

Table of contents

Seminar programme	4
Introduction to the meeting - Natalia Ollus	6
Roma women in the Balkans during and after socialism – Heini Puurunen	9
The organization of begging and streetwork in the Scandinavian capitals - Guri Tyldum	15
Challenges in identifying and following up minor victims of trafficking in Norway – Guri Tyldur Kristian Takvam Kint, Hilde Lidén, May-Len Skilbrei and Carmen Dalseng	
EU laws in everyday life on the street: Ethnographic accounts of Romanian Roma who live in homelessness in Copenhagen – Camilla Ida Ravnbøl	25
Romanian Roma children in Helsinki and Eastern Romania – Airi Markkanen	28
Hirundo drop-in center for vulnerable migrants at Helsinki Deaconess Institute – Anca Enache	35
Exploitation of mobile EU-citizens residing in Gothenburg – Denisa Sava	41
Experiences and challenges in placements and work with Girls subjected to trafficking – Kristin Bakke	48
Social work with Roma migrants in Copenhagen - Berit Arne	53
Human trafficking and Roma migrants in Iceland - Alda Hrönn Jóhannsdóttir and Edda Ólafsdóttir	57
Investigating trafficking for forced labour in Denmark - Henrik Sørensen	59
Experience from trafficking cases where the victims are Roma children – Rudolf Christoffersen.	64

Seminar programme

Mobile populations from South-Eastern Europe in the Nordic countries: trafficking and exploitation or "merely" marginalization and discrimination?

NSfK contact seminar, 3-4 November 2015, Helsinki, Finland

Monday 2 November 2015

Evening: arrival of participants

Tuesday 3 November 2015

Venue: Temporary facilities of the Ministry of Justice, Kasarmikatu 25, meeting room Kuukkeli. Chair: Ms. Natalia Ollus, NSfK

09:00-9:15 **Welcome and introduction**

Ms. Natalia Ollus, Council Member, Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology (NSfK), and Senior Programme Officer, HEUNI

09:15-10:30 Setting the scene: the Roma in Europe

Roma in Europe - a diversity of identities with a common history of discrimination

Ms. Ioana Bunescu, Researcher/Project Manager, Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare, University of Malmö, Sweden

Roma women in the Balkans during and after socialism

Ms. Heini Puurunen, Researcher, Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki

10:30-10:45 Coffee break

10:45-12:30 The realities of Roma migrants

The organization of begging and streetwork in the Scandinavian capitals

Ms. Guri Tyldym, Researcher, FAFO, Norway

EU laws in everyday life on the street: Ethnographic accounts of Romanian Roma who live in homelessness in Copenhagen

Ms. Camilla Ida Ravnbøl, PhD fellow, University of Copenhagen

Romanian Roma children in Finland and in Romania

Ms. Airi Markkanen, Research Fellow, Inequalities of Mobility project, University of Eastern Finland

12:30-13:45 Lunch (The Cock restaurant, address: Fabianinkatu 17)

13:45-14.45 Working with vulnerable populations

Exploitation of mobile EU-citizens residing in Gothenburg

Ms. Denisa Sava, European Guide, Crossroads Göteborg

Working with EU migrants in Helsinki: Drop in Center Hirundo at Helsinki Deaconess Institute

Ms. Anca Enache, Project Manager, HIRUNDO, Helsinki Deaconess Institute

14:45-15:15 Coffee break

15:15-16:15 Working with vulnerable populations (continues)

Experiences and challenges in our efforts to integrate girls from the Romanian community who have been subjected to trafficking

Ms. Kristin Bakke, Supervisor, Regional Office for Children, Youth and Family Affairs Bergen, Norwegian Directorate for Children, Youth and Family Affairs

Roma migrants in a Danish context: The need for a new approach and different methods in social work

Ms. Berit Arne, Social Consultant at the Danish Centre Against Human Trafficking

16:15-17:00 Comments, discussion and closing of the first day

19:00 Dinner and discussion (Sandro Eira restaurant, address: Tehtaankatu 34)

Wednesday 4 November 2015

Venue: Temporary facilities of the Ministry of Justice, Kasarmikatu 25, meeting room Kuukkeli. Chair: Ms. Natalia Ollus, NSfK

09.30-11.00 Law enforcement perspectives and challenges

Human trafficking and Roma migrants in Iceland

Ms. Alda Hrönn Jóhannsdóttir, Chief Attorney in the Metropolitan Police Ms. Edda Ólafsdóttir, Specialist in Immigrant Issues, Reykjavik Municipality

Challenges in investigating cases of exploitation of Roma migrants

Mr. Henrik Holm Sørensen, Police Inspector, Denmark

Commentary

Ms. Maija Koskenoja, Senior Officer, Office of the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman and National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings

11.00-11.15 Coffee break

11.15-11.45 Law enforcement perspectives and challenges (continues)

Are the rights of the child negotiable? Experience from trafficking cases where the victims are Roma children

Mr. Rudolf Christoffersen, Liaison Police attorney for Norway, Eurojust

11.45 -12:30 Questions, discussion and conclusions

12.30 Sandwich lunch

Departure of participants

Introduction to the meeting - Natalia Ollus

This meeting stemmed from my own bewilderment regarding how cases of exploitation and trafficking that involve victims who are migrants of Roma origin are dealt with in the different Nordic countries. I met the Norwegian prosecutor **Rudolf Christoffersen** at a seminar in Iceland in 2013. At that occasion, he gave a presentation on cases of trafficking in Norway of underage girls of Roma origin, who had been moving through Sweden and Finland. At the same time, the Finnish police was publicly stating that there was no evidence of victimisation and trafficking in cases concerning Roma migrants in Finland. This seemed contradictory, and I was wondering whether there are differences between the Nordic countries in the attitudes and readiness of the authorities to recognise exploitation and trafficking. I wanted to find out more about this phenomenon and therefore suggested to the Scandinavian Research Council of Criminology (NSfK) that perhaps a Nordic expert meeting to discuss the issue of mobile populations in South-Eastern Europe and human trafficking could be organised.

From an anti-trafficking perspective, it seems evident that there are indications of exploitation and also of trafficking if someone is organising the travel of vulnerable persons, benefiting from their precarious situation in the country of destination, and exploiting them either sexually, economically, for labour, petty crimes, or other activities. The meeting therefore aimed at discussing the following specific questions:

- 1. What is known about human trafficking, organized crime or other forms of criminal activities involving South-Eastern European migrants in the Nordic countries? Are there indications of human trafficking and if so, what kind of cases have come to the attention of the authorities and others in the Nordic countries?
- 2. How can such cases be uncovered? How can the trust of the local communities be better achieved so as to be able to better work with them in meeting their own needs?
- 3. What is being done to prevent and respond to this type of exploitation and abuse and how can the responses be improved? Are there possibilities for a joint Nordic approach specifically with regard to cases of trafficking involving vulnerable migrants?

In organising this meeting, it became very evident that this is a sensitive topic and that the questions noted above can be interpreted in many ways. We had invited experts also from Romania who would have represented the Roma minority itself. However, the invitation was declined because the recipient perceived the meeting to be an attempt at making a link between ethnicity and criminality. This, of course, was not the intention and I sincerely apologise if anyone has felt offended by the way in which the topic of the meeting was formulated. It did not occur to me that the invitation could be interpreted as blaming a minority for the exploitation to which they are subjected, or as claiming that a minority itself is committing crimes.

In order to take note of the sensitivities, the seminar therefore sought to discuss also how to address exploitation and trafficking without discrimination or stigmatisation, how to get around 'cultural' explanations or factors which may lead to serious exploitation being disregarded as too sensitive or difficult to address, and how to incorporate minorities themselves in the discussions concerning them. The introductory presentations at the seminar served to provide a context for the situation of migrant groups, the Roma in particular, in order to understand the societal and structural changes that lie at the core of the current migratory movements of populations from South Eastern Europe.

¹ http://yle.fi/uutiset/poliisi_romanikerjalaiset_eivat_ole_ihmiskaupan_uhreja/6734147

The discussions at the seminar were very interesting, intensive and fruitful. Several issues were highlighted, and I am able to raise only some of them here. In terms of understanding the background to the migration from South-Eastern Europe to the Nordic countries, there is a need to understand the historical disadvantage and precariousness of specific segments of the population. The focus should, in particular, be on the vulnerabilities and risk factors that make migration one of the few viable options of earning an income. The participants at the meeting also highlighted that the Roma are a very diverse group that does not speak the same language and does not consider themselves as one ethnic group. A uniform treatment therefore disregards their internal customs and habits, and their diverse identities. One of the most important conclusions of the seminar was that the focus should not be on specific ethnic minorities but to rather understand migration as a consequence of economic disadvantage, structural discrimination and stigmatization. Migratory groups consist of people looking for better opportunities, and in the course of this, some of them may end up in situations of exploitation and abuse.

The presentations also emphasized the importance of the community and family for many communities in South-Eastern Europe. Combined with historical experiences of stigmatization and discrimination, this is one of the reasons for the lack of trust in the police and in social protection in both countries of origin and destination. This also means that the family can act as a protective measure. Those who do not have family may be left to manage on their own, and are at increased risk of violence and extortion.

The specific issue of trafficking in human beings raised many views among participants. There was overall agreement that the marginalization of the Roma population in particular causes vulnerability. On the other hand, participants emphasised that it is discriminatory to make a direct link between a certain ethnic minority and human trafficking. Some participants felt that the definition of human trafficking is too rigid, and places the emphasis on exploitation rather than on the underlying vulnerabilities that lead to exploitation.

Participants also raised the dilemma that victims often do not acknowledge that they are abused, and that if authorities do not understand the dynamic of abuse, situations of exploitation remain unidentified. The question of acting against the will of victims who do not want to acknowledge their situation was discussed at length. Some participants highlighted that if the victim is a minor, the will and opinion of the person can be overruled in the overall interest of the child, but adults who do not want help or do not acknowledge their situation cannot be forced to receive assistance.² Participants represented different views and organizations but there was an overall recognition that the logic of the criminal justice system demands that law enforcement scrutinizes whether acts fulfil the elements of crime, and is therefore not sensitive to the underlying questions of agency, structures and discrimination, which may lead victims to choose to remain in abusive situations and to refuse 'assistance' from the authorities.

The discussions also highlighted that not all exploitation is trafficking and, in particular in terms of effective use of resources, it can therefore not be reasonable to treat everyone as a victim of trafficking. However, many South-Eastern European migrants may be victims of many different forms of exploitation that may not quite amount to human trafficking. Therefore, if we are to seek overall prevention of exploitation, then there is need to offer low threshold services to everyone in need. The challenge is how to provide sustainable support for both adults and

-

² The challenges of identifying child victims of trafficking are highlighted in the paper by Tyldum et al in this compilation.

minors, especially when there are almost no government funds for such work. In both Sweden and Finland, volunteers and non-governmental organizations play an important role in supporting vulnerable migrant populations. In Norway and Denmark, civil society has been less involved, perhaps because law enforcement has tended to indicate that support to migratory groups may benefit criminal groups. For this reason, participants suggested that perhaps the lack of focus on trafficking and exploitation may in fact lead to less stigmatization. At the same time, however, there is a need to recognize that exploitation and ultimately trafficking does occur within all migratory populations.

Roma women in the Balkans during and after socialism – Heini Puurunen

In this presentation, I provide background information about the migration of Eastern European Roma first by looking at the topic from the perspective of the minority and gender policy framework during the socialist times and after 1989. The second part draws on the personal stories told (and collected) by Roma women themselves in Bulgaria and Serbia. These ethnographic accounts of women's individual experiences during and after socialism adds a dimension of everyday life to the examination of the context of policy and politics. The aim of the presentation is to illustrate the tremendous societal changes Roma – and Roma women in particular – as well as other marginalized groups have had to cope with since the political and economic transformations. The general geographical scope of the paper covers both Central Eastern and South Eastern European countries. However, the ethnographic accounts and other examples focus on the South Eastern European (or Balkan) countries, from where the most of the Roma migrants have come to the Nordic countries during the 2010s.

Socialism: Roma minorities in socialist countries

In the years immediately following the end of the Second World War, the communists, a newcomer in the political landscape of the Eastern Europe, had to deal among other things with the question of minorities. During the communist era minority groups were often allowed to develop their culture within certain limits, varying from country to country. However, according to the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the ethnic identity would over time be replaced by class identity, and was not therefore considered important. The Roma, on their part, did not meet the qualifications of a national minority, as they did not have a national territory of their own, nor a common language or an identifiable, uniform culture (Barany 2000; Guy 2001, 2009; Vermeesch 2006).

Instead, in politics related to the Roma minorities they were addressed mainly as *a social group*, which left the ethnicity dimension (and thus, for instance the problem of discrimination) out of the discussion and emphasized the low societal status of the majority of Roma (Guy 2001). The ultimate goal of the communist party design was to transform the Roma into productive socialist citizens (Guy 2001, Barany 2000). Accordingly, a spectrum of assimilation policies was directed at the Roma populations (or rather communities recognized as Roma) throughout the region. The plan of integration/assimilation included mandatory education, compulsory wage labour and the (re)settlement of nomadic Roma groups. For instance Bulgaria, a country that took a harsh line towards its non-ethnic Bulgarian and non-Christian Orthodox population, targeted the minorities by pursuing the politics of "Bulgarianisation". To realize its goals, the communist regime introduced coercive measures such as a restriction (finally also prohibition) of the use of ethnic names, which were put into action through forced name change campaigns and religious persecution from the 1960s until the 1980s³. (Marushiakova & Popov 2007a; Silverman 2012; Barany 2000.)

At the other end of the spectrum of the minority treatment was Yugoslavia: in contrast to other East European countries, it chose the path of integration rather than forced assimilation. Accordingly, the Roma minority took advantage of the policies of a relatively tolerant state and

³ In addition to general restrictions concerning all citizens of non-Bulgarian origin, some of the policies were aimed at the Roma minority in particular: using Romani languages was prohibited in 1984, as was dancing and playing gypsy music; in 1987 the Roma newspapers and theatre were shut down.

started to mobilize, for instance, through exercising their right to form cultural and social organizations (Marushiakova & Popov 2007a, Barany 2000).

In spite of the acts taken to assimilate the Roma, the structural changes of the economic system also benefitted the minority in many ways, opening up unprecedented opportunities in both private and public spheres of life: work, health care, housing and education. As the rapid industrialization required an unlimited supply of unskilled workers, the Roma literally became the 'builders of socialism' (Guy 2001). Thus, in some countries by the 1960s and 1970s male employment rates for the Roma reached those of the non-Roma population, while rates for Roma women also increased in spite of relatively higher numbers of children (Guy 2009). A Romani working class emerged with significant elements of social status improvement and mobilisation thanks to regular wages, better housing, access to health care and children's day-care as well as increased school attendance.

On the other hand, old prejudices and exclusive practices at the local level of governance and administration were removed. One of the defects of the communist ideology was that it was based on the intrinsic value of equality between all socialist citizens, and hence could not admit the existence of racism. Therefore, means to tackle the problems – such as racism – which had more malign influence on minority groups than on the majority were not developed either. Maintenance of ethnic identity (e.g. through language or cultural manifestations) was not encouraged. However, during the last years of the communist rule a relaxation in regard to cultural rights took place to some extent.

Women in socialism

Socialist projects aimed to liberate women by means of education and work, and women were supposed to participate in the building of a new society on an equal footing with their male comrades. Roma women with many children, as women in general, enjoyed the expansion of social rights such as the subsidy system in housing, modest prices for services and food and increased welfare during pregnancy and motherhood. Some of the socialist policies were actually more generous than in the West (Heinen 2006). From a gender perspective, one very influential reform was the relatively early introduction of parental leave. However, in retrospect many analysts have noted that the policies which were aimed at building *gender*-equitable societies did not manage to bring about permanent change.

Roma women

The following quotations from the ethnographic accounts of Roma women of different ages are presented to highlight the individual experiences of the narrators, 'socialism in everyday', in South Eastern Europe during and after the fall of socialism.



At the age of 18 I started to work at a forklift factory warehouse as a person in charge of materials. My father advised me to start to work and he helped me to learn the job. I worked from 1985 until 1994 in the warehouse. I was satisfied with everything, the clothes, shoes, money, I even had a savings book. My father was very proud of me, as whenever we had a need for any repair at home, I did it, no matter whether it is men's or women's job. Anžela, b. 1967, Bulgaria

The excerpt depicts how the expectations of the communist society towards its citizen came true. Interestingly, the narration also shows the way the gender roles become blurred in this family, notwithstanding the common preconception that in all Roma communities women's and men's work are still strictly divided in accordance with the patriarchal order.

Well, when Tito was alive, we could afford any luxury. We could take credits, buy machines. Even poor people lived well and they ate bread. My husband worked in the Community office and he took six million dinars of credit and bought a refrigerator. We had everything, we took up credits to build our house, so we did not live in a small house made of adobe bricks and mud, but instead we built spacious houses with bathrooms... My husband passed away ten years after that, but he made me a large house and later on, another one. The whole house was covered with tiles, oh it hurts me so much to bring back the memory of the beautiful life we had. Vida, b. 1927, Serbia.

The old widow voices her feeling of nostalgia for the times of the lifelong communist leader of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito. The high importance of the fact that the abundance of goods and housing opportunities were actually within reach of the poor is almost palpable in the quotation. The description of the big house her family built illustrates how it had at the same time a symbolic but also a very concrete meaning for them as a marker of the rise of the family's status in society. The recollection below follows in the same vein:

And I started to work in a lemonade factory, by then there was work everywhere. I worked there and took a loan from a bank and we built one room. And little by little we built yet two small rooms and a living room. We have two children and we bring them up so that they don't mingle with the children from mahala [mahala: here means a gypsy quarter]. Donka, b. 1950, Bulgaria

The woman's account highlights the meaning of the work: jobs were available 'everywhere'. To have a job and a regular wage meant also that one could set about building a better life. The achievements of the past are mirrored in the acts of the present: the parents do not want their children to socialize with the 'other gypsies' children, presumably of a lower class background.

I worked in the town hall, I cleaned offices. I got a pension, beside my regular pension I am getting some additional money because I was in the war. Besides, I used to read cards and tell fortune to young girls and so I earned some money. I never lied, I had some kind of power to guess what would happen. Even now I can look into cards and tell fortune. I would spread the cards and tell what happened or what would happen to that woman or girl, so they all believed me and I earned money.

(I: When did life seem to be better, during Tito's government or now?)

During Tito's time. We all had good lives. We could take bank loans, my son built a new house at that time, and we were all satisfied. We could buy new furniture and it was nice. But what's the use of it now, he had to die, so it is difficult for us now. We could travel, we could smuggle goods from abroad. I used to go to Romania, I had a hard time with customs officers, they were checking us all the time. Kristina b. 1926, Serbia.

The examples illustrate two significant things: firstly, besides engaging in formal employment, many Roma actually kept on practicing their 'traditional' occupations and trades, like in this case fortune telling — despite the general understanding that socialism eroded the old, predominantly handicraft skills of the Roma. Secondly, it represents the hardship that the end of the socialist system brought about in their lives.

Post Socialism - "transition economy"

(I: What was the worst moment in your life?)

This is my worst moment. I don't have a pension, I don't have any welfare aid. I live with Bata, my grandson, with his wife and her son. I go to the village and beg, let me tell you that as well. They support me, but as long as the weather is nice, I go and beg. I still can do it, but I don't know for how long and what will I do afterwards when I won't be able to do it anymore. Where will I live and what will I eat, I don't know. I don't know what to do. Cica, b. 1924, Serbia.

I thank the Lord that I have 11 grandchildren and we raise them now to go to school, to not be illiterate, because our parents in the old days... many, many gypsies didn't study, but now we insist our children to study... at least to know how to write... now there is no work even for the educated ones. Donka, b. 1950, Bulgaria

In these narratives of Roma women, the material wellbeing they experienced during socialism is often praised, especially when compared with the present situation where there is no guarantee for work even for the educated ones, as the last quotation highlights. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the breakdown of the unprofitable, outmoded heavy industry and privatization of collective farms where a majority of the low skilled Roma used to work, lead to their mass unemployment (Hann 2002, Guy 2009). A majority of the Eastern European Roma were facing a new situation, where the low-skilled jobs were no longer available. As a response to the socioeconomic changes, some of the Roma turned to live on small businesses or on various contract

jobs available in the black economy, on seasonal or permanent migration, or trying to survive with any available state benefits (see e.g. Guy 2001, Tomova 2009).

The failures and unwanted results of the transition from the state distribution model to the functioning market economies affected women even more than men. In this period, the 'double burden' the socialist women have had to carry as both productive workers and housewives transformed into a hardship caused by a long-term unemployment and cuts in benefits for families with children.

Furthermore, the so-called 'feminization /and racialization of poverty' (Emigh et al. 2001) is strongly associated with the ideological shift in Central and South Eastern Europe, as populist-nationalist politics tend to reduce women's role back to the one where she is primarily a reproducer of the nation. Following Hassenstab (2015), the 'mother of the nation' ideal applies, however, only to the appropriate type of women and mothers who are identifiable citizens – while children of the marginalized groups such as Roma, or immigrants are seen as threats to the nation.

All in all, the transformation of the political and economic systems of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe has been accompanied by processes whereby women have become more and more marginalized. Women of minority groups, and amongst them Roma women in particular – although now entitled to individual and political rights – have lost the old opportunities to support themselves and their families through wage labour and state benefits.

Conclusions/ for further discussion

After the relatively 'better times' under the communist rule – at least in terms of work, education and social security – the implications of the economic and political changes have forced many women and Roma groups to rely on any available survival strategies, including the ones which make them vulnerable to crime and abuse. Re-segregation of women's and men's life spheres and the re-traditionalization of society's norms and values on its part has halted the gender equality development of many Roma as well as non-Roma women. While the poorest Roma families cannot provide education for their children and instead lean on them as providers of extra income, yet new generations are caught in the vicious circle of illiteracy, poverty and exclusion. In the most marginalized families uneducated, poor girls might become also an easy target for sex trafficking. As OSCE (2011) has reported, many children who are kept out of school and/or live in the streets are in an extremely vulnerable position and thus at risk of becoming victims of abuse.

References

Excerpts of the Roma women's stories

Пашова, Анастасия (2002) Толерантност в различността. Жизнени светове и ценности на ромската култура [Pashova, Anastasia, Tolerancy in Difference. Life worlds and values of Roma culture]

Savić, Svenka, Aleksandrović, Marija, Dimitrov, Stanka & Jovanović, Jelena (2002) Romani women. Oral Histories of Romani Women in Vojvodina.

Other literature

Barany, Zoltan (2000) Politics and the Roma in State-Socialist Eastern Europe. In Anca Pusca (2010) (ed.) Eastern European Roma in the EU: mobility, discrimination, solutions.

Emigh, Rebecca Jean, Fodor Ewa & Szelényi, Iván (2001) The Racialization and Feminization of Poverty? In Rebecca Jean Emigh & Iván Szelényi (ed.) Poverty, Ethnicity, and Gender in Eastern Europe during the Market Transition.

Guy, Will (2001) Romani identity and post-Communist policy. In Will Guy (ed.) Between Past and Future: The Roma of Central and Eastern Europe.

Guy, Will (2009) Roma: Living Conditions, Social Perception and State Policy in the Macro Region of 'Eastern Europe' before and after 1989. Südosteuropa Mitteilungen 02/2009, 5465.

Hann, Chris (2002) Farewell to the socialist 'other' (Introduction). In Chris Hann (ed.) Postsocialism. Ideals, ideologies and practices in Eurasia.

Hassenstab, Christine (2015) Introduction. Never the "Right" Time. In Sabrina Ramet & Christine Hassenstab (eds.) Gender (In)Equality and Gender Politics in Southeastern Europe.

Heinen, Jacqueline (2006) Clashes and Ordeals of Women's Citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe. In Jasmina Lukić, Joanna Regulska & Darja Zaviršek (eds.) Women and Citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe.

Марушиакова, Елена & Попов, Веселин (2007а) Цигани/Рома в източна Европа по пътя на социализма in Елена Марушиакова & Веселин Попов (eds.) Studii Romani TOM VII [Marushiakova, Elena & Popov, Veselin, Gypsies/Roma in Eastern Europe on the way to socialism]

Марушиакова, Елена & Попов, Веселин (2007b) Циганса политика и циганска иследвания в България (1919–1989) in Елена Марушиакова & Веселин Попов (eds.) Studii Romani TOM VII [Gypsy politics and gypsy studies in Bulgaria (1919-1989)]

OSCE (2011) Trafficking in human beings for the purpose of labour exploitation. A reference paper for Boasnia and Herzegovina.

http://www.oscebih.org/documents/osce_bih_doc_2012061414570456eng.pdf

Silverman, Carol (2012) Romani Routes. Cultural Politics & Balkan Music in Diaspora.

Tomova, Ilona (2009) The Roma in Bulgaria: Employment and Education.

Vermeersch, Peter (2006) The Romani Movement. minority politics & Ethnic Mobilization in Contemporary Central Europe.

The organization of begging and streetwork in the Scandinavian capitals - Guri Tyldum



The organization of begging and streetwork in the Scandinavian capitals

Guri Tyldum

NSfK contact seminar, 3-4 November







Guri Tyldum, Hilde Lidén, May-Len Skilbrei, Carmen From Dalseng og Kristian Takvam Kindt





Sample and estimates									
	Stockholm			Oslo			Copenhagen		
	Sample	Estimate	Design Effect	Sample	Estimate	Design Effect	Sample	Estimate	Design Effect
Men	58 %	56 %	2,68	68 %	71 %	1,01	86 %	87 %	1,76
Roma	86 %	86 %	4,15	70 %	63 %	2,51	55 %	52 %	1,61
Under 30	41 %	41 %	2,64	35 %	36 %	2,51	38 %	33 %	2,09
Sample size(n)		446			438			385	



Coerced to go?

- Most go back and forth regularly
- · Most look forward to go
- Most pay for transport from savings
- Incomes and expenses add up
- Many leave mother in law back home and go with spouse or alone.

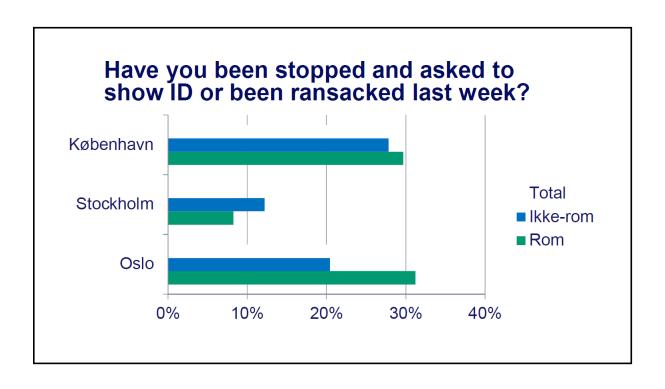
But they are still vulnerable to exploitation ...

Have you been exposed to violence, for instance been kicked, beaten og pushed while in Scandinavia, ?						
Stockholm		11 %	15 %	11 %		
	By police	0 %		0 %		
	By private security	0 %	1 %	0 %		
Oslo		32 %	16 %	26 %		
	By police		0 %	0 %		
	By private security	2 %	1 %	1 %		
Copenhagen		18 %	16 %	17 %		
	By police	2 %	5 %	4 %		
	By private security	0 %		0 %		

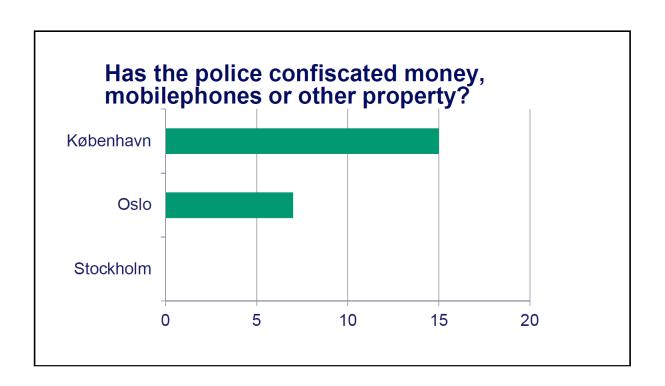
11 %

15 %

11 %



Stockholm



Different profiles of vulnerability in the three cities

Stockholm:	Oslo:	Copenhagen:
Particularly low levels of education and poverty	Debt to busdrivers	Problems of substance abuse and links to criminal networks

Challenges in identifying and following up minor victims of trafficking in Norway – Guri Tyldum, Kristian Takvam Kint, Hilde Lidén, May-Len Skilbrei and Carmen Dalseng

This article summarizes some of the main findings from a comprehensive study on minor victims of trafficking in Norway, *Ikke våre barn*⁴, published in October 2015. The study is funded by the Norwegian Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, and implemented by researchers from the Fafo Institute for Labour and Social Research, the Institute of Criminology at the University of Oslo and the Institution of Social Research. It describes the population of children identified as suspected or verified victims of trafficking in Norway, as well as the challenges in systems of identification and assistance. Our main focus is on who are identified as victims, and why so many victims are suspected, where the suspicion is never confirmed.

The study builds on three different modes of data collection, survey, document analysis, qualitative interviews; An e-mail survey was conducted among the heads of all child protection services in 182 municipalities in Norway, as well as all employees in the police who may have been in contact with victims of trafficking in all police districts. The respondents were asked to report all incidences of suspected minor victims of trafficking they had knowledge of. Secondly, we were given access to asylum application files from the Directorate of Immigration where a suspicion of trafficking had been raised, as well as court documents and information from child care institutions working specifically with minor victims of trafficking. The documents and responses to the survey were combined to construct a complete database of all confirmed and suspected victims of trafficking from 2012 to 2015 in Norway. In addition, a number of qualitative interviews were conducted with representatives of the child protection services, the police and the immigration authorities as well as civil society organizations who deal directly or indirectly with minor victims of trafficking.

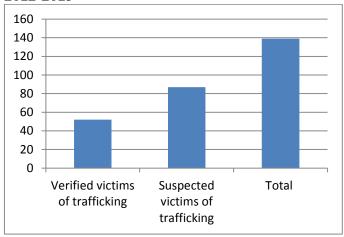
Who are the victims?

Between January 2012 and June 2015 at least 52 minors were verified as victims of trafficking in Norway. In addition, 87 children were identified as suspected victims of trafficking. This makes up a total of 139 minors identified as confirmed or suspected victims of trafficking. Of the verified cases, 37 had been exploited in Norway, while 15 were fleeing exploitation elsewhere, or had been exploited while travelling to Norway.

Of the identified victims of trafficking, we find the highest number of children exploited in various forms of crime, such as petty theft, fraud or narcotics sale. The second largest group are exploited in prostitution, while there are relatively few reports of children trafficked for other forms of exploitation (see Table 2). However, while the vast majority of minors exploited in prostitution have been confirmed as victims of trafficking, around half of the minors exploited in crime are suspected cases that have gone unconfirmed.

⁴ Guri Tyldum, Hilde Lidén, May-Len Skilbrei, Carmen From Dalseng, and Kristian Takvam Kindt, 'Ikke Våre Barn. Identifisering Og Oppfølging Av Mindreårige Ofre for Menneskehandel I Norge.', (Oslo: Fafo, 2015).

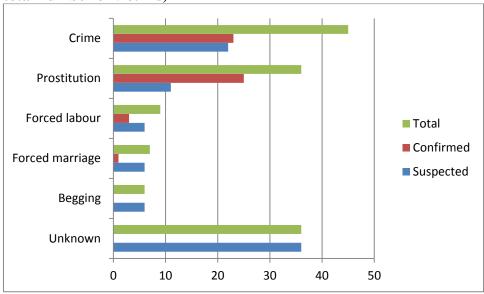
Table 1: Number of confirmed and suspected minor victims of trafficking in Norway 2012-2015



N=139

The majority of those exploited in crime are boys, while the majority exploited in prostitution are girls. However, there are cases of boys being exploited in prostitution and girls being exploited for criminal activities. The low number of children identified as exploited for labour warrants some attention. As we found a striking lack of awareness of trafficking in minors among agencies that do workplace security controls, as well as the core institutions dealing with trafficking in children, we cannot automatically conclude from this that children are not trafficked for labour exploitation in Norway. It could also indicate that no one is looking for this – and thus no one is finding it.

Table 2: Minor victims of trafficking by arena for exploitation (suspected, confirmed and total number of victims)



N = 138

If we look at the regions of origin for minor victims of trafficking identified in Norway, we find that children from Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and Eastern Europe dominate. While the majority of the victims from North Africa (mostly boys exploited in crime) are suspected cases, the majority of the victims from Sub-Saharan Africa are confirmed cases.

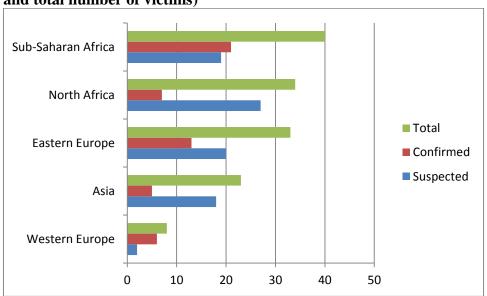


Table 3: Identified minor victims of trafficking by region of origin (suspected, confirmed and total number of victims)

N = 138

In spite of the large variation found in arenas for exploitation and regions of origin, there are three groups of minor victims that dominate. These three groups make up two thirds of all identified child victims of trafficking in Norway:

- ✓ Girls from Sub-Saharan Africa who are exploited in prostitution. The largest group is from Nigeria, but girls from a total of 9 different countries are registered
- ✓ Boys from North Africa or the Middle East who are exploited for different types of criminal work predominantly the sale of narcotic substances
- ✓ Girls and boys from Central or Eastern Europe, exploited in prostitution, theft or fraud. The largest group is from Romania, but children from 3 other Schengen countries are registered.

Girls exploited in prostitution from Sub-Saharan Africa and Eastern Europe constitute the largest group of confirmed cases, while boys from North Africa exploited in crime constitute the largest group of suspected victims. Seen together, however, the majority of all victims observed in our material remain unconfirmed, suspected victims. In many cases, the children have disappeared and no one knows where they are or if they are currently living under some form of exploitation. The remainder of this paper will focus on this issue: Why is it that the majority of trafficking cases are only suspicions that remain unconfirmed? To answer this question, we will address the challenges the police, child protection services and the immigration authorities face in identifying and giving assistance to minor victims of trafficking.

Challenges to identification

In Norway, the police, the child protection services and the Directorate of Immigration (UDI) are the main actors that identify and follow up victims of trafficking. In both the Child Protection Services and Police we find that there is much uncertainty associated with what should and should not be classified as trafficking in minors (UDI was not surveyed). More than half of our respondents say that they have poor to medium knowledge of what trafficking is.

In the survey we gave our respondents in the police and child protection services five descriptions of child migrants, and asked them whether they would follow up these children as possible cases of trafficking. Their answers differed widely. Some identified undocumented migrants doing dishes for low pay as victims of trafficking, but not a girl in prostitution who shared the money earned with her older boyfriend. Others saw trafficking in a boy working for free in his father's shop 15 hours a week, but not in the boy who sold drugs for an older friend. It is also worth noting that this confusion as to what should be classified as trafficking, and what should not, does not get better for those who have attended courses on trafficking. The variation in answers is equally broad for this group as for the ones who did not attend courses.

In other words, employees of the institutions responsible for identifying victims of trafficking do not agree as to what trafficking is, and who should be given assistance as victims. In our study we point to several factors that can be addressed to improve identification, and we will list three of them here:

First of all, when just a small fraction of the identified cases are actually investigated by the police, and even fewer ended up in court, this is a problem also for the identification of victims. Of the 139 confirmed and suspected minor victims of trafficking, 13 identified children, or less than 10 per cent, have been verified through a conviction in a court case. Court proceedings are important as they delineate the boundaries of what should be understood as trafficking. More investigation and prosecution of traffickers is not only important in terms of preventing traffickers from exploiting more children and making the victim in question feel more secure. Police investigations with subsequent trials bring up information as to how trafficking in children is organized, which makes it easier to make good operational definitions of what it constitutes, that can again be used by case workers in the police and child protection services.

Second, the indicator lists used to train case workers and others in a position to identify child victims of trafficking today, are not well suited to teaching caseworkers how to evaluate concrete situations that they have to deal with. Such general lists of elements, that may or may not indicate trafficking, fail to highlight the difficult assessment that case officers who meet potential victims have to make; most importantly the lists are too vague to make clear when caseworkers should respond and what they should do. If anything, such indicator lists may make it seem more complicated than it actually is. Rather than use indicator lists, we recommend that training materials are developed that present descriptions of forms of trafficking with minors that take place in Norway today, and that give concrete advice on how to respond in various situations when there is suspicion of exploitation.

Finally, we argue that the systems for identification and follow up of minor victims of trafficking need to take into account that half of all child victims of trafficking were identified outside the major cities of Norway. Most of the municipalities that were involved in at least one case, only had one or two identified child victims of trafficking in this period. This implies that half of all identified victims of trafficking had case workers in police and child care services, with no previous experience of handling trafficking cases. This represents a challenge for identification, as it is difficult to identify what you have never seen, and what you are not used to looking for. These findings highlight the importance of improving training of employees in police and child assistance also in smaller municipalities, and of drawing on concrete examples of cases of trafficking so that they can better understand what to look for.

Challenges in providing assistance

What happens once the victims are actually identified as potential victims of trafficking, despite the challenges described above? In accordance with the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings, a victim of human trafficking is entitled to proper attention, assistance and rehabilitation. Often, such needed assistance is not provided to a satisfactory degree. Our survey showed that there are few clear procedures for how trafficking should be dealt with, and there is considerable variation in the kind of assistance that is offered to identified victims. The assistance offered varies depending on the municipality in which the victims are found, but can also depend on what person is on call that particular day. Some child protection or police officers go to great lengths to follow up a case, whereas in other instances the cases just fall through the cracks and disappear. We have identified four reasons for why and how the suspected victims of trafficking do not get the follow up they are entitled to.

First, as we show above, for most of the identified cases there is only a suspicion of trafficking, and there is often not enough information available to verify whether this is trafficking or not, often because the child himself/herself is not willing to talk. This lack of information represents an obstacle to providing proper assistance. In cases where force and exploitation are well documented and there is broad consensus that the child is a victim of trafficking, the systems for assistance and support mainly work well. However, only rarely is concrete and trustworthy information about exploitation and coercion available when the child comes in contact with the case officers or investigators concerned. More often, the initial suspicion of trafficking is based on limited information, and suspicion is often raised mainly due to a police officer or case officer having the feeling that something is wrong, and deciding to follow up more closely. As assistance is provided to the child, new information often emerges – however, when the decision to provide assistance is made, it is often on the basis of very limited information.

Second, a lack of cooperation and coordination of responsibilities between the immigration authorities, child protection services and the police constitutes a challenge in following up the minors. There is a tendency for the different institutions to push the responsibility onto one another with the unfortunate result that the suspected victims of trafficking are not picked up by any of them.

Third, we question the extent to which it is always in the child's interest to be labelled a victim of trafficking, in particular in cases when there is limited information about concrete exploitation or traffickers. The suspected victims of trafficking identified in this study may or may not warrant the label "victim of human trafficking". However, it is beyond doubt that these children have been – and some still are – in extremely difficult situations of custody. Many are in Norway without any adult caregiver – others have caregivers that are ill suited for the purpose. The label "human trafficking" is sometimes ill-adapted for safeguarding the care of undocumented underage migrants, and other foreign minors residing in Norway without a caregiver, as these children often need time before they consider their situation safe enough to allow them to cooperate and share information. And for this to happen the child usually needs to have a safe place to live, a predictable future (including a decision on residency) and to feel secure that the perpetrators are investigated and caught. This means that the functions immigration authorities, child protection officers and police have in relation to child victims of trafficking is a prerequisite for identification, and cannot come as a consequence of verification as victims of trafficking.

EU laws in everyday life on the street: Ethnographic accounts of Romanian Roma who live in homelessness in Copenhagen – Camilla Ida Ravnbøl

The Roma constitute a growing migrant population in various EU member states, particularly after the EU accession of Romania and Bulgaria. My PhD study is centred in this ethnographic field and investigates the situation of the Roma from EU member states on the move in other EU member states. More specifically, I focus on the situation for Romanian Roma men and women who are currently living in homelessness in Copenhagen, Denmark. They mainly collect bottles for recycling and call themselves badocari. Badoacă means bottle in Romanian, and badocari translates into bottle collectors. They are very visible in Copenhagen since they collect bottles in the street mainly around the city centre and at music festivals. During my PhD project I have carried out 12 months of anthropological fieldwork with Romanian Roma badocari in the streets of Copenhagen as well as several visits to their homes in Romania. I have primarily met with them in the streets, shelters and social cafes for homeless persons as well as during festivals and other public events where they collect bottles. I have spoken to more than 120 persons and have followed 40 persons closely. In order to be able to account for variations according to gender and age, I included an equal amount of men and women in between the ages 17-70 years. Data is triangulated by comparing my field observations with interviews with my primary informants (the badocari) as well as relevant persons in Danish and international institutions and organisations and with an extensive document analysis of existing research and legal documents.⁵

For the purpose of this seminar arranged by the NSfK, my presentation has particular focus on the topics of trafficking and exploitation of Roma migrants in Copenhagen. My ethnographic data should not be regarded as representative of the entire situation in Copenhagen, since this situation is inherently dynamic in its form and rapidly changing. Rather it presents insight into some of the realities that I have met during my fieldwork in the streets, an insight that can hopefully serve to further the understanding of the complexities that surround some of the marginalised Roma migrants who inhabit the streets in the Scandinavian communities. This paper will summarize some of the points that I presented at the seminar, but will not go as much in depth, since this will be treated in my forthcoming PhD dissertation.

The paper will critically challenge two of the stereotypes and perceptions surrounding homeless Roma bottle collectors, which are often expressed in public debates. This will lead to a general discussion of whether and how the badocari that I have met also have experiences of being exploited and abused and in some cases of being trafficked.

Challenging myths and stereotypes

When I mention my research the first questions that I receive are often: are they homeless in Denmark and live wealthy at home? Is the bottle collection organised by criminal networks and do they (forcibly) transport people in busses to Copenhagen? My data shows that all my informants are either poor or extremely poor in Romania. While some can afford basic needs such as food clothing, school expenses etc., they lack money to pay larger expenses such as

_

⁵ I want to thank all my informants – especially the Romanian Roma women and men who spent their time with me in the streets of Copenhagen and who invited me into their homes in Romania. I also want to thank Nicoleta Simona Barbu - my indispensable research assistant for being such a strong support at all times during this extensive research project.

minor house repairs, hospitalization, medical expenses etc. They live in simple (and often deteriorated) two-three room houses. Others of my informants are extremely poor and cannot cover basic needs such as food, clothing etc. They live in small one-room shacks usually without flooring, kitchen or toilet facilities and with no access to running water. These families cannot afford three daily meals for their children. Poverty is the main push factor for leaving for Denmark to collect bottles or for Sweden to engage in begging activities. Small bus companies (usually consisting of micro busses) have emerged all over Romania following the EU accession and has become a lucrative business. The transportation companies charge between 90-120 euro per person each way. This means that my informants, who usually travel in couples, need to save (or borrow) up to 480 euro to pay for two return tickets. They also borrow money to cover the children's expenses while they themselves are away in Denmark to collect bottles. I deal with this issue of indebted migration in a forthcoming article. In sum, my data indicate that my informants are homeless in Denmark and poor at home. They choose to travel to Denmark to collect bottles using private bus companies or sometimes travelling in cars together with friends.

Human trafficking

During my fieldwork I have come across very few cases that would quality as human trafficking. In fact, I only encountered two cases, which I discussed in depth during the seminar. These cases reflect "general" or typical problems with human trafficking cases. In both cases the persons had agreed to being transported to another EU country to work and knew that they were being exploited by the traffickers for economic gain. In one case, the person knew that he was going to beg, but thought he would be able to move freely and to keep most of his earning (upon arrival he was closed inside a building and his earnings were taken from him at the end of the day). In the other case, the couple was promised work in the cleaning industry (unregistered work), but upon arrival they were threatened to beg. They refused and threatened with calling the police and were left by the trafficker at Copenhagen central station. All three persons now live as homeless bottle collectors in Copenhagen.

In both cases, the victims did not receive adequate information about their criminal justice process from national authorities in a language that they could understand. In the first case, which ended up in court as a human trafficking case in Romania, the person did not receive adequate protection after having witnessed against the persons who had trafficked him. He did not receive compensation. In the latter case, the couple did not want to join the programmes for persons who have been trafficked since they did not want to return home in the first place. For them, the emergent need of earning money to pay off pressing debt and ensure the children's survival weighed heavier than an abstract promise of financial compensation upon their return.

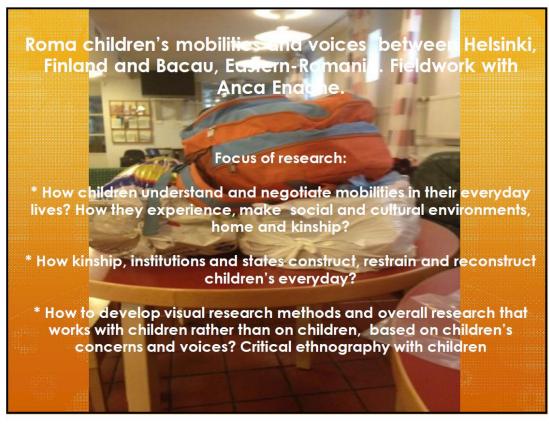
These cases are very illustrative examples of some of the complexities that are at stake in cases concerning human trafficking of persons belonging to marginalised groups, who live in significant poverty, have limited access to state services including education. They are unfamiliar with state institutions that are supposed to protect them. Rather they try to manage on their own, by addressing their conditions of poverty at home. For this reason, they chose to comply with working or living under exploitative and abusive conditions rather than waiting for abstract promises of compensation and rehabilitation to fulfil.

Vulnerabilities

Despite that I did not encounter many cases of human trafficking, what I did encounter was that the majority of my informants had experienced significant forms of exploitation during their stay in Copenhagen. Many are exploited in the construction industry or in restaurants and in the cleaning industry. They are promised a minimal salary, but often experience only to be paid for the first couple of days or weeks. After a period of not being paid for their work, they leave the work place. They are afraid of complaining about these forms of exploitation since they would be charged with breaking the law as they have engaged in unregistered labour. They are well aware of the fact that they have limited rights since they have no contracts and would have difficulties in proving that exploitation that has taken place. This makes the badocari vulnerable to abuse and exploitation also in other spheres. This includes identity thefts where their ID cards are (mis)used in tax frauds, in establishing fake companies, burglaries or other criminal activities. I treat the topic of debt in my forthcoming dissertation.

Romanian Roma children in Helsinki and Eastern Romania – Airi Markkanen





<u>Mobilities contexts</u>

Fall of communism in Eastern Europe around 1989; Visa liberalization in 2004 and the EU enlargement in 2007;

During the 19th and 20th centuries, Romanian Roma 'fled' to the Western and Northern countries; The 'asylum seekers problem', the migrants 'flood', 'the beggars problem';

(Romania as an emigration country; officially 10 per cent of the population lives in another EU country, but the actual numbers are higher (temporary and circular migration, seasonal work, etc.);

Romanian Roma Children's position in migration

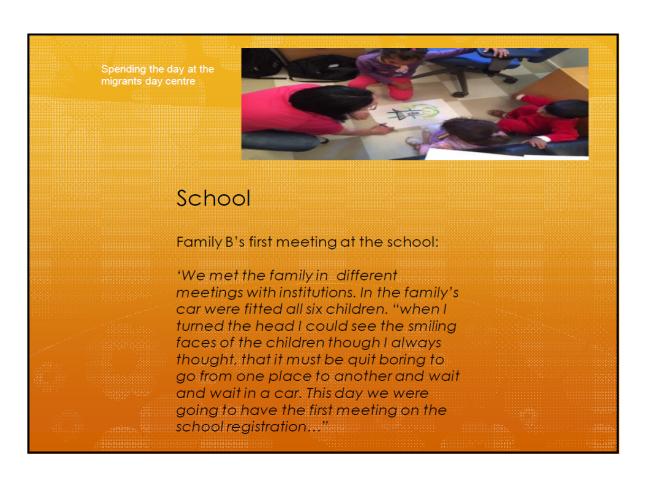
Discussion In Finland: Romanian Roma are abandoning their children. Few years ago Roma took children with them to Finland. Fear, Finnish authorities take custody of the children of the Roma families. Children are invisible, 'luggage' (Orellana et al. 2001, p. 578.), source of anxiety for others, 'left home'.

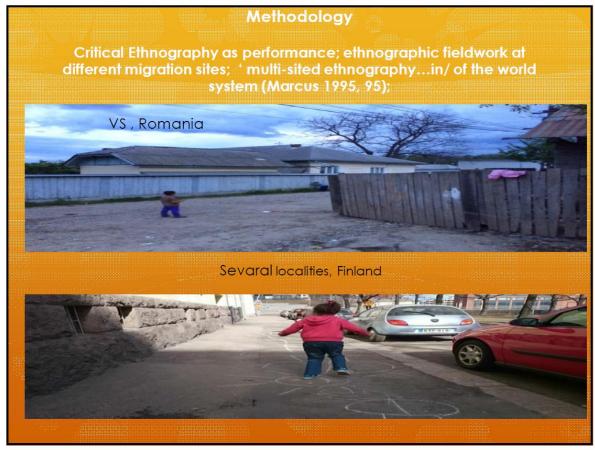
Child migration is a relatively new area in academic and policy debate. Although it is not at all new phenomena, there has always been the family migration and transnational families. (Olwig 1999; Parrenas 2001) – 'long distance parenting'/children left at home (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002/Hochschild, 2000; Margold, 2004; Parrenas, 2005; Boehm, 2008), third culture kids (Pollock and Van Reken 2001); victims, 'trafficking victims'

Persons that have a legal right to stay in Finland may still face challenges accessing health services for instance, for various reasons. EU citizens may find themselves in this kind of situation for example from the perspective of immigration legislation, these persons may be in a different kind of legal position, but in practice – from the perspective of the fulfillment of fundamental rights – they are in the same situation as the **paperless people**.









Performing with children

In the little village in Finland with Romanian Roma children at the village school: Visual methods: drawings and making, performing and storytelling through puppetry. With puppetry theatre artist Elvira Davidov .Participants' observation, is central means of our ethnography among Roma children. In the village lived Romanian Roma family with 12 children. In this study there is five sisters and brother who are at the lower level at the school, aged 7-14

No method was used in "isolation", accompanied by other children's of the school

Children draw the 'home' in Romania, not in Finland, despite asking them to 'draw your home in Finland';

Sometimes situations were "busy": children leaving the room, picking someone's bike and having a ride around the building; 'my own bike was left at home'







Mobilities bodily embodied

'On our way in the minivan was nice, but a bit crowd and outside was rainy and dark. It was exiting since we have never travelled before. Exiting to travel, but sad to leave home!'

Continuities versus ruptures

'When we arrived in Finland, I met a girl at the church and I got very well with her. At the church, I met also other friends, who are from Fin Romania.'

'At home (in Romania) we have many children to play with, and it's easy to go outside'; 'there are the children'.

Flowing agency

Agency/partial agency - continuously being negotiated and shifting in discourses and power (Foucault, 1980); Adults' centered representations of migration;

'When we were all at home, one eve and the brother played accordion, we got to hear about the long trip that was coming. Mother started to cook jam (of the fruits in our garden) immediately, to take with us to the new country.'

Hirundo drop-in center for vulnerable migrants at Helsinki Deaconess Institute – Anca Enache

Introduction

During recent years, the diverse political and socio-economic transformations encountered by the Eastern European countries have contributed to various forms of migration and mobility in Europe. In 2004 and 2007, most of the countries in the mentioned region joined the European Union, or became part of the agreement of EU visa liberalization. Therefore, the Roma from these countries, most affected by poverty, exclusions and discrimination have continued to practice various forms of migration to other European countries.

Generally, the media and politicians in the "receiving countries" have discussed the Roma migrations within the EU as a threat to public security, social security and the economy, and even questioned at times the legitimacy of the European Union Free Mobility Directive (Parker & Toke, 2013; Sigona, 2005). National, and especially local policies and regulations were put in place, targeting especially the Roma (Nacu, 2010; Sigona, 2011). For example, the harsh actions towards Roma in Italy, such as the forced relocations of Roma living in camps, the forced expulsions, and the increased surveillance, culminated into the fingerprints collection in 2008, which targeted the entire group defined as belonging to the Roma minority (Sigona, 2005).

During the last seven years various Roma mainly from Romania and Bulgaria, but at times also from the Czech Republic, have been migrating for short periods to Finland and to other Nordic countries and have generated income through varying and changing activities such as: working in formal employment, selling of a street magazine or different products, collecting recyclable materials, begging and so on (Enache, 2012; Markkanen, 2012). Transnational practices and experiences vary among different migrants, and are shaped by particular social- economic contexts, age, gender, religion, family status and so on as few researchers as Markkanen and Enache are showing in the publication ATTENTION! Roma on the Road (Markkanen, Puurunen and Saarinen, 2012.)

This paper is briefly introducing in particular the mobilities of the Romanian Roma migrants to Finland and the main service that is provided for the migrants in Helsinki, Hirundo drop in center at Helsinki Deaconess Institute.

The mobilities of Romanian Roma to Finland

Romania has been one of the main countries of emigration in Europe during the last decades. Massive social, political and economic transformations in the country and widely in Eastern Europe, as well as changes in the border regimes in Europe have shaped these mobilities. The collapse of the socialist regime in Romania in 1989 contained a process of abrupt deindustrialization (Koritz, 1991), which meant that many people became outsiders of the traditional industries and subsequently of the new transition and the market-oriented economy. This had profound implications on the distribution of jobs and welfare and therefore on the socioeconomic structure, which pushed also for mobilities outside the country, especially as the border crossings became more accessible at the same time (Popescu, 2014). Minorities, such as the Roma have been disproportionately affected by the changes. Secondly, in 2002 Romania

was granted freedom of movement within EU, while in 2008 it became an EU member state, both changes influencing the paths of mobility as well (Anghel, 2013).

The present migrations from Romania in Europe are very complex, with migrants practicing different forms of mobilities, relying on various social networks and occupying different social positions in the home countries and countries of destination and social spaces. However, the political discourses in most of the Western European countries have focused on the marginality of the migrants and negative stereotypes, constructing them as low paid laborers in agriculture, care or construction, beggars, criminals or as trafficked and oppressed victims. This has been even more often the case when mobilities of Romanian Roma have been discussed in Europe (Benedik, Göderle, Tiefenbacher, 2011; Guy, 2003.)

In Finland the mobilities of the Romanian Roma became visible in 2008. Besides the small number of the migrants, in between 300-400 people, their marginal position with regard to social, economic, political and civil rights in Finland as well in the home country raised heated and often biased public and political discussions (Warius, 2011, Enache, 2012). Most of the public discourses have been centered on what was constructed as the "Roma beggars problem" discourse that framed the Roma migrants as a homogeneous distinctive ethnic and problematic group (Tervonen, Enache, 2012.) Almost every year, reforms of laws and local initiatives proposals were discussed publicly targeting the Roma migrants every day, among which: the ban on begging, the ban on non-authorized camping, the reform of the pimping regulations, and the bill on the register of the people who are begging (Saarinen, 2013; Tervonen, Enache, 2014).

Structural inequalities, poverty and insecurities

The Romanian Roma migrants who practice mobilities to Finland have diverse backgrounds, living circumstances, histories of belongings or exclusions and transnational experiences and networks. They come from at least six different counties in Romania, and they occupy different social-economic and symbolic positions in the home communities. On the other hand, most of them are identified as "Gypsies" in Romania by the "majority" populations, which means that they have faced significant marginalization and discriminations, while present exclusions should be understood in light of a long history of slavery, persecution and discrimination (Steward 1997.)

With little exception, many of them have been left out of the formal labor market after the collapse of the communist regime in Romania, and never re-entered the formal labor market again. They generated income by working abroad in the formal or informal economy sector, and working in short term casual agriculture or other labor in Romania. The level of education and formal qualifications is usually also low, an important reason being the structural inequalities of the schools and institutions in relation the o Roma (Duminica and Ivasiuc, 2011). There are varieties also in regards to the educational levels, belonging to a family with a particular social position in the community, gender, religious belongings or the socio geographical region of region, all have an impact on the situations of different individuals and families.

Because of the limited sources of income and the precarious support provided by the welfare system in Romania the housing and living conditions are often poor as well, families having to share overcrowded premises that lack running water systems or electricity, or lack legal registration. Furthermore, most of the people that we worked with in Finland were outside of the Romanian national health insurance scheme, which meant that they cannot access the

European Health Insurance Card and they are entitled only to acute health services in Romania and in the EU.

Romanian Roma migrants face a set of shared inequalities, poverty and insecurities also in Finland. As EU citizens, they have the right to entry into Finland, but most of them cannot obtain a registration, as they cannot prove that they have a regular formal income or address (Saarinen, 2012) or have family ties residing in the country. As a consequence, they have no access to municipal social and medical services, but only to acute ones and to support provided by the third sector, volunteers or churches (Puurunen, Enache, Markkanen, 2016). The majority of them face difficulties in getting a job on the Finnish formal market economy, being therefore, forced to generate income through various income generating activities such as: selling the street magazine "Iso Numero" ("The Big Issue"), playing street music, working as part time workers, collecting bottles or begging.

Furthermore, most of the Roma migrants that we met in Helsinki and other cities in Southern Finland face harsh sleeping conditions. The majority of them sleep outdoors in tents or in abandoned buildings or industrial and recycling containers. Few of them get to sleep at times or more permanently in the places of acquaintances, helpers or relatives. The rough sleeping condition affect their access to everyday basic needs such as cooking, washing, or storing one's belongings, as well as expose the migrants to insecurities and fears of violence during the nights. As the sleeping in public unauthorized places is restricted in Helsinki for example, the people risk evictions by police officers (Puurunen, Enache, Saarinen, 2016.)

The mobilities of the Romanian migrants to Finland are quite recent, having started mainly only after 2008. They are often short term, circular mobilities to Finland but also to other Nordic or European destinations where family members or networks might be present. Many migrants migrate together with family members, while the young children are mainly often left at home, to be taken care of by relatives. In 2008, few families migrated with their children. This situation changed once families started to be concerned that the child welfare authorities might take the children into custody if they lack a proper sleeping place. Right now, mainly the families who have a residence permit and sleeping place, have children with them, but this is a very limited number.

Hirundo drop- in center

The Hirundo drop in center is a social service for Roma migrants and paperless people provided by the Helsinki Deaconess Institute together with the City of Helsinki and the Helsinki Lutheran Parish⁶. The service was launched in its present form in June 2010. However, in 2008-2010 it was preceded by an outreach project 'Rom po Drom', in which the Deaconess Institute and the City of Helsinki mapped out the situation - including the need for acute health and social services - of the migrant Roma making their living on the streets of Helsinki. At the same time acute humanitarian aid was provided for the migrants reached (Leinonen & Vesalainen, 2009).

The main objective of the service is to provide social support, information and acute humanitarian aid for the migrants who face vulnerabilities in Finland. The work is based on close cooperation with the local authorities, especially the City of Helsinki, and local parishes, as well as with other relevant stakeholders. Secondly, the service is advocating and lobbying for the rights of Roma migrants in Finland and in Europe through different actions, networks

⁶ https://www.hdl.fi/fi/konsernin-artikkelit/204-palvelut/kehittamishankkeet/2059-paivakeskus-hirundo

and platforms. In October 2014, the European Economic and Social Committee rewarded the Hirundo drop-in center the 2014 Civil Society Prize.⁷

The drop-in center provides a physical space and facilities where people can take care of their basic hygienic needs, rest and have coffee during the daytime. As most of the migrants sleep outdoors, these facilities have been intensively used. Especially during summers, there are queues to the shower and the laundry room. Approximately one hundred people use the small premises of the centre daily during that time of the year. The names that the migrants call the centre reflect its functions: it is commonly called "the shower", or "the social". The latter name refers to Hirundo's role as a transnational place in people's migratory trajectories, a place where migrants exchange information on transportation and street work, charge phones, call home and store their belongings.

From 2014 the service has also developed a particular component, which focuses on the situation of women and children. Under this framework a transnational project "Empowerment and Participation – Grassroots Democracy by Roma and Non-Roma Women in Valea Seaca, Bacau, Romania" was started in Romania in cooperation with the E-Romnja- the Association for promoting Roma women's rights in Romania. The goals of the project are: to improve the equality of Roma women and girls in Valea Seaca, Bacau, Romania; to develop a process of local participation through which Roma women and girls will acquire the skills needed to access services and opportunities available to citizens and minorities in Romania, as well as to develop capacities to take full ownership over their choices.

The overall work is framed under participatory and rights based practices, the methods and everyday actions being shaped and contested continuously by the "worlds" of the people that are involved with the services. Citizens and volunteers are also involved in various ways in the life of the center.

Final words

The Hirundo drop-in centre seems to have a very important role in easing the everyday conditions experienced by the Eastern European migrants in Helsinki, as they encounter homelessness, unemployment, a lack of access to social and health services and discrimination. However, both acute services in the migration countries, and longer-term initiatives in Finland and in the countries of origin are needed. The use of democratic and rights-based approaches is crucial in regards to all initiatives developed with the Roma migrants. However, there is need for resources to assure that people can be involved in actions on an equal base. When having to straggle to gain the daily food and income, people might lack resources to engage in actions.

All in all, such service is crucial for securing the minimum services for the Eastern European migrants. On the other hand, structural political and economic changes should occur in Europe, in Finland and in the Eastern European countries as to assure a genuine implementation of the human rights among the Roma migrants.

⁷ https://www.hdl.fi/fi/konsernin-artikkelit/233-medialle/ajankohtaista/1875-hirundo-sai-merkittavan-ihmisoikeustunnustuksen

⁸ https://www.hdl.fi/images/stories/liitteet/HDL_Kummikylaraportti_web.pdf

References

Anghel, Remus Gabriel (2013), Romanians in Western Europe. Migration, Status Dilemmas, and Transnational Connections. United Kingdom: Lexington Books.

Benedik, Stefan (2010), Harming "Cultural Feelings": Images and Categorisation of Temporary Romani Migrants to Graz/Austria. In Michael Stewart & Márton Rövid (Eds.) (2010), *Multi-Disciplinary Approaches to Romany Studies*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 71–90.

Benedik, Stefan, Göderlee, Wolfgang & Tiefenbacher, Barbara (2011), Cucumbers Fighting Migrations, The Contribution of NGOs to the Perception of Temporary Romany Migrations from Medovce-Metete/Slovakia. In Michael Stewart (Eds.) (2011), *The Gypsy 'Menace'*. *Populism and the New Anti-Gypsy Politics*. London: C.Hurst & Co Publishers, 217–241.

Duminică, Gelu and Ivasiuc, Ana (2011). One School for All? : Access to Quality Education for Roma Children. Buzău. Alpha MDN.

Enache, Anca (2012), Köyhyyden kiertokulku – Romanian romanien viimeaikainen muutto Helsinkiin elonjäämisstrategiana. In Airi Markkanen, Heini Puurunen & Aino Saarinen (Eds) (2012), *Huomio! Romaneja tiellä*. Like Kustannus Oy., 42-72.

Grill, Jan (2012a), "Going up to England": Exploring Mobilities among Roma from Eastern Slovakia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38:8, 1269–1287.

Guy, Will (2003), "No Soft Touch": Romani Migration to the U.K. at the Turn of the Twenty first Century. *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 31:1,63-79.

Koritz, Douglas (1991), Restructuring or Destructuring? Deindustrialization in Two Heartland Cities. *Urban Affairs Review* 26:4, 497-511.

Leinonen, Tuomo& Vesalainen, Marjatta (2009), Päivästä päivään, maasta maahan. Tavoitteena toimeentulo. Rom po drom – Romanit tiellä -projektin väliraportti ajalta 3.6.–31.10.2008. Helsinki: Helsingin diakonissalaitos.

Markkanen, Airi, Puurunen, Heini & Saarinen, Aino (Eds.) (2012), *Huomio!: Romaneja tiellä*. Helsinki: Like.

Markkanen, Airi (2012) Romanien elämisen ehdot Suomessa ja Romaniassa – onko romaneille tilaa EU-Euroopassa? In Airi Markkanen, Heini Puurunen & Aino Saarinen (Eds.) (2012) *Huomio! Romaneja tiellä*. Helsinki: Like, 72–104.

Nacu, Alexandra (2011), The Politics of Roma Migration: Framing Identity Struggles among Romanian and Bulgarian Roma in the Paris region. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37:1,135-150.

Parker, Owen& Toke, David (2013), The Politics of a Multi-level Citizenship: French Republicanism, Roma Mobility and the EU. *Global Society* 27:3, 360-378.

Popescu, Claudia (2014), Deindustrialization and urban shrinkage in Romania. What lessons for the spatial policy? *Transylvanian Review of Administrative Sciences*, 42 E, 181-202.

Puurunen Heini, Enache Anca & Markkanen Airi (forthcoming -2016), Päiväkeskus Hirundo – Apua ja tukea itäisen Euroopan romaneille Helsingissä. In Maija Jäppinen, Anna Metteri, Satu Ranta-Tyrkkö ja Pirkko-Liisa Rauhala (Eds.) (2016) *Kansainvälinen sosiaalityö: käsitteitä ja käytäntöjä meiltä ja muualta. Sosiaalityön tutkimuksen seuran kahdestoista vuosikirja.*

Sigona, Nando (2005), Locating 'the gypsy problem'. The Roma in Italy: Stereotyping, Labeling and 'Nomad Camps'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 4:31, 741–756.

Sigona, Nando (2011,) The Governance of Romani People in Italy: Discourse, Policy and Practice. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 16:5, 590–616.

Tervonen, Miika & Enache Anca (2012), Uusia tulijoita. In Panu Pulma (Eds.) (2012), *Suomen Romanien historia*. Helsinki: SKS, 255-268.

Tervonen Miika & Enache Anca (2014), Kerjäläisrekisteri ei poistaisi perimmäisiä ongelmia. – *Helsingin Sanomat*. Mielipide 12.6.2014.

Warius, Johanna Maria Larsdotter (2011), "And now the rest of the trash..." Representations of Begging Roma and an Ideal Society in Two Nordic newspapers. Pro gradu -tutkielma. University of Helsinki, Faculty of Social Sciences, Sociology.

Stewart, Michael (1997), *The times of the Gypsies*. University of Michigan: Westview Press.

Exploitation of mobile EU-citizens residing in Gothenburg – Denisa Sava

This paper includes a presentation of Crossroads Göteborg, the activities undertaken under this framework and a general image of our target group, as well as an outline of Gothenburg City Mission's work with women in vulnerable situation. Lastly, it contains an overview of the types of exploitation experience by mobile EU-citizens in Gothenburg and examples of cases encountered.

Crossroads Göteborg and activities

For several years Gothenburg City Mission observed a growing group of EU citizens who sought help and support in its various operations directed towards homelessness and social exclusion. As many of their needs could not be met in the City Mission's existing operations, in November 2012 project 'Crossroads Göteborg' was launched to meet the needs of this group in a more structured way. The starting point of the project was to combat economic and social exclusion of EU citizens residing in Gothenburg. Three years later, the situation of this growing and changing group remains difficult and the threshold of obtaining a job or accommodation is still high. Many live as homeless in Sweden have it difficult to find good ways for self-sufficiency and live much of the time outside of the community. Both municipal and non-profit organizations in the Gothenburg area have developed various activities and projects targeting this group, offering support both in terms of shelter but also food and day care centers for accompanying children.

Crossroads Göteborg can be seen as part of this larger effort. In order to combat the economic and social exclusion of EU citizens, it has developed an activity that focuses on offering individual advice and information dissemination. Crossroads Göteborg is an information center, employing 4 persons (one Program Manager and 3 EU-Advisers) that combined speak 9 languages. In our activities we are assisted by 7 volunteers.

Both in the large cities and in smaller communities it is difficult to avoid the vulnerability of those EU citizens that we see out in the public space. In addition to this noticeable population, it must not be forgotten that there is a greater invisible group that we meet at the Crossroads. Thus our target group consisting of EU-citizens and third country nationals with a permanent residence permit in another EU member state, who reside in Gothenburg often having at their disposal limited resources, are at risk of becoming homeless or are homeless, and/or jobseekers.

The project's overall objective at the individual level is to make it easier for EU citizens in situations of economic and social exclusion to take their own critical decisions about their lives, based on relevant and accurate information about the Swedish social conditions and their own circumstances and opportunities. The project thereby counteracts social exclusion and poverty, and promotes inclusion among the target group. Furthermore, the project aims to inform and assist marginalized individuals and those in vulnerable circumstances to assert their EU-rights, and to promote awareness of the EU-rights in the public and private sector, as well as influence public opinion and decision makers.

To fulfil these goals, the project carries out both short-term and long-term activities, looking to meet individuals' immediate needs as well as bring about structural changes, more specifically:

Short-term Activities:

- Practical information about Swedish society
- Swedish language course
- Job search help and labor market networking
- Support for basic needs, health care issues, accommodation
- Translations of documents
- Contact: Consulates, Embassies and local authorities

Long-term Activities:

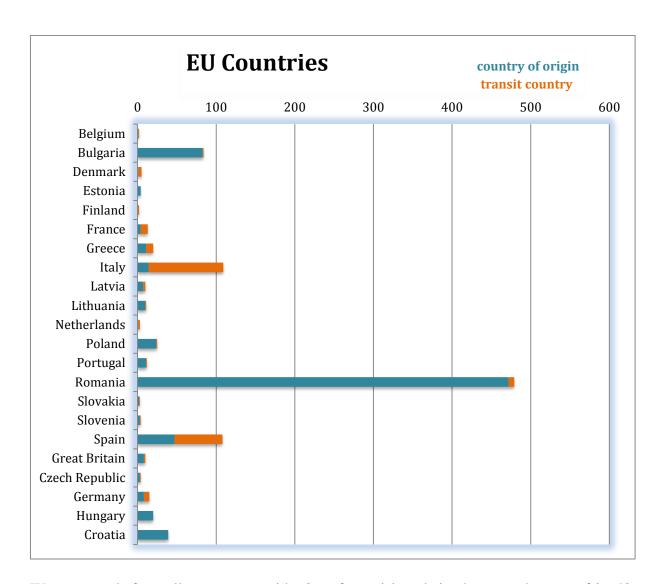
- Giving advice to EU migrants applying for the right of residence etc.
- Monitoring (Statistics)
- Advocacy
- Establish an EU network of the major NGO actors working with EU migrants
- Publications (position papers, reports)
- Academic Co-operation

At the moment our services include individual counselling, breakfast on weekdays to 30 persons on average, Swedish language lessons twice a week with the help of 5 volunteers and access to computers.

As EU-Advisers the majority of our individual counselling work revolves around providing information about EU-citizens' rights, obligations and opportunities in Sweden and information about Swedish society (such as the housing market, the job market, migration issues, and the legal system). We also offer assistance with job searching (i.e. writing CVs or letters of motivation), counselling regarding education, as well as assistance in searching for housing, with medical situations, in contacting Swedish and foreign authorities, returning to the homeland and other questions such as referrals to other activities/organizations, and confidential conversations.

Overview of the target group

From January 1st 2013 to October 15th 2015 we have met 974 distinct individuals, 34 nationalities and a total of approx. 13.500 visits. Almost half of our visitors are Romanian. The second largest group consists of Bulgarians. 17% of our visitors are third country nationals, the majority of whom come from Nigeria and Morocco. Italy and Spain stand out as the most common transit countries.



We met people from all age groups, with 60% of our visitors being between the ages of 26-40, and only 2% under 20 years of age. One quarter of the group we meet are women. The level of education varies greatly among visitors; notably 31% are illiterate or have very low education, and 30% have vocational training. At the time of the first meeting with an EU-Adviser, 54.6% of our visitors had been in Sweden for a month or less. The top three needs expressed during the first encounter are: assistance with job seeking, obtaining the social security number and accessing Swedish language course. The housing situation for our target group is very dire, with 57% being rough sleepers.

The Women's Project

Since 1992 Gothenburg City Mission has had an activity directed towards women in vulnerable situations. However, since mid-2014 we have ceased to actively work under this framework. The purposes were to offer psychosocial assistance with opportunities for change for vulnerable women through motivational work and relationship-building, and to reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS through raising awareness and individual support. The target group consisted of women living in vulnerable situations (i.e. involved in prostitution, in crime, with addiction problems and/or mental illness). During the last years of activity, an increasing number of female EU-citizens engaging in prostitution was recorded.

Exploitation of persons in vulnerable situations

At Gothenburg City Mission we apply the ILO definition of *forced labor* as "any work or service exacted from a person under threat or penalty, which includes penal sanctions and the loss of rights and privileges, where the person has not offered him/herself voluntarily". Regarding *sexual exploitation*, we use the UN definition as "any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power or trust, for sexual purposes, including, but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another".

At Crossroads Göteborg we have not actively worked with the issues of exploitation and trafficking among EU-citizens and third country nationals residing in Gothenburg; as such, the information presented in this segment is based on visitors' accounts and their stories. The cases we have encountered demarcate the following forms of exploitation:

- 1. **Fraudulent recruitment practices**. Some visitors claimed that they were tricked into coming to Sweden through fake job offers or through promises of receiving help in finding employment, and at the time of arrival in Sweden they could not get in touch with the contact person.
- 2. Visitors also mentioned that they were asked to **pay for information or help in obtaining temporary numbers/social security numbers**; visitors stated that they paid for different types of information, such as where they could find night accommodation or receive food.

Example:

A married couple mentioned that an acquaintance had offered to help them obtain a social security number if they paid 7000ϵ . At another time they were asked to pay 10.000 SEK in order to be registered with the employment office and obtain the temporary number.

Lack of knowledge of how the Swedish system works, such as entering the job market, obtaining residence papers or accessing health care, as well as lack information about resources available in Gothenburg, are major factors facilitating this type of exploitation.

- 3. **'Travel cost' debts**. Visitors mentioned after arrival in Gothenburg they had paid in instalments for the trip to Sweden. Usually it would be the bus driver that came by every week to collect the money. Those unable to pay on time, could receive an extension, but at very high interest rates.
- 4. The selling/renting of begging places located in central areas. Clients stated that they were paying for centrally located places with a lot of foot traffic; there is a reluctance to speak about this, but some of the figures we heard vary between 2000-5000 SEK. Those that do not want or cannot pay for the begging place received threats and/or were physically assaulted and/or received threats against their family in the home country. Despite our efforts to persuade persons to file reports with the police, the victims were deterred for fear of retaliation.
- 5. **Labor exploitation**. Entry into the labor market varies based on personal characteristics. The difficulty in finding employment can be caused by having low language skills (no English and/or Swedish), a low level of education or having a profession not in demand, as well as existence of stereotypes and discrimination. Another factor can be the lack of

knowledge of how the Swedish system works; persons come unprepared in the sense that they do not have CVs, letters of motivation, references or diplomas with them. Furthermore, applying for jobs in Sweden is mostly done via email, therefore access to technology and computer skills can affect their chances of attaining employment.

Examples:

A Romanian woman with no employment contract was working in the hotel industry and received 40SEK/hour.

Five Bulgarians, truck drivers, no employment contract, worked for a foreign company with activity in Sweden for four weeks. They received payment for just the first week. The case was referred to the union for transportation which uncovered that the company in question was a fake business.

Three Romanian men were working as day laborers in the construction industry. They had no employment contract and received 500SEK/day during the first week but no money at all for the next two weeks.

Two Romanian men were working as day laborers in the farming industry and received 200SEK/day.

Third country nationals working as advertisement distributors, with employment contracts, received 40SEK/hour.

6. **Exploitation in the housing market**. As mentioned above the housing situation is critical for this group and 57% of those we meet sleep outdoor (in tents, cars, caravans, in parks, public bathrooms or improvised shacks). Only 9% of our visitors have had the chance to sublet and just 3% rent first-hand a place to live in. In Gothenburg there is a shelter for EUcitizens with 32 beds available, for a cost of 20SEK/night. Unfortunately, this shelter does not meet the high demand (4% of our visitors have slept at some point or are sleeping in this municipal accommodations) and visitors have stated that they queue from 5AM until 10AM when the registration opens in order to get a place for the night.

Due to the housing situation is Sweden, with its queuing system and shortage of accommodation, it is very difficult for mobile EU-citizens to find housing. Circumstances worsen further due to the lack of a social security number, which substantially lowers their chances to obtain housing legally. Therefore, those that have the resources will end up paying a very high rent on the black housing market or 1500SEK/month for a single mattress, just to sleep in overcrowded rooms.

Example:

A family of 4 (2 adults and 2 minor children) pay 5500SEK for a single room in an overfull house.

7. **Forced to beg** (all/large part of their earning is taken away). At Crossroads Göteborg we have encountered cases where persons were forced to beg once they arrived in Sweden.

Examples:

A Bulgarian couple disclosed that someone promised them jobs in Sweden and they came here with the idea that they will be working. They travelled by minibus to Sweden. After arrival they were told they have to beg in order to pay back the travel costs but in the meantime they will be helped in finding employment. They had no other choice as they were in a new country, without housing, without money and without knowing anyone. For two weeks all the money they made was taken. They managed to flee and at the central station in Gothenburg they met other people who offered them a place to sleep in their tents. They do not want to return to Bulgaria as they have no livelihood there. They would prefer to work but in order to survive they beg.

A Romanian man travelled to Sweden with others and when they arrived, persons from the group forced him to play the accordion. When they noticed that playing music did not bring a lot of money, they took his accordion and forced him to beg. He received accommodation from these persons, but he ran away after he was beaten by one them, and came to Crossroads for help with repatriation. Despite our efforts to persuade him to fill in a report with the police, he did not want to do so. Finally, he received help from Social Services with the journey home.

If we apply to the above two examples the UN Palermo Protocol definition of trafficking in persons as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs", then one could argue that they are indeed cases of trafficking in human beings, as they include the elements of recruitment by means of fraud, transportation, the abuse of a position of vulnerability, for the purpose of exploitation.

Regarding the above mentioned forms of exploitation, our policy has been to persuade our visitors to file a report with the police; unfortunately, this does not happen quite often, for fear of retaliation against themselves or their families, or fear of losing their only source of income.

Onwards

Starting with January 2016, we will be implementing an HIV/AIDS project within the existing framework, focusing on raising awareness and providing information in multiple languages, as well as offering access to quick tests. We will continue working to combat structural exclusion through opinion building, working with vulnerable groups and to strengthen the trust of our visitors in us and in Swedish authorities. Gothenburg City Mission strives to actively work with issues of trafficking and exploitation, but how to do this in the best manner possible and complimenting existing actors is still being discussed.

Contact:

Denisa Sava

EU-Adviser Crossroads Göteborg Göteborgs Kyrkliga Stadsmission Andra långgatan 17 413 28 Göteborg SWEDEN Tel +46 31 755 36 87

Email Sava.Denisa@stadsmissionen.org

http://www.stadsmissionen.org/detta-gor-vi/gavofinansierat/eu-migranter/

Experiences and challenges in placements and work with Girls subjected to trafficking – Kristin Bakke

I work at the office for Children, Youth and Family Affairs in Bergen with the placement of children and youth. I supervise consultation and coordination in cases that require immediate action. I have a special responsibility for children and youth in situations where there is a suspicion that they have been subjected to trafficking or are in danger of being subjected to violence or forced marriage. My office has the responsibility of finding relevant placements when the municipal child protection office applies for this. In these cases, it is my responsibility to provide advice and to coordinate and facilitate collaboration between the provided placement and the child protection office. In cases related to trafficking the municipal child protection office or the courts issue a resolution based on paragraph 4-29. It is the municipal child protection office that presents the case in the court for child protection cases (Fylkesnemda).

My office has had several cases where it was deemed by the court that this paragraph applies. A majority of these cases are related to children and youth who come from Romania. These cases have involved children from families and groups of children with a connection to each other in the Romanian community, but also single children. I will in my presentation share some of my experiences and challenges we have experienced in our efforts to help this group from Romania that have been subjected to trafficking. We have had two major cases that have progressed in a longer time perspective. One case ended with a conviction while the other case is ongoing but will in all probability also end with a conviction. The cases concern four girls, aged from 8 months to 17 years old.

The case of two girls and a baby

In November 2010 the police arrested two girls, who at the time were 17 and 15 years of age, for stealing and sales of jewellery that the police suspected were forged. The girls had arrived in Bergen with a group of four adults, a boy and a baby. The group had been in several cities in Norway where they also had been stopped for the theft and sale of jewellery. The police chose to detain the girls because there was reasons to believe that they had been trafficked. The girls were placed in one of our closed behavioural institutions. The following days two women and two men were arrested when they came to the police to inquire about the girls. One of the women was in the company of a 16-year-old boy and a baby.

These four children – the two girls, the boy and the baby – were placed in an institution. After a while it was necessary to find individual placements for the three youths. The baby was placed in a short-term foster family because there were doubts as to the mothers' ability to care for the child – the baby's mother was the younger of the two girls. The 16-year-old boy was placed in an institution. The police did not find that he had been subjected to trafficking and he stayed there until he could be returned to his family in Romania.

The 17-year-old girl was placed in a short term foster care with experience of working with children from other nationalities. She had to be relocated because it was considered that the was under threat by the perpetrators. She was moved to a small institution in another place in the country and with a secret address. In the 7 months there, the girl developed positively. When detained she had reported never having been to school and therefore could neither read nor write. The girl received tutoring in her first language and in Norwegian. The girl said she had

lived on a farm in Romania and was used to animals. This institution provided her with a part time job at a farm close by.

Here the girl thrived and was conscientious and skilled with the animals. She was happy for the opportunity and it helped improve her self-esteem. The girl wished to participate in practical things like cooking and house care. In the beginning it was necessary to work on personal hygiene and her relationship to her body. She also received follow up from a female doctor connected to issues concerning her genitalia.

This experience met her own wishes and showed confidence in her, and as a result, she showed trust in return. We continually worked on making the girl aware of her own choices and possibilities for the future. When she turned 18 years of age she consented to stay at the placement but only for a short while. She had contacted her former family and relatives in Romania and they convinced her to return. The Child protection office and I tried to explain the potential consequences and risks of returning, and why she should receive continued help in Norway. The Municipal Child protection office did not have any legal grounds to keep her in Norway against her will. On the 17.08.2011 she was repatriated back to Romania. She was met by two Romanian men, most likely from her previous network.

I followed this girl's progress from the beginning to the end when she decided to return. She developed very positively and went from being introvert and quiet without her own wishes into a strong girl expressing her own opinions, smiling and capable of the Norwegian language. She could stand up for her options but was also able to receive our guidance. She was the one of the three youth I had believed would profit most from our help. The Police who worked on her case were just as distraught as we were at her decision to return to Romania. The Police had the opportunity to visit her in Romania so we know that she sadly is not doing so well.

The other girl that is, the young mother and her daughter were in placement until April 2012. This girl chose to stay in Bergen, and has continued contact with her child. This young mother received the offer of schooling and daily activities. She received a lot of guidance concerning daily chores and cooking. It was later found that one of the older women who had been arrested was the girl's mother in law and she had mostly been caring for the baby. The baby's father was one of the men that had been arrested. The girl showed poor parenting ability. She was not able to respond to the baby's needs or to protect the child. The girl was therefore placed in a family placement center where she received help.

Later she moved to another institution. Despite the consultation over several months she was not able to develop adequate mothering abilities. She was perceived as traumatized and marked by her experiences. The court case against her husband and mother in law engaged her strongly. When she experienced that these were detained for a longer period of time by the police, this affected her markedly. She was perceived as angry and frustrated and did not manage to exclude her child from these feelings. She would not let staff take care of her child and continued carrying the child while expressing distress. This influenced the child negatively to the extent that she was given the choice of consenting to placement in the earlier short term foster home or Child protection taking over the child. She chose to consent to placement. She had visitation with her child four times a week for two hours. This was later changed to twice a week for four hours. This was decided because the mother was not able to participate in other activities and the previous arrangements were to distressing for the child.

The Child protection agency had contact with Romanian authorities concerning the return of the boy who was not deemed to have been subjected to trafficking. Romanian authorities assured that they would also take care of the young mother on her return and consider a foster home placement if the mother was not deemed to be able to take care of her child. The municipal child protection decided that they could not take over care for the child as these assurances had been made by Romanian authorities.

This decision was questioned by the Norwegian Foreign Office, the institution where the girl had stayed, the short term foster care, and me as a consultant and the assigned task force from the Police (the Exit group). The child showed insecure attachment and the mothers' daily care and abilities were unsatisfactory. Several parties claimed that the child's attachment to Norway, staying over 1.5 out of her two years of age, should be given consideration. The municipal child protection office on the other hand had consulted with the court which rejected the case where another country had made guarantees for the child's care. The mother wished to return to Romania and together with IOM a collaboration was started to facilitate this process.

A few years have passed since the mother returned to Romania with her child. We now know that the follow up from Romanian authorities did not meet our expectations. It will be interesting to see how Norwegian institutions choose to handle similar cases in the future.

The case of a 17-year-old girl in placement 29

After the first of August 2012 when § 4-29 became legally applicable, there have been several placements based on a suspicion and trafficking. In Bergen we have had a major case where the investigation is still ongoing. Other parts of the country have also had several cases and placements. In Bergen we have at present two girls placed in line with paragraph 4-29. These are independent cases in the course of the last two weeks.

One of these was a 17-year-old girl who chose to return to her country in August. She was placed in October, she was apprehended in the prostitution environment, at the same time a man was arrested under the suspicion of facilitating prostitution and trafficking. The girl was angry and frustrated the first three days and wanted to be released. The Police had difficulties interviewing her as she acted out physically and verbally. She denied any connection to prostitution and claimed she was here in order to beg to pay for medicine for her sick child.

After three days she was moved to a placement facility called "Tiltak 29". This is an institution in particular for children and youth above the age of 11 where there is suspicion of trafficking. The institution is operating at a secret address, and the staff have working hours that mean that they live there for periods of time. There is always a male and female staff present. My experiences with this institution are very good. In the six months this opportunity has existed the children and youth have received good help. They work specifically to inform about rights and the roles of the different agencies. One person works at assessing school ability and offers teaching at the institution. The children and youth get necessary medical help. Daily activities are tailored individually. Our girl showed great interest in fishing. Something as simple as this offered possibilities for a feeling of competence and a possibility for building relationships.

The staff experienced the girl forming alliances but also splitting them. It was clear that she preferred some staff to others. She demanded constant attention and could react with jealousy if there was too much dialogue between staff members. When a new girl arrived at the facility her behaviour became more negative.

Given the nature of the case many topics were sensitive for the girl to talk about. Us being direct with her about our knowledge but empathic and non-confrontational led us gaining her trust. We ensured that work around her was limited to as few people as possible. The girl was torn between wanting to be honest but also hiding some information. After a while she became less aggressive and collaborated more with all involved parties. It seems to me that it is extremely important how we choose to meet these girls. We must dare to put into words their story and what they have been subjected to in a direct manner. To be direct and honest and at the same time showing respect and understanding is important in order to gain their trust.

Many of these girls have experienced a lack of care and abuse and violence through big parts of their upbringing. Many of them also have experiences with authorities in their home country which are not only positive. It is natural to think that they will need help over longer periods of time. The time and framework that placements according to § 4-29 give us make it possible to build trust, inform about rights and plan ahead. In this last case I think perhaps the girl should have been allowed more time before moving on to alternative placements. Perhaps there should be a national alternative for placement for girls in these situations. Also giving her a possibility to feel that she is not being left alone in such circumstances. The individual children or youth can quickly become "invisible" in other mainstream placements with other youth and children.

This is an area where I see that the help quickly becomes fragmented and hindered by difficulties in collaboration with a focus on what is best for the child or youth. We can quickly focus on the child's rights and forget the child's needs for care. In cases where all parties have a good understanding of the consequences of neglect and abuse and how this affects behaviour I think we are able to be of most help.

After six months at institution 29 we had prepared an apartment outside of Bergen for the girl. This was in accordance with her own wishes. She had not consented to apply for the reflection period, but agreed to further help from the child protection agency. She was almost 18 and showed independence in daily life. Connected to the apartment there was staff available at all hours. The youth that live there have the possibility to meet in a common space or to be for themselves. She was assessed with regard to her ability to attend school and assisted with things pertaining to daily life like bus card, access to public library etc. She was issued with a personal safety alarm and was informed what to do if she was contacted by people from her previous environment. She was asked to stay away from central areas of the city. The girl showed resistance in using possibilities provided for her, she had contact with her mother via internet but had an ambivalent relationship to her. Alternating between blaming her for forcing her to come to Norway and missing her at the same time.

As the start of school approached the girl expressed increasingly a wish to return to Romania. She wanted the municipal child protection to pay for her stay in Romania with her boyfriend and 3-year-old daughter. She had from the beginning told us that she had a child. Romanian authorities could not confirm this. In dialogue with her there were big holes in her story.

Contact with IOM was establish to see what they could help with. It was clear that she experienced outside pressure, she had close contact with someone she called her boyfriend in Romania and on a Sunday in August she left the placement.

We had followed this development but were left with a feeling of not having been able to help. We later found out that she had made arrangements to be picked up by a Romanian trailer/truck.

We know little about what has happened to her since. These are some of the challenges and experiences in our work.

Thank you for your attention.

Social work with Roma migrants in Copenhagen - Berit Arne

The Danish Centre against Human Trafficking (CMM) is placed in the National Board of Social Services. CMM was established in September 2007. CMM manages the social aspects of The National Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings 2015-2018. The Action Plan has three main goals:

- To improve the social assistance offered to victims of human trafficking (VOTs)
- To coordinate collaboration between social organizations and other public authorities
- To collect and convey knowledge in the field of human trafficking

Together with the NGO "The Nest International" CMM has establish a Drop In Center for women working in the streets of Copenhagen. The Drop in Center offers free medical examination and legal and social counselling. The Drop in Center is mainly frequented by women from Nigeria (some of them VOTs) and women from Romania. Both groups are consulting our drop in center but all in all they do not mingle.

Some of the Romanian women are Roma migrants and it's not always obvious who are Roma and who are not. In our opinion this can depend on in what kind of environment they grew up, their families and if they have been going to school or not.

Some women are in an ambivalent relationship with their trafficker. She loves him, she is the one earning the money and she dreams of a better future for the two of them. On the other hand, he treats her badly and she is also afraid of him. Some of these women have never been going to school and some of them have been spending most of their lives on the street and have been in several exploitative relationships. It is a long process to counsel them and in a way that makes sense to them. In our experience the woman is not used to think of herself as a person with her own mind, her own wishes and as a person who makes her own plans for the future and who work towards this. Thus the counselling is based on making her find out what kind of situation she is in, give her options for actions in her life, and help her to find out what she wishes for the future and how she can plan this.

The Romanian migrants in Denmark are the second largest group of identified victims of trafficking (VOTs). From 2007 to 2014, 40 individuals have been identified as VOTs. Women are represented in all categories and men are mainly represented in the categories of exploitation in forced labor and criminal activities. Most of the VOTs have been women exploited in prostitution. In 2015, 37 individuals have been identified as a VOT⁹, but 2015 has been atypical in the sense that most of the VOTs have been identified in relation to criminal activities.

The Center has been involved in several cases concerning Roma migrants as VOTs in example:

- In 2012 a couple from Sibiu was identified. The couple had been exploited for several years in cleaning and has afterwards received funding through the Danish Action Plan. It has been a big challenge to counsel them and help them planning their future in Romania. This is still in process.
- In 2013 a male Roma migrant was identified. He had been exploited in cleaning and used as a "house slave" in a Roma family. He has also received funding in Romania

-

⁹ Statistic from The Danish Centre Against Human Trafficking.

- according to the Action Plan but is now in Denmark again. In Romania it was difficult to help him making plans for his future, to have a goal and to work for this.
- In 2015 a female Roma migrant has been identified, exploited in prostitution. This woman has psychiatric problems and for her to make use of the funding from the Action Plan, her family and her environment have been involved in the plans concerning her future.

In the autumn of 2015, 2 out of 3 big cases are processing in different courts around Copenhagen. The cases arise from a large police investigation of different criminal cells operating from several locations in Denmark. The police operation was named "Operation Wasp Nest" because of the many traffickers, the many victims and the different forms of crime involved. A few of the victims had been forced to steal. In most of the cases the victim's identity had been used to commit fraud and the police estimates that the traffickers have earned about 26.000 euro on each victim.

In February 2015 the police took action and arrested several traffickers and 65 potential VOTs. It was a big logistical challenge for CMM to handle 65 potential VOTs at the same time. According to the Action Plan CMM had to find accommodation for all victims, securing them a place to stay as well as covering their daily needs. This was done in cooperation with the NGO's the Salvation Army and the Nest International. CMM had to clarify whether the victims were VOTs. 35 people, 33 men and 2 women were identified as VOTs, all Romanian citizens. 34 VOTs wanted to receive help from the Danish Action Plan. 9 of these victims were of Roma origin. The victims' age was between 29 and 58.

After the police action the victims stayed in Copenhagen for about 14 days. Here CMM worked together with the Romanian Embassy, ANIPT (the Romanian anti trafficking unit), and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in organizing safe returns to Romania. After their return IOM and ADPARE (a Romanian NGO) have made plans for their future with funding from the Action Plan. The victims who were not identified as VOTs were sent home by bus. Some of them – primarily bottle collectors and beggars – disappeared in Copenhagen.

All victims had been recruited in their villages, often by someone they knew, someone they were introduced to by a friend or met in a bar. They were promised a good job in Denmark (DK). They were transported to DK together with others and in DK they were typically accommodated in old houses in villages in the countryside. Many victims had to stay and sleep in the same room, the food was poor and the sanitary facilities were also poor. They had to sign papers they did not understand and were accompanied to meetings in the municipality, where somebody spoke for them. Sometimes they were moved from one house to another. Most of them never worked, but some of them were forced to steal.

According to the Action Plan the VOTs can receive help both in Denmark and in the country of origin or in the country of residence. They can receive two reflection periods. In these periods they have legal stay in Denmark. The first period is for 30 days. It involves accommodation in a safe house, relaxation and recuperation, counselling and pedagogical, psychological and legal support. The second reflection period is for up to 90 days. Before the first 30 days expire, the victim together with the social worker has to settle on whether the VOT wants to reintegrate in the country of origin with help from the action plan. This is called "a voluntary safe return".

The help the victims can receive is divided in 4 items:

1. Subsistence allowances (all)

- a) Subsistence allowances singles: 6 months á USD 200, extra USD 350 by final monitoring after six months.
- b) Subsistence allowances supporters: 6 months á USD 400, extra USD 700 by final monitoring. This is to cover basic needs of the child and school fees. The cash grant is aimed to cover the returnees' basic needs post return in 6 months during the initiation of the income activity.
- 2. Income generating activity. Can cover a small business start-up, vocational training, training courses, reinsertion into the educational system etc. Maximum is 4.500 USD. For supporters you can get 1.350 USD if you have children.
- 3. Housing support, 200 USD per month for 6 months. Can be used on rent, shelter or on improvements of your own house.
- 4. Medical assistance, 300 USD. This assistance is needs based for medicine prescript by a doctor.

Post return reintegration programs have been made for all the Romanian victims by IOM and ADPARE.

DK has never previously experiences a case with so many VOTs. At the end of September 2015 CMM arranged a monitory trip to three cities in Romania in order to follow how the casework is progressing in Romania and to explore the challenges of providing reintegration support for so many returnees and with many different actors. Before leaving DK we selected fifteen VOTs we wanted to interview, located in four different parts of Romania. We selected them according to criteria of age, different reintegration plans and location. Among the fifteen interviewed persons, 5 of them were of Roma origin. About their stay in DK they expressed satisfaction. They were pleased with the accommodation, the care from the care holders and they experienced a good treatment from the police. The return to Romania was by plane to Bucharest and by train and bus to the different locations, some of them very far from Bucharest. The victims were followed by staff from CMM to Bucharest. In Bucharest the victims were received by staff from the Romanian Anti Trafficking Unit, ANIPT and staff from IOM and ADPARE who arranged their onward journey back to their families.

It is unique for this case that the victims were sent home so fast. Normally CMM and IOM make a reintegration plan for the VOTs before they leave DK. But in this case IOM and ADPARE made all the arrangements concerning the reintegration in cooperation with CMM after The VOTs return to Romania. The interviews show that the victims are satisfied with the help and the counselling they have received post return. The victims have expressed that the counselling was good for them, even some of them required more funding. Some of them also expressed that even the help is useful they would have preferred work in DK. As one of them said: "Work is beneficial for me, help is good, but work is better".

For some of the victims their lives had changed from before they came to DK and some of them realized how important it is to have a working contract when working abroad. For most of them it was important to reunite with their families.

We interviewed 5 victims of Roma origin. Presumably these victims had the poorest background in an economic perspective. They talked about different kinds of health issues both concerning themselves and their families. There were problems like: a handicapped son, schizophrenia, tuberculoses, a husband with back problems, which made it hard for him to work, heart conditions and nose bleeding.

We are now in the middle of the process to reintegrate the VOTs in Romania and it is too early to draw any final conclusions on how the funding has helped them to improve their livelihood. What we have learned are:

- The victims were all hard working men and women seeking jobs in DK in order to make an income for themself and their families.
- The Roma migrants are a vulnerable group much like other vulnerable groups, but sometimes with more unity between them as a group. Maybe this depends on the fact that they came from small villages and knew each other.
- It is easy to point out the Roma migrants as a very special group with very special problems. In our opinion, as above some of them are vulnerable and it is important not to make them, as members of a group, too special.
- How the Roma migrants are and how they react depends on the environment and on their family relationship in order to benefit from the support of the Action Plan to reintegrate in Romania.

Human trafficking and Roma migrants in Iceland - Alda Hrönn Jóhannsdóttir and Edda Ólafsdóttir

The Icelandic population

The population of Iceland is around 330.000 people and around 25.000 are of foreign origin. The majority of the population, around 212.000 live in the capital city of Reykjavik. Expatriates account for about 7.5% of the total population both in the capital and rural areas. Iceland was one of the nations who enforced temporary amendments limiting the free flow of people from Romania and Bulgaria when those countries joined the EU in 2007. The amendment was revoked in the beginning of 2012 but it was written as a disclaimer on their membership until January 2012 so people from Romania and Bulgaria needed residence and work permits to come and work in Iceland.

The number of Romanian citizens in Iceland increased in correlation with Romania and Bulgaria joining the EU up until the financial collapse in 2008 when there was considerable downsizing in the local industry and building sector. That year and until 2011 there were only few citizens of these countries who migrated or travelled to Iceland. From 2012 the number of Romanians and Bulgarians has risen considerably to a record number arriving in 2014. The increase of Romanian and Bulgarian nationals correlates directly with the decrease in unemployment and increase in industry but the majority of the above mentioned nationals appears to come to Iceland for employment.

Legislation concerning human trafficking in Iceland

The legislation concerning human trafficking is found in the Icelandic Penal code no. 19 from 1944. The act concerning human trafficking in Iceland is based on the Palermo convention which was implemented in Iceland in 2003 and the European convention from 2009. EU directive no 36/2011 has not been implemented in Iceland. Iceland has established two action plans concerning human trafficking, the first for the years of 2009-2012 and the second one for the years of 2013-2016.

Does trafficking in persons related to Roma migrants as victims take place in Iceland?

It should be pointed out that the majority Romanian and Bulgarian nationals, including of Roma origin, in Iceland have no connection to any criminal activities. There are some known examples of cases involving migrants from these two countries, street begging and organized crime in Iceland, but these predominantly date back to 2007. There was a group of 19 Roma migrants who arrived at the same time in Iceland, 17 men and 2 women. None of them had residence or work permits as was required at the time. Most of them only had one-way airline tickets and no place to stay so they ended up staying at the Salvation Army's facilities and in public places out in the open. They had no financial means and all arrived in Iceland from Norway. Nine of them travelled to Akueyri, Iceland's second largest city, situated in the north of the country but they were sent back to Reykjavik capital city. There were indications that some individuals within the group had started stealing food in grocery stores, begging and playing instruments like the accordion in public places, especially in front of grocery stores. A large number of complaints were filed to authorities from citizens and store owners where the people were begging.

Icelandic authorities also received information that some of the individuals in the group had some form of criminal history in Copenhagen and Oslo and had therefor been forced to move on to Iceland. The individuals were arrested, interviewed and deported from Iceland on the grounds that they had no valid work or residence permits and had no way of supporting themselves in the country. They were all from the same area in Romania.

Migrants of Roma origin from Bulgaria and Rumania are, as earlier stated rather few in Iceland and there is not a well-known connection between them and victimisation in human trafficking recognized in Iceland. But there are known crimes committed by some people from Romania and Bulgaria in Iceland as diverse as fraud, narcotics, assaults, property damages, sexual abuses, threats and violations of the foreigners' act.

Is human trafficking a problem in Iceland, especially compared to the size of the population?

Human trafficking is a global issue and also takes place in Iceland. Three cases concerning human trafficking have been taken to court in Iceland, all in 2009 and 2010. This year, 2015, there has been suspicion of human trafficking in nearly twenty cases, some of whom are still under investigation.

How are the Icelanders dealing with these new challenges in human exploitation and trafficking?

The first action plan made by the government to combat human trafficking was adopted in 2009. It was revised in 2013 and is valid until 2016. It is the Ministry of Interior that is in charge of the implementation of the action plan. There has been little implemented because there were no funds that came with the action plan. In 2014 the Ministry of Interior took the initiative to establish a special cooperative team project to educate public servants and other about human trafficking, different forms of it and ways to work, assist and support victims. In the team project are representatives from the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Welfare, Metropolitian Police, National Commissioner of the Icelandic police, Reykjavik city, Human right office in Iceland and the Federation of General and Special workers in Iceland.

There was a demand for education about trafficking for public servants and therefore it was decided to offer seminars about trafficking for people who are working in the municipality service, police, workers' unions, health care, NGO's and other. Over 30 seminars for over 1000 people have been organised. There are two policemen and a social worker that have been lecturing at these seminars. There has been general satisfaction with these seminars.

There are two teams operating on behalf of the Ministry of Welfare in accordance with the governmental action plan to combat human trafficking. The first team is a co-operative team working with consultation and co-ordination and there are representatives from the Ministry of Welfare, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Metropolitian Police, the Human Right Office in Iceland, the Directorate of Immigration, the Welfare Office in Reykjavík city, Primary Health Care of the Capital Area, the Women's shelter and Stígamót (Education and Counseling Center for Survivors of Sexual Abuse and Violence. The second team is the implementation team that takes individual cases for consideration. In the team there are representatives from the Ministry of Welfare, Primary Health Care of the Capital Area, the Women's shelter, the Metropolitian Police and the Welfare Office in Reykjavík city.

Investigating trafficking for forced labour in Denmark - Henrik Sørensen

My name is Henrik Sørensen and I have the pleasure of trying to give you a short overview of our experiences during a longer investigation – carried out in 2013 – in relation to trafficking in human beings regarding forced labour. I am a police officer from Denmark, working at the North Zealand Police District, which is located north of Copenhagen – and I am most of all working with investigations with international links. I was invited here to talk about Roma people as victims and perpetrators, and these persons' relation to the real offenders.

The investigation, which I am going to talk about started out as a normal investigation but it turned out to one of most challenging investigations, I have ever participated in – because never before have I been met with so much confusion about, what did actually take place during a period of 5 years, where in total 50 Romanian citizens, most of them Roma, came to Denmark in order to work as cleaning staff for small Danish companies who were engaged as subcontractors for huge cleaning companies.

One of the biggest challenges were to convince others that the victims were victims – and not just poor people who actively agreed to the conditions that they were offered – and in some cases, also convicted criminals who actively had committed thefts and subsequently were expelled from Denmark. This challenge was present from day one and it did not end before the judge stated the verdict. In my opinion, trafficking and exploitation is often based on a cultural platform – and by that I mean, that very often the victims and the offenders are of the same nationality or at least, coming from the same region in the world. The interaction between victim and offender is therefore based on the culture and the traditions from their home country – and not from the country where the activities are carried out. Therefore, the victims and the offenders have a different look on what is a criminal act and what is just a normal business agreement.

In the Danish Criminal Code, it is stated that as main rule you have to violate the law **intentionally** – and that you somehow are aware or should realize, that you are committing a crime. In a normal case, you have a victim, who is very easy to identify as a victim. If an old lady is walking on the street and an offender comes running up to her and steals her bag – you are never in doubt that the victim had done nothing wrong and that the offender intentionally stole her bag in order to gain some profit. In our case we were dealing with Romanian/Roma victims and offenders of Roma origin who come from Serbia. In the Roma culture they have their own rules – rules that we do not know or understand, so that is the first problem. The next problem is that Romania is a country with a very long turbulent history - ending up with Nicolae Ceausescu, who ruled the country for 24 years – and the culture is somehow still based on this fact.

There is a book – named "WHEN CULTURES COLLIDE". It tries to describe the different things that make a country unique when compared to others. I have tried to point out some of the things that are of importance when you are dealing with a case like the one, that we had to investigate.

Romanian values:

- Obsession to survive
- Opportunism
- Unpredictability

- Tendency to blame others
- Social corruption

Behaviour at Meetings and Negotiations:

Deals are rarely a straight transaction between two parties. Others are likely to be involved on a commission basis, exacting bribes or demanding "facilitation" payments.

Communication Pattern:

They rarely answer questions with yes or no, so it is not advisable to ask direct questions requiring affirmative or negative answers. It is better to hint at what you want and then be prepared to read between the lines of their reply.

Take a closer look at the last one. This is not possible when you interrogate people in Denmark. I cannot write in my report that the victim said this and that – but what he actually means is something else. To highlight the thing about the "Obsession to survive" – we had to show, that the conditions in Romania are so bad, that people are ready to do almost anything in order to earn some money, things, we in Denmark would identify as very bad and inappropriate behaviour – and actually – also illegal.

Below you can see a newspaper article from a Romanian newspaper. The translated article reads as follows:

Head line: Ialomita, where houndreds of children live without their parents From the General Directorate for "Social benefits and Protection of Children" in Ialomita, it is announced, that in 2013 there were 775 reports about children, who were left alone while the parents went abroad to work. 82 of these children are now living in an orphanage or in a foster home.

Our victims are from that region – and actually 2 of the victims – 2 sisters - did leave small children back in Romania where the mother of the sisters took care of them. So – beside the fact that we had to take into consideration the cultural issues – we also had to take into consideration that the victims had very little education and had no knowledge of Danish working conditions. When asked, they stated that they, before coming to Denmark, did not know whether Denmark was a member of the EU – or whether it was cold or hot in Denmark. They would not be able to point out Denmark on a map.

We had tried a similar case once before – which at the time of the new one, was not brought to court. In that case we learned that one of things the defence lawyers were very aware of was the fact that they did not mean that we could charge the offenders with trafficking in relation to forced labour when the conditions were that there was very little use of force. Therefore, from the beginning, we put out a safety net beneath the new case – called usury.

§ 282 in the Danish Criminal Code.

Any person who takes advantage of another person's serious financial or personal troubles, lack of knowledge, irresponsibility or existing state of dependence in order to obtain or stipulate in a contract any payment, which is out of all proportion to the return, or for which no payment is due, shall be guilty of usury.

Coming back to the fact that you should have the intention to violate a law, the question during all the investigation was – what was the perpetrators' intention, when bringing poor Romanian people to Denmark?

I personally think that the main purpose was to bring in, what we in Denmark call "black labour" – also known as "moonlighting". The owner of the company did not want to pay tax on the money that he earned as a sub-contractor and he knew that Romanian citizens were very poor and were ready to work for a very little salary. What happened was simply a question of, how you – due to your cultural and ethical behaviour - treat other people when they are depended on you.

So, let's roll the film back and start from the beginning. During the period 2010 - 2012 the police faced a new challenge regarding foreigners working as cleaning staff for some of the large cleaning companies in Denmark. These people were cleaning our schools, Kindergartens etc. at night time and there were a lot of rumours about trafficking, slave-like conditions and the labour unions tried to put this issue on the political agenda. A cooperation was set up between the police, our tax authorities and the different municipalities. They made visits to the schools at night time and could sometimes see people trying to run away through windows and doors in the back of the buildings when arriving at the front door. No one would tell what really went on – and it was very confusing to find out who was working for which company. At many occasions the explanation was that the worker had arrived a few days before and had not yet succeeded in getting the official papers, but this would be taken care of the day after – they said.

So – now I will tell a story and I think that this story is similar to many other cases – also described as trafficking in human beings in relation to forced labour. In May 2013 the municipality of Helsingør reported to the police that they were afraid that slavery took place in the middle of a residential neighbourhood. Neighbours had told that two Romanian men were treated very badly and that they used the green recreational areas as toilet. Also carports belonging to the neighbours were used as a toilet. What the slavery actually was about was at that time not possible to find out. According to the Public Register and the Police Data Bases the family, who lived at the address, was well known to the police and the family consisted of 5 generations of a Roma family – from the very old woman to the new-born children.

The family were owners of very expensive cars — and a few years before they reached the headlines of some newspapers due to a 16 years old family member crashed a Lamborghini in the middle of Helsingør. Besides the Roma family, also a lot of Romanian citizens had been registered at the address in shorter periods of time. The head of the family — a man, aged 52 years, is named PP and he was one of the leaders in the Roma community in North Zealand. It was found that the son of PP, a man called DD, 36 years of age, since December 2012 had been imprisoned in Jutland — in another part of Denmark. In this case he was charged with organized shoplifting together with three Romanian citizens — two young sisters and one young man. The three Romanian citizens were about to be expelled from Denmark a few days later — and it was actually the main reason, why we later on succeeded in bringing the offenders to court and get them convicted for their crimes.

When getting in contact with the three persons in jail, they were mad – really mad. They had been imprisoned for the last five months – for a lot of cases of theft – but they had gained no profit from these thefts. They were carried out by order from DD, who was a drug addict and they told that the only reason why the police had found out, was due to that they had decided

to carry out the thefts in such a bad manner that the police could not avoid finding out what was going on.

They had been cheated, threatened, shouted at, beaten and in many other ways treated badly for a long period of time – and now they did not want to be a part of it any more especially after being expelled from Denmark. They told about the house in Helsingør and that they had been sleeping in a garage – 10-15 people together at the time – with very little food, no toilet facilities, poor salary and very long working hours, cleaning schools and kindergartens from 2 pm in the afternoon and until 4 o'clock in the morning. They told that they had to take thrown away lunch bags from the kids or taking old food from supermarket containers in order to get enough food. They told about their daily lives and the reason for staying in Denmark instead of travelling back to Romania. They did not seem to be criminals – but – going back to the book about the unique things about Romanians – they had it all.

They had the **Obsession to survive**, the **opportunism**, the **unpredictability**, the **tender to blame others** and the **social corruption.** They had been back in Romania on vacation several times – but they came voluntarily back to Denmark every time – believing that they would earn more money this time. Both sisters had small children –actually one of them went home to give birth to a little girl – and then left the girl in order to come back to Denmark and work again – and letting the grandmother take care of the little girl.

We carried out a huge police operation in order to make arrests and house search at the house in Helsingør – it was very important for us to try to confirm the statements given by the three Romanians and the first thing we established was the ownership of luxury cars. Next, we had to prove the living conditions of the offenders – compared to the living conditions of the victims. In the house and garage we found two Romanian citizens – nearly of the same age, but treated differently by the Roma family. John – that's what we call him today - was living under very poor conditions in the garage while Gordon – also a name for today - lived in the house – and seemed very happy. The house was equipped with CCTV – but not for preventing burglaries as in normal cases – this CCTV was set up in order to give the family knowledge of, whether any of the Romanians left the house.

What were PP's and DD's intentions.

- PP stated that he helped some poor Romanian citizens by giving them the chance for a better life in Denmark.
- PP could agree to the fact that he made a lot of money on the work, carried out by the Romanian citizens.
- PP stated that the living conditions and the food was better compared to what was possible in Romania.
- PP stated that the Romanian citizens were not forced in any way they could leave if they did not like the conditions.
- DD admitted that he committed fraud by misusing the Romanian citizens' names for buying mobile phones, obtaining loans etc but stated that the persons were aware of what happened.

What the Supreme Court said with regard to trafficking in human beings:

- In order to use the trafficking paragraph in relation to forced labour, it must be clear that the victims had no other choice than to work.
- The victims in this case had the chance and used it to travel back to Romania, but they came back again.

- The victims were legally in Denmark and they were in possession of their ID documents.
- The victims had very poor working and living conditions in Romania and that was the reason why they needed the job in Denmark.
- They were not victims of trafficking in human beings.

What did High Court said with regard to usury.

- PP was guilty of usury and the offence was of a particular aggravated nature.
- The victims were living under very poor economic conditions in Romania.
- The victims had bad language skills and had no knowledge of Danish working and living conditions.
- The victims were paid under 25% of the average salary for a normal job as cleaning employee.
- In total, PP did carry out a professional organized, systematically and long lasting exploitation of the victims.

So – now let's go back to the beginning. Who are the victims in this case – are they victims or criminals. If you look at it from outside – you can say:

- The victims came to Denmark in order to work not to commit crimes.
- The victims were treated badly in Denmark and they were hungry.
- They did not understand what happened around them and had no chance on their own.
- They had only little money and they tried to send as much money back to Romania as possible.
- They tried in their own separate ways to make their situation better.

Even though some of the persons now are registered as having criminal records in Denmark and even though some of them are expelled from Denmark, I cannot convince myself that they are criminals. They are poor — and they are desperate to earn money. That's all. In my opinion none of them would have committed any crimes on their own — they were trapped in a situation they couldn't get out of.

No story without an ending – so here is the state of play today:

- PP was sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment for usury.
- DD was sentenced to 2 years of imprisonment for fraud, threats etc.
- PP awaits a new trial for tax evasion.
- The Crown Witness went to England where she found a new boyfriend with foreign origin and has now a little baby and works a lot.
- Her sister and other family members came to England in order to work for her and her boyfriend.

Is it all starting all over in UK again?

Experience from trafficking cases where the victims are Roma children – Rudolf Christoffersen



Lack of knowledge and experience in THB cases

- Lack of basic knowledge, awareness and experience among police, prosecution and social workers.
- Problem understanding the entire THB phenomenon
- Difficulties in detecting traffickers and victims.
- National authorities focus on the national dimensin of investigations.



■ In the case of Roma children, their involvement in begging, other street based activities or petty crime is often perceived according to common stereotypes as a "cultural issue" and a "personal choice" that is not condoned but tolerated.





No trace of so-called 'traffic light kids' taken to Athens children's home from 1998 to 2002

Updated At: 08:49 Tuesday 22 October 2013

Chief prosecutor at Athens first instance court orders fresh investigation into the fate of 502 Albanian Roma children taken to an Athens children's home



Between 1998 and 2002, the children, who were mostly Albanian Roma, were arrested by the authorities for begging.

Are the rights of the child negotiable?



Europol rescues 30 Romani children from traffickers in continentwide raid



■ Europol says it rescued 30 Romani children from the hands of traffickers during the manoeuvres. The operation lasted from 15 September to 23 September and was directed from Europol's command in The Hague.

The Hague, 24.9.2014

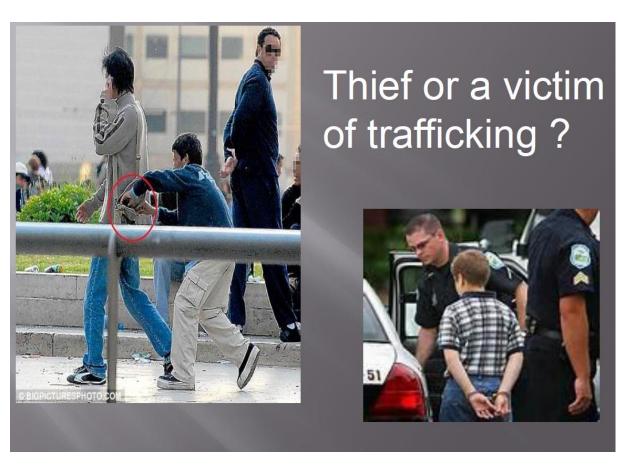


Identify the crime

"Is it a case of trafficking when a child is selling flowers on the street?"





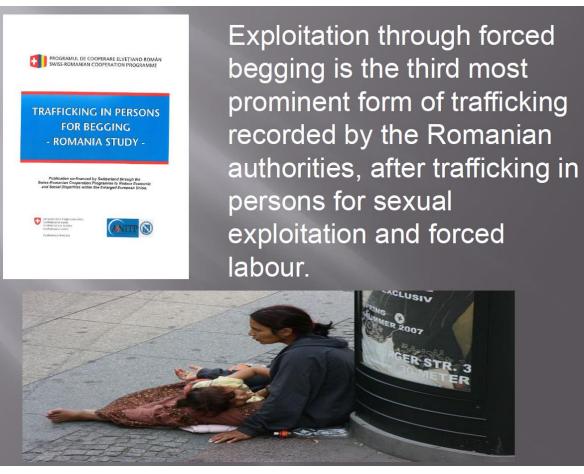






Romani children – lack of education In Romania only 31.7% of Romani children complete primary school and only 9.6% finish secondary school.

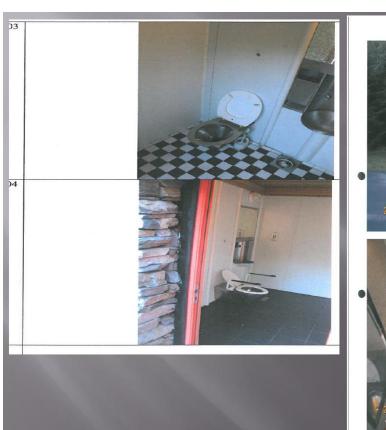








- October 2010, 3 girls aged 13-17 were taken care of by child protection, one of the girls had a baby aged 7 months. In addition, a 13 years old girl was taken care of by the child protection in Sweden
- Crime throughout Norway for several years
 - Theft
 - Fraud
 - "Sex sale"
 - Money laundring



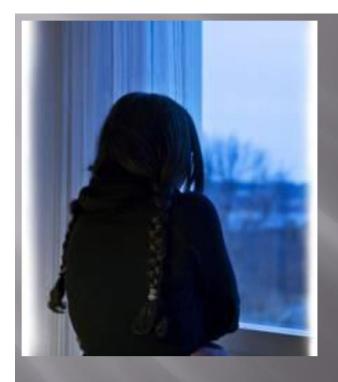








Under the skirt she had an apron with a large pocket and fake gold rings.



13 years old girl was taken care of by the child protection in Sweden in september 2010.

Shoplifting in Solluntuna



What did the girl tell the police?

I am not a victim!

You are Stupid!

I have no problem!

What is wrong with the police in this country?

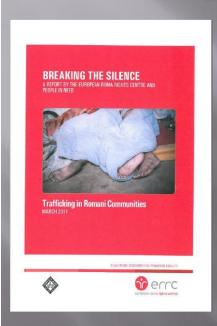
Fuck you!



All the children were married.

The youngest got married when they were only 12 years old.

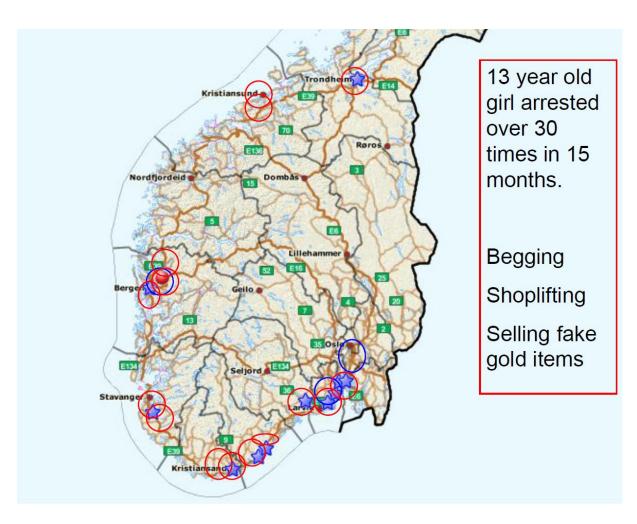
Child marriage in the Roma Communities



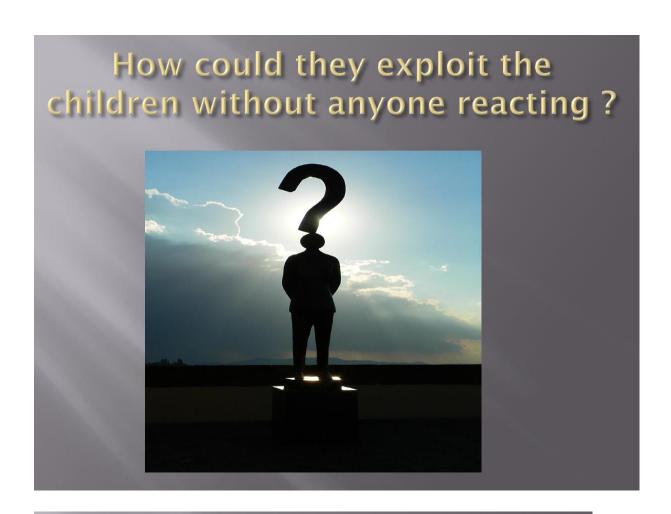
- There is often a connection between child marraige and trafficking in the Roma communities.
- □ This practice greatly increases the vulnerability of the children involved to become victims of trafficking as child marriges create the conditions for serieal human rights abuses.

What was her Story?

- She is from Romania
- She has 7 siblings. All grown up in foster homes.
- Married when she was 12 years old
- Pregnant when she was barely 14 vears old
- Has travelled around Norway,
 Finland and Sweden since she was
 12 years old.
 - Shoplifting
 - Sale of fake gold items
 - Begging







"This is how the gypsies live their lives, and we cannot save the world"

Would it made any difference if the children were Norwegian?





Why the case led to prosecution

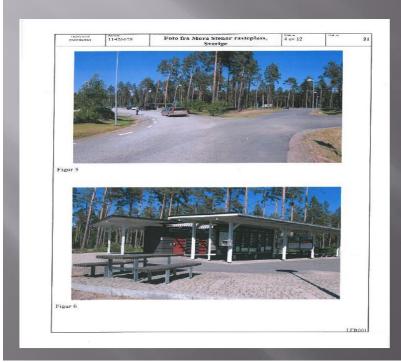
Evidence - human trafficking

- 1.Statements given from the children
- 2. Statements given from the defendants
- 3. Police register information from Norway and Sweden detailing previous criminal convictions
- 4. Witness statements taken in Romania
- Search undertaken within the homes of the defendants.
- 6.Information from Western Union in Norway and Sweden

Photos from the wedding and tablets found during search of the traffickers house and premises in Romania.



Photos from the crime scene in Sweden



One of the girls was raped at Mora Stenar campsite.

- All the victims recognised the place.

Statements given from the Children

"I did not have nights. I did not have nights where I could sleep. I slept maybe from four o`clock to five o`clock in the morning.

After stealing and begging we came home, we made dinner, then I had to do the washing up and clean the car. Afterwards I had to sell sex at ten o`clock at night".

- Police: " Why did you not go home to Romania?"
- Girl 13: "Who should I go with?"
- **Police:** "Have you told anyone that you were beaten and raped?"
- **Girl 13:** "Who should I tell? I have no mother or father to tell what happened".

Police: What are your thoughts about the future?

" I wish to go to school. And I wish to be a normal child"

What did the defendants say in court?

It is not trafficking. It is the way we live our lives...

Some of the challenges in court

- •The defendants claimed their actions were not criminal, but a part of their culture, and that the police were discriminating them because of their romani background.
- •Despite of the evidence, two of the child victims (the eldest) refused to admit any mistreatment.
- The trial lasted for 3 months.
- 130 witnesses
- •The witneses in Romania refused to have their statements recorded via audio. The protocols from the witness statements (20 in total) were therefore read out in court.

The Conviction

- 3 men and 3 women convicted for:
 - Human trafficking
 - Contribution to the rape of two minor girls
 - Forced marriage
 - Money laundering



That the basis of the accused`s exploitation of the children, lies within the Romani culture, does not undermine the charges against the accused.



Norwegian legislation does not allow reference to tradition, or affects on the charges against the accused, when a child is explicited into forced labour.

The case was built on a strong collaboration between the police, prosecutors and child protection services, and involved bilateral cooperation with the authorities in the countries of origin of the perpetrators and victims.



Some experiences we have gained...

The children can have a strong relation or attachment to the exploiters, they may not trust the authorities, and they can feel guilty or ashamed of what happened and might be afraid of the legal consequences.

It is therefor of utmost importance to provide the child with information, care and attension, to build trust, and to provide a safe environment.

