Child Trafficking in Southeastern Europe: Different Forms of Trafficking and Alternative Interventions*

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This Article will consider trafficking in minors from and within Southeastern Europe (SEE), with particular attention to trafficking for labor, begging, delinquency, and adoption, all manifestations of trafficking that increasingly are being identified in this region. Through a discussion of these forms of trafficking and an exploration of profiles of affected victims, this

* This Article was originally presented at the Childhoods Conference in Oslo, Norway, June 29 to July 3, 2005. The preparation and presentation of this Article was made possible by the support of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the NEXUS Institute to Combat Human Trafficking (NEXUS Institute).

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Article will seek to identify trafficking risks. This exercise will draw a carefully derived picture of the contributors to trafficking, individual and social sites of vulnerability, and victims' recruitment and trafficking experiences. In so doing, this Article aims to challenge the hegemonic representations of trafficking in the region, which have primarily focused on trafficking of young adult women for sexual exploitation. In addition, this Article will consider the existing assistance framework in the SEE region and how this does (or does not) meet the needs of minors trafficked for these less-considered forms of exploitation. Answers to such queries provide potential windows of policy and programmatic opportunity. The overall objective of this Article is to move toward a more accurate understanding of the issue and, perhaps most importantly, more effective policy and programs.

I. INTRODUCTION

Trafficking in persons has and continues to significantly impact Southeastern Europe (SEE). In particular, human trafficking involves

Albania, Romania, Bulgaria, and Moldova as major countries of origin. Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH), Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro,[1] and the province of Kosovo[2] have also been affected as countries and entities of transit, destination, and, increasingly, of origin. In addition, the number of persons from the region who have been trafficked within their home countries has been increasing. Of those trafficked, a significant percentage were minors.[3]

Combating this complex, multisectoral problem requires both informed civil society and government actors. Unfortunately, there has been a dearth of concrete, factual data, which has served as a significant inhibitor to practitioners' and policymakers' abilities to formulate countertrafficking interventions and policies. The need for primary, victim-centric data was the central rationale for the Stability Pact Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings (SPTF) to request the establishment of the Regional Clearing Point (RCP).[4] The overall objective of the RCP program is to contribute to improved trafficking programs and policy through a better understanding of the trafficking

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1. While the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Montenegro together constitute one country (the state union of Serbia and Montenegro), the two republics are analyzed separately in the context of the Regional Clearing Point (RCP) research in an effort to better understand trafficking to, through, and from the two republics. This is in no way a political statement.

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

3. A minor refers to anyone under the age of eighteen years, as outlined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, G.A. Res. 44/25, Annex, U.N. GAOR, 44th Sess., Supp. No. 49, at 167, U.N. Doc. A/44/49 (1989) (entered into force Sept. 2, 1990); and the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, G.A. Res. 55/25, Annex II, U.N. Doc. A/55/383 (Nov. 15, 2000) (entered into force Sept. 9, 2003). In this Article, the terms child(ren) and minor(s) are used interchangeably.

4. The RCP was established under the framework of the SPTF in 2002 to produce standardized regional data on trafficking victims and victim assistance and to support the further development of victim assistance throughout SEE. The RCP, which opened its office in Belgrade in July 2002, was initially managed by the IOM and the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC); and later by the IOM alone; and as of June 2005, by the NEXUS Institute To Combat Human Trafficking in Vienna, Austria. The RCP works in partnership with all actors involved in combating trafficking in human beings in SEE, as well as destination countries in Europe. This includes government officials, Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs), and international organizations (IOs). For a complete list of the RCP partner organizations, see *infra* App. 3. The RCP program was generously funded in 2004 and 2005 by the Swiss Development Cooperation (SDC), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the U.S. government, the Austrian Technical Cooperation, and the International Organization for Migration's Facility 1035. *See generally* REBECCA SURTEES, REG'L CLEARING POINT, SECOND ANNUAL REPORT ON VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE (2005), *available at* http://www.iom.int/DOCUMENTS/PUBLICATION/EN/Second_Annual_RCP_Report.pdf.

phenomenon in the SEE region, with particular attention to the needs and experiences of victims throughout the trafficking process. The information presented in this Article was collected in the course of fieldwork for the RCP's second annual report, published in July 2005.[5] The focus of the RCP's second annual report, decided in collaboration with the SPTF and counter trafficking actors in the region, was victim-centric data, incorporating descriptions and analyses of both quantitative and qualitative data concerning assisted trafficking victims and victim assistance efforts in the SEE region.[6]

II. OTHER FORMS OF TRAFFICKING IN MINORS—VICTIM PROFILES AND TRAFFICKING EXPERIENCES

In 2003 and 2004, respectively, the RCP identified and assisted 1329 and 1227 trafficking victims, primarily in SEE.[7] These figures mainly pertain to women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation—85.3% of victims assisted in SEE in 2003 and 84.9% in 2004.[8] However,

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5. *See generally* SURTEES, *supra* note 4. The second annual RCP report provides verified figures regarding the number of trafficking victims assisted in the region, as well as SEE nationals trafficked abroad. It also analyzes profiles and trafficking experiences of assisted victims in the SEE region; identifies significant and emerging trafficking patterns throughout the SEE region, including forms of trafficking and different aspects of the trafficking process; and provides an overview of the referral and assistance framework available to trafficking victims within SEE. For a full discussion of the RCP research methodology and process, including its strengths and limitations, see *infra* App. 2. The RCP's findings, provided in partnership with governments, NGOs and IOs, are valuable toward the development, tailoring, and amelioration of services and assistance frameworks. For a full listing of partner organizations, see *infra* App. 3.

6. 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. Indeed, too much attention on the profile of the victim draws attention away from the perpetrators of the crime. Trafficking cannot be explained solely by an exploration of victim characteristics and behaviors; such factors contribute to, but are not the sole explanation for, trafficking. *See* Anette Brunovskis & Guri Tyldum, *Describing the Unobserved: Methodological Challenges in Empirical Studies on Human Trafficking*, 43 1/2 INT'L MIGRATION (SPECIAL ISSUE) 17, 31 (2005), *available at* http://www.iom.int/DOCUMENTS/PUBLICATION/EN/Data_and_Research_on_Human_Trafficking.pdf. While the RCP research and data presented herein focuses mainly on the victim side of the trafficking equation, studies bearing on the other side of the trafficking equation—the traffickers—are also needed. By taking a victim-centric approach, this Article in no way intends to suggest that the problem of human trafficking can be solved simply by changing the behavior of victims or that victims are culpable in their exploitation. Rather, it reaffirms the urgency of strengthening law enforcement capacity and of the legal, social, and economic reforms that lead potential traffickers to reconsider human trafficking as an economic strategy. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 19.

7. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 31-32.

8. *Id.* at 33. Similarly, the RCP's first annual report focused primarily on trafficking for sexual exploitation, as very few assisted victims had been subjected to other forms of trafficking. *See* LAURENCE HUNZINGER & PAMELA SUMNER COFFEY, REG'L CLEARING POINT, FIRST ANNUAL REPORT ON VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE 11 (2003), *available at*

it may be more accurate to say that sex trafficking was the form of trafficking most commonly identified. Less considered manifestations of trafficking were increasingly identified in 2003 and 2004, however, with victims trafficked for labor, begging, and delinquency both within Southeastern Europe and into the European Union. In addition, there is the arguably new, or at least newly verified, phenomenon of babies trafficked for illegal adoption into various European Union countries.[9]

As can be seen in the table below, minors accounted for a noteworthy percentage of assisted victims trafficked for these various forms of exploitation. In addition, many minor victims were exposed to dual forms of exploitation.[10] For example, fourteen of the fifteen Bulgarian minors trafficked for begging and delinquency in 2003 and 2004 were obliged to both beg and steal.[11] Similarly, Albanian minors were occasionally trafficked for combinations of labor, begging, and delinquency.[12]

TABLE 1 PERCENTAGE OF ASSISTED TRAFFICKING VICTIMS OF SEE NATIONALITY WHO WERE MINORS FOR 2003 AND 2004[13]		
Country/Province of Origin	2003	2004
Albania	Sexual exploitation: 21.1%	Sexual exploitation: 23.6%
	Labor, begging, and delinquency: 100%	Labor, begging, and delinquency: 93.2%
BiH	Sexual exploitation, labor, and begging: 17.8%	Sexual exploitation, labor, and begging: 60.7%
Bulgaria	Sexual exploitation: 8.5%	Sexual exploitation: 5.7%
	Labor: 0%	Labor: 0%
	Begging and delinquency: 100%	Begging and delinquency: 50%

http://www.iom.int/DOCUMENTS/PUBLICATION/EN/RCP_trafficking_southeastern_europe.pdf.

9. Susan Bell, *Police Break Up Baby-Trafficking Ring*, THE SCOTSMAN, July 24, 2004, *available at* http://thescotsman.scotsman.com/index.cfm?id=846492004.

10. As most service providers do not systematically document when victims were exposed to dual forms of exploitation, it is difficult to present a full picture of this trend. Some cases listed as sexual exploitation may have been dual forms of exploitation. However, where precise information about the second form of exploitation was unavailable, these cases have been counted only as sexual exploitation. In Bulgaria, 30.8% of assisted victims in 2003 and 20.5% in 2004 were trafficked for sexual and another unspecified form of exploitation. Indeed, 21.1% of assisted victims in 2003 and 10.8% in 2004 suffered dual forms of exploitation. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 34.

11. *Id.* at 192.

12. *Id.* at 86.

13. Due to limitations in the format that data was provided by some partner organizations, it was not possible to note the percentage of minors amongst all victims of non-SEE nationality. As such, we focus here on victims of SEE nationality for whom we have full information. This Table summarizes the findings of the RCPs Second Annual Report on victims of trafficking in SEE. *See id. passim*.

TABLE 1		
PERCENTAGE OF ASSISTED TRAFFICKING VICTIMS OF SEE NATIONALITY WHO WERE MINORS FOR 2003 AND 2004[13]		
Country/Province of Origin	2003	2004
	Adoption: N/A	Adoption: 100%
Croatia	Sexual exploitation, labor, and begging: 0%	Sexual exploitation, labor, and begging: 0%
Province of Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro)	Sexual exploitation, labor, and begging: 68.8%	Sexual exploitation, labor, and begging: 58.9%
Macedonia	Sexual exploitation: 42.9%	Sexual exploitation: 25%
Moldova	Sexual exploitation: 8.1%	Sexual exploitation: 10.3%
	Labor: 21%	Labor: 15%
	Begging and delinquency: 35.7%	Begging and delinquency: 39.1%
Montenegro	Sexual exploitation, labor, and begging: 33.3%	Sexual exploitation, labor, and begging: 80%
Romania	Sexual exploitation: 16.3%	Sexual exploitation: 26.8%
	Labor: 4.6%	Labor: 50%
	Begging and delinquency: 0%	Begging and delinquency: 88.9%
Serbia	Sexual exploitation, labor, and begging: 20%	Sexual exploitation, labor, and begging: 65%

The numbers of minor trafficking victims presented above are likely conservative estimates. Also, a victim's age refers to age at identification rather then at recruitment because most service providers in SEE do not systematically record the victim's age at recruitment. This makes it difficult to accurately calculate the number of trafficked minors; some victims who were identified as adults may have been minors when trafficked.[14]

However, even with these conservative estimates, the number of trafficked minors is striking. That being said, the prevalence of minors among assisted trafficking victims fluctuates quite substantially according to the country of origin, year of assistance, and form of trafficking. In some countries, like Moldova, Bulgaria, and Albania, assisted victims of trafficking for labor, begging, and delinquency were more likely to be minors than victims of sexual exploitation.[15] In other countries, like Romania, this changed over time, with minors

14. A noteworthy illustration of the importance of noting age at recruitment comes from Albania. Because service providers assisting foreign victims recorded the victim's age at recruitment (as well as at identification), it was possible to see that ten of the seventeen victims (58.7%) in 2003 were minors when trafficked. If we had calculated according to age at identification, the findings would have differed substantially, with only 35.3% being minors at identification. This highlights the importance of recording the victim's age at recruitment so that researchers can measure the specific vulnerability of various age groups and formulate interventions accordingly. *See id.* at 90.

15. *See supra* Tbl. 1.

increasingly represented amongst assisted victims of trafficking for begging and delinquency.[16]

Numbers aside, what is clear when considering the needs of minors in SEE is the importance of thinking beyond sexual exploitation in terms of identifying risk factors and assistance needs. What is needed, and what this Article seeks to do, is outline these "new" or at least "newly documented" manifestations of trafficking in minors. Through an analysis of victim profiles, this Article will consider the personal characteristics, family backgrounds, and victims' recruitment, transportation, and trafficking experiences to begin disentangling sites of vulnerability and trafficking risks. Further, victims' stories will be contextualized in and read against the backdrop of the sociocultural environment in which they take place. This analysis equips one with a carefully derived picture of the contributors to trafficking, as well as the individual and social sites of trafficking vulnerability.

A. Trafficking for Labor, Begging, and Delinquency

Labor exploitation was an increasingly prominent form of exploitation in SEE in 2003 and 2004, among victims of all ages.[17] Victims exploited exclusively for labor purposes accounted for 7.2% of assisted victims from SEE in 2003 and 4.1% in 2004.[18] This included agricultural work, domestic work, bar work, construction work, and

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16. *See* SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 463 (finding 88.9% of Romanians trafficked for begging and delinquency in 2004 were minors, as opposed to 0% in 2003).

17. Moreover, in International Labor Organization (ILO) research on forced labor and trafficking, it documented 298 cases of forced labor in its database, 186 (62.4%) of which were trafficking related. The research covered Moldova, Albania, Romania, Ukraine, France, Germany, Hungary, Japan, Russia, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Of those trafficked, 26% were men. While the majority were cases of forced labor for sexual exploitation, 16.8% were for construction work, 12.8% were for entertainment/dancing/bartending, and 12.3% were for agricultural work. Beate Andrees & Mariska N.J. van der Linden, *Designing Trafficking Research from a Labour Market Perspective: The ILO Experience*, 43½ INT'L MIGRATION (Special Issue), 55, 57, 63 (2005), *available at* http://www.iom.int/DOCUMENTS/PUBLICATION/EN/Data_and_Research_on_Human_Trafficking.pdf. Identifying cases of forced labor in destination countries proved to be difficult because irregular migrants were reluctant to risk discovery and deportation by sharing their experiences or to cause trouble for their boss. Similarly, many could not see the immediate value of the research and did not want to divulge personal and often humiliating experiences. *Id.* at 67.

18. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 33. In 2003, the RCP documented 1264 assisted victims from SEE, 91 of whom were trafficked for labor. In 2004, 1165 persons were assisted, 48 for labor trafficking. When one considers victims trafficked for a combination of labor and other forms of exploitation, the percentage increased quite significantly, to 25.8% in 2003 and 12.6% in 2004. Most commonly, victims were trafficked for a combination of labor and sexual exploitation. This data refers to all assisted victims and is not specific to minors. *Id.* at 31-33.

selling small items on the street.[19] Amongst minor victims, this form of trafficking was documented to a varying degree in the different countries of the region. Also, victims were trafficked for begging and various forms of delinquency, accounting for 4.1% of all assisted victims in 2003 and 6.4% in 2004.[20] Minors were often among these victims as well, forced to undertake tasks such as begging, petty crime, theft, robbery, pimping, and drug dealing.[21] In many circumstances, victims were exposed to more than one form of exploitation.[22]

While these forms of trafficking were documented among minor victims throughout SEE, most victims originated from Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, and Moldova.[23] In some ways, these minors were very similar and had much in common across national boundaries. They tended to have low education levels and were unmarried, due at least in part to their young ages. Many came from poor economic backgrounds and their economic circumstances contributed to their decision to migrate. In other ways, however, profiles of victims differed from country to country, sometimes in noteworthy ways. We will consider these profiles briefly in an effort to understand how and why minors fell victim to trafficking as well as to pinpoint what services and assistance are and are not appropriate and available for minor victims.

Because of the limited number of minor victims of these various forms of trafficking in each of the countries, it is not possible to assert the quantitative significance of these statistics. Rather, it is largely a qualitative picture of assisted minor victims of trafficking which is being sketched. The information is often presented in statistical formats for ease of presentation, with the essential caveat that these are not quantitative findings.

B. Bulgarian Minors

Bulgarian minors were trafficked exclusively for begging and/or delinquency rather than for labor, as outlined in the table below.[24] Of note is that almost as many Bulgarian minors were trafficked for begging and

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19. *Id.* at 37.

20. *Id.* at 33. In 2003, the RCP documented 1264 assisted victims from SEE, 51 trafficked for begging and/or delinquency and 1165 persons in 2004, 75 trafficked for begging and/or delinquency. When dual forms of exploitation involving begging or delinquency were considered, the percentage increased to 5.8% and 8.9% respectively. This data refers to all assisted victims and is not specific to minors. *Id.*

21. *See supra* Tbl. 1.

22. *See* SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 34.

23. *Id.* at 15, 17.

24. *Id.* at 164-65.

delinquency as for sexual exploitation.[25] This highlights that a disproportionate focus on sexual exploitation does not represent the trafficking reality for Bulgarian minors, nor does it effectively address their assistance needs.

TABLE 2		
NUMBER OF ASSISTED BULGARIAN MINORS TRAFFICKED FOR LABOR, BEGGING, AND DELINQUENCY FOR 2003 AND 2004[26]		
Form of Exploitation	2003	2004
Labor	0	0
Begging and Delinquency	9	6

Individual Characteristics: Most assisted Bulgarian minor victims of begging and delinquency in 2003 and 2004 were female—100% in 2003 (or nine victims) and 83.3% in 2004 (or five victims).[27] This stands in contrast to victims trafficked from Albania, for example, who were for the most part male minors.[28] In 2004, the vast majority of victims from Bulgaria were of Roma ethnicity and from rural areas or small towns.[29] They lived with their families and often in an extended family environment, with many relatives living in the same community; all reported originating from "poor" economic circumstances.[30] Importantly, all victims were begging in Bulgaria prior to being trafficked abroad.[31] Most reported coming from "normal" family environments, without violence or conflict.[32] Only two victims—one assisted in 2003 and one in 2004—were abused prior to being trafficked.[33] One victim—the male

25. *Id.* at 170. In 2003, eleven Bulgarian minors were trafficked for sexual exploitation, while seven Bulgarian minors were trafficked for this form of exploitation in 2004. *Id.*

26. The total number of Bulgarian victims of trafficking for labor, begging, and delinquency (minors and adults) was thirteen in 2003 (four for labor, nine for begging and delinquency) and twelve in 2004 (three for labor and nine for begging and delinquency). *Id.* at 186.

27. *Id.*

28. *Id.* at 78.

29. *Id.* at 187-88.

30. *Id.* at 189. This must be read with the caveat that economic status is based on the victim's self-described economic situation, rather than on an objective measure of wealth. Further, each country in SEE has different economic standards and this conceptions of "poor" or "average" will vary accordingly.

31. *See id.* at 190.

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

33. *Id.*

minor assisted in 2004—was physically handicapped.[34] The other victims had no mental or physical disabilities at recruitment.

Recruitment Experience: Generally, the recruitment process involved some type of bonded labor whereby the victim was sold by his or her parents for a set sum, generally 200 to 300 euros, and once the victim recouped this money, was able to keep a portion of those "earnings."[35] In one case, the minor victim returned to Bulgaria with a kilogram of gold "earned" while begging in Austria.[36] Many minors were aware of the recruitment process, including the amount that was paid for them, and, in some cases, were even a little proud of the amount of money they commanded.[37] The apparent normalcy of such arrangements makes rescue and reintegration problematic. In many cases, the minor is not the only family member in such an arrangement. One female minor trafficked to Austria and assisted in 2004 came from a family of eight children, five of whom were in Vienna, "working" there as beggars with different recruiters.[38]

Most Bulgarian minors trafficked for begging and delinquency were recruited by a male/female pair, generally a family member who was a Bulgarian national of Roma ethnicity, although it was not always clear whether it was a close or extended family member.[39] The precise relationship and recruitment dynamic merits further investigation, as it affects reintegration efforts and options.

Trafficking Experience: Victims were generally trafficked alone (unlike victims from Moldova and Romania who were often trafficked as a family), although their families were often aware that the victims were to migrate and that they would beg and steal as their "task."[40] All victims crossed borders legally and with legal documents, indicating that their parents had consented to their work abroad and provided the requisite paperwork to allow for their unaccompanied crossing of borders.[41] Indeed, the majority of assisted minors identified in Vienna traveled with a notarized letter from their parents.[42] In general, the destination

34. *Id.* at 189.
35. *See id.* at 191.
36. *Id.* at 193.
37. *Id.* at 191.
38. *Id.*
39. *Id.* at 190-91.
40. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 191.
41. *Id.* at 192.
42. Letter from Claire Potaux to author, Int'l Org. of Migration Counter-Trafficking Focal Point (June 21, 2005) (on file with author).

countries for minors were generally E.U. countries, consistent with overall patterns of trafficking.[43]

TABLE 3				
DESTINATION COUNTRY FOR BULGARIAN MINOR VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING FOR LABOR, BEGGING, AND DELINQUENCY FOR 2003 AND 2004[44]				
	Trafficking for Labor		Trafficking for Begging and Delinquency	
Year	2003	2004	2003	2004
Austria	0	0	6	3
Belgium	0	0	1	2
Italy	0	0	2	0
Serbia	0	0	0	1
Total	0	0	9	6

In most instances in 2003 and 2004, the victims were obliged to undertake both begging and petty crime. They were generally trafficked to Belgium, Italy, Austria, and Germany. In only one instance was this not the case; the male Bulgarian minor trafficked in 2004 was sent to Serbia and forced to beg.[45]

Victims trafficked for begging and delinquency reported living together in large numbers in one house, furnished only with mattresses, where their "supervisor" organized food and transported them to their begging locations. Minor victims generally suffered violence when the trafficker felt that they were too independent and feared they would try to escape. However, most reported few problems and no physical abuse on a day-to-day basis.[46] Although sexual abuse may have occurred in the cases of some minors, this was not apparent to service providers at the time of assistance. Most commonly, minor victims of begging and delinquency were identified by the police when arrested for stealing.[47]

C. Romanian Minors

The percentage of Romanian minors trafficked for labor, begging, and delinquency has increased over time. While only one of twenty-two victims of labor trafficking in 2003 (4.5%) was a minor, this percentage increased to seven of fourteen victims in 2004 (50%).[48] Similarly, whereas no assisted victims of trafficking for begging and delinquency in

43. *Id.*
44. *Id.*
45. *Id.*
46. *Id.* at 193.
47. *See id.* at 194.
48. *Id.* at 462-63.

2003 were minors, the vast majority in 2004 (87.9% or seven victims) were minors.[49]

TABLE 4		
NUMBER OF ASSISTED ROMANIAN MINORS TRAFFICKED FOR LABOR, BEGGING, AND DELINQUENCY FOR 2003 AND 2004[50]		
Form of Exploitation	2003	2004
Labor	1	7
Begging and Delinquency	0	8

Individual Characteristics: Minor victims in both years were both male and female, although the majority of Romanians trafficked for labor were female. Amongst victims of begging and delinquency, roughly equal numbers of victims were male and female.[51]

While there was limited information available about the ethnicity of minor victims,[52] the NGO, Salvati Copiii, asserted that minors of Roma ethnicity were heavily represented amongst Romanian minor victims trafficked for labor, begging, and delinquency.[53] Further, data from a qualitative study of trafficking in Romanian minors by other NGOs documented that 14.6% of the victims were of Roma ethnicity.[54] The link between these forms of trafficking and ethnicity merits further examination in the future.

All Romanian victims trafficked for labor, begging, and delinquency attended some formal schooling. However, overall they had little education, including in some cases less than primary education. That being said, the low educational attainment, at least in 2004, is likely due to the young age of victims.[55] Overall, victims of trafficking for labor, begging, and delinquency came from "poor" economic backgrounds.[56] However, in 2004, one-third of victims trafficked for

49. *Id.* at 463.

50. *Id.* The total number of Romanian victims of trafficking for labor, begging, and delinquency (minors and adults) was twenty-seven in 2003 (twenty-two for labor and five for begging and delinquency) and twenty-three in 2004 (fourteen for labor and nine for begging and delinquency). *Id.*

51. *Id.* at 462.

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

53. Interview with Daniela Nicolaescu & Daniela Munteanu, Salvati Copiii [Save the Children] in Romania (Jan. 2005) [hereinafter Salvati Copiii Interview].

54. THE RESEARCH INST. FOR THE QUALITY OF LIFE & SAVE THE CHILDREN, ROMANIA, RAPID ASSESSMENT OF TRAFFICKING IN CHILDREN FOR LABOUR AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION IN ROMANIA 20 (2003), *available at* http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/publ/download/cee_romania_ra_2003.pdf [hereinafter RAPID ASSESSMENT, ROMANIA].

55. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 464.

56. *Id.* This must again be read with the caveat that economic status is based on the victim's self-described economic situation, rather than on an objective measure of wealth.

begging and delinquency, the majority of whom were minors, were from "average" economic backgrounds.[57] These findings are consistent with recent research on trafficking vulnerability in Romania, which found that intending migrants are not always the "very poor."[58] In terms of an objective measurement of income, there is often little difference between "vulnerable" girls and "average" households.[59]

Recruitment Experience: In both 2003 and 2004, the vast majority of victims trafficked for labor, begging, and delinquency resided with their family at recruitment.[60] Strikingly, no victims were residing in an institution at recruitment in spite of the high number of children in Romania in state institutions.[61] However, the way in which data is collected does not always accurately capture information about this indicator. For example, victims living alone or with friends may have resided in institutions at some point in their lives, thus informing their access to life skills and the social safety net provided by family networks.[62]

A victim's relationship to the recruiter can be a central facilitator in recruitment. Where the victim has an existing relationship with the recruiter, they are less likely to be suspicious of the work offered and promises made. Certainly this is borne out amongst Romanian victims of labor exploitation, begging, and delinquency, who, for the most part, were recruited by someone known and trusted by them.[63] These findings make clear the role that trust and contacts play in the trafficking process.

Trafficking Experience: Increasingly, Romanian victims trafficked for labor exploitation, begging, and delinquency passed borders legally

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Further, each country in SEE has different economic standards and conceptions of "poor" or "average" vary accordingly.

57. *Id.* at 466.

58. *Id.*

59. MONICA ALEXANDRU & SEBASTIAN LAZAROIU, INT'L ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION, WHO IS THE NEXT VICTIM: VULNERABILITY OF YOUNG ROMANIAN WOMEN TO TRAFFICKING IN HUMAN BEINGS 34 (2003), *available at* http://www.iom.int/DOCUMENTS/PUBLICATION/EN/Romania_ct.pdf.

60. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 468.

61. *Id.*

62. This was also noted amongst Romanian victims of sexual exploitation. This is corroborated by the findings of one survey in which a victim who had been raised in a state residential care institution was, in fact, living on the streets at recruitment and had done so for years. *See* INSTAT, RAPID ASSESSMENT OF TRAFFICKING IN CHILDREN FOR LABOUR AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION IN ALBANIA 20 (2003), *available at* www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/publ/download/cee_albania_ra_2003.pdf [hereinafter RAPID ASSESSMENT, ALBANIA].

63. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 469.

and with legal documents.[64] This trend has also been noted throughout the region as a strategy of traffickers to render victims less visible.[65]

Because many Romanian minors trafficked for begging and delinquency were accompanied by parents or relatives, legal crossing was feasible. Some parents stayed with the child in the destination country, while others returned to Romania, leaving the child with relatives or friends.[66] This implies that families provided the necessary consent for their children to travel internationally and may even have been complicit in trafficking. Family involvement in trafficking raises questions about the possibilities of reintegration as well as the risk of retrafficking.

Romanian victims of labor trafficking were exploited for various types of labor: domestic work, agriculture, industry, waitressing, and selling.[67] Victims of begging and delinquency were obliged to undertake various acts of begging and petty crime.[68] In one unusual case, the victim was given the "choice" of whether to beg in front of the local grocery store, steal, or provide sexual services. She chose the former.

TABLE 5				
DESTINATION COUNTRY FOR ROMANIAN MINOR VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING FOR LABOR, BEGGING, AND DELINQUENCY FOR 2003 AND 2004[69]				
	Trafficking for Labor		Trafficking for Begging and Delinquency	
Year	2003	2004	2003	2004
Croatia	0	1	0	0
Italy	1	2	0	8
Romania	0	1	0	0
Unknown[70]	0	3	0	0
Total	1	7	0	8

In 2004, six of the victims (66.7%) were trafficked for petty crime, while three victims (33.3%) were trafficked for begging.[71] There were also

64. *Id.* at 470.

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

66. Salvati Copiii, Interview, *supra* note 53; *cf.* EUROPEAN NETWORK AGAINST CHILD TRAFFICKING, A REPORT ON CHILD TRAFFICKING: BULGARIA, DENMARK, ITALY, ROMANIA, SPAIN, UNITED KINGDOM 64 (2004), *available at* http://www.centrodirittiumani.unipd.it/a_scuola/allegati/203.pdf.

67. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 472.

68. *Id.*

69. *Id.* at 438, 454. Destination countries for adult victims included European Union countries (Belgium, Greece, Italy, and Spain), as well as SEE countries (BiH, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, and the province of Kosovo). *Id.*

70. Due to limitations in the format that data was provided by some partner organizations, it is not possible to note the destination country for all Romanian minors trafficked for labor in 2004. *See id.*

instances where victims suffered multiple forms of exploitation. One victim in Italy was forced to beg, do all of the domestic work for the family with whom she was living, and was also obliged to provide sexual services to male family members.[72]

In both 2003 and 2004, the living conditions for victims of labor trafficking were, for the most part, "poor." However, some changes occurred, which may signal an overall improvement in such conditions. From 2003 to 2004, fewer victims endured "very poor" living conditions and more victims in 2004 reported "average" living conditions. Amongst victims of begging and delinquency, living conditions were similarly "poor," although 2004 saw some victims reporting "average" or "good" conditions. There were no parallel improvements in working conditions.[73]

Of note was the rise in the use of sexual violence in 2004 for victims of labor, begging, and delinquency. Abuse was used as a means to break down the victim's resistance, as well as to increase their work efficiency. Particularly worrisome is the impact that sexual abuse has on minors. Most minors trafficked for labor, begging, and delinquency were identified by law enforcement authorities.[74]

D. Moldovan Minors

Moldovan minors were trafficked for labor, begging, and delinquency.[75] Further, data from destination countries like Russia indicate that the prevalence of these forms of trafficking may be higher than what is reflected in the table below.[76]

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71. *Id.* at 472.

72. *Id.*

73. *Id.* at 466-67. This is consistent with research on trafficking of minors for begging and delinquency, which found victims exposed to harsh living conditions, deprived of proper housing, adequate food and rest time, and exposed to the risks of street life. *Id.*; *see also* RAPID ASSESSMENT OF TRAFFICKING, ROMANIA, *supra* note 54.

74. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 474-75.

75. *See id.* at 334.

76. *Id.* at 366.

TABLE 6		
NUMBER OF ASSISTED MOLDOVAN MINORS TRAFFICKED FOR LABOR, BEGGING, AND DELINQUENCY FOR 2003 AND 2004[77]		
Forms of Trafficking	2003	2004
Labor Exploitation	13	3
Begging and Delinquency	5	9

Individual Characteristics: Moldovan minors trafficked for labor were both male and female from 2002 to 2004.[78] Those trafficked for begging and delinquency were exclusively female until 2003, when four male victims were assisted.[79] Some Moldovans were trafficked on their own, while some were trafficked only with their families. In 2004, among assisted victims were six male minors, all of whom were trafficked with their family. In one case, an entire family—father, mother, and two sons—was trafficked for begging to Poland. In other instances, male minors were trafficked only with their mothers. This phenomenon of "family trafficking" may provide some degree of protection for minors, although how much is unclear. Victims trafficked with their children were usually not sent out to beg with their children. Rather, they were assigned other children and their children sent out with other adults, a strategy serving to constrain escape attempts.[80] Because many assisted minor victims were in fact trafficked with their family, it is also worth considering what factors led to parents being trafficked with their child, rather than the child being left at home with other family members. One victim was badly abused by her husband, and in an effort to escape, she accepted a work offer that led her to being trafficked for begging, along with her two children.[81]

77. *Id.* The total number of Moldovan victims of trafficking for labor, begging, and delinquency (minors and adults) was seventy-six in 2003 (sixty-two for labor and fourteen for begging and delinquency) and forty-six in 2004 (twenty-three for labor and twenty-three for begging and delinquency). The precise ages of all twenty-three assisted victims of labor exploitation in 2004 were unknown. Precise data was available only for twenty of the twenty-three victims. While there were other Moldovan victims of trafficking for labor in 2003 and 2004, this was generally a combination of labor and sexual exploitation, with sexual exploitation as the primary objective of trafficking. These cases are excluded in an effort to draw clearer profiles of victims of other forms of trafficking. In only two instances do the cases involve dual forms of exploitation—one in 2003 and one in 2004—where the victim was both a victim of trafficking for labor and for begging. In these cases, the victim was an adult, and so not considered in the data above. *Id.*

78. *Id.* at 367.

79. *Id.* at 368.

80. *See id.* at 375.

81. *Id.*

Victims of labor trafficking in Moldova were without any documented physical or mental disabilities, whereas disabilities were noted amongst minors trafficked for delinquency and begging in 2003.[82] In one instance, a female minor was trafficked to Russia for begging where she was forced to sit in a wheelchair and simulate a physical disability. To make her foot numb, her traffickers injected her leg with an anaesthetizing substance.[83]

Overall, victims trafficked for begging and delinquency were quite "poor."[84] Whereas victims of labor and sexual exploitation were sometimes from "average" or even "well off" economic backgrounds, only one victim of begging and delinquency (assisted in 2003) was from an "average" economic background.[85] The strong correlation between economic background and trafficking vulnerability in Moldova for this category of victims is perhaps not surprising given that the appearance of being destitute is directly germane to the enterprise of begging.

Recruitment Experience: The majority of victims from 2002 to 2004 were residing with their families at recruitment, a residence pattern that unfortunately did not provide adequate safeguards against trafficking.[86] While victims resided with their families, the exact composition of these families—nuclear or extended; one, two, or three generations; and specific family composition—is unclear. However, paying attention to these variables may help identify relevant sites of vulnerability, as well as entry points for preventative interventions.

Most victims of trafficking for begging and delinquency were recruited by strangers, which stands in contrast to victims recruited for labor exploitation, who were, for the most part recruited by persons known and trusted by them, such as friends and family.[87]

Trafficking Experience: Whereas in 2002, all Moldovan victims of begging entered destination countries at illegal border crossings, by 2003 and 2004 more victims crossed at legal borders and traveled with legal

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82. *See id.* at 383.

83. INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC POLICY, MOLDOVA, RAPID ASSESSMENT OF TRAFFICKING IN CHILDREN FOR LABOUR AND SEXUAL EXPLORATION IN MOLDOVA 38 (2003), *available at* http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/publ/download/cee_moldova_ra_2003.pdf [hereinafter RAPID ASSESSMENT, MOLDOVA].

84. As explained above, economic status discussed is based on the victim's self-described economic situation, rather than on an objective or internationally relative measure of wealth.

85. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 373-74.

86. *Id.* 374-75. ("This finding is consistent with a qualitative study in which only ten of 48 families of migrating children opposed their decision to migrate for work. This lack of intervention or further investigation of the migration options by families is remarkable." (citation omitted)).

87. *Id.* at 375-76.

documents. As many minor victims were transported with their parents, this likely mitigated the risk of discovery.[88]

TABLE 7				
DESTINATION COUNTRY FOR MOLDOVAN MINOR VICTIMS OF TRAFFICKING FOR LABOR, BEGGING, AND DELINQUENCY, 2003 AND 2004[89]				
	Trafficking for Labor		Trafficking for Begging and Delinquency	
Year	2003	2004	2003	2004
Province of Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro)	1	0	0	0
Macedonia	1	0	0	0
Moldova	0	1	0	0
Poland	0	0	2	6
Russia	1	0	3	2
Ukraine	1	1	0	1
Unknown[90]	9	1	0	0
Total	13	3	5	9

Victims trafficked for begging and delinquency were generally exposed to unpleasant working conditions. Living conditions were also quite substandard, with many victims living together in one room.[91] They generally had some freedom of movement, but victims reported that traffickers were particularly attuned to victims who posed flight risks and abused those who might be tempted to flee, which had a restraining effect on the others.[92] Victims were generally deprived of sufficient food and some even returned home malnourished. This is particularly worrying in the case of minors, as lack of nutrition has a deleterious effect on physical and mental development.[93] Victims were also often forced to sit in the streets for long periods of time without moving, without food, and exposed to the elements, which can be severe in destinations like Poland, Russia, and Ukraine. Those who did not earn enough money were punished with violence.[94] Working conditions for

88. *Id.* at 378.

89. *See id.* at 378-80.

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

91. *Id.* at 381.

92. *Id.* at 382-83.

93. *See id.* at 383.

94. *Id.* According to one qualitative study, children trafficked for begging worked on average eight to twelve hours a day/night, and slept for seven to eight hours. Forty-four of the sixty children surveyed worked seven days a week and twenty-one of them worked seven nights per week. Of the sixty children, only three reported that their employer gave them the money that they had earned, while the remaining fifty-seven said they received no payment for their work. RAPID ASSESSMENT, MOLDOVA, *supra* note 83, at 39.

those trafficked for labor exploitation were also cause for concern. One victim trafficked as a domestic worker to Turkey worked long hours every day and received no time off, contrary to what she had been promised at recruitment.[95] Two other victims trafficked to Ukraine for agricultural labor worked under very strenuous conditions from 4:00 am to 10:00 pm, were kept confined, and received no payment.[96]

Service providers report a greater likelihood that victims of trafficking for labor, begging, and delinquency return having earned and saved some money.[97] Over the course of trafficking, victims may have sent remittances home or may have returned home with some money. While usually receiving far less than what was promised, these victims generally have a greater chance than victims of sexual exploitation of returning home with some funds. Earning money may lead victims of labor trafficking not to perceive themselves as victims, which in turn may influence their decision to seek or accept assistance.[98] One service provider expressed concern about the reintegration of this particular group as they have been exposed to the possibility of earning money through begging—€100 to €200 passed through their hands in a day—making reintegration, in which they receive only minimal financial assistance, problematic.[99]

While most victims of labor exploitation in 2002 and 2004 were identified by law enforcement authorities, victims identified and assisted in 2003 were identified by a range of other actors as well: NGOs, embassies, and victims themselves.[100]

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95. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 380.

96. *Id.*

97. *Id.* at 381.

98. *Id.* at 381-82. There are some destination countries in the SEE region where victims trafficked for sexual exploitation were able to save and even remit funds to their family. Earning a small sum, albeit less than what was promised, is apparently a strategy on the part of traffickers to stifle the triffickees' desire to escape and to forge compliance with their exploitation. IOM COUNTER-TRAFFICKING SERVICE, INT'L ORG. OF MIGRATION, CHANGING PATTERNS AND TRENDS OF TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS IN THE BALKAN REGION 5 (2004), *available at* http://www.iom.int/DOCUMENTS/PUBLICATION/EN/balkans_trafficking.pdf; *cf.* HUNZINGER & COFFEY, *supra* note 8, at 16.

99. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 384.

100. *See id.* at 386-87.

E. Albanian Minors

Albanian minors were trafficked for labor, begging, and delinquency in 2003 and 2004. In two cases, they were also exposed to dual forms of exploitation: forced selling and begging on the street.[101]

TABLE 8		
NUMBER OF ASSISTED ALBANIAN MINORS TRAFFICKED FOR LABOR, BEGGING, AND DELINQUENCY FOR 2003 AND 2004[102]		
	2003	2004
Labor Exploitation	5	10
Begging and Delinquency	20	30
Labor, Begging, and Delinquency	1	1

Individual Characteristics: The majority of Albanian victims of trafficking for labor, and begging were male—69.2% in 2003 and 70.5% in 2004. This contrasts with other SEE countries where victims trafficked for labor, begging, and delinquency were primarily female.[103] It is unclear what accounts for this radically different gender composition.

Victims in Albania typically have had low education levels due at least in part to their young age. In a large number of cases, minors have had less than primary school education or no education at all.[104] In addition, the number of victims with no education has increased over time. A corollary and perhaps partial explanation for the low education level of victims is the overall low educational attainment of victims' parents.[105] Among minors assisted by *Terre des Hommes* (TdH) and *Ndihmë Për Fëmijët* (NPF) (both trafficking victims and at-risk minors), only 6% of fathers and 3% of mothers had more than eight years of schooling.[106]

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101. *Id.* at 86.

102. *Id.* The total number of Albanian victims of trafficking for labor, begging, and delinquency (minors and adults) was twenty-six in 2003 (five for labor, twenty for begging and delinquency and one for a combination of the two) and forty-four in 2004 (twelve for labor, thirty-one for begging and delinquency, and one for a combination of the two). *Id.*

103. *Id.* at 78.

104. *Id.* at 79-80. Many victims were Roma or Egyptian, who, on average, have a relatively low education level. Overall, Roma attended an average of four years of school, while Egyptians attended an average of five years. Further, a large number of ethnic minorities have never attended school, accounting for 62% of Roma and 24% of Egyptians between the ages of seven and twenty years. Hermine G. De Soto et al., *Roma and Egyptians in Albania: From Social Exclusion to Social Inclusion* 55 & n.54 (World Bank Working Paper No. 53, 2003).

105. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 79 n.72.

106. TERRE DES HOMMES, CHILD TRAFFICKING IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF GOOD PRACTICES TO PROTECT ALBANIAN CHILDREN 10 (2004), *available at*

A disproportionate number of victims were from ethnic minorities such as Egyptian, Roma, or mixed ethnicity—88.5% in 2003 (or twenty-three victims) and 70.9% in 2004 (or twenty-two victims)—but there is no exact breakdown of the individual percentages of each minority within this number.[107] These findings are particularly striking as only an estimated 3% of the population of Albania are Roma.[108] Roma and Egyptian minorities are also among the poorest and most socially marginalized.[109] In addition: "Service providers report that a significant number of victims of labor and begging are without legal identification, and that in many cases their birth has never been registered. As such, they lack access to social support and benefits, such as medical care, educational programs, and social assistance."[110] Generally, Albanian victims came from "poor" or "very poor" economic backgrounds.[111] Again, this is in line with the overall living standards of Roma and Egyptian minorities.[112] Although, in 2004, a handful of victims reported coming from an "average" economic background, a pattern documented for the first time.[113]

It may also be in the more subtle family tensions that we can identify behaviors that increase trafficking vulnerability. Many minors assisted by TdH and NPF (both trafficking victims and at risk minors), came from what were termed "unstable" family environments.[114] In 25%

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http://www.stopchildtrafficking.org/site/fileadmin/user_upload/Development_of_Good_Practices_Tdh-NPF.pdf.

107. SURTEES, *supra* note 5, at 79.

108. WORLD BANK, THE ROAD TO STABILITY AND PROSPERITY IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE: A REGIONAL STRATEGY 84 (2000).

109. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 79.

110. *Id.*

111. *Id.* at 81. It must be reiterated that economic status as here discussed is based on the victim's self-described economic situation, rather than on an objective or internationally relative measure of wealth.

112. De Soto et al., *supra* note 104, at 111-12. Roma and Egyptian household incomes are less than half that of Albanian urban household incomes at the national level. Further, over 40% of Roma families and 30% of Egyptian families do not have running water in their homes, live in makeshift or dilapidated homes, and face difficulties in obtaining social assistance. *Id.*

113. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 81. Investigating the background and recruitment experience of victims from "average" economic backgrounds would be useful in determining alternative contributors to these forms of trafficking. In some cases, poverty may not be the single most critical push factor for trafficking. One push factor is the desire to realize personal and/or professional aspirations. Victims from "average" economic backgrounds may be particularly dissatisfied with the limited options available to them at home. It would also be helpful to identify what, if any, strategies are used by the poor in Albania to guard against trafficking. Many poor children are not trafficked but it is not clear whether this is due to protection and prevention strategies having been developed and mobilized within their communities.

114. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 81.

of these cases, the biological parents no longer lived together, with 13% of victims living with one parent, 5% without any parent and 6% living in a recomposed family.[115] Other issues affecting Albanian victims may include low quality family interaction, lack of communication between parents and children, and poor integration into the family environment. In general, social relations are an important indicator of risk, especially given that so many victims of trafficking for labor, begging, and delinquency were from "poor" and socially marginalized members of society.[116]

Recruitment Experience: An increasing number of assisted victims have been working at recruiting, polishing shoes, selling items on the street and working as salespersons.[117] Further, a large proportion of victims were begging at recruitment—80% in 2003 and 73.3% in 2004. For the most part, victims were recruited with promises of performing tasks similar to what they were already undertaking.[118]

Because all of the Albanian victims were minors and residing with their family at recruitment, the employment rate of their parents is also salient. Of the minors assisted by Tdh and NPF, 80% of their families suffered unemployment. As such, the unemployment of parents is an important contributor to trafficking and makes clear the need for vocational training and job placement programs that specifically target the parents/families of trafficked minors. Where parents are able to work and support their families, there is decreased pressure for children to work.[119] This matter is complicated, however, by the social acceptability of child labor in Albania.

Trafficking Experience: Minor victims of labor exploitation were primarily tasked with selling on the street, generally small items. In such cases, there is a degree of fluidity with begging; two victims were required to both beg and sell.[120] Minors trafficked for begging and delinquency were generally tasked only with begging, which differs from minor victims from Bulgaria, for example, who were more often obliged to both beg and steal.[121]

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115. TERRE DES HOMMES, *supra* note 106, at 10.

116. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 81-82.

117. *Id.* at 82.

118. *Id.*

119. *Id.* at 82-83; *see also* RAPID ASSESSMENT, ALBANIA, *supra* note 62, at 9; TERRE DES HOMMES, *supra* note 106, at 10. In 2002, the national unemployment rate level was approximately 16%. However, unemployment among the population of working age Roma and Egyptians was far higher—71% and 67% respectively. Further, 88% of Roma and 83% of Egyptians were unemployed for more than one year. *See* De Soto et al., *supra* note 104, at 66.

120. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 85-86.

121. *Compare id.* at 86, *with id.* at 192.

The majority of Albanian trafficking victims crossed borders illegally, either with false documents or no documents at all.[122] This differs from minors trafficked from Moldova, Romania, and Bulgaria. One Albania victim described his journey to Greece as such:

> A friend of our oldest brother arranged everything . . . a person came by car to our house with two other children and a woman. Close to customs, only we, the children, got out of the car. A young boy took us and ordered us to follow him without talking. It was dark and the road was difficult. The other two children, who were smaller than me, were exhausted. After midnight we met up with the person again and the woman. They were waiting for us with another taxi, this time with a Greek license.[123]

Indeed, for all Albanian victims assisted between 2001 and 2003, Greece was the destination country.[124] Although, by 2004 some victims were promised work in other locations, including France, Italy, and Kosovo.[125] Some minors were also trafficked internally within Albania. One 11-year-old boy from Elbasan, in central Albania, was trafficked to Durres, on the western coast bordering the Adriatic Sea, where his sister-in-law forced him to beg. Intra-state trafficking may be an emerging trend, possibly due to lighter border controls, as well as increased public awareness of human trafficking in destination countries.[126]

Until 2004, the majority of trafficking victims in Albania were identified by law enforcement personnel. In 2004, there was a marginal increase in the number of victims identified by NGOs. This is likely due to the increased activities by NGOs in origin and destination countries. Also of note are the number of self and family referrals, suggesting that assistance and services are increasingly visible in the community, both within Albania and abroad.[127]

F. Trafficking for Adoption

To date, there have been only nine cases of trafficking for adoption documented among assisted victims in SEE, all from Bulgaria and all in the latter part of 2004.[128] In addition to assisted cases, there were other signals of this form of trafficking in persons. The Bulgarian border police investigated thirty cases of trafficking for adoption to E.U.

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122. *Id.* at 85.
123. RAPID ASSESSMENT, ALBANIA, *supra* note 62, at 25.
124. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 85.
125. *Id.*
126. *Id.*
127. *Id.* at 88.
128. *Id.* at 195.

countries.[129] One victim assisted by the Animus Association reported that her traffickers had threatened to sell her baby for adoption. She escaped before this could happen.[130]

In addition, recent media reports suggest that this form of trafficking poses serious risks to minors in the region. In July 2004, French police uncovered a baby trafficking ring that had allegedly sold at least two Bulgarian children to French couples,[131] while in Italy, police arrested six people who had recruited pregnant Bulgarian women to traffic their babies.[132] One source from the Department for Youth Affairs of Balti City in Moldova recounted a case of a mother selling her newborn baby to traffickers who took the baby abroad to foreign parents for adoption.[133] Other investigations in Italy uncovered trafficking for illegal adoption, including eight children in 1998 and 1999—seven Albanians and one Belorussian.[134] There were also serious allegations of trafficking for adoption from BiH, with adoptive parents originating in Austria and Germany.[135] Moreover, in 2003, the media reported the case of an Albanian boy trafficked to Italy for adoption. His parents were said to have received a television as compensation.[136] The opaque nature of the adoption systems in many countries provides ample space for the exploitation of birth families, children, and potential adoptive parents.[137]

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129. Interview with Svetoslav Tanev, Head of Sector, Nat'l Border Police Serv., Ministry of the Interior, Sofia, Bulg. (Feb. 8, 2005) [hereinafter Tanev Interview].

130. Interview with Nadia Kozhouharova, Animus Assoc., Sofia, Bulg. (Feb. 9, 2005). Similarly, one victim trafficked to Montenegro was threatened with the sale of her child when she fell pregnant during her trafficking experience. She escaped before the baby was born. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 423.

131. Bell, *supra* note 9.

132. *Baby Trafficking with Bulgaria, 6 Arrested in Pordenone*, AGENZIA GIORNALISTICA ITALIA, July 31, 2004, *available at* http://www.childtrafficking.org/ pdf/user/baby_ trafficking_ with_bulgaria.doc.

133. RAPID ASSESSMENT, MOLDOVA, *supra* note 83, at 5.

134. INT'L ORG. FOR MIGRATION, TRAFFICKING IN UNACCOMPANIED MINORS FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION 160 (2001).

135. HUNZINGER & COFFEY, *supra* note 8, at 48.

136. Ardi Pulaj, *Albania Concerned About Child Trafficking*, SE. EURO. TIMES, Sept. 28, 2004, *available at* http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/document/setimes/features/2004/09/28/feature-03; Nicholas Wood, *For Albanians, It's Come to This: A Son for a TV*, N.Y. TIMES, Nov. 13, 2003, at A1; *see also* RAPID ASSESSMENT, ALBANIA, *supra* note 62, at 9.

137. Romania was formerly a "source" country for international adoption. However, on June 21, 2004, Romanian President Iliescu signed into law a draft adoption bill that limits international adoption to a child's grandparents. Maarten Pereboom, Salisbury University, The European Union and International Adoption (Unpublished Paper Presented at the Center for Adoption Policy Co-Sponsored Conference on Intercountry Adoption, the European Union, and Transnational Law at New York Law School 3-5 (May 21, 2004), *available at* http://www.adoptionpolicy.org/pdf/4-28-05-MPereboomTheEUandInternationAdoption.pdf. This bill was passed despite objections by the U.S. government on June 10, 2004, on the grounds that the Romanian government did not have the domestic capacity to care for children in institutions.

While some children may be trafficked abroad through an illegal adoption process to new families by whom they are raised, in other cases, adoption may be used for the purpose of exploiting the child's labor.[138]

Far more information is needed about this form of trafficking to appreciate not only the causes and contributing factors but also the assistance and protection needs. As a step in this direction, below is an outline of this form of trafficking to illuminate both risks and assistance needs.[139]

TABLE 9		
NUMBER OF BULGARIAN MINORS TRAFFICKED ADOPTION IN 2003 AND 2004[140]		
Form of Trafficking	2003	2004
Adoption	0	9

Individual Characteristics: In all cases, the mothers were directly responsible for trafficking their children. All nine mothers were between eighteen and twenty-six years of age. Service providers found newborn babies of both sexes trafficked for adoption. The mothers would generally go to the destination country while pregnant and give birth to the baby there, whereupon the newborn was immediately adopted.[141]

Six of the mothers were unmarried, two were married, and one was a widow. In seven of the nine cases, the women were (or would become) single mothers. Many of the women already had children. One mother—a woman of just twenty-four years—was the mother of ten children already when she became pregnant.[142]

Joint Council on International Children's Services, *Romania*, http://www.jcics.org/Romania.htm (last visited Apr. 15, 2004). By contrast, on June 22nd the European Union commended Romania on the new law, having previously been concerned that Romania's adoption system was open to abuse by child traffickers. *Id.*; *see also* Pereboom, *supra*, at 6. While the government placed a moratorium on international adoptions four years ago, hundreds of adoptions out of Romania proceeded nonetheless. Press Release, Joint Council on International Children's Services, Romania and International Adoption 2 (2004), *available at* http://www.jcics.org/jcicspressinformationro.pdf. The new law states that adoption would be considered as a "last resort" for orphaned or abandoned children, and that Romanian couples seeking to adopt children would be given priority over foreign nationals. Pereboom, *supra*, at 14.

138. UNICEF, INNOCENTI RESEARCH CENTRE, ANNUAL REVIEW 1999-2000 14 (2000), *available at* http://www.unicef-icdc.org/publications/pdf/digest5e.pdf.

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

140. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 195.

141. *Id.*

142. *Id.* at 195-96.

The education levels of these mothers were very low. Three had no education, three had less than primary school education, and three had only primary school education. These education levels were lower than Bulgarian victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation, but generally consistent with Bulgarian victims of trafficking for labor, begging, and delinquency.[143]

Most victims (66.7% or four victims) were from "very poor" families, while equal numbers (16.7% or one victim respectively) were from "poor" and "average" economic backgrounds.[144] There may be an ethnic component to this form of trafficking, with the majority of victims—77.8% or seven victims—originating from an ethnic minority.[145] How ethnicity and trafficking intersect in these cases is unclear, as poverty and social disenfranchisement are also closely associated with being an ethnic minority in Bulgaria.

Family relations were variable. Most mothers reported "good" or "normal" family relations, while a minority reported "difficult" relations.[146] Although only one mother had suffered domestic violence, three others had suffered some form of abuse prior to trafficking their child, by either a friend or an acquaintance. In sum, four of nine mothers were victims of some form of abuse or violence prior to trafficking.[147]

Recruitment Experience: Seven mothers lived with their families when they were offered the opportunity to traffic their child. One such mother lived alone and one lived with a friend. None were employed at recruitment.[148] Recruitment was generally done by male strangers or acquaintances, although one woman was recruited by a friend. Victims were mainly recruited by Roma, both from Bulgaria and the destination country. There were also victims trafficked by Turkish recruiters.[149] Recruitment experiences in these situations varied. Most victims were already pregnant when recruited, although one victim became pregnant following recruitment. However, the precise sequence was difficult to

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143. *Id.* at 196.

144. *Id.* However, in three cases, information about this indicator was incomplete. Further, this section must be read with the caveat that economic status is based on the victim's self-described economic situation. *Id.*

145. *Id.*

146. *Id.* Analysis of family relations is also based on victims' self-described assessment of family and home relations. As such, it is not only informed by the victim's individual subjectivity, but also linked to the victim's relationship with the interviewer, with victims less likely to provide intimate details about family violence and conflict in the absence of an existing relationship of trust. *Id.* at 196 n.186.

147. *Id.* at 196.

148. *Id.*

149. *Id.* at 197.

ascertain. In addition, the complicity of mothers in trafficking for adoption can sometimes be difficult to prove. Some pregnant women may have been genuinely deceived, enticed by the promise of money. Yet, other women seem to have been semi-aware of what was taking place. Others agreed to the trafficking but subsequently changed their minds. Regardless, in each of these cases, the mothers were aware of the purpose of their journey to the destination country. It is only the level of threat or coercion used by traffickers that was unclear.[150] Regardless, in each of these cases, the mother was promised money for the adoption.[151] In at least three cases, women were also offered the chance to work abroad.

However, money was often not the mother's only motivation. Most mothers reported that the child might have a better life if adopted and living abroad. Moreover, as many of these mothers already had children, this form of adoption was seen as a means to support the children they already had. One mother was ill during her pregnancy and feared being unable to care for her child, which she said led her to accept the adoption offer.[152]

Trafficking Experience: Each of the mothers crossed borders legally with valid documents. Most often they traveled by car or bus, although one victim traveled by air. Usually the women crossed borders during an early stage of their pregnancy, to make it difficult for border authorities to discern anything suspicious. The two reported destination countries for trafficking for adoption were France and Greece.[153]

The soon-to-be mothers trafficked to Greece were put up in places owned by the recruiters.[154] They remained at these premises for the duration of their pregnancy, often several months. The pregnant women generally reported "normal" living conditions and received regular pre-natal medical consultations and examinations. Nonetheless, there were complaints about receiving poor quality food and being denied freedom of movement. A number of mothers also complained about suffering mental abuse (two women), physical abuse (one woman), or both (one woman), as well as sexual abuse (one woman).[155]

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150. *Id.* More data is needed about the full recruitment dynamic if the proliferation of this phenomenon is to be prevented, as well as to identify means by which such victims can be assisted and reintegrated. *Id.*

151. *Id.* Police sources report that mothers received between €1000 and 1500 from the trafficker who then sold the baby for €10,000 to 12,000. Tanev Interview, *supra* note 129.

152. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 197.

153. *Id.*

154. *Id.* at 198.

155. *Id.*

After giving birth, the new mothers received a small amount of money for surrendering their child for immediate adoption and were returned to Bulgaria.[156] The process was facilitated in some cases by a Greek national—generally the adopting father—claiming the child and listing himself as the child's birth father.[157] Several months later the mothers returned to Greece to receive the rest of the promised sum and to finalize the adoption procedure. The adoption was legalized through an adoption company. In many cases the adoptive parents were apparently not only aware of the trafficking process, but were allegedly also involved in the operation: most often providing the means of transport to the destination country and care during the pregnancy.[158]

Law enforcement authorities identified most cases of adoption in Bulgaria. In both France and Greece, this success was the result of joint efforts of the Bulgarian police and their Greek and French counterparts.[159] In one instance, the mother who had originally consented to the adoption changed her mind and asked the police in France for assistance.[160]

III. CONCEPTUALIZING INTERVENTIONS

The analysis above is a first step in the articulation of victim profiles of minors trafficked from and within SEE for labor, begging, delinquency, and adoption. Such work allows both state and nonstate actors to pinpoint sites of vulnerability and risk factors, as well as to better understand recruitment and trafficking experiences. Although this understanding is an important one, it is only the first step. It is urgent to move rapidly from understanding to policy, and to strive toward interventions that prevent and redress these manifestations of trafficking in minors. The profiles outlined above flag some key areas for consideration in terms of the development and tailoring of interventions and assistance. As such, this Article will now consider the existing assistance framework in the region and how this does or does not meet the needs of these minors. For example, where families were complicit in the trafficking of their children, what options are available for sustainable reintegration? In communities where labor exploitation and begging are commonplace and socially normative, what possibilities and solutions do the standard reintegration model present? What are

156. *Id.*

157. *See supra* App. 3.

158. Letter from Nikolai Nenkov to author, Int'l Org. of Migration, Bulgaria (May 28, 2005).

159. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 198.

160. *Id.*

appropriate programmatic responses for minor victims of these different forms of trafficking? What specific options are appropriate for minors who have been trafficked for adoption by their mother?

Currently in SEE, the available assistance is geared toward a prototypical trafficking victim: "a young, poor, uneducated woman trafficked for sexual exploitation for long periods of time and exposed to extensive and myriad forms of abuse."[161] However, this Article highlights that trafficking for other purposes is increasingly being identified in SEE, particularly among minors. Yet, specialized assistance for minor trafficking victims is lacking throughout the region. Many service providers in SEE continue to handle cases of trafficked minors in much the same way as trafficked adults. In most countries, there are no specialized interview procedures, identification processes, or formal referral mechanisms in place for minors. Further, many states do not routinely appoint legal guardians for minors; most minors are sheltered with adults and receive the same medical, psychological, legal, and return services as adults. While there are a number of positive examples in various SEE countries, significantly more attention must be paid to the development of services for minors.[162]

Consideration should also be given to the needs of minors at different ages, at different stages of development, and with different experiences of exploitation. Specialized assistance is needed for babies who have been trafficked for adoption, children trafficked with their mother or families, children born as a result of their mother's trafficking experience, male minor trafficking victims, and minor victims of varying ages. Service providers and donors should be increasingly flexible in terms of assistance provided, as well as aware of the specific and changing needs of different profiles of victims.[163] Some of the issues and gaps that were noted in the course of this research are highlighted below. While it is not an exhaustive list, it can be read as a starting point for discussion in the development, tailoring, and implementation of services for minors of these less considered forms of trafficking.

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161. *See id.* at 49.

162. *See id.* at 47-50. The good practices and positive developments in SEE include the activities of the children's wing in the IOM Rehabilitation Center in Moldova, good parenting classes offered by Salvati Copiii (Moldova), UNICEF and the United Nations Mission in Kosovo's (UNMIK) handbook *Developing Effective Communication with Child Victims of Abuse and Human Trafficking*, shelters tailored for minors in Romania and Bulgaria, and government return procedures for Bulgarian minors. In addition, various SEE countries have initiated measures to ensure protection and assistance to minors, which are outlined in the individual country reports of RCP's *Second Annual Report on Victims of Trafficking in South-Eastern Europe*. *See generally* SURTEES, *supra* note 4.

163. *See id.* at 42-50.

A. Availability of Services and Protection for Male Minors

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

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

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

B. Assistance Tailored to the Specific Needs of Minors

Also important is the type of assistance available to minor victims generally. As noted above, most assistance has been designed and tailored to the needs of young adult women trafficked for sexual

exploitation. However, trafficked minors for all forms of exploitation have their own specific assistance needs. While on paper, the inventory of assistance and service may appear the same, in practice, this is not the case.[164] Not only are the assistance needs different, but so too are the ways that this assistance must be implemented. That is, while all victims require access to medical care, the type of service required will vary. Minor victims of labor trafficking will generally need medical assistance that considers how labor exploitation has impacted their physical development and general health. This may include injuries sustained while laboring, the impact of beatings and abuse, retarded growth due to insufficient food, and chronic illness exacerbated by lack of medical care. Further, in cases where labor trafficking involved sexual abuse, gynecological exams are needed, but must be implemented according to "child friendly" protocols. Someone trained in child psychology rather than a generalist should provide psychological care to minors. Similarly, legal assistance must be adapted to the needs and specific context of minor victims, including the appointment by the state of a legal guardian and adjustments made according to the minor's capacity to understand fully and make informed decisions about the legal process. Moreover, all interactions and interviewing of minors must be guided by child-friendly techniques and all social care actors must be trained in these skills.

Beyond immediate assistance, there is a need for long-term support and reintegration of minor victims of trafficking. This includes, but is not limited to, family mediation and counseling, education and training programs, long-term medical care, and psychological support.[165] A lack of case monitoring and follow-up also constitute a gap between what is needed and what is available to victims in many countries in the region.[166] This poses particular problems in the case of minors, where there needs to be continuity of care in the long term.

Nonetheless, the development of programs for minors is an ongoing process with new groups of at-risk and vulnerable minors regularly being identified. Service providers at the Minors and Child-Friendly Wing of

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164. *See id.* at 47.

165. In particular, the lack of education-and often even the lack of basic literacy—underlines the importance of education reinsertion programs, alternative education models, and vocational training for minor victims. There is also a need to consider how prevention efforts can be better targeted, as many minors do not have access to information through formal schooling or even informal education, such as through programs or clubs. With low education levels extant among many of the victims' parents, the educational and training needs of parents also have a place within the assistance framework. Further, prevention must target parents in appropriate venues and at an appropriate education/literacy level.

166. *See* SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 49.

the IOM rehabilitation center in Moldova currently work with five distinct target groups of minors: (1) minor victims of trafficking (generally fourteen to sixteen year-old girls trafficked for sexual exploitation); (2) children trafficked with their mother/parent; (3) girls who return home pregnant or with a baby; (4) children left in Moldova while their mother was trafficked and reunited with the mother during her reintegration; and (5) male victims of trafficking (young boys, generally sixteen to seventeen years old).[167] This type of attention to diversity among minors and changes in profiles and experiences is essential and should be emulated by other regional actors.

C. Reintegration Options When Families Are Complicit in Trafficking

Families were variably complicit in the trafficking of minors discussed in this Article. In Bulgaria, all victims were recruited by a family member, although some were close and some were extended family.[168] In Albania and Romania, trafficking frequently occurred with family awareness, if not consent.[169] And in both Moldova and Romania, trafficking often involved trafficking of the family as a whole.[170] While ideally, family reunification—accompanied by family counseling and support—should be pursued for minors, the issue of family involvement in trafficking poses serious difficulties in reintegration. Return to a family that has been complicit in trafficking places the minor in an acutely vulnerable position with serious risks of retrafficking.[171] Even where parents were not overtly complicit, as in the Moldovan cases where parents thought that the family was migrating for work, there are issues in terms of reintegration, with both the parent and child requiring assistance and case monitoring. As critical is the fact that traffickers may seek to retraffic minors and their families may be powerless to stop them. One boy explained of his return: "When I came back home, I did not feel really welcome. They (the parents) already knew that I had escaped from the exploiter. He called them and threatened them, asking them to give back the money he had spent on my trip to Greece if I did not go

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167. *Id.* at 389.

168. *See generally id.* at 163-214.

169. *See generally id.* at 51-112, 432-89.

170. *See generally id.* at 333-96, 432-89.

171. That family and security assessments are a requisite component of the return of all Bulgarian minors stands as a good practice by Bulgarian authorities and serves to anticipate some of the problems of family reintegration. These recently implemented mechanisms for family and risk assessment should, in the future, identify where there has been family involvement in trafficking and develop a reintegration plan for the minor that takes these risks into account. *See id.* at 205-19.

back. My father was angry because he could not see a way to pay him back."[172]

At the same time, alternatives to reintegration in SEE are sorely lacking. The poor quality of care in state institutions in all four countries makes this a less than ideal alternative. Generally, other care options—like temporary placement with a foster family, boarding schools, community-based care for vulnerable children—have not been widely explored and implemented.[173] These options should be applied in greater profiles. For example, foster care placements should be considered in the case of some trafficked minors. Where this is to be pursued, appropriate training and orientation of foster families is essential to facilitate the successful placement of the minor, as well as to mitigate tension in the foster family. Further, while foster care presents one care option to be further explored, having foster care in countries like Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, and Moldova is difficult when there are so many minors in need.

Another pivotal challenge is the issue of reintegration of victims of trafficking for adoption. In all cases, the baby was returned to the mother following identification.[174] Efforts were made to mobilize the support of the local level commissions and child protection agencies throughout the country to support reintegration.[175] The risk that the babies will be retrafficked either for adoption, or when they are older for other purposes, remains a concern. Unless the material and social conditions that contribute to trafficking are addressed, retrafficking poses a serious threat to the protection of these children.[176]

Regarding criminal liability for trafficking in children, determining a parent's complicity is both essential and problematic. As the RCP has found: "Excessive focus on the criminal prosecution of mothers poses serious problems for reintegration efforts. It also ignores the mother's own social victimization which, based on preliminary victim profiles, appears pronounced."[177] Nevertheless, the complicity of parents in these criminal acts cannot be ignored, if for no other reason than that these actions directly affect the care and safety of the child.[178]

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172. RAPID ASSESSMENT, ALBANIA, *supra* note 62, at 32.

173. *See* SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 14-17.

174. *Id.* at 198.

175. *Id.*

176. *Id.* at 198-99. One of the nine mothers had been a victim of trafficking herself, trafficked as a minor for delinquency. *Id.* at 199.

177. *Id.*

178. *Id.*

D. Targeted Prevention Programs for Minors

In the development of prevention messages, specific attention is needed to how minors process information and how they digest messages. Minors and children have different ways of seeing the world, and because of this, adults are not always effective in their messages to them. Vivid illustration of this point can be found in a recent study that reviewed trafficking awareness-raising campaigns from the perspective of minors, with attention to how they saw and reacted to the messages.[179] In this study, minors often saw and understood the messages differently from how they were intended. For example, in considering one poster in which a woman was portrayed as a Barbie doll in a box with a price tag of US$600, one Albanian boy responded "She's worth more than that."[180] Similarly, another poster that used a bar code metaphor (a woman trapped behind a bar code to symbolize commoditization of women in the trafficking process) was often misunderstood by children, with one minor noting, "I don't think it is a good idea to stand behind pipes."[181] Children surveyed may not have understood the imagery of the bar code, because they primarily came from rural areas and had not been exposed to the use of bar codes.[182] This study detailed misinterpretations of various antitrafficking awareness-raising materials, highlighting that age and individual experience does inform how minors digest or fail to digest prevention and protection messages.[183]

More attention is needed to how minors see and understand messages and information. There also needs to be an increase in information about children's decision-making processes. That is, aid providers need to know who children consult (peers, teachers, parents, etc.), at what point they make their decisions, and how others can reach them before their decisions have been made.

Also critical to note is that most minor victims were residing with their families at recruitment, flagging the need for prevention programs that target families as a whole, alongside those for specific target groups.[184] Prevention should include not only awareness-raising efforts, but also more systematic prevention efforts with at-risk groups, like

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179. *See generally* Marianne Alice Gipon et al., UNICEF & COLUMBIA UNIV., NOT FOR SALE: CHILD TRAFFICKING PREVENTION IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE (2003) [hereinafter NOT FOR SALE].

180. *Id.* at 19.

181. *Id.* at 18.

182. *Id.*

183. *See generally id.*

184. *See* SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 14-17.

employment placement, vocational training, and community development initiatives.

E. "Best Interests of the Child"

In terms of assisting minors and considering their "best interests," researchers, practitioners, and policymakers need to think through what this means in real terms. There needs to be concrete examples, options, and guidance for people working with minors. The "best interests of the child" is an oft-repeated principle,[185] which intends much, but which in practice specifies very little. Without more specific and practical guidelines for social care actors, those who lack resources and support are often without the guidance, expertise, and resources to appropriately and adequately assist minor victims. This can, and at times does, mean that minors do not receive the specialized care that they require. This has particular resonance in SEE where there is a lack of government and NGO agencies that are skilled in service provision for minors.

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

Determining the "best interests of the child" is an area of specialization, requiring the mobilization of expertise to formulate a framework within which training and assistance can take place. Additionally we must consider that the "best interests of the child" are measured differently by different actors—be they service providers, the criminal justice system, or those across different borders—all of whom have different perspectives. Balancing and accommodating each of these interests is intensely complex.

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185. *See, e.g.*, Council of Europe Convention on Action Against Trafficking on Human Beings, May 16, 2005, C.E.T.S. No. 197, art. 10(4)(A).

F. Interventions Tailored to Different Social Groups

In Bulgaria and Albania, there was a strong link between minors trafficked for labor, begging, delinquency, and adoption on the one hand, and ethnicity on the other.[186] The specific situation of trafficking victims from ethnic minorities requires specific attention, with regard to both trafficking prevention and assisting trafficking victims. Thought is needed about how different social groups consume and digest prevention messages, how they access information, as well as their comparative levels of education and literacy.

Further, while targeted prevention efforts are essential, these must go beyond awareness-raising and tackle the more systemic issues of socioeconomic disenfranchisement. For example, in Albania, where many victims are not registered, birth registration can serve as an aspect of trafficking prevention.[187] Employment placement and vocational training targeted at ethnic minorities, who often face discrimination in the job market, are also potential prevention strategies. Broad-based community development efforts with minority communities can also play a valuable preventative role, considering what interventions best meet the needs of already trafficked victims, and how reintegration can be supported and made most effective. Moreover, because so many of the victims affected were minors, social workers and the social welfare system also play a critical role.

In addition, there is a need to think beyond the category of "ethnicity" and pinpoint the specifics of different ethnic groups, including their variable vulnerability to trafficking. Further, the diversity within ethnic minority groups must be considered. There are many different subgroups within the Roma community and not all may be equally vulnerable to trafficking. Researchers and analysts need to think beyond general social categories and situate interventions in the specifics of victims' lives and experiences. Identifying these specifics many allow actors to identify resiliency factors required to combat trafficking. A more carefully situated analysis may also identify risk factors among other social groups, such as class, religion, and culture groups.

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186. All but one of the Bulgarian minors trafficked for begging and delinquency in both years were Roma and all victims of trafficking for adoption were from an ethnic minority—Pomak, Turkish, or Roma. *See* SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 164, 170-71. Similarly, from Albania the vast majority of minors trafficked were ethnic minorities—either Roma, Egyptian or a mix of ethnicities. *Id.* at 60. There is a lack of information about the link between ethnicity and trafficking in Moldova and Romania because service providers do not systematically record this information as part of case management. *Id.* at 342, 500. This information is valuable in formulating if and how this is a site of vulnerability for minors.

187. *Id.* at 60.

G. Socially Normative Practices Impacting Effective Response

Central to an understanding of the contributing forces of trafficking is how this practice is understood within the country of origin and how it forms part of traditional social structures. Is bonded labor accepted as a temporary solution to an economic crisis? Is child labor a socially tolerable, even acceptable, economic option? Is trafficking for some types of work more acceptable than for others? Is there stigma attached to people who have been trafficked or is it something that is accepted by the community as a possibility of life? Understanding such dynamics, even in a partial sense, provides insight into trafficking and bonded labor as a cultural and historical event and, by implication, the meanings of such behavior and mechanisms to victims and perpetrators themselves.[188]

The degree to which it is viewed as socially acceptable for children to work abroad and even be sold or rented out for work must be considered. One Bulgarian minor trafficked to Vienna for begging came from a family of eight children, five of whom had been "sold" for work abroad.[189] In environments where bonded labor is socially acceptable, efforts to redress this practice must have a firm understanding of the conditions that foster its continuation. Also salient is the normative nature of migration abroad (both legal and illegal) and the social acceptability of this economic strategy in the four countries discussed in this Article. This social acceptability may influence a victim's willingness to accept work. Further, some people may be pressured by family to migrate to fulfill what, in some cases, may be seen as a responsibility or obligation to family. Given that minors were trafficked during such formative years, there is a risk that they will conceptualize as normal these experiences of "migration" and "work," as well as the resultant exploitation.

Significantly, the sociocultural conditions that generate problems like trafficking are often potentially the key to their remedy. Both state and nonstate actors' understanding of the cultural context in which trafficking occurs would be a valuable starting point in developing solutions—both preventive and protective. The import of this cultural understanding must be stressed in the development of antitrafficking

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188. For a discussion of the links between trafficking and socially normative practices in other environments, see generally Rebecca Surtees, Cambodian Women and Violence: Considering NGO Interventions in Cultural Context (2000) (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Macquarie University) (on file with author); *see also* UNICEF, CHILD TRAFFICKING IN SIERRA LEONE (2005); Penny Van Esterik, *Ideologies and Women in Development Strategies in Thailand*, (N.Y. Univ. Thai Studies Working Paper No. 1, 1989).

189. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 188.

efforts, especially when considering that cultural information is too often viewed as mere "background" or even "irrelevant."[190]

H. Considering the Assistance Paradigm—Child Trafficking or Child Protection?

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

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

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

Currently in SEE, there are some organizations assisting trafficking victims within a broader framework of child protection rather than tailoring their programs specifically to trafficking victims. Among these is the Foundation for Local Democracy in BiH, which assists female victims of violence, an increasing percentage of whom are trafficking victims. This organization tailors assistance for different victims as

190. *See generally* Van Esterik, *supra* note 188.

needed. For the most part, however, social workers report that many of these victims' experiences and needs are similar.[191] Similarly, in the province of Kosovo, the NGO, Hope and Homes, has a program that includes both shelters and semi-independent living for young adults and youth victims of violence generally.[192] Lessons from these organizations can tell us much about the advisability and efficacy of this approach. At the same time, attention should also be paid to situations in which trafficking victims are simply absorbed in the child protection framework, with little attention paid to the specific needs of trafficked victims. Balancing the two approaches is paramount.

IV. CONCLUSION

In many ways, this Article has asked more questions than it has answered. This is because it is meant as a starting point for discussion and reevaluation of the understanding of trafficking in minors in the SEE region and the assistance available to them. Answers to these and other questions provide potential windows of policy and programmatic opportunity for trafficked minors. As is clear from the profiles outlined above, minor victims were trafficked for a range of different purposes and their trafficking experiences were equally disparate. Through a presentation of these other forms of trafficking and the specific sociocultural environment in which they take place, this Article aims to challenge the hegemonic representations of trafficking by development agencies and the media, which has largely focused on trafficking of adult women for sexual exploitation. In presenting profiles of minors trafficked for less-considered forms of exploitation (both male and female) as well as some issues related to assistance to minors, this Article endeavors to move toward a more accurate understanding of these issues and, perhaps most importantly, more effective policies and programs.

191. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 155.
192. *Id.* at 289.

APPENDIX 1: GENERAL FINDINGS OF ASSISTED VICTIMS TRAFFICKED TO, THROUGH, OR FROM SEE

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

TABLE 10

NUMBER OF TRAFFICKING VICTIMS ASSISTED IN SEE BETWEEN 2000 AND 2004[193]

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

193. *Id.* at 31-32.

TABLE 10

NUMBER OF TRAFFICKING VICTIMS ASSISTED IN SEE BETWEEN 2000 AND 2004[193]

Country or Entity of Origin/Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total
Morocco	0	0	0	0	1	1
Uzbekistan	0	0	0	3	0	3
China	0	0	0	0	2	2
Kazakhstan	0	0	0	1	0	1
Thailand	0	0	0	2	0	2
Hungary	1	0	0	0	2	3
Greece	0	0	0	1	0	1
Lebanon	0	0	0	0	2	2
Germany	0	0	0	1	0	1
Armenia	0	0	0	0	2	2
Poland	0	0	1	0	1	2
Total number of assisted victims of non-SEE nationality	86	131	133	65	62	477
Consolidated number of victims assisted in SE Europe of both SEE and non-SEE nationality	887	1383	1430	1329	1226	6256[194]

Albania, Moldova, Romania and, to a lesser extent, Bulgaria and the Province of Kosovo were the main countries or entities of origin in SEE in 2003 and 2004. Albanian victims accounted for 26% of the victims assisted in 2003 and 30% in 2004. Moldovan victims constituted 23.7% of victims in 2003 and 24.5% in 2004. At the same time, victims from traditional countries of transit and destination were found trafficked within SEE as well as outside the region.[195]

Increasingly, victims have been trafficked from BiH, Serbia and Montenegro, Macedonia, and Croatia, signaling these states' potential emergence as countries of origin. Victims from these traditional

194. The figure of 6256 assisted victims in SEE is comprised of 5779 trafficked persons from countries of SEE as well as 477 victims from other countries assisted within the region. These figures were calculated by adding the numbers of trafficked victims collected from service providers in SEE, as well as the handful of cases of SEE nationals collected from service providers in E.U. countries according to the RCP research methodology. *Id.*; *see also infra* App. 2.

195. SURTEES, *supra* note 4, at 32-33.

destination and transit countries were trafficked both internally and abroad. Also of note was the presence of less usual states of origin, which may signal changing routes and preferences in countries of origin.[196] Further:

> In 2003 and 2004, assisted trafficking victims originated from countries as distant as China, Iraq, Georgia, Mongolia, Lebanon, Armenia and Uzbekistan. More proximate and relatively prosperous countries were also represented, including Germany, Slovenia, Slovakia, and Hungary. Ukraine was a primary country of origin throughout the reporting period . . . Ukrainian victims were trafficked to all countries in the SEE region.[197]

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

Given that trafficking is widely recognized as a prolific trend in SEE, the numbers presented herein appear very low. However, it is critical to stress that the RCP methodology contains only details of assisted trafficking victims within the region and from a handful of organizations in E.U. countries. Furthermore, assisted victims represent only a portion of the total number of trafficking victims, with many more victims never identified or assisted, and still others declining assistance. Information drawn from a range of primary and secondary sources (victims, governments, NGOs, and IOs) strongly suggests that the actual number of trafficking victims is significantly higher than the number of assisted victims.

196. *Id.* at 33.
197. *Id.*

APPENDIX 2: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROCESS

The Regional Clearing Point (RCP) research is based on both primary and secondary data from throughout the Southeastern European (SEE) region as well as some E.U. countries. The RCP established and conducted the following information collection mechanisms.

Primary data: Primary data about victims of human trafficking was collected from service providers in the field that currently work with and assist victims, utilizing a standardized set of questions. Service providers in all countries/entities of SEE completed these standard questionnaires for assisted victims, excluding those who overlapped with other services providers. In addition, the RCP received some information from organizations working in destination countries.[198] Among the indicators collected were:

- Victim profiles and individual Characteristics (gender, age, education, marital and family status, ethnicity, area of origin, disabilities, economic status, and nationality);
- Recruitment (sex of recruiter, relationship to recruiter, work promised and reason for leaving home, and living and working situation at recruitment);
- Transportation and Movement (use of legal or illegal documents and legal or illegal border crossings, destination, and transportation routes);
- Trafficking Experience (form of trafficking, length of time trafficked, working and living conditions, abuse suffered, and mental and physical well-being);
- Post-trafficking (identification, means to exit trafficking, re-trafficking, and assistance declined).[199]

Interviews and correspondence were also used to clarify figures and victim profiles. They were conducted by organizations and service providers during site visits to each of the countries detailed in the report.[200] In addition, figures were cross-referenced with other service providers to avoid duplication. For example, "where a victim received initial sheltering and medical services on return to one's home country

198. *Id.* at 23 & n.7.

199. *Id.*

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

from one organization and was subsequently referred to a different organization for follow-up services, the victim's case was only represented once within the data."[201] Data collection did not include confidential information, such as the victim's name, address, or medical history, to avoid compromising the security and anonymity of victims.

Secondary data: The RCP also accessed secondary data through interviews with "frontline counter trafficking personnel," including outreach workers, shelter managers, antitrafficking police units, and professionals providing medical, legal, and psychosocial assistance for national and foreign victims.[202] In general:

> RCP met with counter-trafficking organizations and government departments working in the field of antitrafficking prevention and policy. Standardized interviews were conducted with critical issues including: victim profiles and trafficking experiences, trafficking trends and patterns, victim needs at identification, victim identification process, assistance programs available, and problems and issues in the assistance framework.[203]

Data for the RCP report was collected in the course of field research and sites visits to the ten project countries and entities, as well as e-mail and telephone communications. The sum of this data was then verified, cross-referenced, and analyzed.[204]

Methodological Strengths and Limitations: The RCP methods have numerous strengths. They provide standardized quantitative data on human trafficking victims from the ten SEE project countries/entities. Currently, this information is the only consolidated data about assisted victims at a national or regional level. In addition, the RCP presents primary data that frames and considers trafficking from a victim-centric perspective. The RCP also addresses the transnational nature of trafficking by embracing a regional approach.

Nevertheless, the RCP methodology has some limitations that are explored in fuller detail in the RCP report but flagged briefly in the context of this Article.[205]

First, the information about victim profiles and experiences was collected only from assisted trafficking victims who were trafficked to, through, and from SEE. As is widely recognized, there is a difference between the number of trafficking victims in SEE and the number of

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201. *Id.* at 24.
202. *Id.*
203. *Id.*
204. *Id.*
205. *Id.*

assisted victims. Information drawn from a range of primary and secondary sources strongly suggests that the actual number of trafficking victims is significantly higher than the number of assisted victims.

Secondly, in some countries, high numbers of assisted victims are also a measure of a country's efforts to tackle trafficking rather than an indictment of their inaction. As such, the RCP findings should be read with this caveat.

Third, while there have been substantial improvements in the identification skills of countertrafficking actors, there remain varying levels of skill and experience in the identification of trafficking victims. Some victims of trafficking were misidentified as victims of violence generally or not identified at all. In other circumstances, victims of violence were misidentified as trafficking victims.

Fourth, assisted victims represent a particular subgroup of trafficking victims: those who were willing and able to find and accept aid. This subgroup is likely to differ systematically from other victims of trafficking, an issue which must be borne in mind in both the analysis and presentation of RCP's data and profiles. Thus, this information can be read only as representative of such assisted trafficking victims.[206]

A fifth limitation is that the time period presented in the data reflects the year that the victim was assisted, rather than when one was trafficked, as service providers do not regularly record the year that victims were trafficked. This poses a difficulty in the analysis of trends and patterns, as victims assisted in one year may have been trafficked over a long period of time. Ideally, data should be analyzed based on the year in which victims were trafficked.

Sixth, RCP efforts to collect data from service providers in certain destination countries were largely unsuccessful. Many organizations lacked time and resources to aid in the research or were prevented from doing so by institutional regulations on information sharing. With more victims staying in destination countries due to burgeoning residency options, the lack of information from these countries can result in repressed figures. The number of victims may appear to decline, giving rise to a misperception that trafficking issues have been addressed. The true rate of identified and assisted victims will only be revealed when victims are counted at both origin and destination.[207]

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206. *Id.* at 25.
207. *Id.* at 25-26.

APPENDIX 3: RCP PARTNER ORGANIZATIONS—SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The following organizations and institutions provided primary data to RCP. Each related their first hand experience with assisted trafficking victims according to the methodology outlined above. This was a substantial undertaking by these service providers, which took time, effort, and resources, for which the RCP is grateful.[208]

Country/Entity	Organizations and Institutions
Albania	Women's Counseling Center (WCC), Vatra Women Hearth, Terre des Hommes (TdH), Help for Children/Ndihme Për Fëmijët (NPF), Femijet e Shqiperise dhe botes, Tjeter Vision, IOM Mission in Tirana, Së Bashku Kundër Trafikimit të Fëmijëve (BKTF), European Committee for Training and Agriculture (CEFA), International Social Service (ISS), Different and Equal, National Reception Centre (NRC)
BiH	Lara, Foundation for Local Democracy, La Strada/Mostar, International Forum of Solidarity (IFS), Zena BiH, IOM Mission in Sarajevo
Bulgaria	Nadja Center, Animus Association—La Strada, National Service to Combat Organized Crime (NSCOC) (Ministry of the Interior), National Border Police Service (Ministry of the Interior), Medecins San Frontiers (MSF), Bulgarian Red Cross, Caritas Bulgaria, IOM Mission in Sofia
Croatia	Organization for Integrity and Prosperity (OIP), Croatian Red Cross, Women's Association Vukovar, Center for Women War Victims—Rosa, Centre for Disaster Management, IOM Mission in Zagreb
Macedonia	For a Happy Childhood, Open Gate/La Strada Macedonia, Temis, Organization of Women of Skoplje, Macedonian Bar Association, National Coordinator (Ministry of Interior), IOM Mission in Skopje
Kosovo (Serbia and Montenegro)	Center for the Protection of Women and Children (CPWC), Gjakove Women's Safe House (WSH), Women Wellness Center (WCC), Interim Secure Facility (ISF), Center to Protect Victims and Prevent Trafficking (PVPT), Hope & Homes, United Methodist Committee of Relief (UMCOR), Victims Advocacy and Assistance Unit (VAAU), Center for Women and Children (ASB), IOM Mission in Pristina
Moldova	La Strada-Moldova, Salvati Copiii, Interaction, Gencliar Birlii, Rehabilitation Center, Italian Consortium of Solidarity (ICS), Center for the Prevention of Trafficking in Women (CPTW), IOM Mission in Chisinau
Montenegro	Women's Safe House, Montenegrin Women's Lobby, IOM Mission in Podgorica
Romania	Social Alternatives, Connexiuni, Reaching Out, Young Generation, Armonia Association, Arhiepiscopia Ortodoxa Romana A

208. The information which follows replicates the "Sources of Information" table, *id.* at 27.

Country/Entity	Organizations and Institutions
	Timisoarei, Artemis, Save the Children—Salvati Copiii, Transit and Assistance Shelter for Victims of Trafficking, Resource Centre for Combating Trafficking in Persons (Ministry of Interior), IOM Mission in Bucharest
Serbia	ASTRA, Counseling Against Family Violence (CAFV), ATINA, Agency for Coordinating Assistance to Victims of Trafficking in Human Beings, Anti-Trafficking Team (Ministry of Interior), IOM Mission in Belgrade
Other countries	Koofra (Germany), Poppy Project (U.K.), STV La Strada (Netherlands), Dutch Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings—NRM (Netherlands), PARSEC Association (Italy), IOM Counter-Trafficking Service (Geneva), IOM Counter-Trafficking Database (Geneva)

The RCP's secondary data was derived from interviews and correspondences with numerous countertrafficking actors from governments, NGOs, and IOs. These actors were each helpful in bringing to light key issues and trends in terms of human trafficking, as well as outlining the countertrafficking efforts currently underway in each of the project countries/entities, with particular attention to victim identification, referral, and assistance. These actors include the following:[209]

Country/Entity	Organizations and Institutions
Albania	Coordinated Action Against Human Trafficking (CAAHT), International Catholic Migration Committee (ICMC), Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Management Systems International (MSI), Ministry of Public Order, National Coordinator's Office (Ministry of State), Centro Murialdo, Save the Children (STC), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
BiH	Buducnost, State Coordinator, Ministry of Internal Affairs, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), United Nations Office of the High Commission for Human Rights (UNOHCHR)
Bulgaria	State Agency for Child Protection (SACP), Ministry of Justice, Central Commission for Combating Child Delinquency, Child Crime Unit (Ministry of the Interior), National Police Service (Ministry of the Interior)
Croatia	National Coordinator (Office for Human Rights), Ministry of Interior, Croatian Law Centre
Macedonia	Transit Centre (Ministry of Interior), Department of Anti-Organized Crime (Ministry of Interior), Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) (Rule of Law and Police Development Unit), Sector for Minors and Delinquency (Ministry of Interior), Border Police Section for Illegal Migration (Ministry of Interior), Esma, Produzen Zivot
Kosovo (Serbia and	Trafficking in Human Beings Services in Pristina

209. The information which follows replicates the second half of the table under "Sources of Information." *Id.* at 28.

Country/Entity	Organizations and Institutions
Montenegro)	(UNMIK/THBS), THBS Prizren, Save the Children, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, Prime Minister's Office, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Pillar 1—Anti-Trafficking Coordinator, Department of Justice
Moldova	CARITAS, Border Police, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
Montenegro	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Exterior—Office of National Coordinator, Department for Aliens (Ministry of Interior), Save the Children
Romania	Center of Urban and Regional Sociology (CURS), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), International Labor Organization / International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (ILO-IPEC), Ministry of Administration and Interior, Institute for Crime Prevention and Research, Society for Children & Parents (SCOP)
Serbia	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), National Coordinator (Ministry of Interior); Department of Border Police (Ministry of Interior); Anti Trafficking Centre (ATC); Victimology Society of Serbia; Provincial Secretariat for Labor, Employment and Gender Equality; Wise, Persistent, Liberal, Authentic (MILA); Energy, Vision, Action (EVA); Centre for Social Work—Sombor; Beosupport; Incest Trauma Centre; Group 484; Catholic Relief Service (CRS); Save the Children; Kvinna till Kvinna; SOS Village; Roma Information Centre
Other countries	Stability Pact Task Force—SPTF (Vienna); BLinN—Humanitas & Novib (Netherlands); End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking—ECPAT (Netherlands); Scharlaken Koord (Netherlands); TAMPEP (Netherlands); IOM Mission in the Hague (Netherlands), KARO (Germany); FAFO Institute (Norway); OSCE/ODHIR CPRSI (Poland)