as in contributing to the regional research.

In order to prepare for the B&H field research phase, an extensive literature review on trafficking and related forms of child exploitation all over the world and in particular in South-East Europe and Bosnia and Herzegovina was carried out. The results of that review form chapter 3 of this report. The review bemoans the relative lack of systematic data on child trafficking in B&H, but in particular the fact that child trafficking is not always differentiated from all trafficking and that "trafficking" is too often used without qualification when what is actually meant is trafficking specifically for the purposes of sexual exploitation.

The conceptual framework adopted in this report has been named "constrained choices". It guided our field research and provided a starting point for organising our findings. Key aspects of this conceptual framework are as follows.

- A key factor in the entry into work/exploitation and trafficking is the choices made by the child. These choices are however constrained by a variety of factors.
- Individual cases of street work and trafficking do not take place in isolation but are embedded in family and community contexts which are in turn embedded in a macro-level context. So-called "risk-factors" like a history of family violence do not cause or explain trafficking or exploitation on their own but only by virtue of being embedded into a system or network of such factors at the individual, family, community and macro levels.
- The trafficking of children is both inextricably bound up with, and also in principle hard to distinguish from, the work that they do for which they are sometimes trafficked, sometimes exploited, and from which they may sometimes even benefit themselves. Nevertheless, work /exploitation and trafficking, while strongly connected, are not the same thing. The focus of this research is broad: on work, and on exploitation, and on trafficking.
- Maintenance vs. escape factors have a specific role to play in trafficking and exploitation. These are factors which may or may not be present in the initial entry into trafficking and exploitation but which play a role in preventing the child from exiting that situation or in assisting the child to exit.

The design for the regional research was worked out at a series of regional workshops in which the B&H team participated. The design of the national research was based on the aims and methodology specified by the regional research team, by the priorities of SC Norway SEE, and by the results of the literature review. Key features and strengths and limitations of the research are set out in chapter 4.

The main technique for identifying respondents for the research was snowballing. This meant starting with pre-identified groups which might have information about child trafficking, and/or contact with such people; interviewing them, and then asking them if they could recommend other respondents. These pre-identified groups were child street workers, children in shelters, children in institutions, adult Roma community members and other adult key informants. Information was also collected from children who had already been identified as victims of trafficking. As Roma children had already been identified as frequent victims of trafficking for the purposes of sexual and also labour exploitation, and as we expected that many of the children we would interview working in the street would be Roma, the researchers also spent time with Roma children *living in well-integrated Roma communities and going to school* in order to provide a more differentiated view of how Roma ethnicity as such is or is not related to trafficking.

The main data collection techniques were group and individual interviews. Altogether 103 research sessions were carried out between May and July 2006 in Zenica, Bijeljina, Sarajevo, Tuzla and Modriča. Over 200 children and nearly 50 adults were involved in the research.

The main findings are listed below.

page number

The main findings are listed below.

The actual trafficking – the transfer of control over the child – can probably be considered to be exploitative per se. But there is always another form of exploitation which is primary and which motivates and explains the trafficking. ... 24

There is certainly a large number of older children as well as many adults in towns in B&H who beg for money in public places such as bus stations, probably for money to buy heroin. The research design did not include specific methods to contact these children..... 54

It is also possible that people organising and/or trafficking street workers had been forewarned about the research and systematically removed children from the areas where the research was taking place for its duration. 55

The evidence gathered details the different kinds of street work carried out by children in B&H: begging, cleaning car windscreens, collecting metal and other materials for recycling, and selling goods in the street..... 69

The researchers found no first-hand evidence of children who regularly sleep on the street..... 69

The field evidence leads us to the following conclusions with respect to trafficking for street work. 69

□ The vast majority of street work carried out in B&H is *not* organised on a large scale. Many children who do street work live a long way from lucrative population centres and sometimes they are collected by relatives and driven into the towns each day and/or seasonally. 69

□ A much smaller number of children are hired or lent out on a daily basis for larger-scale begging. 69

□ A still smaller number are sold for begging. 69

□ Children with some disabilities are most likely to be hired or sold for begging. 69

□ Quite a large proportion of children working on the streets are not Roma (of the 78 children we spoke to who work on the street, 18 or about one quarter were not Roma). 69

Based on the interviews it seems that there is no clear distinction between temporary work migration and trafficking. If parents "hire out" their children for a fixed sum to someone who transports them to another town to beg, and that person takes at least some of the money they earn, that is certainly trafficking under the Palermo definition, whereas if the parents pay someone to transport their children to beg and the children bring the money home, the situation is unclear under the Palermo definition. 70

There is a radical difference between children who do and who do not go to school in terms of future perspectives.... 73

The need to work on the street obviously makes school attendance more difficult, although a surprising proportion manage to go to school and work afterwards. Although the basic rule "children in poverty need to beg to eat and therefore have no time for school" holds true, it is not a hard and fast one. For example, some families might prioritise school attendance for one of the children, often but not always male, while the others go to beg. Sometimes this selection is made, or perceived to be made, on the basis of the children's own preferences..... 73

The critical factor deciding whether an individual family is so poor that children are frequently sent out to work is the extent to which the adults have regular employment..... 75

In general we found that families where the mother or father or both are absent, and families with more children, were much more likely to be living in poverty..... 76

Trafficking for street work, while a severe contravention of children's rights and a severe child protection problem, pales in significance against the scale of street work itself. And while street work is certainly detrimental to children it is still not the main problem. Its overriding importance is firstly as a symptom of the extreme social exclusion and resulting poverty in which many families find themselves..... 77

The whole phenomenon of child begging is shaped by the way passers-by are much more ready to give money to people with specific characteristics such as being young and disabled; in particular, not to able-bodied adults 78

The transcripts from the Roma children in the well-integrated community show that trafficking and labour exploitation do not have to be any part of Roma experience in B&H..... 78

The children who work on the streets and their parents had almost nothing positive to say about the institutions with whom they have contact. An institutional strategy to help them simply does not exist.	79
We were told by two or three sources that some Roma organisations may be involved in trafficking children, probably for street work.	79
When girls reach puberty they are much more likely to stay at home; traditionally this was the age when they get married although now the marriage age for girls is increasing, which means that although these girls missed school in the past they are now becoming somewhat more likely to attend or return to school.....	80
During 2006 the number of children confirmed as having been trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation seems to have been relatively low and lower than in previous years. The researchers made considerable effort to interview such confirmed cases via shelters but in fact were only able to make contact with 5-6 such children	81
On the other hand we received second-hand evidence of varying quality of as many as 40 other cases	82
□ We were also told that there are still bars and brothels in which girls, usually from outside B&H, are forced to sell sex. However we have no detailed information on this, and the research methods available to us precluded investigating them directly	82
Most of our respondents confirmed that the nature of child prostitution is changing in B&H away from formalised exploitation in brothels to more informal arrangements.....	82
All the case studies of trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation which we gathered are turbulent and complicated considering they mostly cover just three or four years. The children involved were all subject not only to sexual exploitation but also to some combination of poverty, physical abuse, drug use and criminal elements. They are all exposed to extreme violence.	83
Broadly we can concur with the executive summary of a report on sexual exploitation of young people in quite a different context, London: "Sexual exploitation primarily occurred as a result of young people making constrained choices against a background of social, economic and emotional vulnerability"	83
It seems that to the extent that victims make choices (or perceive themselves to be making choices) when they enter conditions of sexual exploitation and trafficking, those choices are centred around choice of partner. They see themselves as having entered into some kind of romantic relationship with someone who is in fact trafficking them or who will lead them to traffickers.	84
In the majority of cases in which children are trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation within B&H, people very close to them are heavily involved: family members, close friends or people the victims consider to be boyfriends/lovers.....	86
There is a basic lack of longer-term reintegration models and corresponding funding.	86
We have first-hand evidence of 2-3 Roma girls of 10-13 years of age sold for marriage and second-hand evidence of about 30 such cases. The family receives several thousand KM.....	92
Given that there are some common risk factors for both street working and trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation, it is perhaps surprising that we found very little overlap between the two, or cases in which a child subject to one then became subject to the other.	93

1 Five children

As an introduction to this report, we present glimpses from the lives of six children. Although the stories are made up, with invented names, they are constructed to represent six prototypes which we feel to be typical of those children we met during the research. The quotes are direct quotes from real children who we feel represent those prototypes well. We hope that in this way the children we met during our research will find a place in this report in perhaps a more vivid and direct way than the more analytical presentations of the later chapters.

1.1 Edin: feels responsible

Edin is a boy of 12 whom we met on the street in a large town. He lives with his mother and sister in their own apartment and goes begging most days. No-one forces him to beg but he knows that if he didn't, he and his family wouldn't have enough to eat.

Edin's parents are divorced. His mother has broken off contact with his father because he was physically abusing them. His mother is not employed. He doesn't go to school but he says he would like to.

His family situation does not allow him to attend classes. He feels the responsibility to look after his family, because he is a boy.

He started to beg with his mom when he was very young, and he's been begging for four years now. He used to approach people carrying a piece of paper, saying that he and his family were starving. Now that he is older, he washes car windscreens at traffic lights. It is a custom in those families like his that younger children beg in the streets, and the older ones do similar jobs in order to earn some money for food. Every day, he brings home 10-15 KM (5-8 EUR). They buy food with it. It is the only source of income in the family. He spends the whole day in the street, exposed to all weather conditions, insults and people's moods. However, he feels obliged to work come what may, because otherwise his family would have nothing to eat. He would love to stop working on the streets though.

I don't, but what can I do? I have to do it. No one forces me to do that but we have nothing to eat and then you have to go in the street and beg. I want to go to school and find a job. Mum told me not to go because someone might kidnap me but I told her that I wanted to go because I want to earn money.

He sees no way out for his family. He feels bad about not being able to go to school and is fully aware of how important school is. They cannot afford books or decent clothes. Many of his peers are in the same situation, and none of them sees a way out.

1.2 Mina: forced to work

Mina is 11 years old and lives with her four brothers and three sisters in extreme poverty. Her mother has no employment but goes begging with the children. Her father collects metals for recycling to earn money for them to live. They do not have running water at home and they live in a very poor state of hygiene.

Some of the money she earns helps to feed the family, but some of it her father takes to buy drink.

None of the children goes to school. Mina has to earn 20 KM (10 EUR) per day to give to her mother and father, and if she doesn't, she doesn't dare go home because she would be beaten. She sleeps in the park instead.

She feels lonely, afraid of being attacked by someone. It gets worse in winter when it snows, and everything is cold and wet. She has no boots, and her feet are wet and cold all day long. Her father spends the money she earns on alcohol. He also takes the money from her, and abuses her physically.

*Mina: When there is a car market, we go to work. There is a car line-up and we beg.
 Researcher: Ok. And who all begs?
 Mina: My friend and I beg.
 Researcher: And who do you give the money to after begging?
 Mina: To my sister. And sister gives the money to my father, so he can buy some food.*

The children in her family are forced to beg every day; they see no other choice. Qualified as "social cases" by the Centres for Social Work, these families receive 20 KM (10 EUR) monthly per child. However, that amount doesn't nearly cover their needs, and, therefore, they are often hungry. That is why they often look for anything they could

possibly use in garbage yards. Mina would like to attend classes, and have fancy clothes and a comfortable bed she can sleep in.

1.3 Dino: the survivor

When Dino, who is 20 years old now, was a little boy, he left the country with his parents because of the war and lived as a refugee in Zagreb. As foreigners, they used to work honorary seasonal jobs; in autumn and winter, there were no revenues. Once the war ended, they came back home, but the parents couldn't get a job. They lived in extreme poverty.

That is when Dino's father gets violent, and starts to abuse him and his mother every day. He was forced to watch his parents' fights, and was beaten often by his father. Several times, the social care centre placed Dino and his mother in a safe house. He was only 10 years old when he was forced to collect iron waste for resale, in abandoned ruins full of mines. His father was forcing him to do so, and he used to take all the money from his son. Dino was not allowed to keep anything for himself. He felt awful. The father was forcing him to work under any weather conditions, regardless of the danger of a building collapsing or of stepping on a mine.

At the same time, he was attending classes, and was one of the best students. He has always had a great interest in education, because they were telling him that that was the only way for him to make something of his life. He never stopped hoping that a better future for him would come soon. Somehow he always managed to find positive energy through talks to people around him. Also, he had a strong belief that all his trouble would end one day. He was only 14 when he decided to leave his parent's home and find a job. He is now 20 years old, has a life of his own, and says:

Dino: I've been working for a year now, I have my own life, my parents can't hold me back anymore. I have thoughts about life, which lead to something better. Concretely, I'd love to find a better job, that is my hope for the future, but it is realistic thinking, a thing of reality.

1.4 Nina: started working in a bar to feed herself and her brother

Nina is now 16 years old. We met her in a safe house for victims of trafficking. We were struck by how desperate her family situation was, which led her to start working in a bar. She had been living alone with her brother who was a few years older than her. The only help they got from their wider family was that sometimes they were sent money. They were very poor. Then when she was 15 she found work as a waitress in a neighbouring town. She moved into the owner's house. At first she really did work as a waitress. After a while, the owner started to abuse her sexually. She was not able to defend herself. She was under constant surveillance, and had no right to go where she wanted to. She was forced to provide sexual favours to customers of that bar.

She tried to get out of it, but she couldn't. She was afraid that the people she would speak to would be connected to the owner of the bar in some way.

Nina: When I told him that I wanna go home, that I don't want to work anymore, he said: "You're not going home", then he threatened me, to keep me from running away.

Researcher: How did he threaten you?

Nina: He threatened me with a gun and hit me.

Researcher: He hit you?

Nina: Yes.

Researcher: How did he hit you?

Nina: With his hands.

She was "loaned" to other bars several times and forced to prostitute herself.

The other girls working in the bars could not help her at all, because they were all in the same situation. During one raid, she was brought in for questioning. The Centre for Social Work then put her in a safe house, and, on the girl's initiative, her aunt was contacted. The girl is now going to live with her aunt in another country. She sees that as an opportunity to start a whole new life and make some of her dreams come true.

1.5 Maja: drugs and exploitation

Maja was 14 at the start of this story. She is now 16. We met her in a city-run centre for homeless people. She told us her very chaotic story and we were struck by the fact that sometimes she made decisions herself to go back to this life of abuse and prostitution and sometimes she was forced or tricked into it. Sometimes the money she earned from

prostitution was more or less for herself and sometimes she had to give most of it to men who had a lot of control over her. In one sense she could usually live where and more or less how she wanted, but on the other hand was using heroin which she obtained from her abusers and this meant she would do almost anything to obtain the drug. She says it is going to be very difficult for her to get out of this life.

At the National Theatre I was hanging out with some friends, smoking weed and there I met J and R, and started hanging out with them... Later I found out that R gives blow jobs to customers for 10 KM and that she worked for S, which she later confirmed. Then R invites me over to her place (...). At her place we enjoy the weed that I had. I talked to R and J, but we didn't get around to talking about sex or providing of sexual favours, but I figured out that they provide sexual services and give all the money they earn to S.

I often saw that R was sad, but I didn't know why. While I was at her place, the phone kept ringing constantly and from the conversations it was obvious that they were customers with whom R was making arrangements for sexual services.

(...)

R talked me into giving sexual services to customers and told me that she will find me customers, and that all I had to do is have sex. R told me that I can keep all the money I earn. That's how it was at this time, I had about 10 customers, and I provided the services most often in hotels and restaurants. I was buying heroin for myself with the money I earned.

The sale of sexual services with the mediation of R lasted for about two months. Once when I was at R's at her rented apartment, S came and I saw him then for the first time. He comes in, we meet and he introduces himself. He sits on the sofa, and I was sitting across from him on the couch. Right after that, he orders R to go shopping, and he and I are left alone in the apartment. As I was sitting across from him, he tells me to come and sit beside him. I didn't want to, he was very scary to me because of his looks and because of the stories I've heard about him, that he can do anything he pleases. At that moment he takes a gun out, threatens me with it to come and sit beside him, and I again refuse to do so. After this, he stands up and loudly tells me to sit beside him, and places the gun on the table in front of him. After this I was very scared and paralysed by fear, and got up and sat beside him. After I sat down, he rudely orders me to take my clothes off. Because at that moment I was scared to death, I obeyed him and took my clothes off, after which he took his clothes off and raped me. In middle of the rape R comes back to the apartment and sees us, and goes to another room.

Right after he raped me, S suggested that I work for him as R and other girls, and told me that he would offer me protection, but I didn't say anything and then he leaves the apartment. R talks to me, asking me how could I do that to her, thinking that I had voluntary sex with him. At that moment, a girl named J comes into the apartment. I was totally bitter after the rape, remained in the apartment for a short while, trying to calm down. After that I leave the apartment, and continued to be in contact with R, but never saw S anymore. When I returned to [name of the city], I made up with my mom. The next night I went to R's in [name of the part of the city], and started working with her again.

1.6 Edina: she doesn't belong in this report

Edina doesn't belong in this report.

She goes to elementary school in a suburb of Sarajevo. She is a very good student and her best subject is mathematics. She likes music and dancing. Her father works for a local firm, while her mother, who finished secondary school, stays at home. She has two sisters and a brother. They all go to school.

The only reason she is in this report is because she is Roma and some people think that Roma people beg because it is in their blood. So we went to visit some schools in Sarajevo and Tuzla in areas where large numbers of Roma people live together with non-Roma people and live quite similar lives.

Her grand-parents live next door, and help them with housework. The grandfather has a pension that he earned working as a janitor. Edina and her sisters love holidays, because that is when the whole family gathers at one place for the grandmother's cookies.

Her cousins live in Buca Potok. They go to school there. Edina says she has more friends in school than her cousin Amela has. Amela, from her side, says that she stopped going to school because children used to make fun of her skin color.

Edina, however, says that her friends are different. She feels loved by her friends, and says that they enjoy spending time with her. She has a lot of friends. She also thinks that teachers like her, and enjoys going to school. She seems to be aware of how school is important.

She wants to become a teacher when she grows up.

From these case studies it is evident that children's involvement in work, exploitation and/or trafficking relates to a complex range of highly individual situational and contextual factors. After an introduction to the research, in chapter 3 we will explore these factors in relation to existing literature or reports on this topic and in section 5.8 we will present the information which our research adds.

2 Introduction

The research reported in this document forms part of a regional research project coordinated by Save the Children in Albania. The Save the Children Norway SEE regional office coordinated the research on the national level. The implementing partner for conducting the entire research process was proMENTE social research. Thus the present report is on the one hand a stand-alone document written for Save the Children Norway SEE regional office and at the same time a contribution to the regional report.

2.1 Background to regional and national research

2.1.1 Background to the Regional Programme

Between May 2002 and May 2004, Save the Children carried out Phase I of the South East Europe Regional Child Trafficking Response Programme which piloted six anti-trafficking projects with at-risk and trafficked children in Albania, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia and Romania. The six pilot projects attempted to promote and protect the rights of at-risk and trafficked children through a combination of prevention, protection and reintegration activities, all of which adopted a child rights participatory approach to interventions. While much was learnt from this first phase, Save the Children continues to see child trafficking as a regional priority, and in September 2005, began work on Phase II of the programme.

The aim of Phase II is to increase protection of the rights of high risk and trafficked children in southeast Europe through consolidated regionally linked work in seven countries in the region. More specifically, the programme is working with children in their communities and through partnership with NGOs and Government agencies to develop coordinated and sustained interventions that target support to the most vulnerable groups.

Phase II is helping to improve the technical skills of front line workers in identifying, referring and responding to high risk and trafficked children, and to strengthen legislative, policy and institutional frameworks for protection. It also aims to increase capacity to analyse and assess the impact of current interventions as compared to the needs of vulnerable groups and develop a more strategic child rights based approach.

2.1.2 Rationale for regional research

While Phase I provided an understanding of some of the vulnerabilities at play in the trafficking of children, Phase II intends to build on and deepen this knowledge in order to design and implement effective and targeted vulnerability reducing strategies.

In Phase I, groups of children who were understood to be at risk included socially marginalised children, children from broken homes, ethnic minority children (e.g. Roma, Ashkali children), children who suffer family violence and abuse, those who lack schooling, family support or protection, and children who have been trafficked; yet it is not clear how the evidence that these children are at special risk of trafficking was gathered.

A clearly identified limitation is the lack of distinction between general vulnerabilities and specific vulnerabilities to trafficking. While there have been a number of studies on child trafficking within SE Europe in recent years, there is a notable absence of consultation with high-risk or trafficked children and their families and communities, about their needs and concerns, and about what interventions might be effective.

Strengthening our understanding of children's vulnerability to trafficking is critical if we are to implement effective and targeted protection interventions. Given this, Save the Children identified research as a priority for Phase II in order to address gaps in the knowledge base on this issue. Save the Children is conducting research with the participation of high-risk children and their families on risk factors and the dynamics leading to trafficking so as to better understand the everyday circumstances in which these children are growing up and the decision-making processes that they go through and the individual, interpersonal and social factors that influence them.

2.1.3 Background to research in B&H

The situation in B&H was that in 2002 Save the Children Norway SEE regional office (SC Norway SEE) together with UNICEF B&H had conducted national-level research on trafficking for the purposes of labour and sexual exploitation. As a member of the Phase II regional research consortium, SC Norway SEE was interested in building on this national

research both in terms of gathering more information on children working in the street and on specific risk factors for trafficking, as well as in contributing to the regional research (UNICEF B&H and Save the Children Norway 2004 p. 31).

The research project is supported by the State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H (Office of the State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H). The State Coordinator presented the research aims to all anti-trafficking actors in the country in May 2006 at the referral meeting, which is a quarterly meeting organised by the State Coordinator. After research completion, the State Coordinator will use the referral meeting in order to present research findings.

proMENTE social research, Sarajevo, was again engaged to implement the B&H research. The overall research design and selection of respondent groups was based on an extensive literature review and key informant interviews which are reported in section 3. The present document includes both the results of the B&H literature review as well as a description of the B&H research and its findings. The regional research findings are published by Save the Children in Albania.

2.2 Aims for the B&H research

Aims 1-3 are almost the same as the regional aims; aim 0 is specific to B&H.

0. Trafficking in context: to put the extent and severity of trafficking for the purposes of labour and sexual exploitation into the context of child protection issues in general in B&H.
1. Documentation and Identification: To determine how to identify the children, families and communities most at risk of trafficking.
2. Process, mechanisms and effectiveness: To understand the processes and mechanisms of trafficking, including children's understandings of these, and why some children are trafficked and what protects other children who are in danger of being trafficked, and to document examples of what has worked and what more is needed in preventing trafficking.
3. Building responses: To use this understanding, and Save the Children's experience and that of partner organisations, to define and build more effective anti-trafficking responses.

3 Literature review

In order to prepare for the B&H field research phase, an extensive literature review on trafficking and related forms of child exploitation all over the world and in particular in South-East Europe and Bosnia and Herzegovina was carried out. The results of that review are presented here.

3.1 Definitions and paradigms

3.1.1 Trafficking: definition

Trafficking has been described as modern-day slavery. "It is the state of servitude that is key to defining trafficking". "... the force, fraud or coercion exercised on that person by another to perform or remain in service to the master is the defining element of trafficking ..." (US State Department 2005 p. 18). By far the most common reasons for which victims are trafficked are **sexual** exploitation and **labour** exploitation.

The most widely accepted definition of trafficking is set out in the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (one of two "Palermo Protocols" to the United Nations Convention on Transnational Organised Crime). This protocol defines trafficking in persons as:

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

This definition implies that the consent of the trafficked person to the intended exploitation is irrelevant in order to consider him/her victim of this crime. The sexual exploitation of children under 18 is defined as trafficking even if coercion is not used.

3.1.2 Relationship between exploitation and trafficking

3.1.2.1 Different forms of exploitation as explanation of and motivation for trafficking

As trafficking is by definition for the purposes of exploitation, a useful starting point for understanding trafficking is by addressing the *different forms of exploitation which might be a motivation for trafficking children*. Table 1 attempts to give an overview of different forms of trafficking according to the forms of exploitation motivating the trafficking. Each of the activities in the table potentially generates some value, in nearly all cases monetary.

The actual trafficking – the transfer of control over the child – can probably be considered to be exploitative per se. But there is always another form of exploitation which is primary and which motivates and explains the trafficking.

So before we turn to look at *trafficking*, it is worth looking at the *exploitation* which motivates it.

3.1.2.2 Legality and child rights issues

Nearly all the forms of exploitation listed in the table are already serious child protection and child rights issues and many are illegal in B&H law. Anyone paying for sex with a child is committing a crime and is exploiting the child, whereas giving money to a child begging or working on the street is neither a crime nor usually considered to be exploiting the child; instead it is the child who is considered in B&H law to be committing an offence.

3.1.2.3 Who is the primary beneficiary of the child's work?

When speaking to a child on the street who is begging we can ask –

- Has the child been trafficked to do this?
- Or is the child working primarily for his or her own family but is forced to do this work?

- Or is the child the primary beneficiary and will use the money e.g. to buy food for him- or herself?

Often it is very difficult to find out the relevant information. And even when one does have the relevant information it is sometimes still difficult to decide. For example, the Palermo definition of trafficking is sometimes taken as meaning that any adult involved in child prostitution, including as a client, is also a trafficker (Huda 2006 p. 12).

If the child is the primary beneficiary it is probably not correct to call these activities "exploitation". When we do not know, it is better to refer to these activities as "exploitation / work" or just as "work".

The trafficking of children is both inextricably bound up with, and also in principle hard to distinguish from, the work that they do for which they are sometimes trafficked, sometimes exploited, and from which they may sometimes even benefit themselves. The focus of this research is broad - on the trafficking and also on the work and exploitation - for the following reasons.

- The research aimed to examine the network of factors which collectively affect the likelihood of a child being trafficked (so-called "risk and resilience factors"). For this reason it was important to contact children who have not been trafficked as well as children who have.
- It is much more straightforward to look for children doing certain kinds of work than it is to look for children who are trafficked.
- **The work children do may in and of itself represent just as important an influence on their rights, health, safety, etc. as does the question of whether they have been forced or sold to do the work.**

The different kinds of work that children do generate money, which means that control over the children concerned can be attractive financially (very attractive in some cases) to persons prepared to do so. In most cases the children involved are generating money *twice* and the law is being broken *twice*: once when they work, and once when they are sold (or hired out) to work. In these cases, trafficking is about illegally controlling the income that children can generate through illegal activities¹.

3.1.2.4 **Terminology: "work"**

Some might hesitate to use the word "work" for begging. But our young respondents during our research almost invariably spoke of begging and other kinds of street work without distinction as "work" and we will follow their usage in speaking of begging as a form of (street) work.

In the same way, we will often use the expression "sex work" to mean something more general than either sexual exploitation and prostitution. Sexual exploitation firstly implies that the child is *always* primarily the victim. While this is true in just about all the cases we cover in this report, it is not always the case (UNICEF 2005) and to assume so would beg one of the very questions – children's decision making – which is at the focus of the report. Secondly, "sexual exploitation" does not make explicit that sex is being sold or exchanged for something and therefore does not, for the purposes of this report, distinguish clearly enough from e.g. sexual abuse in the family.

Our use of the phrases "sex work" and "street work" does *not* mean that we are trying to justify or legitimate either of these activities.

3.1.2.5 **Terminology: "Victims" and "survivors"**

Children who have been trafficked or subject to related forms of exploitation are usually referred to as "victims". Although this puts too strong a focus on their passivity, for the purposes of this literature review we will use the term for the want of a better one, while remaining very conscious of its drawbacks.

¹ This understanding of trafficking fits less well with some other forms of trafficking in children such as the sale of babies for adoption. These other forms is however almost unknown in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Table 1: forms of child trafficking and related forms of exploitation.

Exploitation / work				Trafficking (buying, selling, for control of the child for the purposes of exploitation)	
Title	Form of exploitation	Who pays	Child rights / protection issues - as well as missing school	Means of trafficking	Who pays
Street work	Begging	Passers-by	Exposed to weather & abuse	Sale / hire / abduction (?) of child	Trafficker
	Cleaning windcreens	Car drivers	Exposed to weather & abuse; Dangerous	"	"
	Collecting goods for recycling	e.g. scrap metal market	Exposed to weather; Dangerous – mines, chemicals	"	"
	Selling articles in street	Customers	Exposed to weather & abuse	"	"
	Grey work e.g. Helping at the market	Customers		?	?
	Agricultural work, building work	Contractor	Exposed to weather; Dangerous	?	?
Sex work /prostitution	Selling sexual services	Users / "clients"	Physical and sexual abuse from clients; drug / alcohol addiction; STD / HIV-AIDS	Sale / hire / abduction (?) of child	Trafficker
Early marriage may not count as trafficking	?	?		Sale of girl to husband	Husband and his family
Crime	Crime and petty theft	Crime victims e.g. in the street	Assault, imprisonment	?	?
Adoption	-	-		Sale of baby to new parents usually in rich countries	First trafficker and then new parents
Organ transplant	Sale of organs	Customers	Serious health complications	Sale of child for sale of organs	Trafficker

The thick black border shows the main focus of our research

3.1.2.6 **Definition in B&H**

The B&H definition of trafficking follows the Palermo Protocol at State level (Official Gazette of B&H 2002 p. 32), while Entity² legislation does not specifically define trafficking in persons.

² The State of Bosnia and Herzegovina is divided into two Entities.

3.1.2.7 **Paradigms for understanding trafficking**

Crime-prevention paradigm

The very word "trafficking" reveals the crime-prevention roots of the concept. The crime-prevention paradigm is indeed still the dominant one especially for legal purposes and at the level of States.

A constant theme in most of the texts reviewed for this report is the tension between the crime-prevention paradigm for understanding trafficking and other possible paradigms. In our view the crime-prevention paradigm is problematic for a number of reasons.

- In many individual cases it is difficult to decide if a specific child has been trafficked or not because the definition of trafficking depends on the interpretation of many of the terms used such as "harbouring" and "coercion", which can depend on the viewpoint or ideology of the adult using those definitions and which are in any case often difficult or impossible to ascertain in the field. For example in the case of begging, the "work" the child does is very visible. But it can be quite difficult to determine whether someone else is harbouring or controlling the child for begging.
- It is quite possible for one exploited child to be defined as trafficked whereas another who is very similar in terms of history, present circumstances and needs is not; the consequences in terms of institutional response might be dramatically different even though their needs are very similar.
- The specific kind of response associated with the crime-prevention paradigm (prosecution procedures, etc.) is sometimes but not always in the best interests of the child.

Child protection paradigm

An alternative "child-protection paradigm" would be concerned with many different but related populations of migrant and/or sexually or labour-exploited children, and would attempt to understand their situations and plan their protection according to a whole range of "trafficking-related child-protection issues", as follows.

- ▶ the severity of exploitation,
- ▶ the extent of sexual abuse,
- ▶ the extent of forced labour,
- ▶ the aspect of choosing to migrate or of being physically moved,
- ▶ the aspect of being sold or exchanged,
- ▶ the involvement of organised crime,
- ▶ the aspect of illegal migration,
- ▶ the extent and different types of coercion applied,
- ▶ the element of choice, and so on.

The crime-prevention paradigm is overly concerned with just one specific, black-and-white combination of these issues, namely the Palermo definition of trafficking. The child-protection paradigm would prefer to see trafficking as just one area (with fuzzy boundaries) amongst many others in the conceptual landscape spanned by the above dimensions.

The "child agency" and "migration" paradigms (van den Berge 2005)

The migration paradigm is critical of both the crime-prevention paradigm and also the child-protection paradigm. It sees migration as the primary phenomenon, something which has been a major part of human history all over the world. Migration often takes place at the edges of or in defiance of the law and it is here that trafficking arises, as a special kind of migration.

... migration is the general phenomenon, and trafficking a mode of migration... (AMC 2000 p. 20)

Anderson and Davidson (2004) argue cogently that trafficking as a crime materialises "in contexts that are socially imagined to have non-market relations" such as sex work, domestic work, and work done by children; they argue that a main cause of the suffering involved in the exploitative sale of work done by children – sexual exploitation, begging, etc. is that "there is no international consensus as to how, if at all, states should respond to the consumption of

commercial sex, or the consumption of domestic services and labour within private households". To this list could be added begging, cleaning car windows in the street and all the other work done by children in B&H. Anderson and Davidson (2004) also stress that it would be a mistake to ignore the extent to which children also to some extent determine their own destinies; often the more or less free decision of a migrant is the missing link between the activities, legal or not, of two or more other agents. The migration of children, which has a long tradition in many cultures, is not always against their best interests. Children are not always and only "dependent, incomplete, incompetent, passive, fragile, a-political and a-sexual creatures." (Huijsmans 2006).

From a research point of view, the child agency paradigm tries to leave room for the possibility that a child who is on the streets is not primarily a victim but has, perhaps, taken active, courageous and relatively successful steps to remove him or herself from a family environment which does not present protection but rather a threat. It draws attention to the active role which children always play, to a greater or lesser extent, in co-creating the worlds they live in. Certain aspects of children's situations and histories, even if they seem reprehensible on quick inspection, might actually be the result of active choices which the children made and which make sense to them from their point of view. Of course it is possible that this paradigm might make more sense for children in other countries or parts of the world than for B&H. But our research should remain open to the possibilities it describes.

Anderson and Davidson also argue:

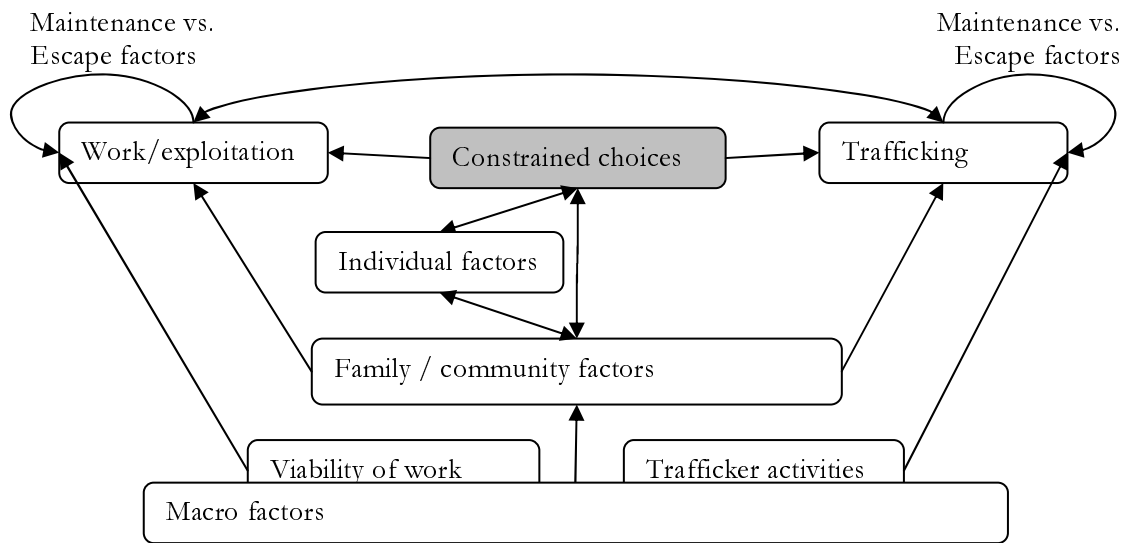
- The crime-prevention paradigm (control of illegal immigration and the suppression of prostitution) is not the best way of protecting migrants from abuse and exploitation and if migration is confused with trafficking this approach may even cause human rights violations.
- There are no hard and fast lines between trafficking, human smuggling and migration in general.
- The term "trafficking" and the trafficking paradigm are inappropriate because they suggest that "victims" of trafficking are victims of one coherent criminal process, i.e. they were trafficked by "some kind of active conspiracy between the third parties who profit from recruitment and transportation, and those who exploit the trafficked person's services/labour ...", which is very often but not necessarily the case.
- Seeing *women and children* as the powerless victims of trafficking in permanent opposition to *male* migrants who cross borders under their own volition, sometimes illegally, is to unwittingly overuse familiar stereotypes and obscures the fact that men and boys may also be victims of trafficking for a range of purposes, primarily for labour.

The "abolitionist" paradigm

This paradigm, often associated with CATW (Coalition against Trafficking in Women) argues that most if not all prostitution is trafficking: "There is little reason to believe that any significant amount of prostitution throughout the world exists without use of one or more of the illicit means delineated in the [Palermo] Protocol" (Huda 2006 p. 13).

Conceptual framework: *constrained choices*

Figure 1: conceptual framework of trafficking of children and related forms of work and exploitation



This conceptual framework, adopted in this report, has been named "constrained choices" (Harper and Scott 2005 p. 5) and is intended to help organise the material in the literature review. It also guided our field research and provided a starting point for organising our findings. The horizontal levels correspond broadly to the kinds of levels typical in "ecological" models in social science research (Bronfenbrenner 1986).

The individual boxes correspond broadly to the structure of the two subchapters of this literature review (one on child street working and trafficking; one on child sex work and trafficking) and similarly corresponds to the structure of the two findings subchapters.

Issues of legislation and prevention and response on the part of institutions, which might be placed in the diagram at the community or macro levels, are reserved for a special section, 3.3.3.

Key aspects of this conceptual framework are as follows:

- A key factor in the entry into work/exploitation and trafficking is the choices made by the child. These choices are however constrained by a variety of factors³.
- Individual cases of street work and trafficking do not take place in isolation but are embedded in family and community contexts which are in turn embedded in a macro-level context. So-called "risk-factors" like a history of family violence do not cause or explain trafficking or exploitation on their own but only in virtue of being embedded into a system or network of such factors at the individual, family, community and macro levels.
- Work /exploitation and trafficking, while strongly connected, are conceptually separate.
- Maintenance vs. escape factors have a specific role to play in trafficking and exploitation. These are factors which may or may not be present in the initial entry into trafficking and exploitation but which play a role in preventing the child from exiting that situation or in assisting the child to exit.

³ It should be pointed out again that according to the Palermo definition, the consent of the trafficked person to the intended exploitation is irrelevant in order to consider him or her victim of this crime.

3.1.3.1 **Systemic rather than "risk factor" approach**

The notion of identifying "risk-factors" for a social problem is derived from epidemiological, specifically medical, research, as a result of which, for example, smoking was identified as a risk factor for heart disease⁴. Evidence for this can be that smoking is statistically correlated with cancer incidence.

The main trouble with the risk factor model is that it does not take into account the fact that so-called "risk factors" and the phenomenon they are supposed to predict are often connected to one another in a complex **system**. Below are three examples of how a **systemic** approach, which looks for dynamic connections between trafficking and other factors, can lead to a better understanding of trafficking than a simple list of risk factors.

- Individual factors do not cause the phenomenon on their own. For example, Roma nationality is associated with being a victim of trafficking and therefore counts as a "risk factor". But the systemic approach highlights the fact that this association depends on, and can only really be understood in terms of, a mass of other factors such as the social exclusion of Roma in current societies. In other circumstances, Roma nationality might have no connection to trafficking risk.
- The systemic approach also points out that research and prevention activities do not take place outside the system they are trying to understand and influence and can in fact influence the system over time. For example, living in a certain region can be associated with likelihood of being trafficked. However, what happens when prevention activities are then developed in light of that knowledge? It is quite possible that traffickers would just reduce their activities in that area and start trafficking in another area. So in this example, "place of residence" is a relatively trivial correlate of trafficking. Research and prevention have to be aware of the whole system rather than just of individual factors. And they also have to be aware that their research and prevention activities can in turn affect the system.
- Begging and street labour have been found to be risk factors for trafficking. However they are also in some cases a conscious response on the part of children and their community to poverty. Prevention which does not take this into account and just tries to suppress begging and street labour is likely to find that children just start engaging in other activities such as petty crime which might also be linked to trafficking. Again understanding and preventing trafficking means understanding the whole system and not just focussing on individual risk factors.

In these last two examples, the likelihood of becoming a victim at a particular time depends less on the characteristics of the victim ("risk factors") than on the intentions of others and on the interaction of victim characteristics with those intentions. Systemic approaches emphasise the dynamic interactions between different agents. In an attempt to understand the dynamics of a system, they ask "what-if" questions and pose circular questions such as "what do you think the other person thinks".

Systemic approaches also remind us that trafficking is part of a global system in which clients and traffickers, not the victims, play the driving role. While it is beyond the scope of this research to gather data on clients and traffickers, at least outside the West Balkans, it should not be forgotten that **data on victims only makes sense inside this larger system and may become meaningless as that system changes**.

Demand created by prostitute-users is not the only factor that drives the sex-trafficking market. However, it is the factor which has received the least attention and creative thought in anti-trafficking initiatives. "By and large, anti-trafficking policy has been directed towards detecting, preventing and punishing the conduct of traffickers, or towards stemming the supply of victims through educational campaigns or the like" (Huda 2006 p. 15).

Thus, this research report subscribes to a holistic or systemic rather than to a "risk factor" model. None of the factors listed in the subchapters "cause" or are "risk factors" for trafficking or exploitation on their own. There is a network of links between the factors. The factors listed contribute to risk only as part of this complex system. Evidence in the literature for such links will be presented below in the corresponding subsections.

⁴ The term "risk factor" was first coined by heart researcher Dr. Thomas R. Dawber in a landmark scientific paper in 1961, where he attributed heart disease to specific conditions (blood pressure, cholesterol, smoking) Dawber, T. R., Kannel, W. B. (1961). "Susceptibility to coronary heart disease." *Mod Concepts Cardio Dis* 30: 671.

Sources of data

There is very little systematic information specifically on trafficking of minors in B&H. However there is a substantial amount of information on sex trafficking in B&H general, in particular the Second Annual Report on Victims of Trafficking in South-Eastern Europe, 2005, by Rebecca Surtees (Surtees 2005). This report still represents the most detailed single source on trafficking in B&H (as well as in the rest of the region). It gives a good overview of numbers and characteristics of victims and is based on Regional Clearing Point data. This means it is based on reports from shelters, NGOs, etc. As these institutions report only the cases with which they deal, these numbers are certainly lower bounds for the phenomenon.

NGOs in South-East Europe report that the majority of victims of trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation are underage when trafficked (Limanowska 2004 p. 104), which would mean that data on the characteristics of victims in general can probably be applied to child victims.

The Surtees data is complemented by a report based on interviews with key sources (Reiter 2005) specifically focussed on internal trafficking inside B&H; and by another report, also by Surtees, which looks again at the RCP data from the point of view of other forms of trafficking in minors (Surtees 2006).

The State Coordinator provides a different overview based on data provided by anti-trafficking coordinators, strike force officers, prosecutors' offices and NGOs (State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H 2006).

Some data is provided in a report commissioned by UNICEF and Save the Children Norway (UNICEF B&H and Save the Children Norway 2004), based on a number of different methods including data from state institutions as well as observations of and interviews with some children working on the street.

One very remarkable and relatively little-known attempt to use more of a combination of techniques to capture the complexity of trafficking in B&H was carried out in 2004 (Obradović 2004). The data for this study included IOM questionnaire and case data up to 2003 from 691 victims of trafficking together with interviews with victims and professionals as well as a public opinion survey.

These reports are severely limited by a number of factors. Without knowledge of identification rates it is absolutely impossible to know whether changes over time are due to changes in prevalence, detection or both. Detection rates are very problematic because a unified definition of trafficking was only adopted legally in 2002 and only now (2006) can one say that it is understood by any meaningful proportion of relevant professionals even in cases of trafficking in children for the purposes of sexual exploitation; the relatively large numbers of children who beg or work in the streets are assessed very erratically; their treatment by police and others can vary from place to place and year to year, affecting whether they appear in the figures or not; and in any case, it is outside the training (and perhaps the priorities) of most police and social workers to decide whether these children fall under the definition of trafficking or not, especially considering that experts would not be able to agree either in many cases.

There has been no census in B&H since 1990. There is still no central database for trafficking-related cases and offences.

In spite of efforts in EU countries to standardise and share data, (Commission of the European Communities 2005) it is actually even harder to get information on B&H trafficking victims registered in EU countries than from the rest of the Balkans (Surtees 2005 p. 117).

It is impossible to determine absolute numbers of cases of trafficking for the purposes of sexual or labour exploitation in B&H, or changes in those numbers. Changes in the data over the years are in general quite plausibly explained by changes in rates of identification and detection rather than necessarily by prevalence.

We know of no evidence which links trafficking for labour exploitation and trafficking for sexual exploitation directly in B&H in the sense that victims of one become victims of the other or that individual traffickers are involved in both. But the possibility should not be ruled out.

Most reports other than those mentioned above are either local or secondary in nature. However a 2006 UNDP report on the Roma and displaced persons in South-East Europe should also be mentioned (Ivanov 2006b). Although it does not address trafficking in persons, it provides a wealth of information on the relationship between social exclusion, Roma ethnicity and displaced person status in the region. It also provides country-specific data sets; the data for B&H has been frequently used for this report (Ivanov 2006a). A survey comparing Roma and non-Roma parents and children in B&H also provides very useful data particularly on education (Budimo Aktivni 2006).

3.2 Child street work (and trafficking in child street workers) in B&H

3.2.1 Street work and trafficking: nature and extent

Children, mostly but not exclusively Roma, begging and working on the streets, perhaps being forced to do so, sometimes being moved around in vans and perhaps bought and sold for that purpose, is something that everybody in B&H seems to know something about – yet real data is hard to come by. We know of no significant primary data set on trafficking in B&H which clearly disaggregates between trafficking for the purposes of sexual and labour exploitation; indeed it is usually not clear as to whether trafficking for labour exploitation is included at all in trafficking data, and if so what definitions were used on the ground, making even the best reports worse than useless for extracting data on it. In terms of data gathering and prevention, trafficking for labour exploitation is hardly visible.

The major motivation for trafficking in children in B&H for purposes other than sexual exploitation is likely to be to benefit from the money they can earn on the street, primarily begging.

While there is no doubt that large numbers of children in B&H do street work, opinions differ widely about what proportion of them are involved in organised begging and/or are bought or sold for that purpose. Public opinion holds that plenty of Roma get rich on the profits of child begging and there are many stories (though little evidence) of big houses built through the proceeds. There is also little agreement about how much adults need to be involved in their work for that involvement to count as trafficking according to the Palermo Protocol.

The line between child street work and trafficking of child street workers is so unclear, and the links between them so strong, that it would be very difficult to investigate the second without investigating the first. In any case this report is concerned with the child protection issues around both.

According to the B&H Assistant to the Minister of Human Rights and Refugees, labour exploitation of children is widespread in B&H and the trafficking of Roma children is the dominant form of human trafficking in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Nagradić/Council for Children of B&H 2006). It is impossible to determine just how many Roma are victims of "the trade", although women and children are at the highest risk (Spahic 2005). But does the data on which these statements are based distinguish clearly between child street work and trafficking in child street workers? It is hard to be sure.

In 2003, a UNICEF / SC Norway project (UNICEF B&H and Save the Children Norway 2004) carried out research on children working on the street via observation on the streets and via interviews with, and questionnaires given to, service providers.

The research reveals further that significant numbers of children living or working on the streets. Respondents report thousands of contacts between 1999 and 2002 with such children, but it is difficult to make concrete estimates of the actual number of children due to a lack of systematic data collection by service providers and the police. The majority of these children appear to come from the Roma community. The problems faced by these children are substantial, particularly in the bigger cities of B&H. The majority of these children are under 14, most of them do not go to school, and nearly half of them appeared to be ill (UNICEF B&H and Save the Children Norway 2004 p. 36).

Among these children, a proportion live and work under conditions that probably fall under the definition of the Palermo Protocol definition of child trafficking. Many children report being compelled or forced by adults, which allows their work to be qualified as forced labour in many cases. A number of children report moving within B&H or across the state border to Serbia (5 to 10 %) to perform labour. Some of these move in groups organised by adults. Some of the children cross the border between Serbia and B&H regularly. However, transfers appear to be initiated mainly by parents or relatives and can also be interpreted as local migration to regions more suitable for begging, some of which happen to be across state borders. The research did not determine concrete evidence for the involvement of criminal networks, but this possibility cannot be excluded.

3.2.1.1 Nature and extent of street work and trafficking amongst Roma children

The UNICEF / Save the Children Norway report also found that "... significant numbers of children are living or working on the streets. (...) The majority of these children appear to come from the Roma community. The problems faced by these children are substantial, particularly in the bigger cities of B&H. The majority of these children are under

14, most of them do not go to school, and nearly half of them appeared to be ill." (UNICEF B&H and Save the Children Norway 2004 p. 2).

The data from the "Budimo Aktivni" report (Budimo Aktivni 2006) reveals how the kinds of work which Roma children do depends on their inclusion in school: children who do not go to school are not only more likely to work overall, but that work is also more likely to involve street work such as begging and collecting materials for recycling, whereas those who do go to school and do work are more likely to help their parents at the market or with selling other goods.

Because begging as well as frequent travelling across borders have played a role in the past of many Roma communities, and because it is not always easy to decide to what extent children are forced to beg, it is very hard to distinguish if those children are trafficked. It is also not obvious that the "anti-trafficking" crime-prevention paradigm is very useful for reducing the exploitation of Roma children, or indeed for helping victims of labour exploitation in general (Surtees 2006 p. 22).

3.2.2 Individual factors

In the following sections we will look at sets of factors which may play a role in the system of factors which are involved in street work and trafficking for street work: individual factors, family & community factors, etc. according to the conceptual framework given above. The first set is individual factors. Individual factors are probably in general less important in explaining street work and trafficking for street work than membership of specific disadvantaged or excluded groups (Boyden and Mann in press) (see next section). However some of the risk factors listed in section 3.3.2 for sexual exploitation may also apply to street work.

3.2.3 Family & community factors

3.2.3.1 Children without parental care

In 2004, 927 children in B&H were in homes for children without parental care. There is evidence (Surtees 2005 p. 179) that these children are particularly likely to do street and/or sex work and to become victims of trafficking.

3.2.3.2 The consequences of social exclusion at the level of neighbourhoods

One factor considered to play a very important role in the supply of both child sex workers and child street workers is social exclusion. Social exclusion is a maze of self-perpetuating detrimental social factors which keep families poor and which force children onto the streets to work. It can be considered to operate both at community and macro levels but will be considered here rather than in the section on macro factors.

Social exclusion is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities available to the majority of people in a society whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole (Ruth Levitas 2007 p. 10).

Extent of social exclusion in B&H

About 20% of adults in the Federation and 25% in the RS live below the general poverty line. This is a bigger proportion than any other country in former Yugoslavia (World Bank 2004 p. 7).

Social welfare and child protection expenditures in B&H are lower than anywhere else in South-East Europe (Reiter 2005). This is described in detail in the country's Medium Term Development Strategy:

In the conditions of insufficient fiscal revenues, the existing social assistance system is incapable of providing for the large numbers of the poor. Discrimination is present in realization of benefits, in that the transfers to military disabled are higher and more regular than to other categories of persons with disabilities. At the same time, discrimination is also regionally based. Unlike other parts of the country, poor cantons in FB&H and poor RS municipalities are not allocating funds for social assistance, due to the shortage of funds in their budgets (Council of Ministers of B&H, Government of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina et al. 2004 p. 33).

How social exclusion and poverty lead to street work

This section looks again at the Ivanov / UNDP survey data (2006), both that published in the report and the country-level data additionally available at the website (Ivanov 2006b) in order to see what light it can cast on street work. This data is on Roma families. It is useful to us because it can be used to investigate the relationship between social exclusion, extreme poverty and street work. It can be assumed that the situation is similar in the minority of non-Roma families who suffer from the same levels of extreme poverty. Children work on the streets primarily because they and their families are poor due to social exclusion. Most street workers are Roma because Roma are disproportionately exposed to social exclusion.

27% of Roma in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as opposed to 2% of majority persons living in close proximity to the sampled Roma communities, live in households with daily equivalised expenditures below PPP \$4.30⁵ (Ivanov 2006a p. 15). In both Roma and non-Roma families, households with more children are more likely to be poor; and Roma families tend to have more children (ibid, p.23).

Roma families in B&H reported earning an average of 15 EUR per month from "informal personal activities like gambling, begging, fortune telling, etc." together with an average of 35 EUR from "pawning or sale of personal things or collected secondary materials for recycling" out of an average total monthly income of 197 EUR. It is unlikely that pawning or sale of personal things is a sustainable source of income in the medium term. So it can be assumed that sale of collected materials represents the bulk of this part of household income. Thus about one quarter of family income amongst Roma in B&H (substantially more than the average for Roma families in South-East Europe as a whole) comes from begging and from sale of discarded materials, in which children are likely to be involved at least to some extent. Moreover it is likely that the proportion of income from these two sources is likely to be higher in the poorest families in the poorest neighbourhoods.

Roma families in B&H rated "lack of sufficient incomes" as the highest threat to them, with 59% giving this the highest level of threat compared to only 15% for majority families.

57% of Roma families in B&H reported that someone in their family went to bed hungry in the last month because there was no money to feed them, as opposed to 6% of majority families. A specific link to street work is indicated by the respondents answer to the next question in the UNDP survey: "Apologies for asking this, but what would you do if such thing would happen (again)?" The most frequent answers were borrowing food or money from friends, neighbours and relatives as well as trying to get employment doing some physical work, but the two next most frequent were "collecting secondary materials from garbage containers (22%)" and "sending children/family/self to go begging" (14%). Begging and collecting materials from garbage containers are seen by Roma families as making a meaningful, if not the most important, contribution to avoiding hunger.

Groups especially exposed to poverty

An analysis of data for the population as a whole indicates that children, especially those under 5 years of age, displaced persons and returnees, the unemployed, and persons with low education levels, are particularly exposed to the risk of poverty. (Council of Ministers of B&H, Government of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina et al. 2004 p. 21). Two-thirds of the poor live in households with children.

Children in the RS are particularly vulnerable, since around half of this age group lives in poor families, while in the FB&H this holds for around one-third of all children. Around 13% of children live in families that fall into the category of the poorest, and 29% in households that are on the poverty line. Poverty of families with children is at its most pronounced where none of the family members are employed, and the situation is particularly difficult for displaced households where the head of household is unemployed. (Council of Ministers of B&H, Government of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina et al. 2004 p. 21).

B&H has some of the lowest female participation rates in the formal labour market of any of the transition economies, making it more likely that women will look for, and girls will need to consider, alternative sources of income (Reiter 2005).

⁵ PPP = purchasing power parity. This measure is similar to a per-capita measure but counts second and subsequent family members as less than 1 person (on a sliding scale) to allow for economies of scale in certain purchases.

⁶ The data in this and the following two paragraphs can be viewed at <http://vulnerability.undp.sk> (Date of retrieval: 12.12.06); however the interface is interactive and the URL does not change for the data details.

3.2.3.3 **Social exclusion specifically amongst Roma in B&H**

Lack of, and exclusion from, education

According to the country's yearly Helsinki Committee Human Rights Report (Council of Roma in B&H 2005b), as many as 70 percent of Roma children do not attend school regularly. The data from the UNDP survey "At Risk"⁷ reveal that 76% of Roma in B&H as opposed to 28% of non-Roma living close to them did not complete elementary school. The problem is particularly acute amongst female children, most of whom quit schooling after finishing the 3rd or 4th grade of primary school (Sejdić 2005).

However the enrolment rate seems to be improving substantially at least in certain areas (Strbac, Savić et al. 2005)

Reasons for exclusion from education

The U.S. Department of State report (2004) lists likely reasons why many Roma children do not go to school as:

- cost of textbooks
- lack of proper clothing
- verbal harassment from other students
- language problems
- problem that some children have no birth certificate
- reluctance of some but not all parents to enroll their children.

86% of Roma in one poll (Center for Protection of Minority Rights 1999 p. 14) said that their first language is Roma, which enhances problems in schools as there is little or no provision for this language in the country. The SC Norway / UNICEF report quotes Roma children as saying that they cannot go to school because they need to be on the streets earning money (UNICEF B&H and Save the Children Norway 2004 p. 40). However when the household members interviewed in the UNDP study were asked why specific children were not attending school, by far the most common reason given (75%) was cost of books, transport, etc. and not the need for the children to work (6%). This concurs with a recent B&H study (Budimo Aktivni 2006) which highlights cost of school books as the most important factor hindering the inclusion of Roma children in education although it also gives evidence for many other factors such as physical and verbal abuse. Roma parents are probably less aware of the negative effects of abusing children as labor and the importance of regular schooling (Spahić 2005). However the Budimo Aktivni study asked parents about their responsibilities to their children in terms of registering them at birth, enrolling them into schools, etc. It showed that most parents were indeed aware of those responsibilities and that those parents whose children do not attend school are acutely aware that their children are missing out (Budimo Aktivni 2006).

The relationship between employment and education

The UNDP study mentioned above demonstrates statistically that while better educational level has a substantial positive impact on household income, this effect is not as strong as for non-Roma (Ivanov 2006a). So while completing education can help to reduce social exclusion amongst Roma, the incentive for them is much less than for non-Roma.

Displacement and ethnic cleansing during the war

Children who are displaced and/or living in refugee camps are reported to be at high risk for trafficking. Many Roma were displaced from their prewar homes during the war in B&H. Sejdić reports that more than 1/3 of the B&H Roma population emigrated (Sejdić 2005). During the war in, and bombardment of, Kosovo, which led to the ethnic cleansing of up to four-fifths of Kosovo's original population of perhaps 120,000 Roma, a large number of Roma families took refuge in B&H. Many of these are still living in particularly difficult conditions in refugee camps such as Bosanski Petrovac (Strbac, Savić et al. 2005). The UNDP "At Risk" (2006) gives a more moderate estimate for the percentage of Roma who changed town or village of residence in the last 15 years, at 16% compared to 7% for majority households. The report also points out that displaced Roma are often almost invisible to local authorities as they often build very low-quality shelters next to the mostly dilapidated accommodation of relatives.

⁷ The data in this paragraph can be viewed at <http://vulnerability.undp.sk> (Date of retrieval: 12.12.06); however the interface is interactive and the URL does not change for the data details.

Poor health

Life expectancy for Roma is catastrophic. We are not aware of data for B&H but in Montenegro life expectancy for Roma is a staggering *28 years lower than the population as a whole* (Media Diversity Institute 2005 p. 1). More than 85% of Roma in the 15-65 age group do not enjoy social security or health care (Sejdić 2005).

Poor health may not contribute directly to readiness to do street work but it is part of the vicious circle which keeps Roma families in a state of social exclusion.

Lack of personal documents

It is not always easy to register births – the price for a birth certificate is beyond the means of many Roma families; and it is particularly difficult to have a birth certificate issued for a child if the parents themselves do not have them. Lack of ownership documents also hampers repossession of property and the provision of reconstruction assistance in cases where housing was destroyed during the war (Prettitore 2003). This problem is described in detail by Sejdić:

A great number of Roma are refugees and displaced persons. However, owing to the lack of identification documents before the war, they have not been able to get the status of refugees or displaced persons and thereby they have not been able to get any health insurance. They might be entitled to health insurance through registration with the labor exchange office, but they are not able to register with it either, because they do not have permanent place of residence (Sejdić 2005).

Poor accommodation

Part of the social exclusion to which the majority of Roma in B&H are subject is poor accommodation. The war had a disproportionate effect on Roma in worsening this situation for the following reasons:

- More difficulty repossessing property from which they were displaced during the war because of discrimination and lack of adequate information on procedures
- Worse access to social housing, even for those who were entitled before the war
- Lack of personal documents and ownership documents (Prettitore 2003)

Unemployment

80% of Roma have no family members in permanent employment (Center for Protection of Minority Rights 1999). Rates of unemployment amongst Roma are often stated to be near the 100% mark. Indeed the UNDP study "At Risk" (Ivanov 2006b) gives a rate of 92% by subjective assessment of unemployment for Roma respondents (the highest in the region). However using labour-market methods (asking about sources of income in the last month) and using ILO criteria (without work; able and willing to work; actively seeking work) the rate is calculated as 52% for Roma in B&H compared to 30% for non-Roma. In other words real unemployment amongst Roma is lower than usually reported because there is a significant percentage of Roma who take irregular work, mainly in agriculture and trade. Roma participation in the informal sector is three times higher in Bosnia and Herzegovina than for non-Roma. The report concludes that it is not employment per se but stable employment which can help to protect Roma families from poverty. Hence, research suggests that social exclusion experienced by Roma has an effect upon their options such that street work may seem to be a legitimate and desirable means of survival for children and their families.

3.2.4 Macro factors

3.2.4.1 Trafficker activities

There is very little reliable information about trafficker activities. The previous SC Norway/UNICEF research (2004 p. 7) provided some evidence of how children are brought by van from outside Sarajevo each day to beg.

3.2.4.2 Viability of work

To the extent that street work can be considered economic activity, then it is important not to forget that the transactions they are involved in also have payers as well as earners. The opportunities for earning money on the street vary profoundly between individual children and this depends not only on their own skills but also on the extent to which they correspond to specific profiles.

3.2.4.3 **The contribution of war and transition to social exclusion and displacement**

The two factors most strongly contributing to poverty and social exclusion in Bosnia and Herzegovina are the 1992-5 war and the transition from Titoist socialism. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a post-conflict country which is also "in transition". Nearly a quarter of a million people were killed in the 1992-5 war which also caused economic damage valued at 100 bn USD (Council of Ministers of B&H, Government of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina et al. 2004 p. 32).

A much larger percentage of Roma people were employed in B&H before 1992 than now, when it was considered the duty of the State to provide work for all. Sejdić reports that less than 1% of the Roma population is now employed in civil service / state-owned companies (Sejdić 2005). The war led to a catastrophic increase of social exclusion for Roma in Bosnia and Herzegovina primarily because most who had had secure employment lost it, but also because of disproportionately limited access to social protection.

The war led to massive displacement within and beyond the country. At present there are 283,900 displaced persons in B&H (35% from the territory of FB&H and 65% from RS) (Council of Ministers of B&H, Government of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina et al. 2004 p. 7).

3.2.4.4 **Racism against Roma**

Roma in B&H are particularly exposed to high unemployment, lack of opportunities for employment, and lack of inclusion in and continuity of education, different aspects of social exclusion which make Roma children more likely to work on the street and more vulnerable to trafficking. But why are Roma so vulnerable to social exclusion in the first place? In our opinion the main reason is racism on the part of the majority communities against Roma. This is not to say that Roma people are always only passive victims of oppression and do not sometimes conform to stereotypes.

The point of using the word "racism" is not to apportion blame more vehemently. The first reason is to stress that the situation of Roma in B&H is so enduringly bad because of a system of many different elements – discrimination, violence and the threat of violence, stereotyping, etc. – which combine to maintain the status quo and which we have rightly learned to call racism in other historical and geographical contexts. The second reason is to make an explicit connection with racism against other groups such as African American people in the USA and hopefully with the lessons learned from the social changes which tried to address that racism.

A recent UNDP study (Ivanov 2006a) using statistical analyses on a large sample of Roma and non-Roma across South-East Europe comes to the conclusion that Roma are likely to be much poorer than non-Roma even when education and skill level, number of children and location were taken into account, suggesting that unequal opportunity is at least partially responsible for Roma poverty. This result is also true for Bosnia and Herzegovina taken alone.

Denial of racism

While B&H Government and NGO sources are aware of the dire situation of Roma and mention discrimination against them, this "discrimination" is to our knowledge rarely if ever framed as "racism" in B&H. Yet the perception of Roma in B&H and their treatment on the part of the majority shares all the features of racism from other historical contexts such as a focus on the character and traditions of the out-group (lazy, dirty, naturally criminal, etc⁸) as an explanation for their situation (Petrova 1999 p. 2). Dimitrina Petrova gives a list of arguments typically put forward in denial of racism, historically familiar but also applicable to the situation of the Roma.

Acknowledgement of racism is a prerequisite (but not at all a guarantee, or a bridge) to overcoming it (Petrova 1999 p. 1).

3.2.4.5 **"It's in their blood"**

Unfortunately, the majority population in B&H tend to believe that the problem of Roma children begging is unsolvable. The UNICEF / Save the Children Norway (2004) report provides evidence on these beliefs.

Many of the focus group participants subscribed to versions of the following syllogism: most street children are Roma, Roma beg primarily because it is their tradition, and it is very hard to change traditions, therefore it is

⁸ Roma in the Balkans are also the subject of what on the face of it seem to be positive stereotypes also typical of many forms of racism: "musical and dancing genius, capability of passionate love, free spirited nature, magical relatedness to nature, ability to enjoy themselves, etc" Petrova, D. (1999). The denial of racism, www.ichrp.org/paper_files/112_w_03.pdf.

very hard to help street children. While participants believed it would be extremely difficult to offer any assistance to Roma street children that would cause them to stop begging on the street, they thought that the other, "white" children who are on the street solely because of poverty, would cease begging if they were provided alternatives (UNICEF B&H and Save the Children Norway 2004 p. 2).

3.3 Child sex work (and trafficking in child sex workers) in B&H⁹

Issues of legislation and institutional response, which might be placed in the community or macro levels, are reserved for a special section, 3.3.3.

3.3.1 Child sex work and trafficking: nature, extent and phases

Figure 2: identified potential (i.e., presumed) victims of trafficking (State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H 2006 p. 29)¹⁰.

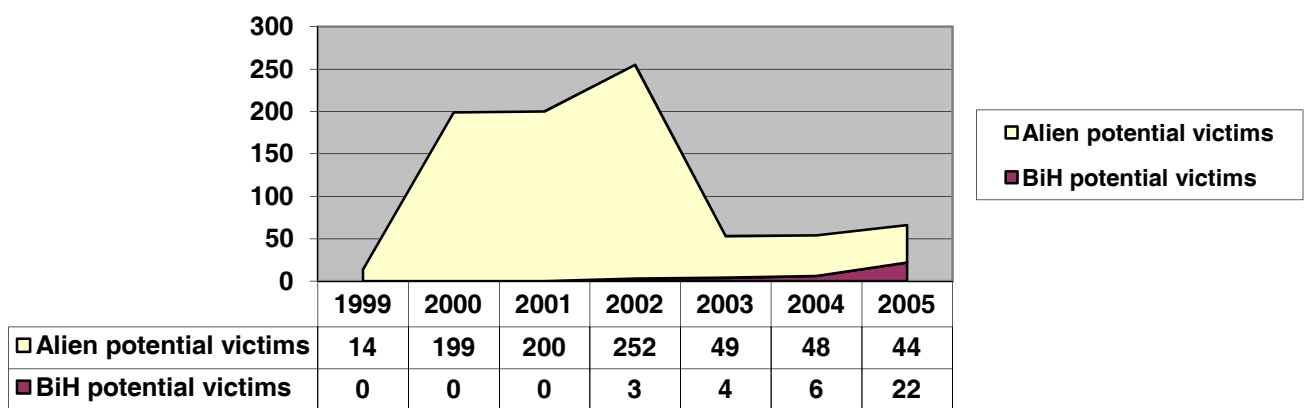
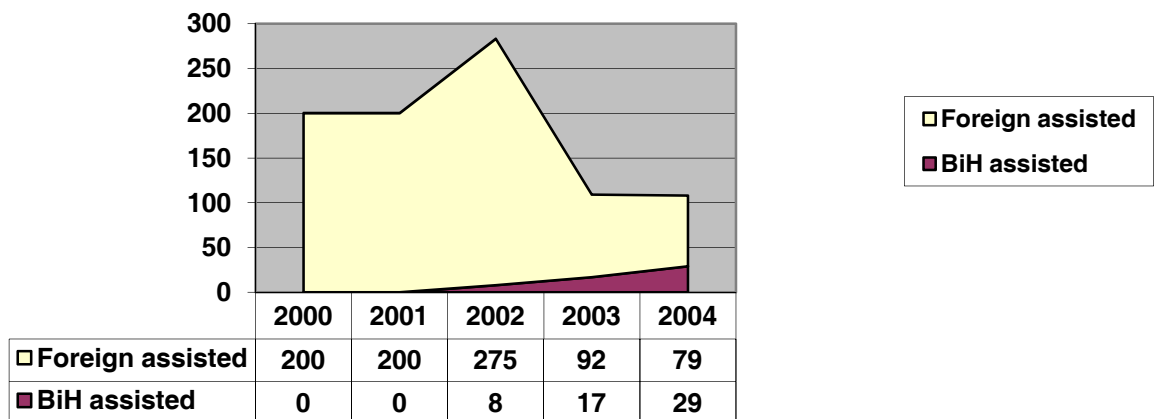


Figure 3: assisted victims of trafficking (Surtees 2005 p. 117)¹¹



The first diagram presents the data provided by the State Coordinator, showing persons identified as potential victims identified in B&H according to nationality, while the second diagram shows research presented in the Second Annual Report on Victims of Trafficking in South-Eastern Europe, 2005, by Rebecca Surtees (Surtees 2005). The first row shows "trafficked foreign victims assisted in B&H and voluntarily returned to their countries of origin. Victims who were identified as trafficked but refused return assistance were not included" whereas the second row shows "B&H victims identified abroad as well as those identified within the country".

⁹ Some parts of this section borrow from proMENTE (2006b). Prevention of Trafficking in Persons in B&H CRS B&H.

¹⁰ Data: *ibid.* Graphic: proMENTE

¹¹ Data: *ibid.* Graphic: proMENTE

Closer examination shows a discrepancy about B&H victims. The much higher number in the Surtees (2005) data (e.g. 29 for 2004 as opposed to 6) is presumably due to the inclusion of data on B&H victims trafficked abroad, as the State Coordinator data only includes data on potential B&H victims identified in B&H.

This data is also roughly in agreement with information from police observations (European Union Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2005), according to which the number of foreign victims identified and assisted between January 2000 and 31 December 2004 was 846, while the number of B&H victims in the same time frame was 54. While there are interesting differences between these reports, on the whole they concur. It can be concluded that there have been three main phases in the numbers of identified cases of postwar trafficking in B&H: "open borders", "STOP team raids", and "new developments", as presented below.

3.3.1.1 **First phase (1996-2000): open borders**

The first cases of human trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina were identified in the 1990s. Due to porous borders, corruption, and a poor socio-economic situation as a result of the war, B&H was identified as a transit country as well as a destination country (with the majority of the victims coming from Ukraine, Romania and Moldova). To some extent the strong presence of trafficking in the country in the years after the end of the war can be attributed to the very weak visa regime in the country. In 1999 B&H became the only country in the world with no legal consequences for illegal entry, thanks to the Law on Immigration and Asylum introduced in that year (Obradović 2004).¹²

One factor which many sources claim must have contributed to trafficking into B&H in the years after the war was the presence of substantial numbers of foreign troops and officials, mostly male, separated from their families and with money to spend (Human Rights Watch 2002 p. 2). However Obradović's reanalysis of IOM victim statements suggests that at most 20% of clients were internationals.

Human Rights Watch made a series of interviews in 1999 and came to the following conclusions:

The investigations uncovered extensive trafficking into the country, with traffickers luring women from their homes in Moldova, Romania, Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, and Bulgaria with promises of high wages and good jobs. Traffickers quickly broke those promises, selling the women to bar and nightclub owners for prices ranging from 500 Deutschmarks (US\$231) to 5,000 Deutschmarks (US\$2,314). In many cases, these transactions took place in Belgrade, the capital of the neighboring Serbia; from there traffickers or owners transported the women and girls to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The women's prices became their debts. Owners and employers promised the women and girls that they would receive 50 percent of their earnings after clearing their debt; this rarely happened in practice. Instead, owners often sold women to new "employers," saddling them with new debts and ending their hopes of sending money to parents and children at home. (Human Rights Watch 1999)

3.3.1.2 **Second phase (2000-2003): STOP-team raids**

There is a spike in the identification of foreign victims in 2001 and 2002, probably due to the work of the International Police Task Force (IPTF) STOP teams, who conducted a series of raids on bars. Between July 2001 and October 2002, STOP teams conducted 720 raids and interviewed 2,120 women and girls in the clubs. Of those, 230 trafficked women and girls requested assistance (Human Rights Watch 2002). This phase certainly identified and managed to help substantial numbers of victims – IOM assisted over 600 migrants. When the Human Rights Watch team returned in 2001 they found the situation substantially improved. However these raids were not very effective in longer-term prevention and were surrounded by accusations that the bar owners were being tipped off about the raids (Human Rights Watch 2002 p. 4).

Since 2000 there has been a steady and substantial decline in the numbers of foreign personnel in the country, presumably reducing demand to some extent.

The 2004 UNICEF / SC Norway report attempted to calculate a lower bound for the number of child victims of trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation up to 2003, arriving at a number around 110:

Based on the responses given by the police, NGOs and IOM, between 110 and 160 children have been identified as trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation in B&H between 1999 and early 2003. On the

¹² This situation has since been rectified

basis of the data provided by the police and NGOs at least half of all identified child victims of trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation are from B&H. The majority of the victims are over the age of 14; a few are as young as 10. Nearly all reports by respondents referred to girls rather than boys. The actual number can be assumed to be still larger. (UNICEF B&H and Save the Children Norway 2004 p. 21)

The second Human Rights Watch report found similar recruiting practices to the previous report. About half the victims interviewed in 2001 reported that they had been promised a good job by someone they knew; many thought they were going to Italy. On arriving in B&H after often very complex journeys they were then told they had to work off the debt incurred by the bar owner for their purchase. The same report details the abysmal conditions in the bar which they visited.

3.3.1.3 **Third phase (2003-): new developments**

Drop in identification of foreign victims

There is a dramatic drop in identifications of foreign victims after 2002. Possible reasons include:

- ▶ The STOP teams were disbanded at the end of 2003. Rather than raids, State authorities increased use of more systematic but time-consuming investigations and prosecutions. There are reasons to believe that the actual number of foreign victims has not dropped so sharply if at all. In particular the number of female migrants identified at airports from traditional source countries such as Moldova has not dropped during this period (Surtees 2005 p. 117).
- ▶ Traffickers began to employ new strategies in 2003, likely as a result of improved prevention activities.
 - There were more attempts to regularise foreign victims' status in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
 - Victims were in some cases required to marry their traffickers, while others were pressured to apply for asylum. Both strategies serve as a means to camouflage trafficking.
 - Foreign victims reported improved living and working conditions, with many victims receiving some payment. In contrast, national victims report poor living and working conditions and received no payment. Both foreign and national victims suffered multiple forms of abuse while trafficked (Human Rights Watch 2002; Surtees 2005).
 - Profile of recruiters: all traffickers of B&H victims in 2003 and 2004 were male. However, while in 2003 most traffickers of foreign victims were male, in 2004 the majority were female and about 10% were recruited by a male/female pair. In 2003 and 2004, the majority of victims were recruited by an acquaintance. The fact that recruiters might be people very close to the victims makes it more difficult to combat (Surtees 2005 p. 115).

Increase in identification of victims from B&H

Although there are differences between the State Coordinator and the RCP/Surtees data, as mentioned above, after 2002 there was certainly an increase in detected cases of victims with B&H citizenship, of which it seems that some end up abroad and some are internally trafficked. Whether the increase in the number of local victims identified is due to an increase in their absolute numbers or to better rates of detection (perhaps because local service providers are more visible) is a question mark which hangs over all reports of trends in trafficking. There is also a change in the countries of origin of the non-local victims, with fewer from Ukraine and Moldavia and more from Serbia.

Increase in identification of child victims from B&H

In 2004, a dramatic increase was noticed in the proportion of B&H victims of sexual trafficking who were minors – 58.6% of assisted persons in B&H (Surtees 2005 p. 117). The Reiter report (2005 p. 7) identified (via interview with key sources) 20 cases of internal trafficking in B&H during 2005, of whom all were female and the majority were minors. The B&H Government in a written statement reported an increase in the number of juvenile females involved in organised prostitution (cited in Reiter 2005 p. 7). In the annual report for 2005 the State Coordinator reports that 13 of all 66 potential victims were underage (it is not stated how many of these were of B&H nationality). On the other hand, the proportion of foreign victims who were minors when identified remained low: in the Surtees / RCP data up to 2004, only around 3% of the *foreign* victims were minors (although over half were aged 18-25, raising the possibility that many were underage when they entered the country).

Changing nature of trafficking

In the last two years, 2004-6, there have been indications that the nature of trafficking for sexual exploitation in B&H is again changing. For that reason, the State Coordinator, in cooperation with UNICEF, commissioned a new report based mainly on interviews with key informants. This report is important since it represents a recent analytical overview of the changing trends of trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as the status of support services available to local victims of trafficking (State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H 2006a).

- ▶ Recruiters are exploring and learning about strategies to prevent trafficking in persons, intervention and prevention measures, and are finding different ways of accomplishing their goals.
- ▶ Traffickers are using private houses and apartments, and victims' services are being "ordered" over the phone and "hired" for a set period of time", making detection more difficult (Surtees 2005 p. 39).

As all over the world, the probability that detection rates are quite low gives reason to believe that the real figures are much higher.

In summary, data for the years 2003 - 2005 suggest three new trends:

- an increase in detections of victims with B&H nationality, i.e. B&H – just like its neighboring countries – has become identified as a country of origin;
- and an increase in the proportion of those cases (victims with B&H nationality) who remain in B&H, i.e. who are internally trafficked
- an increase in the proportion of local (but not foreign) victims identified as minors – to nearly 60% (Surtees 2005 p. 117).

There is some quite substantial evidence from recent UNICEF research in B&H (UNICEF 2005) that **it is quite common for young people to sell sex informally – for money, presents, favours, etc. – in situations quite outside the more fixed arrangements normally associated with prostitution.**

- Of 886 children answering a questionnaire in schools almost none said that they had ever sold sex, while most said that they knew of at least one person who had.
- About 10% of young people answering a web questionnaire said that they had sold sex at least once.
- Of 305 young people filling in a questionnaire in youth clubs, 21 said that they had sold sex at least once.
- Nearly all gay males between 15-25 interviewed said that they knew at least one person who had sold sex and 5 out of 65 said they had had sex for favours. Nearly all gay men 18-25 answering an internet questionnaire said they knew at least one person who had sold sex at least once.
- The children involved are sometimes but certainly not always coerced and they usually consider themselves to have benefitted in that they received money or favours.
- This number is reported to be growing and includes boys having sex with females and other males.
- This suggests that a large number of young people in B&H are able to sell sex while at least to some extent retaining control over the situation.

3.3.2 **Individual / family / community factors**

Phase I of the Regional Child Trafficking Response Programme concluded that the criteria for assessing which children are at high risk of being trafficked are probably basically present across the region but "differ across national contexts". The key categories of children at risk of trafficking *across the region* were found to be:

- children who suffer family violence and abuse,
- children who lack family support and protection (e.g. separated children, children in institutional care),
- children out of school,
- ethnic minority children (e.g. Roma and Egyptian children),

- children who have been trafficked.¹³

Are these categories also valid for B&H?

3.3.2.1 **Vulnerable groups / victim profiles**

The only substantial method, or at least the only one which has been used in the literature available to us, to try to identify vulnerable groups in B&H is to collate characteristics of past victims. However:

The presentation of victim profiles is intended as a means to identify sites of vulnerability to trafficking and for ensuring that assistance meets their needs and interests. It is not intended to "explain" the crime or unduly focus on the victim over the perpetrator. Too much attention on the profile of the victim draws attention away from the perpetrators of the crime (Surtees 2006).

Also, as detailed in the section 3.1.3.1, past victim characteristics might not be good predictors of future vulnerability. Traffickers do change their tactics over time and target different groups.

Vulnerable groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina share some characteristics with groups in other "transitional" nations of the region, while in other ways their vulnerabilities are directly attributable to, or worsened by, the specific post-war situation described above. According to Surtees, for the period 2000-2004,

- ☐ all of the victims of trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation identified in B&H, foreign and local, were females,
- ☐ most of them were between 18 and 25 years old,
- ☐ most of them were unmarried or divorced,
- ☐ a large proportion of victims are reported to be of Roma nationality (Surtees 2005).
- ☐ Risk factors identified by Obradović for becoming a victim of trafficking were:
 - ☐ family circumstances,
 - in particular family conflict and coming from a "dysfunctional family",
 - being an orphan or having only one parent.
- ☐ low education (although, among both foreign and B&H victims of trafficking, there were individuals with a high school education.) Obradović found that victims with better educational backgrounds suffered less abuse and exploitation while working in prostitution.
- ☐ Unemployment/underemployment. (Although there is a high percentage of victims who were employed at the time of recruitment, especially among foreign victims.)
- ☐ poverty (although there were those who came from "average" economic circumstances).

Risk factors for trafficking for sexual exploitation in B&H most frequently mentioned are, roughly in order of reliability,

- ▶ Being young
- ▶ Being female
- ▶ Coming from a "dysfunctional family"
- ▶ Coming from a poor background
- ▶ Having low education.

3.3.2.2 **Psychological factors / dysfunctional families?**

The risk factor mentioned most consistently in reports on trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation in B&H, as in many other countries, apart from being young and being female, is that victims most frequently come from

¹³ O. Ginzburg, Phase 1 Evaluation page 48, quoting Save the Children's proposal for future activities.

"dysfunctional families" (Reiter 2005 p. 4). However it is sometimes difficult to know exactly what this consists in (sometimes single-parent families are classified automatically as "dysfunctional", which means that this term must be treated with some reserve.) It is also not obvious how precisely such a family background leads to someone being trafficked. Research from beyond the regions suggests that a high proportion of victims of sex trafficking have a background of violence in the family (Jesson 1993; Potter 1999; Dalla 2003). This subsection will look again in some more detail at the possible connections between "dysfunctional families", psychological characteristics of "victims", and trafficking.

It might be more useful to identify individual psychological factors which might mediate between "dysfunctional families", for example families with abusive members, and trafficking.

The idea that a 'propensity to take risks' might be a strong risk factor is backed up by research carried out in the UK, which, although based on only 12 cases, identified several factors which taken together put young people at greater risk:

- ▶ physical or sexual abuse within the family,
- ▶ being disengaged from education by their early teens,
- ▶ being hungry for attention,
- ▶ being keen to 'escape' childhood and be regarded as adults (Harper and Scott 2005 p. 23).

Another possible, related, mediator between abusive families and trafficking might be gullibility or difficulty in judging a threat or assessing a person as reliable or not. Obradović (2004) found that victims with a "dysfunctional family background" were more likely to believe stories told to them at the start of the recruitment process.

If the Obradović (2004) data is to be believed and if those same victim profiles are valid today, then the majority of victims of sexual trafficking identified in B&H take the first step themselves, without major pressure or threat on the part of traffickers, going along with a story that they are being given a chance to start a new life somewhere else. Of course there another side to the "gullibility" coin: the willingness, resourcefulness and courage to take any chance offered one to get out of a difficult situation. Or to put it another way: what is resilience? Running away from a difficult socio-economic situation or putting up with it?

Obradović (2004) conducted one striking analysis in which he divided victims into three groups according to expert rating of how likely it is that they knew that they were going to end up being used in prostitution, and cross-tabulated this with the extent to which the victims suffered sexual and physical violence at the hands of the pimps. Those victims who said they knew what was going to happen reported being the target of little sexual or physical violence after they had been trafficked while those who did not know what was going to happen reported being subject to both sexual and physical violence. He interprets this as meaning that those who knowingly went to work as prostitutes were likely to be given less exploitative jobs.

3.3.2.3 **Maintainance factors**

Factors which might explain why "victims" remain "victims" have been identified for sexually exploited young people in the UK (Taylor-Browne 2002) and are supported also for the case of trafficking victims in B&H.

- ▶ Emotional attachment to exploiters (Obradović 2004) – this has been described as similar to, and potentially as powerful as, the "Stockholm Syndrome" notorious for affecting the victims of kidnapping and abduction and has been named "traumatic bonding" (Jülich 2005)
- ▶ Clinical-psychological problems including depression and post-traumatic stress disorder (Obradović 2004)
- ▶ Lack of travel documents (Obradović 2004)
- ▶ Debt bondage / other financial problems (Obradović 2004)
- ▶ Drug/alcohol addiction (Logan, Walker et al. 2002)
- ▶ Housing problems
- ▶ Involvement in crime
- ▶ Lack of family/social support

3.3.3 Macro factors

3.3.3.1 Viability of work

Readiness of men to pay for sex

The readiness of men in B&H to pay for sex is probably not very different from other parts of the world. The UNICEF / SC Norway research (2004) carried out focus groups with adult males, as potential users of prostitution, with some revealing results. While there is no evidence that men in B&H specifically seek out child prostitutes, there is evidence that younger girls are preferred. Victims are seen as being at least partly to blame. Men also have an unrealistically positive picture of the situation of prostitutes.

Adult male focus group participants were inclined to believe that girls enter the sex industry voluntarily, that users of consumer sexual services would seek prostitutes who are as young as possible, and that foreign prostitutes might also be especially appealing. (UNICEF B&H and Save the Children Norway 2004 p. 1)

Readiness of men to become involved in trafficking

The same focus group analysis also revealed that many adult males, at least in 2003, would become involved in trafficking for adequate rewards and that there is a dramatic lack of confidence among the same population in the ability or readiness of the State to combat trafficking:

A considerable proportion of adult male focus group participants said that they would become involved in trafficking if the rewards were high enough. And, they expressed a nearly unanimous and dramatically low level of confidence in the police as able or likely to take effective action against trafficking. A majority believed that police are actively involved in or benefiting from trafficking. (UNICEF B&H and Save the Children Norway 2004 p. 1)

Attitudes towards violence against women

Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially in rural areas, is still very much a patriarchal culture which views domestic, sexual and gender-based violence as a particularly private affair and something which women are supposed to put up with.

Thousands of women and girls (and some men and boys) were raped during the war as part of a deliberate military strategy. It is also likely that sexual abuse and rape has to some extent become embedded into the culture in the sense that many former soldiers now still living in B&H have committed rape during the war and that many women have had the experience of being raped.

3.3.3.2 Corruption and organised crime

International staff

Human Rights Watch played a crucial role in highlighting the role of individual IPTF (International Police Task Force) officers in trafficking in B&H – though at least 12 police officers were sent home, they basically had a status of impunity and it is probable that no members of international organisations were ever prosecuted for any involvement in trafficking (Human Rights Watch 2002). It is most likely that this involvement was limited to individual staff: the U.N. Office of Internal Oversight Services found "no evidence of widespread or systematic involvement" (Human Rights Watch 2002 p. 56).

Local officials

There was substantial evidence of the involvement of police officers and other state officials in trafficking in B&H including at higher levels, although the situation seems to be considerably better now: the IPTF ordered the de-authorisation of the chief of the public security centre in Bijeljina for serious violations of law including "issuing residency and work permits to trafficked women... and suspicion of partaking in organised crime in trafficking into Bosnia and Herzegovina" (Human Rights Watch 2002 p. 32). Celhia de Lavarene, director of the STOP teams, went on record with the statement: "The prosecutors and judges are on the side of the traffickers and not willing to convict them. It's a farce" (Human Rights Watch 2002). Very few police officers were ever disciplined.

Obradović (2004) estimates the approximate size of the profit generated by a bar or night club involved in trafficking in the 1999-2003 period and points out that they would generate so much money in otherwise impoverished areas that they could hardly fail to come to the attention of local authorities.

In 1999, IPTF was exposed to ridicule:

... the president of the association of nightbar owners in Prijedor called a press conference in Banja Luka and revealed that IPTF officers had been involved in trafficking, as he had paid these officers not to raid his bar. He asked UN for reimbursement for lost income. Also present on the press conference were fifty-six bar owners and their bodyguards. Six IPTF officers were sent home because of this. (Wennerholm and Zillén 2003 p. 29)

Corruption and organised crime were still being specifically mentioned in 2004 as a major obstacle to prevention of trafficking in the B&H Medium Term Development Strategy (Council of Ministers of B&H, Government of Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina et al. 2004). In 2004 a police officer was attempting to traffic two persons at the border with Serbia and Montenegro.

3.3.3.3 **Social exclusion (see section 3.2.3.1)**

Social exclusion of specific groups is reported to contribute to vulnerability to being trafficked for sexual exploitation.

3.3.3.4 **Demand**

As mentioned above, one factor which may have led to an increase in demand for prostitution was the presence of international forces. In fact Dottridge (2005) and others conclude that this presence directly led to the trafficking of additional women and girls:

The presence of large numbers of foreign men in the Western Balkans in the aftermath of the conflict in former Yugoslavia, led to thousands of women and girls being trafficked from all over South Eastern Europe to provide commercial sex. (...) However, it was never established that the market for commercial sex in Bosnia or the UN Administered province of Kosovo ever created a major demand for trafficked children, rather than young adults (Dottridge 2005 p. 38).

However the analysis mentioned above (Obradović 2004) suggests that in fact less than 20% of clients were internationals, meaning that the demand was (and presumably still is) largely from local men. It is an open question why, if the Obradović (2004) analysis is correct, most sources and public opinion in B&H seem persuaded of the opposite.

3.4 Prevention, protection, prosecution: strengths and weaknesses

3.4.1 **Sources of data**

A good source on prevention is the annual report of the B&H State Coordinator (State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H 2006), whereas the US State Department report puts this information in an international context (US State Department 2005). The Limanowska / Surtees report gives a good list of actors involved in prevention. A more recent and more detailed list has recently been published (proMENTE 2006a).

3.4.2 **Overall**

Considerable progress has been made since 2000 in B&H on coordinating responses to human trafficking, under the auspices of the Office of the State Coordinator. Protection and prosecution, while still leaving a lot to be desired, have improved substantially.

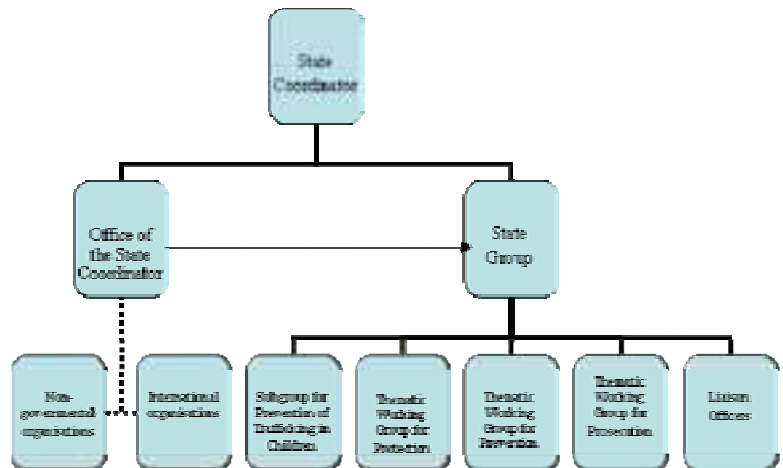
The situation on *primary* prevention in B&H is not much different from the rest of the region, for which Limanowska (2004) concluded:

... prevention is still being carried out through repressive programmes focused on preventing migration, prostitution and organised crime. There is no comprehensive long-term prevention strategy for the region, nor any clear understanding of what such a strategy should include. Awareness raising activities also continue to be mainly ad hoc information campaigns implemented by many different organisations. Although their work is valuable, few campaigns are developed or implemented effectively (Limanowska 2004 p. XIII).

Institutional support

Figure 4: Offices involved in the struggle against trafficking in B&H (State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H 2006a)

The first meeting related to human trafficking was held at an initiative of the Office of the High Representative (OHR) in Sarajevo in October 2000. The B&H Ministry of European Integration and the Ministry of Civil Affairs and Communications emphasised the need for making an Action Plan to combat trafficking in humans (Bosnia and Herzegovina Ministry of European Integration and Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees 2001). The first Action Plan was initiated in 2001, and the office of a State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration was created in 2003 (Office of the State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Migration 2006 p. 4).



Besides the "State Group" (comprised of representatives of the relevant ministries in charge of coordination of activities in the fight against trafficking) and Sub-Group for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, three working groups were set up in the areas of prevention, protection, and prosecution. The Procedures for Treatment of Victims of Trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina were drafted and signed in July 2005 (Office of the State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H 2006 p. 3).

The establishment of the State Border Service has led to a dramatic reduction in the number of illegal migrants into B&H (State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H 2006 p. 33)

2006 saw the completion of the first national Referral Mechanism for child victims of trafficking (State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H 2006b).

A number of legal changes in 2005 have adapted B&H law to correspond better to best practice in trafficking prevention (State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H 2006). In January 2005 amendments to the Criminal Code of B&H brought the law entirely into line with the Palermo Protocols. Also in January 2005, Amendments to the Law on Protection of Witnesses Under Threat and Vulnerable Witnesses entered into force, which very much improve witness protection (in 2005 protected witness status was given to six victims for the first time in B&H). The new Rulebook on Conditions and Procedures of Entry and Residence of Foreigners entered into force in February 2005.

Cooperation between NGOs, international organisations and the State is coordinated by the Office of the State Coordinator, which communicates with the State Group. The State Coordinator was responsible for the First and Second National Action Plans.

Activities of the State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration for 2006 in collaboration with Save the Children Norway SEE include:

- cooperation with Save the Children on the present report
- production of an "Overview and analysis of national mechanisms with aim to prevent trafficking in human beings in B&H-Children trafficking for exploitation"
- production of an "Overview of activities of relevant institutions for protection of children, victims of trafficking - Referral mechanisms"
- work on a "Manual for professionals employed within the prosecutor's office, police, social and health institutions" in regard to the problem of child trafficking, children's rights, protection of children, mechanism of identification, etc.

- organizing 6 trainings for social workers, health care workers and police officers in FB&H, RS and Brcko district B&H, carried out from July 2006 to March 2007.

Overall, good progress has been made by state institutions in B&H since 2000 on assuming responsibility for prevention of trafficking. However it is constructive to compare this to the poor progress made by B&H state institutions on assuming responsibility for protecting childrens rights in general (Strbac, Savić et al. 2005 p. 7-10) This difference is likely to be a direct result of the differing international community interest. Concrete and painful contingencies were tied to progress on trafficking prevention by the the U.S. State Department trafficking assessment (2005), much more substantial than any pressure made on general improvement in child rights.

A crucial role in raising both the quantity and quality of training on trafficking issues for police, courts, medical staff, etc. has been played by the NGO Medica Zenica which has developed an effective and well-known model for delivering training.

3.4.3.1 Problems with legislative response and implementation

The International Organization for Migration together with non-governmental organisations in B&H carried out a piece of research entitled 'NGO Watchdog – Monitoring residency status and court procedures for foreign victims of trafficking' which came up with a substantial list of criticisms of procedures. The report is summarised in the State Coordinator's report for 2005 (State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H 2006) in which the following difficulties are highlighted.

- ☐ inadequate legislation on trafficking
- ☐ inadequate witness protection measures
- ☐ fear and intimidation
- ☐ non-existence of juvenile homes
- ☐ lack of access to interpreters in late hours, as well as low general engagement of interpreters
- ☐ insufficient cantonal provisions regulating this area
- ☐ victims not residing at given addresses and unknown new residence
- ☐ difficulties in ensuring their presence during the investigations and at the main hearing. Such problems for prosecution, that is, before the courts, are long lasting, which leads to higher costs and uncertainties in the conclusion of the proceedings
- ☐ lack of confidence of the victim in the police
- ☐ prejudices of professionals in approach to victims
- ☐ difficulties in investigating organised crime, bearing in mind that special investigative measures can be authorised for those crimes carrying penalties of minimum three years in jail, while minimum sentence for crime of trafficking in human beings is one year in jail
- ☐ the victim's consent is required for placing them in a shelter, which makes things more difficult; often, victims are not ready to give consent to be placed in a shelter and then they are left to their own devices or return to the same place they were discovered in
- ☐ non-existence of any asylum centre
- ☐ problem of covering expenses for victims in shelters
- ☐ pronounced problem of organised begging of Roma children; often ignored fact that organised begging is a form of organised crime, so that these cases should be treated accordingly by prosecutors
- ☐ many Roma children not registered in birth registers, which makes the problem even more complex as there is no information about them
- ☐ persons who have been enticed into begging are prosecuted for this minor offence and fined 30 KM (15 EUR) and after such low penalties continue with the same illegal activities
- ☐ the failure to secure sufficient financial support to asylum seekers by the government

- ☐ lengthy asylum proceedings
- ☐ misuse of the asylum-seeker status when it comes to trafficking victims, as they go back to the places, that is the bars, that they used to work in before

3.4.3.2 **International assessments**

After her visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2005, the Special Rapporteur of the General Secretary of the UN on Human Trafficking, especially Women and Children, Ms. Sigma Huda gave an overall mixed assessment of the state of prevention and prosecution in B&H.¹⁴

The State Department of the United State of America raised the status of B&H from “second tier – watch list” in 2004 to “second tier” in 2005: “The Government of B&H does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking; however, it is making significant efforts to do so.”

3.4.4 **NGO activities: Mapping of previous and current anti-trafficking activities**

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, a number of prevention and awareness raising campaigns have been implemented recently. The State Coordinator in cooperation with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Stabilisation Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Jan. 1996 - Dec. 2005; SFOR), European Union Police Mission (EUPM), International Organization for Migration (IOM), and the NGOs “Lara” and “La Strada”, launched the project “Stop the chain of human trafficking”, aimed at law enforcement agencies working on prevention of trafficking in human beings. Also, other awareness raising campaigns, aimed at (potential) trafficking victims, the general public, and potential clients, have been implemented, mainly by NGOs. Furthermore, IOM has implemented a major awareness campaign through promotional leaflets, TV spots, billboards and documentaries. Prevention and awareness campaigns have used a variety of methods, such as round tables, seminars, and workshops related to trafficking in human beings¹⁵.

A mapping of previous and current anti-trafficking activities via email questionnaire sent to all local and international organisations known to be working on prevention of trafficking in persons in the period 18.11.-02.12.2005 (proMENTE 2006a). The following conclusions were made.

- ☐ Most of the activities done by organisations that responded were preventive.
- ☐ The population most frequently targetted for anti-trafficking campaigns was girls (not just in school) followed by school children.

¹⁴ The following are selected amongst most important preliminary conclusions:

- *Bosnia and Herzegovina is a post-conflict society that has witnessed a high incidence of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation; it is also linked to the heavy international presence. The Special Rapporteur was informed that Bosnia and Herzegovina is increasingly becoming both a country of transit and of origin of trafficking and that there are cases of internal trafficking.*
- *The Special Rapporteur observed that efforts to combat trafficking have increased over the years and have brought significant improvement to the situation, although trafficking still exists.*
- *The Special Rapporteur observed that the Criminal Procedure and the Criminal Codes have no provisions to confiscate the assets and property of traffickers upon conviction.*
- *The Special Rapporteur was informed that there continue to exist inconsistencies between the federal laws of the State and the laws of the different Entities and cantons which coupled with issues of jurisdiction, creates an additional barrier to enforcement and effective prosecution. Whilst appreciating the Government's efforts to coordinate the different laws of the Entities and cantons, and recognizing the difficulties faced by such variations, the Special Rapporteur urges the Government to work towards the harmonization of all laws that impact upon trafficking.*
- *The Special Rapporteur learned with concern that only a small number of trafficking cases have been successfully prosecuted and that upon conviction reduced sentences have been imposed that do not reflect the serious nature of the human rights violations suffered by the victims.*
- *A number of anti-trafficking strategies and measures initiated within the framework of the National Action Plan appear to have had a positive impact on reducing the number of trafficking cases in Bosnia and Herzegovina.*
- *The Special Rapporteur was impressed by the existence of a vibrant and well-organised civil society and by the work undertaken by several non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to provide support and assistance to the victims of trafficking. The Special Rapporteur believes that further efforts must be undertaken to strengthen the social protection system, including through increased funding and improved coordination between the Government and NGOs.*
- *The shelter homes provide good temporary security for all trafficked victims but efforts should be increased to ensure that trafficked persons do not become vulnerable to re-trafficking.*
- *The Special Rapporteur learned with satisfaction about several awareness campaigns that have been undertaken in the country on trafficking-related issues.*

¹⁵ State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Migration. *State Action Plan for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings 2005-2007*, pg.46-47.

- Populations less well targeted by anti-trafficking campaigns were potential and existing victims, teachers and parents.
- Campaigns were in most cases done in the towns and municipalities (very few in rural areas).
- Excellent co-operation and co-ordination was reported by most of the organisations.
- The majority of the organisations reported they carried out assessment before the implementation of the campaign. One third reported they used existing handbooks or models in designing their campaigns, 1/3 partially used them, and 1/3 did not use them at all.

3.4.5 **Prevention: evaluation of impact of prevention activities on general public: representative survey**

An evaluation of prevention and awareness-raising activities on the general public via a representative telephone survey (sample: general public throughout B&H – 1000 respondents, random sample) was conducted in the period 11.11.-14.11.2005. The sample is representative for the population of B&H citizens over 12 years of age with respect to age, sex, education level, urban/rural, ethnic majority region, and entity. (proMENTE 2006b)

- 90% of B&H citizens say they know what trafficking in people means and nearly 80% said they believe there is trafficking in people in B&H.
- Only just over one third said that they remembered having seen a prevention or awareness campaign. Another third said that they had not.
- By far the most popular channel was TV, with a very large majority having said that they remembered seeing a campaign on TV. Newspapers and magazines and radio were a distant second and third, but still significant, whereas all other media fell under the 10% mark.
- Fifty percent said they thought the campaign was necessary, and slightly more than 40% said they thought it was useful. Only 12,3% answered they know an institution that deals with this problem, but less than 10% were able to name an organisation. Less than half reported learning something from the campaign.
- The most groups where the campaigns were least effective according to this survey appear to be under 18s, parents, rural populations, and individuals with a lower level of education.

According to the general public survey, TV is the most prevalent media where people learn about the trafficking in people. Also, people in Croat majority areas were less aware of the problem than people from other areas.

3.4.5.1 **Prevention of demand**

Demand created by prostitute-users is not the only factor that drives the sex-trafficking market. However, it is the factor which has received the least attention and creative thought in anti-trafficking initiatives. By and large, anti-trafficking policy has been directed towards detecting, preventing and punishing the conduct of traffickers, or towards stemming the supply of victims through educational campaigns or the like (Huda 2006 p. 15).

The same thing can be said for B&H. Specific initiatives to reduce demand are almost non-existent (proMENTE 2006a).

3.4.6 **Shelters**

In the absence of the government owned shelters for accommodation and assistance provision for victims of trafficking, in March 2005 the B&H Ministry of Security signed the Protocols on Cooperation and securing of adequate and safe accommodation and protection of victims of trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina with five non-governmental organisations. These NGOs were already running safe houses and employed professional staff for implementing activities defined by the Protocols, thereby formalising the cooperation between governmental and non-governmental sectors (State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H 2006).

3.4.7

Prosecution

Prosecutions for trafficking and smuggling of persons do take place, though sentences are still very short, often under one year.

During 2005, prosecutors in Bosnia and Herzegovina conducted 68 investigations for criminal acts of human trafficking and related crimes. Out of this number, 37 investigations were initiated in the course of 2005, while the remaining 31 investigations were carried over from 2004. One additional investigation was conducted against an employee of the State Border Service for abuse of position and in relation to human trafficking, which was not completed by the end of 2005. In relation to acts of human trafficking, during 2005, 24 indictments were raised, while 26 were confirmed by the courts. Thirty nine investigations have not been completed until 2005, and they will be continued in the following year.

During 2005, courts in Bosnia and Herzegovina reached verdicts against raised indictments for 17 persons in total. Nine verdicts were passed on the basis of plea bargain agreement, suspended sentences were handed to two persons, one person was fined and six persons received prison terms, out of which one person received suspended sentence and six persons received jail sentences. One verdict resulted in acquittal. Appeals were filed against six first instance verdicts, and judgements for six persons became final and binding; one suspended sentence and five jail terms. Jail terms were passed against all five persons, who were sent to serve their prison sentences. In the end, it is important to mention the fact that court proceedings were initiated against 33 indictments for criminal acts of human trafficking and related crimes.

The pronounced sentences are in principle very low, often below minimum proscribed by the law for that category of crime although there has been one case of pronounced sentence of four years and six months, which was handed for a crime under Article 210 of Criminal Codes of Federation of B&H (State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H 2006 p. 25).

3.4.8

Prevention of street work

We have seen that street work and trafficking in street workers receives much less research attention than sex work and trafficking in sex workers. The same is true in terms of prevention. Indeed they are often not even distinguished from trafficking for purposes of sexual exploitation. The UNICEF / Save the Children Norway (2004) report found that the responses by State institutions were poor and uncoordinated.

With few exceptions, street children only come into contact with Centers for Social Work or with police when they commit an offence. It appears that the first state agency with which street children come into contact is the police – the very agency given least responsibility for, and fewest resources appropriate to assisting street children with their needs. Neither Police nor Centers for Social Work report having any special procedures for the treatment or assessment of street children. Respondents' replies suggested that all children, regardless of whether or not they have been living or working in the street, are treated similarly. (UNICEF B&H and Save the Children Norway 2004 p. 2)

3.4.9

Specific prevention activities for and with Roma communities

3.4.9.1

Organisation

The Assembly Meeting of Romani Non-Governmental Organisations in Bosnia and Herzegovina was held in November 2001, involving twenty-two Romani non-governmental organisations from throughout B&H. At this meeting, nine individuals were elected to the Roma Council to facilitate co-operation with local authorities. (Prettitore 2003)

3.4.9.2

Prevention of begging

In 2005 the Council of Roma organised a one-day round table on "Roma and human trafficking: begging and exploitation of children" (with financial assistance from the Office of the State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in B&H, UNHCR, OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina, IOM and UNICEF (State Coordinator)). Child begging within the Roma community was openly stated to be a form of trafficking. The Round Table concluded that there are three basic reasons for begging in the Roma population: socio-economic, cultural-educational and legal.

The main recommendation was including action on begging in the National Action Plan against trafficking, in particular tackling the overall problems of the Roma population including poverty, accommodation, education and health (Council of Roma in B&H 2005a).

4 Field research: principles and issues

The research design and methodology including respondent groups and sample description are described in section 5.

4.1 Regional and national planning and training

The design for the regional research was worked out at a series of regional workshops in which the B&H team participated. The design of the national research was based on the aims and methodology specified by the regional research team, by the priorities of SC Norway SEE, and by the results of the literature review reported above. Research themes and tools were provided by the regional team and adapted for use in each of the 7 countries participating in the research.

Nine initial key source interviews were carried out with 20 persons, mostly in Sarajevo, in order to develop the research design.

Training sessions were provided for the national researchers by the regional team. Additional training was then provided within the B&H team for the field researchers.

4.1.1 Synergies between national and regional reports

The present, national, report was written by proMENTE but in consultation with SC Norway SEE nationally and regionally. It contains specific national conclusions and recommendations. At the same time, as trafficking is also an international phenomenon, data has been shared with the regional group and lead researcher for the regional report. Preliminary data from other countries was also available for the national report.

4.1.2 Builds on previous UNICEF/Save the Children Norway research

The starting parameters for this piece of research are based on the results of the previous (SC Norway SEE)/UNICEF Research Project 'Research report on child trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina' (2004) and a comprehensive survey of other research reports. The previous research was very wide ranging and produced both qualitative and quantitative data from a wide variety of sources across the whole country, giving an overall picture of trafficking.

However, the present project is more focussed than the previous work: **five researchers gathered information from five communities, using a tightly defined set of semi-structured tools such as interview and group activities. The two main field researchers worked almost continuously over nearly three months and were almost totally immersed in the communities they were researching. They spoke to hundreds of children.**

Much richer, more qualitative information on risks and reasons for trafficking and related forms of exploitation can be expected.

4.2 Aims

The aims of the research are set out in section 2.2.

4.3 Principles and strengths

4.3.1 Child-centred

First and foremost, this research attempted to be child-centred. The research aimed to gather information first and foremost from children and to give their views and opinions weight; to understand children's views of the phenomena – what matters to them, and how they see the work they do and the choices they make. This meant that children were invited to comment on the methods in the piloting sessions and throughout the fieldwork. Researchers used children's insights to adapt their methods accordingly.

4.3.2 Culturally sensitive

The research aimed to be careful of using cultural stereotypes and rigid categories during the research. For example, researchers were trained not to expect all Roma children to work on the street or all street workers to be Roma.

The non-Roma world knows almost nothing about the world of the Roma. Without help from Roma, non-Roma researchers could spend so long trying to understand and build meaningful contacts with at-risk Roma children that the contribution to the actual research would be very weak. They might end up knowing less about trafficking as it affects Roma than they could have found out just by asking any well-informed Roma adult.

For this reason,

- Input from representatives of the Roma community was included in the design of this research, including their explicit knowledge on the issue trafficking in children.
- Roma-speaking assistant researchers were included in the research.
- Representatives of the Roma community were invited to be involved in responding to the draft report.
- The researchers tried to find out about the different groups of Roma in B&H, and remained flexible and respectful in their understanding of these differences. They were aware that there is no hard-and-fast answer to the question (and often some dispute) about whether some particular individual or group is or is not Roma.
- Attempts will be made to disseminate the final report, particularly the conclusions and recommendations, so that it also reaches at least opinion leaders in the Roma community.

4.3.3 **Qualitative**

Qualitative research approaches were selected because we were particularly interested in the how and why of decision-making, and were more interested in exploring the phenomena than in trying to measure it.

The research design and tools remained flexible during the research. The researchers reflected daily on their research findings and tried to develop new hypotheses and questions as they went along and in supervision meetings and telephone calls with the B&H lead researcher and the regional researcher. They were encouraged to include questions based on these changing hypotheses in the next day's interviews. This means that the research guidelines already changed during the research to include insights from respondents in the field.

4.3.4 **Participatory**

This research was designed with an element of participation. Key stakeholders including representatives of Roma groups were invited to comment on the research design. Children were involved in piloting the research methods and were invited to criticise and give their opinion on the research aims and tools during the field phase. Moreover, the research was conceived with the primary aim of ultimately benefitting the respondent groups rather than for academic purposes. After the field phase was over and the report was drafted, a version was shared with key stakeholders and was then updated on the basis of their comments.

4.3.5 **Children as decision-makers: using the child-agency paradigm**

The research aimed to respect and try to find out about the power that children may have and the decisions they make even in very constrained circumstances. From a research point of view, this means leaving room for the possibility that a child who is on the streets is not primarily a victim but has, perhaps, taken active, courageous and relatively successful steps to remove him or herself from a family environment which does not present protection but rather a threat. It draws attention to the active role which children always play, to a greater or lesser extent, in co-creating the worlds they live in.

4.3.6 **Gender sensitive**

The research was particularly concerned to respect and explore the power that girls and women may have and the decisions they make even in very constrained circumstances. Both of the main field researchers were female. They took care to try to speak to women and girls separately where possible. They also specifically asked women and girls as well as men and boys about how the research themes are related to gender.

4.3.7 **Focussed on strengths**

Rather than concentrating on weaknesses and victimhood, the researchers made efforts to respect and try to find out about individual and community strengths and resources.

4.3.8 **Constructionist**

The research aimed to be aware of the importance and consequences of different definitions of work, exploitation, trafficking and other issues and the different meanings these concepts have for different actors. The primary research interest was on understanding the respondents' own views of their experiences by building relationships of trust as far as possible; and just by "really listening".

4.3.9 **Systemic**

As sketched out in the literature review, to the extent that risk factors are relevant to trafficking they are relevant only as part of networks of factors which are so complicated that they best be captured as stories, as prototypical case-studies or case-study fragments. The research implication was to gather and report detailed narratives and to try to find out about the many different factors and the interrelationships between them which may be involved in trafficking, sex work and street work. "What-if" and circular questions were included in the research guidelines.

4.3.10 **Linked to policy**

The national research team have consulted relevant stakeholders and the report will feed into policy via the inclusion of the State Coordinator. Policy which was in the planning or draft phase at the start of the research was taken into consideration during the research design in order to make the research findings as policy-relevant as possible.

4.3.11 **Contextualised**

Researching child prostitution and street work at the same time as trafficking for child prostitution and trafficking for street work makes it possible to compare and contrast these different child protection issues and to relate them to the broader child protection context.

4.4 Ethics, child protection policy and data protection

The SC Norway SEE Code of ethical conduct for researches involving children (UNICEF B&H and Save the Children Norway 2004) together with the ethics protocol provided by the regional team were together considered binding on this research. That former document points out relevant standards and principles affecting children which have been accepted and signed by Bosnia-Herzegovina, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

In Appendix 9, a number of relevant points have been singled out which guided our research in terms of ethics, child protection and data protection.

However, **the guiding principle of our actions in the context of this research was: give the highest priority throughout to acting in the best interests of the child.**

4.5 Limitations

4.5.1 **Geographical restrictions**

The research looks at child prostitution, street work and trafficking from just five towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Modriča, Sarajevo, Zenica, Tuzla and Bijeljina). The situation certainly varies from town to town and region to region.

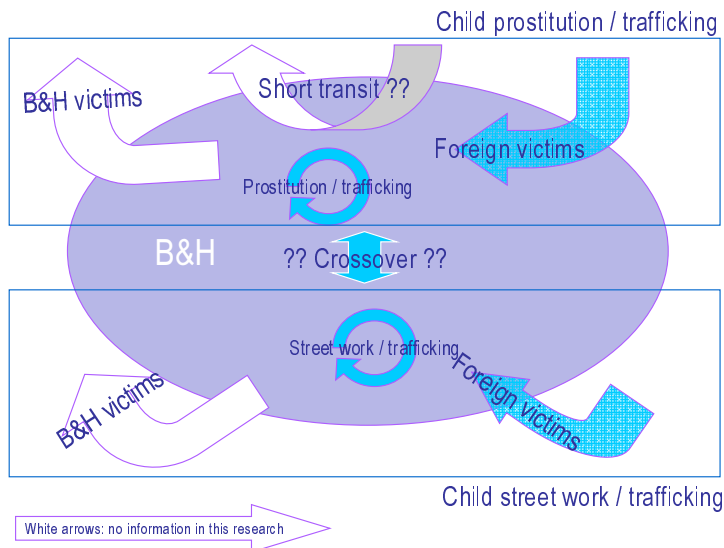
4.5.2 **Exclusion of older children begging for money for drugs**

There are certainly a large number of older children as well as many adults in towns in B&H who beg for money in public places such as bus stations, probably for money to buy heroin. The research design did not include specific methods to contact these children. The snowballing techniques used (see below) did not lead to contact with them which might indicate that this is a population which has little contact with sex workers and younger

street workers. It is very likely that their primary problem from a child protection point of view is drug addiction rather than street work; nevertheless it is likely that these kinds of children are vulnerable to trafficking, though we have no evidence for this.

4.5.3 National view of an international phenomenon

Figure 5: coverage and lack of coverage of different possible migration / trafficking paths within, into and out of B&H in this research.



The design of this research makes it impossible to know if there are children who leave trafficking for labour exploitation or trafficking for sexual exploitation in Bosnia and Herzegovina by leaving the country, or who leave in order to do street work or prostitution abroad. It is also unlikely that with the methods used we would have found out about any trafficked children just transiting through the country.

4.5.4 Underreporting of exploitation, violence and criminal involvement due to participatory nature of research

The researchers were instructed not to take personal risks and to take every care not to put children or other respondents in danger. The researchers heard about up to ten possible additional cases of trafficking but potential informants were too afraid to talk about it. This is bound to happen when criminal elements are involved. This certainly led to underreporting of exploitation, violence and criminal involvement, but it is hard to be sure to what extent. In particular, we had no way to investigate directly the existence of or conditions in brothels except by listening to indirect evidence.

4.5.5 Possible underreporting of organised street work / trafficking due to tip-offs about research

It is also possible that people organising and/or trafficking street workers had been forewarned about the research and systematically removed children from the areas where the research was taking place for its duration.

4.5.6 Likelihood that research underreports extent to which children are forced to work

It is quite possible that some of the children we spoke to sometimes told us "cleaned up" versions of the truth; in particular that they exaggerated the amount of freedom they have and underplayed violence or threats of violence from family members – either out of a feeling of loyalty to their families or out of fear of reprisals, or both. Equally, the children might have exaggerated the work that they undertake or the abuse and violence that they experience in order to test the researcher's reaction and test their promises of confidentiality. For these reasons, attempts were made to ensure validity through triangulation, i.e. by referring to multiple sources of information.

4.5.7

Does not include information from traffickers themselves

This research does to some extent focus too much on the *children* rather than on the *traffickers* and others involved in the exploitation of children because the children are somewhat easier to access (Surtees 2005) and because of the ethical and other dilemmas involved in research with traffickers.

5 Field research: methodology, data processing and sample description

5.1 Respondent groups¹⁶ / modes of contact

The respondent groups were chosen because each is likely to have special access to *information* on children doing street and/or sex work, and *on trafficking risk in general*, including but not limited to their own experience; and because they might have contacts with other children or adults who possess such information.

Although the key informant interviews and available literature identified some groups as 'at risk' we did not necessarily make the assumption that this was the case. Instead we treated the group descriptions below not as clearly-defined "sample definitions" but rather as *modes of contact*. The researchers were encouraged to ask the children and other informants to suggest other people they know who might like to be interviewed and who could have information on child sex and street workers and particularly on trafficking ("snowballing" – see appendix 0).

5.1.1 Child street workers

Children working on the street: many work in conditions which amount to the worst forms of labour exploitation, some are trafficked in the sense that they are even bought and sold for labour, and many more do street work which may or may not fall under the definition of trafficking (UNICEF B&H and Save the Children Norway 2004).

5.1.2 Children in shelters

As reported in the literature review, a high proportion of victims of sex trafficking have a background of violence in the family (Jesson 1993; Potter 1999; Dalla 2003). So it was decided to address children of women who are, or have been, in shelters for victims of domestic and gender-based violence. While it is unlikely that children actually in shelters are at high risk of trafficking while they are in shelters, it is likely that they have been, or will be, at risk; and/or have useful information on risk.

5.1.3 Children in institutions

The researchers also spoke to four children temporarily housed in institutions because they had been picked up from the street by a social work team for begging.

5.1.4 Roma children in school classes

There is a high proportion of Roma amongst victims of sex trafficking, including child victims. There is also a high proportion of Roma amongst victims of trafficking for the purposes of labour exploitation. This situation has been recognised by the B&H Roma Council (Council of Roma in B&H 2005b). However it is not yet clear whether Roma children *living in well-integrated Roma communities and going to school* are particularly likely to become (or have been) victims of trafficking. For this reason the research addressed such children as well.

5.1.5 Adult informants

The research also encompassed professionals and parents within the communities where research was conducted: representatives of local police departments, local centres for social work, local clinics, teachers, etc. Sometimes these adults were approached directly and sometimes because of their relationship to children we had interviewed.

5.1.5.1 Roma community member (adults)

The researchers spoke to 35 Roma adults in Roma communities which they visited.

¹⁶ These respondent groups are defined rather differently than in the original B&H research plan. They have been reorganised in order to be compatible with the group definitions produced later by the regional research team and the interviewees have been correspondingly reassigned to the new groups for the sample description and findings. This change is relatively cosmetic as the regional group definitions are broadly compatible with the ones used initially in B&H.

5.1.5.2 **Other key informants**

This group comprises Roma and non-Roma teachers, police officers and other professionals.

5.1.6 **Case studies of trafficked children and other informants**

The number of confirmed and identifiable cases of children who have been recently trafficked (for the purposes of sexual exploitation and forced begging) in B&H is relatively small. Attempts were made to identify such cases through shelters and other institutions. The research again included parents, relatives and professionals as well as children. The persons contacted are assigned to one of the above respondent groups but in addition the interview and other data were assembled to give a richer picture of these children who had been trafficked.

5.2 Interview themes

A set of interview themes was developed by the regional team and adapted by the national team on the basis of the aims for the national research. This set of themes was designed to be adaptable to different kinds of respondents. The themes were as follows:

- Safety and danger (physical, economic, social and other)
- Exploitation
- Mechanisms and processes (migration, exploitation and trafficking)
- Decision making and choices; threat and force
- Risk and protective factors (individual, family/community and macro levels)
- Social protection and support
- Future (hopes and dreams)

More detailed subthemes and possible questions were developed for each theme. The set provided a "menu" of possible themes to be explored in one or more interviews. It was left open to the interviewers how many sessions to hold with each respondent or respondent group and which themes to cover. A series of loosely-structured interview guidelines based on the themes was drawn up for the different kinds of interview planned for the research, in particular to provide an enjoyable structure for the group interviews with children. Warm-up activities were carried out with the children before the research started.

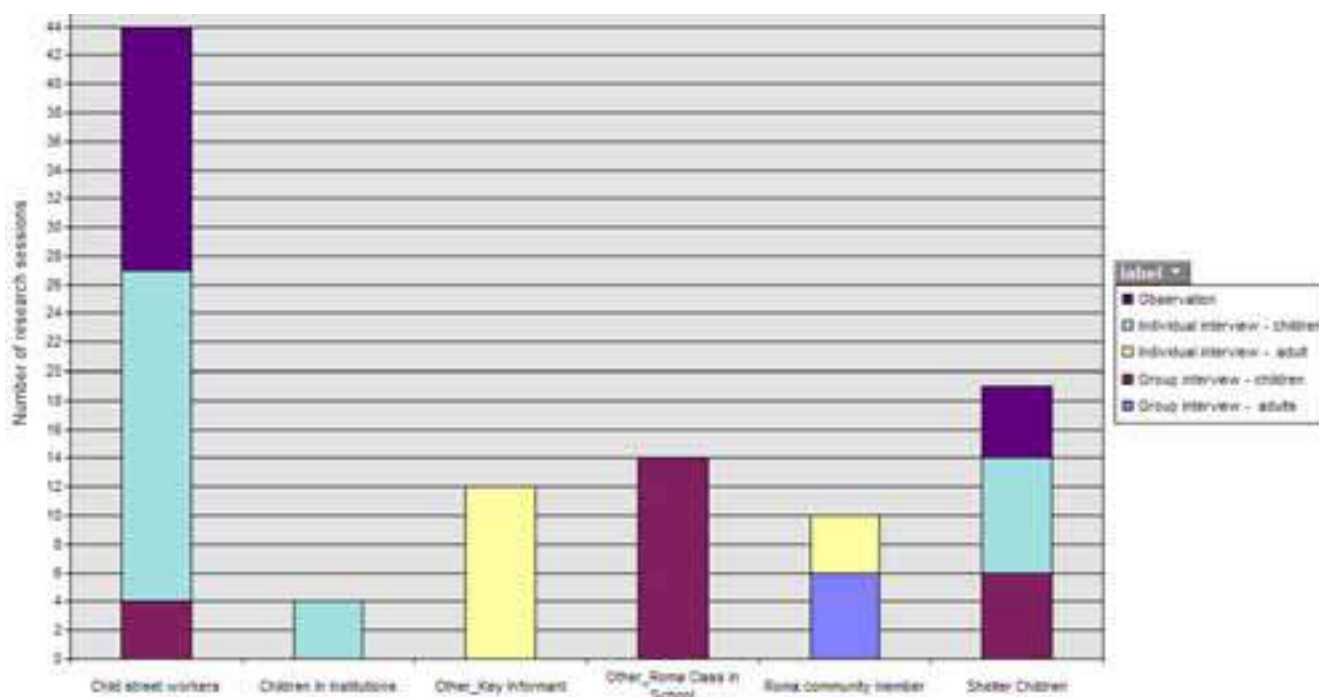
5.3 Data gathering tools and methods

There were five or six kinds of data collection, as follows. They were implemented as unstructured or semi-structured interviews or 'guided' conversations. For each type, interview guidelines were developed in collaboration with the regional team. Each of these guidelines was adapted not only on the basis of piloting but also continually during the research, particularly the guidelines for the group interviews with children.

- Group interviews with children
 - Structured. These were larger groups of children with more or less predefined group activities such as drawing, designed to be enjoyable and to stimulate children to talk about the research themes. Up to three sessions could be held with the same group, but often only one session was held if the researchers decided that enough information had been gathered in the first session.
 - Unstructured. These were similar to "individual interviews with children" but two or three children rather than with just one.
- Individual interviews with children. Individual children were approached and specifically invited to interview based on the recommendation of friends, parents, teachers or other adults ("snowballing") as described in the appendix.
- Group interviews with adults. Same, but with more than one adult. They are distinguished from individual interviews for technical reasons only.

- Individual interviews with adults. These were adults with very different functions, from police officers or social workers to parents and teachers. Some of these persons were approached directly as office holders, but usually they were referred to us by other interviewees. Group sessions were preferred with professionals. With parents or persons who might have a reason to be hesitant about giving information, individual interviews were preferred.
- Data collected around case studies. With specific children who were already known to have been trafficked, we first approached related authorities or institutions and gathered written material such as police statements. We also conducted interviews with key informants who knew a particular child well. In some cases we then asked to interview the child concerned as well.

Figure 6: number of research sessions by data gathering method and respondent group.



5.4 Monitoring and supervision

Apart from monitoring from the regional researcher during supervision visits and regional meetings, and supervision by the B&H lead researcher to the field, research progress was monitored by the lead researcher on the basis of checklists and comments on the interview cover sheets which were returned from the field to head office in Sarajevo on a regular basis. A series of changes were made to the research design on the basis of this supervision.

5.5 Communities

Table 2: research sessions by community

Respondent Group	Location	Modriča	Sarajevo	Zenica	Tuzla	Bijeljina	
Group: children		3	11	5	5		24
Interview: children		2	9	6	17	1	35
Observation			10	5	7		22
Group: adults			2		4		6
Interview: adults		1		4	10	1	16
							103

The first field researcher, IC, focussed on children working on the street and Roma children in schools in Sarajevo (month 1) and Tuzla (month 2), the largest and third-largest cities in B&H. In Sarajevo she was assisted and accompanied by one female Roma-speaking assistant researcher and in Tuzla by two male Roma-speaking assistant researchers. The inclusion of Roma-speaking researchers was considered to be essential for the following reasons:

- These researchers were able to give their own input into research strategy as well as day-to-day tactics, broadening to some extent the cultural background of the research.
- Respondents could speak Roma language if they preferred. Some respondents found it useful to be able to switch language when talking about emotional content and cultural issues.
- Respondents of Roma nationality could more easily relate to the research team and gained trust more quickly.

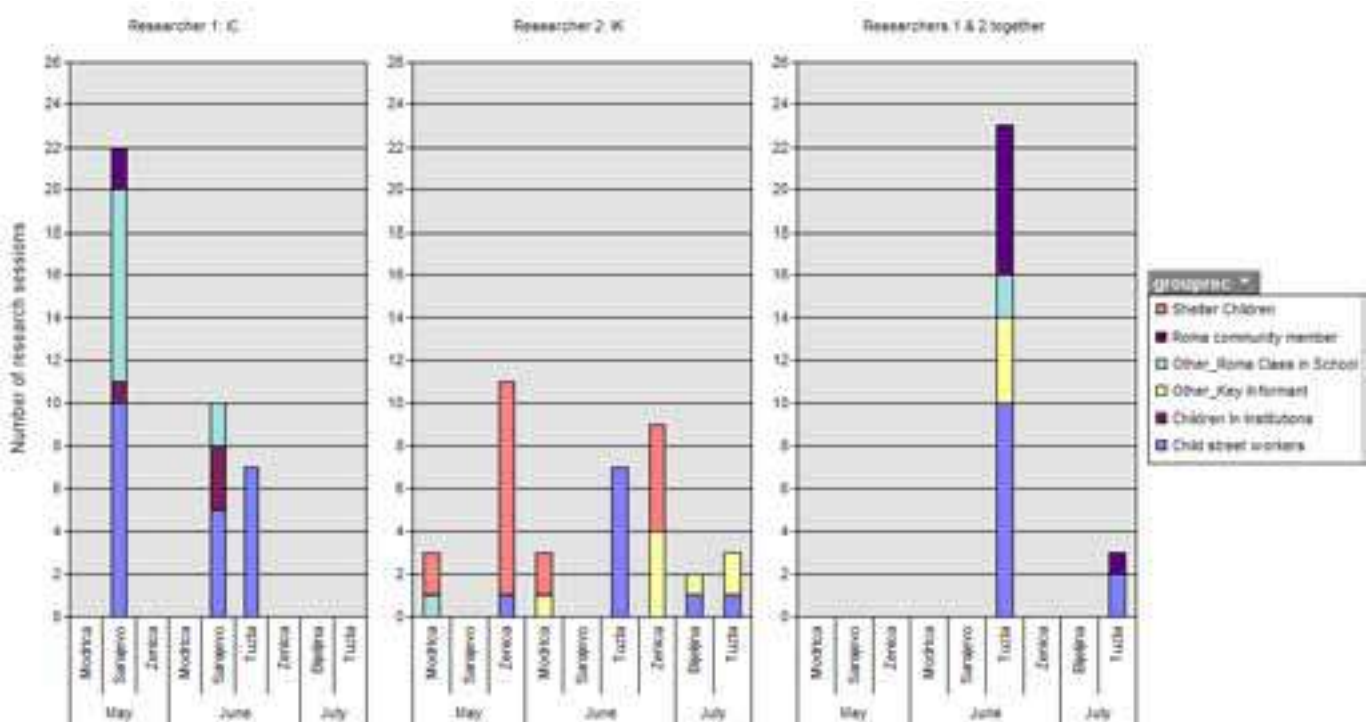
The second field researcher, IK, focussed initially on children in two shelters for victims of violence in Zenica and in Modriča. The plan was again to spend one month in each location. However in the second month it was decided that IK would join IC in Tuzla to help with the research with child street workers and also to cover another shelter, in Bijeljina, which is not far away.

Both researchers worked full time on the project for about eight weeks between May and July 2006.

Besides children, the research assistants interviewed key informants such as parents, representatives of local social welfare centres, police, etc.

Case studies on children known to have been trafficked for sexual exploitation were also carried out. 2 of the 5 shelters in B&H were visited in order to reach those children. The other shelters were contacted but they either did not have any such children at the time of research or they declined to participate in order to protect the privacy of those children.

Figure 7: research sessions by month, community and interviewer



5.5.1 Data recording

For each and every interview session including observations, a standard sheet was used which gave an overview of the interview guidelines, and ethics checklist, a research reflexivity checklist, etc.

Transcription: Tape recordings were made, together with basic written notes made in preparation where possible, followed by more extensive notes at the end. Tapes were labelled with a unique session identifier and were sent for transcription.

Notes: the researchers took extensive handwritten notes and then typed them up later. These were used occasionally when interviewee did not consent to being recorded or for shorter interviews with adult key informants.

Observation: This method was used frequently at the beginning of contact with children working on the street. Handwritten notes were made during or immediately after the session.

5.5.2 **Language**

Interviews with Roma respondents were usually carried out both with one of the main researchers, who only spoke Bosnian, and the Roma researchers, who spoke both Roma and Bosnian. The main part of most interviews with Roma people were carried out in Bosnian if the interviewees felt comfortable with that, but quite frequently switched to Roma language where this would help to improve understanding. The Roma assistant in Sarajevo assisted with transcription of these tapes directly into Bosnian.

5.5.3 **Transcription and translation**

All audio tapes were transcribed. In order to save costs, sections at the beginning and end of sessions which did not include research-relevant data were not transcribed.

Each document, whether resulting from transcription, typed directly by the researchers or given electronically in connection with a case study, was then translated into English and sent to the regional research team.

5.5.4 **Data analysis**

5.5.4.1 **Database of respondent attributes**

A database of speaker attributes was compiled using the data in the handwritten cover sheets from each session. This database was used in coding (see below) and also produced the sample description tables in this section.

5.5.4.2 **Text coding**

For the national analysis, all the transcriptions and accompanying documents were imported into NVIVO 7 software for qualitative data analysis. An initial coding scheme was developed on the basis of the literature review and was adapted continuously as coding went on.

5.5.4.3 **Coding sources**

The sections in the transcripts related to each speaker were coded automatically with the attributes of that speaker (sex, ethnicity, age, etc.) using the database described above.

The findings are based on analysis of 103 research sessions¹⁷ in five communities together with 12 supporting documents and transcripts about individual cases of trafficking.

5.5.4.4 **Validity**

The method described above assigns speaker attributes to text passages. However respondents do not always only talk about themselves so for example the information in a section coded with the attributes "Roma, child, age 8" etc. was spoken by that child but is not necessarily *about* that child. For this reason, while coding the session transcripts, each relevant statement was coded not only with a category from the thematic coding scheme but also simultaneously with the information as to whether this was a first- or second-hand report. The data analysis reported in the findings section is based primarily on first-hand reports.

5.6 Sample: persons

232 people were involved in the main research sessions. Another 40 children were included in the observation sessions but are not included in the tables which follow.

¹⁷ One or two of the sessions actually consisted of more than one interview but have been transcribed as one.

Table 3: average ages and number of sessions of persons included in the sample by group of respondents

Respondent Group	Average age	Average number of sessions	Number of sessions
Child Street Workers	11.83	1.00	78
Shelter Children	16.33	1.40	30
Children In Institutions	13.75	1.00	4
Other: Roma Class In School	12.34	1.51	73
Roma Community Member	33.40	1.00	35
Other Key Informant	38.08	1.00	12
Total			232

The child street workers were on average about 12 years old, whereas the children in shelters were older, over 16 on average.

Table 4: persons included in the sample by group of respondents, ethnicity, sex and location

Respondent Group	Ethnicity	Sex = F	Sex = M	Modriča	Sarajevo	Zenica	Tuzla	Bijeljina	Sub-total	Total
Child Street Workers	B,S or H ¹⁸	13	5		1	4	12	1	18	
	Roma	41	19		25		35		60	78
Shelter Children	B,S or H	23	7	10		20			30	30
Children In Institutions	B,S or H	2			2				2	
	Roma	1	1		2				2	4
Other: Roma Class In School	Roma	27	46	6	52		15		73	73
Roma Community Member	Roma	23	12		6		29		35	35
Other Key Informant	B,S or H	7	4	1		4	5	1	11	
	Roma		1				1		1	12
Total		137	95	17	88	28	97	2	232	

The majority of the respondents in all categories and overall were female except for the Roma children in school, where the majority were male. Over two-thirds of the respondents are from the two large towns Sarajevo and Tuzla, where there were many respondents from the groups "street workers" and "Roma classes in school".

5.7 Frequency of topics

The data analysis was carried out as described in the methodology section, basically assigning sections of the interviews with one of a set of topics. The data given in this section gives information about how frequently different topics were mentioned in the interviews.

¹⁸ B S H = Bosniak, Serbian, Croatian, i.e. non-Roma

Table 5: relative frequency of text references by topic, respondent group and sex

Topic	Respondent group						Sex		Total
	Children In Institutions	Roma Community Member	Street Children	Roma Class In School	Key Informant	Shelter Children	Sex = F	Sex = M	
Activities of traffickers	4	2	51	12	28	20	76	43	117
Maintenance or escape factors\NGO	1	2	7	0	8	0	11	7	18
Maintenance or escape factors\Family	12	3	0	1	0	1	7	10	17
Maintenance or escape factors\institutional e.g. corruption	2	1	0	0	4	0	7	0	7
Maintenance or escape factors\economic situation	0	4	7	3	0	0	10	5	14
Trafficking & exploitation\individual risk	10	2	1	13	7	0	21	12	33
Trafficking & exploitation\street work	52	29	180	43	31	5	165	175	340
Trafficking & exploitation\sex work	13	5	70	14	45	28	152	23	175
Macro\macro- culture e.g. patriarchy	3	6	25	9	7	0	22	29	50
Macro\macro- socio-economic context	1	5	13	6	4	0	23	6	29
Macro\macro- demand	0	4	7	5	3	8	13	14	27
Individual\Individual- external incl. gender	0	0	16	24	2	1	23	25	43
Individual\beliefs, plans, dreams, wishes	8	0	44	23	2	9	49	38	86
Individual\attitudes & decisions	11	2	55	42	8	33	93	58	151
Individual\behaviour	11	3	27	29	2	6	39	39	78
Individual\feelings	11	2	34	14	6	13	46	34	80
Individual\economic interests & needs	13	1	27	27	3	0	33	37	71
Individual\Individual interest as potential risk	9	9	75	17	36	7	92	61	153
Institutions at local and state level\state institutions	6	18	43	10	21	30	97	32	128
Institutions at local and state level\school	3	2	49	37	3	5	36	63	99
Institutions at local and state level\NGOs	0	4	2	0	3	3	6	6	12
Family\relationships with parents	18	0	70	30	9	14	69	74	141
Family\relationships with others in community	4	0	10	14	12	11	38	13	51
Family\relationship with relatives, close others	4	3	25	19	2	10	35	28	63
Family\economic situation of family and neighbourhood	27	14	110	14	14	0	93	86	179
	223	121	948	406	260	204	1256	918	2162

By the most frequent topic¹⁹ was information about street work, but the respondents spoke about a wide range of other topics including the economic situation of family and neighbourhood. Information about street work comes from males and females almost equally, whereas information about sex work comes nearly entirely from females, which corresponds to the respondent groups. The street children also had a lot to say about sex work and about the various reasons for the work they do such as the economic situation of family and neighbourhood and their own interest in it.

¹⁹ These topics are "bins" or place-holders for more concrete themes which emerged during the coding and which are described in more detail in the main findings chapters, below.

Figure 8: frequency of text references by respondent group

Overall the street children nearly half the information used in the analysis comes from the street children, with over 1000 text references.

5.8 Reflections from the field work

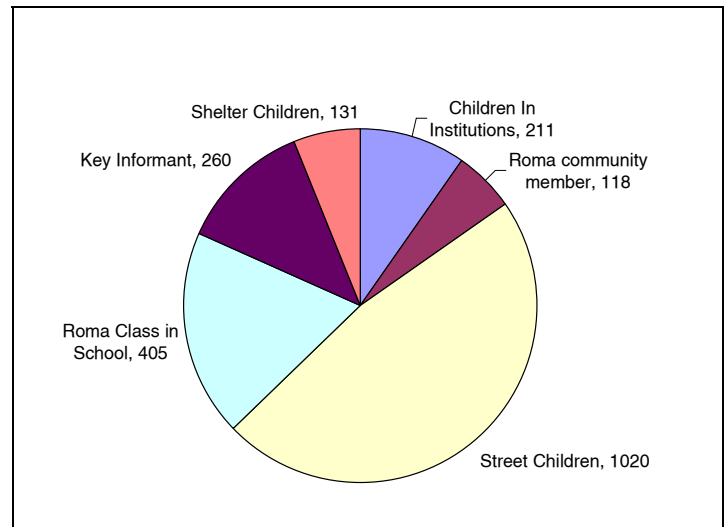
5.8.1 Emotional involvement

The researchers found the work very challenging emotionally. They began the project working separately but later the decision was taken for them to be based in the same town (Tuzla) and to work at least sometimes in a pair. This meant that they were able to help each other with informal peer supervision.

Field researcher: I came into the project with great enthusiasm, believing that our work is of great significance. At the beginning I couldn't at all foresee that the field work and work with the victims be that difficult. I often felt helpless, like I was stuck in a spot. Emotions and stories that I heard and received from children that I worked with needed to be directed into a "channel", one needs to know how to handle this.

The researchers became conscious of the difference between their own experiences and those of the children they were working with.

Field researcher: Being a researcher in this kind of research demands complete engagement, commitment and belief in what you do. Meeting children who beg or work on the street in order to earn for a living causes certain feelings of sadness and helplessness. It was difficult for me as a mother, to talk to a child who is the same age my child, but has a completely different way of life, thinking, needs.



5.8.2 Successes/failures of tools and research design in the field

One very useful technique which the researchers used frequently was to hold a group interview with a group of children and then to invite them individually for interviews. This was particularly effective when some, but not all, of the children were involved in street work because it enabled data to be gathered which highlighted differential factors.

The researchers also found it useful to prepare specific formulations of selected research questions in advance for individual interviewees.

Experience showed that it was essential for the researchers to work in pairs as the fieldwork was not only emotionally quite exhausting but also involved an element of physical danger.

The research design included sessions with Roma children in schools. In confirmation of our working hypothesis, it turned out that the children lead lives which are not very different from their non-Roma peers. But apart from this confirmation, the interviews did not provide much information which seemed very relevant to the research which was quite frustrating for the researchers.

Some of the respondents were for understandable reasons particularly reluctant to give information on sensitive themes. It was sometimes frustrating to have to respect the wishes of the respondent and to walk away knowing that some very important information was missing.

5.8.3 Danger

The researchers were very aware of the potential danger which the research work could have put them in. Clear guidelines were drawn up to reduce that danger.

Roma research assistant: I was afraid at Vraca, because we were going to the field late. There were loud noises, shouting. They even asked for our phone numbers, but we couldn't give them...because it was dangerous. If I was working by myself, I wouldn't be able to do anything.

5.8.4

Ethical dilemmas

The researchers found it very difficult not to be able to do much to help the children and adults they were dealing with. But they found it easier to stick to strict rules: they would never give any money but they could pay for refreshments, they would help individuals by referring them to agencies who could assist them, etc.

6 Field research findings

6.1 Overview of findings on child street and sex work and trafficking

Table 6: forms of child trafficking-related exploitation and work and forms of trafficking: research findings

	Work ...		Trafficking ...			
Form of exploitation / work	How many children do this kind of work?	To what extent is this kind of work "exploitation"?	Lent	Sold	Cross-border	Abduction
Street work (begging, cleaning windscreens)	First-hand evidence of about 50-60 in our sample. Mostly Roma. Mostly girls and young children beg, especially the very young, whereas older boys clean windscreens.	Vast majority work for the benefit of their own families who would otherwise go hungry, either on their own initiative and/or under threat. Some say they beg because they have nothing else to do. Some spend some of the money on themselves, e.g. for food, sweets, etc.	No first-hand evidence but many (about 10) second-hand reports about children who are lent out to beg, sometimes for several days at a time and sometimes to other towns, mostly younger children. Usually these are Roma children lent out to Roma adults (who are often related).	First-hand evidence of one child with disabilities who was sold to beg. We heard second-hand (about 15) that younger children and children with disabilities and those in institutional care are most likely to be sold. The person who "bought" them treats them like a family member.	First-hand evidence of about 15 children who go seasonally with their families to work in neighbouring countries (Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro).	No evidence
Selling goods for recycling	About every second Roma family with no regular employment earns money sometimes in this way. Mostly boys, helping their fathers with collection, processing and selling. Also non-Roma families do this.	The children cannot decide what to do with the money; mostly it goes to feeding the family.	No evidence	No evidence	No evidence	No evidence
Helping at the market & street selling	First-hand evidence of about 20 children of all ages.	The children go with their parents. They do not receive money but usually like the work.	No evidence	No evidence	No evidence	No evidence
Selling sexual services	Altogether first-hand evidence of 5-6 cases from 13 years upwards, all girls. Second-hand evidence, about 40. Second-hand evidence of 1 boy.	Direct evidence of 2 girls who were sometimes the main beneficiaries and who also sometimes paid about 50% of the money they earned as protection money to men. Second-hand evidence of more.	Second-hand evidence of 3 girls from 10 years upwards who were "hired" out by persons close to them (mother, boyfriend). The money goes to the person who "hired" the child.	First-hand evidence of about 5 cases and second-hand evidence about several more. Sometimes the same child is sold several times.	No first-hand evidence but second-hand evidence of 2 cases who were brought to B&H, including 1 boy, and of 1-2 who were taken outside B&H. Often older girls who want to work in another country. This work gradually includes prostitution. Blackmail is used, documents are taken away, and physical violence is used.	One case of a girl who was abducted for unknown purposes more than once. She was threatened with weapons. We heard about 2-3 girls who were abducted near school for unknown purposes.

Form of exploitation / work	Work ...		Trafficking ...			
	How many children do this kind of work?	To what extent is this kind of work "exploitation"?	Lent	Sold	Cross-border	Abduction
Early marriage				First-hand evidence of 2-3 Roma girls of 10-13 years of age sold for marriage and second-hand evidence of about 30 such cases. The family receives several thousand KM (a few thousand Euro). The child does not benefit; some indications that the girl has to return this money to the husband's family, which can represent a reason for begging.		
Crime	First-hand evidence of 1 girl. We heard that younger children (13-14 years old), both boys and girls, are most common and also that non-Roma children are more frequent.	Sometimes the children also benefit from the thefts, etc. which they commit.				One case of a girl who was abducted and involved with stealing and selling weapons.
Agricultural work, building work	No evidence	-				
Adoption	No evidence					
Organ sale	No evidence					

Key: amount of evidence	Substantial	Some	Slight	None
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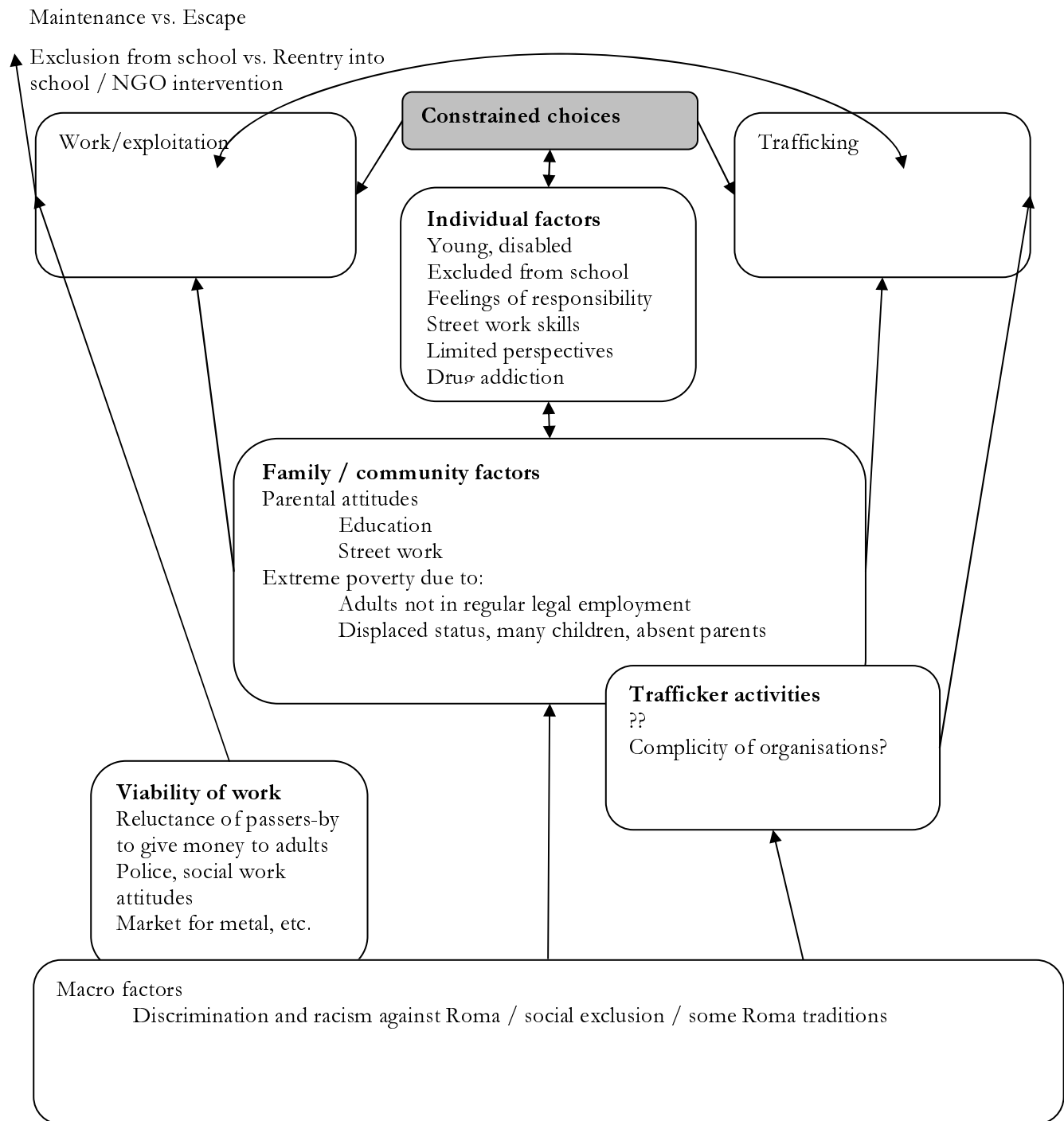
6.2 Second-hand evidence and urban myths

Desperate poverty, begging and drug use amongst young children, the rape of young girls and a people living literally on the fringes of society are themes which provoke the very strongest feelings and reactions in the public as well as in the researcher and the reader. On the other hand, very little concrete information is available to outsiders on these issues which are frequently surrounded with something like a taboo. These are conditions in which the psychological mechanisms of projection and fantasy rush in to fill the information gap. It is particularly difficult to distinguish between common sense and urban myth.

For this reason we have been particularly careful to distinguish between first- and second-hand information.

6.3 Child street work (and trafficking in child street workers)

Figure 9: model of street work and trafficking of children for street work



6.3.1 Nature and extent: street work

6.3.1.1 Nature of street work typically carried out

The evidence gathered details the different kinds of street work carried out by children in B&H: begging, cleaning car windscreens, collecting metal and other materials for recycling, and selling goods in the street.

6.3.1.2 Accommodation

The researchers found no first-hand evidence of children who regularly sleep on the street. We spoke to one woman who comes to Sarajevo in the summer from outside the Canton to beg and sleeps in a park with her 3-year old son. **On the other hand, it is quite common for children to sleep outside occasionally**, for example in parks when they do not want to go home. We heard about teenagers coming to the larger towns for a few days as a kind of excursion, and sleeping on park benches.

6.3.1.3 Trends

We heard from police sources that **street work is becoming more frequent, which could lead to increasing child protection issues and crime problems in the near future.**

6.3.2 Nature and extent: trafficking for street work

This street work is for the most part only informally organised. We did gather stories of how children are also

- ▶ hired out to adults who organise larger-scale begging
- ▶ bought and sold for begging. We heard about (but didn't see) cases where parents rent their own children for 10-20 KM (5-10 EUR) per day, usually babies and small children, who are supposed to generate twice the price paid for each day for the person who paid their parents.

However we never directly witnessed this hiring out of children nor did we manage to gather first-hand evidence from children or adults involved in it.

Researcher: OK, have you heard about cases of children being sold?
Boy, 14 years old: I did hear about them over the News, but up in (name of the place) I didn't.
Researcher: (...) But do you think that those children who work on the streets are in danger?
Boy: Well I think so. They are. Their parents tell them how much to bring, and if they don't, they get a beating.

The field evidence leads us to the following conclusions with respect to trafficking for street work.

- ☐ The vast majority of street work carried out in B&H is *not* organised on a large scale. Many children who do street work live a long way from lucrative population centres and sometimes they are collected by relatives and driven into the towns each day and/or seasonally.
- ☐ A much smaller number of children are hired or lent out on a daily basis for larger-scale begging.
- ☐ A still smaller number are sold for begging.
- ☐ Children with some disabilities are most likely to be hired or sold for begging.
- ☐ Quite a large proportion of children working on the streets are not Roma (of the 78 children we spoke to who work on the street, 18 or about one quarter were not Roma).

This conflicts with public opinion in B&H and the opinion of some experts who insist that the *majority* of street work is organised on a larger scale.

Our researchers, one Roma and two non-Roma, were on the streets for a total of around 400 hours, conducting interviews with 65 children who work on the streets, amongst other things actively looking for evidence of larger-scale organised street work.

It is possible that this strong impression is nevertheless incorrect – if those people exploiting children had been forewarned about the research and systematically removed children from the areas where the research was taking place for its duration. This possibility cannot and should not be excluded. It is also possible that organised begging is restricted to particular areas – we heard Živinici and Banovići mentioned for this.

Researcher: Are there any children who work for someone and bring the money to someone else?
 Girl, 15 years old, Roma: No
 Researcher: You know of no one, from the traffic lights or similar?
 Girl: Not that I know of.
 Researcher: And have you heard any stories?
 Girl: Well, I did.
 Researcher: What did you hear? Could you please tell us?
 Girl: Well they say that someone picks them up from the home and children work for them.
 Researcher: Which home – their houses or homes like this one?
 Girl: From children's homes, the ones for children without carers, that don't have parents.
 Researcher: And where do those children live then?
 Girl: At their place, I think.
 Researcher: They go with them, beg...?
 Girl: The load them up in a car, leave them somewhere and so on. And later they come to pick them up.
 Researcher: You've never seen this?
 Girl: No. I heard about it.
 Researcher: Who did you hear it from?
 Girl: Well, people around here talk.
 Researcher: Do the children at the traffic lights talk about this or ...?
 Girl: Yeah, and the children and everyone talks about it.

There was plenty of second-hand evidence of questionable veracity about the kidnapping of children, especially Roma children, for begging.

Woman, about 26 years old, Roma, begging with a child at a café: They do that... snatch children. I'm afraid for my child, the one I take along with me, that they will take him, I'm scared that there are people who steal children, take them to Italy, smash their hands, take their eyes out, someone breaks their arm, legs. They put the children out on the streets, not even their parents can recognize them. All kinds of things are going on here in Sarajevo.

6.3.2.1 **Mobility / migration and its relation to trafficking**

Children and adults who work on the streets usually live on or beyond the borders of larger towns, where the cost of living is cheaper; for instance where building regulations are not implemented and it is easier to steal electrical power without being prosecuted. In order to work they then need to move into those towns. Tourist towns such as Mostar are particularly attractive for this kind of begging – although we also heard that Mostar is becoming less attractive because begging is heavily discouraged by the police. When the distance is short, up to around 20 km, this migration can be completed in a day, often on foot. In other cases they need to stay for a longer period, which often involves using public transport or paying someone who has a van or other vehicle. Some of them find hospitality in the house of their relatives, some rent a flat, and a minority sleep in a park or derelict house.

So the work-related migration of children and adults who work on the streets is very usual. The children told us that they like it when they go away for several days. They think about that kind of moving around as some kind of holiday.

Association of Roma women "Better future" (Bolja budućnost), director: ...Children and women go from here to Mostar, Sarajevo and some other surrounding municipalities and cities in groups, and for me that is organised begging.

Some of the children start moving about the country without their parents quite young.

Boy, 16 years old, Roma, at his family home: Here, I'll tell you, I was 12-13, and at 13-14 I started to run away from home. I started smoking weed with my friends, I saw that they smoked, so I wanted to try it with them, let me try, let me try and I got booked on weed, I smoked it about year and a half or 2. I ran to Mostar, my parents came to get me.

Boy, 7 years old, Roma, Home for abandoned children: He ran away from Tuzla, actually he didn't run. His mother sent him by bus, gave him 2.20 KM, so he could have some money and loaded his bag with food and sent him off to Sarajevo.

Researcher: What does he do in Sarajevo?

Boy: Sleeps on park benches, whatever. Many children do it. Someone catches them, kills them.

Based on the interviews it seems that there is no clear distinction between temporary work migration and trafficking. If parents "hire out" their children for a fixed sum to someone who transports them to another town to beg, and that person takes at least some of the money they earn, that is certainly trafficking under the Palermo definition, whereas if the parents pay someone to transport their children to beg and the children bring the money home, the situation is unclear under the Palermo definition.

Researcher: Van full of children, being picked up by someone?
Case worker at the Centre for street children: We are aware that there is some of that, but it is very difficult to catch them.

Researcher: I know that, we got the same information from the police.
Case worker: They are very cautious or when they are seen they say that they are friends, that they are related or something, they are very, very careful in dropping them off and picking them up. So it is very difficult to catch them or to approach them. They usually come from some settlements, or from Poljice or from Kiseljak, I don't know, usually they come like that, organised.

Researcher: You mean from smaller towns?
Case worker: From smaller or from bigger, I think. I believe that children from Tuzla go to Sarajevo and from Sarajevo go to Bijeljina or I don't even know.

Researcher: Yes, yes. They change locations.
Case worker: I think so, it is a common occurrence, because in this way it is difficult for the police to get to them and catch them, by frequent changing of locations, so naturally, it is more difficult to get to them...

6.3.3 Individual factors

6.3.3.1 Influence of gender, age, etc.

- ⇒ Younger, especially female, children most often beg.
- ⇒ Older, especially male, children more often clean car windscreens. Some help with collecting metal and other materials for recycling.
- ⇒ Some, particularly those who go to school, help run stalls at the market or sell goods in the street.
- ⇒ Sometimes the older children supervise the work of the younger children.
- ⇒ Quite frequently an older girl or woman will beg with a small baby which is usually her own or a close relative. We observed one 14-year old girl begging with a 10-day-old baby.
- ⇒ We did not observe many cases of children working in groups larger than 3 except for a few cases in which one older child or adult supervised the work of two or three young children. Children usually beg on their own. If they come in pairs or larger groups they might spend time together during the day but they usually separate to work (different streets, different traffic lights).
- ⇒ We heard about, but did not see, organised groups of children and adults. We heard that these groups are controlled by criminal elements.

See also the section on moving and migration, 6.3.2.1.

6.3.3.2 Immediate reasons for working on the street

To feed themselves and their families

Researcher: Tell me why are you begging?
Girl, 10 years old, Roma, begging on the street: Because we ain't got no food to eat.

Researcher: Are there more children who do that or who don't do it?
Boy, 13 years old, Roma, primary school, Kiseljak: Those who do it.

Researcher: Do they have to do it?
Boy: Yeah, they do.

Researcher: Why?
Boy: To earn money for their bread.

To repay bridal debt

We heard from various sources – professionals, parents and children – that girls who are sold for marriage sometimes have to work to repay the money given for them, and often the only option open to them is to beg. In fact this is likely to be very frequent when brides are paid for as the sums involved are overwhelming for most Roma families.

To buy drugs

We have first-hand evidence of one child who begs partly to pay for heroin. Smoking marijuana is not uncommon amongst child street workers in B&H.

Researcher: *Where do you get the money for drugs?*
 Boy, 16 years old, Roma, at his family home: *Well, I beg. Here, I show this paper, you can read it. Everyone knows me, all the way to Iliđža.*

Researcher: *What do your mother and father think about your work?*
 Boy: *I dunno what to tell you, my mother also begs, my father sometimes goes to the car market.*

6.3.3.3 **Street work skills**

There are some individual differences between how successful children are at begging and other forms of street work. They work more intensively, know how to persuade people to give them more, something about their appearance prompts people to give more; and so they bring home more money. For these and other reasons, some children are sent out to work on the streets while others in the same family are not.

6.3.3.4 **Child as beneficiary**

Many of the children said that they can spend at least a proportion of the money they earn as they wish.

Researcher: *and what do you do with that money?*
 Boy, 18 years old, Roma: *I go out to the city, buy some things for myself, clothes and so on...*
 Researcher: *So does this mean that you do not ask your mom and dad for money?*
 Boy: *No, no, I earn it myself, for clothes, for going out...and also when I have left over money I give it to my father.*

As most of the children older than five years old beg more or less on their own, there is plenty of opportunity to spend some of the money they earn on themselves. However this will obviously reduce the amount of money they bring home and so there is a limit to this flexibility. Those who work primarily out of a feeling of responsibility to the family are in a different situation to those who have to bring home a set amount and perhaps feel freer to spend anything extra which they earn, for example on sweets.

Girl, 7 years old, Roma, begging on the street: *And this Klandija, my little sister, everything she earns she spends on candy. She brings home 5KM and doesn't give anything to mother, then mom takes it while she is asleep.*

6.3.3.5 **Identification with role**

Perhaps one of the most striking results from our conversations with children working on the street is that many, perhaps the majority of them, identify with the work they do. They are aware that as children they can earn as much or more by begging than anyone else in their family can earn, and they feel a duty to make the most of this ability and a corresponding responsibility to help feed their families. However there is another large proportion who only work because they have to.

Girl, 7 years old, begging on the street: *If I don't bring it, there is no food all day.*

The children do not enjoy working as such. Their most frequent complaints are firstly the weather and secondly abuse from passers-by, often based on their ethnicity.

Researcher: *And do you like to go there with your grandpa?*
 Girl, 7 years old, begging on the street: *I do. I like it. But I feel bad when I beg.*

Researcher: *Do they beg because they have no means for livelihood or just because?*
 Girl, 16 years old, at a village: *Well, they're used to begging. They simply haven't learned to sit down with someone, hang out like me and you right now. They just learned to be outside on the sun, rain, snow...day or night, they beg.*

Researcher: *What do you think, what is it like for them?*

Girl: *Bad.*

Researcher: *Why?*

Girl: *Well, like, they just go and beg, they are not embarrassed. If they have something to eat and drink at home, they should stay; but it is wrong to be begging.*

Researcher: *If they could choose, would they choose to beg or something else?*

Girl: *They wouldn't; they beg because their mother and father force them to.*

The children do not conceptualise their situation in terms of fairness or unfairness. They tend not to compare themselves with other children who do not beg.

6.3.3.6 Role of the peer group

The children often enjoy being out on the street with friends. The peer group consists primarily of brothers and sisters, cousins and very close neighbours. Where the children are free to choose who they work with, then they will choose friends from their peer group. When the work is more closely supervised by adults then they have less influence on this factor. As the girls reach puberty they are much less likely to be on the streets and more likely to spend time at home. Teenage boys are more likely to spend time with friends rather than relatives.

Boy, 14 years old, Roma, working on the street: I was, before, and then I wanted to come back again.

Researcher: To the traffic light? Why?

Boy: Dunno. Got used to it, it was nice.

Researcher: Does this mean that it was fun as well?

Boy: Yeah.

Researcher: Why? What did you do?

Boy: Fooled around, walked around.

6.3.3.7 Constrained perspectives

There is a radical difference between children who do and who do not go to school in terms of future perspectives. Most of the Roma children in school had more or less concrete ideas of jobs they could do when they leave school which were not that different from their non-Roma peers – ranging from hairdresser to football player or pop star - and were clear that school was the key to achieving them.

Researcher: Why is school important to you?

Boy, 11 years old, Roma, in a school classroom: School is important for me to be studying, to get a job.

Children who work on the street had no clear picture of the future, and their wishes centred around having a more comfortable life for themselves and their families. In their perspective, "all" children beg.

Researcher: What do you think, what is the future of these children who beg?

Girl, 11 years old, non-Roma, works on the street: Well they will beg forever, as long as they live.

Researcher: And what else? What is important to you?

Boy, 12 years old, Roma, at the Centre for street children: Food, water, health.

Researcher: Health is also important, isn't it? Anything else?

Boy: Nothing else.

(...)

Researcher: Well, ok, one year is not so bad, children lose a year. And what is important to you, what would you like?

To finish school?

Boy: To finish school.

Researcher: Anything else?

Boy: To find a job for myself so I can work.

A few of the children who work on the street had more concrete and immediate ideas related to the plans of their parents.

Boy, 9 years old, Roma, at the Centre for street children: I will go to school and won't beg anymore. And then we won't be coming here anymore, somehow we will manage over there, when we get a van, then we'll work with fruit, then from fruit move to clothes. Selling clothes. So then I will go to school.

6.3.3.8 Inclusion in school

Different groups of respondents were unanimous in highlighting exclusion from school as playing a crucial role in explaining street work in both the short and the long term.

School principal: There is some of that, but you know who children can be vicious, not only towards Roma children or towards street children, but to each other, based on the way they're dressed.

The need to work on the street obviously makes school attendance more difficult, although a surprising proportion manage to go to school and work afterwards. Although the basic rule "children in poverty need to beg to eat and therefore have no time for school" holds true, it is not a hard and fast one. For example, some families might prioritise school attendance for one of the children, often but not always male, while the others go to beg. We were told that this choice is sometimes made on the basis of the children's own preferences.

Children seem on the whole to believe that going to school is to their advantage.

Researcher: How many children do you have?

Woman, 35 years old, Roma, at family home: Seven.

Researcher: How many of them go to school?

Woman: Three are going.

Researcher: And why don't the rest of them go?

Woman: Well, they don't wanna go, we don't have the means.

Boy, 14 years old, Roma: And then I said I want to study and mom told them to enrol me in school, and I went to enrol.

Researcher: Did you decide or your mom?

Boy: Mom did.

Researcher: Mom? And why were you begging?

Boy: Because we had no life conditions.

Even without improving the financial situation of families there is plenty of leeway for intervention. For example, whether or not a child goes to school depends *in part* on whether or not the parents believe in the importance of education. Some parents take the cynical view that their children have little chance of finishing their education and even if they do have little chance of finding employment – an opinion which is back up by economic evidence from the UNDP research (Ivanov 2006a) mentioned in the literature review. Nevertheless this prophecy can become self-fulfilling. A solution might be to help parents and children make a realistic – and not unnecessarily optimistic – assessment of their children's future and to draw conclusions about the importance of their own views on education while simultaneously working to improve their children's actual chances both of completing education and also of then finding employment.

Another crucial point already made in the literature review is that the primary reason these children do not attend school is because of the expense of schooling rather than because they need to beg to earn money.

Researcher: What is better: football or school?

Boy, 12 years old, Roma, in a school classroom: School.

Researcher: Is that because you're talking to me now, so you're saying school or...?

Boy: No, no, really, school is better. School is important for learning. See that other children here that do not go to school...

Researcher: What are they like? I don't know them.

Boy: They are not polite. They ran around loose all over Titova street.

6.3.3.9 **Maintenance and escape factors**

Street work is a one-way street educationally. As soon as children are absent for school for any length of time it becomes very difficult for them to re-enter the education system. The critical factor in getting out of street work is education. We were very impressed with the work of Zemlja Djece in Tuzla, which can be a model of how to work with street children.

The TELEX centre in Tuzla describes its work.

"Zemlja djece" ("Children's land") is registered in Bosnia and Herzegovina 11 years ago as a non-governmental organisation. One of its sub-projects is the teenage centre in Tuzla called "Telex".

In the post-war period, we noticed that a considerable number of children were spending their time out on the streets of Tuzla, washing windscreens at traffic lights or selling small articles in order to make a living. That is why, in 2000, we felt the urge to organise various advice-giving and educative activities for children and their families, which included behaviour lessons, literacy courses, education on personal hygiene, all of this aiming to integrate these children into the regular schooling system.

We are the only NGO in Bosnia and Herzegovina that provides organized help to children who live and work on the streets.

This project does advocacy work with the community to make efforts towards finding a systematic and lasting solution for our beneficiaries. All our actions are supported by the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sports, the Ministry of Labour and Social Care, the Social Care Centre, certain elementary schools, the Ministry of the Interior, and medical institutions of the Canton of Tuzla.

Taking care of children working on the street includes numerous other activities such as sensitisation of the public to this problem, and alerting legislative authorities to create somewhat more favourable legal surroundings for our work.

During the last two years, we have instigated the introduction of several amendments to the Law on Social Care (some children were provided financial aid), the Law on Civil Victims of War and Families with Children, the Law on Elementary Education (all children aged under 18 were given the free access to elementary education), as well as several other laws.

Intending to provide all children with their own individual insurance, we have submitted amendments to the Law on Health Insurance in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina that are yet to be adopted. In cases of emergency, we are in position to offer accommodation to "street children", since no other agency within the Canton offers such a service.

This innovative model of work with "street children" can be applied in any area in which the government sector is still not capable of meeting the needs of children at risk, especially those who demand additional help with inclusion, and learning in school.

We did not find any information about maintenance and escape factors related specifically to trafficking as opposed to street work.

6.3.4 Family & community factors

6.3.4.1 Family and neighbourhood poverty

Poverty in Roma households is a risk factor for street work but as such it is also interrelated with poverty on a neighbourhood level. This is because lack of food or cash in the household, which might mean that children have to go out on the street to work, can be alleviated if relatives and neighbours can help out with loans or gifts of food or cash. Respondents told us that macro-level economic difficulties during and since the war, which hit communities in social exclusion twice as hard, means that the whole community is short of money. This means that this form of informal social security is much less effective than before 1990. These factors are important in deciding whether or not children have to work.

Woman, 45 years old, private house: Now there is no 3KM, let alone 30, not even 3 KM. Today I was saying, there is no shame in it, I had no money to buy bread or coffee until Senad came by. I took it, he brought three KM yesterday, I gave him 2 KM to have for a ticket, because they chased him out, so I had to give it to him, I borrowed from my neighbour 2KM and gave it him. Today I have nothing for shopping, for example for something to fix lunch or dinner.

Girl, 11 years old, Roma, Centre for street children: If my mother now got some money, if she had some money, and if she was told that such money is for the children, then I wouldn't go out to beg anymore.

6.3.4.2 Difficulty finding legal employment

The critical factor deciding whether an individual family is so poor that children are frequently sent out to work is the extent to which the adults have regular employment.

Woman, 45 years old, private house: I don't do anything. I'm at the Unemployment office...few times I went to ask if they can get me some work, to be a cleaning lady at least. There is no work. My husband doesn't work anywhere, he had a stroke, I have no income whatsoever. I only had that kid who goes to the traffic lights, and if he brings me today 5, 6 KM, that's all I got. That's what I got to send my kids to school, to pay for food, to pay for electricity to this neighbour here, water.

Employee of local Roma organisation: Well food packages. For 3 years, we continually provide for some 70 families, but this is not a solution, it will stop someday. Solution is employment.

Man, in late 50's, in a Roma village: Very difficult. As far as work goes, only two are working. Exact number of people in our village is 137. There are about 35 families. Only two people are employed; I'm working and another person. One works at the Salt factory, one in Tehnograd. But that company has gone out of business, it works through some man, businessman. But, ok, he gets work benefits. So, the problem is just to get people employed, to have more of them working.

Researcher: What do people live off now?

Man: Majority of people here live off raw material. They gather dumped material. ((...)) Every Roma person wants to work, just find him a job, here I've been working for 36 years. In 4 years I should go into retirement; I am a war veteran invalid, I go to work without a leg. And there are a lot of those more able who would go to work. Every child

would love to have conditions to live nicely and not to go begging. To have something to eat, drink, to dress nicely and go to school. Who wouldn't like to finish school, to have some trade, to live decently and earn for a living. Even if he is Roma, he would like to live nicely, all of them... But all Roma are treated the same, before the war, and especially now. Everyone says that there is no difference, but there is. Today I've realised how differently they view us Roma at my company. How they provoke Roma, and how they behave nicely towards their own people.

In Roma families which are not subject to severe social exclusion and are integrated into the majority community, the father usually has full-time employment. The next-best option for Roma families is self-employment, usually selling things such as perfume or umbrellas in the street or miscellaneous goods in the market. But this kind of activity requires start capital, which many Roma families do not have.

6.3.4.3 **Parental coercion**

Girl, about 10 years old, begging on the street: There is, Sakiba, her mom forces her to beg, and hits her if she won't go. If she doesn't earn enough, she gets hit. She has to go begging every day. Her father didn't let her go to school, because he made her beg. Father didn't let her go to school so she could bring him money, so she could beg. They were on TV once and she said that.

It is not automatic that children are sent to work on the street when a family reaches some specific level of poverty. Some parents insist more than others on their children working and bringing home a specific amount, which often involves threat and use of violence, nearly always by the father. Children universally dislike this kind of violence.

Researcher: Why did they bring you here sweetheart?
Girl, 6 years old, in a shelter: Because I was begging. My dad made me.

Researcher: And you didn't encounter such cases? But do you think that these children who work on the street are in danger?
Boy, 14 years old, Roma, works on the street: Well, I think so. They are. Their parents tell them how much to bring, and if they don't, they get a beating.
Researcher: Seriously? How do they beat them?
Boy: They beat them with cables.

Other parents do not force their children; many children feel a sense of responsibility towards their families.

Girl, about 10 years old, begging on the street: My mother doesn't force me, but tells me nicely to go and earn so much and I go. I bring the money, because we need it, and I know if I didn't go, no one would feed my mother. She has fed me and brought me up. If she was different, she could have abandon me naked and without anything, and then I wouldn't be alive, same as if I killed a fly right now, it wouldn't live anymore.

In a minority of cases the children are subject to more or less unpredictable violence from their fathers.

Boy, 16 years old, labour exploitation, shelter for victims of domestic violence: Well, my father hits me in the morning and in the afternoon, depending on situation, and at night when I go to bed he wakes me up sometimes, and then beats me.

6.3.4.4 **Family structure and displaced status**

In general we found that families where the mother or father or both are absent, and families with more children, were much more likely to be living in poverty. The same applies to families which have been displaced. Parental absence may be due to displacement, illness/death or divorce/separation. The 1992-5 war made these factors particularly common.

These are families where the children are much more likely to be sent out to work to supplement the income of the absent earner.

Woman, 26 years old, Roma, begging in the park with a three-year old child: ...to get a piece of bread, because we are refugees from Bijeljina, I got two kids, my man is in prison in Banja Luka for a year and a half already.

6.3.4.5 **Street work tradition**

Parents who beg or have begged in the past usually teach their children how to beg from an early age. We noticed this particularly with Roma parents but it may also be the case with non-Roma. Very often Roma mothers are more involved in begging and take their children with them. Children up to 5 years of age usually beg with their mothers and learn the trade in this way.

It should not be forgotten that **begging still represents one of the two or three major sources of income in marginalised Roma families and is a key survival strategy and way of coping with extreme poverty.** From this point of view it can be argued that parents whose children are highly likely to spend at least some of their lives in extreme poverty would from their own perspective be neglecting their duty if they do not pass on these skills. One could argue that this view has even been justified given the drop in the economic status of Roma due primarily to the break-up of the system in former Yugoslavia and secondarily to the war.

Woman, 26 years old, Roma, begging in a park with a three-year old child: We do this since existence, since the moment we came out, since we were born we beg, in a gypsy way. Our children have always begged because we don't get any assistance, no welfare. This, our going out to beg, no one minds, there is no law on how to view this, and since it seems like we go to get money for bread for ourselves and our children...

Woman, 25 years old, begging in a park with an 8-month old girl: God willing, when they're bigger, I will tell them to go begging, 100%. But now I...I don't have anyone, my man is in prison and I have to beg.

Woman: If my mother didn't send me to beg, I wouldn't know how to put my hand out, 100%, and my mother taught me this, this is in my blood now and if I didn't go outside to beg, I don't even know what would happen.

6.3.5 Macro factors

Some macro factors have already been covered in the literature review. Six issues are mentioned below for which specific evidence was uncovered in the field work.

6.3.5.1 Constructions of childhood

There are some major differences in constructions of childhood between Roma communities where children work and majority communities. The latter consider it the duty of children to go to school. They are not expected to earn money. In Roma communities where children work (and probably amongst other families subject to severe social exclusion) the interviews suggest the following features:

- Anyone who can earn money is expected to do so, including children.
- Girls and boys are no longer considered to be children as soon as they get married and are called "men" and "women" not "girls" and "boys".
- They are considered to be adults earlier than in majority communities even if they are not married.
- Even very young children are not considered to be as vulnerable and in need of protection as in majority communities.
- There is strong sexualisation of girls pre-puberty (dress, behaviour, etc.) even in traditional families.
- Children are more independent, less shy and have better survival skills on the street.

6.3.5.2 Social exclusion in context

Trafficking for street work, while a severe contravention of children's rights and a severe child protection problem, pales in significance against the scale of street work itself. And while street work is certainly detrimental to children it is still not the main problem. Its overriding importance is firstly as a symptom of the extreme social exclusion and resulting poverty in which many families find themselves.

Children who work on the street told us again and again that they do not like the conditions in which they live. They might dream about being rich but for the vast majority this is a dream with no possibility of becoming real.

6.3.5.3 Viability of street work

To the extent that street work can be considered economic activity, then it is important not to forget that the transactions they are involved in also have payers as well as earners. The response from police and other institutions is also relevant and is discussed elsewhere.

Opportunities to work e.g. urban areas, tourism

The opportunities for earning money on the street vary profoundly between areas and are the major reason for temporary migration. This issue is covered in more detail under section 6.3.2.1.

Attitudes of passers-by

The whole phenomenon of child begging is shaped by the way passers-by are much more ready to give money to people with specific characteristics such as being young and disabled; in particular, not to able-bodied adults. Passers-by presumably feel more comfortable giving to children than to adults because they feel that the children are more likely to benefit, which is probably but not always true. They also probably feel that adults "should" be working. It is worth considering the fact that if passers-by were less reluctant to give to adults then more children might attend school.

Girl, 12 years old, Roma, Centre for street children: When they see that she is paralysed, that she has no leg or no eye, people give more.

Opportunity to work before or after school

Researcher: They gather metal, is that right?
Boy, 14 years old, Roma, works on the street: Yes.
Researcher: And what do they do with that metal after?
Boy: Well they sell the metal and get money.
Researcher: They get money, and what do they do with that money?
Boy: Buy food.
Researcher: Buy food? Tell me, do these children go to school or?
Boy: They go to school.
Researcher: When do they manage to do all this?
Boy: In the morning. And those who go to school in the morning, work at night, watch, the day is long.
Researcher: You mean when they go to school, then after school they go to work?
Boy: That's right.
Researcher: When do they manage to study for school?
Boy: If they go to school in the afternoon, they work at night and study in the morning.

6.3.5.4 Gender issues

Gender affects the interplay of factors leading to children working on the street in many different ways. Men are seen as being more powerful than women, and fathers than mothers. On the other hand, mothers are very much the centre of the family and both girls and boys feel closer to them.

Fathers are more likely to be involved in coercing the children into begging and are more likely themselves to be involved in collecting materials for recycling and to organise the work of children to help them in this. There are also quite high levels of alcoholism in Roma communities and others living in a situation of extreme social exclusion; it is usually the men who drink. This can contribute to intimate partner violence, which seems to be quite common. This can contribute to poverty by reducing the amount of money available to the family to meet basic needs.

Woman, 45 years old, Roma, private house: Drinks at the bar. Gets drunk. Here, I know of two women at the traffic lights who once told me about their situation. They must work and earn as much as their husbands tell them, and whatever they earn they give to their husbands. They take the money and go to the bar. The place where women dance, and give that money to those women, to 'do it' with them.

Our data also shows that boys as they get older are particularly likely to feel responsible for the welfare of their families, which may make them particularly vulnerable to labour exploitation.

6.3.5.5 Discrimination and racism based on Roma ethnicity

The transcripts from the Roma children in the well-integrated community show that trafficking and labour exploitation do not have to be any part of Roma experience in B&H. Many of their parents, or at least the fathers, have more or less regular employment; and the children go to school and do not work in the street. The parents, mostly men but also a small percentage of women, are employed in "JKP Rad", an enterprise of Sarajevo City, doing manual labour.

Perhaps surprisingly, the Roma children do not necessarily perceive the majority community to have more power. But even the Roma children in schools are very aware of being constantly exposed to verbal insults about their ethnicity, to which their first response would be to retaliate physically.

Roma people say that they find it especially difficult to find work because potential employers think that they are dirty, unreliable, do not want to work and are likely to steal.

Woman, 45 years old, Roma, private house: Well to be honest, I did work in Ilidža, where that building is. There was an older man, he was about 70. If he was still alive, we would have no problem. I worked in his apartment, cleaning the place, same as it was my own, and cooked and did laundry, did everything a woman is supposed to do. He didn't have a wife, had one son, he worked somewhere...giving loans. After that I didn't work anymore, simply wherever I went everyone just said there is no work for Roma. And when I was at this man's place, the one that I worked for, I was often left alone at the house, I knew where his money and things and gold are, but I never touched any of it.

Discrimination affects children too.

Boy, 7 years old, Roma: Well, there is one girl, she rejects me all the time. When I come near her, she wants to puke.
Researcher: Why?
Boy: Because I disgust her.
Researcher: Why?
Boy: Because we're Roma.

6.3.5.6 **Legislation, prevention and response from institutions**

The children who work on the streets and their parents had almost nothing positive to say about the institutions with which they have contact. An institutional strategy to help them simply does not exist. The principal exception was the NGO Zemlja Djece in Tuzla as well as some, but not all, Roma organisations.

Researcher: Bravo. And now tell me, if you had some problem, some huge problem, who would you turn to for help, who would you ask to help you?
Boy, 14 years old, Roma, works on the street: From the organisation.
Researcher: What organisation?
Boy: "Happy Roma People" (Sretni Romi).
Researcher: "Happy Roma people"? What kind of organisation is this? What do they do? Do they help Roma?
Boy: They do.
Researcher: In which way?
Boy: Well, it's the same as here in Telex.

Woman, 45 years old, Roma, private house: Nothing. There is someone [name] who works in Centre for Social Work, and she just says: "Kick yourself in the ass and go get a job". I brought her all his papers, to prove that he is disabled. She wasn't interested in any of it.

Sarajevo Canton is unique in having a dedicated unit, run by the Centre for Social Work, to address child street workers. However in practice there is very little they can do to help. Their activities consist primarily in picking up children from the street who are begging or cleaning windows and taking them to a collection centre or a children's home. The parents are fined when they come to collect the children, which ensures that the children have to return to the street to earn more money. The other effect of this activity is that the children look out for the mobile team and move to other locations. The existence of a team dedicated to children working on the street is to be praised. However, despite the best efforts of the team, without a practical and effective cross-institution strategy and additional resources, this kind of intervention has limited effect. The children do not stay more than a couple of days in these institutions; some run away but most frequently their parents come to collect them.

Possible complicity of some Roma community organisations

We were told by two or three sources that a minority of Roma community organisations may also be involved in trafficking children, probably for street work.

Director of a Roma organisation: Well see, this is a sensitive subject, I've tried to raise this question at some of the Roma NGO meetings but they told me that I was playing with my life. Not exactly openly, but clearly enough, and I was discreetly informed that I shouldn't get involved. However, I didn't give up, just last week I was a guest in a radio show about exploitation and child trafficking (...) So we discussed it, and he told me that organised begging existed, which was confirmed by these people from Bijeljina. I was told on the street about the interview with these children, in

which children said that their parents are almost forcing them. And, the most important thing is, our office for Social Work in Tuzla already knows who is involved and what it is, but they are not releasing this to the public. However, we negotiated with them, Indira and I, and we heard very negative things about our people who work. So this is all very sad, I mean these people from Roma associations who are in charge of these families, as their children are the majority of the street children.

6.3.5.7 **Cultural factors related to trafficking child street workers**

Certain factors within Roma culture and experience, some of which have perhaps developed as a response to the situation of social exclusion in which they find themselves, directly or indirectly contribute to child street work and trafficking.

- Marriages are still often arranged and there is a tradition of ‘selling girls’ for marriage (see 6.4.8).
- Child work is considered as normal (see 6.3.4.5).
- Migration to find work is normal (see 6.3.2.1).
- Large numbers of children per family is normal.
- Education has mixed meaning and limited importance (6.3.3.8).

Older girls still not going to school

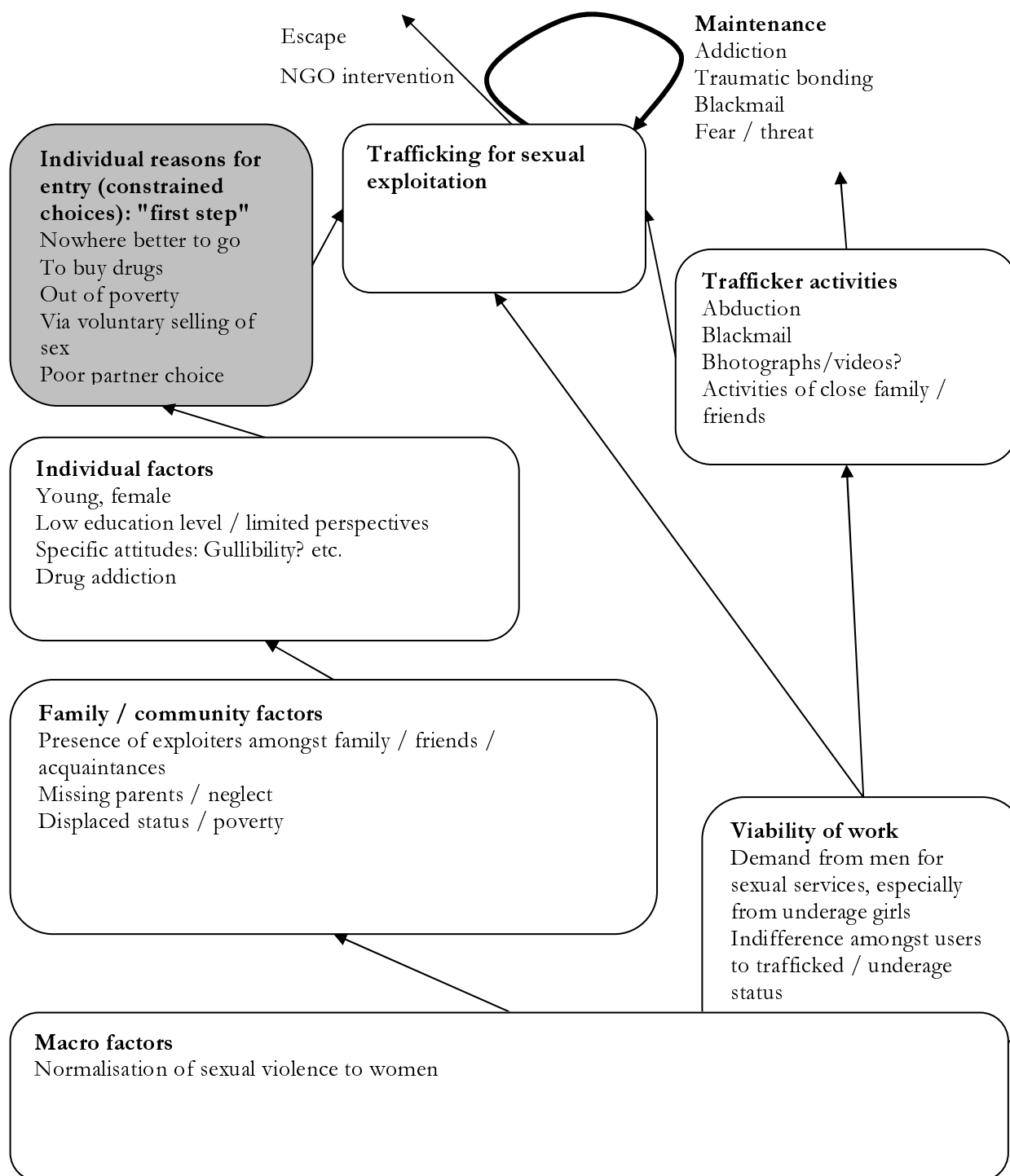
When girls reach puberty they are much more likely to stay at home; traditionally this was the age when they get married although now the marriage age for girls is increasing, which means that although these girls missed school in the past they are now becoming somewhat more likely to attend or return to school.

Researcher 1: Other children do not go?
Woman, Roma, private house: No, they don't go, because they're girls and they're already big.
Researcher 2: It is not a custom for older girls to go? Why?
Woman: It is not a custom for older girls to go, that is shameful.

Researcher: Ok. You say that you're listening to your mom when she tells you to go begging, if she says so. What do you think, when will you stop begging?
Girl, 11 years old, begging in the streets: When I grow up, when I'm 12, 13.
Researcher: I see, so this means small children beg, big ones do not. Why do you think this is so?
Girl: I don't know. I'm 11 now. And when I get a boyfriend, how could I beg then?

6.4 Child sex work (and trafficking in child sex workers)

Figure 10: model of child sex work and trafficking



The elements in the diagram correspond broadly to the headings of the following sections.

6.4.1 Nature and extent: child sex work and trafficking

6.4.1.1 First-hand evidence

During 2006 the number of children confirmed as having been trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation seems to have been relatively low and lower than in previous years. The researchers made

considerable effort to interview such confirmed cases via shelters but in fact were only able to make contact with 5-6 such children as reported above in section 5.4.

6.4.1.2 Second-hand evidence

On the other hand we received second-hand evidence of varying quality of as many as 40 other cases; some of this information was from children begging on the street.

- Some of these are cases in which children were raped and in which it was not clear if trafficking was involved. The second-hand evidence of other cases is based on reports like these:

Girl, 14 years old, shelter for victims of violence: Nothing, I just know briefly, I was told by someone that this happened, she told me that she disappeared and that the police were looking for her all over. And one day the police discovered that this guy kidnapped her and after some time, I don't know if it is true or not, I just know that one day she came home, returned to her grandma's, and that he for sure went to prison. We know that she was sexually abused in some house, that the police did their job right, and that they are in jail because there were some other girls beside here and they are in jail now.

- School children told about the sale of sex on the fringes of weekly car markets in which we were told that others take at least a cut of the money.

Boy, 7 years old, Roma: There are some men that 18, 19 years old, and they throw 5 KM bills at girls to come in their cars.

- We were also told that there are still bars and brothels in which girls, usually from outside B&H, are forced to sell sex. However we have no detailed information on this, and the research methods available to us precluded investigating them directly.

Notes of the researcher after the interview with the victim of trafficking: When asked who is all there in those bordellos, she told me that there are a lot of girls who 'do the work', and that they were forcibly brought and couldn't escape because they were threatened that they will be killed. She told me that they are most likely being drugged. When asked why they would be drugged, her answer was so they could be easily controlled. During our conversation the girl expressed sadness and concern while she was talking...

We have no direct evidence of boys doing sex work or being trafficked for it. The girls who are involved seem to start as soon as they reach puberty.

6.4.1.3 Changing nature

Most of our respondents confirmed that the nature of child prostitution is changing in B&H away from formalised exploitation in brothels to more informal arrangements. It is hard to say how much this is a change of perception – a growing awareness of, or readiness to reluctantly accept the existence of informal sexual exploitation of children, and how much this informal exploitation is actually growing.

Therapist at the shelter for victims of violence: And our citizens are becoming victims of human trafficking in a way...this one girl lived in a family where parents were divorced, the mother lived at one side and remarried. Then she went to live with her mother, but then the mother kicked her out of the house and somehow she came into contact with some people through her girlfriends that were intermediaries. She was found, this girl that was 14 years old, found in Sarajevo with some man who was older than her. She was sexually exploited. And that's how she was reported.

Therapist, shelter for victims of violence: You used to see girls at the entrance of Sarajevo, that worked in prostitution; they were dressed in a way that you could recognise them, but today they are not there anymore. This doesn't mean that they are not working in prostitution any longer, but that the pimps have progressed so much that they have bought apartments, where it all takes place...

6.4.1.4 Victim profiles

Key informants confirmed information from the literature review that the profile of girls trafficked internally in B&H is quite different from the by now quite well-known profiles of girls who were trafficked into the country from outside until around 2004. Children trafficked internally frequently had the following characteristics:

- Young (from 13 onwards), female
- Came from difficult family backgrounds

- Grew up with one or no parents
- History of sexual exploitation in family
- Alcohol addiction in family
- Involvement with drugs

6.4.1.5 **Violence**

All the case studies of trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation which we gathered are turbulent and complicated considering they mostly cover just three or four years. The children involved were all subject not only to sexual exploitation but also to some combination of poverty, physical abuse, drug use and criminal elements. They are all exposed to extreme violence. One of these girls died in suspicious circumstances just before our research began.

Researcher: So she had dentures?
Mother of the victim of sexual exploitation: Yes she did, her boss beat her up, knocked her teeth out. Then this new guy that took her, the one who bought her, paid for her dentures.

The stories are chaotic and in general do not give the impression that their fates were planned very systematically or organised on a large scale. On the other hand, one or two of the girls were moved to and/or from B&H to Serbia, Austria or Italy, and it is suspected that there is some involvement of more organised criminal elements.

6.4.1.6 **Cross-border trafficking**

We had second-hand evidence of two girls and one boy being trafficked into B&H but at the time during which the research was carried out we were not able to confirm that there were any such victims present in shelters. Two of the girls who we spoke to as victims of trafficking inside the country had also left the country and returned during the previous three years.

Most of the professionals we spoke to also gave us detailed information on trafficking into B&H from outside the country which matches information on the situation in the previous few years 1999-2004 as reproduced in the literature review.

6.4.2 **Entry into trafficking for sexual exploitation: individual reasons**

Broadly we can concur with the executive summary of a report on sexual exploitation of young people in quite a different context, London: "Sexual exploitation primarily occurred as a result of young people making constrained choices against a background of social, economic and emotional vulnerability" (Harper and Scott 2005). In every case the children involved made at least some choices of their own which contributed to them being exploited. They also usually perceive themselves to have been making choices, which is perhaps not quite the same thing. Although we do have direct evidence of abduction in one or two cases, even in these cases the children involved did have a certain amount of choice at various points in their stories. We should once again stress that consent is irrelevant to the definition of trafficking.

Therapist, Shelter for victims of violence: Trafficking in people implies that they are left powerless, in a way that their freedom of movement is limited, everything is limited. But in this process, while they are not entirely victimised, I think that they are sucked in the web and have no more freedom. At the beginning of it there might be a chance for them to change something.

6.4.2.1 **Nowhere to go**

Some children become victims of traffickers against a background of difficult family situations which mean they have no secure place to stay (absence of both parents; domestic violence; absence of one parent combined with additional material difficulties). Becoming a runaway puts children at risk of trafficking.

Girl, victim of trafficking / sexual exploitation: I agreed to this because as I mentioned earlier, I ran away from home and had no place to sleep or money to support myself.

6.4.2.2 **Out of poverty**

Poverty can be an important factor contributing to girls entering prostitution / becoming trafficked, sometimes with the consent or encouragement of one or more parents.

Therapist, Shelter for victims of violence: Well, probably. This in some way relates to the other. For example, we had a lot of cases of girls who started working as prostitutes to feed their families. It seems to me that this is voluntarily. To secure the family and so on, but in some way this is to a great extent circumstance that makes it easier to become a victim of trafficking in people. That's because they promise income, steady job, apartment...

6.4.2.3 **To buy drugs**

Drug addiction, mostly to heroin, plays a role at all stages of trafficking in children for the purposes of sexual exploitation. All of the following scenarios are possible.

- Girls who are voluntarily selling sex get into drugs via the people they meet
- Girls start selling sex through their own initiative in order to pay for a drug habit
- Girls who are already in contact with traffickers are deliberately introduced to drugs so that the traffickers can increase or maintain their control over them

Therapist, Shelter for victims of violence: She thought that this man was her friend, because he would enable her to earn money for drugs. She accepted this out of her own free will, because she was led by her addiction.

6.4.2.4 **Via voluntary selling of sex**

Of the just 5-6 cases for which we have first-hand evidence, 2 or 3 of them kept most of the money they earned for themselves at least some of the time. On the other hand all of them were also trafficked according to Palermo definitions. Some of them were bought and sold several times.

Girl, 16 years old, victim of trafficking / sexual exploitation: In this period I provided sexual services to a larger number of clients, most often in a way that [name of person] would call the customer and make arrangements with them over the phone, then we would go together to her house, wait in front for the customer, who would come with a car, and then we would go to some hotel. I remember my customers from this period. During sex with [name of the person] I took 700 KM from his wallet and put it my pocket, while he paid 300 KM for the sex, but after it was done I walked away with 1000 KM in my pocket, and gave 200 KM to [name of the person], keeping 800 KM for myself.

However none of the cases we heard about really fit the description of the voluntary sale of sex described in a recent report (UNICEF 2005) and mentioned in the literature review, section 3.3.2²⁰. The children in that report are frequently from mainstream backgrounds who say that they sell sex occasionally for money or favours.

6.4.2.5 **Protection / extortion**

Traffickers can increase their control over children who are involved in selling sex but who are not fully under their control by getting into "protection" arrangements with them. This "protection" may sometimes be simply a form of extortion, in other cases the girls prefer to have someone who may organise business for them, perhaps provide them with drugs and/or a place to sleep or work, and perhaps protect them from violent clients. In a minimal sense, the protection of one pimp means protection from other pimps or traffickers for whom the girls may be a target. At least they feel better off with someone they know.

6.4.2.6 **Poor choice of partner**

It seems that to the extent that victims make choices (or perceive themselves to be making choices) when they enter conditions of sexual exploitation and trafficking, those choices are centred around choice of partner. They see themselves as having entered into some kind of romantic relationship with someone who is in fact trafficking them or who will lead them to traffickers.

Researcher: Can you please tell me who is, in your opinion, included in the process of recruitment? Are perhaps acquaintances included sometimes?

²⁰ It is possible that this kind of voluntary selling of sex does nevertheless take place. Our research methodology was not really designed to find it.

Therapist, Shelter for victims of violence: Well, let's say that those false friendships and false love affairs are most common among our cases. Generally, I know that it could be some company that offers some jobs, some well-meaning man and so on. (...) Generally, their power to decide is in the selection of a wrong boyfriend or friend or partner.

Sometimes these "boyfriends" are not only putting on an act for the recruitment process but also have some kind of sexual and/or quasi-romantic relationship with the victims for longer periods of time (see 6.4.4.1, 6.4.3.4).

6.4.3 Entry into trafficking for sexual exploitation: activities of traffickers

6.4.3.1 Abduction

In one of the cases of sexual exploitation of which we have first-hand information, a girl who had already been involved in sexual exploitation and who had managed to get a way was later abducted again.

Girl, 14 years old, victim of trafficking/ sexual exploitation: After one year I was going to school normally. Once I went into a random store, and there were no houses around, I mean that the houses were far from the store, in a different village... Some car stopped, suddenly stopping beside me and he said – get into the car or I'll shoot you right now! When I turned around, it was that same guy with the pony tail that I ran away from when he was by the door. I almost blacked-out, and without thinking I got into the car and I know that I just said - don't shoot, I'll do whatever you say. I went inside, there was just him and another car, he got out, while [name of the person] was not there. I got in and we went towards Banja Luka again, to some place.

We also received second-hand information of mostly poor quality about children being abducted for sexual exploitation.

Girl, 15 years old, Roma, works on the street: My brother told me. He saw how they dragged some girl into a car. She wouldn't go, but they forced her into the car and took her to Sarajevo, or to work for them.
Researcher: What does she do for them?
Girl: Well, sleeps with people.

Boy, 12 years old, in a group workshop at the school, explaining his drawing: I drew it in 3 parts; in the first one is a child who plays at the playground, and at the other side of the street people in the van are watching him; in the other part is the man who is dragging a girl into a van; in the third part I drew how they took her to one house and did God-knows-what with her.

6.4.3.2 Blackmail

We have substantial second-hand, and some first-hand, evidence of blackmail being used against victims of sexual trafficking, both as a means to bring them under the control of traffickers and as a means to keep them there. Most commonly we heard about real and/or montage pornographic films or pictures being produced of girls and shown to them with the threat that this material would be released to the public or their parents.

Therapist, Shelter for victims of violence: I've heard, I don't know how true it is, that there were albums of minor girls, where owners of bars and restaurants in some way use these photos that they've made with photo editing; then they tell those girls that they will show their parents the pictures if they don't agree to do this or that. And then, of course, her picture is in that album, and when they call her, she comes like a lamb to the slaughter.

6.4.3.3 Use of alcohol and "rape drugs"?

In a similar way we heard quite frequently about the use by traffickers of alcohol and/or "rape drugs", mainly to gain rather than maintain control. While there is certainly some basis of truth in these stories it is difficult to be sure that they are all veridical.

Girl, 23 years old, victim of trafficking / sexual exploitation: I went into a car with one friend, to go out for coffee. He was my ex. Whatever, I joked around with him. So, we were having some coffee. He said: "Let me fix you up with a friend". I didn't even turn around, and this guy shows up. Since I only meet him, I didn't go to the club, I was only allowed to go to dances by my mom. All of a sudden everything was spinning. Did he put something in my drink? I've never had such a thing happen to me. Then I followed him to get some jacket. I woke up. I was at some apartment. I fell asleep and when I woke up I saw blood all around me.

Girl: and later, at the end, I got a headache. I took some pills. Some girl brought me the pill, I took it. It spun me around. That pill was "E" and then I started doing that job. Not before. 5 months I worked together with them, and for a month I worked...cleaned. I didn't want to work.

6.4.3.4 **Presence of trafficking intermediaries in circle of friends, family, etc.**

In the majority of cases in which children are trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation within B&H, people very close to them are heavily involved: family members, close friends or people the victims consider to be boyfriends/lovers (see 6.4.2.6, 6.4.4.1).

Therapist, Shelter for the victims of violence: What is extremely interesting to me personally is, how I understand it and see it, that in majority of cases it is acquaintances who do the recruiting, persons known to those who are being recruited. Whether they are friends, boyfriends, relatives, girlfriends, neighbours...

Victims become traffickers

Many of the victims also play a role in recruiting others, especially where drug addiction is involved. In some cases the victims become recruiters when they are still children, which means that children recruit children; a phenomenon which is often ignored. The "recruiters" claim to be doing the new recruits a favour, in providing a source of protection, drugs and/or money. Sometimes this takes the form of "peer-to-peer recruitment", in other cases the recruiters are former victims of trafficking who now are mainly engaged in recruiting others.

Therapist, Shelter for the victims of violence: It is not uncommon, in the experience of other shelters not just this one...but this experience shows that persons who are victims of trafficking in people start acting identically to the traffickers in order to cope easier with everything while they are in this process. And then they go further, start to include their friends in the chain. The chain of trafficking in people expands in such way.

6.4.4 **Maintenance vs. escape factors**

Key informants from shelters told us about the high rate of recidivism amongst trafficking victims. In spite of intense efforts from the shelters it is often very difficult to help the girls continue their lives away from the people and situations which lead them back into sexual exploitation.

There is a basic lack of longer-term reintegration models and corresponding funding.

6.4.4.1 **Traumatic bonding**

As mentioned above, some of the victims seem to be strongly and romantically attached to one or more of those who control them. This seems to be most frequent where drug addiction is involved. See also 3.3.2.3.

It should however also be stressed that this is not always the case; some girls say that they were physically abducted against their will and then kept virtually imprisoned.

Therapist, Shelter for victims of violence: I don't know, I'm sorry that this girl left, but she really couldn't testify. She was in love with one guy, and we suspected that his mother was involved in the sale of this girl into this network, because the house of that guy was close to the night club where she worked. But we didn't have any proof. We even told the police that this guy is suspicious, the one that she was in love with, and that she would turn to prostitution for the sake of his love. Because when she was here, we took care of her outings. Once she returned from somewhere nicely dressed, from head to toe in new and expensive clothes. I asked her where she got that from. She told me that her boyfriend bought it for her. Then I asked where he got it from, because previously she had said that her boyfriend doesn't have much money. Then she said that his mother gave him the money. However, his mother doesn't have that much money to buy clothes for her. We then asked her if she had by chance got into prostitution again. She said that she didn't. Her boyfriend wouldn't allow it. But I think that this wasn't true; she wanted to keep him, she left, returned to Serbia, but I think that she returned to prostitution again. That's how she earns her income. When I remember her motivation to get involved in prostitution, I think that the main thing was love. She had found a boyfriend that she was in love with. Well, she was willing to do anything for that love, and he took advantage of it. That's why I think that these owners that are involved in the whole thing, that they know how to take advantage of these girls. Because, it is obvious that these girls come from dysfunctional families or...

6.4.4.2 **Recapture**

At least two of the girls with whom we spoke had been recaptured at least once by their former traffickers – sometimes immediately after escape and sometimes later.

Girl, 23 years old, victim of trafficking / sexual exploitation: I was at the club and I left the club, I couldn't be there anymore, I had enough, I was there too long, for half a year in a stinkin' bar. I go out to get some air, and when I was out there, one girl asks me if I was from the bar of [name of the person]. What's it to you, I say, leave me alone, get outta here. There was still some way away to my house. Then I started to leave, and some Mercedes stopped. A grey one.

One was huge, another a bit taller, had an earring, dark. He said whuz up...I don't even remember what exactly he said to me. He grabbed my arm and tossed me into the car. He said that [name of the person] said bello. I tell him to let go of me. I refused servitude. I'm not scared anymore, I don't care. He took me to some shed. Forest. Nobody's around. He started to beat me, did all kinds of things to me. That's a gift from [name of the person].

Researcher: ...or did some other people make decisions for you?

Girl, 14 years old, victim of trafficking/sexual exploitation: Well, some other people did.

Researcher: And how did you feel about it?

Girl: Terrible.

Researcher: Did you try, did you have a desire to stop, to go back home?

Girl: Well, sure I did.

Researcher: Did you try anything?

Girl: Well, sure, I did try.

Researcher: And how did that work out?

Girl: It didn't, and then the last time, I told you that I tried once, they got to me, then it was even worst, so I didn't even think about it until...Well that time I was so beaten that I didn't even think of trying something. I didn't think about trying something like that until there was a good chance, and when the chance was there I took it.

Researcher: When you were at their place could you go places by yourself or were you constantly supervised?

Girl: Well constantly under control. That was the best chance there was, and he was standing, my door was open since it was hot, something was broken and it was hot in the car and the heating was always on. Something was broken, the heat was on and he opened the door to cool down.

Researcher: And tell me, did they beat you there once or..?

Girl: A few times, often, there were many times, because if she says anything I would say something back right away, so they figured that I have a big mouth.

6.4.4.3 **Blackmail**

Taking pornographic pictures or videos for blackmail, already mentioned above as a method of recruiting children, is reported to also be used for maintaining control over them.

Girl, 18 years old, victim of trafficking / sexual exploitation: The reason why "X" was taking pictures of me is because I would come and go so it was harder for them to control me, and they needed the photos so they could blackmail me.

6.4.4.4 **Fear / threat**

The girls are nearly always threatened not to reveal anything, talk to the police, etc. They have real reason to fear, as they those involved in exploiting them are usually physically violent, often carry weapons and are involved in other criminal activities. This means that they usually take a decision to just survive and not to try to escape.

Researcher's notes after an interview with a victim of trafficking in people: Maybe she successfully escapes, finds the police or some people who can help her. When asked who is all there in those bordellos, she told me that there are a lot of girls who 'do the work', and that they were forcibly brought and couldn't escape because they were threatened that they will be killed. She told me that they are most likely being drugged. When asked why they would be drugged, her answer was so they could be easily controlled. During our conversation the girl expressed sadness and concern while she was talking...

6.4.4.5 **Use of drugs**

Drug addiction, whether pre-existing, begun during trafficking and/or sex work or deliberately introduced by traffickers, is not only a reason for entry into exploitation but also a reason for remaining.

Girl, 18 years old, victim of trafficking in people: And I continued to use drugs, and through earlier mediation of [name of the person] I got some phone numbers of clients, then I started looking for clients on my own so I could make some money and buy drugs.

6.4.5 **Individual characteristics making entry into sex work and/or trafficking more likely: constrained choices**

The factors mentioned here are those for which we have evidence that they make entry into sex work and/or trafficking more likely. Our sample did not include children who were selling sex outside the control of traffickers, so it

is hard to be sure whether the same factors also predispose to sex work in general, in its own right or as a possible intermediate step to being trafficked.

These predisposing factors can be summarised as *constrained choices*: given the backgrounds from which they come and circumstances, support and information available to them, then selling sex seems to them at least initially to be a rational choice.

Therapist, Shelter for victims of violence: this one girl lived in a family where the parents were divorced, the mother lived at one side and remarried. Then she went to live with her mother, but then the mother kicked her out of the house and somehow she came into contact with some people through her girlfriends that were intermediaries. She was found, this girl that was 14 years old, found in Sarajevo with some man who was older than her. She was sexually exploited. And that's how she was reported.

6.4.5.1 **Low educational level / constrained perspectives**

All groups of respondents were of the opinion that children who do not attend school are much more likely to be trafficked. However a wide variety of reasons were given, ranging from reduced perspectives and increased time spent on the street to lower chances of finding a job. It is also possible that risk of trafficking and not attending school are both explained by other underlying factors rather than the second explaining the first.

Girl, about 14 years old, group interview with children in shelter for victims of violence: When someone is educated it is easier. With a good position I can have a career, to secure myself financially and be happy with myself and not to depend on anyone.

It is also plausible that the victims were lacking in prevention knowledge; that they might not have taken certain steps if they had had a clearer picture of what might happen if they did. However we have no direct evidence of this.

6.4.5.2 **Specific attitudes**

Not fitting in

In some cases the child feels that they don't fit in with the people around them, perhaps because of drug addiction or experiences of violence or for other reasons; in this situation they might well feel that traffickers accept and understand them better and might be perhaps surprisingly ready to trust traffickers:

Researcher: What do you think are the roles of some important individuals who are in a child's surrounding, how important are they?
Therapist, Shelter for victims of violence: Look, imagine you have some problem in your life. Who do you ask for help? This is the first question that occurs to me. I go to people who accept me the way I am. If one is accepted by traffickers or recruiters who are in fact friends, but potential recruiters. And they accept persons as they are.

There might actually be three different elements at play here: an objectively different or more extreme personality; a lack of non-trafficker peers or mentors who might understand; children feeling that they share a world-view or experiences with the traffickers.

Gullibility

The "gullibility" which is often mentioned by professionals working with victims has many aspects.

- basic readiness to believe
- inability to assess personal danger due to a history of abuse
- lack of information about trafficking
- readiness to take risks based on lack of any better alternatives

These aspects are illustrated in the following quotes.

Report of the psychologist about victim of child trafficking: The girl belongs to the category of people who easily trust people and who are easily "seduced by the external shine" of things. Also they worry about what other people think about them, and might not be socially and emotionally adjusted.

Woman, 23 years old, former victim of trafficking: And so I drank a beer, we were sitting there. I said...asked if he had a job for me. I was willing to work as a cook or if there was some work cleaning rooms, ironing or something like that, washing dishes. But, servitude I can't handle. I cannot go into an apartment. He said there is one owner in Brčko.

But he didn't mention Busovača, nothing about that...He said that I would be working for that guy, he has a bar. There are rooms in that bar. Would you be willing to clean those rooms, he asked me. I told him that I'd think about it. Then he offered to take me there, to check it out and see if I'd like it, and if I didn't he would bring me back. And I agreed.

Therapist, Centre for victims of violence: So in this situation the lack of parental care and love is evident, because they desire love and wherever they can find some support, it was easy. Of course, one smile, one nice word can take her to a total extreme, which just makes it easier for people who are in that business.

It is also possible that all children are to some extent at risk because as a society we are too reluctant to teach them to be suspicious of people they already know. As argued above, traffickers are often those individuals close to, or known personally by the child.

Idea that women have to obey men

Some of the girls we spoke to seemed to have a fatalistic idea that men (whether as traffickers or clients) will always and inevitably have power over their lives.

Researcher: Do you think you will have greater power of decision making when you get older?
Girl, about 11 years old, group interview with children in the shelter for victims of violence: I don't think so.
Researcher: Why not?
Girl: When you get married, then your husband will order you around, you must ask him for permission to go shopping. He's the one in charge. There are such wives and such husbands.

6.4.6 Family & community factors predisposing to sex work / being trafficked

None of what follows will be surprising to social workers. The family backgrounds the children we spoke to come from could all be classified as "Risk Families".

Girl, about 14 years old, group interview with children in the shelter for victims of violence: In a way that other children had a normal life, and it is normal when young people don't experience such horrible things. It is normal when a 14-year old kid doesn't have such problems.

6.4.6.1 Missing parents / lack of (support from) family, mentors / neglect

This is a constellation of factors which are hard to distinguish from one another. **In all the cases of sexual exploitation for which we had information, one or both parents were absent. While it would be absurd to suggest that this factor alone implies neglect or is a sufficient factor for trafficking, it is often related to displacement and poverty.** It is also noticeable that there are no other relatives or mentors who might contribute to looking after the child. This constellation of factors together may mean that the child is lacking

- adequate material support
- emotional support
- models of self-protective thought and behaviour
- physical protection from traffickers or intermediaries

Therapist, Shelter for victims of violence: I've noticed that there is one common profile, which is that they were all neglected during childhood, that they didn't have one of their parents, some of them were not abused, but all were neglected. As a result of that neglect, some got into drugs, drugs are also a part of this profile, some got into crime, and then they all became potential victims of trafficking in people, which cannot be said for person "S" whom you talked to. Actually she is a victim of trafficking in some way, but essentially she is a person at risk, who could have easily become victim of trafficking, and they are generally all at risk. This means, by being neglected in their families, these children or girls were seeking some approval outside of their family and in this way became easy prey to criminals who are involved in this. ((...)) Of course, especially when [traffickers] see that nobody is taking care of the child in question, so this factor of neglect in family is very, very important.

Researcher: Did you live by yourself?
Girl: No, I lived with my brother.
Researcher: And who fed you? How did you live?

Girl: Well we have those aunts in this[name of a Western country], they supported us.
Researcher: How many aunts?
Girl: Two, well we have three, but two mostly.
Researcher: And two helped out, is this so?
Girl: Mostly, yes.
Researcher: Tell me a bit about how it was after your dad died to live alone with your brother?
Girl: Terrible, well I didn't feel up to much, simply this life wasn't.
Researcher: You didn't feel like living anymore?
Girl: Yeah, simply I didn't care either way, whatever, I dunno.
Researcher: You mean you didn't care what would happen to you?
Girl: Yeah, I had nothing to do anymore, I dunno.
Researcher: You lost your purpose somehow?
Girl: Yeah, totally, for sure.
Researcher: Did you ask anyone for help?
Girl: No I didn't.
Researcher: Why?
Girl: I dunno, didn't think about it, didn't ask anyone.
Researcher: Were you scared or didn't know how to ask for help?
Girl: Not scared, but I didn't know how to ask for help, because I was still just a child, what did I have.

6.4.6.2 **History of sexual and physical violence**

Although this factor is mentioned in the literature review and remains very plausible, in only one case do we have direct evidence that a victim was previously subjected to sexual and physical violence.

6.4.6.3 **Presence of exploiters**

The importance of the presence of intermediaries and exploiters in the child's surroundings has already been mentioned as a factor in entry into exploitation. It seems that they often do not look, or need to look, very far to find children to exploit. It is quite possible that other children in difficult circumstances escape being trafficked simply because they are fortunate enough not to have these kinds of people in their neighbourhood.

6.4.6.4 **Displaced status / Poverty**

Nearly all the victims of whom we have evidence come from very poor backgrounds. Some were also displaced, a circumstance which in the B&H postwar situation is highly correlated with poverty.

Therapist, Centre for victims of violence: As far as our citizens are concerned, the story is somewhat different; the girls also get employed in bars, as waitresses. That is in a way actually recruitment, they are offered free apartment, free food, drinks, pay is also good compared to the average salary in Bosnia and Herzegovina. And then this is a very lucrative offer considering that these girls have not finished school, that they come from large families, come from families on the edge of poverty; so sometimes even parents participate in their decision to accept such jobs. They know that she will be a waitress, that she will sing at some bar, but they do not know that she will get involved in prostitution and that the bar owner will actually own her.

6.4.7 **Macro factors**

Some macro factors have already been covered in the literature review. Three issues are mentioned below for which specific evidence was uncovered in the field work.

6.4.7.1 **Constructions of childhood**

It is much more difficult to talk about "constructions of childhood" amongst child sex workers than amongst Roma communities (see 6.3.5.1) because they do not belong as clearly to a specific non-majority culture or sub-culture. In general it can be said that in comparison with other girls in B&H, they:

- Have less respect for authority
- Are more mature in terms of sexual behaviour or at least exhibit more sexualised behaviour
- Spend more time with older people, especially men

6.4.7.2 Viability of sex work

Demand from men for sexual services

Therapist, Centre for victims of violence: Listen, if I walk into a night bar and if I know, and it is impossible not to know, that the majority of them in the bar are working illegally and that they are minors, but I'm using their services, then there should be some criminal liability. At least a little bit.

This research did not contact users of sexual services. Nevertheless demand from men for sexual services, especially from underage girls, obviously plays a crucial role in establishing the viability of sex work, together with their indifference amongst to the trafficked / underage status of the victims.

6.4.7.3 Legislation, prevention and response from institutions

Professional who works with victims of trafficking in people: then, when she was sold to that owner, he bought her, she came to [name of the city]. And they know about it, the man is a restaurant owner here, well isn't that trafficking? But then again, the man has nice manners and pays taxes...so no one can convince me that the owners and police don't have ties.

The situation with regards to foreign victims of trafficking seems to be much better than in previous years, though it still suffers from inefficiency and from the complex structure of different agencies at cantonal and national level which should be responsible.

Therapist, Shelter for victims of violence: Night bars. There the raids are conducted, but it is well-known that there are new girls arriving from Russia on monthly basis. So if I know this, it is impossible that the police don't. They say the same thing. The owner is married to a Russian girl and he goes to Russia on a regular basis and brings new girls over. And he has a wife, our citizen, but he also married the Russian girl. All this is well known, the raid is ordered, police describe what this raid looks like, the iron door, they ring a bell, wait for 5 minutes until the owner comes to open the door. And he first looks through the peep hole to see who it is, and it is a well trained team, so there is no one in the rooms, everything is nice and neat, the clients are sitting in the bar and the girls are dancing. And there is enough time to do all this by the time they come to the door, until they open the iron door, walk through the yard, then the restaurant, there is easy listening music on, they are sipping their drinks and so on.

Local victims, who now seem to be at the focus of trafficker interest, are in a much worse situation. The phenomenon is less well understood, laws are not appropriate to their cases and prevention and response are less well developed.

Girl, 23 years old, at the shelter: I was at the [name of the shelter]. To heal a bit, to clean up. I was there for about 2 months, and they said that I was well and that I couldn't stay there any longer. But I wasn't well. They looked at me like this, physically, whether I was shaking, if I had....do I have visions. I do have visions. Everything tells me to run away from him. I keep thinking that he is in the house. My father finds me and kills me. He beats me, he thinks that I want to be this way.

There is considerable suspicion on the part of the professionals we spoke to that some police officers are still involved in or at least turn a blind eye to the trafficking of children for the purposes of sexual exploitation.

The most concrete help for these children are the local NGO shelters such as Medica in Zenica and Budućnost in Modriča .

6.4.7.4 Reluctance to alert children to risks

Children are taught to be mistrustful of strangers. But this does not seem to coincide with the evidence from this research that the biggest risks are from people they know.

Therapist, Shelter for victims of violence: What is most questionable to me is that we often teach children not to trust strangers. But very rarely, if at all, do we teach them not to have unconditional trust in people they know. Because people they know are not necessarily friends or well-meaning. There are a lot of situations of incest, a lot of sexual exploitation, which occur in places where people know each other. Because of the simple reason, because children are taught to trust them. I often say in educational sessions that children should be taught not to be too trusting towards close and known people to them, but to have some healthy trust towards their surrounding. That's how I explained it to my children, even when someone they know invites them; I tell them that they first have to let their mom know. Everyone who has good intentions will tell them to go and let their parents know. And if they don't have good intentions, they won't. I view this in the context of human needs.

6.4.8

Sale of girls for marriage

We have first-hand evidence of 2-3 Roma girls of 10-13 years of age sold for marriage and second-hand evidence of about 30 such cases. The family receives several thousand KM²¹. The child does not benefit; some indications that the girl has to return this money to the husband's family, which can represent a reason for begging. See also section 0. Early marriage also precludes the girl from staying at school.

We understand that this tradition is disappearing quite rapidly. We heard no-one speaking in favour of this practice, though some seem to feel that it was just a fact of life. Other girls and mothers said that it is better if a girl can marry whomever she pleases.

One girl who we spoke to was sold in this way to a husband who was violent to her. Her only way out was to leave the whole family including the children.

Young Roma woman: How can I explain it to you. He sold me. That's their custom. 14 years old...didn't even finish school...or nothing...he sold me...for 5000 KM. He used it for beer...he was a drunk and stayed a drunk. The next day, he got up sober...that's how he was, that's how he is. (...) we didn't meet, I dunno, with that man which I...at least for a day, or even for a month to get to know one another...not at all. And now I know what sort of people they are. I've got to know them...for almost five, six years now I live with them. I saw that they were not my kind of people. I ran from them. They are not for me. I run because he pushes me around, too much. Not allowed to go anywhere...He never came out with me, with the children...to go out as a family, for a walk...(...). They beat me. I'm not allowed to do this, not allowed...I never have money to go out with my kids...not allowed to go to the town. I'm only allowed here in the park. Not allowed to have a girlfriend. The friends I had, he forbade. (...) you can't do this, can't do that, can't go there.

6.5 Interrelationships, similarities and differences

Can common risk and resiliency factors be identified across a range of contexts? There are very substantial differences as well as similarities between trafficking and sex work on the one hand and trafficking and street work on the other.

Table 7: differences and similarities between trafficking and sex work, and trafficking and street work

	Street work	Trafficking for street work	Sex work	Trafficking for sex work
Boundary	Boundary between street work and trafficking very vague		Boundaries between voluntary sale of sex / exploitation / trafficking are also relatively vague	
Extent	Street work is a massive, primary phenomenon which would exist without the presence of traffickers	Mostly temporary "hire" of children not very different from ordinary street work. Little evidence about sale/abduction though certainly some exists	We have little evidence about the extent of sex work existing independently of traffickers, though certainly some exists	We have some evidence about a number of trafficking victims
Entry	Decisions made by child and parents on a daily basis depending on lack of money in household. Sometimes street work is seen more as a way of life	Probably the most isolated children vulnerable to sale/abduction		Via voluntary sex work and/or by the targeted efforts of traffickers. Traffickers often focus on children known to them. Role of family intermediaries

²¹ (1 EUR = 2 KM)

	Street work	Trafficking for street work	Sex work	Trafficking for sex work
Maintenance	The most important maintenance vs. escape factor is missing school	?	Drug addiction	Maintenance factors (drug addiction, traumatic bonding) are very important; once a child becomes a victim she is likely to stay one
Escape	Chances depend on other sources of income for family, school expenses paid and school re-entry. NGO activity.	?	?	Chances are quite poor. Attendance at specialised NGO centres
Risk factors	Poverty and social exclusion Roma ethnicity Missing parents	?	?	Poverty and social exclusion Female gender Missing parents
Family	Family always knows and sometimes but not always coerces child to work	Very often the family explicitly consents / seeks sale / exchange	Family often does not know	Family is sometimes involved

Given that there are some common risk factors for both street working and trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation, it is perhaps surprising that we found very little overlap between the two, or cases in which a child subject to one then became subject to the other.

7 Conclusions and recommendations

7.1 Conclusions on methodology

- This research has broadly speaking met its aims and objectives and answered the research questions. However there were some specific methodological drawbacks. A more aggressive or journalistic approach to attempting to gather information on trafficking of children for street work might have circumvented the limitations outlined in section 4.5 but this aggressive approach might have hindered the lengthy trust-building process with child and adult respondents. Two populations which should have been included but which were not well covered by the snowballing methodology used are older children and young adults begging on the street to get money to buy drugs, and the voluntary sale of sex by children and young people outside the control of traffickers.
- None of the findings will be very surprising to experts but certainly add to the amount of evidence available. The most important conclusions are detailed in the table below.

7.2 Table of conclusions and recommendations

Conclusions	Recommendations
Overall	
Trafficking in children in B&H is primarily motivated by control of the money children can generate by sex and street work.	Reducing the viability of this work would reduce the likelihood that children will be trafficked.
"Risk and resiliency" are more to do with membership of specific social groups, in other words with social inclusion/exclusion, than with individual differences.	Prevention and response should address families, communities and society rather than individual differences.
Key factors which facilitate the entry of children into local trafficking and sex/labour exploitation – social exclusion, child neglect, drug abuse – are familiar to social protection and child protection agencies.	Prevention of and response to street work and sex work both need approaches which integrate the work of existing institutions. There is less need for extra specialist units created from outside.
Trafficking for sex work and street work are largely domestic phenomena. Organised crime certainly has an influence but does not create the phenomena on its own.	Move focus of policy against trafficking of children from organised international trafficking to local, less systematic trafficking and exploitation.
Because trafficking in children for the purposes of sexual exploitation it is so shocking it receives substantial media attention, becomes very visible to the public as an issue, and, partly as a consequence, is a popular target for donor activities. On the other hand, street work and trafficking in children for labour exploitation are not a very visible issue.	Policy against trafficking of children should focus more on trafficking for the purposes of labour exploitation.
In terms of numbers, available data suggest that child street work presents a much bigger phenomenon than trafficking for street or sex work.	Child protection policy should pay more attention to child street work.
Trafficking for sex work and street work are relatively separate phenomena, although their causes do overlap.	There is less need to integrate approaches to trafficking for sex work and street work.

Conclusions	Recommendations
The sale of girls for marriage is a phenomenon of comparable importance to trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation. It is illegal, may be a form of trafficking in some cases, represents a human rights abuse as well as a child protection issue and may contribute to street work.	Work with State and municipality partners and Roma community members and representatives on prevention of this practice including ways to motivate couples to marry legally.
Street work, trafficking and social exclusion	
Social exclusion is the primary cause of and reason for children doing street work. The reasons for trafficking of children for street work are strongly related to the reasons for children doing street work in general.	Combating child trafficking means tackling social exclusion.
Social exclusion and racism	
The majority of, but not all, children doing street work are of Roma nationality. One main way to reduce child street work is to address the social exclusion of the Roma in B&H.	<p>Adopt the recommendations of the 2005 conference "Roma and trafficking in people" (Council of Roma in B&H 2005b) including in particular:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ revising and harmonising laws on social and health protection ■ including street work in the State Plan of Action Against Trafficking ■ legalising Roma settlements ■ taking positive action on employment ■ implementing the Action Plan on Education for Roma ■ addressing the issue that many Roma do not have identification papers.
Discrimination and racism against Roma are critical in maintaining the social exclusion which is the main reason for children doing street work and which may also lead to them being trafficked.	<p>Support efforts of Roma people to fight against the racism, discrimination and social exclusion to which they are subject. At the same time, be aware of the risks of positive discrimination²². Highlight similarities between racism against Roma people in the 21st century and racism against other groups in history. Address denial of racism.</p> <p>Finding out about Roma history, culture and traditions should be part of main-stream school curriculum.</p> <p>Setting own example in including Roma organisations and people in planning and prevention.</p>
Racism against Roma is a regional problem.	Support regional and international campaigns like the Decade of Roma inclusion.
The idea that "begging is in the blood" amongst Roma is shared by many, both Roma and non-Roma. Yet this idea is given the lie by large numbers of Roma families, especially in the larger cities, in which the parents, usually the father, have access to regular employment and in which the children go to school normally.	Present the message to Roma and non-Roma that change is possible. That street work is a response to, not a cause of, social exclusion.

²² Experience from other parts of Central and South-East Europe (Ivanov, A. 2006a) shows that positive action projects which explicitly favour Roma can be counterproductive and can fan the flames of violent racism.

Conclusions	Recommendations
It is not just unemployment but more specifically lack of opportunities for more permanent employment which is the driver of social exclusion amongst Roma in B&H. In communities in desperate poverty, even one person having permanent employment can make a big difference to the lives of a dozen families.	Encourage or require larger enterprises to take on people from communities with very high unemployment.
Street work as survival	
Street work is a massive phenomenon affecting large numbers of children quite irrespective of the number who may also be trafficked for street work	Strategies for prevention and response should address the causes of street work rather than trafficking for street work as the primary problem.
Street work is primarily a response to acute poverty.	A prevention strategy focussed only on stopping children working will only make things worse and mean that more people are even hungrier. It would also almost certainly mean that some of the same children would turn to criminal activities such as robbery.
Children frequently identify with the work that they do and feel proud of it. They often provide the main source of income for the family.	Professionals and institutions dealing with children working in the street should start from a position of respect for the work they do.
Street work skills are a survival strategy which has evolved over centuries of social exclusion and which many parents feel a duty to pass on to their children.	Professionals and institutions dealing with children working in the street and their families and communities should start from a position of respect for street work as a survival strategy.
The number of children working on the street is growing and will present a growing child protection problem and if not addressed will later present a crime problem too.	Prevention of the conditions leading to street work should be dealt with as a matter of urgency.

Conclusions	Recommendations
Street work and education	
Exclusion from education plays the most important role in the trans-generational maintenance of social exclusion in communities in which children do street work. Exclusion from education puts children and their descendants at risk of street work and therefore trafficking.	The Office of the State Coordinator should develop and incorporate appropriate programmes for inclusion of children performing street work in the education system within State Action Plan for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings 2008-2011.
<p>The main reasons why children do not attend school are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ The expense of transport and books ■ Racism and discrimination ■ School system is hard to re-enter once children have dropped behind ■ Parental attitudes about the value of education ■ Girls dropping out of education as they get married 	<p>Strategies to improve inclusion of children at risk of street work in education should include in particular:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ better access to preschool education ■ better access to primary and secondary education ■ improving re-entry into education system for those who have left it or are in danger of doing so ■ subsidise transport to and from school ■ providing school books ■ support for Roma language ■ gender-based approach to including girls <p>This support has to be guaranteed over a longer period of time or it will not change parental attitudes about the utility of sending children to school.</p>
Institutional prevention and responses	
There is a dire lack of outreach units to address the needs of children working on the street	Shelters and NGOs should adopt best-practise models.
Institutional prevention and response to child street work and trafficking for street work, to the extent that it exists, is a complete mess.	Form a working group including professionals and community representatives to draft a revision of relevant laws and regulations and to develop a multidisciplinary prevention plan with clearly defined roles for each institution.
Sex work and trafficking	
<p>Efforts to date to prevent the trafficking of children for sexual exploitation into B&H have been by and large successful although it has by no means been wiped out.</p> <p>There is now more evidence of small-scale trafficking than large-scale, well-organised trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation.</p>	Use some of the methods and lessons learned to address the problem of local, small-scale and less-well organised trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation.
Children at risk for sex exploitation and trafficking are the same populations familiar to social services as being at risk in other ways.	Prevention and response involves resourcing and improving the work of social services to address prevention amongst children in very difficult circumstances.
Once children have been trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation it is very difficult to rehabilitate them.	Develop models for long-term rehabilitation on the basis of existing NGO best practise

Conclusions	Recommendations
Child sexual exploitation would not exist without demand from men for sex with children and indifference to the condition of those children.	Increase prevention efforts directed at users and potential users including prosecution.
Specific entry factors into sex work and trafficking	
Voluntary sale of sex may be one entry trajectory into child sex trafficking.	Gather more information about this possible entry into trafficking and design prevention strategy and messages accordingly.
Child sex exploitation intermediaries are most often friends and family members.	Prevention strategies need to help children learn how to assess risk and to put limits on how much they trust people they know.
Drug addiction plays a major part in entry to and maintenance of child sex exploitation.	Prevention and response should include measures for early detection of drug addiction as well as the best rehabilitation models.
Making pornographic videos or pictures for blackmail may present an entry or maintenance factor for child sexual exploitation.	Investigate and prosecute these claims accordingly.
One reason children trust traffickers is when they feel that no-one else understands them (and because they are often known to the child as mentioned above).	Provide reliable and empathic mentorship, especially for children in extreme risk.

8 Appendix: snowballing

Snowballing or chain-referral system²³

This method was the main strategy used in this research to access informants who might have information on work/exploitation and trafficking. It has been used to access 'hard-to-reach' or 'hidden' populations, such as drug users or street children. It is most suited to reaching children who are trafficked or have been trafficked.

Step 1: Identify particular people who have knowledge on this issue either because they are participating actors in the process, victims, or observers.

Step 2: Conduct an interview (see interview tools documents) with this person (Respondent A).

Step 4: At the end of the interview ask them if they can give you advice, including where to go and who to speak to.

Step 3: If they can suggest someone who you should speak to, first establish what their relationship is with this person (Respondent B). For example, Respondent A might exercise a lot of power over Respondent B, possibly in a negative manner. This might ensure that Respondent B does not have any power to decide not to participate.

Step 4: Be careful not to make Respondent A look like an informer as this will place him/her at risk. First ask Respondent A if they would mind making initial contact with this person to check whether they will participate in this project.

Step 4: If they agree, give them your contact details to pass on to Respondent B.

Step 5: If they would prefer not to approach Respondent B, ask them for this person's contact details, preferably their telephone numbers. This is important because it is less obtrusive than suddenly turning up, and it is a lot easier for this person to say no to you on the telephone.

Step 6: When you have made contact with this person, mention that you were referred to them because they have an interesting contribution to make. You can mention the person who made the referral if asked but do not give out Respondent A's personal information and contact details. If Respondent B is unhappy with the fact that Respondent A made this referral, Respondent A could potentially be at risk.

Step 6: When speaking to Respondent B, do not divulge any information about Respondent A and do not discuss your interview with them. You must be very careful not to break confidentiality.

Step 7: If you are trying to verify information that Respondent A gave you, make sure that Respondent A is aware that you will be asking this person questions about them AND make sure that you pose questions in a very general way without sharing any of Respondent A's information. For example, instead of saying "Respondent A said... is it true?" you should say "What do you know about Respondent A?"

Step 8: At the end of the interview with Respondent B, thank him/her for contributing and ask if he/she knows of anyone else whom you should speak to. Return to Step 1.

²³ This section is part of one of the tools provided by the Regional Researcher.

9 Appendix: research ethics, child protection policy and data protection

The SC Norway SEE Code of ethical conduct for researches involving children together with the ethics protocol provided by the regional team were together can be considered to be binding on this research.

The document points out relevant standards and principles affecting children which have been accepted and signed by Bosnia-Herzegovina, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child²⁴. Other relevant legislation includes the laws on freedom of information and data protection²⁵ and the laws on statistics²⁶.

...

²⁴ UN Convention on the Rights of the Child - ratified by succession in 1993;

Optional Protocol to the UN CRC on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography – ratified in 2000;

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1980) - ratified by succession in 1993;

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights - ratified by succession in 1993;

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights - ratified by succession in 1993;

Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, Supplementing the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime – ratified in 2000;

European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms – ratified in 2002;

World Medical Association Declaration of Helsinki;

Hague Convention 28 on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction (1980);

ILO Convention No. 182: Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (1999);

²⁵ Law on Freedom of Access to Information («Official Gazzete of B&H», No. 28/00);

Law on Freedom of Access to Information of FB&H («Official Gazzete of FB&H», No. 32/01);

Law on Freedom of Access to Information of RS («Official Gazzete of RS», No. 20/01);

Law on Protection of Personal Data of B&H («Official Gazzete of B&H», No.32/01);

Law on Classified Data Protection of B&H («Official Gazzete of B&H», No.54/05);

²⁶ Law on Statistics of B&H («Official Gazzete of B&H», No.57/02);

Law on Statistics of FB&H («Official Gazzete of FB&H», No. 63/03);

Law on Statistics of RS («Official Gazzete of RS», No. 85/03);

A number of relevant points have been singled out which are here grouped according to the research component where they need to be implemented rather than by theme. However, the guiding principle of our actions in the context of this research is: give the highest priority throughout to acting in the best interests of the child.

	Researcher selection	Research protocol	Research materials	Researcher training	Researcher supervision	Data analysis and publication
9.1.1 Anonymity and data protection						
Take specific care to preserve the anonymity of the child respondents (names and other identifying information are not published anywhere and are stored separately from narrative)		x	x	x	x	x
9.1.2 Informed consent						
Prepare a declaration in simple language to be read out and explained asking for the consent of the child before proceeding to include them as informants in the main phase of the research <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Be clear, consistent and open about the aims of the research "What you say may go in a book but not your name" Have a way of contacting researcher again Where feasible they should have a person of trust to contact about the interview – "you can contact xx" 		x	x	x	x	
Talk to a child together with a friend of theirs where possible		x		x		
9.1.3 Child protection						
Identity checks on researchers	x					
Make clear guidelines for procedures to be followed if child protection issues arise, for example if the research produces evidence of physical or sexual abuse <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Be able to be useful on the spot Ensure that researchers know where to turn 		x		x	x	
Ensure that researchers are competent to deal with likely emotional reactions of children to the research	x	x		x	x	
9.1.4 Avoiding harm						
Eliminate any possibility of children receiving sanctions from adults		x		x	x	

	Researcher selection	Research protocol	Research materials	Researcher training	Researcher supervision	Data analysis and publication
for taking part in the research						
Ensure that researchers will really break off data collection with a child (temporarily or permanently as appropriate) if the child is in distress due to the data collection		x	x	x	x	
Take specific care to examine whether research planned methods are appropriate for the youngest age groups taking part and to avoid the inclusion of children younger than planned		x	x	x	x	
Check they haven't been telling this story again and again		x	x	x	x	
9.1.5 Cultural sensitivity						
Work together with researchers who speak Roma	x		x	x		x
Take particular care to question presuppositions about Roma children / all the children from the different groups involved in this research.		x	x			
9.1.6 Arranging community and legal consent						
Clarify in advance which bodies or institutions need to be consulted for approval before the start of the research		x				
Be clear, consistent and open with all contacts about the aims of the research		x	x	x	x	

10 Appendix: background on Roma in B&H

10.1 History

In the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina they were first officially mentioned in early 16th century when Sultan Pasha Suleiman approved their settlement and cultivation of land in a part of his pashalik (Sejdić 2005)

10.2 Population

According to the 1991 Census, only about 9,000 Roma live in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However it is likely that many Roma of B&H declared themselves then as Yugoslavs, Muslims, Serbs or Croats because they were afraid to declare their nationality (Sejdić 2005). Of persons registered in B&H with their local authorities in 2005, 8864 persons declared themselves to have Roma nationality. Of these about one third live in Tuzla Canton. However many Roma are not registered and many who do register may not give Roma nationality. A poll carried out in 1999 – before the influx of refugees from Kosovo – reports NGO estimates of between 17,000 and 80,000 (Center for Protection of Minority Rights 1999). A survey conducted by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 2002 identified roughly one hundred mainly Roma settlements with a population of over 22,000 persons in over thirty municipalities. This survey was conducted by OSCE field staff at the end of 2002 in an effort to quantify the extent of informal settlements in B&H (Prettitore 2003).

The Roma population of B&H is at least 20,000 and may be higher²⁷, which mean that there are at least several thousand Roma children in the country. It is unusual for a Roma child in B&H not to be involved in some form of labour, most of which counts as "extreme forms of labour exploitation" (UNICEF B&H and Save the Children Norway 2004) and some of which counts as trafficking.

10.3 Clans

Respondents in our research told us that there are several Roma categories or clans in B&H:

- ☐ Čargari or Čargaši or Čergari or Čergaši - always on the road, don't go to school, don't speak Bosnian.
- ☐ Roma from Kosovo. In particular, thousands of Roma arrived in B&H from Kosovo during the NATO bombing.
- ☐ Ashkalija – special ethnic group, live mostly in Kosovo and Macedonia. Don't consider themselves as Roma. This double identity can lead to problems with other Roma groups, who sometimes do consider them to be Roma.
- ☐ Roma from South Serbia.
- ☐ Gurbeti - Roma groups with their own tradition. They live mostly in South Serbia (Niš, Leskovac) and also in other countries of ex Yugoslavia, including B&H.
- ☐ Kaloperi - "Domestic Roma"
- ☐ Arlije – mixed marriages between Roma and non-Roma. They are assimilated in society and rarely consider themselves as Roma.

10.4 Nationality

The Roma population is not a constituent nationality in B&H law, nor is it in the Republika Srpska nor in the Federation of B&H (UNICEF B&H and Save the Children Norway 2004). Many people who might be classified as Roma by outsiders do not identify themselves as such. On the other hand there are people and small communities in B&H who live similar lifestyles but are not ethnically Roma.

²⁷ A recent UNDP report puts the figure between 40000 and 50000 Ivanov, A. (2006a). At risk: Roma and the displaced in South-East Europe, UNDP.

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Children speak out

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