

CHAPTER 3

CHILDREN; 139 EASY TO TARGET

Globally, one in every three victims detected is a child. Patterns about the age profile of the victims, however, appear to change drastically across different regions. Countries in West Africa, South Asia and Central America and the Caribbean typically present a much higher share of children among total victims detected.

More broadly, differences in the age composition of detected victims appear to be related to the income level of the country of detection. The detection of children account for a significantly higher proportion in low income countries when compared to high income countries. As such, wealthier countries tend to detect more adults than children among the trafficking victims.

These differences could be the result of varying criminal justice focuses in different parts of the world. At the same time, however, they may reflect different trafficking patterns according to countries' socio-economic conditions.

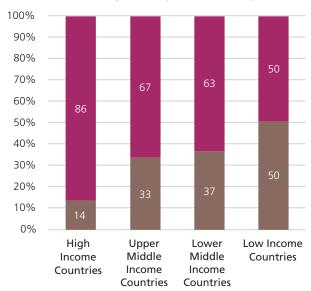
This chapter provides an overview of the dynamics related to the trafficking of children. The first section discusses the main forms of child trafficking, namely trafficking for forced labour and trafficking for sexual exploitation. The second section focuses on risk factors connected with child trafficking.

Different forms of child trafficking in different parts of the world

The characteristics of child trafficking and its underlying drivers seem to differ according to geographical and social contexts. Trafficked children detected in low income countries are more likely to be exploited in forced labour; this is particularly the case for Sub-Saharan African countries. Conversely, children detected in high income countries are more frequently trafficked for sexual exploitation.

Thus, it can be concluded that the nature of child trafficking in low-income countries, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, seems to be part of the broader phenomenon of child labour. In high-income countries, it is more related to child sexual exploitation.

FIG. 49 Shares of detected victims of trafficking, by age group and national income,* 2018 (or most recent)



- Share of adult victims detected (18 years old or above)
- Share of minor victims detected (under the age of 18)

Source: UNODC elaboration based on national data on detected trafficking in persons and World Bank data on income levels.

*The World Bank groups countries according to their economic performance. Economies are divided into four income groupings: low, low-er-middle, upper-middle, and high. Income is measured using gross national income (GNI) per capita, in U.S. dollars, converted from local currency using the World Bank Atlas method. Estimates of GNI are obtained from economists in World Bank country units; and the size of the population is estimated by World Bank demographers from a variety of sources, including the UN's biennial World Population Prospects. For more on this see How does the World Bank classify countries? at the following link: https://datahelpdesk.world-bank.org/knowledgebase/articles/378834-how-does-the-world-bank-classify-countries

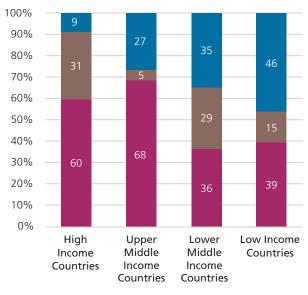
Children trafficked for forced labour

The phenomenon of child labour is conceptually different than child trafficking for forced labour or children in exploitative situations. ¹⁴⁰ These two phenomena, however, appear to be inter-related and have similar determinants.

¹³⁹ According to the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the 2000 UN Trafficking Protocol, a child is any person younger than 18 years of age. In the following text, the terms 'girls' and 'boys' refer to, accordingly, female and male children.

¹⁴⁰ According to the International Labour Organization Child Labour Conventions, "child labour" includes working children aged between 5 and 11, all children between 12 and 14 who are performing work not considered light and for more than 14 hours per week, and those between 15 and 17 performing hazardous work (International Labour Organization, *Global Estimates of Child Labour. Results and trends*, 2012-2016. ILO, Geneva, 2017, p.2).

FIG. 50 Shares of detected child victims of trafficking, by form of exploitation and national income, 2018 (or most recent)



- Trafficking for forced labour
- Trafficking for other forms of exploitation
- Trafficking for sexual exploitation

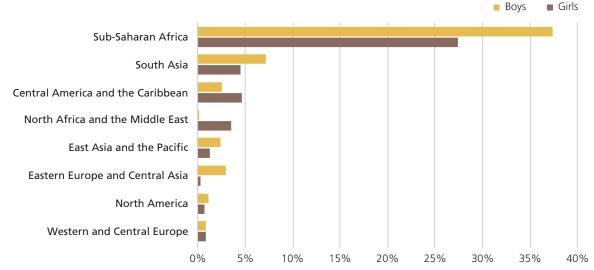
Source: UNODC elaboration based on national data on detected trafficking in persons and World Bank data on income levels.

Countries where children account for a larger share of the trafficking victims detected are also countries where child labour is more prevalent.¹⁴¹ This trend is particularly relevant for West Africa.

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), the African continent records the largest prevalence of children (between 5 and 17 years of age) in labour. 142 The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) estimates confirm this geographical pattern. Some countries in West Africa are estimated to have more than 40 per cent of the total population aged between 5 and 17 engaged in child labour.

The interlinkages between child trafficking and child labour are illustrated in field research conducted in West Africa, where child labour has been found to possibly deteriorate into children working in exploitative situations. One study in Burkina Faso documented how a significant share of children working in goldmining sites are not

FIG. 51 Shares of child victims of trafficking for forced labour among total detected victims, by sex and subregions* of detection, 2018 (or most recent)



Share of children trafficked for forced labour among total victims detected

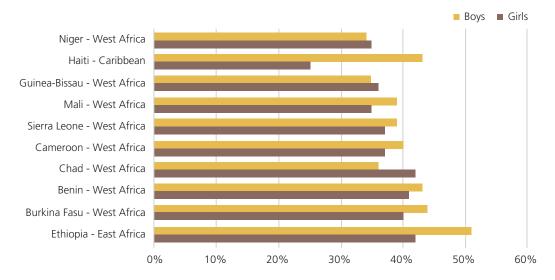
Source: UNODC elaboration of national data.

¹⁴¹ There is a statistical correlation between prevalence of children in labour (ILO estimates) and share of children detected among total victims of trafficking (UNODC) – Pearson's R +0.501, Sig 0,000 , N 80 countries.

¹⁴² International Labour Organization, *Global Estimates of Child Labour.* Results and trends, 2012-2016. ILO, Geneva, 2017.

^{*}South America is not included in the analysis for lack of sufficient data

FIG. 52 Prevalence of child labour among total children in top 10 countries (%), 2010–2018



Source: UNICEF - Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS)*

paid (14 per cent) or only provided with food and lodging (16 per cent), suggesting that exploitative practices and trafficking are part of these working sites where child labour is employed. 143 About half of those who were paid barely managed to cover food and lodging, while only one third of them managed to support their families. 144 In one case reported by Cote d'Ivoire, for example, authorities identified more than 30 children working on one cocoa plantation site. After assessing each individual case, authorities determined that about one third of these children were victims of trafficking. 145

Broad cultural acceptance of the participation of children in the labour market can serve as a fertile ground for traffickers seeking children to exploit in labour activities. It is easier to exploit children in areas where communities are accustomed to sending children to work than in com-

In some socio-economic contexts, trafficking of children may occur on a community scale, often involving family members. Families in dire need may encourage their children to work and children may feel the pressure to economically contribute to the family, leaving them vulnerable to exploitative practices. 146

^{*}The Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS) are periodical face-to-face household surveys conducted by trained fieldwork teams conduct on a variety of topics. See https://mics.unicef.org/

munities where child labour is generally not an acceptable practice. In such settings, child trafficking victims may be hidden in plain sight.

¹⁴³ Ministère de l'Action Sociale et de la Solidarité Nationale of Burkina Faso and UNICEF, *Rapport Nationale sur la Traite des Enfants au Burkina Faso*, 2015, p.49.

¹⁴⁴ Ibia

¹⁴⁵ Court case 374 - Cote d'Ivoire 2015.

¹⁴⁶ International Labour Organization, *Child Labour in Cotton*, a Briefing, ILO 2016; p 15.

Thorsen, D.; (2012) Children Working in Mines and Quarries, Evidence from West and Central Africa, UNICEF, Briefing Paper No. 4, 2012; p 4.

International Labour Organization, Caracterizacion del trabajo enfantil agrícola en municipio seleccionados de los estados de Sinaloa, Oaxaca y Veracrus; uno estudio de la experencias de las ninas, niños y adolecentes con enfoque particular en la educación, en lo origen étnico y la migración, ILO, 2014. p.37.

International Labour Organization and National Statistical Office of the Republic of Malawi, *Malawi National Child Labour Survey* 2016 Report, 2017, p25.

Kumari M. (2013) *Child labour, a Sociological Study in Haryana*, India, International Research Journal of Social Science, Vol. 2 (8), 15-18 August 2013, p17.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, cases have been documented of children trafficked to work on different types of plantations, ¹⁴⁷ in mines and quarries, ¹⁴⁸ on farms (i.e. *les enfants bouvier*), ¹⁴⁹ as well as being forced to sell different products in markets and on the streets ¹⁵⁰ or to engage in domestic work (i.e *vidomegon*). ¹⁵¹ In South Asia, it has been documented that children as young as 12 years of age are trafficked for forced labour in domestic work, ¹⁵² brick kilns, ¹⁵³ small hotels ¹⁵⁴, the garment industry ¹⁵⁵ or

147 Court case 373 – Cote d'Ivoire 2014, Court case 374 – Cote d' Ivoire 2015

Global Research and Advocacy Group *Travail des Enfants dans les champs de coton et les mines d'or au Burkina Faso* Counterpart International, 2014; pp 24-29.

148 Court case 306 - Guinea 2014.

Ministere de l'Action Sociale et de la Solidarite Nationale of Burkina Faso and UNICEF, Rapport Nationale sur la Traite des Enfants au Burkina Faso 2015, p.19;

Centre des Etudes et Recherches et des Formation pour le Développement Economique et Sociale (ERFODES) Evaluation finale du projet «enfants dans les mines d'or et carrières artisanales dans cinq régions du Burkina Faso, 2009-2013,

Thorsen, D. (2012) Children Working in Mines and Quarries, Evidence from West and Central Africa, UNICEF, Briefing Paper No. 4, 2012, pp 5-9:

Yaro, Y., Kabore, I., Kobanka, H. (2011) Etude sur le travail des enfants sur les sites d'orpaillage et les carrieres artisanales dans cinq régions du Burkina Faso, Ministère de l'Action Sociale et de la Solidarité Nationale of Burkina Faso and UNICEF, 2011. Pp 8, 13;

Global Research and Advocacy Group *Travail des Enfants dans les champs de coton et les mines d'or au Burkina Faso* Counterpart International, 2014, pp 24 -29;

Terre des Hommes *The neglected link; effects of climate change and environmental degradation on child labour* Terre des Hommes International Federation, Child Labour Report 2017; pp 14-17.

- 149 General Assembly, Human Rights Council, Report of the Special Rapporteur on trafficking in persons, especially women and children, Joy Ngozi Ezeilo, Mission to Gabon A/HRC/23/48/Add.2, p5.
- 150 Court case 377 Cote d' Ivoire 2017.

 General Assembly, Human Rights Council, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, Najat Maalla M'jid, Mission to Benin A/HRC/25/48/Add.3, 2014, p.5
- 151 Thorsen, D. (2012) Child Domestic Workers; Evidence from West and Central Africa, UNICEF, 2012; pp7-9.
 - Ministère de l'Action Sociale et de la Solidarité Nationale of Burkina Faso and Unicef, *Rapport Nationale sur la Traite des Enfants au Burkina Faso*, 2015, p.19.
 - General Assembly, Human Rights Council, Report of the Special Rapporteur on trafficking in persons, especially women and children, Joy Ngozi Ezeilo, Mission to Gabon A/HRC/23/48/Add.2, p5 Court case 302 Niger 2016.
- 152 Bachpan Bachao Andalon and Others versus State [(2011) 177 DLT 198 (DB)], Kalpana Pandit versus NCT of Delhi, WP(crl) 696 of 2002, High Court of Delhi. Kalpana.
- 153 Nath Roy, S., Kunduri, F. (2018) Migration to Brick Kilns in India, An appraisal, Centre for Policy Research, 2018; Kumari, M. (2013) Child Labour, a sociological study of Haryana, International Research Journal of Social Sciences, Vol2(8), 15-18 August 2013.
- 154 Shrimali, R., Farmer, M. (2015) A study on child labour in Gujarat State, Abhinav Publication, Volume 4, Issue 3, March 2015.
- 155 Association for Stimulating Know How Addressing Modern Slavery in Tamil Nadu Textile Industry A Feasibility Study Report Freedom Fund, 2014.

agriculture. 156 Child trafficking cases have also been reported on South American plantation. 157

There are no precise statistics on the age range of children trafficked for forced labour in general. Studies on children working in agriculture in South Asia indicate that one quarter of these children start to work between the ages of six and nine. 158 In West Africa, children trafficked for domestic labour are mainly females, with younger girls often doing childcare and older girls responsible for cooking. 159 Even in hazardous work settings, such as mines and quarries, some children may begin to learn the skills at the age of six or seven, while doing support functions for the adults they accompany to the mining site. 160 Younger children are normally involved in lighter activities, such as sorting or washing of the material extracted. Older children are tasked with digging and going down into the holes.¹⁶¹ Deciding whether a boy is strong enough to become a digger depends on the child's physical strength and so, the age can vary. 162 Girls also work around these sites, usually carrying materials above ground.163

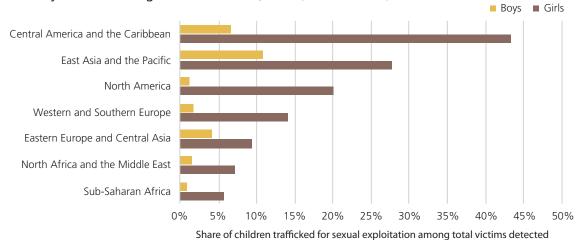
Trafficking for sexual exploitation of children

Child victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation (mainly girls) are identified in every part of the world, but largely concentrated in Central America and the Caribbean and East Asia.

As with trafficking for forced labour, countries with lower GDP per capita typically detect more children than adults among detected victims of sexual exploitation compared to countries that record a higher GDP per capita. This is confirmed even among countries parts of

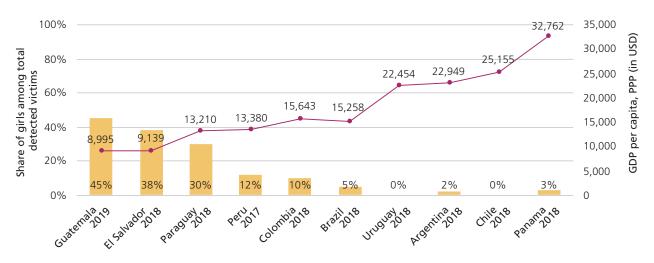
- 156 United Nations Children's Fund, Secondary Data Analysis of Trafficking of women and children in Assam, UNICEF, Guwahati, Assam, India, 2014.
- 157 International Labour Organization and Ministério Público do Trabalho, *Cadeia Produtiva do Cacau. Avanços e Desafios Rumo à Promoção do Trabalho Decente: análise situacional* Working Paper, November 2018, ISBN: 978-92-2-133162-9.
- 158 Kumari, M. (2013) *Child labour, a Sociological Study in Haryana*, International Research Journal of Social Science, Vol. 2 (8), 15-18 August 2013, p17.
- 159 Thorsen, D, (2012) Child Domestic Workers; Evidences from West and central Africa, UNICEF, page 7.
- 160 Ibid. page 10.
- 161 Terre des Hommes *The neglected link; effects of climate change and environmental degradation on child labour* Terre des Hommes International Federation, Child Labour Report 2017; page 17.
- 162 Thorsen, D, (2012) Child Domestic Workers; Evidences from West and central Africa, UNICEF, page 8.
- 163 Ibid. page 17.

FIG. 53 Shares of child victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation among total detected victims, by sex and subregions of detection, 2018 (or most recent)



Source: UNODC elaboration of national data.

FIG. 54 Shares of girls among total detected victims of trafficking and GDP per capita, in selected countries in Latin America



Source: UNODC elaboration on national data on trafficking in persons and International Comparison Program, World Bank I World Development Indicators database, World Bank Programme for GDP per capita.

the same subregion. The age profile of the victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation changes according to the national income.

Among children, girls aged between 14 and 17 years old appear to be particularly targeted. This age pattern seems to be part of broader patterns of sexual and gen-

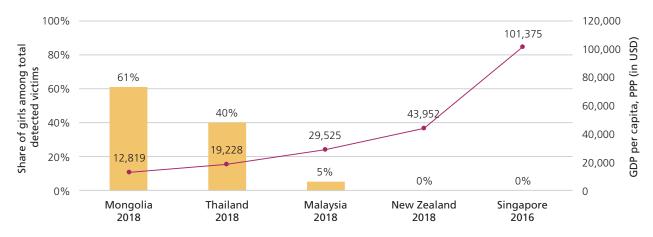
der-based violence that results in teenage girls also being particularly targeted as victims of other crimes, from bullying to sexual violence and murder. Girls' risk of death as a result of violence increases from early to late adolescence and the first incident of sexual violence occurs most often between the ages of 15 and 19.166

¹⁶⁴ Not all countries systematically record the precise age of the victims beside being adults or minors. When this is recorded, there is not a standardised age group; Some countries consider teenagers are aged between 12 and 17 years old, some others consider teenagers starting from the age of 13 or 14.

¹⁶⁵ United Nations Children's Fund, A statistical snapshot of Violence Against Adolescent Girls, UNICEF, 2014, pp 3-15.

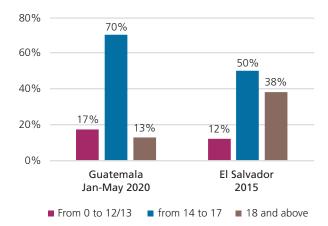
¹⁶⁶ United Nations Children's Fund, A statistical snapshot of Violence Against Adolescent Girls, UNICEF, 2014, p 11; UNODC, Global Study on Homicide 2019. Booklet 4 – Gender-related killing of women and girls (Vienna, 2019).

FIG. 55 Shares of girls among total detected victims of trafficking and GDP per capita, in selected countries in South-East Asia



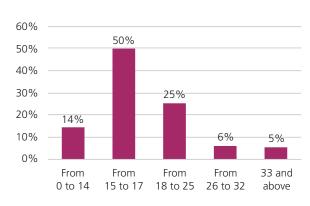
Source: UNODC elaboration on national data on trafficking in persons and International Comparison Program, World Bank I World Development Indicators database, World Bank Programme for GDP per capita.

FIG. 56 Shares of total detected female victims of trafficking in persons, by age group; Guatemala and El Salvador



Source: Guatemala/ Informe de estado en materia de trata de personas - p95 - SVET; El Salvador/ Informe sobre Aplicacion de Ley especial contra la Trata de Personas en El Salvador. P. 127 CNCTP Consejo Nacional contra la Trata de Personas.

FIG. 57 Age distribution of recorded potential victims of trafficking in persons for sexual exploitation, Peru (2016)

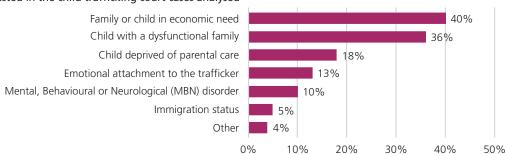


Source: Peru: Estadisticas de Trata de Personas 2011 -2018 – Insituto Nacional de Estadistica e Informatica. Ministerio del Interior/ Instituto Nacional de Estadistica e Informatica

FIG. 58 Percentage of child trafficking cases by pre-existing factors that traffickers have taken advantage of, as reported in the GLOTIP court cases*

Some cases reported multiple conditions

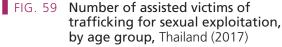
Conditions listed in the child trafficking court cases analysed

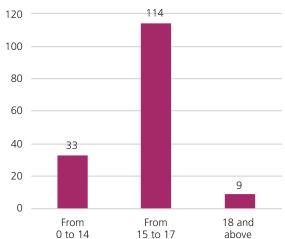


Share of cases on the 99 child trafficking cases reporting this information

Source: UNODC elaboration of national data

*This information was reported in 99 child trafficking court cases of a total of 489 cases collected by UNODC for the purpose of this Report.





Source: Ministry of Social Development and Human Security of Thailand, Thailand's Country Report on Anti-Human Trafficking Response (1 January - 31 December 2017), p43

Risks factors for and drivers of child trafficking

The profile of victims of child trafficking is often characterized by many intersecting vulnerabilities. The risks related to their young age are compounded by the socio-economic dimensions discussed earlier (see *Chapter 2 – The impact of socio-economic factors on victims' experiences and the risks of the COVID-19 Recession*), as well as other factors particularly relevant to children, such as behavioural and developmental needs, lack of parental care and/or dysfunctional families. Some studies in Central America, for example, suggest that domestic violence

and other forms of violence against women and children, as well as discrimination against ethnic minorities, potentially increase the risk of girls becoming victims of trafficking.¹⁶⁷

A child victim's vulnerabilities are often connected to the child's family background. In extremely poor communities, socioeconomic context and cultural norms appear to play an important role in the trafficking of children. However, even in high income countries, children are vulnerable to traffickers too. This is particularly true among children experiencing dysfunctional parenting or with no parental care, as well as those living in poorer communities.

Families' coping mechanisms may place children at risk of trafficking

Child trafficking in West Africa is often connected with the practice of parents sending children for employment outside of the household¹⁶⁸. Similar findings emerge from studies in Latin America¹⁶⁹ and South Asia.¹⁷⁰ These practices are not trafficking *per se*, and in general they may not be harmful to children, but they can represent a significant risk factor for children to be trafficked into forced labour.

¹⁶⁷ United Nations Children's Fund, Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation Purposes in Guatemala, UNICEF, 2016.

¹⁶⁸ International Labour Organization, Child Labour in Cotton; a briefing, ILO 2016

¹⁶⁹ International Labour Organization, Child Labour in the Primary Production of Sugarcane, ILO, 2017. p.24

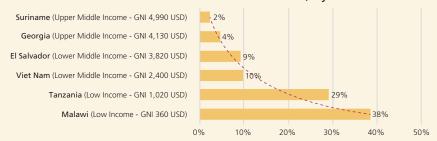
¹⁷⁰ Kumari M. (2013) Child labour, a Sociological Study in Haryana, India, International Research Journal of Social Science, Vol. 2 (8), 15-18 August 2013, p17.

The practice of sending children to work in context of extreme poverty

According to one ILO study conducted on child labour in the cotton farming industry, the work children do is often critical to the survival of poor households spending the bulk of their income to feed the family^a. Many field studies in different parts of the world indicate a household's poverty as the greatest factor in determining whether children of school age are sent to work^b and how these children's income contribution is important for a household's basic food security.^c Some of these studies also report how these children can easily be targeted by traffickers.^d

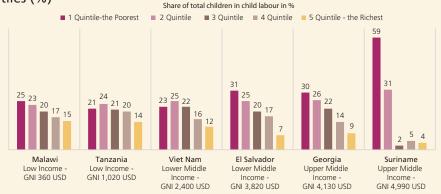
Child labour is not only prevalent in poor countries, but also among the poorest segments of richer societies. Suriname and Sri Lanka are upper-middle income countries that record child labour rates below the regional averages. In these countries, child labour is mainly concentrated among the poorest households. This pattern is confirmed in a wide range of countries characterized by different cultural contexts and income levels. However, child labour decreases as the national economy improves.

FIG. 60 Shares of children in child labour in selected countries, by Gross National Income (GNI)



Source: UNODC elaboration on ILO-International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) estimates on child labour and World Bank data on Gross National Income.

FIG. 61 Shares of children in child labour in selected countries, by household cash income quintiles (%)



Source: UNODC elaboration on ILO-International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) estimates on child labour and World Bank data on Gross National Income.

- a International Labour Organization, Child Labour in Cotton, a Briefing, ILO 2016 p 15
- b Thorsen, D. (2012) Children Working in Mines and Quarries, Evidence from West and Central Africa, UNICEF, Briefing Paper No. 4, 2012; p 4.
- c International Labour Organization, Child Labour in Cotton, a Briefing, ILO 2016 p 15

Thorsen, D. (2012) Children Working in Mines and Quarries, Evidence from West and Central Africa, UNICEF, Briefing Paper No. 4, 2012; p 4-7. Thorsen, D, (2012) Child Domestic Workers; Evidences from West and central Africa, UNICEF, p 4.

Terre des Hommes *The neglected link; effects of climate change and envi*ronmental degradation on child labour Terre des Hommes International Federation, Child Labour Report 2017; pp 16-17

United Nations Children's Fund and Ministere de l'Action Sociale et de la Solidarite Nationale of Burkina Faso *Rapport Nationale sur la Traite des Enfants au Burkina Faso 2015*, UNICEF, 2015, p.49;

International Labour Organization, Caracterizacion del trabajo enfantil agrícola en municipio seleccionados de los estados de Sinaloa, Oaxaca y Verac-

rus; uno estudio de la experencias de las ninas, niños y adolecentes con enfoque particular en la educación,en lo origen étnico y la migración, ILO, 2014. p.37 International Labour Organization and National Statistical Office of the Republic of Malawi (2017), Malawi National Child Labour Survey 2016 Report p25

Surveys on child labour conducted in India indicate about 60 per cent of the children working in agriculture in the state of Haryana were encouraged by the child's family in order to cope with poverty. See Kumari M. (2013) *Child labour, a Sociological Study in Haryana, India,* International Research Journal of Social Science, Vol. 2 (8), 15-18 August 2013, p17.

- d Thorsen, D, (2012) Child Domestic Workers; Evidences from West and central Africa, UNICEF; p 4.
- e International Labour Organization, Suriname Child Labour Survey 2017, ILO, 2017. p88;

International Labour Organization and Ministry of National Policies and Economic Affairs, *Report on Child Activity Survey 2016; Sri Lanka*, ILO, 2016. Pp 100-102.

The practice of sending children to work is generally reported as a coping mechanism for families to survive in conditions of extreme poverty. 171 According to a seminal study on the drivers of child labour, "parents withdraw their children from the labour force as soon as they can afford to do so" and "a family will send the children to the labour market only if the family's income from non-child labour sources drops very low." 172 This practice could easily deteriorate into child trafficking. A study on children trafficked for forced labour in brick kilns in South Asia, for example, refers to farm debts compelling families to send their children for work as one of the risk factors for child trafficking. 173

When looking at high-income countries, the share of detected children trafficked for forced labour is limited. While these countries do not record significant levels of child labour, the few cases of reported of child trafficking for forced labour are characterized by a context of extreme economic need for these children and their families.¹⁷⁴

Early marriage is a practice that is rooted in some cultures¹⁷⁵ and may sometimes be regarded as a family survival strategy.¹⁷⁶ This practice constitutes trafficking

- 171 Psacharopoulos, G. (1997) Child labor versus educational attainment Some evidence from Latin America. J Popul Econ 10, 377–386; Menon, N.; Rodgers, Y. (2018) Child Labor and the Minimum Wage: Evidence from India Journal of Comparative Economics, Beegle, K.; Dehejia, R., Gatti, R. (2006) Child labor and agricultural shocks Journal of Development Economics, Volume 81, Issue1, October 2006, Pages 80-96; Nam, S. (2013). Child Labor in Latin America. Law & Bus. Rev. Am., 19, 523.
- 172 Basu, K.; Van, P.H. (1998) The Economics of Child Labour the American Economic Review, Vol. 88, No. 3 1998, pp. 412-427.
- 173 International Labour Organization *Unveiling the Full Picture of South Asia's Brick Kilns and Building the Blocks for Change*, Geneva: ILO, 2017. 1; page 31.
- 174 Court case 60 Norway 2012; court case 73 Argentina 2015; court case 132 Poland 2014; court case 172 Serbia 2014; court case 244 Chile 2016; court case 245 Chile 2016; court case 300-Moldova 2016; court case 409 Chile 2017; court case 401 Chile 2018.
- 175 Authorities in Burkina Faso for example, reported about 1000 children, mostly girls, were victims of early marriages between 2013 and 2017 See Ministere de la Femme, de la Solidariete nationale et de la Famille Annuaire Statistique 2017 de l'Action Sociale.

 A/HRC/25/48/Add.3 Report of the Special Rapporteur on the sale of
 - children, child prostitution and child pornography, Najat Maalla M'jid, 2014, p.5;
 - A/HRC/23/48/Add.2 Report of the Special Rapporteur on trafficking in persons, especially women and children, Joy Ngozi Ezeilo, p5; A/HRC/29/31/Add.1 Report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, Magdalena Sepúlveda Carmona, 2015, p10.
- 176 A/HRC/25/48/Add.3 Report of the Special Rapporteur on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, Najat Maalla M'jid, 2014, p.5;
 - Tanzania Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children, *National Survey on the Drivers and Consequences of Child Marriage in Tanzania*, 2017, p.33.

when the girl is married off in return for some economic or other material benefit.¹⁷⁷ In some communities these practices are the results of bride-price arrangements between families.

Child trafficking for forced marriage is heavily dependent on the household's income as it can be perceived as a way to generate income and assets, while reducing the costs associated with raising a daughter. ¹⁷⁸ In South Sudan, for example, it has been documented how this practice is more common in periods of drought and economic hardship. ¹⁷⁹ Similarly, in South Asia it has been documented how this practice is more pronounced after natural disasters like floods. ¹⁸⁰

Another practice that has been found to affect the risk of child trafficking is the sending of boys, and in some limited cases, girls, to residential religious schools. In North and West Africa¹⁸¹, some child trafficking for the purpose of forced begging have been linked to this practice. Cases of religious teachers (called *marabouts* or *mallams*) forcing students (referred to as *talibe* or *almajiris*) to beg have been reported by international organizations. ¹⁸² There are several reasons behind this widespread and complex phenomenon. Many studies indicate the need of poor households to provide some form of education, pressure on some of the boys to send additional money to their

- 177 The United Nations Trafficking in Persons Protocol explicitly includes the purpose of exploitation for slavery-like practices as a form of trafficking in persons. The Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery defines the practice of "a woman, without the right to refuse, is promised or given in marriage on payment of a consideration in money or in kind to her parents, guardian, family or any other person or group" as a slavery-like practice. This includes early and forced marriages as part of the trafficking phenomenon. See Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, 1957.
 - See the Report of the Special Rapporteur on trafficking in persons, especially women and children, 5 August 2016, GA/71/303, page 12, para 33.
- 178 Brown, G. (2013) Out of wedlock, into school: combating child marriage through education, the Office of Gordon and Sarah Brown, 2013, page 15.
- 179 Ibid. page 14.
- 180 The National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, A Statistical Analysis of Child Marriage in India, June 2017, New Delhi, page 81.
- 181 In Nigeria, the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Enforcement and Administration Act does not include a separate offence for child begging. The number of such cases, or rescued victims in relation to this form, are not captured in official trafficking in persons data.
- 182 A/HRC/23/48/Add.2, Report of the Special Rapporteur on trafficking in persons, especially women and children, Joy Ngozi Ezeilo, p7. 2019, A/HRC/41/46/Add, Report of Special Rapporteur on trafficking in persons, especially women and children, 2019, p.4. A/HRC/30/35/Add.1,, Report of the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of slavery, including its causes and consequences, Urmila Bhoola, 2015, pp12-14.

families, and the demand among families for some education for their children. 183

Although significantly more rarely reported than for children in forced labour or forced marriages, child trafficking for sexual exploitation may also be related to some form of tradition or cultural norms. Some families, under the ancient customs in South Asia, such as the *Devadasi*, the *Joginis* and others, maintain the tradition of forcing girls into sexual exploitation. These girls are not only trafficked within their communities but also in the large urban areas of the country. ¹⁸⁴ Yet, the extremely poor socioeconomic context of the communities remains one of the main drivers behind the persistence of this form of sexual exploitation. ¹⁸⁵

Children on their own

Court cases collected by UNODC include examples of traffickers targeting children who had no parental care. ¹⁸⁶ The absence of a family is particularly prevalent in the cases of children trafficked for sexual exploitation, ¹⁸⁷ but also reported in cases of trafficking for begging ¹⁸⁸ and forced criminal activity. ¹⁸⁹

- 183 Thorsen, D. (2012) Les Enfants mendicant pour les maitres des ecoles coraniques; Resultats d'une etude menee en Afrique de lÓuest et central, UNICEF, Briefing Paper No. 4, 2012; pp 7-8;
 - International Labour Organization, United Nations Children's Fund and World Bank *Enfants mendicants dans la region de Daka*r. Understanding Children's Work Project. Working Paper Series, p. 92;
 - International Labour Organization, United Nations Children's Fund and World Bank *Comprendre le travail des enfants au Senegal, Resume analytique*, Understanding Children's Work Project. Working Paper SerieRapport de Pays, p. 32.
 - Babou, A. (2002) Brotherhood solidarity, education and migration: The role of the Dahiras among the Murid Muslim community of New York. African Affairs, Vol. 101, No. 403 (Apr., 2002), pp. 151-170.
- 184 Patkar, P. (2018) A Research Report on The Situation of Child Trafficking in the States of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, Terre des Hommes Netherlands, Bangalore, 2018.
- 185 Shingal, A, (2015) *The Devadasi System*, UCLA Women Law's Journal, 2015, page 15.
- 186 Court case 50 Lithuania 2010; court case 63 Poland 2012; court case 5 Canada 2017; court case 3 Republic of Korea 2015; court case 172 Serbia 2104; court case 173 Serbia 2014; court case 2 Belgium 2012; court case 124 Mexico 2014; court case 125 Mexico 2015; court case 94 Belgium 2014.
- 187 Clawson, H.J. and Grace, L.G. (2007), Finding a path to recovery: residential facilities for minor victims for domestic sex trafficking. Washington, DC: US Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation.
 - Raphael, J. and Ashley, J. (2008), *Domestic sex trafficking of Chicago women and girls*, Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, DePaul University College of Law.
 - Raphael, J. and Mayers-Powell, B. (2009), *Interviews with five ex-pimps in Chicago*, DePaul University College of Law.
- 188 Court case 261 Egypt 2015; court case 219 Armenia 2014; court case 275 Serbia 2014.
- 189 Court case 311 Norway 2017.

Some court cases in European countries reveal that traffickers specifically targeted "girls who had lived in orphanages". 190 Similarly, a study on trafficking in persons in Sri Lanka indicated that traffickers target children deprived of parental care for the purpose of sexual exploitation.¹⁹¹ The absence of a family also has an economic connotation as these children have find a way to survive on their own. In a court case reported by the Dominican Republic, for instance, authorities reported a girl without parents, living in extreme poverty with no fixed home, as an easy target for a trafficker who sexually exploited her. 192 Homeless children are present in many urban areas of the world struggling on the streets, sometimes in a trafficking-like situation. 193 Traffickers may target street children for sexual exploitation or forced criminal activity in exchange for food, clothing, shelter, or other basic survival needs.

A study conducted on children in a situation of homelessness in Juba, South Sudan reported that about 3,000 children living in the streets either on their own or with caregivers were unable to financially meet their basic needs. Among these, researchers identified large numbers of children who were victims of sexual exploitation, forced labour and/or trafficking. 194

Field studies conducted in West Africa revealed the situation of some boys and girls, mostly teenagers, trafficked into sexual exploitation to cover basic needs for food and for a place to sleep.¹⁹⁵ Between 13 and 28 per cent of

- 190 Court case 94 Belgium 2014; court case 100 Canada 2013; court case 173 Serbia 2014; court case 174 Serbia 2014; court case 191 Dominican Republic 2014; court case 228 Austria 2016, court case 342 United Kingdom 2016.
- 191 UNODC Assessment Report Final Report of the Country gaps and needs assessment on the criminal justice response to trafficking in persons in Sri Lanka, Colombo, 2019 – page 18.
- 192 Court case 191 Dominican Republic 2014.
- 193 Noutsougan, A.K. (2010), La réinsertion des enfants mendiants à Niamey: situation et perspectives Centre d'enseignement et de recherche en action humanitaire de Geneve/Universite' de Geneve, 2010, pp9-10
 - Ballet, J., Bhukuth, A., Rakatonirinjanhary, F. et Rakatonirinjanhary, M. Les Enfants Mendiant A Antananarivo: Quelle Logiques Familiales Sont a l'œuvre? Institute national d'etudes demographiques, CAIRN, 2010, p. 812
 - Xian, K., Chock, S., Dwiggins, D. (2017) *LGBT Youth and Vulnerability to Sex Trafficking*, in book Human Trafficking is a public health Issue (pp 141-152), February 2017.
- 194 Wright, H. L. S., 'Child Exploitation in Juba: A study on street children and child labour in Juba, South Sudan', September 2013.
- 195 Hounmenou, C.E. Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Sex Trafficking of Children in the West Africa region, in Handbook of Human Trafficking and Modern Day Slavery by Jennifer Bryson Clark and Sasha Poucki (Editors)., Publisher: Sage Publishing, pp.360-382, 2019. A/HRC/25/48/Add.3, Report of the Special Rapporteur on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, Najat Maalla M'jid, Mission to Benin, 2014, p.5.

these children experienced the death of their parents, and between 30 and 80 per cent were not living with their parents. 196

Children deprived of parental care in migratory situations face the same risks. Unaccompanied and separated children migrating, often along irregular migration routes, are exposed to traffickers, both along the route and upon arrival in transit and destination countries.¹⁹⁷

Dysfunctional families and behavioural disorders

While the absence of a family is a risk factor for child trafficking, children being raised with dysfunctional parenting may also present a vulnerability easily exploited by traffickers.

The literature and court files show cases of parents or siblings being directly involved in the trafficking of children. ¹⁹⁸ Cases of child trafficking at the hands of the parents are reported in different parts of the world and for different forms of exploitation, though, mostly, these cases involve sexual exploitation. ¹⁹⁹ In these cases, parents procure children directly to buyers for sexual intercourse in return for a payment. Field studies conducted in West Africa, for example, show that up to 35 per cent of children in sexual exploitation have a parent organizing their

exploitation.²⁰⁰ Other than sexual exploitation, cases where parents are found to be involved in the trafficking of their children range in form of exploitation, including exploitative begging, forced marriage and child sexual abuse imagery (pornography).²⁰¹

When children are not trafficked by their parents, they may still be easily targeted by traffickers as a result of a dysfunctional family. Literature reports children with family problems at home were recruited for the purpose of sexual exploitation and for forced criminal activity.²⁰² In these cases, traffickers appear to create some attachment with or sense of belonging for the victim.

The need to be part of a group seems to be one significant factor in attracting children to be recruited or deceived by the trafficker. For example, in the so-called "county lines" cases in the United Kingdom, traffickers target children of separated parents or those looked after by social services, including those with behavioural or developmental disorders. ²⁰³ Trafficked children, as well as victims emotionally attached to their traffickers, can also be incited to use drugs or alcohol, thereby increasing the control the traffickers have over them. ²⁰⁴

- 196 Hounmenou, C.E. Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Sex Trafficking of Children in the West Africa region, in Handbook of Human Trafficking and Modern Day Slavery by Jennifer Bryson Clark and Sasha Poucki (Editors)., Publisher: Sage Publishing, pp.370, 2019.
- 197 Special Rapporteur on trafficking in persons, especially women and children, Sale and sexual exploitation of children, including child prostitution, child pornography and other child sexual abuse material; and trafficking in persons, especially women and children, 18 July 2017 A/72/164.
- 198 Noutsougan, A.K., (2010) La réinsertion des enfants mendiants a Niamey: situation et perspectives Centre d'enseignement et de recherche en action humanitaire de Geneve/Universite' de Geneve, 2010, pp9-10
 - Ballet, J., Bhukuth, A., Rakatonirinjanhary, F. et Rakatonirinjanhary, M. (2010) *Les Enfants Mendiant A Antananarivo : Quelle Logiques* Familiales *Sont a l'œuvre ?* Institute national d'etudes demographiques, CAIRN, 2010, p. 812.
 - Court case 62 Norway; court case 83 Australia 2013; court case 124 Mexico 2014; court case 133 Poland 2013; court case 149 South Africa 2013; court case 163 Israel 2013; court case 175 Serbia; court case 195 Spain 2013; court case 221 Australia; court case 332 Ukraine; court case 252 Czechia 2016; court case 255 Dominican Republic 2017; court case 260 Egypt 2015; court case 293 Mexico 2016; court case 346 Honduras; court case 358 South Korea; court case 396 Honduras 2015; court case 397 Argentina; court case 360 Croatia 2015; court case 381-Morocco 2017; court case 438 Dominican Republic 2018.
- 199 Court case 83 Australia 2013; court case 124 Mexico 2014; court case 133 Poland 2013; court case 149 South Africa 2013; court case 163 Israel 2013; court case 172 Serbia 2014; court case 195 Spain 2013; court case 252 Czechia 2016, court case 255 Dominican Republic 2017; court case 260 Egypt 2015; court case 293 Mexico 2016; court case 360 Croatia 2015; court case 381 Morocco 2017; court case 396 Honduras 2015; court case 438 Dominican Republic 2018.

- 200 Hounmenou, C.E. (2019) Commercial Sexual Exploitation and Sex Trafficking of Children in the West Africa region, in Handbook of Human Trafficking and Modern Day Slavery by Jennifer Bryson Clark and Sasha Poucki (Editors)., Publisher: Sage Publishing, pp.371, 2019.
- 201 Noutsougan, A.K., (2010) La réinsertion des enfants mendiants a Niamey: situation et perspectives Centre d'enseignement et de recherche en action humanitaire de Geneve/Universite' de Geneve, 2010, pp9-10
 - Ballet, J., Bhukuth, A., Rakatonirinjanhary, F. et Rakatonirinjanhary, M. (2010) Les Enfants Mendiant A Antananarivo: Quelle Logiques Familiales Sont a l'œuvre? Institute national d'etudes demographiques, CAIRN, 2010, p. 812; Court case 147-South Africa; court case 163 Israel; court case 175 Serbia; court case 332 Ukraine; court case 346 Honduras.
- 202 Countryman-Roswurm, K.; Bolin, B. L. (2014). Domestic minor sex trafficking: Assessing and reducing risk. Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 31(6), 521-538; Dank, M. L., Khan, B., Downey, P. M., Kotonias, C., Mayer, D., Owens, C., Yu, L. (2014). Estimating the size and structure of the underground commercial sex economy in eight major US cities. the Urban Institute; Oude Breuil, B.C., Schaap, A.L.M., & Merz, A. (2018). Financing of human trafficking in the Netherlands. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/1765/114411;Xian, K., Chock, S., & Dwiggins, D. (2017). LGBTQ Youth and Vulnerability to Sex Trafficking Human Trafficking Is a Public Health Issue (pp. 141-152): Springer; National Crime Agency County Lines Drug Supply, Vulnerability and Harm 2018, NCA January 2019 pp3-4.
- 203 National Crime Agency County Lines Drug Supply, Vulnerability and Harm 2018, NCA January 2019 pp3-4.
- 204 Ibid. Dutch National Rapporteur Trafficking in Human Beings; First report of the Dutch National Rapporteur 2002, p62.