

PROject of Technical assistance against the Labour and Sexual Exploitation of Children, including Trafficking, in countries of Central and Eastern Europe



International
Labour
Office

PROTECT CEE



Rapid Assessment of Trafficking in Children for Labour and Sexual Exploitation in Ukraine

2003

IPEC
International
Programme on
the Elimination
of Child Labour

Rapid Assessment of Trafficking in Children for Labour and Sexual Exploitation in Ukraine

Prepared by the Centre of Social Expertise of the Institute of Sociology,
National Academy of Sciences, Ukraine

under technical supervision of FAFO Institute for Applied International Studies, Norway

for the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)
of the International Labour Organization (ILO)

Kiev, 2003



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ISBN: 92-2-116205-2 (print)

ISBN: 92-2-116206-0 (web pdf)

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Foreword

Unacceptable forms of child labour persist and affect the lives of many millions of children. Some of those practices are particularly difficult to research due to their hidden, sometimes illegal or even criminal nature. Slavery-like conditions, debt bondage, trafficking, sexual exploitation, the use of children in the drug trade and in armed conflict, as well as hazardous work are defined as worst forms of child labour.

Promoting the Convention (No. 182) concerning the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999, is a high priority for the International Labour Organization (ILO). Recommendation (No. 190, paragraph 5) accompanying the Convention states that “detailed information and statistical data on the nature and extent of child labour should be compiled and kept up to date to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, in particular for the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms as a matter of urgency.” Although there is a body of knowledge, data and documentation on child labour, there are also still considerable gaps in understanding the variety of forms and conditions in which children work. This is especially true for some of the worst forms of child labour such as trafficking of children, which by their very nature often are hidden from public view and scrutiny.

Against this background, the ILO through its International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) launched a process in 2002 to investigate the trafficking of children for labour and sexual purposes in four selected countries of Eastern Europe: Albania, Moldova, Romania and Ukraine. In collaboration with the FAFO Institute for Applied Social Sciences, Norway, a research methodology manual was developed and research institutions in each of the concerned countries contracted and trained. Through the collection and analysis of primary data as well as secondary data in each country, substantive information was compiled on the specific features of the trafficking dynamics and the consequences for the lives of many girls and boys.

To the partners and IPEC colleagues who contributed through their individual and collective efforts to the realisation of this report, I should like to express our gratitude. The responsibility for opinions expressed in this publication rests solely with the authors and does not imply endorsement by the ILO.

The wealth of information contained in these reports on the situation of the girls and boys trafficked for labour or sexual exploitation within the countries concerned and across their borders will surely contribute to a deeper understanding and a sharper focus on the challenges that lie ahead. Most importantly, we hope that the studies will guide policy makers, community leaders, and practitioners to address the problem of child trafficking with determination. And help them put an end to this grave injustice that shatters children’s lives.



Frans Röselaers

Director

International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)

International Labour Office

Geneva, 2004

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The collapse of the Soviet system led to a radical reconstruction of the social base of Ukrainian society as it faced the challenge of transition from a planned to a market economy. The nature of this social transformation – the scale, trends, depth and means by which change has occurred – is characteristic of the phenomenon known as *social anomie*, that is that existing social norms have disappeared but have not yet been replaced by new norms, or at least that people generally have not yet embraced such new norms.

As a result of this social anomie, many of the social movements that have emerged in Ukrainian society in recent years are undesirable, even deviant. Trafficking in human beings, including children, figures prominently among these deviances, and is now not only transnational but global in scale.

An analysis of cases brought to court indicates that trafficking in children in most cases is conducted for the purposes of illegal adoption, prostitution, the production of pornography or pornographic performances, or for organ transplant.

It is worth noting that this analysis of individual criminal cases in most cases does not reflect the involvement of organized criminal groups in these activities, to some extent because corruption in the authorities dealing with such cases hinders their being brought to court.

It is also worth noting that the problem of trafficking in children in Ukraine for forced labour, including begging, does not feature in legal accounts, suggesting that children forced to work and their parents do not report this to law enforcement bodies. Thus an analysis of legal practice does not give a full picture of trafficking in children.

A survey of available research, media reports and on-line information indicates that until recently the issue of trafficking in children in Ukraine has not been widely investigated. There have been isolated media reports on cases of child trafficking, usually in the context of individual court cases. Trafficking in adults is somewhat better researched.

The main factors supporting child trafficking in Ukraine are economic. They include high levels of unemployment, limited employment opportunities, and low income levels. In particular, the low income level in the *oblasts* where research was undertaken is cited as the main reason why people look for additional sources of income, seeking them in secondary employment and/or by putting their children to work.

Family environment has an important impact on children generally and specifically on their behaviour. In this respect what matters is family completeness, the nature of relations among family members, and material status. All of these factors play an essential role in creating an environment in which child trafficking occurs.

School as a social institution is no longer able to carry out fully its functions in relation to education, supervision and information. This increases children's vulnerability to exploitation and trafficking. A lack of leisure-time opportunities organized with the involvement of family, school or non-school institutions also means that many children are socialized 'on the street'.

The children who fall victim to human trafficking are generally aged between 13 and 18 years of age. Most of them are girls trafficked into sexual exploitation, reflecting the nature of demand. Boys are used for the most part as cheap labour for unskilled jobs or to peddle drugs among teenagers. Until their involvement in trafficking, one third of children combined school with work.

Most of the trafficked children come from incomplete and restructured families, with the children from restructured families complaining about neglect and cruelty from stepfathers. Often this

involves violence: physical violence towards boys and sexual violence towards girls. Such violence is a critical factor in children's vulnerability to trafficking.

Children are generally lured into trafficking, both domestic and cross-border. For those trafficked internally, the use of force is also widespread. The recruitment of children into cross-border trafficking generally involves acquaintances and friends of the children; children trafficked internally are often victims of a 'deal' or mediation by a family member, often a parent.

One half of the children trafficked across borders go to neighbouring countries (Russia, Moldova); the rest go to urban centres in countries outside the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The exact destination of the child depends on where the child came from, with regional variations. Children from Kiev and Chernivtsi *oblasts*, for example, end up in a wide range of countries, whereas children from Kharkiv and Kiev *oblasts* most often are trafficked internally or, if they do cross borders, to Russia or sometimes Poland.

Many of the children trafficked across borders were often also trafficked within the country too. One characteristic of child trafficking in Ukraine is that in most cases children are trafficked within the country.

In most cases, friends and acquaintances arrange the children's contact with the people who organize their trip. This usually takes place where the child lives. Traffickers offer 'services' to the children/family, including providing a job, organizing transport and obtaining travel documents. To pay for these, the children are often obliged to borrow money and to repay this when they arrive at their destination. In half of the cases studied for this research, however, there was no agreement about reimbursement of 'expenses'.

On average, it takes four months from the child's first contact with the people who arrange travel until departure. In more than half of the cases, someone in the family knew the child was leaving, but their attitude was either positive or indifferent. In half of the cases, family members with whom the children lived expected the child to send back money once s/he started work. It was rare, therefore, for a family member to try and stop the child from leaving.

In some cases, the countries in which the children arrived differed from those proposed to them. Half of the children said that other people travelled with them; some of these were also under 18. Generally the children crossed the border by train, car or bus/minibus, half of them through official checkpoints. Fewer than 50 per cent had their identity papers checked. Half of the children said money changed hands to let them cross the border.

The children trafficked across borders were exploited in street-vending, domestic labour, agriculture, dancing, as waiters/waitresses, or to provide sexual services. Most often, the children were expected to dance, beg or provide sexual services, regardless of what they had anticipated doing. Children trafficked internally were also expected to provide sexual services or to beg, despite promises of work as cleaners, waiters or hawkers.

To force them to work, the exploiters trap children in debt bondage: to pay off the costs of their trip and allied 'services' such as food and accommodation, the children must stay and work. Repayment of debt is also given as the reason why most of the children trafficked received no payment for the work they do, or only part of it. This despite the fact that children are obliged to work long days (often eight hours a day) and frequently nights. They have no way of negotiating conditions and are effectively in forced labour.

In the majority of cases, trafficked children are deprived of freedom of movement, the possibility of communicating with others and contacting people close to them. They are under the constant surveillance of their employers and are seldom left alone, living and working with other children. Opportunities to escape are rare.

The children are frequently subject to punishment from their employers/exploiters. And yet most do not contact the police or other authorities for help. Many of them doubt that help will be given; many fear their bosses but also the authorities, believing they may be deported or imprisoned. In some cases, children report that their bosses have good relations with the authorities.

This is borne out by the evidence relating to children's eventual release: most of those trafficked across borders cite escape, arrest and expulsion from the country. In this survey, most of the internally trafficked children said they had decided to leave and that their boss had accepted this.

Release is not the end of the child's suffering, however. Only one in three children surveyed was supported by family after their return; one in three was supported by an aid organization or programme or by spouse, friends or others. One in three children had to fend for her/himself. Additionally, one in three children had to live in a shelter or on the street, and one in three did not have enough to eat, proper clothes or shoes. Clearly these children continue to be extremely vulnerable to being exploited or trafficked again.

Despite this, many of the trafficked children say they would like to work abroad in the future.

The reintegration of trafficked children into regular life is extremely difficult. Most of them attend school irregularly or not at all. Boys attend more regularly than girls. The children may also face reintegration problems because they have lost trust in people, and the role that family plays is crucial. But the family may be indifferent to the child's future, and the authorities may also provide little support. Where support is available, children and families are often not aware of this.

The children themselves may seek solitude and passively accept the situation in which they find themselves. Inevitably, this passivity and lack of support also contribute to the child's continuing vulnerability to exploitation and to being re-trafficked.

1. CONTEXT TO THE TRAFFICKING OF CHILDREN IN UKRAINE

The collapse of the Soviet system led to a radical reconstruction of the social base of Ukrainian society as it faced the challenge of transition from a planned to a market economy. The nature of this social transformation – the scale, trends, depth and means by which change has occurred – is characteristic of the phenomenon known as *social anomie*, that is that existing social norms have disappeared but have not yet been replaced by new norms, or at least that people generally have not yet embraced such new norms.

As a result of this social anomie, many of the social movements that have emerged in Ukrainian society in recent years are undesirable, even deviant. Trafficking in human beings, including children, figures prominently among these deviances, and is now not only transnational but global in scale.

The phenomenon of trafficking in children in Ukraine, however, has not been systematically studied. There is a paucity of research, statistical data and reliable information on the extent of the problem. The media have reported on individual cases, generally in connection with an ongoing court case, but such coverage is not necessarily indicative of the issue as a whole. In general, trafficking in adults has received more attention.

An analysis of cases brought to court¹ indicates that trafficking in children in most cases is conducted for the purposes of illegal adoption, prostitution, the production of pornography or pornographic performances, or for organ transplant.

Illegal adoption: There are numerous cases of illegal adoption and transportation of Ukrainian children abroad according to the Ukraine Ministry of Internal Affairs.² In 2002, 26 crimes were registered, with criminal proceedings subsequently initiated under Article 124 (kidnapping) and Article 124-1 (trafficking in children) of the Criminal Code of Ukraine.

Prostitution: According to data from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, between 1991 and 1999, 252 minors were identified as being engaged in providing sexual services. This far understates the extent of prostitution of children.

Pornography or pornographic performance: Between 1990 and 1999, only 112 people were convicted on charges of involving minors in the porn industry.³

Organ transplant: There are no official data in Ukraine on trafficking of children for organ transplants. The media have reported on individual cases but these stories are not necessarily reliable.

It is likely that the number of individual criminal cases initiated understates the true extent of trafficking in children. This is particularly likely because of reported corruption of authorities by organized criminal groups, whose activities are therefore not reflected in the data. It is also true that both children and families are often reluctant to report coercion, for example into begging, to the authorities.

¹ Gutorova N.A.: *Responsibility for human trafficking under criminal law and tasks of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine on combating this type of crime*, (Kharkiv, University for Internal Affairs, no date). See also: <http://reform.geoweb.ge/Researches/Ukraina.HT.htm>

² See <http://cgz.centrmia.gov.ua/events/melnikov01.html>

³ *Idem.*

1.1 *The socio-economic context of child trafficking*

Trafficking in children occurs in a clearly defined socio-economic context in which children and families become vulnerable to exploitation. The fallout of structural adjustment policies during transition to a market economy, and the impact on children, families and communities, are major causes of vulnerability.

Unemployment and personal income

Economic, social and political reforms in the course of transition from a planned to a market economy have not necessarily improved people's material wellbeing nor the health of the economy. In particular, there has been a serious growth in unemployment and a concomitant rise in the number of people identifying themselves as 'poor'.

Unemployment in 2001 was measured at 11.1 per cent in the economically active population across all social groups.⁴ In the regions covered by this Rapid Assessment survey,⁵ it was higher: 11.9 per cent in Kiev; 11.8 per cent in Kharkiv; 13.3 per cent in Kherson; and 18.4 per cent in Chernivtsi *oblast*, the highest unemployment level in Ukraine.

Unemployed parents and consequent family poverty are major reasons why children look for ways of supplementing family income, or are sent to work. Research undertaken in 2002 by the Centre for Social Expertise and Forecasts of the Institute of Sociology at the Ukraine Academy of Sciences found that 69 per cent of children in rural areas and 52 per cent of children in urban areas are motivated to work in order to support their families.

A significant majority of the population is either at or below the poverty line.⁶ In 2001, 27.2 per cent of the population lived below the poverty line.⁷ Average annual per capita wages and salary was 2247.5 Hryvnas (\$424),⁸ and in the regions in question even lower: 1561 hryvnyas (\$295) in Kiev *oblast*; 2031 hryvnyas (\$383) in Kharkiv *oblast*, 1526 hryvnyas (\$288) in Kherson *oblast* and 1023 hryvnyas (\$193) in Chernivtsi *oblast*.

Wages/salary from primary employment is not the main source of monetary income for a significant majority of people in these four *oblasts*, since salary levels are significantly lower than the cost of living (311.3 hryvnyas [\$59] in 2001). The average monthly wage of workers in the four regions in 2001⁹ was: Kherson 233 hryvnyas (\$44); in Chernivtsi 218 hryvnyas (\$ 41); Kiev 317 hryvnyas (\$60) and Kharkiv 310 hryvnyas (\$58).

Pensions, different social benefits and assistance play a role in the structure of material income, although it should be mentioned that in early 2002 the monthly pension was extremely low for different categories, varying from 54.8 hryvnyas (\$10) to 152.5 hryvnyas (\$29).¹⁰ For comparison: a loaf of bread cost on average 1.2 hryvnyas (23 cents), housing and communal utilities roughly 100 hryvnyas (\$19) a month.

⁴ Ukraine State Committee on Statistics: *Statistical Yearbook of Ukraine in 2001* (K, 2002), p.368.

⁵ For full details of the parameters of the Rapid Assessment survey, see the Annex, below.

⁶ The poverty line in 2001 was set at US\$33 or 175 Hryvnas.

⁷ E M Libanova: "Transformational processes, social stratification and prospects of middle class development," in *Economy and forecasting*, No.2, 2002, p.44.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.408.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.403.

¹⁰ *Statistical Yearbook 2001, op.cit.*, p.416.

Family structure and parent/child relationships

The number of children at risk of trafficking is increasing. This is in part a result of more children living on the streets or otherwise vulnerable because of dysfunction in the family. Parental alcoholism, drug addiction and aggression, family violence and criminal activity increase the likelihood that children will leave or be ejected from the family home, and increase their vulnerability to coercion and persuasion.

In 2001, some 78 per cent of children lived in a family with both parents; 14 per cent lived in single-parent households (usually with the mother); 6 per cent lived in a 'restructured' family (ie where one adult was the child's real parent), and 2 per cent of children lived in families to which they were not related.¹¹

Almost half of all teenagers, especially from restructured or single-parent families, had a low level of mutual understanding with their parents (45 per cent)¹² and had difficulty discussing issues of concern. This increases vulnerability to reliance on people external to the family and to exposure to duplicity.

A generally poor childcare environment also increases vulnerability. This results from an increased number of socially disadvantaged families and a general decrease in the living standards of the population which means that families are unable to pay to put their children in kindergarten, so that many pre-school age children are left without care. This also affects the ability of the child to adapt when s/he begins regular schooling. Negative experiences in the early years of schooling may be a factor in school drop-out and/or poor performance. In a situation where the school is also no longer able to fulfil a social role in the child's life, it is clear that the child's attitude towards school will be less positive than it might be.

Children living outside the family setting are also at risk. Between 1991 and 2000, the number of 'social orphans' (children removed from their parents by court ruling) rose from 1,800 to 6,000.¹³ The number of children left without parental care grew from 12,300 in 1991 to 19,800 in 1999. The child population of public boarding institutions of various kinds started to increase in 1998 and had reached 99,600 children by 2000.

There has also been an increase in the number of children living on the streets. A 2001 social survey¹⁴ listed the main reasons why children end up on the streets as: because their parents wanted them to leave – 55 per cent; because they wanted to leave – 22 per cent; to escape violence in the home -- 9 per cent; because their parents could not support them – 14 per cent. These children are generally between the ages of 4 and 15 and more than half of them (54 per cent) are from two-parent families

It is clear, therefore, that family structure, functioning and relationships between parents and children play a crucial role in the vulnerability of the child to outside persuasion or coercion, and to the context in which a child may make life choices. These factors are of vital importance to the child's vulnerability to trafficking.

¹¹ State Institute on Issues of Family and Youth: *Pedagogical potential of the family in modern conditions: State report on the status of families in Ukraine in 2001*, (K, 2002), p.71.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.73.

¹³ UNICEF: *Situation of women and children in Ukraine*, (K, UNICEF, 2001), chapter 13.

¹⁴ S V Tolstoukhova (ed): *Activity of Ukrainian centres for social services for young people: Current status and prospect of development*, (K, Akadempress, 2001), p.64.

An environment conducive to crime

Crimes against teenagers are steadily increasing in Ukraine, and crime among adolescent groups is a complex phenomenon. The State Committee for Statistics reported that 37,000 teenagers were on the files of the criminal militia departments by the end of 2001. Ten thousand of these came from single-parent families and 1,900 others were living in orphanages or shelters.¹⁵

The context in which adolescent crime occurs is perhaps illustrated by statistics collected by the Department of Internal Affairs:¹⁶ In 2002, the officials of criminal militia departments dealing with juvenile matters revealed that more than 18,000 parents deliberately avoided educating their children and had a potentially negative influence on their behaviour. This dysfunctionality in the family home is the reason why many minors leave home. In 2002, 25,000 homeless children and 10,000 children engaged in begging were detained by the authorities. More than 6,000 adults were held accountable for involving teenagers in unlawful acts or for encouraging them to drink excessively, abuse medications or otherwise engage in abuses that might lead them to addiction or intoxication.

Drug addiction is a problem in Ukraine. Between 1998 and 2003, the number of minors registered as drug dependent in general secondary schools doubled.¹⁷

1.2. Education

The role of the school in any society depends to a great extent on the economic situation of the country, since the range of services that a school can provide beyond basic education depends on available resources. In a Ukraine in transition, schools were not able to fulfil a social role.

Pre-school institutions: The number of pre-school institutions declined from 24.5 thousand in 1990 to 15.7 thousand in 2001 and a concomitant decline in the number of children attending pre-school – by 230 per cent in urban areas and by 350 per cent in rural areas.¹⁸

Schools of general education: The number of schools of general education has been stable since 2000, at 22,200 schools. The number of children in school, however, dropped significantly from 1,372 per 10,000 pax in the 2000/2001 school year to 1,347 per 10,000 pax in the 2001/2002 school year.

Vocational schools: The number of vocational institutions to 965 in 2001, some 24 per cent down on previous years. The number of students also fell, by 18 per cent.¹⁹ This does not reflect any sort of policy change at central or local levels, but rather results from the restructuring of the national economy that has decreased demand for graduates of vocational schools, seen as poorly qualified and lacking work experience.

Overall, a reduction in the number of teachers in public schools has seen a steady rise in the pupil:teacher ratio. Teaching is seen as a poorly paid profession. Large class sizes have been

¹⁵ State Institute on Issues of Family and Youth: *State report on the status of children in Ukraine in 2001: Protection and ensuring of observance of residence and property rights of children*, (K, 2002), p.18.

¹⁶ *Idem.*

¹⁷ State Institute on Issues of Family and Youth: *State report on the status of children in Ukraine in 2001: Pedagogical potential of the family in modern conditions*, (K, 2002), p.826.

¹⁸ State Committee on Statistics: *Statistical yearbook of Ukraine in 2001*, (K, 2002), p.456.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.460.

accompanied by a perceived lowering of standards in schools. This is attributed not only to flaws in the system but also a lack of material resources (eg computers, books).

Summer camps offering children an inexpensive option during school holidays do not have places for all school children (except in Kherson oblast), particularly in rural areas.²⁰

Non-school learning institutions: The network of state institutions offering children alternative learning opportunities (for example children's creativity centres, hobby groups, sports groups) has declined significantly and now caters to a small number of children. The children's and youth creativity centres that do exist are under-funded, lack materials and technical support and are thus obliged to reduce the scope of activities provided. This discourages children from attending. Fees for some of the centres are an additional disincentive.

There are a number of non-school learning institutions run by non-governmental organizations (NGOs). These generally cater better to children's aspirations and, as a rule, are free of charge. However, they are accessible to a small number of children, mainly those living in cities.

As a result, children increasingly lack opportunities for social activities that involve school, family or other structured support. The role of 'the street' as a socializing influence is therefore reinforced.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p.468.

2. THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND NATIONAL POLICIES ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING

2.1 International instruments

As a signatory to the ILO Worst Forms of Labour Convention, 1999 (No.182), Ukraine is committed to taking immediate measures to prohibit and eliminate the worst forms of child labour and to working towards the elimination of all forms of child labour. Article 3 of the Convention specifies that the term ‘the worst forms of child labour’ includes:

- (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict.

Ukraine has ratified international and regional instruments related to the rights of the child, from the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924 to the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Council of Europe’s Recommendation (2001)¹⁶ on the protection of children against sexual exploitation, which also covers child trafficking.

Ukraine has also signed the ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No.138), is signatory to the United Nations Convention on Transnational Organized Crime (2000) and in 2001 signed its two protocols, including the *UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (2000)*, also known as the Palermo Protocol. These have not yet, however, been ratified by the Verkhovna Rada (Parliament).

2.2 National laws and programmes

In accordance with its obligations, Ukraine has acted to “undertake necessary legislative, administrative and educational steps to protect children against all forms of violence, offence or abuse, neglectful care, or lack thereof”. Article 52 of the Constitution of Ukraine states that violence towards a child and exploitation of the child are prosecuted under the law. The Constitution also has provisions recognizing the honour and dignity of human beings as the highest social values (Article 3), the protection of motherhood and childhood (Article 51) and public support and upbringing of orphans and children deprived of parental care (Article 52).

The improvement of the legislative framework for the protection of children from crime, the implementation of preventive work, obviating situations where children become social orphans, the development of child assistance, the continuity of parental care, improvement of education, training and social protection are an important part of state activities, and are also the work of research institutions and NGOs.

There was no specific criminal legislation relating to human or child trafficking in Ukraine before March 1998, when amendments to the Code on Marriage and Family led to amendments in the Criminal Code to accommodate articles related to penalties for illegal actions in regard to adoption and human trafficking. Article 124-1 of the Criminal code was replaced with article 149 on “human trafficking and other illegal contracts related to the transfer of human beings” that also covers combating crimes against children. By the beginning of 2003, the number of cases initiated under these two articles had reached 314 (two cases in 1998, 11 in 1999, 42 in 2000, 90 in 2001 and 169 in 2002). Article 149 defines human trafficking as “selling, other paid transfer of human beings as well as execution in relation to him/her of any other illegal contract related to legal or illegal transfer, with or without his/her consent, across the national borders of Ukraine for subsequent sale or other transfer to other person (persons) for sexual exploitation, utilization in the production of pornography, or for pornographic performances, involvement in criminal activity, debt bondage,

adoption for commercial purposes, the recruitment of children for use in armed conflicts, exploitation of their labour". Such crimes are punishable by imprisonment for a term of three to eight years.

The same crimes committed in relation to minors, to several people, repeatedly, by those using their official positions, or by a person upon whom the victim has been materially or otherwise dependent, are punishable by imprisonment for a term of five to twelve years and may be accompanied by confiscation of property.

If the actions have been committed by an organized group or involve the illegal transfer of children abroad or their non-return to Ukraine, if they are with the purpose of taking organs or tissues for transplantation or forced donor activity, or, if they have caused grave consequences, then they are punishable by imprisonment for a term of eight to 15 years and possible confiscation of property.

Expert commentators have noted that there are shortcomings in the formulation and definitions included in the legislative framework. In particular, they note that it is only possible to initiate proceedings relating to illegal contract for transfer of a person only when such transfer has taken place across Ukraine's borders.

A number of other laws and legislative acts are relevant to human trafficking and/or child protection. The Criminal Code of Ukraine includes provision relating to liability for crimes against the life and health of children as well as for criminal actions relating to the exploitation of children. Chapter II relates to "crimes against life and health of human persons"; Chapter III to "crimes against freedom, honour and dignity of human persons"; Chapter IV to "crimes against gender freedom and gender immunity of human persons"; Chapter XII to "crimes against public order and morality"; and Chapter XIII to "crimes in the area of drug trafficking, psychotropic substances, their analogues or precursors, and other crimes against the health of the population". The Criminal Code has defined liability for the exploitation of children (Art. 150), for human trafficking and other illegal contracts regarding the transfer of persons (Art. 149). Part 2 of Article 150 envisages liability for sexual exploitation of juveniles, and their exploitation in pornography. The exploitation of children is determined by experts as being any use of the child's labour that may do harm to health, physical or educational development, in conjunction with obtaining profit at the expense of the victim (Article 150 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine does not have such a definition).

Criminal actions against children are qualified as involving juveniles in criminal activity (Art. 304); prostitution, compulsion to or involvement in prostitution (Part 3, Art. 303); establishment of places for debauchery and acts of procuring committed in relation to a juvenile (Part 3, Art. 302); illegal production, manufacture, acquisition, transportation, mailing, or marketing of drugs, psychotropic substances or their analogues with the involvement of juveniles (Part.3, Art. 307); forcing of juveniles to use dope (Art. 323); inducing juveniles to use dope-related remedies (Art. 324); organization or maintenance of places for juveniles for illegal consumption, production, or fabrication of drugs, psychotropic substances or their analogues with the involvement of juveniles.

Inter-country agreements

The Ministry of Internal Affairs has prepared 14 intergovernmental agreements on cooperation against organized crime that regulate, among other things, human trafficking and illegal migration. These include agreements with Turkey, Israel, the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, France, Sweden, Romania and Moldova. Actions to combat human trafficking are regulated by interdepartmental agreements. In 1998 and 1999 such agreements were signed with the United Kingdom, Macedonia and the Czech Republic. In 2003, preparations were under way to sign an agreement on cooperation against organized crime and especially human trafficking with Greece.

These multilateral and bilateral agreements promote the cooperation of law enforcement bodies in countering human trafficking, especially child trafficking.

Presidential and government decrees

The legislative framework of Ukraine comprises not only national laws (for example the Code on Marriage and Family, the Labour Code, The Code on Administrative Infringements, the Criminal Code) but also presidential and governmental decrees, ministerial legislative acts and government programmes.

Among these, the following are perhaps most important: “On the general principles of government policy on youth in Ukraine (15 December 1992, No.2859), the law “on the promotion of social formation and development of young people in Ukraine” (5 February 1993, No.2998-xii), presidential decrees “on additional measures on the implementation of government youth policy” (4 December 1996, No.1165/96), “on the approval of comprehensive actions on the prevention of homelessness and child delinquency, and their social rehabilitation in society” (18 March 1998, No.200/98); decrees of the cabinet of ministers “on further development of a network of social service centres and improvement of efficiency of their performance” (21 January 1998, No.63), “on the implementation status of government youth policy” (18 June 1999, No.1059), “on comprehensive measures of the cabinet of ministers of Ukraine on the implementation of government youth policy in Ukraine” (20 March 1998, No. 348), and “on the improvement of material support to orphans and children deprived of parental care” (16 June 1998, No.909).

Government policy for the prevention of child trafficking is implemented through the adoption of government programmes. These include the comprehensive programme on crime prevention (presidential decree of 25 December 2000, No.1375/2000 “on comprehensive programme on crime prevention in 2001–2005”), the national programme to counter the abuse of drugs and their illegal traffic, the national AIDS prevention (cabinet decree of 11 July 2001, No.970 “on the programme of prevention of HIV/AIDS in 2001–2003”), the national programme on family planning (cabinet decree of 13 September 1995, No.736 “national programme on family planning” and presidential decree of 26 March 2001, No. 203/2001), national programme “Children of Ukraine” (presidential decree of 24 January 2001, No.42/2001), the comprehensive programme of combating human trafficking in Ukraine (cabinet decree of 25 September 1999, No.1768 “on the programme of combating trafficking in women and children”, and cabinet decree of 5 June 2002, No.766 “on comprehensive programme for combating human trafficking in Ukraine”), programme of legal education of the population of Ukraine, programme on the improvement of education, social protection of orphans and children deprived of parental care, and others.

A number of presidential decrees relate particularly to at-risk groups of children: “on the approval of measures on improving the status of orphans and children deprived of parental care” (17 October 1997, No.1153/97), “on the approval of comprehensive measures on combating homelessness among children, and violation of the law as related to children, their social rehabilitation in society” (18 March 1998, No.200/98), “on additional measures to prevent the disappearance of people and improvement of interaction of law enforcement bodies and other executive authorities in their retrieval” (18 January 2001, No.20/2001).

There is keen awareness of the need to take a comprehensive approach to preventing and combating trafficking in human beings. Two programmes have already been adopted: to combat human and, in particular, child trafficking (cabinet decree of 25 September 1999, No.1768) and a comprehensive programme on countering human trafficking (cabinet decree of 5 June 2002). The programmes envisage the introduction of certain amendments to legislative and regulatory acts in order to put in place a system to prevent human trafficking and, in particular, trafficking in children.

3. PROFILES OF TRAFFICKED CHILDREN AND CHILDREN AT RISK

The survey results indicate that the most important factors increasing the vulnerability of children to trafficking are parental unemployment; the low material status of the family; communication problems in the family; neglect of the children by parents, school and society in general; parental alcoholism and drug addiction; use of drugs and toxic materials by children; the lack of relevant information and understanding of children and parents regarding child trafficking.

3.1 Age and sex of the children

The age of the children interviewed for this survey and who had been victims of trafficking ranged from seven to 18, with the majority between 13 and 18 years of age. Children at risk were generally aged between 10 and 17, with most being 15 or 16 years old.

The age at which the children left home for the first time and became involved in trafficking varied from 12 to 15 years and reflected the onset of adolescence and accompanying identity crisis, change of ideals and life values. This is also the age at which relationships with parents may become particularly complex and the confidence between parents and children be strained.

In both the trafficked and the at-risk groups, girls predominated. This may be because girls are particularly vulnerable to trafficking for sexual exploitation. Boys are mainly used as cheap manpower for unskilled labour, or to sell drugs to other teenagers. Younger children of both sexes are used as beggars.

The overwhelming majority of girls between the ages of 13 and 17 had been involved in cross-border trafficking; equal numbers of boys and girls had been trafficked internally. This may reflect the nature of demand for exploitable children.

3.2 Education levels

The majority of children from the group of trafficking victims had attended school until the time of trafficking, but one third of them – particularly the boys -- had worked at the same time. The level of academic performance of children from the at-risk group was similar. At the time of the survey interviews, most of the children of both sexes in both groups had not completed primary education and did not plan to continue their studies.

Most of the trafficked children had a hobby (soccer, photography) and had plans to use these in building their future. They could not, however, afford to attend hobby groups.

The majority of parents do not seem to be concerned about their children's academic progress, do not control their school attendance and often use authoritarian disciplinary methods including corporal punishment. At the same time, under-resourced schools are unable to monitor the family status of pupils or changes in their behaviour and thus cannot fulfil their role as potential early warning systems.

3.3 Family composition and social background

An insignificant number of the children interviewed lived in complete families, that is with two parents. At the same time, the children living in complete families indicated that their families were rather unfortunate (parents suffering from alcoholism or below the poverty level and engaging all

their time and efforts to satisfy basic needs). Parents generally took an authoritarian approach to the parent/child relationship, and this widened the gap between parents and children.

The other children interviewed lived mainly in single-parent families, mostly with mothers, in restructured families with a stepfather or a stepmother, or in households to which they were not related. The children of restructured families complained about the lack of care and sometimes cruel treatment from the stepfather. This sometimes included violence, physical with respect to boys and sexual in regard to girls. This was often determinant in their vulnerability to trafficking.

Violence on the part of the father or father figure is often crucial in the child's decision to run away from home. The child's ability to cope with stressful situations, the level of the child's emotional reaction and the emotional frustrations of the adults in the family also come into play in prompting reckless behaviour. These same factors are also signs of risk in a child who has not yet fallen victim to trafficking.

The children interviewed complained about the lack of care and understanding on the part of their parents and said that it caused them distress. In some cases, the parents were not aware that their children had left home and those who knew about it saw it as a good thing.

The survey indicates that the absolute majority of children in both investigated groups lived in an environment that prompted them to engage in anti-social behaviour, did not ensure their normal intellectual and physical development, and did not instil in them a positive attitude towards themselves, their family or their community.

3.4 Material status

The family's financial status is also an important factor in the child's vulnerability to exploitation and trafficking.

The parents interviewed for the Rapid Assessment survey said that the main source of family income was their salary, and that this was often insufficient to cover basic needs. Their savings and pension also played an important role. Most of the children interviewed, in both groups, said that they sometimes did not have enough money to pay for food and very often could not buy clothes or shoes.

The majority of children interviewed from both groups lived with their family in a house or apartments. Very few of the trafficked children said that they lived on the street or in a boarding school.

3.5 Socio-psychological features of trafficked children

The children who had been trafficked might reasonably be categorized into two groups according to the way they relate to their external environment: The first group consists of 'introverted' or 'lonely' children who feel rejected by their parents and who isolate themselves from others, retreating into an inner life. They have few friends, if any. When these children leave home, their parents are often the last to learn about it. Parents may not know with whom their children have been in contact and are thus unable to contribute to efforts to relocate their children if they go missing.

The second group of children, in contrast, are 'extroverted'. They make up for the lack of understanding and kindness from parents by communicating with other people. These children are vulnerable to the influence of strangers. They seek support in an external environment where they are also vulnerable to being drawn into drug use and the secondary exploitation this can bring, such as having to provide sexual services, engage in petty crime or deal drugs in order to feed the habit.

The involvement of children in crime, and their dependency on criminal authority figures, is often a sign of family abuse or neglect.

3.6 Level of awareness of child trafficking

The survey found very low levels of awareness about trafficking and the laws relating to it among parents of trafficked children. On the other hand, children in both the trafficked and at-risk groups were aware of human trafficking, even if that awareness was sometimes quite vague (“somewhere, some time we have heard about it”). Supplementary research has shown that the issue of trafficking is also inadequately covered in the mass media and it is therefore not surprising that public understanding of the issue is low and that the trafficked children were not informed about the risks they ran when approached by those offering them work.

4. RECRUITMENT PROCESSES AND TRAFFICKING ROUTES

4.1 *How children are recruited into trafficking*

One of the main objectives of this survey was to identify methods of recruitment. Questions on this were posed to the children who had been victims of cross-border trafficking. Most had been forced into a situation in which they were trafficked, or lured by deceptive offers. Luring seems to have been particularly effective on vulnerable children who decided to move based on offers of money, food or a place to live. These children rarely said that they had been forced to work overseas.²¹

One child surveyed had been kidnapped with the purpose of trafficking across borders. This child had been in a public place (street, park) and knew the person who had taken him/her. Two children had been threatened with physical injury or ‘having their reputation harmed’. One child said that s/he knew the person issuing the threats and indeed that this person was a family member.

The Inspector of one of the regional juvenile correction services offered a detailed picture of what he saw as a common mechanism for luring a child into exploitation. He explained: “the mechanism of transfer and exploitation of children is as follows: in company or in the street, a girl gets acquainted with another girl of the same age or with a woman who offers easy money in Moscow, where this woman used to work. She offers work as a waitress, governess, dishwasher, cleaner, domestic worker, saleswoman at the market, care-taker of old/sick/disabled people. A new acquaintance offers to pay travel expenses, help in crossing the border and finding a place to live on arrival. The girl is invited to come to the railway station with her belongings and documents: passport, birth certificate, and sometimes even Ukrainian identification code. One case is documented of a 14 year-old girl from Moldova who was provided with a forged Moldavian passport free of charge. Sometimes teenagers are transferred without documents by using the services of the conductor. The new acquaintance accompanies the girl in the train. Sometimes a young man goes with them and he arranges protection crossing the border and pays the conductor if his help is needed to get them through passport control”.

Children trafficked internally are also generally lured by offers of money, food and a place to live. Only six of the children interviewed had been forced to work, generally by threats of physical punishment or family rejection. All the children who had been threatened knew the person who threatened them.

²¹ It is important to remember that the Palermo Protocol does not recognize ‘voluntary’ trafficking in the case of children, ie movement and exploitation of people under the age of 18, even where the victim seems to have ‘agreed’ to the processes involved, is trafficking. Article 3(a) of the Protocol defines trafficking as “...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 position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.” The Protocol points out that, as far as children under 18 are concerned, “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 [the definition]”. In line with *ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (182)*, it specifies that “exploitation” shall include “forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery [or] servitude”.

The results of a focus-group interview carried out in Kherson showed that many internally trafficked children who earned money as beggars worked under the supervision of adults, often their parents. Every child was aware of the minimum amount s/he had to bring to the parents each day (from 5 to 20 hryvnias). If they were unable to bring more, or if they brought less, they were beaten and humiliated.

There is a risk that internally trafficked children may subsequently be sold abroad. For example, one 14 year-old girl got to know a number of prostitutes and pimps when she was obliged to live on the streets. She was at high risk of being moved overseas. The girl said that a well-established route exists for trafficking people abroad. An acquaintance told her: "One telephone call and you are in Turkey". She was able to avoid this by moving on, but it is evident that once children are in an exploitative situation in their own country, they are at increased risk of being moved elsewhere

Case study 1: Catherine, 16 years old, Kherson

Catherine lived at home with her mother. From time to time her mother was out of work and drank. They were always short of money. When Catherine was nine years old, her mother gave her to her 20 year-old cousin. He raped her and occasionally gave money to her mother. When he became bored with Catherine, he sent her back home. She lived with her mother for about six months, during which time her mother complained that she was a burden, beat her and screamed at her. Catherine was not allowed to go to school.

One day Catherine's mother met Olena, who suggested she could take Catherine away forever to earn money. The mother did not accept this offer but decided that she would be able to provide a job for her daughter herself. Catherine began to earn money to keep both herself and her mother, by providing sexual services to her mother's acquaintances. If she refused, her mother beat her. As for the money: most of it was taken by her mother to buy drink.

Finally, Olena persuaded Catherine's mother to give the girl to her and naturally not free of charge. Olena provided the girl with better living conditions; she fed her and took care of her basic needs. Catherine had a chance to attend school in the daytime. Meanwhile, in the evening and at night she had to work. She stood on one of the central streets of the city with Olena, who offered her to drivers for sexual services.

Olena, of course, kept them money. Nevertheless, Catherine felt that she was doing better than in her own home. Then something happened (Catherine never knew exactly what) and Olena disappeared from the city. Olena's sister took Catherine. After that Catherine attended school and lived with Olena's sister and her husband. But her life here could not be called easy. The husband was harassed her; the sister became jealous, abused Catherine and then kicked her out.

Catherine had nowhere to go. She did not want to go back to her mother. She went to the city women's shelter to ask for help. A psychologist working with Catherine there said she was not surprisingly in a very complicated psychological state, with very low self-esteem. The centre staff appealed to the municipal department for juveniles to provide accommodation for Catherine, but the department was not able to help. And so Catherine still walks the streets, at risk of exploitation again.

Children trafficked both internally and across borders indicated that in most cases they has themselves been involved in the decision to relocate, although in most cases parents or other family members had been instrumental in the decision too. Only one child out of five said that the person who involved him/her in trafficking was not a family member. Of the children surveyed, some said their mother had made the decision; one child said it had been a friend. One child did not know who had made the decision. Of the children whose families had made the decision (seven children), four said they were willing to go. The children trafficked across borders also said that generally someone else had helped them to organize their travel and stay overseas.

Parents are much more likely to be implicated in internal trafficking, through a decision that the child must go to work. They either impose this on the children or use force, including threats and beatings and, in some cases, rape. Half of the internally trafficked children interviewed said their work had been organized by a third person.

Focus group interviews in Kherson and Kharkiv *oblasts* revealed that internal trafficking is more common from these regions than external trafficking. Most of the trafficked children end up in begging or doing simple tasks (“I did some digging in a vegetable garden”, “I gathered nuts”). The initiators of children trafficking in these cases were usually the parents.

Moreover, the research indicates that the majority of people who knew that the children were about to leave were indifferent or positive. Almost no-one reported a ‘negative’ attitude; indifference was mostly recorded among fathers, other family members, teachers, and ‘other people’ (‘grandfather’ was specified). Mothers and friends were said to have expressed a mainly ‘positive’ attitude.

To the question of whether someone had tried to stop the child from leaving, three-quarters of the trafficked children said no. Among those who had witnessed attempts to stop them leaving, six children indicated that it was their mother who tried to stop them; five said other family members had tried; three said friends or acquaintances had attempted to stop their leaving, and one child said a teacher had tried. Fathers did not seem to try and stop the child from leaving. Only in eight cases had the people who arranged the trip given money to a family member. In forty cases, no money had changed hands.

The recruitment of children, in short, works in a number of ways. It ranges from force from the father: “We have no bread, no alcohol, go out and beg”, to a situation where the parents had squandered everything on drink and the child was left to fend for her/himself: “My parents drink and I have two more brothers”. Contributing factors to the children’s vulnerability in these situations is the fact that they did not know where to seek help, were unable to cope with physical violence and could not protect themselves other than by leaving.

Another important factor influencing the likelihood that a child might be vulnerable to exploitation and/or trafficking was the attitude of the child. Desire (or compulsion) on the part of the child to search for work is crucial. The survey showed that children’s main motives for searching for a job were:

- a passionate desire to improve their material status and the well-being of their family;
- the possibility of self-sufficiency and of being able consider themselves as responsible and independent adults;
- the possibility of seeing the world and ‘a good life’.

Two-thirds of the trafficked children said that they took the initiative to search for work; one-third of the children from this group indicated that they started looking for a job on the insistence of their parents.

Among the factors the children said were crucial in prompting a decision to go overseas or leave their community were:

- lack of resources at home;
- the possibility to make good money,
- an interesting job offer.

In contrast, they listed as ‘not very important’:

- relationship with father;
- relationship with mother;

- relationship with boy/girl;
- wish to see other countries.

4.2 Activities and services provided by traffickers

In general, the children’s travel was arranged by an acquaintance. In some cases, the children reported that friends, parents, other family members, care-takers, neighbours and unspecified others had helped and that they had themselves made arrangements.

There were no reports of employment agencies or travel agencies being involved (as is often the case for adult trafficking victims).

The services most often provided were (in order of frequency): employment, transport, travel documents, offers of contacts at the destination, credit/loan to self, advance of pay to parents/care-takers, ‘other’ (marriage, residency).

In most cases, the children were introduced to these people by a third person who at a later stage was to arrange their trip. More rarely these people approached the children and their families, and sometimes the children sought these people out themselves. Usually the trafficked children were introduced to these people by acquaintances and friends and in one case only by a family member. ‘Friends’ as a category figured only in responses from children trafficked across borders. These meetings mostly occurred at the place where the child had been living. On average the trafficked children left about four months after the trafficked process was first initiated.

Case study 2: Stas, a child at risk

Stas took part in a focus group interview with a group of at-risk children. One day a man came to the school premises asking after ‘cute girls’. Stas told them there were not any girls of this kind there. The man told Stas that he a job for him in his house and that he would pay him well. When Stas got to the man’s house, he spent a day digging the man’s vegetable garden, but he did not get a penny for the work. The man said he could take Stas overseas if he wished, but Stas said he had no documents. That was not a problem; the man told Stas he did not need any because it was possible to stow away and then run across the border.

The next day then man even started preparing Stas for the trip. He went to a market, bought Stas some clothes and hid him. However, the teachers from Stas’ school and militia were already searching for him. They found and released him. Two weeks later, the man was brought to court. There it was established that he was not of sound mind, and he was sent to a mental asylum for treatment.

Stas, though, said that he had seen the man before, in the company of girls he knew. He said the man was always on the look-out for girls, “trying to get them for somebody”.

The case of Stas is not isolated. It is reported that recruitment agents look for children who seem vulnerable. They have easy access to children on the streets.

When answering the question related to what was offered to children when they were recruited (employment, education, money to be given to their parents/care-takers, marriage/partnership, or something else) the children most often answered ‘employment’. None of the children said that they were offered education. Eight children said they were given promises that their parents/care-takers

would receive money; three said they were promised marriage/partnership, and four advised that they had been promised ‘other things’, in particular ‘a better life’, a place to live or just ‘a trip’.

4.3 Payments and debt

Children belong to a financially dependent group. The disposable income available to them, generally in the form of pocket money, depends very much on the financial status of their family. In most cases, the children interviewed for the rapid assessment survey were from disadvantaged families and had no money of their own. Any decision to seek work, relocate or pay for services involved in seeking opportunities consequently also presume a need to borrow money.

Fifteen of the children surveyed said they had received money from the people who arranged their trip before departure (in most cases, these were children trafficked across borders). Of these 15 children, 10 had to pay back the money on their arrival; only six of them were able to do so.

Half of the trafficked children had no agreement to pay back the costs involved in providing them with identity papers or travel documents. Of those who did, the children trafficked internally had to pay back some of the money; the children trafficked overseas made a commitment to pay back the whole amount.

Fourteen children (mostly those trafficked across borders) agreed to reimburse money for travel; six did not.

Four children borrowed money from a third person to pay for their journey; 16 children did not borrow money.

4.4 Trafficking routes and places of destination

Most of the trafficked children said that they had been moved by train, car or bus/mini-bus. Very few of them said that they had moved on foot, by ship/boat. None of the children had been relocated by air.

Fifty per cent of the trafficked children did not have a passport or other travel documents during the journey, although those were internally trafficked children.

According to the survey, more than half the externally trafficked children crossed the border at official border crossings. Almost always a police/militia or frontier guard/customs inspector was present at these points. Only in half of the cases did those who crossed the border through official border crossings have their passport/other documents checked. In half the cases, money changed hand to allow them to cross the border.

Half of the trafficked children said that other people had left at the same time with them. On average, the trafficked children were accompanied by three people. Usually these were also people under the age of 18.

In general, the trafficked girls had been to Russia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Macedonia, Bosnia and Germany. The boys had been in Russia, Poland, Moldova, Turkey and Romania.

An officer of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in one of the oblasts, the criminal investigation division responsible for combating human trafficking, said: “the problem of child trafficking is topical for this oblast, but the government authorities do not work adequately to solve the problem. The borders are not so far away, and illegal channels for transferring people, especially women, abroad have been operating for a long time. The criminals have mastered the channels for transferring women to Russia, Turkey and Yugoslavia, with the men transferred to America, but now it is difficult to do this”

The project coordinator of a women's club said: "from Skadovsk the boats leave for Turkey once a week transporting a lot of girls. The documents with which they travel are forged. This is done to conceal the real age of the girls, as often are not yet 18".

With respect to regional distribution, a wide range of destination countries figured in the answers of trafficked children from Chernivtsi *oblast*: Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, the Czech Republic and Romania. Romania is something of a special case, since this country provides privileges in obtaining Romanian citizenship for inhabitants of Chernivtsi *oblast* whose families lived in the territory of Storozhinets and adjacent regions before 1940 (when it was a territory of Romania). Respondents from Kharkiv *oblast* all mentioned Russia; respondents from Kherson *oblast* mentioned Russia, Poland and Turkey. In Kiev and Kherson *oblasts*, Russia and Poland were mentioned as well as Turkey (Kheson only) and Moldova (Kiev only).

Most of the children have said they worked in Ukraine (10 interviewees) but did not say where. Sometimes they gave a detailed answer: in the autonomous republic of the Crimea (three children), Kherson region (three children), Ivanovo-Frankivsk, Kiev and Odessa regions (one child in each). Among the cities where the children worked Kiev, Odessa, Ivanovo-Frankivsk are mentioned most often. Sebastopol, Yevpatoria, Kherson, Novaya Kakhovka and Krasnoperekopsk also were mentioned. The answers of boys to the question of which cities of Ukraine they had worked in were less clear than the answers of the girls, since the girls worked mainly either in the big cities of Ukraine or on resort cities on the Black Sea coast.

The opportunity to live and work abroad is clearly a strong motivating factor and is regularly used as a lure by recruiters and traffickers. The children listed the following countries as places to which they wanted to go (in descending order of preference): Russia, other parts of Ukraine, Poland, Germany, Moldova, Greece, Italy, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Turkey, the autonomous republic of Crimea.

Most of the trafficked children said that the countries they ended up in were indeed the countries they had agreed to at the beginning of the trafficking process. Twelve children, however, found themselves in countries they had not expected to go to, and mostly in villages or small towns.

In contrast, most of the children expected and indeed were sent to capital cities, including the main towns of Ukrainian regions for those children trafficked internally. Some of the children trafficked within Ukraine did not in fact leave the town in which they lived.

4.5 Expectations of work

In most cases, the children interviewed reported that they had some sort of agreement with an intermediary or an employer on the nature of the work they would do. This was especially true of those children who had been trafficked overseas. Five of the children had agreed to provide sexual services; one child agreed to dance; nine children agreed to engage in begging; nine children agreed to peddle in the streets, four agreed to work as waiters/waitresses; six agreed to do housework; eight to work on farms; one to look after sick people and one child to sell drugs. One child had agreed to 'steal' and 'collect bottles'.

Twenty-eight of the children in fact did then do the work they had expected to do. Twelve children, however, did not. This was particularly true of girls and in most cases girls from Kiev *oblast*. Most of the children who were duped into other forms of work found themselves in sexual exploitation.

5. WORKING CONDITIONS AND OTHER EXPLOITATIVE OUTCOMES OF TRAFFICKING

Despite the expectations of children (and indeed in some instances of parents) when the child relocates for work, the reality is often very different. The child may find her/himself working in a very different ‘job’ to the one anticipated and unable to exercise any choice in this because of the exploitative situation in which s/he is held. With no or irregular documents, a burden of debt, threats of reprisals and restricted freedom of movement, trafficked children are subject to abuse and exploitation beyond any expectations.

They may find they are not paid at all for their labour, or much less than expected. They invariably work longer hours in more arduous conditions. They may be isolated from others and refused opportunities of social contact or any contact with people who might help them (including police and authorities of whom, in any case, they may be in fear). In addition, the threat of punishment, including physical and sexual violence, always hangs over them.

It is not surprising that, for these reasons alone, trafficking of children is considered an unconditional worst form of child labour.

5.1 Forced labour and lack of choice

The trafficked children interviewed for the rapid assessment survey can be categorized into three distinct groups according to the work they undertook: 28 children did the work that had been agreed on in advance; 12 children ended up doing work that differed from the work that had been agreed; and 17 children had not agreed on the type of work in advance. Three children refused to answer the question about prior agreement.

It is worth noting that many of the children were engaged in begging and that official Ukrainian data on child trafficking does not include begging as a form of labour exploitation. Children exploited in this way therefore have even less recourse to legal redress.

Most of the girls typically ended up providing sexual services (among all the children engaged in providing sexual services there was only one boy); serving as a waitress; housework (only one boy of all interviewed did housework); care-taking (of old or sick/disabled people or children).

For the boys typical work was agricultural (only one girl among the respondents cited agricultural work); and drug peddling (no girls).

There were numerous cases when the children were informed about the actual nature of the work they would do when they arrived at their destination. This was undoubtedly because the children might not otherwise have agreed to pay back the expenses for the trip.

Absence of any written agreement or signed contract, and often even a lack of witnesses of the children’s contact with employers or intermediary meant that employers were able to go back on promises with impunity and force children to do things they did not wish to do. The children who were forced to do work they had not agreed to mainly were involved in providing sexual services and begging. Similarly, children who had not agreed on the type of work in advance at all ended up in sexual exploitation or begging.

There were some differences among the types of work children were trafficked into depending on where they came from. Most of the children from Kiev and Chernivtsi regions were trafficked into sexual exploitation. Begging was a characteristic occupation for Kiev and Kherson *oblasts*; children from these regions were trafficked into begging both in Ukraine and abroad.

Most of the children forced into begging or petty crime said that they were disturbed by this. One of the boys interviewed said that he was forced to pay back the money spent on his journey and clothes by begging and theft. Even when his family was having hard times at home, he said, he did not allow himself to beg and especially steal, but sought any job where he could earn some money. Despite their feelings, the majority of the trafficked children admitted that they did not resist because they were afraid of being punished.

There were some examples of the opposite being true. One girl said that, although she had been forced to provide sexual services after agreeing only to street vending, she did not protest or resist. She liked the work because it meant she had her own money for cosmetics and jewellery, something that had been impossible for her at home.

The most common forms of coercion used on the children were: threat of violence to children; physical actions (beating); fear of the employer; threats that the family would be obliged to pay back money; threat that the family would be informed about the work that the child did (specific to those providing sexual services); threat of deportation; threat of using violence on others. Often the children reported that they were shown pictures of other children on whom physical violence had been used, and tools of punishment, to persuade them to comply.

In cases where the child was being exploited alongside another family member (most often the mother), threats on the accompanying family member were also made. One woman who found herself in such a situation said: "I used to see my son only in the evening. They checked if we were working. They came over to take a look several times a day. I was not allowed to rise from my work to take a meal or to go to the bathroom, or my child would be taken away from me. They would try to intimidate me by saying that that if I did not earn enough, my child would be taken away from me and I would be sold into slavery".

Many of the children engaged in begging said that they went to work together with their parents, usually their mother. Then they were separated and forced to work with other people. In this way both mother and child were reluctant to attempt to leave the 'boss'. If they earned an insufficient amount of money or refused to work, the boss threatened to separate them from each other forever.

In the course of the research, cases came to light of very young children (under 5) being trafficked together with their parents. Clearly such children were too young to be interviewed and the exact nature of their possible exploitation or of the outcomes of the trafficking of their parents is not clear.

5.2 Conditions of arrival, debt magnitude, means of payment

In general, one third of the children indicated that they were in debt to their employers, but only four of them had been informed of a deadline by which they had to pay this debt. Of these, one child was told that it would take less than a month to pay back the debt; two more children were confronted with the need to pay back the debt in one month; one child was told that s/he had to work six months to pay back the debt.

On their arrival at the destination, the overwhelming majority of trafficked children received food and one third received clothes before starting work. These 'rewards' can be considered significant for children for whom food and especially clothes were beyond reach at home. Six of the children (all girls) received jewellery; six more (boys and girls) received cigarettes or tobacco and alcohol; four children were given money.

About half of children who were given a 'gift' from their employers on arrival had to pay back the value of what was given to them. One in four had to pay back the value of what was given to them

in cash. Two-thirds of children who were provided with accommodation were not obliged to pay for it.

Case study 3: Oleg, 16 years, Kiev

Oleg, an only child, lost his father at a young age and lived with his mother in poverty. Things got worse when his mother lost her job. They did not have enough money to cover basic needs: food, clothes. Despite this, Oleg studied and, although his academic performance was not excellent, he hoped to become an interpreter. He studied foreign languages on his own.

Because the family had no money, he had few friends. In his spare time he tried to help his mother to earn money. Suddenly a new and, perhaps, the only friend appeared in the boy's life. Mike introduced himself as a representative of a church and talked with Oleg about his future, career and family.

Early in the summer of 2000, Mike suggested that Oleg might be able to earn money abroad. Oleg agreed, influenced in this decision by the possibility of studying a foreign language and earning money for himself and his mother. At first Oleg's mother did not agree to let her son go with a stranger, but in the end the financial argument prevailed.

Mike suggested Oleg should go to Poland to a friend who worked there managing a recreation centre where the boy would be able to work, earn money and also have a holiday. Oleg's mother knew why he was leaving, but other acquaintances thought he was going overseas on vacation.

Mike arranged travel documents for Oleg and even showed them to his mother. The only thing that was required from the boy was to take with him 50 Zlotys. Mike warned Oleg that what they were doing was not entirely legal because he was under age. Oleg and Mike travelled by train. Three other children travelled with them but Oleg had no chance to talk to them.

In Wroclaw they were taken to sleep in a home that impressed the boy very much. He was provided with a room with a separate bathroom and in a wardrobe he found clothes that fitted him and that he could take with him.

Next day they were transported to the outskirts of the town where they were told that they had to pay back the money for the travel to Poland. A precise sum was not mentioned, Oleg thought it should be about \$200–300. They were told what they should do. It turned out that what had been envisaged for them was begging in the streets of the city. Oleg was ashamed to do it. Even at home when they did not have money for food, he did not do it. Now he had no choice.

Oleg was beaten if he did not bring enough money, or was denied food. He lived all this time in a small room that was like a small pantry. The children were given very small portions of food at breakfast and supper; they were hungry almost all the time. Still they had to work all day. Most nights Oleg was alone in his room. He was not allowed to communicate with people who offered help when he was on the streets, and had no chance to move about in the house where lived. He was obliged to hand over all the money he brought in. He was permanently under the supervision of his bosses.

Another boy who shared the room with Oleg helped him to escape. The boys looked for a chance moment when nobody was supervising them and fled. They travelled for a week until they reached Kiev.

After his return, Oleg convinced his mother to move house. He was afraid that Mike would come back one day. His life grew calmer but, after all that had happened, Oleg became distrustful, secluded and fearful that anyone who heard his story would blame him.

5.3 Remuneration, control of earnings

Only one in ten children interviewed got to keep all the money they earned. Half of the children kept nothing at all. All the children who kept their money were from the group who had agreed

about their work in advance. The children who indicated that they had been forced to work received part of the money earned, but mostly received nothing.

Most of the children who were able to keep the money earned had been trafficked internally. Two-thirds of those trafficked across borders, in contrast, received nothing.

The majority of the children were fed and about half of them were provided with a place to live. Some of them were clothed. Six children had been 'paid' in alcohol, tobacco or drugs. These children had mainly worked to pay back the costs of transport and maintenance and did not receive any money.

In the case of girls in sexual exploitation, it is generally the pimps or madams who keep the money earned. One of the girls interviewed said that she did not receive any money but was promised that, if she could earn lot of money, she would be allowed to go home.

Case study 4: Vitaly, 16 years, Chernivtsi

Vitaly comes from a single-parent family. His father left when Vitaly was four and he lived with his mother and sister. The family had to live almost below the poverty level and Vitaly often had to help his mother by doing small jobs, like polishing furniture produced in the furniture shop in their village. The family made both ends meet mainly by growing food in their own vegetable garden. They even talked about the possibility of Vitaly and his sister living in a boarding school, where at least they would be guaranteed food and clothes. Vitaly did not want this and worked hard to avoid it.

Vitaly had experience in earning money: he gathered forest berries and mushrooms and sold them. Friends sometimes invited him to help out at a construction site or in decorating work, and he was paid small amounts for this.

One day, his friends got a job building a barn in Poland. They asked Vitaly to join them. It was difficult to refuse. His mother was happy that he would be working productively, even though it meant he would miss school. Since they had no money for travel or documents, the family was obliged to borrow.

There were no formal written agreements for the work, but the boys were promised \$500 when the work was completed.

The boys went together to Przemysł where they were met by their master and taken to his farm. When the work was done, the boys asked for payment and the master asked the boys to leave the youngest, Vitaly, to look after his livestock. Vitaly did not want to because not only had he not been paid for his first job, he was also afraid to stay alone. He did not know the language and was frightened of what might happen. He thought he might be reported to the police. And he knew the master had a gun.

For his services, the master provided the boy with a place to live and food. The situation would have continued had Vitaly's mother not intervened. She learned from fellow-villagers that the boys had returned without Vitaly. When she asked them, one by one they gave her different explanations about why Vitaly had not come back. She warned them that, if they did not return Vitaly, she would go to the militia and report the killing of her son. The oldest boy, who had received money to 'sell' Vitaly, disappeared. Two others went off to fetch Vitaly. After a time they came back together.

The master was not happy about all this. He kicked the boys out without payment. They had to hitch rides to get home and decided not to say anything about what had happened. Vitaly agreed as he was just glad to be able to go home.

5.4 Working hours

Most of the trafficked children worked on average seven days a week without days off. Significantly fewer had one day off a week. The smallest number of children (five of all the interviewees) said they worked from three to five days a week.

Those who worked at night were mostly unable to indicate how many nights a week they worked. Those who did answer said they worked between three and seven nights a week, with the majority working every night.

The working day was generally 12 hours long; one third of the children said this. One in ten children worked 10 hours a day. The highest number of hours quoted was 20 hours; the lowest four hours.

Most of the children got between six and eight hours sleep a day. One child answered 12 hours; one three hours. Four children slept only five hours. Quite a number of the children were unable to say exactly how long they slept or how long they worked.

To some extent the length of the working day depended on the nature of the work done. A boy trafficked into a strip-tease bar in Moscow, for example, was able only to say that the day was spent in rehearsals and the night "performance and whims of clients".

Often girls in sexual exploitation recalled that they had to work days and nights up to "complete exhaustion", serving an enormous number of clients.

The trafficked children forced to beg had to work all day. They were not allowed to leave the place of work, either to eat or even go to the toilet. Taking food at the workplace was also forbidden. They were forced to work regardless of the weather or the state of their health. Even sick children were forced to work. During the day the bosses visited the workplaces several times to check on them.

The children who did other types of work generally worked during the day but had some spare time at night.

5.5 Freedom of movement and control

Most of the trafficked children worked alongside others. Many of them said they worked with girls between 15 and 18. Children in all the age groups (over 12 years of age) and of both sexes were involved in the process of earning money.

Working in groups was typical for activities such as providing sex services, begging and agriculture. The children interviewed said that they had lived and worked together with others. The children who provided sexual services lived with others in a house where they were locked in. The children who had to beg often lived in hotels or in apartments in towns.

Often the children did not know where the lodging was located. Some of the children did not even know which town they were in or even sometimes which country. Staying in another country with strangers is in itself a stressful situation for children. This becomes especially acute when the child understands that s/he does not even know where s/he is. This restricts chances to escape. The child is not able to inform his/her family about the location, and has fewer chances to approach authorities. Trafficking the child to a country that has not been named in a prior agreement is another way of controlling the child.

A significant number of the trafficked children had limited possibilities for communication and movement during their stay abroad. Only seven of all the interviewees had identification papers with them; one half of the children could not communicate freely; one third of the children were allowed

to go out only with an escort and almost the same number of interviewees were not allowed to go where they wanted.

The main mechanism for restricting the child's movement and exercising control was to bring the child to an unknown destination and locking them in the house, apartment or hotel. Depending on the type of activity for which the child was recruited, s/he either was not allowed to leave the premises or his/her movements were strictly supervised. The children who were forbidden to leave the room where they lived were provided with food, cosmetics and jewellery. One or several women supervised the children, cleaned the rooms and provided them with all they needed.

Children who have been trafficked develop a great need for someone to take care of them and communicate with them. Loneliness and helplessness often lead them to develop a strong attachment to the one or two people they do have contact with: their exploiters.

Some of the key informants reported that often trafficked children grew to consider their employers as patrons or benefactors who looked after them, fed them and gave them a chance to earn money, regardless of how this was done or how much they actually received.

More than half the children were denied contact with their families and other close acquaintances. Meanwhile among those children who were allowed to contact their relatives, just over half used this opportunity. These children were evenly divided among those who contacted relatives weekly, monthly or just once during their stay. A significant number of children never communicated with their family or close acquaintances at all. It may be that they did not want anyone to know what they were experiencing or where they were. This may reflect the fact that family and friends were involved in the trafficking equation or at least were not trusted.

Among the children that communicated with their relatives, the majority told them where they were located and what type of work they did.

Parents not involved in the trafficking process have been observed to have a very low level of awareness as to what their children were doing abroad, where they lived and what the conditions were. Mostly the child just disappeared leaving a short note that s/he had gone to work with friends or acquaintances. One of the interviewee's mothers said that she often received money from her daughter who was overseas but did not even suspect that her child was being forced to provide sexual services. Some parents said they began to worry when, after receiving occasional news from their children, they then did not hear anything.

The children trafficked internally within Ukraine had more freedom of movement and possibilities of getting in touch with other people, in particular, with their family.

5.6 Contacts with police and social services

An overwhelming majority of trafficked children (48) said that during their stay abroad they did not contact either police or other authorities. The main reasons they gave for this was that they did not believe anyone would help; they were afraid of their employers; or they feared the authorities might imprison or deport them. Some children did not contact authorities because they considered they had themselves 'chosen' to work and so were responsible.

Key informants report that the employers told the children that, if they were caught by the authorities, they should call the boss. He would arrive and, as a rule, produce documents for the child and take her/him away. There were cases when the children indicated that the police had arrangements with the bosses. One of the girls gave this as the reason she did not contact the police and explained that she had been obliged to provide sexual services to police officers.

There were cases when the interviewee said that they contacted the police but the police notified their boss and they were then beaten. Such instances were noted by the children who were

trafficked to Russia, Romania and Moldova. It is possible that the same thing happens in other countries.

In the majority of cases, the children indicated that neither police nor other services approached them at any time. When they did have contact with the children, it was mainly through a police raid, and they were arrested. After this the children would be deported from the country or would be sent to special institutions in cases of internal trafficking.

Among the children who did seek assistance, the majority (10 interviewees) contacted an individual; six children appealed to organizations.

5.7 Employers' attitudes to children and punishment

The main type of punishment used by bosses on trafficked children and other people who worked with them was beating and other forms of physical violence. Some of the girls reported that they had been raped.

In the interviews the children told about other types of violence used by the bosses. When one of the boys whose father was exploiting children was asked what happened when the children failed to bring enough money, he said: "my father hung me up upside down and beat me like a punch bag". Another child said that he was hung from a third-floor balcony by the legs.

There were children who said that their bosses had not used physical violence. In many cases, however, the children were locked in and denied food. The boy who worked in a striptease bar said that he had not been beaten but was shown pictures of other children who had been beaten and was told he would be treated the same way if he did not do as he was told. Even when employers did not use physical punishment, this was not necessarily for the sake of the children. The bosses said they "did not wish to spoil the goods". Nevertheless they did threaten physical harm, including "finding and killing".

The majority of children who reported violence against them were those trafficked across borders and most of them were between the ages of 14 and 18.

A child was beaten if s/he refused to work, asked for permission to go home, felt unwell or did not bring in enough money. Sometimes the children (especially those in sexual exploitation) said they were beaten without any reason "as a preventive measure".

One of the informants in Kiev cited a case where a child was punished for disobedience: "Under-aged children [providing sexual services] have to tell clients that they are 18 years old. One of the girls told a client that she was 13; her friend told the boss and the boss cruelly beat the girl".

Six children indicated that, while they worked, they were forced to take drugs. One should note that most of the children whom the bosses tried to accustom to the use of drugs provided sexual services (mostly girls). This was most likely done to dull the child to the reality of her/his situation, to make her/him more manageable and thus to make her/him bring more money.

6. THE PROCESS AND CONDITIONS OF WITHDRAWAL AND REINTEGRATION

This chapter examines issues concerned with the process of children's withdrawal and reintegration, namely: under what conditions the withdrawal took place; who assumed the key role in the rescue operation; children's living conditions after their withdrawal from trafficking; their behaviour; and services that were provided to the children after their release.

Among the children interviewed, 31 children had been trafficked across borders and 29 children within the country. In Kiev and Chernivtsi *oblasts*, the majority of children were trafficked across borders and in Kherson and Kharkiv *oblasts*, within the country.

Typical of human trafficking situations is that neither trafficked children nor their parents appeal for help to the militia in Ukraine or in other countries. Largely this is because they do not believe that the details they give will remain confidential, and they are unsure about the honesty and decency of all the officers of these bodies.

Thirty-two of the trafficked children had left work not long before the interviews, in 2002: 25 per cent of them in 2001 and the rest between 1997 and 2000. Their age at the time of exit was between six and 19 years of age: two children were six years old; four were eight or nine years old; 15 children were between 10 and 12 years of age; 13 were between 13 and 14 years; 24 children were over 15. Most of the children had tried unsuccessfully to exit the exploitative situation before finally being withdrawn.

The age at which trafficked children left their work last time varied from 6 to 19 years of age. Thus two children at the moment of leaving their work were 6 years of age, four - 8-9 years of age, fifteen - 10-12 years of age, thirteen - 13-14 years of age and twenty four children were over 15. Before their withdrawal, more than a quarter of children had the experience of unsuccessful attempts abandon the work.

6.1 *How withdrawal occurs and who is involved*

Withdrawing children from the exploitation into which they have been trafficked occurs in a number of different ways. Sometimes the children manage to flee, with or without help. Sometimes their employers throw them out, perhaps when the police raid the premises. Sometimes the children are arrested and deported. Whatever the mechanism of withdrawal, this is a frightening time for the children, who may feel threatened or under psychological pressure.

Most of the trafficked children (18 children) in the survey sample had escaped. Half of them had managed this without help. The other half had mostly been helped by someone they met during the course of their work and more rarely by a co-worker. Four of the 18 children said they would have continued to work if they could have found another job.

Twenty per cent of the children, one in five, just decided to leave and met no resistance from their employer. Three of these children would also have liked to stay if they could have found another job.

Just under 20 per cent of the children left because their employer wanted them to. This was generally because the child was sick or injured and not able to work (four children), was not making enough money (four children) or was seen as a 'troublemaker' (three children). Two children said that the bosses wished to get rid of them because they were afraid of the police/authorities, and another two children said that the bosses did not want to pay them. Of this group, two children said they would like to continue working in this job and two more said they would stay if they could find another job.

Finally, eight children exited the trafficking situation when they were arrested and expelled, three left as the result of a police raid. Two of the eight children arrested and expelled from the country would have liked to continue their work; another two would have liked to stay if they could have found another job.

The main reason children gave for wanting to stay if they could find work was because they still needed money and saw there was a possibility of earning some. An overwhelming majority of the children wanted to earn money to help their families; others wished to be able to support themselves. One child just “liked to live abroad” and another wanted to buy a bicycle.

The children who wanted to go home despite the possibility of finding alternative work gave three main reasons for this: some children were simply unhappy, longed for home and friends and wanted to go to school, not work). Some children said the work was too hard, they were tired, under-paid or not paid at all, or were not willing to do the work they had to do. The third reason related to the state of health, and the feelings the children had towards those associated with them (fear of violence, threats).

The research also found that some children were withdrawn from a trafficked situation when their parents intervened. In one case, a child was able to return home when s/he was released by other criminals, hired by the parents. In the case of Vitaly (see earlier case study) was released when his mother intervened. One child was thrown out onto the streets and hitched a ride home.

None of the children received moral or material support from the state or from police or judicial personnel. No criminal cases were initiated as a result of any of these examples. The children and their families continued to suffer the same problems that had led to the child’s vulnerability to trafficking, without any assistance. Fear of and mistrust in the ability of law enforcement bodies to protect them make most children reluctant to seek help from the militia.

Withdrawal from internal trafficking tends to result from the child’s deciding to leave the employer’s agreement. Ten children said they had exited exploitation in this way. This compares markedly with the responses of children trafficked across borders, where only three children were able to exit in this relatively simple way. This underlines the generally more difficult situation children face when trafficked out of their own country and their increased vulnerability because of their isolation.

An almost equal number of children in both groups (five children trafficked across the border and six children trafficked within the country) indicated that they had left because the employer wanted them to go. In some cases the employer ‘helped’ the process by calling the militia/police and informing on the whereabouts of the child (one way of avoiding paying promised wages). The child was detained and sent home via a juvenile correction service. Usually in this case all the money earned would be left with the boss.

The survey data suggest that girls found it easier to escape the trafficked situation than boys. Of the 36 girls and 21 boys who answered questions regarding withdrawal from trafficking, 12 girls and only six boys said they escaped. The children arrested and deported were almost all girls; there was only one boy. This may be because girls most typically were engaged in providing sexual services or waitressing, sectors more easily and frequently policed.

Case study 5: Oleksander, 17 years, Chernivtsi

Oleksander's parents were divorced. The mother raised the boy alone and sent him to school. They were not well-off and Oleksander had to earn money himself, unloading goods or selling them. Oleksander's family received no support from his father, and no benefits from the state, although it qualified as an underprivileged family. His mother held down two jobs, but the boy considered this normal.

Oleksander described his relationship with his mother in very few words: They "hardly ever see each other". Thus, perhaps Oleksander often stayed alone with his thoughts and problems, risking bad decisions or wrongs deeds.

But Oleksander was not a typical 'unmanageable teenager'. Before his abduction he got good grades at school, attended a dance studio, where he had made strides in modern ballroom dance, won first prizes and still had time to work in the market. In short, he was a rather self-reliant boy. It should be mentioned that Oleksander was very handsome and had a good figure. It was impossible not to notice it. It may have been this, and his dancing talent, that first brought him to the attention of kidnappers.

The initiator of Oleksander's trafficking was one Sashko. Oleksander did not know him well; they had met at a striptease show in a local club. Sashko had seen Oleksander earlier and suggested he could find work and earn good money.

Oleksander had already discussed the possibility of working overseas with his mother and they had decided he should not leave. So Oleksander turned down Sashko's offer. When he would not go willingly, Oleksander was kidnapped and sold

Naturally, no agreements were signed. The boy was piled with alcohol until he was dead drunk and then abducted and transported by car. There were three others in the car, including the driver, so he was unable to resist. His mother, of course, knew nothing of what had happened and lived in fear.

Oleksander was threatened from the beginning. He was not beaten up because of the risk of 'spoiling the goods'. He was shown pictures of people who had disobeyed and was told that he would suffer the same fate. This was enough to force Oleksander to work in a striptease bar on the outskirts of Moscow.

Oleksander saw the employer only once, when he was 'inspected' on arrival. Control over the child was very tight, so Oleksander did not have any contact with the external world. Although he was provided with food, clothes and cosmetics, the conditions of work and life were extremely hard. In the daytime he had to rehearse; at night he had to work and do whatever the clients wanted. He looked for chances to escape but was physically exhausted. Under these conditions, the boy was ready to do anything just to avoid violence. The place where Oleksander lived and worked was well guarded.

These methods of intimidation proved effective; Oleksander did as he was told. Meanwhile, he did not stop thinking about escape. He heard his mother tongue (Ukrainian) spoken among the visitors of the bar several times, but never had the courage to talk to them.

Oleksander found salvation six weeks after arriving in Moscow with the help of a militia patrol. The problem of illegal labour migration to Russia is very acute and has assumed significant proportions. A militia patrol therefore came to the bar to check documents in a bid to weed out illegal migrants. Oleksander had been looking forward to this opportunity for a long time. He cried that he had been kidnapped and wished to go home.

Oleksander was taken to a militia station together with those who did not have documents. His mother arrived a week later. She had been informed about her son by Ukrainian colleagues from law enforcement bodies. It is of interest to note that no testimonies were required from Oleksander, either when he had been taken by the militia nor when his mother came. In fact, the law enforcement officers told his mother that it would not be worthwhile to act against the 'boss' for whom the boy had been kidnapped. They said she should thank the militia and God for help and just go home.

They took the train and went home. Oleksander immediately had a medical check-up, but his problems were not physical but psychological. Nobody could alleviate the grave psychological condition of the child and his mother in the wake of everything that had happened to them. His mother did not attempt redress. The level of his trauma forced

Oleksander to finish his education in another school. The mother and the boy lived in fear of possible persecution on the part of the boss who used to threaten: "if you run away I will track you down and kill you".

None of Oleksander's friends or acquaintances knew about what happened to him, so their attitude to him did not change. His mother's did, however. She no longer allows him to go out; she is very nervous and cries a lot. Both she and Oleksander are receiving counselling and support to help them through the results of his trafficking.

6.2 Living conditions of children after withdrawal

After withdrawal from trafficking, the children can return to their usual environment and the people with whom they lived, or may have to change to another environment and people. This can be difficult for children in general and trafficked children in particular.

Research shows that more than half the children in the survey returned to live with the same person as before their trafficking. In most cases (28 children), this was the mother, followed by the father (16 children). Smaller numbers returned to live with a grandparent, siblings or, in five cases, a stepfather. The children whose parents had something to do with the sale of their own children nevertheless generally returned to live with their parents. Two of the children surveyed went to live in an orphanage.

Almost one third of the children withdrawn from trafficking did not return to live with the same people, although the overwhelming majority said they wished they could. Most of these children believe that the people they lived with before they left would want them to live with them. The majority have contacts with them, most often with their mother, followed by father, brothers, sisters, friends, grandparents, uncle/aunt/cousins. In short, most of the children are attached to the people they lived with, keep contact with them and are ready to resume their relationship, although this is not always possible. It needs to be noted that the younger the child is, the greater is the attachment.

The life of trafficked children after their return takes different forms. More than half the children surveyed lived in houses or apartments; a quarter of the children lived in orphanages or shelters; five of the interviewed children lives on the street, three children did not answer this question.

Analysis shows that living in the shelter for some of the children is salvation. Three children trafficked within the country made their way to Kherson municipal shelter themselves. They escaped from the traffickers by fleeing from their own parents. Two of them, a boy and a girl, had been in another part of Ukraine, where they earned money by begging. One nine year-old girl had been forced to beg by her father. He then sold her to an acquaintance for 'intimate amusement'. These three children plan to stay at the shelter. One of them said: "I got here (to the shelter) wearing my new shoes, but mother came and took my things from me. I don't want to go home as my mother will take my things again. I want to stay here". None of the three children living in the municipal shelter wants to go home.

As to the material status of children after their return, the children's answers show that an overwhelming majority of them do not have enough to eat and cannot afford to buy proper clothes or shoes.

Thus the condition of the children withdrawn from the human trafficking situation is still hard and precarious. One in three of the children was without a place to live and had to live in a shelter or on the street. One in three did not have enough to eat. Half of the children were unable to buy clothes or shoes. These children are at high risk of falling victim to traffickers again.

Analysis of the research data shows that half the children withdrawn from trafficking are supported by their parents. One in three of the children had to support her/himself. Eight of the children said they received support from aid programmes or organizations. Four children indicated that they were supported by other members of the family; two children mentioned a spouse, two a grandfather/grandmother, one child answered that s/he was provided for by friends.

The main source of income of parents who support trafficked children is a salary. This was the case for half the children's parents. The next largest group of supportive parents were self-employed or farmers. The main source of income of children who looked after themselves was given as 'self-employment'.

As to family status, the majority (52) of the withdrawn children were single and had never been married. Two children had been married and the rest did not answer this question. An overwhelming majority of respondents (53) had no children; two respondents had one child each and the rest of the children did not answer this question. Only one respondent lived with her/his child.

As to the type of settlement where trafficked children live now, the majority (47) of the children live in a city and significantly fewer (13) live in villages. Most of the children, more than half, had lived in this same place for between 10 and 19 years. Nine had lived there for one to eight years, nine for less than a year. The rest of the children either did not answer this question or hesitated.

It should be stressed that even in cases where the children withdrawn from trafficking returned home to their parents or to people they had been living with before they left, their readaptation proceeded in different ways. This depends on the relationship of the child with those s/he had been living with. More than half the children assessed their relationship with mother as satisfactory; around one third of them as good and four as bad. More than half the children said their relationship with their mother was the same as before they left. One in three children said it was worse. Four children thought it had improved. Three thought it had deteriorated.

The survey data indicate that the level of children's confidence in their parents and relatives is extremely low. Only about half of the children told their mothers about the work they had done; fewer still told their fathers. Six children told their siblings and five told their grandparents. Half of the children told friends and the same number talked about it at a rehabilitation centre.

The educational level of the children withdrawn from trafficking was low. Only two-thirds of the children had a basic education. Three had finished general and specialized secondary school; five children had not finished general and specialized secondary education. About half of the children had not completed primary school. One child in ten had completed elementary school. Five children had never attended school. In general the educational level of the girls was higher than the boys.

Analysis also showed that the children were generally treated with understanding after their ordeal, but that sometimes they were viewed as responsible for what had happened to them. Eight children complained that they had been blamed and made to feel shame and disgrace. For the most part, these were girls who had provided sexual services and one boy who had worked in Poland.

The attitude of relatives, neighbours and community to the children withdrawn from trafficking depends on many factors: whether the child lives in a successful family or unsuccessful one; what kind of activity the child was engaged in; how the child was released from trafficking; whether the child's milieu was aware that the child had been trafficked; how much the child trusted her/his parents.

In successful families (not in the sense of material status but rather family relationships, where parents do not drink and there is a high level of trust in parents), regardless of whether the family is complete or not, people tend not to divulge that the child has been trafficked and in most cases therefore the community is not aware of this.

In ‘unsuccessful’ families, where parents drink, do not care about their children and sometimes initiate trafficking themselves, the community is generally aware of the sort of activities that the children engage in, and their attitude to the children consequently often ranges from pity to rejection.

6.3 Behavioural models of children withdrawn from trafficking

The research results show that the reintegration of trafficked children into ‘normal’ life is very difficult. More than half of the trafficked children had missed school for at least three months; girls twice as often as boys. About one in four of the children had been able to go to school from time to time; an equal number of girls and boys. Only one in six of the children had attended school regularly, with the number of girls and boys being almost equal.

After their return, half of the children did not work. One third of the children did occasional paid work. One child in ten had regular work. Those who did not have work were mostly girls, however, the majority of those who had work from time to time were girls. It was mainly boys who had regular work. The children were mostly engaged: as market or street vendors, selling hot dogs, in agricultural work or domestic work, helping on construction sites, as loader, car washer or security guard. There was one case of child prostitution..

The majority (56 children) had not had any vocational training in the first three months after their return. Only one child, a girl, regularly attended computer training classes; another girl from time to time attended unspecified training classes. One girl indicated that in the three months before the interview, she received vocational training with an employer or a company. Some children are unable to attend training classes.

The research results show that, if these children had the opportunity to do so, more than one third of them would like to go to school. The same number of children would prefer to learn a profession.

One in nine children said they would like to find work in Ukraine. Three children said they would like to work abroad. One child wanted to work with her/his parents. In general, the girls wanted to go to school, learn a profession and have a job in their own country, whereas the boys would prefer to go abroad to work.

Among those children who would prefer to learn a trade, the girls mentioned hairdressing, work as a confectioner, cook, dancer, economist, clothes designer, model, ceramics artist, programmer, salesperson and trolleybus conductor.

The boys nominated: engine mechanic, driver, barman, frontier guard, trades that provide a good income. Almost all of these occupations do not require higher education (except for economist and programmer).

Most of the children think that they will find such a job in their country and only five girls are unsure of this. The fact that almost a quarter of the children (twice as many girls as boys) would like to go abroad to work in the future is alarming. These children run the risk of falling prey again to traffickers who abuse their wish to find work.

On the basis of the analysis of the status of trafficked children after their return, three main behavioural models can be distinguished:

The first model might be called ‘reacting against circumstances’. Children in this group usually live with their parents, one of the parents or with relatives and sometimes in a shelter. Some of them have returned to school. They don’t tell anybody about what has happened to them. They attend

rehabilitation or psychological centres and try to forget the past and start a new life, although doing this is very difficult.

The second model is 'passive', characterized by indifference to what has happened and to the future. Many homeless children or those living on the streets fall into this category. They have a low educational level, confused moral principles and values. They have no motivation for education or learning a profession. They have no particular aims in life and do not think about the future. They seem to put aside what has happened to them.

This model is also found among children living with both parents, with one parent or with relatives. After being withdrawn from trafficking, some of them put the trafficking incident behind them and look upon it as a learning experience. Many are sure that it could never happen to them again. Some are already looking for new adventures and are at risk of re-entering trafficking.

The third model is 'isolation', characterized by an unwillingness to discuss the subject with anybody and distrust of people. Children in this category may change school to avoid seeing people they know. These children usually come from poor or single-parent families.

Case study 6: Ihor, 14 years, Kherson

Ihor was trafficked with his mother to Poland. There he suffered inhuman working conditions: he had to sit in a chair for disabled people the whole day; he was not allowed even to eat or to go to the toilet. The boy was permanently under the boss's control. He would check up on the boy several times a day.

In despair, Ihor's mother looked for an opportunity to go home. She phoned her village without the boss's knowledge and asked her relatives for help. She also appealed to the police in Krakow, but traffickers are so well integrated into the system that the police in Krakow informed her boss. He sent his assistants to beat Ihor's mother.

They were eventually able to leave because Ihor's grandmother threatened the wife of one of the traffickers, telling her that she would appeal to a child protection organization in Kiev. In the end the boss's helpers beat Ihor's mother again but sent the family to Ukraine to avoid publicity.

After returning home, Ihor's mother decided not to appeal to the militia to avoid telling tales out of the school. Now Ihor goes to school but he feels bad. He has enuresis, has become anxious and mistrustful, and cannot stay alone at home in the evening. His mother's decision not to seek redress had a negative impact on his condition. Ihor saw that the people who had exploited, tortured, taunted him and his relatives went unpunished. This made him feel helpless and desperate. He lives in fear that those who worked for the traffickers will punish him and his relatives.

Ihor does not tell anybody about the work he did in Poland, but the children in the village know that the family went to Poland to beg. Sometimes children of the same age insult him and call him 'Mister Pole'. Adults feel sorry for him, especially his grandmother. Everything that happened disturbs the boy very much. Ihor tried to avoid talking about the journey. The trafficker succeeded in frightening Ihor's family so much that the mother did not even go to a hospital although she returned from Poland with broken ribs. In spite of Ihor's bad physical condition, his mother does not ask for medical help to avoid having to explain the source of the trauma.

Ihor's situation is a typical case, illustrating the problems that stand in the way of spreading information on the fate of trafficked children. Tradition, fear and shame prevent them from telling others what can happen.

Meanwhile, parents and relatives express compassion, understanding and protect their children. This situation is made clear by the children themselves: “very few people believe that you worked there against your will”. In short, society is not ready to see these children as victims or provide support rather than judging them. For their part, the children retreat into their shells. This can lead to tragic consequences.

Interviews with key informants (ie not the children themselves) showed that they do not have enough information on the condition of the children after they have been withdrawn, often because the children themselves do not speak of them. Parents do not wish to cooperate with law enforcement bodies either. This unwillingness can be explained by the fear of the children and their parents of possible revenge by the traffickers, and by lack of trust in law enforcement bodies and public authorities.

As to the attitude of neighbours/friends/acquaintances to the children when they return, it was clear during the research that this depends on the type of work that the child did. For example, attitudes towards those who had been in sexual exploitation differ from attitudes towards those who worked in construction or agriculture. The children who had been sexually exploited explained how this offended them. A 17 year-old trafficking victim said: “It happens when you go to the market. You can hear someone saying behind your back, ‘Look, those whores are coming!’”. An 18 year-old from Chernivtsi said about herself “I don't want my child to be told that her mother is a whore”.

6.4 Services provided to children after withdrawal

The survey showed how much children need significant help from both state and society when they return from being trafficked. All the trafficked children needed psychological, medical, material and sometimes legal aid, since the consequences of their trafficking were serious for the family to deal with. The majority of the children, however, received no aid at all.

Sometimes this was because their parents were an obstacle to help being given. The Head of the Department for combating human trafficking of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine, in one of the *oblasts*, for example, said: “In the course of disclosing crimes, parents sometimes play a negative role when they don't want their children to cooperate with law enforcement bodies.” They conceal available information and mislead officers of law enforcement bodies. This is perhaps explained by fear of causing harm to themselves and their children.

Ihor's mother's decision not to appeal to the militia, for example (see case study, above) had a negative impact on the boy's condition. He could see that the people who exploited, tormented and mocked him and his close relatives got away with it. Ihor experienced helplessness, despair and fear. He was afraid that the people who worked for the intermediary would deal with him and his close relatives.

A certain amount work with children who have been trafficked is carried out at juvenile correctional services, when a child comes there officially. But it is generally either homeless children or children who have committed a crime that come to juvenile correctional services. An inspector of one of the juvenile correctional services explained that, that while the children stay there: “educational measures, discussions, lectures, games are performed every day. Teachers and inspectors work with every child”. On average, however, children stay in the juvenile correctional services for a short time, so these measures are not sufficient for their rehabilitation and there is no possibility of controlling these children after they return home. Helping children who have been trafficked to reintegrate into their community and rebuild their lives requires a lot of time and effort from qualified specialists such as psychologists and social workers.

Semi-structured interviews with trafficked children in Chernivtsi *oblast* showed that in this region the children were provided with psychological aid and help in learning a profession from a public

organization, the 'Women's Centre'. Oleksander, for example, (see case study, above) receive psychological support and his mother also was helped to deal with extreme depression. The children felt that government organizations were not able to help them morally or materially. At present there are no governmental or other authorities able to assist the children and their families.

It is important to note that when the crime of child trafficking is committed, it is not only the children who are the injured parties but often also their parents, relatives and care-takers. They are also traumatized. As a rule, this is not taken into account. This needs to be dealt with both in public understanding and in legal provisions. It also needs to be taken into account in rehabilitation processes.

6.5 Inclination to return abroad

Trafficked children may again fall victim to trafficking. More than a quarter of the trafficked children (and twice as many girls as boys) interviewed noted that they would like to work abroad again. The same number of interviewees could not answer this question confidently and hesitated over the answer. They may be part of the at-risk group. Only one third of the trafficked children would not want to work abroad again.

One third of the children trafficked across the border would not wish to work abroad again. Other children trafficked externally said that they would like to work abroad again or hesitated over their answer. The work that the children said they would like to do generally fell under the heading 'common trades': hawker, waiter, model, barman.

The main countries where these children wished to go were neighbouring ones: Russia, Poland and other neighbouring countries or distant ones like Canada or the US. Two of the children said they would go to work anywhere

The wish to go to work abroad did not depend on whether the child knew someone abroad; only a few of those who expressed a desire to work abroad had friends or relatives in another country.

Key informants summarizing their experience of communication with trafficked children said that there are cases where the parents are happy that their child has been working, that "at least the child was dressed, provided with shoes, not hungry". In the opinion of informants, "as long there is demand, there will be supply".

7. UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT ACTIONS TO COMBAT CHILD TRAFFICKING

7.1 *Legislative base*

According to the Ukrainian legislation (Law of Ukraine “On the bodies and services for juvenile issues and special institutions for juveniles” of 24 January 1995, No.20 with amendments and supplements), responsibility for implementing social protection and prevention of delinquency among juveniles is assigned to the State Committee for Family and Youth of Ukraine, the Republican Committee for Family and Youth of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, the services dealing with issues of juveniles in *oblasts*, Kiev and Sebastopol cities, district state administrations, the executive committees of cities, city districts, schools of social rehabilitation and vocational schools of social rehabilitation operating under educational authorities, juvenile socio-medical rehabilitation centres operating under healthcare authorities, shelters for juveniles at the services dealing with juveniles, courts, criminal militia for juvenile affairs in internal affairs bodies, juvenile correction services of internal affairs authorities, work farms operated by the State Department for serving of punishment (Part one of Article 1 with amendments introduced according to Law No.312-XIV of 11 December 1998; in revision of Law No.864-XIV of 8 July 1999).

In recent years, the state authorities have developed and approved provisions for the operations of these bodies: “The provision on juvenile correctional services of internal affairs authorities” (Order of the MIA of Ukraine of 13 July 1996, No.384), “Rules on healthcare services for juveniles held in juvenile correctional facilities” (Order of the MIA of Ukraine of 13 July 1996, No.384), “Rules for logistical support of juvenile correctional services” (Order of the MIA of Ukraine of 13 July 1996, No.384), “Rules for maintenance of juveniles in disciplinary rooms in juvenile correctional facilities” (Order of the MIA of Ukraine of 13 July 1996, No.384), “Provision on the centre of socio-medical rehabilitation of juveniles” (Order of the MIA of Ukraine of 13 July 1996, No.384).

The results of the survey suggest that these provisions need to be amended and supplemented to include into the scope of their functions activities aimed at preventing child trafficking, providing assistance to victims and educational and preventive work in this area.

7.2 *Coordinated actions*

First steps in the coordination of efforts to prevent child trafficking were made in 1998 by the Ukrainian Parliament Commissioner for Human Rights (ombudsperson). The Executive Secretary of the National Coordination Council on combating trafficking in women and children advised that the Council was established according to item 3, Article 10 of the Law of Ukraine “On the Ukrainian Parliament Commissioner for Human Rights”, with the aim of providing consulting, research, and examination of proposals on the improvement of the situation with respect to the protection of rights and freedoms. It was also created to coordinate the authorities’ and institutions’ efforts in prevention of human trafficking and development of coordinated state policy in this area. The Council has played an important positive role, but its impact on the central executive administration is limited by its inadequate status.

An Interdepartmental Steering Council on human trafficking, including child trafficking, and a regional permanent commission on coordination of efforts and exchange of information on the prevention of human trafficking, were established with the object of coordination different ministries and departments (first of all of the executive branch). This commission consists of representatives of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, the State Committee for Family and Youth, State Employment Centre, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

Ministry of Education and Science and other central executive authorities involved in the prevention of human trafficking.

The commission's programme includes: organizing annual regional and inter-branch workshops on issues relating to coordination efforts, analysing and clarifying the strategy on implementing prevention measures, carrying out sociological and criminological research on issues related to human trafficking in Ukraine, examining and spreading international experience on preventing and combating human trafficking throughout Ukraine. In the comprehensive programme a number of measures are planned, focusing on improving the status of young people in the labour market and facilitating their learning of competitive professions:

Provide career guidance services and organize training of the unemployed, especially youth, in the skills and trades that are demanded in the labour market (taking account of regional specificity). (Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, State Policy and Enterprises Regulatory Committee of Ukraine, State Committee on Family and Youth of Ukraine with the participation of NGOs);

Provide jobs to those graduates of vocational schools and institutes of higher education who have been trained under government order. (Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, State Committee on Family and Youth of Ukraine, Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, *oblasts*, Kiev and Sebastopol city administrations with the participation of NGOs on a continuous basis);

Promote the employment of young people who apply to the State Employment Centre. (Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, State Committee on Family and Youth of Ukraine, Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, *oblasts*, Kiev and Sebastopol city administrations with the participation of public organizations, permanently.

Since one way of trapping children in trafficking is by arranging an educational or recreational trip abroad, it is vital to ensure compliance with legislation relating to children's recreation and holiday arrangements abroad as well as the operation of healthcare and prevention settings and other institutions where orphans and children live.

The comprehensive programme provides for the improvement of public understanding of the means and ways used by traffickers, potential risks of exploitation, violence and abuse in relation to illegal migrants. It includes the creation of a special cycle of TV and radio programmes, and special columns in printed and electronic mass media. It would be expedient to separate prevention actions in the programme targeting children from those designed for adults. Adult materials are not always usable for training children.

Important work has been carried out by the Ministry of Education and Science in regard to putting in force legislation ensuring the rights of children in the course of adoption. In 2001 problems concerning the organization of work with orphans and children without parental care were considered at a joint meeting of the Ministry of Education and Science, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Security Service.

The experts that took part in the survey frequently referred to the need to review provisions in the Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of 31 March 1995, No.231: "On approval of the rules of preparation and issuing of passports for citizens of Ukraine for travelling abroad and children's travel documents, their temporary acquisition and requisitioning", where the rules in relation to children are formulated.

The State Committee on Frontier Security of Ukraine is also involved in activities to prevent child trafficking. Since birth certificates giving the right to go to Russia and Moldova does not have a photo to identify the person, the State Committee on Frontier Security jointly with the Ministry of

Internal Affairs has submitted to the Cabinet of Ministers a proposal to introduce a special identification document with a picture that confirms citizenship.

7.3 Non-governmental actors

Actions to prevent human trafficking have to be implemented in close coordination with NGOs. A network of NGOs working to support trafficked people has existed in Ukraine since the end of 1990. By the beginning of 2003 it comprised more than 30 organizations.

However, there are no special organizations focusing on the prevention of child trafficking in Ukraine. This may be because child trafficking has not been seen as being as widespread as trafficking in adults, especially trafficking in women. Also child trafficking is less visible, and actions to prevent child trafficking and provide support to victims must be implemented on the basis of a different legislative and regulatory basis and different principles of work than for adults. Simply replicating strategies designed for preventing trafficking of adults is not necessarily effective to prevent child trafficking. This is the main reason why organizations with enormous experience in the prevention of human trafficking, such as La Strada Ukraine, have to include in their activity separate programmes targeting children.

There are NGOs working in Ukraine that address issues around children's recreation, providing help to orphans and children without parental care. Some 360 organizations are dealing with problems of family, children and women.

Shelter employees are supported by volunteers, mainly students of institutes of higher education who engage in work with children and their families, and by religious organizations, charities, funds and individuals. This work is complicated because there is an inappropriate legislative framework for providing charity aid and voluntary services.

8. RECOMMENDED STRATEGIES TO CONTRIBUTE TO CONCERTED ACTION

8.1 At the national level

- Introduce amendments into effective legislation (Art. 149), including the introduction of the provision “without crossing a border” that is especially important in child trafficking situations, highlight in a separate paragraph a disposition on child trafficking and formulate it in more detail.
- Improve article 150 on the use of juvenile labour.
- Articles 121, 122, 125 and 126 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine, determining liabilities for inflicting deliberate physical injury, beating, and assault and battery do not contain qualifications with respect to committing these crimes against juveniles. In Articles 121, 122 and 125 of the Criminal Code, there should be increased liability for committing these crimes against juveniles. Article 126 of the Criminal Code should envisage more severe punishment for beating, assault and battery against juveniles. In part 2 of Article 127 of the Criminal Code, there should be increased liability for torture of juveniles.
- Improve coordination among law enforcement bodies: militia, office of the public prosecutor, frontier guards and customs service. To this end, joint meetings and seminars to improve coordination mechanisms should be organized.
- Improve provisions of the Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of 31 March 1995, No.231: “On approval of the rules of preparation and issuing of passports to citizens of Ukraine for travelling abroad and children’s travel documents, their temporary acquisition and requisitioning”.
- Ratify the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography according to which all listed actions are considered as a criminal offence regardless of the place where they were committed.
- At government level, adopt or improve legislation with a view to combating trafficking. Negotiate diplomatic agreements with those states to which Ukrainian children are trafficked. These agreements should aim to identify centres of child labour and combat organized crime. Approval of comprehensive legislation provides not only for supervision of law enforcement authorities but also reformed social policy by means of material aid and assistance to parents in finding employment in the regions with the assistance of *oblast*, district and village administrations.
- Pay more attention to improving children’s understanding of their rights and freedoms, through legal and rights education; develop a system of preventive and educational work in this area involving the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and State employment centre.
- Develop and introduce special educational programmes for parents on children’s rights and prevention of child trafficking. Jointly with the Ministry of Education and Science, develop a plan of preventive educational measures aimed at preventing child trafficking. Introduce into prevention training courses issues related to prevention of child trafficking. Promote the inclusion of this course into compulsory subjects in the school curriculum.
- Support the actions of NGOs developing programmes in the area of prevention of child trafficking.
- Organize comprehensive multidisciplinary seminars on the issue at national and local levels.
- Establish a working group on the development of a rehabilitation model for trafficked children.

- Support initiatives on preparation, production and distribution of educational, preventive and methodological materials on child trafficking.
- Carry out educational activities for homeless children on child rights and the dangers of falling into the hands of traffickers. This activity can be carried out at charitable canteens at religious organizations, mobile centres for homeless children, juvenile correctional services, shelters or crisis centres for women who are victims of violence and attend with their children.
- Initiate the annual collection of statistical data on child trafficking based on the activities of state, public and religious organizations.
- Establish an integrated system for training parents in the skills of family education with the assistance of educational institutions. School departments can provide significant help to parents in the education of their children, improvement of the microclimate in the family, establishing adequate relations between adults and children. For example, in schools, vocational schools and institutes of higher education, a special hour could be allocated for highlighting topical issues in Ukrainian society and ways of dealing with them effectively.
- Promote the development of human rights and public organizations in Ukraine that assist the trafficked victims.
- Promote the establishment of a network of reintegration and crisis centres for people who have been victims of crimes relating to human trafficking and violence.

8.2 At the local level

- Develop and introduce social programmes for assistance to at-risk families and families with children who have been trafficked.
- Departments for juveniles and social services should improve monitoring of children in difficult families.
- While doing paperwork before admission to shelters for juveniles or juvenile correctional services, officers of social services and the militia should pay special attention to the experiences children may have had of exploitation or trafficking and should have special programmes to which to refer them.
- Psychologists in social services and NGOs should develop programmes for rehabilitation of trafficked children.
- Organize meetings with representatives of law enforcement authorities and social services in schools, orphanages, shelters for children and youth, to disseminate information on human trafficking, trafficking in children and to increase the authority of these services in the eyes of children.
- Organize in villages and settlements, services for parents of children from at-risk groups and the parents of trafficked children, with a view to increasing their knowledge about the chances of a child being entrapped in trafficking and where to seek help if a child has been trafficked.
- Establish local youth social services or reorient existing ones to engage children and young people in social activities. With the help of these services, the spare time of children and young people from at-risk groups can be organized.
- Local council or social services should have among their staff a psychologist and lawyer who should provide consultations to all population groups free of charge. People should be comprehensively informed about the availability of this service.

- Carry out special family psychological training to improve mutual understanding in the family, perhaps on the basis of district social services.
- Raise awareness in society of the problems of child trafficking, not only with the cooperation of the mass media but also by involving educational institutions.
- More completely and impartially inform government structures of the problem of child trafficking and children's right to protection, in particular for those children in high-risk groups.
- Work with the mass media and other educational media and organizations to improve and promote coverage of child trafficking.

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ANNEX: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research goal:

- identify contextual and environmental conditions that cause trafficking in children in Ukraine.

Main research objectives:

- analyse the spread of trafficking in children in Ukraine for forced labour and sexual exploitation;
- determine the causes of trafficking in children;
- analyse various manifestations of trafficking in children: ways of trafficking; types of exploitative labour to which the children are subjected;
- study the roles of various actors and institutions in solving this problem.

Data and research methodology:

Rapid assessment techniques were used to study the phenomenon of trafficking in children for labour and sexual exploitation in Ukraine. The study was based on the use of the following three data collection tools:

- questionnaires for surveying trafficked children and children from groups at special risk;
- guidelines for semi-structured interviews for trafficked children, children from groups at special risk, their parents and key informants;
- guidelines for conducting focus groups (group discussions) with trafficked children, children from groups at special risk, and their parents.

A review of statistical data was undertaken to prepare the organization and conduct of the survey (in particular data from regional statistical authorities, legislative acts and regulations, documents of ministries and agencies, and publications on the subject). Data collection was carried out using: questionnaires, interviews, and focus groups (group discussions).

Survey structure:

The survey was organized in several phases:

- collection and generalization of data on human trafficking in general and child trafficking in particular;
- selection of research area;
- selection of respondents (children and their parents) for surveying, interviews and group discussions;
- selection of key informants from ministries, social services, embassies at national and local levels;
- familiarization with the assessment tools, translation and adaptation to the peculiarities of the country;
- two-day interviewer training for three types of work: 1) surveying in accordance with the questionnaires; 2) semi-structured interviews; 3) focus group (group discussion);

- interviewer familiarization with the respondents' selection criteria, ensuring full understanding of research objectives, tools and methodology;
- organization of data collection (surveying in accordance with the questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, focus groups, supervision of the interviewers' work);
- creation of database in epi info 2002 format (data input, control of input data);
- analysis of collected data in epi info 2002 and/or spss format;
- drafting of the synthesis report on survey results.

Terms used:

Since the research subject is quite new for Ukraine, the terms have not yet been defined. The following terms have therefore been used for the purpose of this research:

work signifies any activity carried out by a respondent for which s/he has received (or should have received) pecuniary or other compensation.

boss/ employer means a person (or group of people) who have forced a child to work and supervised her/him during her/his stay as a victim of trafficking. These terms in this case represent an exploiter rather than a manager or employer under usual (regular/ legal) conditions of work.

militia implies a law enforcement agency operating in Ukraine, Russia and Belarus. Equivalent to *police* in other countries.

Preparation for the survey:

Preparation for the survey included selection of collaborating institutions and authorities, selection and training of the research team, an audit of available information:

Selection and training of the research team

The research team consisted of experts from the Centre of Social Expertise of the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the International Women's Rights Centre 'La Strada-Ukraine', a field group of researchers and interviewers in Chernivtsi, Kharkiv, Kherson and Kiev *oblasts*.

Supervisors were assigned to each of the four survey regions at the beginning of the survey.

In view of the survey specificity, the preparation of supervisors and interviewers called for training workshops for three types of work: 1) questioning following the questionnaires; 2) semi-structured interviews; 3) focus group (group discussion) facilitation. Supervisors and interviewers were familiarized with the research objectives, tools and respondent selection criteria. They were briefed on the presentation of information collected during the interviews (preparation of executive summaries of the semi-structured interviews and focus groups).

Selection of research areas

Kiev, Chernivtsi, Kharkiv and Kherson *oblasts* (regions) were chosen to fulfil the research objectives.

Kiev oblast is a northern region of the country. The main peculiarity of this region is that the capital of Ukraine, the city of Kiev, is located here. Kiev is the main gathering area for people who are searching for work and the main transit point for those going abroad.

Chernivtsi oblast is a western region of Ukraine. This is the poorest area (according to data from the State Committee for Statistics of Ukraine and is characterized by a labour force surplus. Chernivtsi *oblast* has borders with Moldova and Romania.

Kharkiv oblast is an eastern region of Ukraine. Kharkiv *oblast* is a rather developed region with a high level of industrial development. The urban population of Kharkiv considerably exceeds the rural one (2.3 million urban dwellers out of a total population of 3 million). Reform and restructuring have caused the closure of some enterprises and a significant number of people have lost their jobs. Kharkiv *oblast* borders Russia and, because of this, the population of this *oblast* is inclined to seek employment opportunities in Russia.

Kherson oblast is in the south of the country. There is a low level of economic development in this region. Kherson itself is a seaport, and this makes it easy for local residents to leave for other countries. In addition, the presence of a big seaport in this *oblast* supports the spread of illegal activities, facilitates a shadow market and the operation of a network of illegal services.

Selection of respondents

- The primary criterion for selection of the respondents was her/his association with trafficking victims or with the groups at special risk.
- Trafficked children selected as respondents were exploited or in forced labour in Ukraine or abroad;
- Children at risk of trafficking were selected as respondents according to the following risk criteria: residence near border regions; living in poor economic conditions; membership of a street children's group; orphans and children without parental care; membership in a socially or economically marginalized group;
- At least one-third of the sampling group had to be boys and at most one-third of the sampling group had to be children providing sexual services.
- No less than a quarter of the children were to be living with their parents and respectively three quarters without parents.

The specific nature of this research entailed the use of qualitative data analysis rather than quantitative. The sampling was not representative, but it still helped to identify trends in child trafficking in Ukraine. As a result, the quotas listed were treated as desirable but not crucial, since each region had specific characteristics of its own.

The experts working with these issues and able to provide adequate information on the relevant questions belonged to a group of key informants comprising: representatives of ministries, emigration services, social services, militia, orphanages and shelters, embassies, public organizations, national and local institutions. The selection of key informants (experts) was carried out with the assistance of NGOs, ministerial departments, departments for combating organized crime, in particular with departments for combating crimes relating to human trafficking. The following organizations were involved in the research:

Kiev *oblast*:

International Women's Rights Centre "La Strada".

Department for Combating Human Trafficking Crimes of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine.

Passport Control Department of the State Committee for Guarding

the State Border of Ukraine.

All-Ukrainian Association of Youth Cooperation "Alternative-U".

“Caritas–Spes”.

Juvenile Correctional Service of the State Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine.

Kharkiv *oblast*:

Department for Combating Human Trafficking Crimes of the Department of Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine in Kharkiv *oblast*.

Department of Citizenry, Passport and Migration Service of Kharkiv Municipal Department of Internal Affairs of the Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine in Kharkiv *oblast*.

Kharkiv municipal organization "Women’s association".

Division of the Department for Family and Youth of Kharkiv *oblast* administration.

Service for Teenagers of Kharkiv *oblast* administration.

Kherson *oblast*:

Women’s club “Successful Woman”, Kherson.

Department for Combating Human Trafficking Crimes of the Department of Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine in Kherson *oblast*.

Juvenile orphanage of Kherson *oblast* administration.

Chernivtsi *oblast*:

Oblast Department of Education and Science of Chernivtsi *oblast* administration.

Department for Combating Human Trafficking Crimes of the Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine in Chernivtsi *oblast*.

Programmes on crisis prevention of the centre “Woman for woman”.

Profile of respondents:

- 60 trafficked children and 20 children at risk of human trafficking were surveyed in total in Ukraine.
- There were also 20 semi-structured interviews with trafficked children and 10 with their parents.
- There were 10 semi-structured interviews with children from groups at special risk and 10 with their parents.
- 5 interviews with parents of trafficked children.
- 2 focus group interviews (group discussions) with trafficked children and 2 with their parents.
- 4 with children from at-risk groups and 4 with their parents.
- 16 key informants (experts) were interviewed.

	questionnaires	semi-structured	group discussions
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		interviews	
trafficked children	60	20	2
never trafficked children	20	10	4
parents of trafficked children		10	2
parents of trafficked children		5	0
parents of never trafficked children		10	4
key informants		16	

Problems that emerged during the research:

Respondent category: Trafficked children

Most of the problems that arose during the survey, interviews and focus group discussions occurred with trafficked children. Contact with these children was difficult; their answers to the questions of the interviewer were not always comprehensive and informative. Sometimes their answers were evasive or they refused to answer the questions. It was also extremely difficult for these children to talk about their status and trafficking experience, since these had had dramatic psychological consequences for the children involved.

Respondent category: Children from groups at risk

In establishing contact with children from groups at special risk, there were no problems. Children from this category communicated readily with interviewers. They felt most hesitant while answering questions about relations in the family and about their relatives. In addition, many of them had a hard time formulating the values they were living by and their priorities, and identifying their life goals.

Respondent category: parents of trafficked children

The parents of trafficked children were reluctant to communicate with the research team. They were fearful of public disclosure and use of the interview materials against them and their children. The respondents avoided answering the questions proposed during the interviews.

Respondent category: parents of children that are presently in a trafficking situation

The most significant problems related to the selection of respondents from this category. Inclusion in this category was a result of the respondent's appealing to relevant authorities for help in finding their child. Also, it was necessary to prove that the child's disappearance had really been caused by child trafficking (presence of mediators, kidnapping, forced labour etc). Respondents in this category avoided answering the questions as they were concerned about their own safety and the safety of their children.

Respondent category: parents of children from groups at special risk.

There were no significant problems with this category of respondents. They readily communicated and answered the questions.

Notes on procedures:

In the course of surveying and interviewing, other people were at times present in addition to the respondent and the researchers. This generally occurred in a special setting, for example in a correctional institution for juveniles. The presence of the third party was accounted for by the fact that one of the conditions of children's stay in such an institution is their continuous supervision by an officer, in this case an inspector. The inspector's presence had an impact on the respondent's candour, but the interviewers tried to gain as much information as possible by putting indirect questions. It was noted that the children were not particularly embarrassed by the inspector's presence during the interview.

The presence of strangers during the interview was also caused by the desire of one foreign consultant to monitor surveying and interviewing.

At the beginning of the interviews and focus groups, the researchers informed respondents (parents and their children) that the research results would be anonymous. Thus the respondents were able to use a false name if they wished, and even the researchers did not know their names.

Whenever a child was interviewed in an ordinary institution (a child who was not provided with assistance), the researchers referred her/him to a centre that could provide them with relevant assistance (psychological, educational, vocational, healthcare).

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ISBN 92-2-116205-2