

Child Trafficking in Kosovo

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Save the Children
in Kosovo

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“Trafficking in persons means the recruitment, transportation, harboring or receipt of persons either by threat, or use of kidnapping, fraud, deception or coercion or by the giving or receiving of unlawful payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person for the purposes of sexual exploitation or forced labour” - *UN definition as laid out in the Convention on Transnational Crime, adopted by the UN General Assembly in November 2002.*

“ A child means every human being below the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier” - *UN definition as laid out in The Convention on the Rights of the Child, approved by the UN General Assembly on November 1989.*

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Violeta Lushtaku
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Save the Children in Kosovo, Pristina. June 2002.

List of Acronyms

CSW: Centre for Social Work
 CPWC: Centre for the Protection of Women and Children
 IDP: Internally Displaced Person
 ILO: International Labour Organisation
 IMF: International Monetary Fund
 IOM: International Organization for Migration
 KFOR: NATO Kosovo Forces
 KLC: Kosovo Law Centre
 LNGO: Local NGO
 OSCE: Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
 SCiA: Save the Children in Albania
 SCiK: Save the Children in Kosovo
 SC-UK: Save the Children, UK
 SEE: Southeast Europe
 SRSG: Special Representative to the Secretary General (of the United Nations)
 TPIU: Trafficking and Prostitution Investigation Unit
 UMCOR: United Methodist Committee on Relief
 UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund
 UNMIK: United Nations Interim Mission in Kosovo
 UNSCR: UN Security Council Resolution

Orthographic Note

Like many things in Kosovo, the orthography of place names is a contested and politicized issue. In line with SCiK policy, we have used the internationally standard "Kosovo" and "Pristina" instead of the Albanian forms, "Kosovo" and "Prishtinë". However, within the protectorate itself, we have used the Albanian forms of place-names. This is a matter of convenience and should not be taken as a sign of bias in either direction. A list is provided below, showing Albanian and Serbian forms of the municipalities covered by the study.

<i>Albanian form</i>	<i>Serbian form</i>
Ferizaj	Urosevac
Gjakovë	Djakovica
Gllgovc	Glogovac
Mitrovicë	Mitrovica
Pejë	Pec
Podujevë	Podujevo
Prizren	Prizren
Rahovec	Orahovac
Shterpc	Strpce
Skenderaj	Srbica

Executive Summary

The trafficking of women and girls for the purposes of prostitution and sexual exploitation is a very serious and ongoing problem in Southeast Europe (SEE). Political strife, armed conflict, social fragmentation, economic collapse and the weakness of democratic institutions have combined with a sharp rise in organised criminal activity to create a vibrant market in human trafficking. Women and girls are trafficked within and between SEE countries, and are also trafficked to Western European destinations beyond SEE. Where demand for prostitution exists, and where this demand sector is accessible to traffickers, the supply sector in SEE has responded by trafficking women and girls to the bars, hotels, private houses which serve as brothels within and beyond SEE.

Kosovo fits into this overall picture primarily as a destination country; that is, *at the time of writing*, Kosovo receives many women and girls trafficked from other SEE countries, but relatively few Kosovan women and girls are trafficked abroad. There are, however two “grey areas” about which comparatively little is known. These are internal trafficking (where both origin and destination lie within Kosovo) and transit status, in which women and girls are trafficked through Kosovo en route to another destination.

This report is an analysis of the current child trafficking situation in Kosovo. It examines the trafficking problem from three perspectives. Beginning with a discussion of trafficking in terms of demand (receiving) and supply (sending), it presents the most recent information available about numbers and routes of trafficked victims. It then turns to the anti-trafficking sector in Kosovo, describing and discussing the roles and competencies of the various organisations, actors and institutions involved in the fight against trafficking in Kosovo, both at the local and at the regional level. The focus then moves to the people who constitute potential future victims of trafficking in Kosovo, examining awareness levels and local knowledge about the trafficking problem among adults and children residing in a range of municipalities throughout the protectorate. Finally, it looks forward, analysing the preceding material and offering a set of concrete recommendations for Save the Children’s anti-trafficking work in Kosovo and Southeast Europe.

The central argument presented here is that, while at this moment, the greatest child trafficking problem in Kosovo is the receipt of victims trafficked from other countries (overwhelmingly Moldova), there is at the same time a very real danger that Kosovo could become a major sending country. This is a threat which we ignore at our peril.

Recommendations presented at the end of the report pertain in particular to Save the Children in Kosovo’s (SCiK) role in the Southeast Europe Regional Child Trafficking Programme, which is a broad co-operative initiative led by the Save the Children Albania office. These recommendations focus heavily on information and awareness-raising campaigns, to be implemented throughout Kosovo. On the demand side, clients and potential clients of trafficked victims must be made aware not only of the moral

implications of their actions, but also of the very severe criminal penalties provided for by UNMIK 2001/4, Kosovo's anti-trafficking regulation, penalties which are more severe in cases where the trafficked victim is under 18. We suggest that a major cross-media campaign be implemented throughout Kosovo to spread this information. On the supply side, we contend that the most important and effective intervention SCiK can make is preventative: we have an opportunity here to ensure that Kosovo never becomes a major *sending* country. The best way to achieve this, given that wholesale economic amelioration and active law enforcement are beyond both the mandate and capacity of SCiK, is through education. We therefore recommend a broad-based awareness-raising campaign, across all sectors of the media as well as at the community level. In addition to this, we recommend that SCiK advocate at the Government level to ensure the adoption of mandatory anti-trafficking sessions in the secondary school curriculum. Clearly, as a participant in the SEE Regional programme, we are aware of the implications of complementarity: reducing demand for trafficked victims here will help to reduce supply in sending countries and vice versa.

PART I: PRELIMINARY

Introduction, Definitions and Structure

This report presents the findings of five months of research into child trafficking in Kosovo, carried out from January to May 2002. It is, in effect, a situation analysis of child trafficking in Kosovo, incorporating an overview and analysis of the current position, a description of the institutional and legislative climate, a field study, and finally a set of conclusions and recommendations based on the preceding material.

The idea behind both the research and this report was that they should feed directly into SCiK's anti-trafficking programming, in other words, that the research should be *action-oriented*. Specifically, the data and information presented here has been used, and will continue to be used, to guide and develop the SCiK anti-trafficking project which will run until late 2003. This project is a part of a Save the Children Southeast Europe regional anti-trafficking initiative led out of the SC Albania office.

It will be helpful to begin with some clear definitions of terms used in this report:

Trafficking

We follow the UN definition as laid out in the Convention on Transnational Crime: "Trafficking in persons means the recruitment, transportation, harbouring or receipt of persons either by threat, or use of kidnapping, fraud, deception or coercion or by the giving or receiving of unlawful payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person for the purposes of sexual exploitation or forced labour".

Country of origin¹

The country of birth of a victim of trafficking; note that in certain cases, because of the post-1989 geopolitical reconfigurations, countries of birth of some victims no longer exist. In this report, we adopt a practice of using current place-names. Thus, for example, a woman born in 1985 in the USSR might now be referred to as Moldovan or Ukrainian.

¹ It should be noted that "country" is used in a broad sense here, signifying a bounded socio-political territory, and not as a synonym for "state". As will be explained later in this document, Kosovo has a particular and unique political status and is not technically a state, but a United Nations protectorate. The use of these terms in this report should in no sense be interpreted as a signal of support for one or other of the contraposed political positions vis-à-vis Kosovo's current or final status.

Sending country

In a specific sense, the country from which a trafficked victim is originally sent. Note that this may not be the victim's country of origin. In a broader sense, a country from which trafficking victims are sent. Note also that a victim may pass through several sending countries, which act as transit corridors.

Destination/ receiving country

In a particular sense, the country where a victim of trafficking ends up working, although this may be a temporary destination before the victim is sold on again. In a broader sense, a country which receives trafficking victims.

Internal trafficking

Trafficking wherein both origin and destination lie within the same country. Note that victims may be trafficked both internationally and internally; they may, for example, be brought to Kosovo from a sending country, then trafficked internally around Kosovo. In some instances, the victim may be further trafficked on to a third country, in which case Kosovo is acting as a transit corridor (see below).

Transit country/ corridor

A country which serves as a staging point between origin/ sending country and destination.

Children

Persons below the age of eighteen years.

Human trafficking in general, and child trafficking in particular, are serious problems in Southeast Europe (SEE). A number of factors lie behind this: conflict, migration, economic crisis, social fragmentation, rapid growth in organised criminal networks, corruption and inefficiency, limited law-enforcement capabilities of member states, to name some of the relevant supply-side issues. On the demand side, we see the effects of sudden social, political and economic change: the transition from command to market or quasi-market economies, the adoption of hard currencies, gluts of capital from various diasporas and the presence of unprecedented numbers of highly-paid international personnel have created, in some places within SEE, an artificially inflated economy which is in a position to finance a demand environment for prostitution *within* SEE; outside SEE, there is a constant demand for cheaper, foreign prostitutes. Concern about HIV and AIDS, combined with the idea that young girls are less likely to carry the virus, has created a demand for ever-younger prostitutes in both SEE and receiving countries outside SEE. Unless this problem is confronted as a matter of urgency, the situation will continue to worsen.

Since the end of the conflict in 1999, Kosovo has experienced an increase in both adult and child trafficking for the purpose of prostitution. Between February 2000 and April 2002, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) assisted 303 cases through its Return and Reintegration Project.² Of these, 38 were minors, under the age of 18, and 8 were Kosovans who had been trafficked abroad or internally. Between February 2000 and August 2001, IOM assisted 200 cases; a comparison of these figures indicates a slight overall upward trend in the trafficking problem.

Data from several sources suggests that, historically and currently, the primary positions occupied by Kosovo in the overall Balkan trafficking scheme have been that of receiving country and transit corridor.³ That is to say, according to existing figures, Kosovo has not been, and is not yet, a major sending territory. However, for any number of reasons, this is no cause for complacency: as we will show in this report, Kosovo in fact possesses many of the social, economic and political traits which are characteristic of sending countries and could easily become one; moreover, even if Kosovo is still primarily a destination and a transit corridor, the fight against trafficking must be engaged along these axes as well.

It is important to understand that trafficking, by its very nature, is doubly clandestine, being both a criminal activity and a culturally stigmatised one. The figures which are available thus represent only a proportion of the problem. Institutions and agencies which work directly on the trafficking problem readily acknowledge the difficulties of accurate statistical assessment of the extent of trafficking in Kosovo. The former Project Manager of Counter Trafficking of IOM, cites for example the problem of internal trafficking, which is far less visible than international trafficking: “[internal trafficking] is the great grey area in Kosovo”.⁴ As the law-enforcement and legislative environment in

² International Organization for Migration Situation Reports February 2000-August 2001, February 2000-December 2001 and February 2000-April 2002.

³ Field research carried out by SCiK, interviews with personnel from IOM and the Trafficking and Prostitution Investigation Unit.

⁴ Interview with Project Manager of Counter Trafficking, IOM, Pristina, 23 January 2002.

Kosovo becomes steadily more inhospitable to traffickers, they for their part make more effort than ever to conceal their activities, and trafficking goes deeper underground.

A related issue which arises in this study is the question of victims' ages. Because the mandate of Save the Children is primarily focused on children and their security and rights, and because this study was conceived of as action-research linking directly with Save the Children's SEE regional anti-trafficking initiative, we tried as much as possible to direct the research towards child trafficking as a particular subset of human trafficking in general. This will be discussed in more depth in the methodology section of this report, but we note at this point that it was not always possible to disengage enquiries about the trafficking of children from enquiries about trafficking for prostitution in more general terms. This point is particularly relevant where anecdotal testimony from informants is provided: frequently, informants were unclear on the age of a victim they had heard of. It would be irresponsible to try to assign age information to these accounts on the basis of a statement such as "A girl was kidnapped... ". Wherever possible, we have been specific about age-data. In general, however, when "trafficking" appears without being prefixed by "child" we mean trafficking in adults and children. Many of the points made here are in any case relevant to both adult and child trafficking.

This study is organised into five parts. Part I contains this introduction and a discussion of the methodology used in this study. Part II, focusing on traffickers, describes, with the aid of graphics, some of the key trafficking routes of SEE of which Kosovo is a part. The trafficking market in Kosovo is discussed here from the perspectives of demand and supply, and figures on the incidence of trafficking are presented. Part III focuses on anti-trafficking institutions and actors within Kosovo, beginning with an examination of the legislative context (specifically the regulation UNMIK 2001/4). Existing victim assistance programmes are described here, and we also discuss the various agencies and institutions actively involved in anti-trafficking work in Kosovo. In Part IV the focus is upon victims and potential victims. We present data from our field survey and youth discussion groups. In Part V, we present conclusions, analysis and recommendations.

Methodology

The primary research for this project was carried out by a three-person team. This mixed team was comprised of one external consultant (a social anthropologist) and two programme officers from the SCiK Pristina office. These programme officers were female Kosovan Albanians; women were preferred because it was assumed that many of the informants in the projected field study would be women, and it was thought that female interviewers would be more effective in gathering data on what is a very sensitive topic. Additional support over the course of the research was provided by the other staff members of the SCiK Pristina office, as well as by a network of individuals and partner NGOs throughout Kosovo.

The research protocol was divided into three phases. While it was naturally assumed that these phases would be implemented sequentially, it was also accepted that there might be a degree of temporal overlap; in other words, the team might move on to an activity contained in a succeeding phase without first completing the previous phase. This flexibility was regarded as a very important quality of the study design: linear structure is of course always important, but so is the ability to tack back and forth as necessary, taking advantage of research opportunities as they present themselves.⁵

The three phases of the research protocol were as follows:

Desk and document research

This entailed a thorough examination of existing published materials, both in print and on the internet. A wide range of bibliographic sources was consulted: studies and reports of research into child trafficking and human trafficking in general, both within and beyond the Balkans. This provided a comparative perspective and an invaluable information backdrop.

Interviews with persons and agencies working on trafficking in Kosovo

During this phase, interviews were held with the main agencies, institutions, and NGOs involved in the fight against trafficking in Kosovo, with the aims of finding out the role of each agency or institution, and of soliciting as wide a range of expert opinion as possible. It should be noted that with the exception of UNICEF, none of these placed special emphasis on the problem of child trafficking. This is not to suggest that child trafficking was not seen as an issue for concern among these organisations, but simply that the majority of them, because of their particular mandates, concentrated on trafficking as an entire problem involving adults and children, and not solely on the problem of child trafficking. Among other institutions contacted in this phase of research were UNICEF, OSCE, TPIU, IOM, KLC and CPWC.

⁵ For more on these kinds of research models, see the ILO's excellent field guide *Investigating child labour: guidelines for rapid assessment*.

Field research

A field research component was built into the research protocol, in order to gather information on a range of issues among informants in different communities throughout Kosovo. Field research for this project was premised on the idea that a thorough study of child trafficking in Kosovo would require a combination of quantitative and qualitative data. Bearing in mind that this project had been designed as action research, we decided that we required data not only about possible experiences of child trafficking, but also data which would help us to develop a picture of the most vulnerable groups within the overall population: these groups would ultimately comprise that primary target population in SCiK anti-trafficking programming.

Valid arguments exist for virtually all choices of research protocol in the social sciences. At the end of the day, decisions about research design are both contextual and somewhat subjective. In a given situation, one researcher might elect to use a highly quantitative methodology, lending itself to detailed statistical analysis. Ultimately, this protocol, if properly executed, would result in a data set accurately depicting a macro-level situation: general trends and tendencies, overall pictures. From the perspective of development initiative programming, this would permit long-term, broad-based project planning. We may refer to this approach as a *quantitative/sociological* one. Another researcher might focus on acquiring highly qualitative data, offering a set of images of the world as seen from the viewpoint of the informants. The impressionistic data gathered in such an exercise would allow, for example, a project designer to focus on the fine-grained specifics of a given cultural context, honing the design of a given project to ensure that it cleaved closely to local cultural rules and norms. We may label this approach to social research a *qualitative/ethnographic* one.

Both types of approach entail characteristic procedural approaches and limitations on the kind of data they capture. A quantitative approach typically requires a larger sample size, and a concomitantly larger research team (unless time is not an issue, which is rarely the case). The data captured by such an approach will, as noted above, allow analysts to observe broader statistical trends within the target population, but will not allow researchers to conclude very much about ground-level sociocultural realities. Qualitative approaches, on the other hand, are typical of anthropological field research, and are usually taken by a single researcher or at most a small team. This kind of research is normally extremely time-consuming, and ideally involves a researcher living among his or her informants for a period of several months, sometimes longer. Analogously, there is a trade-off here too: data gathered by this technique, while offering a detailed picture of the world as seen by the informants, will tend to lack statistical generalizability.

For this research project, we elected to develop a field method which would allow us to capture a range of both quantitative and qualitative data. We chose this approach because, while sacrificing on the one hand a degree of statistical breadth, and on the other, a measure of ethnographic depth, it seemed to offer the best compromise, especially given the constraints of team size (three, including the external consultant

who did not possess the language skills to conduct interviews in any case, thus effectively a team of two interviewers) and time (three months). Because we wanted to ensure that the data gathered in this research process would be useful in developing SCiK's anti-trafficking strategy, we required data which would help us to think about broader, long-term issues as well as localised cultural questions. A semi-structured questionnaire was therefore designed to capture quantitative data as well as qualitative data. It was comprised of a mixture of questions, ranging from straight numerical enquiries, to follow-on opinion questions, to questions prompting highly qualitative, subjective responses. Once developed and refined, the questionnaire was translated into Albanian, then the translation was checked again by a second reader.

The field research phase of the overall protocol was subdivided into two components. The first was the questionnaire described above. This would be administered to adult householders. The research team also felt that it would also be important to solicit the views of teenagers, particularly outside of the home context. A second component was therefore incorporated into the protocol. This involved holding focus group discussions among teenagers in schools and youth groups. These focus groups were designed to elicit information which would allow the researchers to develop a picture of young people's knowledge about child trafficking in Kosovo. They took a workshop format, in which the teenagers were divided into groups and encouraged to work together to come up with answers to a range of questions about trafficking. These group answers were then written out on flip-charts and presented by group members to the rest of the workshop.

Both components of the field research phase were carried out with the assistance and support of partners: teachers, NGO personnel and community leaders who were willing to help in the research exercise. Their assistance was invaluable, because the SCiK team was able to reach communities and households which otherwise would have been completely inaccessible for sociocultural reasons in the time allocated to the exercises. These research partners would in most cases travel with the SCiK researchers, guiding the team and introducing them to community members. These introductions were seen as particularly important given the highly sensitive nature of some of the questioning directions. Essentially, the sequence of field research procedures was: identify target communities (a range of municipalities throughout Kosovo was selected); seek a potential local partner organisation or individual; contact this partner; conduct field research with partner. A similar approach was taken with the youth focus group exercises. The data, from the questionnaires in the former case and flip-charts in the latter, was then translated into English and tabulated for analysis.

Identifying, and building relationships with, suitable research partners was seen as an important part of the research process not only because it considerably enhanced SCiK's ability to collect the data, but because in some cases, these research partners could become implementing partners in the upcoming SCiK anti-trafficking project.

Scope and Limitations

While we are on the whole satisfied with the methodology developed and employed in this study, it is important to flag some limitations which emerged over the course of the research. Foremost among these is the fact that no interviews were conducted with known victims of trafficking for this study. Victim interviews were not done partly for reasons of access: identified victims of trafficking in Kosovo, should they choose to accept it, are taken into the Return and Reintegration Project implemented by the TPIU, IOM, OSCE and UMCOR. Because their safety is a primary consideration, they are sheltered at a secure and secret location. For obvious reasons, researchers from other organisations are not permitted access to this shelter, nor to those operated by the Centres for the Protection of Women and Children, which handle domestic cases of trafficking. Ethical reasons also prevailed: interviews with traumatized victims need to be handled with great care, and none of the SCiK research team was trained in counselling or dealing with highly traumatized individuals. Interviews were not carried out among traffickers either. The reasons for this should be obvious to the reader, having mostly to do with security.

Another problem which was encountered among a very small minority of organisations was an unwillingness to share data with the research team. It should be noted at this point that almost all of the organisations approached for information were extremely willing to help, and that significant problems were only encountered with one organisation.

PART II: TRAFFICKING

Trafficking in children for the purposes of sexual exploitation is an industry. This is true wherever it exists. Like any industry, it requires a set of conditions in order to function. The most obvious analogy in this case is with the narcotics trade; it is important to bear in mind that however illegal and immoral these industries are, they are in fact species of entrepreneurial activity and can therefore be thought of in terms borrowed from economics. This idea underlies the development of SCiK's anti-trafficking programming, which is designed to confront the problem of trafficking from the perspectives of supply and demand, the fundamental concept being that for trafficking to take place, supply and demand must be drawn into a transactional relationship, facilitated by certain market conditions.⁶ In a logical sense then, supply, demand and market are necessary conditions for an economic transaction such as trafficking to take place; however, though in formal terms it follows logically that by removing one element of the triad, we can dismantle the whole apparatus, in fact this is not the case, as we have seen time and again in the "war on drugs," which has been chiefly and unsuccessfully fought as a supply side problem. The problem with the formal logic argument is that it does not take account of the fact that these are highly dynamic systems, in which supply is (re)created, Medusa-like, to meet demand. In other words, the successful reduction (and eventual elimination) of human trafficking in general and child trafficking in particular will depend upon the successful reduction and elimination of both supply and demand elements.

In this section, we employ the same model to organise our discussion of child trafficking in Kosovo. We will begin by discussing child trafficking in Kosovo from the perspectives of the demand side and the supply side. We will then present data on trafficking routes involving Kosovo, and trafficking statistics in the protectorate.

Demand Side: Kosovo as a Receiving Country

Kosovo is an important SEE destination for victims of trafficking. The latest UNMIK Off-Limits List, circulated by the TPIU to UNMIK personnel, lists 129 establishments (plus an additional 3 recently closed) which are suspected of being venues for prostitution and trafficking. Of these 129, 6 had a previous existence under another name, reflecting a tendency for these establishments to simply re-open under another business name once they are raided and closed down by the authorities.⁷ And this is only a list of the establishments which are known or suspected to be prostitution bars: there are probably many more. Some, though not all, of these bars are comparatively easy to spot: shiny new buildings with neon signs located alongside major roadways, and operating as bar/hotel combinations. According to the TPIU (and no doubt in large part as a result of its increasingly vigorous activities), much of the prostitution is now

⁶ "Market" is here used in its standard metaphorical sense to refer to networks of exchange and transactional relations, together with the economic, social and political conditions which allow these relations to thrive.

⁷ The right to reopen a new venue after a previous one has been closed on the same property is a legal loophole which the TPIU is anxious to close. James Higgins, TPIU.

going even deeper underground. One ploy which has been adopted runs as follows: a client goes to a certain café known to be a front for prostitution. There, he orders a coffee, for which he pays 60 euros (the normal price of a coffee being less than 1 euro). He is then given directions to an address. When he arrives at the building indicated by the café, he is met by another man, who finally directs him to the actual place of prostitution.⁸ It can be clearly seen that systems such as this make it extremely difficult, and in many cases impossible, to locate bars where trafficked women and/or girls might be working. Increasingly too, prostitution is moving out of more obvious bar-brothels and into private homes; again, this is making it more and more difficult to keep track of it.⁹

As we have noted earlier in this report, demand for prostitution in Kosovo is related to the economic and political conditions obtaining in the province. It is important to understand that when we suggest that demand is “related” to Kosovo’s economic and political landscape, we do not mean that this is a direct causal relationship. Rather, we argue that a demand for prostitution services is *facilitated* by the economy, and by the political situation, *among other things*. Demand in itself is a concept inhering in the client base, and is more akin to culturally defined pathologies of desire than to political or economic parameters. It is the economic and political conditions which *permit the fulfillment* of this desire.

What are these economic and political conditions? Most prominent among them is the artificially inflated economy of postconflict Kosovo. The three years since the 1999 NATO bombing campaign have seen an unprecedented influx of international personnel, working for numerous international NGOs, intergovernmental agencies, several United Nations agencies, and the NATO peacekeeping force KFOR. While, contrary to popular belief, international personnel do not constitute the primary client group for prostitution services, they do nonetheless constitute a major client group for goods and services in Kosovo, injecting substantial sums into the economy through commodity purchases, property rentals and service-industry demand.¹⁰ Moreover, international agencies and organisations involved in reconstruction and other development-sector work have offered a range of new employment opportunities to Kosovo residents, particularly in Pristina. The diaspora too, has enriched the local economy by capital return: Kosovo residents who fled the province in the 1990s or before, who have worked and earned abroad, are now bringing this capital back, either physically or sending it to family members in Kosovo for investment in small businesses. Finally, Kosovo is home to a thriving informal economic sector, in which illegally imported goods are traded openly. All of these factors have worked to create a small but growing entrepreneur class within the society, especially in urban areas and most of all in Pristina where the largest market for goods and services exists. This

⁸ James Higgins, TPIU.

⁹ Anna Eva Radicetti, IOM; James Higgins, TPIU; Prizren Women’s Council Shelter

¹⁰ From interviews with trafficked women, the TPIU unofficially estimates that 80% of the client base is comprised of local, Kosovon Albanian men.

entrepreneurial class possesses new spending power, and can afford to pay the prices demanded for prostitution services, which can range from 20 to 500 euros.¹¹

From a political point of view, all of these economic factors are enabled by an uncertain political climate, in which economic regulation has been slow to arrive in an enforceable manner. We must also bear in mind that democratic institutions are still in the process of being built and strengthened: Kosovo has little autochthonous tradition of democracy. The ten years of marginalisation in the late 1980s and 1990s, followed by the armed conflict, had devastating results on the capacity of local political actors to maintain viably democratic political structures and institutions. In a very real sense, the adoption of UNSCR 1244 at the end of the NATO bombing campaign in 1999 marked the beginning of a new political era in Kosovo (albeit one without a completely clear destination), in which institutions, competencies and legal instruments of government needed to be built up from scratch, in a context of ongoing interethnic tension and hostility. The fact that this process of democratic institution-building is still underway, and is likely to be underway for some time, means that Kosovo, even with the support of the United Nations and other institutions, lacks real capacity to enforce economic regulation.

This has implications at the local demand level insofar as it creates a space in which organised crime can operate. And organised crime lies at the heart of the trafficking problem; it is organised crime networks which provide trafficked women and girls to feed the demand market in Kosovo. It is suspected by the TPIU that the bosses and key figures in the trafficking sector of SEE organised crime networks are not Kosovan, but Albanian, Romanian and Ukrainian, while the “foot-soldiers” are drawn from the local criminal population. An interesting side issue here is that organised criminals of Kosovan Albanian descent are known to work closely with Serbian counterparts, suggesting that this is a successful example of interethnic cooperation in a context where few such examples exist.

A final point, which is a political matter insofar as it concerns Kosovo’s relations with neighbouring countries, is that of borders. Kosovo is surrounded by mountains, and its borders are physically difficult to police. The mountainous terrain militates against observation and control. This is another factor which enables the transit of trafficked women and girls into Kosovo. We should also note that this, together with the preceding points about organised crime networks, are also factors which need to be considered when thinking in terms of supply, of Kosovo as a sending country.

Demand and supply of course exist in a complementary relationship: one country’s demand sector responds to another’s supply sector and vice versa. This premise is also operative where internal trafficking is concerned, with the difference that the supply and demand sectors are not separated by an international border. While it is within SCiK’s programming remit to address problems of supply and demand within Kosovo (pertaining to either internal or international child trafficking), the issue of supply to

¹¹ Figures from TPIU.

the Kosovo demand sector is not, at least not in a direct sense, although it is envisaged that the Save the Children SEE Regional Anti-Trafficking Initiative will address the issue of complementarity between sending and receiving countries. It is worth noting at this point that Kosovo's demand sector for prostitution is supplied by women and girls trafficked from within Kosovo (a small minority) as well as victims trafficked from sending countries abroad. These countries are sending countries for a number of reasons which will be discussed elsewhere in this report, but of these reasons is that Kosovo is a demand sector.¹² The reduction and eventual elimination of demand in Kosovo is one step on the road to eliminating both internal and international trafficking to Kosovo. As participants in regional anti-trafficking initiatives, we in Kosovo have a particular responsibility to help reduce sending from other countries by cutting demand here.

Supply Side: Kosovo as a Sending Country

Existing data from IOM, TPIU, and our own field research suggest that Kosovo is not at this time a prominent sending country. Of a total of 303 cases assisted by IOM between February 2000 and April 2002, 8 victims have been Kosovan women and girls trafficked abroad and within Kosovo. This figure represents between two and three percent of the total figure.

This is not to say that it is not a problem at all; especially when we consider internal trafficking, it may well be the case that more sending is going on that the available statistics reveal.¹³ Certainly, even if sending from Kosovo is not at this moment fully developed, it is a potential future problem: many social, economic and other conditions exist which could lead Kosovo to become a country where sending is a more prominent feature of the child trafficking sector. Rural poverty, the existence of organised criminal networks which already possess established routes, networks and infrastructure for trafficking women and girls into Kosovo (such routes, networks and infrastructure could conceivably be deployed for trafficking victims out of Kosovo), a strong demand sector in receiving countries: all these are potential enabling factors for sending, as are the last points raised above. At the time of writing, however, all the evidence seems to suggest that Kosovo is currently a receiving country first, and a sending country a distant second.

All of the agencies, institutions and individuals with whom we spoke over the course of this research emphasised two points: firstly, that although it does not appear that Kosovo is currently a major sending country, there may be more going on than we know about, although it is certainly a less significant problem than receiving; secondly, that Kosovo could become a sending country if enough of the relevant push factors accumulate. Clearly then, this is not a situation in which any of the institutions and organisation involved in combating the trafficking of women and children can afford to be complacent.

¹² See *Trafficking Routes and Recruitment* and *Trafficking in Kosovo: Some Figures*, as well as the *Conclusions, Analysis and Recommendations* sections below.

¹³ See *Trafficking in Kosovo: Some Figures* below for a discussion of the limitations of existing numerical data.

Trafficking in Kosovo: Some Figures

Numbers

The information presented here is drawn largely from work done by the International Organization for Migration: figures are taken from their Situation Reports and other publications.¹⁴ Additional information was supplied by UNICEF and the TPIU.¹⁵ The other obvious source of information about internal trafficking was the Centre for the Protection of Women and Children, which among other activities related to the protection of women and children, runs shelters for victims of domestic violence, abuse, and trafficking. Unfortunately, the reports issued by CPWC do not distinguish clearly between cases of violence, abuse, and trafficking. While at one level this is reasonable, because victims of trafficking are highly likely to be victims of other kinds of violence and abuse, it nonetheless serves to obscure the data: in logical terms, while most victims of trafficking are also victims of sexual abuse and violence, the reverse is not true, so it is not in fact reasonable to conflate the figures. An interview with the director of CPWC failed to elicit any more concrete figures.

Two points about the data below should be noted. The first is that virtually all of it pertains to victims trafficked *into* Kosovo. This is a reflection of the fact that almost all the available data points to Kosovo as primarily a destination country. The second is that these figures, while representing the most accurate and up-to-date data available, are all derived from victims interviewed by IOM and TPIU, i.e. assisted cases. It is of course by definition impossible to get complete figures because not all victims of trafficking are found and assisted.

Between February 2000 and April 2002, IOM has assisted 303 women and girls through its Return and Reintegration Project. Of these, 38 were minors: 12.5%. Although the sample size is too small to make strong generalizations, we can nonetheless discern certain weak trends, one of which is that assisted cases in which the victim was a minor appear to have increased in frequency: during the four months between January and April 2002, 18 cases of underage victims were assisted, which is a higher figure than that for any previous four-month span. Again, we emphasize that this is in no sense meant as a scientific claim, but merely as a superficial observation of limited data. Nonetheless, even the possibility of such an approaching trend should trigger alarm bells among child rights organisations. Note that figures obtained from TPIU are somewhat different: in 2001, 131 victims, among them 21 minors, were rescued and assisted by the Unit; in 2002 up to the time of writing, TPIU has rescued and assisted 53 victims, of whom 6 were minors. The 2002 figures in particular diverge strongly from the IOM figures.

¹⁴ International Organization for Migration Situation Reports February 2000-August 2001, February 2000-December 2001 and February 2000-April 2002: *Victims of Trafficking in the Balkans*. IOM, 2001..

¹⁵ *Trafficking in Human Beings in South Eastern Europe*, UNICEF, 2000; interviews with James Higgins, TPIU.

Origins

By far the largest group of trafficking victims assisted in Kosovo come from Moldova. The Moldova figure is greater than the sum of the numbers from all other countries sending trafficked women and girls to Kosovo. This has been the case consistently since IOM's earliest available reports. The latest figures show a total of 159 Moldovan women out of a total of 303 cases (52%) assisted by IOM between February 2000 and April 2002. Other sending countries include Romania (71 cases, or 23%), the Ukraine (38 cases, or 13%), Bulgaria (16 cases, or 5%), Albania (8 cases, or 3%), and Russia (3 cases, or 1%). Kosovan cases (8, or 3%) include 6 cases of international trafficking and two cases of internal trafficking. Figures from the TPIU, published at the end of 2001, show similar patterns of origin from a sample size of 172: Moldovan - 55%, Romanian - 27%, Ukrainian - 10%, Kosovan - 3%, Bulgarian - 2%, Albanian - 2%, Russian - 1%.

Figures from IOM, April 2002. Total sample size=303

Figures from TPIU, December 2001. Total sample size=172

Trafficking Routes and Recruitment

Routes

As in the preceding section, facts and figures here are drawn from reports issued by IOM, with additional information provided by the TPIU and UNICEF reports.¹⁶ Trained IOM personnel conduct in-depth interviews with all the victims of trafficking assisted by the organisation. In these interviews, information is sought about the routes traveled by the victims. The same points made above, about data being limited to that elicited from assisted cases, and about most of it pertaining to women trafficked into Kosovo hold; to these we would add a third consideration concerning Kosovo's status as a transit country. According to IOM, transit is a notoriously difficult topic to acquire data about, not least because trafficked women and girls often do not know what their final destination will be.¹⁷

A number of established routes exist, which are chosen by traffickers depending on where the victims are being trafficked from. Routes are chosen for a number of reasons, chief among these being weak border controls and the fact that many are tried and tested smuggling routes which have existed for some time. The majority of victims (the latest figure is just over 64%) are trafficked into Kosovo from the north, across the Serbian border. The Macedonian border is also a key point of entry into Kosovo, accounting for some 22% of cases. The Montenegrin and Albanian borders are also entry-points, but for much smaller numbers: approximately 5% and 4.5% respectively. Very small percentages of victims are trafficked into Kosovo by air from Turkey, Austria and Switzerland.

Victims from the **Ukraine** are trafficked to Hungary, then to Belgrade, and across the Serbian border into Kosovo. Other routes for Ukrainians include Ukraine–Romania–Bulgaria–FYROM–Kosovo, Ukraine–Moldova–Romania–Bulgaria–FYROM–Kosovo, and Ukraine–Romania–Belgrade–Kosovo. **Romanian** victims are either trafficked directly through Serbia into Kosovo, or to Kosovo via Bulgaria and FYROM. **Moldovans** are brought through Romania and Serbia, or a more complicated route such as Moldova–Romania–Hungary–Belgrade–Kosovo, or Moldova–Romania–Bulgaria–FYROM–Kosovo. **Bulgarian** victims are trafficked directly through FYROM. **Russians** are trafficked first to the Ukraine, then to Kosovo via one of the routes described above for Ukrainians. **Albanians** are trafficked directly across the border into Kosovo.

Key destination countries for women and girls sent on from Kosovo (and this would include victims trafficked from Kosovo as a point of origin as well as victims transited through Kosovo) include Albania, Greece, Turkey, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, France and the UK.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ *Victims of Trafficking in the Balkans*. IOM, 2001.

Recruitment

Traffickers in SEE use a number of ploys and techniques to recruit victims. With the exception of kidnapping which relies of physical coercion, these recruitment methods all play upon the economic and social circumstances of the victim, a point which we will need to bear in mind if, as this report suggests, we are to prevent Kosovo becoming a major sending country. The single most common recruitment method, accounting for almost 79% of IOM-assisted cases in Kosovo, is a false job promise. A trafficker offers to find the victim a well-paid job abroad, to arrange transport, documentation and accommodation on arrival. Remarkably, in almost 49% of cases, the recruiter was known to the victim. Likewise, almost half the recruiters were reported to be women, no doubt because it is easier for a woman to gain the trust of a potential victim. Other recruiting methods include kidnap and several types of fraud involving travel arrangements, invitations abroad or marriage proposals.

PART III: ANTI-TRAFFICKING

In this part of the report, we focus upon the anti-trafficking measures which exist in Kosovo. We begin with a brief examination of the anti-trafficking legislation which is in force in the protectorate; we then discuss the provision of assistance to victims of trafficking in Kosovo. Finally, we describe the main institutions, actors and agencies involved in anti-trafficking activities in Kosovo.

The Legislative Context in Kosovo

On January 12, 2001, UNMIK Regulation 2001/4 came into force, signed by the then SRSG Bernard Kouchner (a copy of the regulation appears as an annex to this report). This regulation takes as its starting point the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons (UN GA Res A/5/383, 2 November 2000). Since it came into force, it has been used to prosecute traffickers in Kosovo: at the time of writing, 18 successful prosecutions have been brought under the regulation, and many cases are pending.

In many countries, trafficking is not specifically defined in law as a crime, and traffickers must be prosecuted under existing legislation targeting smuggling or prostitution-related crimes (which frequently carry relatively low penalties), or else not prosecuted at all.¹⁸ This was in fact the situation in Kosovo prior to the promulgation of UNMIK 2001/4: offenders were less effectively prosecuted under sections, of varying applicability, of the old Yugoslav Criminal Code. The unique situation in postconflict Kosovo, in which new legislation is being promulgated across a wide range of sectors, allowed the drafters of UNMIK 2001/4 to create a very modern and progressive regulation framed around a prioritization of the human rights of victims of trafficking. From a punitive point of view, this regulation provides for sentences of 2 to 12 years imprisonment in cases where the victim is an adult; importantly, the regulation recognizes that particular emphasis needs to be placed on trafficking in children, and therefore provides for sentences of between 5 and 20 years imprisonment in cases where the victim is under 18 years of age. The regulation also criminalizes activities related to trafficking. In providing, on the one hand, for strong protection of the human rights of victims, and on the other, for sweeping punitive powers against traffickers, UNMIK 2001/4 scores highly when examined against the criteria suggested in the very thorough *Reference Guide for Anti-Trafficking Legislative Review* issued by the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights in September 2001.

Legislation is only as effective as it is well-enforced. Some problems have been identified in the application of UNMIK 2001/4, particularly in cases where an international judge or prosecutor is not presiding. It has been suggested that fear of retribution from organised criminals is a factor which needs to be seriously considered. The multi-agency working group which initially drafted the regulation has

¹⁸ *Reference Guide for Anti-Trafficking Legislative Review*, p. 36. Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, 2001.

also continued to provide administrative direction in the implementation of the regulation.

While the fact that UNMIK 2001/4 prioritizes the rights of victims of trafficking is certainly a progressive move, it can also make it more difficult to successfully prosecute traffickers, especially when the structure of the Standard Operating Procedure (see below, *Victim Assistance*) is taken into account. For example, because international victims are offered the chance to return home, and because shelter facilities are very limited, they frequently do not appear in court as live prosecution witnesses: as victim welfare is a first priority, the implementing agencies (TPIU, IOM, OSCE and UMCOR) are reluctant to detain them for longer than necessary, and two to three weeks is considered a maximum length of stay. The severe caseload backlog in the court system means that it can take months to bring a trafficking case to trial, so victims are offered the opportunity to provide sworn testimony to a magistrate in lieu of a live court appearance. While this is obviously better than no testimony at all, it does make the prosecutors' jobs more difficult because it is never as effective as live testimony.¹⁹

A second issue which arises from the regulation concerns Section 8: "A person is not criminally responsible for prostitution or illegal entry, presence or work in Kosovo if that person provides evidence that supports a reasonable belief that he or she was the victim of trafficking." While at one level this "total defence" section is a very important cornerstone of a human-rights based piece of legislation, it is not completely unproblematic either. Trafficking is a process, not a single event. In some cases, women who have been trafficked into Kosovo choose not to return to their country of origin. If they are then found to be working as prostitutes, of their own free will, does this then mean that they are immune from prosecution under the law? Section 8 suggests that this is the case, especially if the woman can claim that her circumstances have changed again, and that she has again been victimized. In the case of underage victims of trafficking, this problem does not arise because they come under the care of the Centres for Social Work and do not have the option of simply staying on in Kosovo unsupervised.

Other potential areas of ambiguity in the legislation occur in Sections 2 and 4. Section 2.4 states: "Any person who, through negligence, facilitates the commission of trafficking in persons commits a criminal act and shall be liable upon conviction to a penalty of six (6) months to five (5) years' imprisonment." The problem here is that, if "facilitate" and "negligence" are interpreted in their broad and literal senses, this section would apply even to accidental oversights anywhere along the chain of transit within Kosovo (such as, for example, a border guard who failed to make full enquiries about a woman crossing the border in a vehicle). More useful would be a term such as "recklessness", as an intermediate state of *mens rea* lying between intent and negligence.

¹⁹ James Higgins, TPIU.

Section 4.1 states that “Any person who uses or procures the sexual services of a person with the knowledge that that person is a victim of trafficking in persons commits a criminal act and shall be liable upon conviction to a penalty of three (3) months to five (5) years.” The difficulty here lies in establishing the knowledge of a reasonable person. While one can certainly assume that clients can determine that a prostitute is not Kosovan, it is harder to prove that the client knew a woman was a victim of trafficking, either from abroad or from within Kosovo, because there are prostitutes from both Kosovo and abroad who have not been trafficked.

Victim Assistance and Anti-Trafficking Initiatives in Kosovo

Victim Assistance

Assistance to victims of trafficking in Kosovo takes two main forms: assistance provided to international, non-Kosovan victims, and assistance to local victims. These two categories are further broken down into assistance procedures for international and domestic minors and adults. The logic behind this is that while all are victims of trafficking, their needs are in fact quite different. It should be emphasised that in all cases, the highest priority is placed upon victim protection. As noted above, one of the real advantages of Kosovo’s rather ambiguous political situation is that it has allowed legislators to create totally new regulations which reflect highly topical concerns about securing human rights of victims before anything else.

The Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) for international victims of trafficking is a coordinated effort implemented by OSCE, the TPIU (UNMIK Police), IOM and UMCOR. The respective roles of these organisations in the SOP are as follows:

OSCE: To conduct preliminary case assessments in coordination with IOM, to inform victims of the available assistance and encourage them to meet with IOM for assessment and more information, to monitor cases from the point of release from employer or point of custody, and to monitor victims’ treatment by law enforcement agencies and in the legal system. OSCE has also appointed Trafficking Focal Points, who are Human Rights Officers charged with providing the link between the victims and the relevant authorities.

TPIU: To provide security for victims, to provide transport for victims from the point of custody and elsewhere, to take witness statements prior to admission to the shelter and to monitor court summonses for victims. TPIU will also provide an escort up to the border as part of the repatriation process. They will provide secure temporary accommodation for victims who cannot be brought to Pristina for interview before 1700 hours (except in emergency cases, or cases where the victim is a minor, in which case this rule does not apply). TPIU has appointed Trafficking Focal Points in all the regions of Kosovo.

IOM: To assess victims to determine whether they qualify for assistance and if so, to arrange return and reintegration to countries of origin. IOM also conducts detailed interviews with victims once they are in the shelter.

UMCOR: To manage the day to day operation of the shelter, and ensure that victims' needs, including medical and psychological, are met. To have the final say on admission to the shelter.

The procedure itself is operated as follows:

If a victim is found by UNMIK Police or other agency, the police or the agency informs the regional UNMIK Police Trafficking Focal Point and the OSCE regional Trafficking Focal Point as soon as possible, giving the location of the victim. IOM is informed via the Pristina Focal Point. UNMIK Police then take witness statements. If necessary, the OSCE Regional Trafficking Focal Point conducts a preliminary assessment interview, in accordance with IOM procedures. OSCE may also collect relevant information about the victim. UNMIK Police try to secure the victim's travel or identification documents and personal belongings.

If the result of the preliminary assessment interview is that the victim is interested in assistance possibilities, IOM and UMCOR are informed of this. If the victim can be brought to Pristina for interview before 1700 hours, the police do so. Otherwise she is securely accommodated overnight, although this does not apply in either emergency cases or those where the victim is under 18 years of age.

When the victim is brought to Pristina for the main interview, IOM and OSCE and UMCOR are informed. The police await the outcome of the interview. The victim is interviewed by IOM and the decision of whether or not she can be accommodated at the shelter is taken based on this interview. If the victim qualifies for the shelter, then she is taken there by an UNMIK Police escort.

There are three other possible outcomes of the preliminary interview. If the victim cannot be accommodated at the shelter for security reasons, then the Pristina Police Focal Points attempt to arrange alternative secure accommodation. IOM conducts a final assessment to determine whether the victim wants and qualifies for the return and reintegration programme. If so, then the programme proceeds as usual, except that the victim is not accommodated at the shelter. If the victim wishes to be repatriated but has a deportation order against her, then the situation is dealt with on a case-by-case basis; repatriation must be handled by OSCE because IOM does not have jurisdiction in these cases. If the victim wishes to neither enter the shelter nor return to her home country, then she may be allowed to stay in Kosovo, but not at the bar or original place of custody. In cases where the victim is under 18 years of age, the CSW is also involved in the case.

The referral procedures for domestic victims are slightly different. In the case of a domestic victim under the age of 18, the victim is first screened by the OSCE Trafficking Focal Point and the CSW, before being referred to a CPWC shelter facility. As soon as possible after the victim arrives at the shelter, CSW takes the case on. If CSW recommends that the victim enter the medium-long term reintegration programme, the case is referred to IOM who define and support this programme. If

not, then CSW has the primary responsibility for finding a long-term solution. They may refer to other NGOs and organisations for assistance.

In the case of a domestic victim over the age of 18, the victim is first screened by the OSCE Trafficking Focal Point, who also contacts a legal advocate. The police, alone or in consultation with OSCE, refer the case to the CPWC or another shelter. CPWC refers the case to IOM; if eligible, the victim enters an IOM-defined and supported medium-long term reintegration programme. Cases which are not eligible for this programme are referred to other NGOs and organisations for assistance. An example is the Prizren Women's Council Shelter, which handles domestic trafficking cases as well as (like CPWC) cases of domestic violence and other types of abuse. The shelter provides food, clothes, toiletries, temporary accommodation and counselling services.

Return and Reintegration Project

This is operated by IOM. The aim is to offer victims of trafficking the opportunity to return to their country of origin if they so wish. Recognizing that many victims of trafficking come from particularly difficult or abusive social situations, and that these situations may become even worse when the victim returns home, IOM stays in contact with the victim when she returns home, and continues to provide counselling and mediation services where appropriate. Because circumstances of individual victims vary enormously, IOM tailors, defines and supports each return and reintegration case according to individual needs.

Anti-Trafficking Initiatives: Law Enforcement

While victim protection takes first priority in Kosovo, it is also recognized by the administration that trafficking needs to be fought at the law enforcement level as well. Because trafficking is a transnational as well as a domestic problem, special coordination efforts are required to combat it across sovereign territories and disparate judicial systems. Governments are increasingly recognizing this fact and acting accordingly to create frameworks of cooperation and coordination.

The Stability Pact Task Force on Trafficking in Human Beings is the primary inter-government anti-trafficking initiative in South Eastern Europe.²⁰ Established in September 2000, it "aims to assist key actors in the region to better address trafficking and associated human rights abuses by agreeing on priority areas of concern and by co-operating on anti-trafficking activities in the field" and "seeks to encourage the development of comprehensive anti-trafficking policies in South Eastern Europe by fostering the awareness of governments in the region to understand trafficking in human beings as a distinct phenomenon, being both a law-enforcement issue and a human rights concern". The priority for 2001 was victim protection, focusing on developing a co-coordinated regional response. The Standard Operating Procedures and victim assistance programmes described above represent Kosovo's response to this priority. Task Force members will meanwhile also move ahead on issues of

²⁰ The Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe is a framework agreement for international co-operation for stability and growth in South Eastern Europe. It was adopted in 1999 by more than 40 countries and partner organisations.

prevention and prosecution. A key element of this in Kosovo was the promulgation of UNMIK Regulation 2001/4, which enshrines the framework for criminal prosecution of trafficking-related offences, and the creation of the TPIU, one of whose responsibilities is law enforcement in trafficking cases. The main Stability Pact Law enforcement objectives are:

- ??To establish training programmes on trafficking as part of the curriculum for all state agents involved in combating the problem.
- ??To enforce laws to protect women and children from trafficking
- ??To ensure international co-operation and co-ordination in prosecution of offenders and protection of women and children victims of trafficking.²¹

The TPIU is active in anti-trafficking law enforcement both within Kosovo and in regional initiatives such as the Stability Pact. While it places a strong emphasis on victim protection, the Unit also seeks to apprehend and seek prosecution of traffickers and persons involved in trafficking-related activities. It works closely with the Border Police and, at times, with KFOR.

Anti-trafficking initiatives: Prevention Through Awareness Raising

IOM and local NGOs have worked to develop awareness-raising campaigns, using media such as leaflets, posters, and advertisements to address both supply and demand sectors in Kosovo. Trafficking has also been part of the agenda at training run by CPWC. Local civil society has perhaps not been as active as it should have been in defining and implementing anti-trafficking programming. One probable reason for this is that trafficking in Kosovo has very largely reached the public eye as a problem of demand, i.e. Kosovo as a receiving country. This is an area of activity which is already quite well covered by the existing procedures and organisations described above, although more could certainly be done to reduce demand through awareness-raising programmes. As our field research, presented below, demonstrates, penetration of anti-trafficking messages pertaining to sending has been low to non-existent. There is space here for much more work by the NGO sector.

²¹ Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. *Guidelines for National Plans of Action to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings*.

PART IV: VICTIMS AND VULNERABILITY

In this part of the report, we present the results of the fieldwork component of our study. The data has deliberately been left as raw as possible, translated into English but on the whole unmanipulated. The data is interpreted and analysed in Part V, below. It has been left unmanipulated here because the interpretations and inferences which will be drawn will be more transparent. We have also chosen to present the data first in a raw form because (barring the fact that it is in English translation) this allows the reader to get a better sense of what people on the ground in Kosovo think, say, know and fear about child trafficking. In some cases, responses border on what may appear to be the absurd; in fact, it is our responsibility to take these opinions seriously. What comes across as deeply uninformed needs to be interpreted by Save the Children as an important zone for action.

Field Data: Household Survey

Interviews: format, sample, and questions

The household survey used for this phase of the research project was comprised of a total of 47 questions, of which 25 sought to elicit direct quantitative or yes/no responses and 22 were follow-on questions which were asked depending on responses to previous questions. A section at the end of the questionnaire was provided for the interviewer to enter any other relevant observations deemed necessary. The questionnaire took between 20 and 30 minutes to administer, and 114 were completed in total. Although names were taken, these were numerically coded and the informants were assured of complete confidentiality. Interviews were conducted with both male and female heads-of-households. The survey covered a total of just under 300 children. There was an average of 1 girl aged 6-17 per household.

Interviews were conducted in 30 communities spread among 11 municipalities. The full list of communities is as follows, organised by municipality:

Ferizaj: Dubravë

Gjakovë: Bishtazhin, Cermjan, Dol, Gjakovë, Jahoc, Kodrali, Meje, Nivokaz, Race, Rashkoc

Glllogovc: Avllat

Mitrovicë: Mitrovicë (S)

Pejë: Qyshke, Radavc, Zahaq

Podujevë: Ballave, Podujevë

Pristina: Ajvali, Pristina

Prizren: Gjonaj, Mulaj, Prizren

Rahovec: Gexhe, Malsia e Vogel, Ratkoc

Shterpc: Brod, Tiraj

Skenderaj: Abri e Ulet, Likovc

Although some interviews were done among Roma informants, and among IDPs, no questionnaires were administered in Serbian enclaves.²² It was not our intention to construct a study contrasting the positions of different ethnic groups vis-à-vis child trafficking in Kosovo; had we wanted to do this, we would have had to design the study differently, enlarging it considerably to ensure that a) questionnaires were administered roughly according to the proportions of each ethnicity within the population and b) that these proportions, even the smaller ones, yielded a sufficient number of interviews. This would have required more time, resources and personnel than were available. Moreover, ultimately SCiK's anti-trafficking project will be pitched at all ethnic groups within Kosovo, so conscious disaggregation at this stage is redundant.

The questionnaire was divided into two parts. The first part did not raise the question of trafficking at all, while the second moved more closely in to focus on this issue. The interviews began with requests for basic household demographic indicators data: name, work, education levels, number of family members living in the household, kinship, total numbers of offspring, including grown children, numbers, sexes and ages of resident children, school attendance. They then proceeded to a series of question about non-resident offspring, living either abroad or elsewhere in Kosovo. Where relevant, follow-on questions addressed topics such age and sex of non-resident offspring, where they lived, how they got there, what they do there, whether they were in contact with the family and whether they sent money home. The first part of the questionnaire ended with a question about whether parents were worried at all about their non-resident offspring, and if so, what were they worried about?

The second part of the questionnaire focused more closely on trafficking, its primary purpose being to establish whether respondents knew of any cases, and what their general awareness levels of the problem were. It began with a hypothetical question about a job offer to a female child, asking the interviewee to respond to a scenario in which their child was offered the opportunity to work abroad, with all matters of documentation, salary and accommodation arranged. A series of direct questions about trafficking were then asked: how bad a problem is trafficking in this area, do you know of any cases? (if so, please explain), has anyone offered to help any of your children leave Kosovo to work abroad? Have you ever heard of such offers? Are you concerned about these things happening? Has anyone from the police or an NGO ever discussed these matters with you? (if so, what did they say?). Finally, respondents were asked if there was anything else they wished to add on the subject of trafficking. The quantitative results are tabulated below, together with some relevant calculations. Note: an English version of the questionnaire appears as an annex to this report.

Although the interviews sought to probe increasingly sensitive topics, the team was well-received on almost all occasions. For this, we must acknowledge again the strong support provided by the LNGO partners who guided us in the field. People's willingness to answer difficult questions was a testimony to both the quality of the

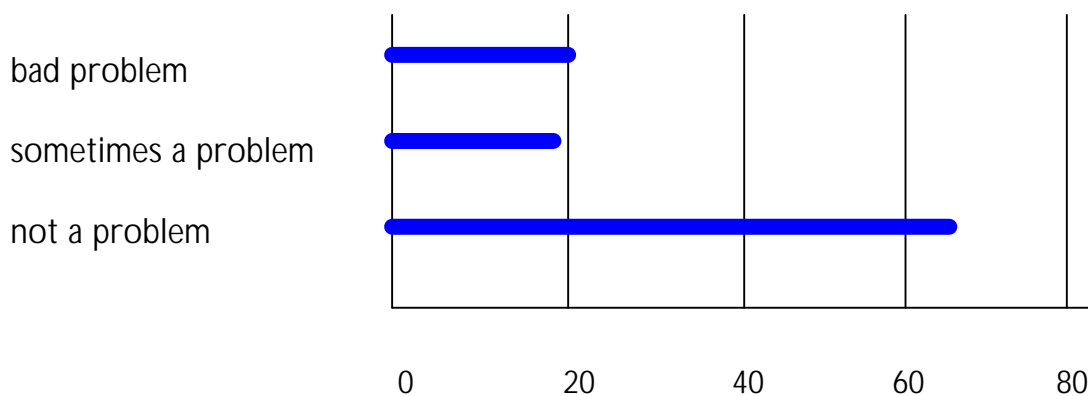
²² Interviews were done among Roma and IDPs largely through chance: some of the partner LNGOs working with the research team had ongoing programmes with these groups.

community work being done by these LNGOs and to Save the Children's reputation in Kosovo. On only two occasions, we met with somewhat inhospitable responses, because the householders believed that their neighbours had targeted them as people likely to have been caught up in child trafficking; this of course reflected very badly on their family honour, particularly that of their daughters.

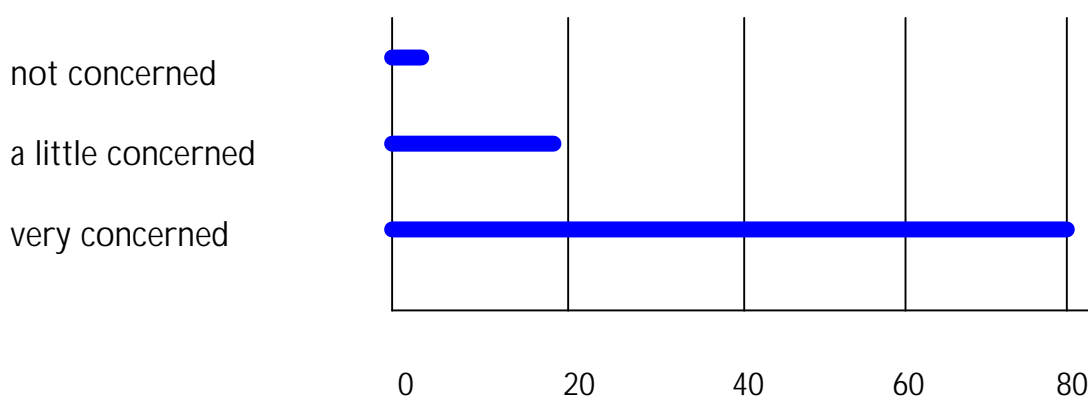
Summary of Quantitative Responses and Calculations

n=	114
work (total number)	19%
work (%)	16.67
education: mean years primary	6.14
education: mean years secondary	1.12
education: mean years tertiary	0.25
mean number family members in household	7.8
mean number of offspring (total)	4.13
mean number of children in household	2.7
mean number of girls in household	1.28
mean number of girls 0-5 in household	0.3
mean number of girls 6-11 in household	0.39
mean number of girls 12-17 in household	0.64
mean number of boys in household	1.38
mean number of boys 0-5 in household	0.31
mean number of boys 6-11 in household	0.54
mean number of boys 12-17 in household	0.55
total number girls 6-17	114
total number girls in school	92
percentage school age girls in school	81%
total number boys 6-17	119
total number boys in school	101
percentage school age boys in school	85%
mean number of girls in school per house	0.81
mean number of boys in school per house	0.89
total number of yes responses to "any offspring outside kosovo?"	18
total girls 0-5 outside kosovo	0
total girls 6-11 outside kosovo	1
total girls 12-17 outside kosovo	0
total girls 18+ outside kosovo	6
total boys 0-5 outside kosovo	0
total boys 6-11 outside kosovo	0
total boys 12-17 outside kosovo	0
total boys 18+ outside kosovo	16
total in contact with offspring abroad	14
percentage contact with offspring abroad	78%
total sending money home from abroad	9
percentage sending money home from abroad	50%
total number of yes responses to "any children elsewhere in kosovo?"	19
total girls 0-5 elsewhere in kosovo	0
total girls 6-11 elsewhere in kosovo	0
total girls 12-17 elsewhere in kosovo	0
total girls 18+ elsewhere in kosovo	34
total boys 0-5 elsewhere in kosovo	0
total boys 6-11 elsewhere in kosovo	0
total boys 12-17+ elsewhere in kosovo	0
total boys 18+ elsewhere in kosovo	1
total in contact with children elsewhere in kosovo	18
percentage in contact with children elsewhere in kosovo	95%
total sending money home from elsewhere in kosovo	0
percentage sending money home from elsewhere in kosovo	0
number of yes responses to "are you worried about any non-resident offspring?"	3
percentage of total living away from home	8.1%
total positive responses "would you allow your child to go work abroad?"	12
percentage of positive responses	10.5%
child trafficking: not a problem total	66
child trafficking: not a problem percentage	65%
child trafficking: sometimes a problem total	16
child trafficking: sometimes a problem percentage	16%
child trafficking: a bad problem total	19
child trafficking: a bad problem percentage	19%
total cases of trafficking heard of	27
total positive responses to "anyone offered to help find work abroad for your children?"	4
total positive responses "have you heard of such offers?"	13
child trafficking: not concerned total	4
child trafficking: not concerned percentage	4%
child trafficking: a little concerned total	16
child trafficking: a little concerned percentage	16%
child trafficking: very concerned total	80
child trafficking: very concerned percentage	80%
total positive responses "has anyone from police/ ngo spoken to you?"	4

Responses to question about the severity of the child trafficking problem in Kosovo



Responses to question about child trafficking concern



Summary of Qualitative Responses

Jobs: The majority of the respondents had no formal employment. Nineteen respondents held the following jobs: teacher (6); NGO (5); vendor (2); school secretary (1); technician (1); municipality (1); factory (1); farmer (1); unstated (1).

Families and kinship: Household residence patterns demonstrated many of the features known to be characteristic of Kosovo Albanian family structure, such as co-resident daughters-in-law and multigenerational residence. The virilocality rule was also borne out by the numerical data, which shows a total of 34 female offspring of 18+ years of age living married, elsewhere in Kosovo. This can be compared to the lone case of one 18+ son living elsewhere in Kosovo. The post-marital residence rule is clearly in evidence here, with married women moving away from their natal households to live with their husband's parents. In many cases, especially in rural communities, the traditional residence format of a compound containing several houses, belonging to a group of brothers and their wives, was observed. The effects of the war were also obvious in the high total of female-headed households (25, or just under 22%), which had lost their menfolk in the conflict.

Outmigration: Significant levels of migration abroad were noted; 18 cases were recorded. Germany and Switzerland were the most frequent destinations, but offspring had also migrated to the USA, France, the UK, Austria, Slovenia, Croatia and Spain. Overwhelmingly, the primary reason cited was migration for work, although two cases were said to be unemployed. Migration away from the home village, to other locations within Kosovo, was also significant, but as noted above, almost all of these cases were women who had married and moved away to their husbands' parents' home.

Hypothetical “help your daughter find work abroad” offer: This question prompted a range of responses which are of particular interest to designers of anti-trafficking programmes.²³ While, fortunately, the majority of responses exhibited a healthy distrust of such offers— variants on the theme of “No, I would not allow my girl to go because I trust no one” or “I only trust family members”, an alarming minority of respondents said that they would in fact accept such an offer, at least if they knew the person making the offer. It is a measure of the economic desperation that some even said they would do so unconditionally. It is instructive to record some of the exact responses here:

??“Yes, I would accept immediately to send them, even out of the country for work”(mother with seven daughters, living in Avllat, near Glogovc)

??“Yes, if it would be a clean job” (mother, a self-described NGO activist, from Ajvali near Pristina, with one young son)

??“I would ask my husband although I'd like my daughter to have a job” (mother from Ajvali, near Pristina, with two daughters)

²³ “If someone said to you that they could help one of your girls find a good job abroad, and that they would take care of documents and travel, what would you think?”

??“I would let them go with people I know” (8 of these or similar variants in different communities)

??“I would accept if I knew the person, because of unemployment” (mother, working in a Prizren NGO, with one teenage daughter)

??“Where there are bad living conditions you have to trust someone although they might do bad” (mother with one daughter from Dubravë, near Ferizaj)

Known cases of trafficking: There were 27 positive responses to this question. Of these, 4 needed to be discarded because it was obvious from the response that the question had not been clearly understood. A further 14 responses were derived from the media: newspapers, magazines, television and radio broadcasts. Six specific cases were cited, but unfortunately respondents tended to conflate trafficking with a range of other activities, such as abuse, rape, forced prostitution, kidnapping and elopement. On the demand/receiving side, three respondents cited bars as evidence of trafficking, one noting further that she had seen Moldovan women there.

Real offers to help find children work abroad: There were four positive responses to this question, none of which appeared to be suspicious. Informants cited a range of other hearsay incidents: a woman, now in prison, who was alleged to have made offers of work abroad; fraud cases, visa and employment offers, marriage. One informant cited a certain case of trafficking: her friend had been offered a job abroad, but when she got there she found that she was forced into prostitution.

Information, training or awareness-raising by police and/or NGOs: There were only three positive responses to this question, two of which were from civil society personnel. One was from an NGO staff member in Prizren, one was from a NGO activist who had organised training in Pristina, and the third was from a woman in Mitrovica who stated that she had been informed about trafficking by an NGO.

Free answer question: Here, respondents were invited to make a final comment about the topics discussed in the interview. Many of the responses were simply a polite thank you to the interviewer for taking an interest. A number, however, were useful to the researchers in gauging a variety of issues, such as community awareness and key concerns among informants. We present a selection of these direct quotes below:

??“Child trafficking is an increasing problem here in Prizren. Its not just foreign girls, there are local girls too. There are about 60 houses where this is happening” (NGO worker, Prizren. NB the reference to “60 houses” supports suggestions from both TPIU and IOM that trafficking and prostitution are moving underground, away from more obvious hotel/bars)

??“Because of the bad living conditions, sometimes we must accept these kinds (trafficking) of offers” (mother with one daughter from Qyshke, near Pejë)

??“I would like the police to be in closer contact with citizens so when we see or hear any cases we know to go and tell them. I've heard that one international police officer was involved in trafficking but I think if I see other cases I would like to have the trust to inform the police without difficulties” (mother/grandmother from Qyshke)

- ?? *"I am not very informed about this" (mother of two daughters from Radafc, near Pejë)*
- ?? *"I am worried about the girls that are brought from foreign countries because in the future prostitution might become a problem for our girls" (mother of two daughters from Dol, near Gjakovë)*
- ?? *"I believe this is a very serious problem for our youth. I think that your organisation should be more involved in making youth aware of these problems" (mother of two boys, Gjakovë)*
- ?? *"As a mother and a teacher I am very preoccupied with this issue, especially with the fate of women who are not independent. I think that organizations should be more engaged in these issues" (teacher and mother of one son from Shterpce)*
- ?? *"From the moment a girl is kidnapped, she doesn't exist for her family... there is a rise in Islam here and girls are being taken out of school after fourth grade" (NGO worker, Prizren)*
- ?? *"I don't want to hear about these things" (mother of seven from Mulaj, near Prizren)*
- ?? *"I think children in high schools should have a subject about this problem and also the parents should be aware of it" (teacher and mother of one son, Ballave, near Podujevë)*
- ?? *"We do not have the conditions for democracy— there's been too much trauma and tragedy. All this destroys people's equilibrium. People are forced to take the bad road...they have lost hope." (NGO worker, Prizren)*

Please see [Part V](#) below for a detailed examination of this data and its implications.

Field Data: Young People's Voices

Because this study is ultimately designed to assist in developing programming aimed at eliminating or preventing child trafficking, we decided that it would be important to give children the opportunity to voice their concerns. Trafficking and related issues such as prostitution and sexuality are sensitive issues, and we felt that it would be best to try to elicit this information out of the home, beyond the parental gaze. We believed that, among their peers, children would be more willing to talk openly about their concerns and knowledge of these issues. We also decided against using a structured interview format: formal interviews can be intimidating, and are not necessarily a good way to encourage children to speak out. Instead, we employed a workshop method, in which participants were asked to work together on answering a range of questions in small discussion groups, then present their answers to the whole group.

In brief, workshops were run as follows: one of the facilitators made a short introductory statement about Save the Children as an organisation. Participants then introduced themselves. The facilitators then introduced the trafficking project, and explained the need for research into children's views. A short exercise on child rights was then done, in which the whole group was asked to suggest fundamental children's rights. These suggestions were noted by a facilitator on a single large flip-chart at the front of the room. This introductory exercise was chosen as a way of helping the participants enter into the general theme of the workshop, and to help them focus on questions of children's rights, as well as to encourage them to relax and speak openly.

After a short break, the participants were separated into smaller working groups of between 4 and 6 children and asked to develop answers to the question "What do you understand by trafficking?" Group answers were written on flip-charts and presented to the whole group by a single representative at the end of the exercise. After this, one of the facilitators made a brief presentation about the United Nations and laws against trafficking, carefully explaining the significance of these definitions and laws.

After a second break, with the groundwork on trafficking issues established, participants returned to their groups to address two more questions per group, drawn at random from a previously prepared set of questions particularly relevant to trafficking issues. Again, answers were presented to the whole group after this exercise. The workshops ended after concluding remarks and discussion. Each workshop took approximately two hours from start to finish. Participants were high school age teenagers of both sexes. Three workshops were held in total: one in a secondary school in Podujevë, one with a youth group in Pejë and another with a youth group in Skenderaj. The total number of participants was 79.

Below, we summarize responses to the set questions. We have deliberately left this data in as close to the original form as possible, merely translating it into English:

What do you understand by trafficking? (answered by all participants)

- ??Drugs, like nicotine etc. (7)
- ??Kidnapping (6)
- ??Prostitution with women (Italy) (5)
- ??Abuse (3)
- ??Smoking (2)
- ??Alcohol (2)
- ??Violence (2)
- ??Organ theft (2)
- ??Persecution (2)
- ??Rights to free opinion (sic, presumably means the absence of such a right)
- ??Hate against children
- ??With the word trafficking we understand abusing our rights, prostitution. It's not safe to move freely on the road, there are cases where a car stops in front of you and kidnaps you. We read in Kosovarja (a magazine) [about a case of abduction and rape].
- ??Corruption
- ??By trafficking we understand, for example, when someone invites us to work abroad and promises a good job that you don't like.
- ??Danger on the road [from cars!]
- ??Going abroad
- ??Mistreatment
- ??Evil people who deal with immoral things
- ??Selling women
- ??Cigarette smuggling
- ??Selling stolen goods
- ??Lack of respect in families
- ??By trafficking we understand drug smuggling and child smuggling. We know it is going on in places with bad economic conditions such as Albania, Russia and Moldova
- ??Killings
- ??Corruption
- ??Weapon smuggling
- ??Human trafficking

How would you respond to a friend if she was a victim of trafficking?

- ??"If our friend was a victim of trafficking, we should inform the police"
- ??"If we suspect our friend is a victim of trafficking we would assume that our friend wasn't aware of the issues and so we think there is a need for training on this topic"
- ??"We would try our best to advise him/her"

Have you had any talks or lessons about trafficking? If not, then what do you think it is important to learn?

- ??"No, we have not had any but trafficking is a very important issue"

?? "Up till now we have not had and kind of lectures on trafficking, but we think it is very important to learn about our rights, because trafficking is a very important issue in the whole world"

?? "No, but we think we should learn about trafficking"

What can young people do to fight against trafficking?

?? "Young people should facilitate talks, should organise campaigns like Save the Children and other child-rights organisations"

?? "Organise different training on trafficking for children and young people and fight it"

?? "Not use drugs, nor things that are not good for us, and not to cooperate with people that deal with trafficking or are mixed up in it"

Is trafficking something that you know about through discussions with your friends or have you heard about it on TV, the radio or in newspapers?

?? "Mostly we have heard from our friends and different magazines, and also from Save the Children today"

?? "Trafficking is something we have heard about on the radio and on TV because nowadays it is an important theme in our country and everybody is at risk"

?? "We have heard and were informed about the trafficking of drugs, alcohol and cigarettes on TV"

What are the dangers of trafficking?

?? "The dangers of trafficking are many: kidnapping, trafficking of children and sending them to other countries, and organ theft. Trafficking is dangerous in many ways and we should be aware of this"

?? "[unclear], drugs, prostitution, taking a person by force"

?? "Transport of narcotics, weapons, girls, organs"

If you suspected that a friend of yours was in danger of being trafficked, what would you do?

?? "First we would try to take out our friend [sic], we have to ask for help from police"

?? "We would advise him/her not to get involved in this"

?? "We would discuss the problem with her and explain to her the dangers, and that she could come to a bad end. If this did not succeed we would inform the police or other authorities"

Have your parents given you any advice about trafficking? Have you discussed it with them?

?? "Our parents always advise us to be careful with strangers especially if they ask us to get in a car with them"

?? "We get advice from our parents all the time about things which are happening now, especially trafficking"

?? "Yes, we have discussed it with our parents and they have given us advice"

Under what circumstances would you accept an offer to work abroad?

?? "We don't see this as a solution, especially if you go with someone that you don't know. He/she could get you in big trouble and might even sell you"

?? "It depends: if the conditions are good and moral we will accept the job but if the invitation for the job is threatening we wouldn't accept it"

?? "We would accept any job offer to work outside Kosovo because of the bad conditions"

Have you heard about any cases of trafficking, kidnapping or other kinds of abuse in school?

?? "We have heard about trafficking through TV, radio and magazines, but we haven't seen any cases"

?? "When I was in Albania I heard of a case of a 13 year old girl that was kidnapped and later I heard that she had been sent away, far from Albania. From this case we can see that in Albania and other places, kidnapping is happening and there is no security"

?? "In the newspaper we read about a 7 year old girl who was kidnapped and sold in Greece so they could steal her lung and give it to someone else"

Are any of your brothers or sisters living alone elsewhere in Kosovo?

?? "No, all of us are in Kosovo"

?? "No"

?? "Yes, some members of our family are working abroad because of the bad economic conditions here"

Please see [Part V](#) below for a detailed examination of this data and its implications.

PART V: THE FUTURE

Conclusions, Analysis and Recommendations

A number of conclusions can be drawn from both the field data and the information acquired through interviews with anti-trafficking institutions and personnel in Kosovo. Put very simply, we identify two key issues in Kosovo. The first is the problem of demand. There is no doubt at all that there is a serious demand for trafficked women and girls in Kosovo. This is revealed through all the figures provided by the main institutions involved in combating it. The second is the potential problem of supply. While none of the data suggests that Kosovo is at the time of writing a major sending country, it does show that this is the single greatest impending threat in the future. It is our contention that Kosovo has great potential to become a major sending country. Countries do not become senders of trafficked women and children at random; they do so because a range of factors and parameters – enabling conditions – come together and push the country in this direction: poverty, social and cultural disintegration, lack of capacity for prevention, the growth of organised crime, lack of education and awareness among vulnerable groups are some of the most obvious issues. Our concern, based on the findings of this research project, is that Kosovo is nearer to this situation than we would wish. How do we arrive at this conclusion?

Let us begin by examining the key evidence which behind this argument. Here, we draw directly on the findings presented in Part IV.

Declining Economy

The first and probably most significant push factor is economic. As we have noted, and as has been well documented, Kosovo's economy is artificially inflated by the particularities of the post-conflict situation, most notably by the form which humanitarian intervention has ultimately taken. Two points need to be made about this economy. The first is that the inflation is very largely an urban phenomenon. In the rural communities throughout the protectorate, unemployment and poverty are more severe; the population in these areas does not have the kind of direct access to the goods and service provision opportunities to be found in Pristina and the larger towns. The conspicuous consumption patterns observable in the city are largely absent in rural villages. While the housing situation is, with the exception of IDP centres, not alarming, the fact remains that employment opportunities are few and far between, and families in rural areas remain heavily dependent upon financial assistance from relatives abroad (50% receive remittances), or from relatives working in the goods and services economy of the towns. The second point which must be registered here is that the economy will shrink as the humanitarian-aid presence diminishes and resources are transferred elsewhere. Moreover, one of the best prospects for the economy of a country in Kosovo's situation is international investment; this, however, is unlikely to happen on a large scale until either the debate over Kosovo's final political status is resolved, or the UN administration undertakes to guarantee that investments and agreements made now will be secure under any future administrative structure.

This shrinkage will affect Kosovo as a whole: urban and rural areas will become poorer and even more difficult. As the economic situation worsens, people who are already vulnerable will become more so. Current World Bank figures indicate that just over 50% of the population of Kosovo lives in poverty, with almost 12% in extreme poverty (i.e. unable to purchase a “basic basket” of 2100 calories per adult per day).²⁴ By comparison, in Moldova, the single biggest sender of trafficked women and girls to SEE, 80% of the population lives below the poverty line: a considerably worse situation, but in no sense a cause for complacency.²⁵ The desperation to find some way, any way, out of the economic crisis will put Kosovo’s most vulnerable people in the position of having to make very hard choices. Unless we take active steps now to address the serious inadequacies in awareness levels described below, these choices will be made from a position of relative ignorance.

Education

In general, education levels of householders interviewed were low. Almost 10% of interviewees had received no formal schooling at all, and the average number of years of primary schooling was 6.14. Thirty-one percent had received some secondary education, and the mean number of years of secondary schooling was 1.12. Tertiary education levels were also low: 10.5% of respondents had received some education beyond secondary school, and the overall average was 0.25 years. The total average number of years of education across the sample was 7.34, which is a somewhat lower figure than that published by the World Bank in 2001 (10 years), although we should note here that the World Bank flags the differences between rural and urban levels.²⁶ Because our sample was dominated by the rural population, we would indeed expect education levels to be lower. Children’s school attendance figures were also a cause for concern: among school-age boys, attendance levels were 85%, while for girls the figure was 81%. If we examine the education figures provided in the most recent IOM report on assisted victims of trafficking, we note that more than half of the victims had received only a primary education.²⁷ This suggests that there is a correlation between education levels and vulnerability to trafficking, although it does not mean that victims of trafficking are necessarily always less-educated. The point here is that education levels, of both parents and children, are part of the larger set of push factors, and are also related to socio-economic indicators.

Migration and Diaspora

Migration abroad for the purposes of marriage and/or employment is a common phenomenon in Kosovo; indeed, as noted above, it is a major factor in providing economic support to the Kosovan population at home. We register these points here because they are relevant to Kosovo’s potential for becoming a sending country in the future. Leaving home to work abroad, or to marry and live abroad, are not unfamiliar

²⁴ *Kosovo Poverty Assessment*. The World Bank. October 2001.

²⁵ *Poverty Reduction, Growth and Debt Sustainability in Low Income CIS Countries*. IMF/WB Joint Report, February 2002.

²⁶ *Kosovo Poverty Assessment: Poverty and Inequality in Education Attainments*. The World Bank. October 2001.

²⁷ IOM Situation Report, February 2000-April 2002.

notions to the population here. On the contrary, they are accepted as a reality of life in Kosovo. Against a total of 55 children and grown children who had left home to live abroad or elsewhere in Kosovo, we only received 3 positive responses to a question about whether parents were worried about non-resident offspring. Constituting one less cultural barrier facing would-be traffickers, this combination of familiarity with migration and comparative nonchalance about offspring living away from home is a cause for concern.

Kinship

Vulnerability to trafficking has strong social dimensions. The war has wrought fundamental changes on Kosovan family structure: many households lost men during and in the period before the conflict. This has forced a degree of social reconfiguration and accommodation to a new social structure— the female-headed household— which has no real precedent in Kosovo, especially in rural areas. The family ideal is a patrilineal, patriarchal model, which is now often unattainable. In our study, 25 of the households we visited (22%) were in this situation. To this already difficult position must be added the cultural stipulation that in the event of the loss of a husband (or a divorce), young children should be given over to the consanguineous kin of the husband. This is clearly not conducive to securing a socially stable environment for children, and thus compounds their vulnerability. A second issue which we need to consider under this heading is the rule of postnuptial virilocality, in which newly married women leave their natal households to live with their husband's kin. This rule was demonstrated numerically in our research, where we recorded 34 cases of female offspring living, married, elsewhere in Kosovo (i.e. with their affines) as against a single case of male offspring living elsewhere in the protectorate. As in the example of migration patterns described above, we suggest here that this rule in fact serves to contribute to the vulnerability of girls to trafficking: it draws the idea of a young woman leaving her parents' household within the scope of accepted sociocultural practice.

Awareness Levels and Attitudes

Among secondary school age children, awareness levels about child trafficking are low and understanding of the nature of the problem is poor. These facts are demonstrated by the responses elicited from the group discussions with young people. A glance over the list of responses to the question "what does trafficking mean?" (see Part IV) demonstrates this clearly: substantial parts of the list read as a collection of conflated "bad for you" categories, such as drugs, smoking, and alcohol consumption. Other responses touch on issues peripherally or more directly related to trafficking: smuggling of drugs, weapons, stolen goods, and cigarettes (illicit transit); kidnapping and organ theft (illicit transactions in persons and body parts); prostitution, violence, and abuse (of course related, but only parts of the issue); going abroad (again, part of the issue). A further set of responses addressed questions of children's rights and infringements thereof: the right to free opinion, hate against children, lack of respect in families, mistreatment and persecution. Some responses dealt with social evils in general terms: corruption, killings, and evil people doing immoral things. One response mentioned danger from vehicular traffic, while another, rather tautological one, defined

trafficking as “human trafficking”. Only four responses came close to suggesting that the respondents had any real sense of the problem. The first of these mentioned kidnapping and abduction, and cited a case known from a magazine, the second made a connection with false job offers, the third mentioned child smuggling and made reference to Albania, Russia and Moldova, while the fourth defined trafficking as selling women.

While it was clear that children had some notion of issues related to trafficking (movement, sale, rights abuses, prostitution, false job offers and the like), it was equally clear that they (a) failed to distinguish trafficking as a particularly separate category of offence and (b) did not see it as a composite category which *draws on many of the sub-categories cited on the flip-charts*. In other words, they did not understand that trafficking is a distinct, complex and multilayered problem. This was borne out by workgroup responses to a question about the dangers of trafficking, which again listed kidnapping, drugs, prostitution, weapons and organs, as well as girls and the tautological “trafficking of children”.

Evidence from the discussion groups indicated that children had not had much exposure to information about trafficking: while some said that their parents had spoken to them about the problem, just as many responded that they had not had any discussions about trafficking at all. What the children knew about trafficking, both in general terms and in terms of specific cases, came predominantly from the media. Particularly worrying were some of the responses to the question “Under what circumstances would you accept an offer to work abroad?”: *“It depends: if the conditions are good and moral we will accept the job but if the invitation for the job is threatening we wouldn’t accept it,”* and, more alarmingly, *“We would accept any job offer to work outside Kosovo because of the bad conditions”*. How can we expect that young people who know so little of the issues related to trafficking should be able to distinguish clearly between an offer of “good and moral” conditions and a false job offer made by a trafficking recruiter?

Among adult householders, responses to qualitative questions revealed a similar lack of awareness of the child trafficking problem. We have already noted the responses to the question posed about a hypothetical job offer for a daughter to work abroad. One of the points which needs to be made here is that several interviewees qualified their responses by saying that they would agree to such an offer if they knew the person offering the job. According to the IOM, victims of trafficking knew their recruiter in almost half the cases, so this qualification does not offer much comfort. We should also note that adult interviewees exhibited the same tendency towards “conflation of wrongdoings” that the children did, though admittedly the categories they elided with trafficking were closer to the problem (abuse, kidnapping, prostitution). Out of the entire interview sample, only three respondents claimed to have received any kind of training or information about trafficking, and two of these were part of the civil society sector.

Where respondents were familiar with aspects of the trafficking problem, their responses, on the whole, seemed to conceive of trafficking as essentially an external problem, one which involved foreign women and girls, foreign criminals, and foreign clients. Although 80% of respondents claimed to be “very concerned” about trafficking, fully 65% said that they did not think trafficking was a problem in Kosovo. This is in itself not very surprising: most of the publicity which trafficking has received in Kosovo has focused upon Kosovo as a destination for women and girls trafficked from Moldova, the Ukraine and other places. In one sense, if respondents are thinking about Kosovo as a sending country, they are not incorrect to assess the situation as (currently) unproblematic. The cause for concern is that people need to be made aware that what has happened in the region’s major sending countries could in fact happen here.

Criminal Networks and Routes

Little needs to be said about these, except to note that they are already in existence, and that, should traffickers currently bringing girls and women to Kosovo decide to turn their attention to sending victims from Kosovo, they already possess a wealth of experience about trafficking routes, as well as a great deal of criminal social capital.

An Existing Problem, and Another Waiting to Happen

We will not comment at length here on the problem of demand in Kosovo. It is clear from data provided by the relevant organizations and institutions that Kosovo is an important receiving country for women and girls trafficked from other countries. This is an amply demonstrated existing problem, which we are aware of, and which we must take steps to fight.

Our analysis presented above suggests to us that the looming problem facing Kosovo is sending. Kosovo already exhibits many of the conditions which are conducive to creating an enabling environment for sending, chief among them being the economic situation and the generally low levels of awareness of the problems of child trafficking, coupled with a tendency to view it as a problem “out there”, happening to poor Moldovan women and girls, rather than as a potential problem at home. This could also be related to the stigma attached to issues relating to sex and sexual exploitation, which may contribute to an unwillingness to consider trafficking as a problem which could affect girls and women in Kosovo. This last claim is informed speculation; a deeper understanding of cultural conceptions of shame and sexuality would require a long-term ethnographic study in the vernacular.

Responses and Recommendations

We believe that we have a unique opportunity in Kosovo, to make a genuinely proactive, pre-emptive intervention to prevent the protectorate ever becoming a major sender. We also believe that we have a strong obligation, as a child-rights organization, and as a partner in the Save the Children SEE Regional Anti-Trafficking Initiative, to respond to the demand sector here in Kosovo. This is an obligation for reasons of reciprocity and complementarity: by stamping out demand for trafficked victims in Kosovo, we undermine the supply lines in sending countries within the

region. These, then, will be our priorities in setting out our Kosovo anti-trafficking strategy. We should also note here that a concentration on preventing sending and reducing/eliminating demand also responds to the problems of internal trafficking, which are largely subsumed under these categories.

It is important that we consider where we can make the most effective intervention. Referring back to the earlier section in this report which described the activities of major anti-trafficking actors in Kosovo, we can see that certain zones of intervention are either already addressed adequately by existing actors and systems, or beyond our competencies. Some other possible types of intervention simply do not fall within SCiK's current programming mandate:

??Law enforcement: For obvious reasons, not within NGOs' competence. Handled by TPIU with support from KFOR.

??Return and reintegration: Managed by IOM, OSCE, TPIU and UMCOR, and in the case of domestic and/or underage victims, by CSWs and CPWC.

??Shelter management and other victim support: Run by UMCOR, CPWC and a number of other NGOs. In any case, this constitutes service provision, which is not a current focus of SCiK's work.

??Legislation, prosecution and administrative direction: Handled by the Department of Justice, UNMIK, with support from OSCE.

Given these existing activities and programmes, where would an SCiK intervention be most logical and effective? We believe that such an intervention must lie primarily in the zones of public awareness-raising campaigns. Potential partner LINGOs we worked with during the field research phase were enthusiastic about working with us on such campaigns, and many adult and child respondents we spoke to over the course of our research were also receptive to the idea of a proactive intervention:

"... I believe your organisation should be more involved in making youth aware of these problems."

"... I think that organisations should be more engaged in these issues"

"I think children in high schools should have a subject about this problem..." (all from parents).

"Young people should facilitate talks, should organise campaigns like Save the Children and other child-rights organisations."

"[Young people should] organise different training on trafficking for children and young people and fight it." (from discussions with young people).²⁸

²⁸ These last comments are particularly interesting because their very vocabulary— conceptual and verbal— suggests a real familiarity with the workings of the NGO movement.

With these points in mind, we recommend the following activities as part of a short- to medium-term anti-trafficking strategy focusing on prevention of sending and reduction/elimination of demand. It will be noted that many of the activities are media-related. In part, this is a response to our data, which indicates very high levels of media penetration, particularly television.

Focus on Sending

- ??Design a campaign, focusing on sending: what trafficking is, methods of entrapment, what happens to victims, where they end up. NB issue of internal trafficking to be included.
- ??Design and produce 15-minute awareness-raising video for use in community and school campaign. To include points above. Cut shorter version for television broadcast.
- ??Design, record and broadcast radio warning of child trafficking danger. Content as above.
- ??Design and publish newspaper advertisements warning of child trafficking danger. Content as above.
- ??Design, print and distribute leaflets and posters warning of child trafficking danger. Content as above.
- ??Liaise with newspaper publishers to raise awareness within the print media sector of the dangers of entrapment advertising.
- ??Advocate at the Government level to include a mandatory trafficking-awareness session in secondary school curricula.
- ??Support partners in designing and implementing awareness-raising campaign for households, schools and youth groups.

Focus on Receiving

- ??Design, produce and broadcast awareness-raising video for television. This should appeal on moral grounds to discourage men from purchasing sexual services, by describing what child trafficking is. Emphasis to be placed on the fact that victims of trafficking come from other places as well as from Kosovo.
- ??Design, record and broadcast radio spot aimed at clients. To include above points.
- ??Design and publish newspaper advertisements aimed at clients. Content as above.

??Design, print and distribute leaflets and posters aimed at clients. Content as above.

In the longer term, Save the Children should aim to provide support and capacity-strengthening to existing programmes which focus on ameliorating the social conditions conducive to sending. Such activities would include:

??Identification of partner LNGOs which are working on, or which have the desire and the potential to work on, family welfare issues. Particularly women's support NGOs, and those working on problems of domestic violence and abuse.

??Where necessary, provide training and capacity-building for these partners, particularly focusing on working with children.

??Support these partners in designing and implementing programmes focused on family support, single mothers, children-at-risk. Support programmes which reduce the risk of child trafficking by strengthening family social structures.

??Support partners in designing and implementing programmes which address problems of domestic violence and abuse.

Obviously, liaison with SCiK's colleagues in the SEE Regional Initiative will be an ongoing process of information sharing and best practice development.

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Annex 1: UNMIK Regulation 2001/4

UNMIK/REG/2001/4

12 January 2001

REGULATION NO. 2001/4

ON THE PROHIBITION OF TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS IN KOSOVO

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General,

Pursuant to the authority given to him under United Nations Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) of 10 June 1999,

Taking into account United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) Regulation Number 1999/1 of 25 July 1999, as amended, on the Authority of the Interim Administration in Kosovo,

For the purpose of creating specific legislation for the prosecution and punishment of perpetrators of the crime of trafficking in persons and related criminal acts, and the assistance and protection of victims of trafficking and of related criminal acts,

Hereby promulgates the following:

CHAPTER I: Criminal Acts and Penalties

Section 1 Definitions

1.1 For the purposes of the present regulation:

(a) "trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.

(b) "exploitation" as used in subparagraph (a) shall include, but not be limited to, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

1.2 The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in section 1.1 shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in section 1.1(a) have been used against a victim of trafficking.

1.3 The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in section 1.1(a).

Section 2 Trafficking in Persons

2.1 Any person who engages or attempts to engage in trafficking in persons commits a criminal act and shall be liable upon conviction to a penalty of two (2) to twelve (12) years' imprisonment.

2.2 Where the victim of trafficking is under the age of 18 years, the maximum penalty for the person engaging in trafficking shall be up to fifteen (15) years' imprisonment.

2.3 Any person who organizes a group of persons for the purpose of committing the acts referred to in paragraphs 2.1 and 2.2 shall be liable upon conviction to a penalty of five (5) to twenty (20) years.

2.4 Any person who, through negligence, facilitates the commission of trafficking in persons commits a criminal act and shall be liable upon conviction to a penalty of six months to five (5) years' imprisonment.

Section 3 Withholding of Identification Papers

Any person who, acting or purporting to act as another person's employer, manager, contractor or employment agent, intentionally withholds that other person's personal identification documents and/or passport commits a criminal act and shall be liable upon conviction to a penalty of six (6) months to five (5) years' imprisonment.

Section 4
Using or Procuring Sexual Services of Person in a Situation of Sexual Exploitation

4.1 Any person who uses or procures the sexual services of a person with the knowledge that that person is a victim of trafficking in persons commits a criminal act and shall be liable upon conviction to a penalty of three (3) months to five (5) years' imprisonment.

4.2 Where the person providing the sexual services referred to in section 4.1 is under the age of 18 years, the maximum penalty for the person convicted of using or procuring such services shall be up to ten (10) years' imprisonment.

CHAPTER II: Investigation, Confiscation and Court Procedures

Section 5
Investigations

5.1 The taking of a statement by a law enforcement officer or investigating judge shall in no way inhibit or delay the voluntary repatriation of an alleged victim of trafficking.

5.2 Appropriate measures shall be taken for witness protection during any investigation and/or court proceedings arising under the present regulation.

Section 6
Confiscation of Property and Closure of Establishments

6.1 Property used in or resulting from the commission of trafficking in persons or other criminal acts under the present regulation may be confiscated in accordance with the applicable law. The personal property of the victims of trafficking shall not be confiscated wherever it can be immediately identified by the law enforcement officer as such.

6.2 Where there are grounds for suspicion that an establishment, operating legally or illegally, is involved in, or is knowingly associated with trafficking in persons or other criminal acts under the present regulation, an investigating judge may, upon the recommendation of the public prosecutor, issue an order for the closing of such establishment.

6.3 A reparation fund for victims of trafficking shall be established by administrative direction and shall be authorised to receive funds from, inter alia, the confiscation of property pursuant to section 6.1.

Section 7
Court Proceedings

7.1 Except with the leave of the president of the panel of judges, it shall not be permissible for a defendant charged with a criminal act under the present regulation to introduce evidence of the alleged character or personal history of the alleged victim.

7.2 A defendant may petition the president of the panel of judges to allow the introduction of evidence of the alleged character or personal history of the alleged victim. Upon receiving such petition, the president of the panel of judges shall conduct a hearing in camera during which the defendant and the prosecution shall have the opportunity to be heard.

7.3 Following the hearing in camera, the president of the panel of judges shall only grant leave to introduce evidence of the alleged character or personal history of the alleged victim if satisfied that the evidence is of such relevance, and its omission would be so prejudicial to the defendant, as to result in a miscarriage of justice for the defendant if not allowed to be introduced. In such cases, the president of the panel shall establish the limits within which such evidence or questions may be introduced.

7.4 In cases before the court involving charges of criminal acts under the present regulation, the court may permit the alleged victims and witnesses to present their evidence in camera or by electronic or other special means, as the court sees fit.

Section 8
Defence Available to a Victim of Trafficking

A person is not criminally responsible for prostitution or illegal entry, presence or work in Kosovo if that person provides evidence that supports a reasonable belief that he or she was the victim of trafficking.

CHAPTER III: Victim Protection and Assistance

Section 9
Victim Assistance Coordinator

9.1 Subject to section 9.2, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General shall appoint a Victim Assistance Coordinator who shall be responsible for coordinating the implementation of the present regulation, particularly the provisions set out in section 10 below. In the exercise of his or her duties, the Victim Assistance Coordinator shall liaise with the relevant law enforcement authorities, international and non-governmental or other organisations, and administrative departments as necessary.

9.2 Expenses arising from the implementation of the provisions under Chapter III of the present regulation shall be funded, to the extent resources are available, from donor contributions made specifically for this purpose and recorded as designated donor grants in the Kosovo Consolidated Budget. The Victim Assistance Coordinator may also request other funds to be allocated for these purposes in the Kosovo Consolidated Budget.

Section 10 **Assistance to Victims of Trafficking**

10.1 Upon the request of a person who provides to the Victim Assistance Coordinator reasonable grounds for belief that she or he is a victim of trafficking, the following services shall be provided to that person, subject to availability of resources provided in accordance with section 9.2:

- (a) free interpreting services in the language of their choice;
- (b) free legal counsel in relation to trafficking issues (criminal or civil);
- (c) temporary safe housing, psychological, medical and social welfare assistance as may be necessary to provide for their needs; and
- (d) such other services as shall be specified in an administrative direction.

10.2 The services and facilities for the assistance of victims of trafficking shall be available to such victims, in accordance with section 10.1, regardless of any charges of prostitution or of illegal entry, presence or work in Kosovo that may be pending against them.

10.3 Law enforcement officers shall advise persons who are suspected victims of trafficking at the earliest available opportunity of their right to request the services and facilities set out in the present section and shall contact the appropriate persons to arrange the requested assistance.

Section 11 **No Deportation of Trafficking Victims for Certain Convictions**

A conviction for prostitution or a conviction for illegal entry, presence or work in Kosovo shall not be the basis for deportation if the person who is to be deported is a victim of trafficking.

Section 12 **Evaluation of Refugee Status**

12.1 If a victim of trafficking expresses a wish to not be returned to her or his country of citizenship or previous habitual residence based on a claim of persecution, such a claim shall be evaluated by the appropriate authority, pursuant to the applicable law, who may determine that the victim may be granted residence in Kosovo or such other assistance as deemed appropriate.

12.2 Nothing in the present regulation shall affect the protection afforded to refugees and asylum-seekers under international refugee law and international human rights law, in particular, compliance with the principle of non-refoulement as set forth in Article 33 of the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees.

Section 13 **Implementation**

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General may issue administrative directions for the implementation of the present regulation.

Section 14 **Applicable Law**

The present regulation shall supersede any provision in the applicable law that is inconsistent with it.

Section 15 **Entry into Force**

The present regulation shall enter into force on 12 January 2001.

Bernard Kouchner
Special Representative of the Secretary-General

Annex 2: Household Questionnaire

EXPLANATION TO BE READ OUT BY INTERVIEWER

Before we start this questionnaire, we would like to explain exactly what we are doing, and why we need your help. We also want to explain some of the words which we will use in the questionnaire. At Save the Children, we are very concerned about child trafficking in Kosovo. Child trafficking is actually many different things, but all of them are bad. If a child, less than eighteen years old, is taken by force or trickery away from their home to another place to work, this is child trafficking. Very often that work involves prostitution. Sometimes the criminals who do these things tell the girls that they will help them move away from home and find good work in another country or another area. But when they leave home, the criminals take away their documents, treat them very badly, sell them to other criminals and abuse them. The girls often end up far away from home, working in bars as prostitutes in dangerous places, with little or no money. These things are happening in lots of different places, and in many different ways. Sometimes girls are brought to Kosovo from other countries, and sometimes girls are taken from Kosovo to other countries. Sometimes girls from Kosovo can be trapped by criminals and taken to another part of Kosovo. Sometimes girls are brought to Kosovo first, then sent somewhere else. These things are all child trafficking. At Save the Children, we want to stop child trafficking. But to do this, we need to know more about the problem. We also need to know things about people living in communities all through Kosovo. For this reason, we are asking you to help us by providing some very basic information. The information that you give us will help us to find ways to fight and prevent trafficking in the communities of Kosovo. We can promise you that your name will remain private: it will not appear in our report. We need to put your name on the questionnaire for our records, but we promise you that it will not be made public. Thank you very much for taking the time to help us. We will start the questionnaire now. Please help us by answering as carefully as you can: take time to think about what you want to say.

Child Trafficking Study: Household Questionnaire

First, we would like to ask you a few questions about your family and household. Remember that your name will be kept confidential – it will not appear in our report – we will use a number instead.												
1) name											code	
2) do you work?	no			yes (what?)								
3) education	no formal school											
	primary			years?								
	secondary			years?								
	tertiary			years?								
4) how many members of this family live in this house?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	>10	
5) who are they?												
6) how many children do you have?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	>10	
7) how many children live here in this house?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	>10	
8) how many are girls?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	>10	
9) what are their ages?	0-5			6-11				12-17+				
10) how many are boys?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	>10	

11) what are their ages?	0-5	6-11	12-17+
12) how many are in school?	girls		boys
13) where are they in school?			
14a) are any of your children living outside Kosovo?	no		yes
14b) if "yes", could you tell us	how many girls?		how many boys?
	girls' ages?		boys' ages?
	where are they?		
	how did they get there?		
	what are they doing there?		
	are you in contact with them?		
	do they send money home?		
15a) are any of your children living in Kosovo, but not here with you?	no		yes

15b) if "yes", could you tell us	how many girls?	how many boys?
	girls' ages?	boys' ages?
	where are they?	
	what are they doing there?	
	are you in contact with them?	
	do they send money home?	
16a) are you worried about any of these children who do not live with you?	no	yes
16b) if "yes", what are you worried about?		
Now, we would like to ask you some questions about child trafficking. Remember that we described what this is (explain again if necessary). Also, remember that your name will not appear in our report.		

17) if someone said to you that they could help one of your girls find a good job abroad, and that they would take care of documents and travel, what would you think?			
18) would you allow them to go?	no	yes	
19) given what we have said about child trafficking, do you think that it is a problem in this area?	not a problem	sometimes a problem	a bad problem
20a) do you know of any cases of trafficking in this area? remember that this could be trafficking within Kosovo as well as to other places	no		yes
20b) if "yes", could you tell us what you know? (how many? where? how? who was involved? when?)			

21a) has anybody ever offered to help any of your children leave Kosovo, or to find work abroad?	no	yes	
21b) if "yes", could you tell us about it?			
22a) have you ever heard about such offers, among your friends, or neighbours, or in the newspaper?	no	yes	
22b) if "yes", could you tell us about it?			
23) are you concerned about these kinds of things happening?	no	yes, a little	very concerned
24a) have the police, or anyone from an NGO or other organization ever talked to people in this area about child trafficking?	no	yes	
24b) if "yes", what have they told you?			

25) Is there anything else you would like to tell us about this issue?

Other observations by interviewer: visual, perceptions, impressions:

Thank you very much for your time and help. We are very grateful for the information you have provided. Please remember that your name will not appear in our report.

The Convention on the Right of the Child, approved by the UN General Assembly on November 1989, states:

States parties shall take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent the abduction of, the sale of, or trafficking in children for any purpose or any form.

Article 35

States Parties shall protect the child against all other forms of exploitation prejudicial to any aspects of the child welfare.

Article 36

State Parties undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. For this purpose State Parties shall in particular take all appropriate national bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent:

- (a) the inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity;
- (b) the exploitative use of children in prostitution or other unlawful sexual activities;
- (c) the exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials.

Article 34