

Forgotten No More:

Male Child Trafficking In Afghanistan



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A six-month qualitative study

Jane E. Thorson, Ed.M., Lead Researcher and Report Author
Dr. Bareq Sadeq, Field Researcher

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Hagar Overview

Whatever it takes, for as long as it takes, to restore a broken life.

Hagar is a non-denominational Christian organisation dedicated to the protection, recovery and community integration of survivors of extreme human rights abuse; particularly human trafficking, gender-based violence (GBV) and sexual exploitation. We serve individual women and children regardless of religion, political preference, ethnicity, race or sexual orientation, and do whatever it takes for as long as it takes to restore life in all its fullness.

Hagar was established in 1994 in response to the prevalence of extreme domestic and community violence affecting women and children in post-civil war Cambodia. In 2008, Hagar began operations in Afghanistan to support Afghan women and children facing the worst of gender-based violence and human trafficking in gaining access to culturally appropriate recovery services.

Since 1994, Hagar has served 15,000 women and children and currently supports 1500 clients with protection and recovery services in Afghanistan, Cambodia and Vietnam. Programmes include trauma counselling, legal and medical support, residential care, education, job training and career placement. Hagar International intends to establish a Myanmar office in 2014.

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Foreword

Hagar International has worked with survivors of gender-based violence and human trafficking in Afghanistan since 2008. The opportunity to work with survivors of male child trafficking in 2012 came with the realisation that a basic understanding of male child trafficking in Afghanistan was non-existent. Hagar Afghanistan initiated a research study of male child trafficking in Afghanistan understanding that any work with survivors must begin with an understanding of the context and needs within which the recovery process takes place. This research was strategically designed to create a baseline of data on male child trafficking that would drive the design of the male child survivors of trafficking recovery programme. A secondary benefit of the research would be the written report of data gathered during the field research. While secondary to the overarching goal of a recovery programme, the research has provided new understanding of male child trafficking in Afghanistan.

The definition of trafficking in persons used throughout the research was the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish trafficking in persons signed in December 2000.¹ This definition is also the basis for the Afghan Law on Combatting Abduction and Human Trafficking, signed by President Karzai in 2008. Both definitions highlight three indicators that are necessary in order to identify a trafficking in persons case: action, means and purpose. These three indicators are narrowed down to two when the cases involve children: action and purpose. Throughout the research, these two indicators were used to clarify male child trafficking in interviews and conversations with key informants, as well as to identify actual survivors of male child trafficking in the data analysis.

The primary benefit of the research is already being achieved as Hagar Afghanistan opened a residential recovery programme for male child survivors of trafficking in Kabul in September 2013. The secondary benefit begins with sharing this research study. It will not only inform, but also challenge others to conduct further research within the field of male child trafficking in Afghanistan. There is a common Afghan proverb that says “Drop by drop a river is formed.” Consider this research the first drop in the forming of a river of recovery services for a population of boys that have been forgotten for too long.

¹ See annex 6.1 for the complete definition

Executive Summary

In Afghanistan, trafficking in persons is still viewed primarily as a problem for Afghan women and girls. Boys are seen as being more susceptible to kidnapping and smuggling. However, as early as 2004, reports began to emphasise that boys were potentially more at risk of trafficking than girls.² IOM³ and UNICEF⁴ in 2008, as well as the US Department of State in 2011⁵, again referenced the high vulnerability of boys to trafficking in Afghanistan. Yet prior to 2012, there had been no research specifically focused on male child trafficking in the country.

Based on the existing gaps in knowledge, Hagar Afghanistan conducted a qualitative research study of male child trafficking in Afghanistan from October 2012 to April 2013.

This research was produced with funding support from the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP), US Department of State, and administered by Hagar USA in collaboration with Hagar International.

Research Objectives

The goal of the research was to build a baseline of understanding and knowledge of the extent and nature of male child trafficking in Afghanistan, in order to drive the design of a culturally appropriate model of care for male child victims of trafficking based on the research

Methodology

Field research was conducted in four provinces: Kabul, Kunduz, Herat and Nangarhar. These four provinces were chosen based on first-hand reports from key informants about prevalence of trafficking in these regions, as well as the presence of IOM shelters for survivors, which made access to male child survivors possible. The research adhered to international ethical and safety standards for research with children.

The research was strategic in that it not only included stakeholders involved in combatting child trafficking, but also gave a voice to male child survivors of trafficking and those at risk of trafficking, through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). From conversations with 210 stakeholders, including 130 boys, data on three major themes - male child trafficking, male child survivors of trafficking and programme design - was collected resulting in new insights into male child trafficking in Afghanistan, as well as the recovery needs of male child survivors of trafficking.

Afghan Context

Afghanistan has the components necessary for the prevention, protection and prosecution of child trafficking:

- Law Countering Abduction and Human Trafficking/Smuggling (signed in 2008)
- High Commission on Combatting Human Trafficking

² UNICEF, Child trafficking in Afghanistan, 2004.

³ IOM, Trafficking in persons in Afghanistan: Field survey report, 2008.

⁴ UNICEF, Discussion paper on child trafficking, 2008.

⁵ US Department of State, Trafficking in persons report, 2011.

- Child Protection Action Network (CPAN)
- Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC)
- Attorney Department within the National Directorate of Security (responsible for prosecution of trafficking cases)

However, the capacity of these components is still quite limited and will require committed support from external sources to not only ensure that the understanding and knowledge of male child trafficking is present, but also that the proper course of action is derived from that knowledge.

Overall, the understanding of trafficking in persons continues to be plagued by confusion. Male child survivors of trafficking are more likely to be identified as children in conflict with the law, and referred to the Juvenile Rehabilitation Centres (JRCs). In the research findings, seven of the 13 confirmed cases of male child victims of trafficking⁶ had not been identified as victims of trafficking by local actors. Furthermore, five of the seven had been referred to the JRCs on criminal charges.

The vulnerabilities of boys in Afghanistan are different.⁷ Services designed specifically for male child survivors of trafficking do not exist. Moreover, services for victims of trafficking in general are limited by funding and lack the capacity to meet the needs of male child victims of trafficking who have been sexually exploited. Due to security issues and lack of capacity, service providers are unable to work with boys who have been recruited by military groups.

⁶ Identified by Hagar Afghanistan research staff, based on definition of trafficking within the Afghan Law and Palermo Protocol. 2000.

⁷ UNICEF. Discussion paper on child trafficking in Afghanistan. 2008

Key findings

- Eighty-five per cent of key informants acknowledged that male child trafficking occurs in Afghanistan
- Boys aged 13 and younger are most likely to be trafficked for sexual exploitation
- Boys aged 14-18 are more likely trafficked for forced labour or as child soldiers
- Boys in the North of Afghanistan are most at risk of trafficking
- There is limited understanding of male child trafficking and a culture of honour and shame quickly buries discussions deemed shameful
- Services to support survivors of male child trafficking do not exist in Afghanistan

Male Child Trafficking

Boys from Badakhshan, Takhar, Baghlan, Kunduz and Balkh provinces in the North region of Afghanistan appear most at risk of trafficking. Fifty per cent of the stakeholders referred to the North as the most likely place of origin for male child victims of trafficking. Additionally, six out of the 13 boys identified as victims of trafficking during the field research also came from the Northern provinces.

Destination provinces are more varied, and appear to depend on the type of exploitation. Sexual exploitation, including bacha bazi (dancing boys), is more likely to be trafficked internally. Trafficking for forced labour occurs both internally and externally, while recruitment of child soldiers is more

likely to involve external trafficking, specifically to Pakistan.⁸

The research was able to identify three main types of exploitation of male child survivors of trafficking:

- Sexual (including bacha bazi)
- Forced labour
- Child recruitment for military groups

“During the night, they would make me dance and one of them would do bad work (rape) on me again and again”

Boys, ages 13 and younger are most likely to be trafficked for sexual exploitation. Within sexual exploitation, at least 50 per cent of the cases were related to bacha bazi, and the sexual abuse and rape within these cases appeared to be a daily occurrence. Sexual exploitation crossed lines into forced labour.

Boys, ages 14-18, were more likely trafficked for forced labour or as child soldiers. Types of labour for recruitment focused on assistant truck drivers, brick kilns and mines, as well as children working on the street. Exploitation of child soldiers was primarily referenced in connection to children recruited for suicide bombers by the armed opposition groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan. However, there were references to recruitment by the Afghan --National Army.

Perpetrators were very strategic, taking time to hunt for boys who fit the following criteria:

- Those unaccompanied
- Those from unstable family backgrounds⁹

⁸ Although the boys seem to return to Afghanistan to implement the attacks.

⁹ Due to national and economic insecurity.

- Those under the age of 15

The main tactics used by the perpetrators involved promises of work and care.

“It is getting late, where will you go, come with us and we will treat you like our brother.”

Male Child Victims of Trafficking

Male child survivors of trafficking interviewed ranged from 12-18 years old, and were unaccompanied at the time of trafficking. Three main factors appear to have impacted their vulnerability:

- Economic: lack of employment opportunities and debt
- Family: conflict with head of household, loss of parents, second marriages
- Education: lack of access to quality religious education

Male child survivors of trafficking see family as essential to their recovery. Most responses to questions about their needs included a focus on being reintegrated with family, assisting heads of family with employment, and finding a safe, long term place to live, for those who do not have a family.

Male child survivors of trafficking need recovery services tailored for their specific types of exploitation. Boys trafficked for sexual exploitation were less educated and were dealing with shame and hopelessness. On the other hand, boys exploited by military groups appeared well educated, had good social skills and expressed feelings of anger at the charges placed against them.

Programme Design

When given the option to design their own recovery programmes, male child survivors focused on programmes that met both their

physical and future safety needs. Physical safety focused on reintegration with family and a safe, stable place to live. Future safety focused on vocational training and educational opportunities.

Considerations for programme design:

A culturally appropriate model of care for male child survivors of trafficking should include:

1. Comprehensive recovery services including vocational training, education, health, legal and counselling
2. Family focus
3. Small staff-to-client ratio
4. Individualised case planning
5. Close cooperation with MoLSA and CPAN

Key Recommendations

The following key recommendations are focused on increasing understanding of male child trafficking and the paradigms of protection, prevention and prosecution within male child trafficking. They are based on the data collected during the field research.

Research:

1. Target future research on specific types of exploitation, such as labour.
2. Explore the different types of action involved in male child trafficking in Afghanistan, moving past the more common types of recruitment, transport or harbouring.

Protection:

1. Coordinate with existing Afghan police training programmes, such as Hagar's Trafficking-in-Persons

Capacity-building in Afghanistan Project (TIPCAP), to include basic training on identifying and protecting male child victims and survivors of trafficking.

2. Establish a long-term residential-based recovery programme within an urban centre for male child survivors of trafficking who are not able to return to their families.

Prevention:

1. Continue to build the capacity of the existing CPAN reintegration process to ensure that the best interests of the child are the priority through continued mentoring of current social workers, and offering training on male child trafficking, child rights and trauma informed care.
2. Collaborate with community development service providers in the provinces of Badakhshan, Kunduz, Takhar and Balkh to provide basic training on male child trafficking awareness within their existing community development programmes.

Prosecution:

1. Improve access to justice for male child survivors of trafficking by training caregivers, organisations and government ministries on the legal rights and options available for male child survivors of trafficking.
2. Implement training on the identification of perpetrators of male child trafficking within the Attorney General Directorate, the Ministry of Justice and the NDS Attorney Department.

Definitions

Aschiana: Small, grassroots Afghan organisation focused on providing services and support to street children.

At-risk populations: Boys who are in situations that make them more vulnerable to becoming a victim of trafficking.

Bacha Bazi: (Boy-play in Persian). A form of child sexual slavery and prostitution in which a young, prepubescent boy is recruited for dance and sexual entertainment.¹⁰

Child protection: Safe from abuse, neglect, exploitation and violence. Access to legal support and equipped to protect themselves.¹¹

Child soldier: A child who has been recruited for the purposes of engaging in armed conflict, being trained and used as a suicide bomber, or for the purpose of work within the camps of armed groups, both government or anti-government.

Communities at risk: A group of families/people, living in a specific area that has created a context of vulnerability for children (such as high unemployment, lack of access to educational services, on-going conflict, IDPs, returning refugees).

Exploitation: The use of a person or child for the benefit of others.¹²

Family instability: Lack of stability within a family context. It can be seen in the economic, family structure, and/or relational context of a family.

Future safety: Access to resources that will improve the stability and security in the future, such as education and vocational training.

Key Informants: Title given to those interviewed during the field research.

Labour exploitation: The use of a person or child for work, exacted under menace and undertaken involuntarily.¹³

Lewat: Persian for males who have sex with other males.

Madrassa: Arabic for school. In Afghanistan it refers to an educational institution focused on Islamic religious instruction.

Male child trafficking: Recruitment, transport, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a boy, under the age of 18, for the purpose of exploitation.

Measurement of communities at risk: Combination of the recorded places of origins of at risk populations, as well as provinces mentioned as high areas of trafficking by experts by Afghan government officials, international NGOs, caregivers.

¹⁰ Wikipedia. Bacha Bazi, accessed at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bacha_bazi#cite_note-1

¹¹ Hagar International. Spheres of change working group, 2013.

¹² Hagar International. Client Protection Standards, available at <http://hagarinternational.org/international/files/Hagar-International-Client-Protection-Standards.pdf>

¹³ International Labour Organisation. Forced Labour Convention, C29, 28 June 1930, C29, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ddb621f2a.html>

Movement: The act of movement can, but does not have to, include movement across borders, both national or provincial. Movement could consist of transfer from one home to another or transit from village to village, as well as movement to and from home on a daily basis. *Movement is not necessary for trafficking to occur.*

Mullah: An educated Muslim trained in religious law and doctrine.¹⁴

PARSA: Non-government organisation helping disadvantaged women and children in Afghanistan.

Physical safety: Consistent provision of basic needs, such as shelter, food, and water.

Primary informants: Title given to key informants in research who were Afghan boys, under the age of 18.

Qachaq e ensan: Persian for smuggling of humans.

Secondary informants: Title given to key informants in research who were NOT Afghan boys, such as adult caregivers, programme managers, directors and officials within the government of Afghanistan.

Sexual exploitation: The use of a person or child for commercial sexual acts, including but not limited to prostitution.

Stakeholders: International organisations, civil society organisations, GIRoA ministries and others working within protection, prevention and prosecution of male child trafficking.

Survivor of trafficking: A male child who has been a victim of trafficking, but has been removed from the exploitative situation.

Tabish: Social health education organisation based in Afghanistan

Trafficking in persons: Recruitment, movement, transfer, harbouring, or receipt of persons, by means of force, threat, fraud, deception, coercion, or abuse of power, for the purpose of exploitation.¹⁵

Tejarat e ensan: Persian for business of humans.

Unaccompanied minors: Children under 18 years old, who have been separated from both parents and are not being cared for by an adult, who, by law, is meant to do so.¹⁶

Victim of trafficking: A male child who is in a current situation of trafficking for exploitation.

¹⁴ Merriam Webster dictionary. Mullah, accessed at <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/mullah>

¹⁵ Based on 2008 Afghan law and 2000 Palermo Protocol

¹⁶ United Nations. Convention on the rights of the child, accessed at <http://cmsny.org/2012/10/15/the-rise-in-unaccompanied-minors-a-global-humanitarian-crisis/#ixzz2dLhUVWcA>

Acronyms

AGO: Attorney General's Office

AIHRC: Afghan International Human Rights Commission

ALP: Afghan Local Police

ANA: Afghan National Army

AOG: Armed Opposition Groups

CHA: Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance

CiC: Children in Crisis

CPAN: Child Protection Action Network

CSO: Civil Society Organisation

DoLSAMD: Provincial Department of Labour, Social Affairs, Martyrs and the Disabled

DoRR: Provincial Department of Refugees and Repatriation

EUPOL: European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan

FGD: Focus Group Discussions

GBV: Gender Based Violence

GIRoA: Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan

GNI: Gross National Income

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IDP: Internally Displaced People

IO: International Organisation

IOM: International Office of Migration

JRC: Juvenile Rehabilitation Centre

LBAO: Let's Build Afghanistan Organisation (NGO in Afghanistan)

Mol: Ministry of Interior

MoJ: Ministry of Justice

MoLSAMD: Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs, Martyrs and the Disabled.

MoPH: Ministry of Public Health

MSM: Men who have Sex with Men

NDS: National Directorate of Security

NGO: Non-government Organisation

NSRDO: New Society Reconstruction and Development Organisation (NGO in Afghanistan)

TDH: Terre des Hommes

TIP: Trafficking in Persons

TIPCAP: Trafficking in Persons Capacity Building in Afghanistan Programme

UAM: Unaccompanied Minor

UN: United Nations

UNAMA: United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNICEF: United Nations Children Fund

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

VoT: Victim of Trafficking

Methodology

Purpose:

Focused on building knowledge and understanding of male child trafficking in Afghanistan, the purpose of the research is threefold:

- Create a baseline of data that will influence service provision for male child survivors
- Motivate future research
- Increase awareness, within Afghanistan and at a global level, about the needs facing male child survivors of trafficking

Research team:

The research team, while small, was strategically chosen:

- An international researcher with prior experience living and working in Afghanistan
- A national researcher with fluency in both Dari and Pashto
- Both researchers had prior experience working with vulnerable populations and culturally sensitive issues

These characteristics created a strong foundation for designing and implementing a research study that was culturally appropriate.

Methodology:

Not wanting to limit the understanding to numbers alone, the decision was made to employ qualitative research methodology. The international researcher actively involved

the national researcher in all aspects of the research design including:

- The design of the research tools.
- The decision making process on sample populations
- The planning of the research implementation

The research was purposefully designed to involve the following stakeholders:

- Those in senior leadership positions within the government (GIROA) and International Organisations (IOs) and civil societies (CSOs)
- Caregivers working with boys from at-risk populations and boy survivors of trafficking
- Boys at-risk or survivors of trafficking.
- Families of boys at-risk and/or survivors of trafficking

By using a wide range of data gathering techniques, the information collected created a scope of understanding of male child trafficking in Afghanistan not possible with numbers alone.

Field research sites:

Research was conducted in four provinces: Kabul, Herat, Nangarhar and Kunduz. Initially, Nimroz province was considered alongside Herat. However, Herat was chosen due to the ability to access larger numbers of unaccompanied minors (UAMs) and the greater number of stakeholders in Herat.

These four provinces were chosen based on first-hand reports from the Trafficking in Persons Capacity building (TIPCAP) coalition members, contacts made through capacity building workshops in those four provinces, as well as conversations from UNICEF, border police, UNHCR, Ministry of Interior (Mol),

Trafficking in Persons (TIP) units, and limited news reports. The existence of IOM shelters for survivors of trafficking within these four provinces also played an important role in the decision making because of the perceived access to male child survivors within those shelters.

Nangarhar: is identified by UNICEF and border police as an area where multiple boys have been apprehended and imprisoned on national security charges, as well as an area where boys are being trafficked for sexual exploitation, especially bacha bazi, and assistant truck drivers.

Kabul: is the largest urban centre in Afghanistan, thereby drawing boys who have been abandoned after a trafficking event or have escaped. Many end up living on the streets in vulnerable conditions and/or selling themselves to those staying in hotels in order to make a living.

Kunduz: is an area known for its mines and brick kilns. Border police, TIPCAP partners in the area and the MoI all indicated that boys are trafficked for labour in the mines and the brick kilns and across the Tajikistan border for work purposes.

Herat: is identified as a high-risk province of trafficking by border police and TIPCAP partners. There are consistent reports by UNHCR and IOM of high numbers of UAMs accessing services at the Iranian border.

Timeline:

Field research included 7-15 days of data gathering within the provincial capitals (Herat City, Kunduz City, and Jalalabad), with interviews and site visits with organisations, caregivers and boys at risk or survivors of male child trafficking. In Herat, a trip to the border town of Islam Qala was also completed. Trips to the borders in Kunduz and Nangarhar were unsuccessful due to

security constraints. Field research in Kabul was extended, consisting of a total of 27 days of interviews because Hagar Afghanistan's headquarters are located in Kabul City. Research outside the city centres was not possible due to security constraints.

Sampling:

It was essential to the research to access as many key informants as possible working within the three domains of trafficking: prevention, protection, and prosecution. A non-probability, purposive sampling technique was implemented based on the following reasons:

- The cultural and social constraints of a predominantly Muslim society.
- The extreme deficit of existing data.
- The lack of victim identification.
- The security constraints.

Hagar Afghanistan had existing relationships with members of the TIPCAP coalition meetings. These members provided the initial sample of key informants within each province. Data gathered from these key informants then provided information on other key informants, who when interviewed and surveyed offered more contact information on additional key informants. Through this snowballing technique the research team was able to interview and survey 210 key informants, for a total of 144 pieces of data.

Data gathering techniques:

Strategic variety in tools and sample populations was essential to limiting the impact of biases and assumptions from the research team and strengthening the validity of the results. Four tools were used to gather data during the research. These tools were designed with five specific key informants in mind.

Thematic Surveys were used in conversations with key informants in senior leadership positions. These informants were working within ministries in the GIRoA, directors of IOs and CSOs. These surveys were semi-structured in nature, allowing for the discussion to drive the information collected, but ensuring that all necessary themes were addressed. Information gathered identified high risk areas of trafficking, at risk populations, existing services, and provided contact information for interviewing potential male child survivors of trafficking and their families.

Semi-structured interviews were used to guide conversations with caregivers and boys at risk and/or survivors of trafficking. The information gathered was core to building understanding of male child trafficking in Afghanistan. Case stories and actual survivor testimony provided unique first hand insight into the needs of male child survivors of trafficking, as well as provided the boys with an opportunity to actively participate in programme design.

Focus Group Discussions (FGD) were implemented primarily with boys from at-risk populations, but were also used three times in group discussions with caregivers. The discussions were guided by open-ended questions that helped to confirm the data collected from individual interviews. FGDs identified specific needs of caregivers, gaps in existing services, as well as the perceived needs of boy survivors of trafficking.

Family questionnaires were designed for use with families of boys at-risk and survivors of male child trafficking, as well as community members. The purpose of the data gathered was to observe trends in vulnerability for families of male child survivors, identify needs within families and invite their participation in programme design.

Prior to field research:

During the first two months (October and November 2012), the research focused on the following:

- Hiring of a national researcher
- Extensive review of existing literature, both in the field of male child trafficking, trafficking in the context of Afghanistan, definitions of trafficking in persons, as well as international standards for research involving survivors of trafficking
- Finalising the tools to be implemented
- Initial surveys with key informants from ministries in the GIRoA, IOs and CSOs headquartered in Kabul City
- Piloting of data gathering tools in order to evaluate effectiveness
- Receiving letters of permission, from the MoJ to visit the JRCs in each province
- Receiving a letter of support from IOM in order to access its implementing partners in each province

Field research:

Herat

Field research in Herat was conducted from 19-30 January 2013. Herat was chosen as the starting point because of the relatively low security risk and easy access to key informants. The field research in Herat provided a framework for the planning of the field visits to Kunduz and Nangarhar. All research was conducted in Herat City, except for a day visit to the zero point along the Iranian border, as well as to the border town of Islam Qala. The initial days in the city were spent expanding our sample size and obtaining the necessary letters of permission from GIRoA offices. The rest of the time was

spent visiting stakeholder organisations and project sites. Twelve surveys with key informants in senior leadership positions were completed, nine individual interviews with caregivers, 14 individual interviews with boys and six FGDs with boys. A total of 41 pieces of data was collected.

Nangarhar

Field research in Nangarhar was conducted from 18-27 February 2013. All research was conducted in Jalalabad City. Due to security constraints travel outside the city was prohibited. However, we were able to meet with staff who currently work in the surrounding communities and along the border with Pakistan, allowing the research team to gather secondary information on the insecure areas. Maintaining a similar schedule as in Herat, the initial days were spent gathering data on existing services and key informants for interviews and surveys. Ten surveys were completed, five individual interviews with caregivers, 12 individual interviews with boys, and two FGDs interviews with boys. A total of 29 pieces of data was collected. In March, the national researcher returned to Jalalabad for one more group interview with two boys and their uncles, increasing the total number of data to 30 pieces.

Kunduz

Field research in Kunduz was conducted from 12-19 March 2013. Unlike in Nangarhar and Herat, data collection in Kunduz was only one week in length. This was due to unexpected travel delays, because of weather and the start of the New Year celebrations, which was celebrated on March 20. While the length of stay for data collection was shorter than planned, the smaller size of the city allowed for easier access to existing service providers, allowing us to still collect a total of 32 pieces of data: 15 surveys, three individual interviews with caregivers, and 14 individual interviews

with boys. In Kunduz there were no FGDs. Consistent with other field visits, the initial days were spent collecting information on existing services and key informants. The rest of the time was spent interviewing stakeholders. Due to security, the researchers were unable to travel to the border or communities outside of Kunduz City.

Kabul

Field research in Kabul was conducted prior to, in between and after visits to the other three provinces. Within Kabul City, the researchers collected 41 pieces of data; 21 thematic surveys, seven individual interviews with caregivers, 10 individual interviews with boys, one FGD with boys, and two family questionnaires. Consistent with Nangarhar and Kunduz, travel outside Kabul City was not allowed, due to security reasons.

Throughout the field research, the goal was to build knowledge and understanding, through interviews and FGDs with key informants, including the boys themselves. Becoming familiar with the protocols in Kabul was a long process, but it made the research in the other three provinces much easier, allowing the researchers to arrive with an understanding of the necessary protocols needed to access interviews with key informants, especially within the GIRoA. Sample sizes varied from province to province, but were consistently within the 30-40 mark. Lack of access to sample populations, due to security is a major reason for lower numbers of data collected in Kunduz and Nangarhar.

Data Analysis:

Analytical strategies focused on open coding in order to identify emergent themes. These themes were then compared between groups of key informants and provinces, in order to strengthen the validity of the final findings.

The process of analysis involved the following:

1. Data was translated into English, checked for clarification and corrected when necessary.
2. Data was separated by both tools (Surveys, Individual interviews, FGDs and Questionnaires) and key informants, (Primary and Secondary) and coded separately by both the international and national researchers.
3. Data was then triangulated across groups and provinces to identify emerging themes, and similarities and differences.

An important aspect of the data analysis involved ensuring that victims and survivors of trafficking were accurately identified. Throughout the research, the two necessary criteria for male child trafficking, action and purpose, were required to be clearly present for a case to be identified as male child trafficking.

Preliminary findings were shared with a small group of key stakeholders in Kabul, in June 2013.

Ethical guidelines:

Based on the literature review, established guidelines from IOs and CSOs, as well as Hagar International's Client Protection Policy, the following actions were implemented to ensure that all research was ethical:

- Two organisations with professional experience working with children in Afghanistan, Medica Afghanistan and PARSA, were consulted prior to field research in order to get their expert advice on ensuring that our research design would do no harm to children

- Children interviewed were required to give their consent prior to the interview¹⁷
- Throughout the child interviews, opportunities to confirm or deny consent were offered, as well as continual assurances of the confidentiality of the interview
- Names of children interviewed were not written down or asked for by the researchers
- A full explanation of the purposes of the interview were written in the consent form and read out loud to the children in their native language (Pashto or Dari)
- No financial incentives were offered or given
- Costs for transportation were covered, based on local standards, when necessary¹⁸
- Juice and cookies were offered to children during individual interviews, based on local standards
- Researchers were required to sign both a confidentiality form and a Client Protection Policy agreement based on Hagar Afghanistan's employee protocols, prior to the start of research

Validity:

Validity was sought through the following designs:

- Research tools for boys were vetted prior to use, and consultations with experts in working with vulnerable children in Afghanistan guided the final design of the tools

¹⁷ See Annex 5.2

¹⁸ Two families received taxi cost to and from Kabul city.

- Triangulation of data based on groups of stakeholders and provinces
- No incentives were provided, beyond local standards (transportation costs and basic refreshments)
- Included active participation from all stakeholders in child protection
- Held a preliminary findings workshop for key stakeholders (GIRoA, Mol, CPAN, AIHRC, TDH, Tabish) in order to gain their initial thoughts on the preliminary findings and point out any errors or possible misunderstandings in the research

Facilitating factors:

Strong understanding of the cultural context:

The international researcher had previous experience in Afghanistan and was familiar with language, as well as cultural and social aspects of life in Afghanistan. In addition, the national researcher was educated as a medical doctor, had previous experience in research involving culturally sensitive topics (MSM and HIV), was fluent in both Dari and Pashto, and native to the province of Nangarhar.

Existing relationship with key stakeholders:

The TIPCAP program within Hagar Afghanistan had established good relationships with key informants. This enabled the research team to quickly gain the trust and confidence of the actors within the GIRoA, IOs and CSOs.

Strategic diversity in research tools:

The diversity in the tools used to gather the data allowed for richness within the information collected. This fostered a well-balanced increase in the knowledge and

understanding of male child trafficking in Afghanistan.

Constraints and Limitations:

Staffing:

The Hagar research team consisted of two people, one female international researcher and one male national researcher. During field research, there were many suggestions of boys at risk staying in hotels, working at truck stops, and working on the streets. However, the research team was unable to spend an adequate amount of time in these areas, due to the following:

- It was culturally inappropriate for females to be in these areas and would have created a harmful situation for boys and the researchers
- Ethical guidelines would not allow the national researcher to interview boys by himself

In future research, it is recommended to budget for at least two male national researchers, in order to provide the opportunity for them to go out in pairs and talk with boys in hotels, working at truck stops or working on the street. Input from boys still in vulnerable situations would provide an additional lens from which to understand the realities of male child trafficking in Afghanistan.

Security:

As expected, security was a major constraint. The research team took great lengths to create a low profile in the research, wearing culturally appropriate clothing during field visits, being socially and culturally appropriate when interacting with key informants and initiating relationships with informants via existing relationships. However, even with very strategic design, security still brought the following limitations:

- Limited research to urban centres, except for one trip to the border with Iran
- Limited ability to connect with families of male child survivors of trafficking living in rural areas
- Created an obstacle in meetings with the Mol and the NDS, due to their responsibilities in responding to emergency security incidents
- The limited number of existing service providers in insecure areas created a smaller sample population, especially in Kunduz and Jalalabad

Social stigma:

Research tools were designed with the intention of limiting social stigma as much as possible. Questions were phrased in non-threatening ways and used distancing language with boys and adults.

Social stigma encompassed two main areas:

- Stigma connected with exploitation, especially sexual exploitation, limited the ability to learn the full story
- Stigma attached to boys being charged with moral and security crimes, created confusion as to which boys were criminals and which were potential survivors of trafficking, thereby limiting access to boy survivors

Lack of understanding of child trafficking:

Another constraint was the terminology used for trafficking. The word commonly used for trafficking in Dari and Pashto is the same word used for smuggling. This created confusion when asking about child trafficking.

Access to families:

The research was designed to involve all stakeholders, including families and

communities. However, during the research, access to families of boys at risk and actual victims of trafficking (VoTs) was almost impossible. Lack of detailed record keeping, ignorance by the family of the actual trauma faced by their son/nephew, unwillingness to talk about the situation because of stigma as well as the location of the families in insecure regions, hindered the data collection from families. It took six months of field research before the research team was able to contact and interview one family member. At the end, only two families were interviewed, using questionnaires, which severely limited the understanding of male child trafficking from the viewpoint of the family.

Capacity of national staff:

While the national researcher had previous experience in research on culturally stigmatised topics, that research had followed a more quantitative design. Therefore, the capacity for qualitative data was low and more time was needed to increase his capacity. This hindered the analysis of the data. The expected input from the national researcher was much less than desired.

Afghanistan Basic Indicators¹⁹



Image courtesy of www.nationsonline.org

Population: 33,397 million

Geography: landlocked, bordered by Pakistan, China, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Iran.

Life expectancy: 49.1 years

Education: 3.1 years (mean years of schooling)

GNI per capita: \$1,000

Human Development Index ranking: 175 out of 187 countries

Gender inequality index ranking: 147 out of 148 countries

TIP ranking: Tier 2 Watch list²⁰

¹⁹ UNDP. International UNDP indicators, 2013 <http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/AFG.html>

²⁰ US Department of State. Trafficking in Persons report, 2013.

1. Male Child Trafficking in Afghanistan

At a global level, male child trafficking has been a neglected topic, both in research and public awareness.²¹ National statistics rarely represent trafficking in males²² and gender bias has fostered a propensity to focus on women and girls when discussing issues of trafficking in persons. Knowledge of male child trafficking has been relegated to the phrase “...including boys”. Its existence acknowledged, but its priority within the issue of trafficking in persons clearly left to another time and place.

Afghanistan is no different. Reports on trafficking in persons have consistently suggested that boys were more at risk of trafficking than girls.²³ Unfortunately, while the needs of women and girls have received global attention through research and media reports, resulting in increased service provision, the challenges that boys in Afghanistan face have continued to be side-lined. Except for random media attention focused on the nature of bacha bazi (dancing boys), little has been done to understand the extent and nature of male child trafficking in Afghanistan.

This research changes things. It puts the phrase “including boys” under the microscope, establishes a baseline understanding of the extent and nature of male child trafficking in Afghanistan, and thereby provides service providers with the knowledge necessary to recalibrate their programmes to address the real needs of male survivors of child trafficking in the country.

1.1 Understanding of trafficking

Gaining a better picture of how Afghans view male child trafficking is essential to countering male child trafficking. Therefore, one of the major themes covered in the semi-structured interviews was the stakeholder’s understanding of male child trafficking. In most interviews, it was not even necessary to ask a specific question on male child trafficking. Key informants immediately responded with their thoughts on the topic after the research team had introduced the research focus.

Understanding of male child trafficking was analysed based on the following two factors:

- Awareness of its existence in Afghanistan
- The accurate understanding of male child trafficking based on the cases shared by key informants

Key Findings

- 83 per cent of key informants acknowledged that male child trafficking occurs in Afghanistan.
- Kunduz province is seen as least likely to understand male child trafficking.

²¹ Jones, Samuel Vincent. *The Invisible man: The conscious neglect of men and boys in the war on human trafficking*, Utah Law Review, 2010.

²² United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime. *Global report on trafficking in persons, 2009*

http://www.unodc.org/documents/Global_Report_on_TIP.pdf.

²³ United States Department of State. *TIP Report, 2011*; UNICEF, *Child Trafficking in Afghanistan, 2004*.

1.1.1 Awareness of male child trafficking in Afghanistan

Responses by key informants were coded as acknowledging the existence of male child trafficking if the following phrases were stated:

- “Yes it’s happening”
- “I’ve seen it...”
- “I’ve heard it happens”

If the key informant initially shared cases of male child trafficking, it was also seen as an acknowledgement of the existence of male child trafficking in Afghanistan.

Eighty-three per cent of key informants acknowledged that male child trafficking occurs in Afghanistan.

“Yes, I have heard and saw that the recruiter and his friends were using boys, and they were using them for dancing.”
-Boy, Kabul

“It does exist.” - Caregiver, Nangarhar

The 17 per cent who denied its existence rarely stated a clear “No”. Instead, it was expressed within the context of case documentation.

“No, I haven’t heard of any.” -Boy, Herat

“In the past six years, I haven’t seen any cases.” -Senior leader, Herat border

Along with wanting to know the overall awareness of male child trafficking in Afghanistan, the data was triangulated to ascertain whether certain groups of key informants and/or specific provinces had better awareness of male child trafficking in Afghanistan.

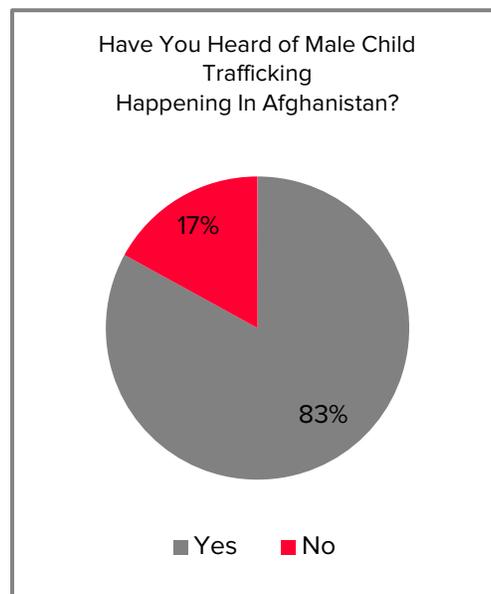
When comparing key informants, the percentages were close, from 88-92 per cent acknowledged awareness of male child trafficking. Yet, when the data was compared by provinces, the findings highlighted differences in understanding.

Figure 1.2: Existence by province

Province	Acknowledgement
Kabul	30 out of 32
Nangarhar	22 out of 24
Herat	21 out of 24
Kunduz	19 out of 28

In Kabul, 94 per cent of stakeholders were aware of the existence of male child trafficking. Kunduz was the least aware with 68 per cent of stakeholders acknowledging the existence of male child trafficking.

Figure 1.1: Existence of male child trafficking



With regards to awareness of male child trafficking, these findings suggest that most Afghans are aware that male child trafficking exists in Afghanistan.

1.1.2 Accurate understanding of male child trafficking in Afghanistan

Awareness without understanding of the actual concept of trafficking in persons is harmful to counter-trafficking measures. Therefore, out of the 83 per cent who stated that male child trafficking in Afghanistan does exist, the interviews were then analysed to measure their understanding of male child trafficking.

Understanding was measured by how well the examples and case stories shared fit with the actual definition of male child trafficking as defined within the 2008 Afghan law and the 2000 Palermo Protocol.²⁴ Both a clear identification of action and purpose were necessary for definitions to be identified as accurate understanding of male child trafficking.

There were three main categories of understanding:

- Accurate understanding of male child trafficking based on definition
- Confusion with smuggling and kidnapping, as well as rape
- Focus on women/girls

Sixty-five per cent of those who acknowledged the existence of male child trafficking in Afghanistan had an accurate understanding.

“Trafficking has to have three things: action, means and purpose.”

-Caregiver, Herat

“We’ve heard of children being recruited by Afghan police for sex/dancing boys.”

-Director, Kunduz

Twenty-eight per cent confused male child trafficking with cases of smuggling and kidnapping.

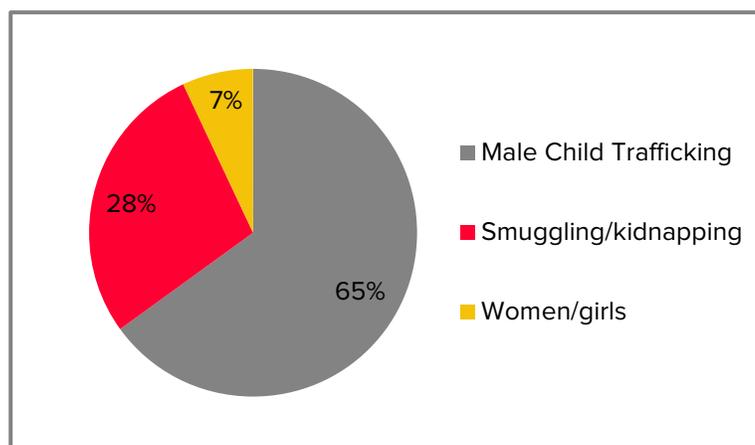
“I have seen one boy kidnapped.” -Boy, Jalalabad

“Seven years ago there was a group of eight people promising to smuggle boys to Iran”

-Director, Kunduz

Seven per cent shared cases of women and girls, even after the researchers had clarified the focus of the research on male child trafficking.

Figure 1.3: Understanding of male child trafficking



²⁴ Refer to section on Definitions, page 9-10 for complete definition.

“Girls are being promised marriage and then raped...and then forced labour and sex.”
-Director, Kunduz

“I’ve seen a lot of Chinese women trafficked to Afghanistan for sex.” -Caregiver, Kabul

Again, the data was triangulated to compare variances in provincial understanding of male child trafficking in Afghanistan.

Figure 1.4: Understanding by province

Province	Accurate understanding
Nangarhar	17 out of 22
Kabul	22 out of 31
Herat	11 out of 20
Kunduz	7 out of 17

Nangarhar was the province with the most accurate understanding of male child trafficking, where 77 per cent of stakeholders shared accurate cases of male child trafficking.

Kunduz was the least aware, with only 41 per cent of the key informants sharing relevant cases, and 53 per cent of the key informants confused trafficking with smuggling and kidnapping. An example of this was with a Director in Kunduz who said, “as far as trafficking, there were no cases in CPAN this year,” but followed by sharing a case of two boys being promised a good home by a man, who then kept them for sex.

Summary:

These findings highlight that while the awareness of the existence of male child trafficking is high, at 83 per cent, an actual understanding of what male child trafficking is at 65 per cent and varies by province. Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, had the highest percentage of awareness of male child trafficking. However, Nangarhar ranked highest in actual understanding of male child trafficking. In both awareness and understanding, Kunduz province ranked lowest. In fact, less than half of key informants in Kunduz had an accurate understanding of male child trafficking.

Key findings

- The North region of Afghanistan is seen as the most likely place of origin for male child trafficking.
- Pakistan is referred to as the most likely destination for external trafficking.
- The Central and North Regions of Afghanistan are seen as the most likely destination for internal trafficking.

1.2 High-Risk Provinces

Landlocked and surrounded by six countries (Iran, Pakistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and China), Afghanistan is geographically situated to be a source, transit and destination country for trafficking in persons.²⁵ Existing research has not been able to provide insight into provinces

²⁵ US Department of State, Trafficking in persons report, 2012.

or regions potentially more at risk of trafficking in persons than others. While movement is not required for trafficking to occur, it is apparent in a majority of cases. It was essential for Hagar Afghanistan to understand the places of origin and destination in those cases where movement was involved. Understanding of high risk provinces has helped to narrow the focus of future community awareness programmes.

Findings are based on the frequency with which provinces were mentioned by sources, both those working in the field of child protection and the victims themselves, and gave more specific insight into the following:

- High risk provinces of origin
- High risk provinces of destination
- Provinces of destination in correlation with exploitation

Regions:

In order to calculate the frequency of provinces mentioned, it was necessary to choose a way to divide 34 provinces into regions. There were two options:

- The UN regional divisions
- The Child Protection Action Network (CPAN) regional divisions

Data was analysed for frequency within both sets of regional divisions, in order to ensure that results would not be skewed depending on the regional division chosen. Once it was confirmed that both divisions provided the same findings, the decision was made to present findings based on the CPAN regional divisions. This decision was based on Hagar Afghanistan's plan to work closely with CPAN in future reintegration services for survivors of male child trafficking.

The CPAN regional divisions used within the data analysis are as follows:

North: Jawzjan, Faryab, Samangan, Saripul, Balkh, Baghlan, Kunduz, Takhar and Badakhshan

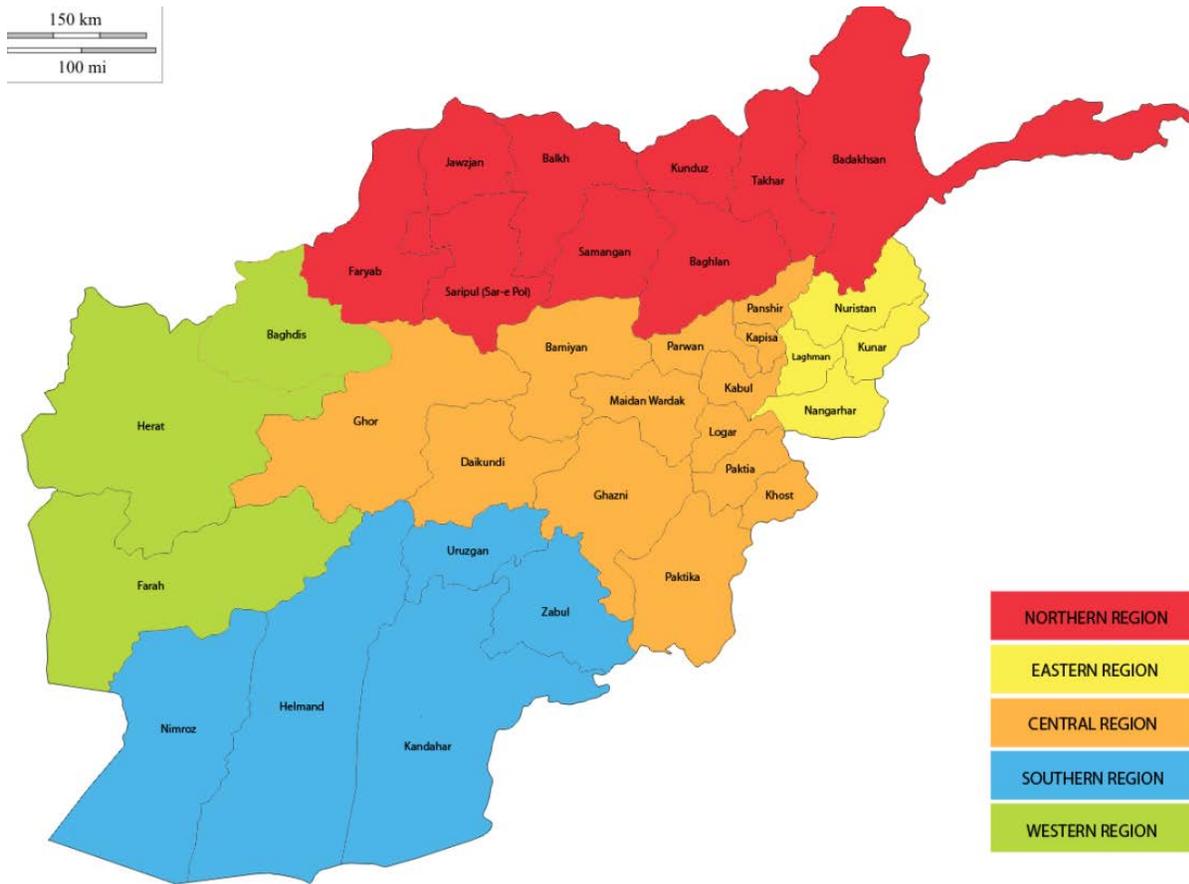
West: Baghdis, Herat, Farah

South: Zabol, Nimroz, Helmand, Kandahar and Uruzgan

East: Nangarhar, Laghman, Kunar and Nuristan

Central: Kabul, Panshir, Ghazni, Logar, Khost, Paktia, Kapisa, Parwan, Maidan Wardak, Ghor, Daikundi, Paktika and Bamiyan

Figure 1.5: CPAN Regions



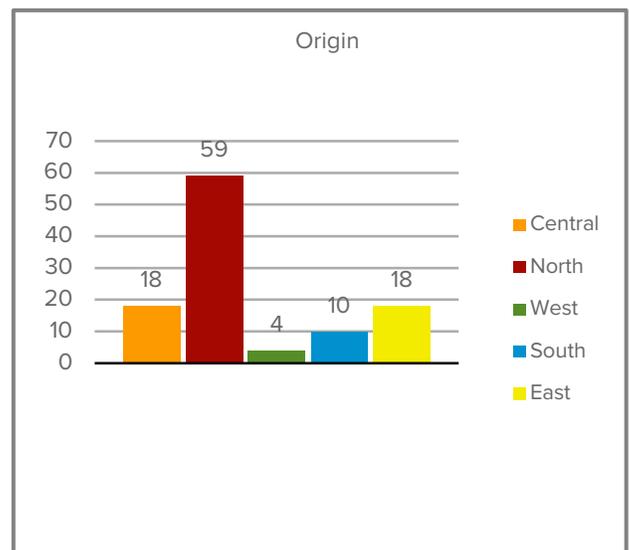
1.2.1 High Risk Provinces of Origin

Fifty per cent of key informants referred to provinces within the North region as high risk areas for male child trafficking.

Specific provinces repeatedly mentioned were: Balkh, Kunduz, Takhar, Badakhshan, and Baghlan, by both secondary and primary sources.

The Central and East regions were both mentioned fifteen per cent of the time. The South region gathered eight per cent of responses. The West region had the fewest mentions, accounting for three per cent of the answers. Approximately, eight per cent of responses were focused on other countries, outside of Afghanistan, with Pakistan being the most mentioned.

Figure 1.6: High risk provinces



Secondary Versus Primary informants:

Data triangulated between informants and provinces did not change the results of the data. Among secondary informants the results overwhelming pointed to the North region, with 50 out of 93 references. There were differences in the second most frequently mentioned province. The East region was the second-most common place referenced by senior leaders. For caregivers, the second most common reference was the Central region.

Figure 1.7: High Risk Provinces by Informant

Key Informant	North	Central	East	West	South
Secondary Informants: Senior Leaders	30 references	3 references	8 references	3 references	6 references
Secondary Informants: Caregivers	20 references	6 references	5 references	1 references	2 references
Primary Informants: Boys At-Risk	9 references	9 references	5 references	0 references	2 references
Primary Informants: Male Child Survivors	6 references	6 references	0 references	0 references	0 references

Among primary informants, the data still highlighted the North region, but also included the Central region. Boys, both those at risk of trafficking and those identified as survivors of trafficking referred to the North and the Central region the same amount of times (9 out of 25 times). The East region was second in reference, with five mentions. The South region was mentioned twice in the interviews. The West region was not mentioned at all.

Out of the actual data from primary informants identified as male child survivors of trafficking, the dataset again confirmed an equal tie for the North and the Central regions. Six male child survivors originated in the North region, while six originated in the Central region.²⁶

Provincial sources:

Looking at the data from a provincial perspective, the findings still confirmed the overall consensus that the North region is seen as the region most vulnerable for male child trafficking in Afghanistan. Data from Kabul, Herat and Kunduz all referenced the North as the most vulnerable region. Only the data from the Nangarhar province was different, mentioning the East region (where Nangarhar is located) as the most vulnerable, with 13 out of 27 responses. However, even in this case, the North was the second most mentioned with seven out of 27 responses.

This outlier in data could be a result of a provincial bias, based on the fact that the sources were all focused on projects based in the East region and service provision was limited to the Eastern provinces.

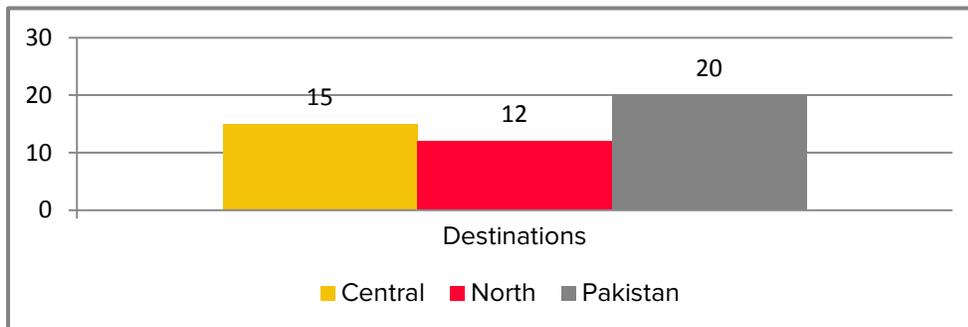
²⁶ One male child survivor did not remember where he was from; therefore the numbers were based out of 12.

1.2.2 High Risk Provinces of Destination

Not only did the information collected highlight high risk provinces of origin of male child trafficking, it also pinpointed the regions most likely to be the destination points of trafficking (place of exploitation), in cases movement was involved. Provinces coded as destination were found within shared case stories and those specifically mentioned as destination, by both secondary and primary informants.

The most frequently mentioned point of destination was Pakistan.

Figure 1.8: High risk destinations



Within Afghanistan, the two most frequently mentioned points of destination were:

- Central
- North

Within the Central and the North regions, the provinces of Kabul and Kunduz were most mentioned, as far as destination.

1.2.3 Destination and Exploitation

When mapping the points of origin and destination within the shared case stories and first-hand accounts of survivors of trafficking, in those stories involving movement, a pattern in data emerged regarding how exploitation relates to destination. While the province of origin seemed to have no correlation with specific types of exploitation, there appeared to be a correlation between the type of exploitation and the destination.²⁷

Out of the three major types of exploitation - sexual, forced labour and child soldiers - recruitment for sexual exploitation occurred internally, within Afghanistan. Forced labour involved both internal and external trafficking, while boys recruited as child soldiers appeared to primarily involve cross border trafficking to Pakistan.

²⁷ Refer to figure 4.4 on page 67.

Summary:

No matter how the data is analysed, Afghan boys in the North region of Afghanistan are more at risk of male child trafficking than their counterparts in other regions. Within the North region, Kunduz, Balkh, Takhar, Badakhshan and Baghlan are provinces frequently connected to male child trafficking. Points of destination within Afghanistan are less known. However, Pakistan was the most frequently mentioned point of destination for trafficking externally. In the research, a pattern began to emerge connecting points of destination to types of exploitation. Sexual trafficking appears to occur internally, between provinces in Afghanistan. Recruitment for child soldiers occurs externally to Pakistan.

1.3 At Risk Populations

Boys in Afghanistan are growing up in a challenging context. The current instability in security, employment and education has been exacerbated by over three decades of on-going conflict. This on-going instability has limited the prospects for a secure future for all children,²⁸ as well as created an environment prime for exploiting the vulnerabilities of boys. While this research focuses on male child trafficking, it recognised that survivors of male child trafficking would be found within the populations of boys living within a wider context of vulnerability. Therefore, the research design broadened its scope to build understanding of at risk populations.

The analysis of the data on at risk populations looked not only at which types of populations are at risk, but also revealed characteristics of the populations at risk, which resulted in establishing basic indicators for boys at risk of male child trafficking.

Key findings

- Unaccompanied minors, children working and boys within the JRCs are the three most mentioned populations of boys at risk of male child trafficking.
- An unstable family background creates a greater context of vulnerability in Afghan boys.

1.3.1 Populations at risk

During the pre-field research, an initial list of at risk populations was created, in order to guide sample selection. The populations identified as at-risk came from a review of existing literature and pre-field surveys with secondary informants. Throughout the field research, populations were added to the list based on the following questions asked during the interviews:

- Which type of boys were more at risk for child trafficking?
- Where might there be boys who are victims of male child trafficking?

²⁸ UNICEF, Children on the move, 2012.

The findings suggested there were 12 different populations of boys identified as at-risk, based on the definition established by the research team.

Three populations at risk of trafficking were common in all four provinces:

- Unaccompanied Minors (UAMs)
- Boys within the JRCs²⁹
- Children working

The other nine populations mentioned in Figure 2.1 were disaggregated by province.³⁰

Figure 2.0: At-risk populations

Kabul	Herat	Kunduz	Nangarhar
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drug addicts • Children in IDP camps • Children from unstable family backgrounds • Boys in orphanages • Boys involved in criminal networks • Boys enlisted in the ANA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drug addicts • Children in IDP camps • Boys working in hotels • Assistant truck drivers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boys working in hotels • Children from unstable family backgrounds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drug addicts • Children in IDP camps • Boys working in hotels • Assistant truck drivers • Children working on the border

Out of the twelve at-risk populations discovered, six were accessed by the research team.

Figure 2.1: At-risk populations interviewed

Kabul	Herat	Kunduz	Nangarhar
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boys in the JRC • Drug Addicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boys in the JRC • Assistant truck drivers • Children working • UAMs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boys in the JRC • Boys in the orphanage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boys in the JRC • Drug addicts • Children working

Within all four provinces, boys in JRCs were interviewed, all individually. However, the other five populations were accessed within specific provinces. The inability to access more of the populations within each province was related mainly to security. IDP camps and border towns were inaccessible due to insecurity in the regions outside the urban centres. An attempt to interview a group of children working on the streets in Jalalabad was hindered by weather.

²⁹ In this case key informants focused on the fact that some boys in the JRCs had been trafficked but had not been identified as victims of trafficking.

³⁰ In Figure 2.1, the red text signifies a population mentioned in more than one province.

Access to boys working as assistant drivers was only made possible in Herat due to an existing health clinic operated by World Vision within the truck stop.

The broad list of at-risk populations became the foundation for the selection of the sample population of primary informants. Afghan boys within these populations were contacted by the research team for individual interviews and FGD.

During the field research, 61 interviews and FDGs were completed involving a total of 122 boys from six different at-risk populations. In addition, interviews, surveys and questionnaires with secondary stakeholders provided 83 pieces of data. Information on the characteristics of at-risk populations was gathered from all informants, both secondary and primary. However the majority of the information came from first-hand accounts of primary informants.

Data gathered on at risk populations was essential for three reasons:

- To build the knowledge and understanding of characteristics of populations at risk of male child trafficking
- To provide the information necessary to identify indicators of vulnerability for male child trafficking
- To identify male child survivors of trafficking

1.3.2 Characteristics of populations at risk

Unaccompanied Minors:

Minors who are unaccompanied were one of the populations mentioned as most at risk. While UAMs are typically discussed in relation to smuggling or deportation from bordering countries, such as Iran, any child who is separated from family or relatives and not being cared for by an adult is classified as an unaccompanied minor. During the research, reports from IOM and UNHCR referred to large numbers of UAMs being deported from Iran on a daily basis. According to the numbers from the IOM implementing partner, Coordination for Humanitarian Assistance (CHA) in Herat, 5,731 UAMs were deported from Iran in 2012, with 949 in December 2012 alone.³¹ These statistics only represent the numbers of boys accessing services from UNHCR and IOM, which was estimated to be only 40 per cent of boys travelling unaccompanied.³² The high numbers of UAMs in Herat made it an ideal province for accessing interviews and FDGs with that population at risk.

The sample selection for UAMs was in Herat City, at the IOM transit centre operated by CHA. Most interviews were done in FDGs because of the rapid turnaround from the time of arrival to the time the boys leave to return home.

³¹ Key informant interview with Coordination for Humanitarian Assistance, Herat, January 2013.

³² Key informant interview with InterSoS, Herat, January 2013.

Based on interviews and FGDs with primary informants, the following characteristics of UAMs were established:

Figure 2.2: UAMs

Age	Province of Origin	Push factor	Education	Family
12-20 years old	North and Central regions	Financial pressure of family Employment “no choice”	Limited education. (lack of access to schools, due to security)	Instability in family backgrounds

Primary informants shared about family difficulties, such as one parent dead, or a father addicted to drugs. Most had not been educated, either because there were no schools or because work/family responsibilities came first. Family pressure was very influential in Afghan boys who were travelling unaccompanied.

“I didn’t go to school. My mother is dead and my father is alive.” - Boy, Ghazni

Secondary informants also shared similar characteristics of UAMs, focusing specifically on the financial, suggesting that in most cases it was the family pressure that pushed boys to look for work unaccompanied.

“Families send boys to work, even if they know the risks, often encouraged by other families.” -Director, Herat

Male child survivors of trafficking?

Within UAMs, two boys (brothers) were identified as survivors of trafficking, having been forced by their father to work in Iran to provide money to pay off the father’s debt.

Boys in the Juvenile Rehabilitation Centres:

Reports state that boys are being arrested by the Afghan National Security Forces under allegations of attempting to carry out suicide attacks.³³ A 2012 assessment of juvenile justice in Afghanistan noted that many boys charged with crimes of lewat were actually victims of rape.³⁴ Furthermore, field research secondary informants highlighted the potential of boys working within criminal networks being at risk of male child trafficking. Based on these reports and pre-field research, the research team was convinced that a percentage of boys within the JRCs currently charged with moral, criminal and security charges, were actual survivors of male child trafficking, (mis)identified as criminals.

The research team interviewed 24 primary informants within the four provincial JRCs. The selection of primary informants for interviews was done strategically. The research team

³³ UNAMA, Annual report 2012: Protection of civilians in armed conflict, February 2013.

³⁴ Motely, Kim, Assessment of juvenile justice in Afghanistan, 2010.

explained the concept of trafficking to the JRC staff and asked them to bring those boys that fit the two essential criteria (action and purpose). All interviews within the JRC were done individually, and mainly without the presence of any staff, unless the primary informant requested it. In Kunduz and in Nangarhar the JRCs were large houses, very overcrowded and therefore had limited space for interviews. In these cases, interviews were forced to be held in the presence of JRC staff members at times, which might have limited primary informants from being completely open. All of the primary informants interviewed signed consent forms, and except for one boy in the Kunduz JRC who, upon seeing the international staff member in the room, declined to interview, all boys were willing to participate in the interview.

In total, the primary informants within the JRC represented the following crimes:

Figure 2.3: Charges against JRC informants

Cooperating with the AOG	Lewat	Drug smuggling	Criminal	Kidnapping	Traffic Accident
12 cases	5 cases	3 cases	2 cases	1 case	1 case

Primary informants interviewed within the JRCs were between the ages of 12-18, with an average age of 15. All primary informants were mainly from the provinces in the region, except for one boy in the JRC in the eastern region, who was from Kabul, but had been recruited as a child soldier in Pakistan. Ten out of the 24 primary informants had come from families with backgrounds of dysfunction. Education was a factor in cases; however, the role played was different than expected. Primary informants charged with cooperating with AOG were the most educated and had all attended school, at least until class 6.

Figure 2.4: JRCs

Age	Province of Origin	Push factor	Education	Family
12-18 years old	Within the provincial JRC region	Arrested for crimes (AOG, lewat, drug smuggling)	Boys charged with cooperating with the AOG were more educated.	Instability in family backgrounds

Secondary informants shared that in many cases, the JRCs are seen as the only place for boys to go, and therefore, police are left with no choice but to send boys to the nearest province. This could be the reason for the high numbers of boys within the JRC. In Kabul, at the time of interviews, there were 200 children in the centre, which had a capacity of 100.

Male child survivors of trafficking?

Within the JRCs, five boys were identified as survivors of male child trafficking. Three boys charged with cooperating with the AOG and two boys charged with lewat.

Children working:

The current law in Afghanistan claims 18 is the minimum age for adult work and children ages 15-17 are allowed to work if certain situations are met.³⁵ However, young boys are still found working in both formal and informal sectors of society in Afghanistan. One cannot drive from home to office without seeing boys working on the streets or in shops. During the field research, key informants mentioned that boys working are at risk for male child trafficking. Specific areas of work referenced as most vulnerable involved boys working in hotels, as assistant drivers and along the border. Secondary informants suggested that these boys, working in settings where they were in close contact with adult males that were not their relatives, made them more vulnerable to the threat of recruitment and exploitation.

With a limited timeline, the research team focused on accessing boys through existing service providers. Within each province, existing services for children working were contacted, in order to gain permission to meet with the boys. In the end, out of the five categories of boys at work mentioned, boys from three populations were interviewed:

- Boys working as assistant truck drivers
- Boys working on the street
- Boys working as wedding dancers

Populations of boys who work were interviewed in the provinces of Herat and Nangarhar. In Herat, interviews and FGDs with a total of 40 primary informants from two populations of boys at work were completed: assistant truck drivers and UAMs. Access to these boys came via the projects being implemented by World Vision.

Figure 2.5: Children working

Age	Province of Origin	Push factor	Education	Family
7-18 years old	Herat City, Kandahar	Economic reasons, to assist with family.	Accessed education through World Vision programmes	Seen as push factor for working

Within the first population, the primary informant's ages ranged from 7-12 and all were working on the street, either as metal collectors, bottle collectors, shoeshine boys, or fruit sellers. Access to education for the primary informants was made possible through the accelerated courses offered by World Vision. The primary informants were from the Herat area. However, all lived on the outskirts of the city or in the IDP camps. When asked about whether they had heard of or seen boys being recruited by adults for bad reasons, their answers were focused on acts of bullying by older boys, traffic accidents and kidnapping stories. Otherwise they did not appear aware of male child trafficking.

³⁵ ILO, *Buried in Bricks*, 2011

It was acknowledged that accessing assistant truck drivers would be particularly difficult because of cultural and social limitations for the international female researcher, as well as having only one national researcher. Therefore, it was encouraging to have access to at least one truck stop, in Herat province. Access to the truck stop in Herat was possible because of the health clinic that World Vision is operating. The research team spent time at the health clinic, as well as driving around the truck stop site, with the clinic doctor, in order to interview boys onsite. These interviews were brief and completed only by the male researcher, with the international researcher remaining in the car, due to the truck stop security criteria. Boys who consented to talk with the researcher were both assistant drivers and mechanics. The ages ranged from 15-18. One of the boys was an assistant driver from Kandahar, the other four were mechanics who lived in Herat and worked at the truck stop. The boys also acknowledged that boys are sexually exploited by truck drivers and emphasised that younger boys and boys that are not relatives are more at risk of trafficking for sexual exploitation. One boy mechanic openly shared how a truck driver had asked him to recruit an assistant driver to work with him, and when the mechanic brought him a boy who was 15, the truck driver told him to find a younger one, who could be better “managed”.³⁶ Another boy mechanic shared about a truck driver drugging his assistant in order to sexually abuse him at nights.

In Nangarhar, attempts to meet with boys working on the street were not successful because of weather. However, the research team was able to meet with three men who were wedding dancers/male sex workers. The focus of the interviews, from their opinion, was to gain better understanding of the jobs that boys have in Afghanistan, including jobs dancing at weddings. All three were recruited as boys, ages 15-18, and pulled into it by the financial benefit and the attention they received by dancing. The work involved dancing at weddings, sometimes dressing up as women and then selling themselves for sex with men after the wedding. All three primary informants had started out as dancers in weddings, trained when they were young, and were recruited by others. Two of the primary informants were from Nangarhar and one was from Pakistan. They all had other jobs, and seemed to dance for weddings on the side. Their stories clearly showed aspects of trafficking, specifically the act of recruitment or transport (Nangarhar to Pakistan), however, there was not enough information shared to clearly state that they had been recruited for the purpose of exploitation, therefore they were not documented as survivors of male child trafficking. When asked about male child trafficking, specifically for sexual exploitation, all three agreed that many boys from the North of Afghanistan are recruited for sex and bacha bazi.

Male child survivors of trafficking?

Among interviews with children who were working, no boys were identified as survivors of trafficking, although the three male sex workers shared signs of trafficking, however, there was not enough information to confirm actual cases.

³⁶ Key informant interview with primary informant in Herat, 21 January 2013.

Male child drug addicts:

Access to male child drug addicts was restricted to drug treatment centres. Therefore, the boys interviewed were in the process of recovery and had accessed services through the Nejat drug treatment centre in Jalalabad and the KOR treatment centre in Parwan. Our sample size was small, six individual interviews with boys, and one interview with the caregiver. The interviews took place mainly in Nangarhar, with one boy interviewed in Kabul.

Figure 2.6: Drug Addicts

Age	Province of Origin	Addiction	Education	Family
16 years old	Nangarhar	Began while assistant truck driver	Until class 3	Father is dead
17 years old	Laghman	While working in hotel	Unknown	Father is disabled
17 years old	Nangarhar	Began after not able to marry the girl he wanted to marry	Unknown	Parents are alive
16 years old	Nangarhar	While working in construction	Until class 5	Father has two wives
17 years old	Nangarhar	Influenced by bad friends	Until class 10	Parents alive
18 years old	Kapisa	Given drugs by stranger	Until class 8	Father is alive, 2 brothers killed by Taliban

The backgrounds of the primary informants suggest that education did not appear to be a factor in their vulnerability, with four out of six attending school. Unstable family backgrounds do appear to be a factor with four out of six primary informants highlighting a factor of instability within the family setting. What was most interesting was that for three of the boys, the drug addiction started while working. Although none of the primary informants shared that they had experienced any sexual exploitation, the staff at the drug treatment centre confirmed that some of the clients had been sexually exploited in connection with the drug addictions. When the primary informants were asked about male child trafficking, most denied it was happening. However, one confirmed that some boys are exploited sexually by drug smugglers, commanders and law enforcement agents.

Male child survivors of trafficking?

No boys within recovering drug addicts were identified as survivors of trafficking. However, the research team was told by the staff at the drug treatment centre in Parwan that one boy had been recruited as a dancing boy to help get access to drugs. The primary informant himself did not confirm or deny this information.

“Drug dealers are using boys and keeping boys, some government people, like intelligence and criminal officers are also keeping boys.” -Boy, Jalalabad

Orphanages:

Orphanages in Afghanistan are more than just a place for children without parents. A 2010 report by Watchlist stated that since most existing services are for girls, boys end up in government run orphanages and JRCs.³⁷ The research team interviewed five primary informants in a government-run orphanage in Kunduz province. A few months prior to the interviews, there had been claims that boys were being sexually abused by the staff at this orphanage, but these claims had been investigated by the MoI Kunduz division and the Kunduz CPAN office and were unable to be confirmed.³⁸ The interviews took place in the large office area (as requested by the orphanage staff), and while it was busy at times, the boys and the research team were able to occupy a small corner within the room where the boys and the team could talk without feeling watched. Similar to the JRCs, the sample population was strategically chosen by the staff at the orphanage, based on the research teams' explanation of the definition of male child trafficking.

Figure 2.7: Orphanages

Age	Province of Origin	Push factor	Education	Family
13-17 years old	Kunduz, Badakhshan	Economic reasons Loss of family	Accessed education through orphanage	Instability in family background

The age of the primary informants interviewed were 13-17. They had all lost at least one of their parents and were referred to the orphanage by an uncle. The length of stay at the orphanage varied from one to 11 years. All were very happy to be in the orphanage, with the opportunity to go to school and were happy to stay there until 18. A point of interest was that five out of six boys had travelled, with an uncle or relative to another location (Pakistan, Iran or Kabul) before being brought to the orphanage in Kunduz. When asked about male child trafficking, only one primary informant acknowledged that he had heard of boys being recruited for bacha bazi, but had never seen anything.

Male child survivors of trafficking?

None of the boys interviewed in the orphanages were actually victims of trafficking, at least from their stories.

1.3.3 Indicators of Vulnerability

During data analysis of interviews with primary informants from at-risk populations, three major factors of vulnerability emerged:

- There was instability within the family backgrounds (family, economic, home)
- They were unaccompanied

³⁷ Watchlist, Afghanistan report. 2010.

³⁸ Key informant interview with CPAN director. Kunduz, March 2013.

- They were in service (work) to older/powerful people (jobs, ANA)

These three factors were then measured against the stories of the 13 survivors of male child trafficking that were identified during the research. All 13 of the survivors indicated at least one of these factors of vulnerability, and ten of the survivors had at least two of the factors, while five survivors indicated all three factors.

Figure 2.8: Indicators of Vulnerability

Indicators of vulnerability	# Of survivors indicating this vulnerability
Unaccompanied Minors	9 out of 13
Dysfunctional family backgrounds	10 out of 13
In positions of service	7 out of 13

Caveat

In no way are these indicators seen as universal, exclusive or necessary for boys to be at risk. Male child trafficking is influenced by the cultural and social context, and does not fit into a rigid framework. However, being able to identify characteristics/indicators that place a population in a vulnerable situation is essential to preventing child trafficking. These indicators provide a first step in establishing a guide for identifying male child survivors of trafficking at an early stage. These should be regularly reviewed and adapted to fit the continually changing context of Afghanistan.

Where's poverty?

“Poverty is the main cause of child trafficking.” -Kunduz, CPAN director.

Poverty was repeatedly mentioned as a cause of male child trafficking, by both Afghan and International informants. It is a valid condition to raise, especially within a country whose current GNI is 1000 USD.³⁹ Yet, the research team decided not to list it as an indicator of vulnerability, based on the following rationale: If poverty is the main cause of male child trafficking, in countries where poverty is not an issue, child trafficking would be non-existent. Clearly this is not the case. Male child trafficking is a global issue, shared by developed and developing countries alike. Poverty can enhance the vulnerability of the child's situation, but in reality, it is people who selfishly value power, sex and money more than they value the rights of children that actually cause male child trafficking to continue to occur.

Summary:

Twelve populations were referred to when discussing populations at risk of male child trafficking, and within the twelve populations, characteristics were similar. Family instability was a key factor in all six of the populations interviewed. Seven of the boys interviewed within the at-risk populations were identified as survivors of trafficking.

³⁹ Key informant interview with CPAN director. Kunduz, March 2013.

1.4 Exploitation

Discussions of exploitation are influenced by the cultural and social context. In Afghanistan, a culture of honour and shame quickly buries conversations deemed shameful. When discussing types of exploitation, Afghans refer to organ cutting, selling of boys to people of Baluchistan and smuggling. What is not mentioned is sexual exploitation. The international community, in discussions regarding exploitation in Afghanistan, immediately raise the topic of bacha bazi and forced labour. Within each context the bias is strong and can blind actors from seeing the “whole picture”.

This research was designed to provide a baseline understanding of the types of exploitation involved in male child trafficking in Afghanistan; an understanding not influenced by which exploitation should be mentioned or which exploitation is perceived the worst of the types of exploitation. Questions regarding exploitation were designed to be general in nature, allowing the key informants to initiate the types of exploitation discussed. As the interview progressed, more specific questions on culturally sensitive types of sexual exploitation were raised, when not mentioned by the key informants. This was based on the understanding that Afghan culture would limit open discussions on sexual topics.

Analysis of data on exploitation employed an open-coding system. Types of exploitation coded as existing in Afghanistan were based on the following indicators:

- Documented exploitation from cases, either first hand or from shared stories
- Exploitation mentioned as seen or heard, from secondary informants with experience working in the child protection sector
- Exploitation mentioned as seen or heard from primary informants

The findings not only highlighted the main types of exploitation involved in male child trafficking, but also revealed the main perpetrators involved in the exploitation.

Key findings

- The most acknowledged form of exploitation was sexual.
- Perpetrators involved in sexual exploitation were most likely to be employers and law enforcement officials.

1.4.1 Trafficking for sexual exploitation

Even within a cultural context where sexual issues are not discussed, the findings suggest that sexual exploitation is the most significant type of exploitation in Afghanistan.

Forty-seven per cent of key informants acknowledged that sexual exploitation was occurring in Afghanistan.

“Sexual exploitation happens.” -Herat

“Recruitment for sex.” -Kunduz

“Groups of children forced to stay in places for bad purposes.” -Kabul

“Boys kept for sex in Jalalabad and Kabul.” -Nangarhar

In only two situations did the key informants clearly deny the existence of sexual exploitation.

“Sexual exploitation? No.” -Herat

“Bacha bazi? Not in this city.” –Herat

Extent/Nature:

The data collected on sexual exploitation, from cases shared and first-hand accounts of male child survivors, highlighted the extreme nature of trafficking for sexual exploitation: repeated, forced sexual encounters with male partners. It was common to see sexual exploitation paired with another form of exploitation, specifically forced labour.

“Drivers from other provinces use assistants for forced labour and sex.” -Herat

“Children working in factories and become used for sex.” -Kunduz

Within sexual exploitation, one specific type of exploitation referenced frequently by key informants, was bacha bazi.

Bacha bazi involves a young boy in the care of an older male adult. The older male caretaker trains the boy to be a dancer for parties and at weddings. The boy is recruited, sometimes by force, and kept in the care of an adult male, where he is kept as an entertainer for adults for both physical and sexual entertainment.

Forty-seven per cent of the references within sexual exploitation focused on the cultural practice of bacha bazi.

“Trafficker raped him and made him do bacha bazi and dancing.” -Kunduz

“I have seen with my own eyes, a boy at the wedding dancing with bells on his feet.” -Kabul

“Keeping boys and making them dance for them and at wedding parties.” -Nangarhar

Discussing Sex

Recognising the cultural stigma that comes with discussions of sexual exploitation, the research tools used vocabulary that was “distancing” in nature, in order to create a comfortable space for sharing their real thoughts. Initially specific words were used, such as sexual exploitation. However, during the pilot of the tools, the vocabulary was adjusted to mimic the language used by the Afghans themselves when discussing sexual issues.

Words or phrases to discuss sexual exploitation included the following:

- Bad things
- Hurt
- Recruited and made promises, but do other things
- Misuse boys
- Boys kept at locations
- Used for bad purposes

The topic of sexual exploitation was never pushed within an interview, but was always brought up by the researcher, if not mentioned by the key informants. In interviews with boys, the topic was always initiated by the researcher, and at times, the topic was raised more than once, within the interview, acknowledging that boys would need time to feel safe and secure before discussing topics of sexual exploitation. When discussing sexual exploitation, it was mostly done through distancing language, noting that they had “heard” of it happening, that it happened in other provinces, or “it had happened in the past.”

“He trained me to dance at wedding parties and to go and to do sex with someone.” -Boy, Kabul

Law enforcement agents, such as police and military officials, were seen as the primary perpetrators of sexual trafficking.

Fifteen out of 25 cases involving sexual trafficking were perpetrated by a law enforcement agency; either the police or military commanders.

“I saw at the police post, there were other boys without beard also, and they were using boys for dance and to do bad things” -Boy, Kabul

*“We’ve heard of children being recruited by Afghan police for sex/dancing boys but no documentation.”
-Kunduz*

“A commander kept the boy and used him as a dancing boy.” -Boy, Kabul

There were five documented cases, where the employer was the perpetrator, mainly focused on truck drivers.

“Drivers, whose assistant is not a relative, they do force and use them for sex too.” --Herat

Perpetrators use a variety of methods to ensure that the boys do not escape:

- Drugs to keep boys “controllable”
- Threats, with the use of weapons
- Selection of boys under 15, in order to be able to physically control them

“I’ve heard of a driver who put hashish in the assistant’s food to use him for sex at nights.” -Boy, Herat.

“The driver told me to find a boy younger than 15, so he could control him better.” -Boy, Herat

“One time I fled from that place, while trying to get away in a car, one of the police men arrived by motorbike and stopped the car and they beat me and warned me and fired their guns over me and after that they wouldn’t let me be alone.” -Boy, Takhar

The findings suggest that male child sexual trafficking, including bacha bazi, occurs primarily within the borders of Afghanistan.⁴⁰

Provincial data on sexual exploitation:

Data on sexual exploitation was also analysed at the provincial level, in order to identify any patterns or trends within the provinces themselves.

⁴⁰ Refer to Figure 1.9 on destination and exploitation.

Analysis looked at the following three categories:

- The openness of key informants in each province to discuss sexual exploitation, based on the number of references made to sexual exploitation
- The references to bacha bazi within sexual exploitation
- The vocabulary used when discussing sexual exploitation, either distancing or a clear yes

Figure 2.9: Sexual Exploitation

Province	# of references to sexual	# of references to bacha bazi	Denial of existence	Type of vocabulary used
Nangarhar	8	5	No denials	Clear confirmation
Kabul	32	17	No denials	Clear confirmation
Kunduz	19	8	One denial	Distancing
Herat	17	5	Two denials	Distancing

Key informants in Nangarhar province were most likely not to discuss the topic, even when asked, with only eight key informants confirming the existence of sexual exploitation. However, when acknowledged in Nangarhar, the key informants did not use any distancing vocabulary, but clearly confirmed that it was happening. It was also interesting to note that in Nangarhar, discussion of sexual exploitation focused on bacha bazi five out of eight times.

Kabul was the province most likely to acknowledge sexual exploitation, with 32 references to sexual exploitation. Similar to Nangarhar, the majority of the references were related to bacha bazi, 17 out of 32. Kabul also did not use distancing language when discussing sexual exploitation.

Herat and Kunduz were the only provinces that included the denial of the existence of sexual exploitation, although majority of references acknowledged its existence in both provinces. Key informants in Herat and Kunduz were also the only ones to use distancing vocabulary when discussing sexual exploitation. The majority of the time, comments on sexual exploitation employed the use of phrases such as “I’ve heard” or “in the past”.

1.4.2 Trafficking for labour exploitation

It was assumed that, considering the lack of stigma attached to forced labour, there would be more mention of exploitations involving forced labour. However, the references to types of labour exploitation were considerably less than sexual exploitation.

Nineteen per cent of key informants mentioned trafficking for labour occurring in Afghanistan.

When discussing forced labour, key informants did not use distancing language and made no attempt to euphemise the vocabulary used to talk about forced labour.

Types of labour exploitation:

Types of labour exploitation fell into three main groups:

- General reference to forced labour
- Forced labour in groups
- Forced labour as individuals

Data coded as general referred to any reference that did not share a specific type of forced labour.

Forced labour in groups focused on types of labour exploitation that involved large numbers of boys. The types of group labour mentioned included work in brick kilns, mines, and carpet weaving factories.

The most mentioned form of group labour was children working in brick kilns.

“Children recruited for working in mines.”- Kunduz

“Forced labour at brick kilns.” –Nangarhar

“Kids in carpet industries.” – Kabul

Individual forced labour referred to boys recruited for private work, such as farm work, smuggling across borders, domestic help, and boys rented for work by individual Afghans.

“Children rented for work.” - Nangarhar

“Make a boy carry materials from one place to another.” - Kabul

“Boys lent out for work and misused.” - Kunduz

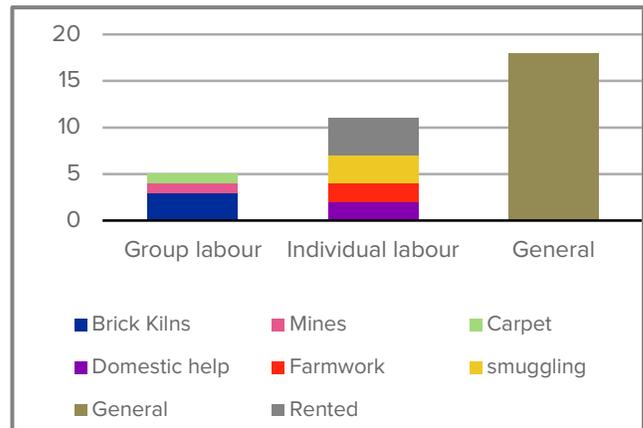
“Smugglers make boys work to pay off loans for trip to Iran.” - Herat

Boys rented or lent out for work without being paid was the type of individual labour mentioned most. This was an unexpected type of labour exploitation and was mentioned in both Kunduz and Nangarhar. When mentioned, it was described as using boys for labour, without providing compensation. More details about this type of work, whether the family is renting or there is a network of boys being rented by an adult, was not available or shared. It would be beneficial to research this specific type of labour exploitation because of the repeated references in two different provinces.

Secondary informants referred to forced labour in general terms most often:

“Forced labour is the main one.” -Herat

Figure 3.0: Types of labour exploitation



“We are seeing lots of forced labour.”

-Nangarhar

However, primary informants focused on specific types of labour.

“Rented for farm work but paid nothing.”

-Boy, Kunduz

“There were working on us, making us work, like filling the water heater with water, sweeping, washing of dishes, cleaning bathrooms.” -Boy, Kunduz

The data collected on labour did not highlight any specific provinces at more risk than others, but from the documented cases and first-hand accounts, trafficking for labour exploitation, that involves transport, is occurring both externally to Pakistan and Iran, as well as internally.⁴¹

There were two interesting results regarding the data collected on labour exploitation:

- Lack of reference to the existence of cross border trafficking in Tajikistan
- Lack of reference to assistant truck drivers and boys working in hotels as victims of forced labour

Prior to field research there had been reports by participants of TIPCAP trainings, and other key stakeholders, that boys were being trafficking for labour across the border into Tajikistan. However, while in Kunduz, no references were made to boys being trafficked cross border, and when the research team specifically asked about minors crossing the border for work, this possibility was denied, even challenging the researchers to review the records of border crossings, to find unaccompanied minors crossing the border.

Boys working as assistant truck drivers and in hotels were both mentioned as at-risk populations.⁴² Since both types of populations involve labour, logic would say that they would be

Why so low?

The research team established two reasons to explain the lower frequency of trafficking for labour exploitation:

- As the findings showed, it actually doesn't occur as much as sexual exploitation.
- Forced child labour in Afghanistan is not seen as exploitation.

In the experience of the international researcher, the second option is most likely the reason for the limited mention of forced labour as exploitation. An example supporting this rationale involved the national researcher. During the analysis of the research, the research team viewed a video about children working in mines in northern Afghanistan. Upon viewing, the national researcher did not understand why the reporter identified the boys as victims and believed they had made the choice to work there. He saw no problem with their extreme working conditions. This was surprising to the international researcher, who assumed that because of the national researcher's education (medical training) and experience working with international staff on MSM and HIV research studies, that they would both hold the same understanding of forced labour. If the national researcher with relevant education and experience did not recognise child labour in mines as exploitation, it is easy to understand that Afghans in general would not have viewed child labour as exploitation and therefore would not have been mentioned during interviews. This realisation came at the end of the research. More focused questions, similar to those used when discussing sexual trafficking, might have provided clearer understanding of the issue.

⁴¹ Refer to figure 1.9 on destination and exploitation

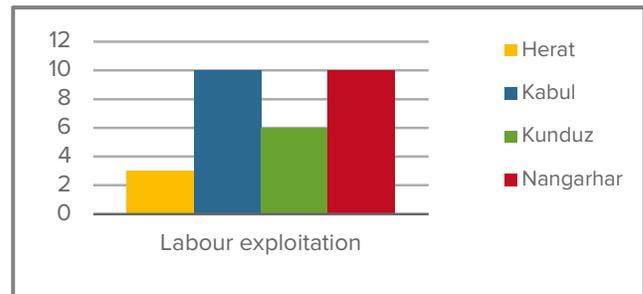
⁴² Refer to Section 1.3.2 on at-risk populations

at risk of trafficking for forced labour; however, they were not specifically mentioned in discussions on trafficking for labour exploitation. Instead, boys working as assistant truck drivers and boys working in hotels were seen as being vulnerable to trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Provincial data of labour exploitation:

Data collected on labour exploitation was minimal due to the low number of references by key informants. Therefore when analysed from a provincial view, the information is not enough to make conclusive statements. However, the data collected can help to guide future research on specific types of labour exploitation impacting boys in Afghanistan.

Figure 3.1: Labour exploitation by provinces



Herat

In Herat, there were three references to forced labour, connecting it mainly with UAMs being smuggled to Iran for work. One secondary informant stated that forced labour is the main type of exploitation in Herat. However, this is hard to confirm because of the difficulty in distinguishing between survivors of male child trafficking and survivors of smuggling. In fact, references for forced labour would have been much higher if cases of smuggling UAMs to Iran were included. Intent on keeping the definition for male child trafficking very specific, data coded as forced labour exploitation had to include the two indicators of male child trafficking: action and purpose for exploitation.

Kunduz

In Kunduz, labour was mentioned four times, but more focused on a national level, never implying it was specifically in Kunduz. Group labour, brick factories and mines were both referred to one, while twice the concept of renting boys was mentioned.

Kabul

In Kabul, labour exploitation was mentioned ten times. Most often it was referenced in general sense, with no specific types discussed. There was one reference to external trafficking to Saudi Arabia for forced labour.

Nangarhar

While not a significant difference, Nangarhar was the only province where labour exploitation was mentioned more than sexual exploitation. Labour exploitation was referenced ten times and sexual exploitation was mentioned eight times. References regarding trafficking for labour focused on using boys to smuggle things across the border, the idea of heavy labour and group labour in brick kilns, as well as bonded labour. Once again, the reference to renting children for work was mentioned with an understanding that children were being exploited in the process.

1.4.3 Child soldiers

There has been an increased focus on child soldier recruitment in Afghanistan. Recruitment of children has been linked to both the Afghan National Army (ANA) and the armed opposition groups (AOG). In 2012, UNAMA received reports of 39 incidents of child recruitment into armed forces involving 116 children.⁴³ The Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict in 2010 reported that recruitment by ANA was occurring in the North and South, as well as reports of child recruitment by AOG forces, particularly along the Afghan-Pakistan border, but these reports were not able to be confirmed.⁴⁴ There have also been reports of children detained on charges of working with AOGs by both Afghan law enforcement and international military forces.⁴⁵ International concern regarding boys arrested on charges of security is growing, especially in regards to the lack of focus on rehabilitation. These boys under 18 are not seen as victims, but are viewed as serious criminals and are frequently unable to access any of their rights as children.

The research team placed a concerted effort in learning more about child recruitment by military groups and worked to ensure that boys charged with these types of crimes were part of the sample population.

Initially the assumption was that military recruitment was connected to child suicide bombers within the AOG. However, in the process of the research data also referred to boys recruited for labour with the AOG, as well as working within the ANA.

Recruitment as child soldiers, similar to sexual exploitation, has a social stigma attached to it. In this case, it is a stigma of fear. Fear of being connected to AOG, fear of the “badness” of the boys to transfer to other boys, fear of the security risk if the AOG were to become aware of the boys existence in the shelters. This fear limits service provision and severely hinders their rights as children.

Data collection focused on interviewing boys already detained on charges of crimes against security. In total the research team interviewed 12 boys on charges of crimes against security within the provincial JRCs. The boys who consented to talk with us shared stories of how they were arrested. Based on these stories, two boys were identified as having been recruited for the purpose of exploitation as child soldiers. Both of these boys were in Jalalabad.⁴⁶

Analysis identified the following three themes:

- Existence of child soldier recruitment
- Key players involved in recruiting Afghan boys
- Types of child soldier recruitment

Trafficking for child soldiers was the third most frequently mentioned type of exploitation.

⁴³ UNAMA. Annual report 2012, February 2013.

⁴⁴ Watchlist. Setting the right priorities: Protecting children affected by armed conflict in Afghanistan, 2010.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p33

⁴⁶ In accordance with the rigorous attention to the trafficking definition, while many stories had characteristics of male child trafficking, cases identified as trafficking for child soldiers were those which clearly stated all three aspects of trafficking: action, means and purpose.

Eleven per cent of key informants referenced recruitment of child soldiers.

Recruitment for child soldiers was primarily connected with training boys as suicide bombers. Data from three out of the four provincial field sites focused exclusively on recruitment of children as suicide bombers. However, key informants in Nangarhar also connected recruitment for child soldiers with the ANA. There was a repeated connection between child soldiers and madrassas.

As the primary informants were interviewed, many of their stories shared a similar theme of family involvement. An uncle or cousin (a male relative) would make the call or connect them with another person, who then would meet them in a third location, where the NDS would arrest them. None of these stories were identified as survivors of male child trafficking; however, they all had one of the acts of trafficking in persons within the story, but failed to confirm a purpose for exploitation.

Extent and Nature:

Trafficking of child soldiers, based on the data from the primary informants, includes the act of recruitment. In both identified cases, the boys were kidnapped by unknown people. Similar to sexual exploitation, drugs were commonly mentioned as ways of keeping boys under control. In all of the cases shared, the boys were kept in rooms with other boys and indoctrinated with ideas of extreme Islamic ideology, specifically in regards to the concept of paradise. In one instance, a boy was told he would be able to go to school after he completed the suicide mission. In one interview, the survivor shared how a boy was given a drug that made him happy and then the vest was placed on him, while he was unaware of the situation.

“They taught us about doing suicide attacks and that it was the key of paradise.” -Boy, JRC Jalalabad

Forty-four per cent of the case stories regarding child soldier recruitment connected the exploitation to Pakistan and madrassas.

Provincial data collection for child soldiers:

Figure 3.2: Child soldier recruitment by province

Province	Existence of child soldiers	Key players	Types of exploitation
Herat	2 references	AOG	Suicide bomber
Kunduz	5 references	AOG	Suicide bomber
Kabul	4 references	AOG	Security issues/Suicide bomber
Nangarhar	7 references	AOG ANA	Suicide bomber/Manual labour

Herat

Key informants in Herat focused the least on trafficking of child soldiers. When asked about types of exploitation, two references were made to child recruitment by military groups:

“One case of a suicide bomber.” -Senior leader

“Heard of boys being taken to Pakistan and brainwashed as child soldiers.” - Senior leader

Kunduz

A BBC report had described a recent case of a boy who had been turned in as a child suicide bomber by his father in Kunduz.⁴⁷ Therefore the research team was interested to learn more about the prevalence of child recruitment in the North of Afghanistan. During the data collection, there were five references to child recruitment by military groups, all associated with AOGs. Out of the five key informants who said it did exist, four associated the recruitment with Pakistan, and one went as far to say it was associated with children who were very religious.

“In Pakistan, I have seen boys working with the Taliban. They put suicide vests on them and if not they would kill the boy.” -Boy

“Recruitment for soldiers? Yes.” –Caregiver

Kabul

In Kabul, it was interesting to note that four stakeholders mentioned it as a type of exploitation boys are vulnerable to, but no details were mentioned. They simply stated that boys were being recruited for security issues.

Nangarhar

Nangarhar province had the most references to child recruitment by military groups, a total of seven times. The interesting difference in Nangarhar was the connection of these military groups not only to armed opposition groups, but also to the ANA. Four stakeholders connected child recruitment for military groups to studying in madrassas in Pakistan. Three highlighted the ANA as recruiting boys.

“Recruited for studying in a madrassa to Pakistan.” -Senior leader

“Army recruiting.” -Senior leader

⁴⁷ BBC, Afghan father hands over ‘bomber son’ to police, 30 January 2013. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-21257894>

Additional types of exploitation:

Outside of the three major types of exploitation, there were a few references to the following types of exploitation:

- Selling of boys
- Drug smuggling
- Street begging networks
- Criminal networks
- Organ cutting

While these are the types of exploitation that Afghans are more comfortable discussing, actual cases and first-hand accounts gathered during the data rarely focused on these more culturally comfortable types of exploitation. This is not to say that these types of exploitation are not occurring in Afghanistan, however the cases of boys in these situations are not being documented and boy survivors of these types of trafficking are not accessing existing services.

Summary:

Exploitation within male child trafficking falls into three main areas. Based on the field research, male child trafficking for sexual exploitation is the main type of exploitation. Bacha bazi is the most recognised type of exploitation within sexual trafficking. This type of exploitation is extremely harmful to boys, involving repeated forced sexual encounters and the use of threatening tactics to keep boys from escaping. The frequent connection of law enforcement agents as the perpetrators themselves raises a serious issue over the ability to protect and prevent this type of exploitation from occurring in Afghanistan.

Trafficking for labour exploitation is not emphasised as much as other groups. Most likely this is due to a different understanding of forced labour and not seeing Afghan boys as victims in a labour context. The extent and nature of the different types of trafficking was not discussed as openly as the sexual exploitation. However, it was interesting to note that in some cases there was a crossover between labour and sexual exploitation. Afghan boys were recruited for labour exploitation, and were also sexually exploited. The concern within the findings is that the actual population of trafficking of boys for labour is much higher than realised, yet lack of understanding creates a barrier that limits action to protect boys caught in this type of trafficking.

Findings suggest that trafficking of child soldiers is occurring in Afghanistan, especially within the North and the East and into Pakistan. However, data collection in regards to child soldiers has its challenges. Afghan boys recruited as child soldiers have most likely been indoctrinated with a specific set of beliefs. The extreme process, including use of drugs, to prepare Afghan boys for suicide attacks creates a challenging context for service provision. Most boys, all under 18, interviewed took complete responsibility for their decision to join the AOG, therefore making it difficult to decipher whether the boys had been coerced in anyway, or not. Therefore, identification of survivors will be a difficult task, because of the context of indoctrination. This type of exploitation is one that will require a unique, targeted service provision, much different than the service provisions for sexual and labour exploitation.

1.5 Victim Identification

Considering the context of on-going conflict, identification of victims and survivors of trafficking is acknowledged to be very limited in Afghanistan. During the research, secondary informants consistently referred to the lack of reporting on cases of male child trafficking. Therefore, the analysis of the data was focused more on understanding why identification is low. Cases shared by key informants were analysed for emerging patterns and themes regarding victim identification.

The findings provided understanding in two main areas:

- The current obstacles hindering victim identification in Afghanistan
- The key players strategically placed to identify victims and survivors of male child trafficking

Key findings

- Lack of action within the existing protocol, inability to identify male child victims and the cultural context of Afghanistan are hindering victim identification.
- Key players in identification are law enforcement agencies, CPAN, shelters, JRCs and the Attorney General's office.

1.5.1 Main obstacles to victim identification

Three categories emerged, as to why boys were not being identified as survivors of trafficking:

- Lack of action in following the existing protocol for identification, protection and prosecution
- Inability to recognise male child victims and survivors
- Cultural context of Afghanistan

Existing Protocol for identification, protection and prosecution

“Ministry of Interior child protection directorate gender department handles cases of victims, we (youth children discover crime department) handle cases against the law.” -Senior leader, Kabul

It is difficult for a person to gain a good understanding of the existing protocol for victim identification, protection and prosecution in Afghanistan. Approximately 13 different ministries within the GIRoA are members of the High Commission for Combatting Crimes of Abduction and Trafficking. Each member is tasked with specific responsibilities within the Trafficking in Persons (TIP) National Action Plan. Reviewing the TIP National Action Plan left the research team confused with who is responsible for the tasks of identification, protection and prosecution. Throughout the research, not one key informant was able to explain the existing protocol for identification, protection and prosecution of male child trafficking survivors. In the end, the

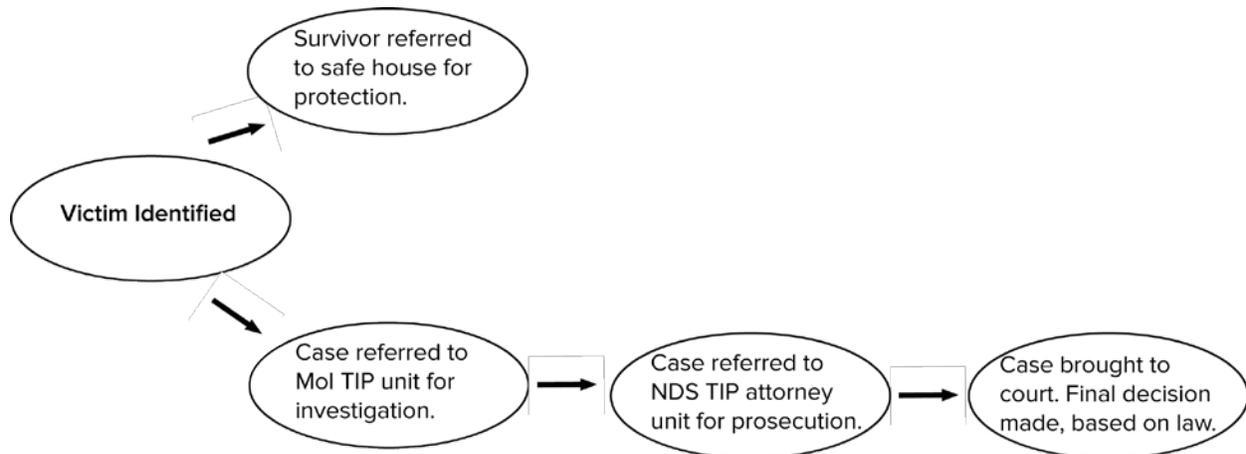
international researcher sat down with the programme manager of the Hagar Afghanistan TIPCAP project, to explain the existing protocol. His initial response:

“There is no procedure, no system.” -TIPCAP project manager, Kabul

However, he was able to then explain how the system should be working, and which organisations have which responsibilities, but repeated that the responsibilities are not being fulfilled.

The current protocol in place for survivors of male child trafficking places responsibility for protection on the Child Protection Action Network (CPAN), within MoLSA. CPAN is responsible to identify cases, place clients in safe places and begin the process of prosecution. Investigation of male child trafficking is the responsibility of the TIP unit within the MoI. The responsibility for prosecution of the perpetrator is found within the NDS TIP unit (Attorney). The final decision on the case is made by the court, which is separate from the Ministry of Justice (MoJ).

Figure 3.3: Victim Identification protocol



However, this protocol is rarely followed. In the years since the 2008 law was signed by President Karzai, only three cases of trafficking in persons have been prosecuted and the recruiters charged. Information regarding the current outcome of the recruiters and the survivors is unknown. The willingness of stakeholders to follow the existing protocol is extremely low, for no real reason. However, the conversations with key informants suggest that the effort required to follow through with a prosecution are more than what is willing to be spent. One secondary informant, working at the provincial level of CPAN was asked about the low numbers of recorded trafficking cases, his response:

“There were 40-50 cases of trafficking, however they were categorised in other issues, not trafficking, because cases marked as trafficking mean they have to pursue prosecution of perpetrator.” -Director, Nangarhar

Hagar Afghanistan has also had first-hand experience in seeing a client's case acknowledged by CPAN as trafficking and prosecuted by the Attorney General's office as kidnapping.⁴⁸ A proverb shared in one interview brought some cultural perspective on the unwillingness to identify and pursue prosecutions: "One no is better than 12 yes". It emphasises the fact that it's easier to say no and end the conversation, rather than say yes and have to answer more questions. Identifying a boy as a victim of male child trafficking would involve a long process of investigation and questions.

Inability to recognise Male Child Victims

"Currently there is no capacity in police to identify." -Project Manager, Herat

"The biggest problem in Afghanistan is the confusion with the law and the definition." -Senior leader, Kabul

Another obstacle to victim identification is the difficulty Afghans have in seeing boys involved in sexual exploitation as victims. It was the experience of the research team, through personal observations, that there is an initial distrust of any male child victim's story of abuse or exploitation. Afghan officials and agents of the law find it necessary to be 100 per cent sure of the crime committed before making any accusations. When they view a case through the lens of a moral crime (such as adultery and rape), it is very difficult for them to see anything but a criminal. Cases of boys in the JRC, raped by an adult male, yet charged with a crime and sentenced to 3-5 years, while the adult perpetrator was freed, are a common story here.⁴⁹ However, this is not just in regards to sexual trafficking, boys trafficked for forced labour and child soldiers also have a difficult time being seen as victims.

In many situations, it also appears to be a lack of understanding in regards to terminology. Even within the NDS TIP unit, the unit specifically focused on trafficking in persons, cases in interviews and in coalition meetings focus more on smuggling and kidnapping.⁵⁰ The ability to transfer the knowledge from training in understanding is slow. It will take extensive, continuous training for GIRoA ministries and law enforcement agencies before the knowledge becomes rooted into the minds and hearts of Afghans, resulting in action.

Cultural context of Afghanistan:

The importance of honour in Afghanistan creates an environment of fear in identifying anything shameful within a family or community, no matter how wrong or harmful. Investigations on male child trafficking focus on issues viewed as shameful and "unmentionable," which in this culture is quickly avoided. The avoidance of shame keeps survivors themselves, family members, witnesses, law enforcement agencies and government officials from identifying and prosecuting these abuses. Especially in the context of sexual exploitation, the shame of such abuse is a major obstacle to the sharing of such crimes, thereby limiting the ability to identify victims.

⁴⁸ At time of printing, Hagar Afghanistan was still waiting to hear why the case has been charged as kidnapping.

⁴⁹ Motely, Kim, Assessment of juvenile justice in Afghanistan, 2010.

⁵⁰ Key informant interview, TIPCAP Project Manager, 12 September, 2013.

“No visible signs of trafficking and communities and families don’t want to report, whether honour or shame or because of the hassle of reporting.” -Project Manager, Nangarhar

“Boys may have problems like (trafficking) what we are talking about, but they are not ready to share their stories, because of the (Pashtun) culture.” -Senior leader, Nangarhar

1.5.2 Key players in identification

While no questions were asked in regards to those involved in victim identification, because of the qualitative nature of the research design, the data collected provided a very comprehensive list of the key players involved. This list was based on shared case stories and personal experiences by primary informants. The stories were analysed to discover patterns in actual/potential identification of male child victims of trafficking.

The findings highlighted two main points of identification within the cases:

- Initial contact with male child victims/survivors of trafficking
- During the referral process

Two main stakeholders who were consistently involved in the initial contact with male child victims of trafficking:

- Local police
- CPAN

Findings suggest that the key stakeholders with an opportunity to identify male child survivors during the referral process are:

- CPAN
- JRCs
- Shelters for survivors of trafficking in persons

Figure 3.4: Identification process

Province	Initial contact	Referral
Herat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The local police (twice) • AIHRC • UNHCR (at border) • IOM • CPAN • DoRR • LBAO (IOM IP) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CPAN • LBAO (IOM Implementing partner-IP)

Figure 3.4: Identification process (continued)

Province	Initial contact	Referral
Kunduz	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The local police • Mullah • CPAN • DoLSA • AGO • International Military Forces 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NSRDO (IOM IP) • CPAN • DoLSA • JRC • NDS
Kabul	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The local police • MoLSA/CPAN • JRC • GIRoA • MoPH • Worshippers at a mosque • IOs and CSOs • AIHRC • Social workers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Victims of Trafficking shelters (both IOM and Aschiana) • Orphanage • Counselling centre • AIHRC • JRC • CPAN • MoLSA social workers
Nangarhar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The local police • The ANA • DoLSA/CPAN • District attorney offices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NSRDO (IOM IP) • CPAN • JRC • Child attorney

Afghan local police are in a key position to not only identify male child victims/survivors of trafficking. They are the ones on the street on a daily basis, interacting with communities, families and children. They have a large presence within city centres. Since many male child victims of trafficking are initially seen as having committed a crime, the police are the ones tasked with responding to criminal issues and therefore have initial contact with male child victims of trafficking. Since the NDS deals with national security, NDS agents also have initial contact with boys, especially boys who have been recruited as child soldiers.

Referral process for boys begins with where the police send the male child victim of trafficking. In some cases the boys are referred to CPAN. This is the best case scenario since CPAN has the knowledge and ability to refer the boy to a safe house. However, at times, the boys are sent to the Attorney General's Office (AGO), charged with a crime and then sent onto the JRCs. At these points, it is important for the staff to be well trained and aware of the indicators of male child trafficking and have the information necessary to identify and protect the male child survivors of trafficking.

Summary:

Victim identification in Afghanistan is hindered by capacity, understanding and lack of will to pursue prosecution. However, an existing protocol does exist and has the potential to improve identification of male child victims of trafficking. This will be achieved through more capacity

building on identification among those interacting with male child victims of trafficking at crucial points, both initial contact and during the referral process.

1.6 Action

Although perpetrators were not interviewed, the personal experiences of primary informants themselves gave unique insight into how recruiters operate. Information was gathered naturally within personal experiences and shared case stories. At times the primary informant was asked to clarify as to what the perpetrator had said to him, getting more details, but overall the factors involved in the boys’ trafficking were identified through the storytelling process.

Three patterns in action emerged during the analysis:

- Strategies of perpetrators
- Characteristics of perpetrators
- Populations targeted by perpetrators

Key findings

- Perpetrators target unaccompanied minors, below the age of 15, who come from unstable family backgrounds.
- Afghan boys at risk are promised work and care by adults in positions of power and trust.

1.6.1 Strategies

“The trafficker was waiting like a hunter, right around the time that the hotel was closing and the boy was becoming jobless.” -Caregiver, Kunduz

In more than one interview, perpetrators were described as “hunters”, strategically watching for boys who were vulnerable. This appears to be an accurate description of the thought and action that perpetrators take to find boys in vulnerable situations. Cases in this research involved the following types of action: recruitment, transport or harbouring. Within the act of recruitment, three cases specifically described forced recruitment by kidnapping, but generally the primary informants were recruited by invitation.

Figure 3.5: Strategies

# of cases	Strategy
22 cases	Promise of Work
6 cases	Promise of Care
4 cases	Peer Pressure
3 cases	Promise of Education

Promise of Work

“Two people met me at the Kabul Zoo and they asked me if I wanted to work and they brought me to a recruiter.” -Boy, Kabul.

Promise of work was by far the most mentioned strategy. Boys were offered work and then transported to other locations. The boys recruited with promises of work faced a variety of exploitation, including forced labour, bacha bazi and sexual.

Promise of Care

“The two boys came up to me and said ‘it is getting late, where will you go, come with us and we will treat you like our brother’.” – Boy, Kabul

Promise of care was a surprising strategy. Perpetrators seemed to target boys alone and play off their desire for a family/father figure, by offering themselves as the new caretaker. This strategy highlights the strategic and planned aspects of trafficking. These boys appeared to have been watched and studied before the actual trafficking takes place. Recruitment by this strategy resulted in internal trafficking and all the cases mentioned focused on sexual exploitation.

Peer Pressure

“My classmate said to me, ‘let’s go to Pakistan, I have to pay back a loan’.” -Boy, Jalalabad

Peer pressure was another strategy used by perpetrators. Within the method, it was noted that there appeared to be “networks” where perpetrators hired others to recruit for them. Once the boys were in the control of the perpetrator, threats were used to keep the boys in place, both physical and emotional, as well as drugs. The relationships between the peer and the victim were never mentioned as extremely close, usually referred to as a classmate or acquaintance.

Promise of Education

“The recruiter promised him education, if he would become a suicide bomber.” -Child Protection Specialist, Kabul.

Promises of education were less common than expected. It was interesting to note that the pull was for religious education. The recruitment for education suggests a more external trafficking focus. In one case, a perpetrator promised education and took boys to the Iranian border, the other two cases involved transport to Pakistan based on the promise of education.

1.6.2 Actors involved

“Most recruiters (in Kunduz) are from Kunduz and live in Kunduz.” -Law enforcement agent, Kunduz

“Local police recruit boys for sex and labour.” -Senior leader, Kunduz

Within the data collection, there was a wide range of opinions on who is involved in trafficking, from family members to members of the GIRoA. One key informant said most perpetrators traffic

family members because they have built trust, another thought that was not likely because families wouldn't hurt their own relatives. Recognising the difficulty in establishing findings and recommendations based on opinions, data analysis on characteristics in perpetrators focused on the personal experiences of primary informants and shared case stories from secondary informants.

Two common themes emerged in regards to those involved in the act of trafficking:

- They held a position of trust
- They held a position of power

Findings suggest that perpetrators are part of networks, never operating on their own. Secondary informants referenced close cooperation between Iranian and Afghan smugglers. There were references to intelligence and criminal officers keeping boys as well. Another informant stated that usually perpetrators come from the community itself or at least had lived there for quite some time to build trust.

1.6.3 Targeted populations

"They look for the invisible." –Caregiver, Kabul

Boys were generally trafficked from urban areas, highly populated areas such as the Kabul Zoo or in front of a mosque, and along the borders.

Characteristics of boys targeted for trafficking focused on the following three factors:

- Those who come from unstable family backgrounds
- Those below the age of 15
- Those who were unaccompanied

Summary:

Perpetrators are strategic and patient in their process of trafficking. Targeted populations of boys are those under the age of 15, UAMs, and those coming from unstable family backgrounds. Afghan boys are promised access to opportunities they have been looking for, such as work and a safe home and family. While perpetrators appear to be mainly adult males, there are cases where peers, such as classmates, are recruiting boys for larger trafficking networks.

1.7 Push Factors

On-going instability in Afghanistan continues to threaten prospects for a secure future for boys.⁵¹ Within this instability there are factors pushing boys into vulnerable situations. This research focused on increasing understanding of the reasons why boys become vulnerable to male child trafficking.

⁵¹ UNICEF, *Children on the move*, February 2010.

Data from both primary informants and secondary informants was analysed for emerging themes or patterns. The resulting findings were separated into two groups:

- Key findings (based solely on the personal experiences and shared case stories of primary informants)
- Secondary findings (based on expert opinion from secondary informants)

Overall, the findings focused on three main push factors for male child trafficking:

- Economic
- Family
- Education

Key Findings

Afghan boys are pushed into vulnerable situations by economic difficulties, family difficulties and lack of access to religious education.

1.7.1 Key findings

Push factors were identified within the shared stories and personal experiences from primary informants. Three main push factors emerged from the data analysis:

Figure 3.6: Push factors based on primary informants

# of cases	Push Factor
17 cases	Economic
10 cases	Family
4 cases	Education

Economic:

“We were too poor, I had no choice.” -Boy, Herat.

Economic reasons were by far the largest factor mentioned. Lack of work and/or opportunity to work within their own community pushed them to pursue work in urban centres in Afghanistan as well as work in Iran and Pakistan. Reasons for the need to work ranged from loans taken out by family members, to an overall statement of being poor, to the need for money. Five of the 17 primary informants used the phrase “no choice” when describing their situation. They had to (“majburas ke”) go look for work other places. Along with economic issues, two primary informants mentioned the need for work because of drug addictions or boredom.

Family:

“My mother’s new husband kicked me out.” - Boy, Takhar.

Family instability played the second largest role in pushing primary informants into risky situations. Specific contexts mentioned included:

- Not getting along well with fathers
- A parent marrying again, creating conflict between the new spouse and the existing children
- Death of a father
- The old age of parents

In some cases, it was the head of the family who sent the boy out for work. An interesting focus was on poor parenting skills. One boy referred to the lack of good advice from his parents as the reason why he had been found in a vulnerable situation.

Education:

“I went to study at the madrassa.” - Boy, Kunduz.

Education or rather the lack of access to education was an expected push factor. However, in the data collected, it was not a lack of government education that was pushing primary informants into vulnerable situations. Instead it was religious education. There was a definite connection to Pakistan. Primary informants in Nangarhar and Kunduz mentioned the better quality of religious education in Pakistan than in Afghanistan, which attracted them to opportunities to study in Pakistan.

1.7.2 Secondary informants

Findings from secondary informants focused on five major categories of push factors. These factors were based on their experience working with child protection issues and boys at risk.

Figure 3.7: Push factors based on secondary informants

# of cases	Push Factor
30 references	Economic
10 references	Lack of awareness
6 references	Security/conflict
4 references	Education
2 references	Family

Economic:

“No real market for employment, limited access to work.” -Caregiver

Similar to primary informants, economic reasons were mentioned as the largest push factor for boys being at risk of male child trafficking. Basic poverty was mentioned as the main factor for economic difficulties. However, secondary informants pointed out specific causes for the poverty, such as loans taken out by family members, lack of work options and lack of job skills training. One secondary informant put the blame on richer people demanding the labour of the poor families. In another response, the reason for more boys travelling unaccompanied from the North provinces was due to a higher level of poverty in the North region.

Awareness:

“(Boys) are ready to take part in something, learn something and join in jobs and are easily fooled.” -Caregiver

The second most mentioned factor by secondary informants was awareness. Awareness being defined as:

- The lack of common sense
- Being “unlucky”
- Not knowing the dangers
- Ignorance

Examples of the lack of awareness included sending boys to Europe based on false ideas of possible opportunities, as well as families too easily trusting the promises of perpetrators. A reference was made to returning refugee children being uncomfortable in their new home and wanting to return to Pakistan. Also, it was noted that the eagerness of boys/families to take part in something makes them vulnerable to the lies of perpetrators.

Security:

“30 years of war.” -Director, Kabul

On-going security was the third most mentioned factor by secondary informants. The current security situation, the long-term conflict for the past 30 years, and fighting were reasons given for boys being placed in risky situations. One secondary informant differentiated between regions, noting that security was the main push factor in the South region, while poverty was the biggest factor in the North.

Education and Family:

“No opportunity to study so family sent him to Pakistan.” -Senior leader, Kabul

“Stepmother treats stepchildren bad.” -Project Manager, Kunduz

Both education and family were also mentioned by secondary informants but were not emphasised as much as the boys themselves. Once again, in regards to education, the focus was on religious education in madrassas in Pakistan. Similar examples for family reasons were also given, such as difficulties with stepmothers, treatment of stepchildren and displacement of families.

1.7.3 Primary vs. Secondary

Data from primary informants was compared with the data collected from secondary informants, with the purpose of analysing the similarities and differences between the two. Similarities can strengthen and confirm the validity of the push factors shared by primary informants, while differences provide insight into areas where service providers need to readjust their focus, in order to target the felt needs of male child survivors of trafficking.

Figure 3.8: Push factors: primary vs. secondary informants

Primary	Secondary
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic • Family • Education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic • Awareness • Security • Education • Family

Economic factors were the most mentioned by all key informants, confirming the need to increase services involved in vocational training and creation of job opportunities.

The other factors shared more differences than similarities. Secondary informants focused on awareness and security factors; primary informants themselves did not refer to these two factors at all. Awareness and security factors are quite important, but not as essential as the basic needs of family and education. It is debatable to say whether knowing the dangers of sending boys away unaccompanied would stop families from doing it. In many instances in Afghanistan, knowledge is second to need, and even with the knowledge, the need will supersede.

Summary:

Two areas of focus resulted from these findings. First of all, the push factors for boys and the strategies used by perpetrators are intrinsically linked and highlight the danger for boys. It is important for service providers to facilitate programmes that will be able to intervene to meet the felt needs of boys at risk of male child trafficking before they are trafficked.

Figure 3.9: Push factors vs. recruitment strategies

Push Factors	Recruitment strategies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic • Family • Education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promise of work • Promise of care • Peer pressure • Promise of education

Secondly, at times, IOs and CSOs can place their own bias, as to perceived needs, into the programme design. Regarding push factors, it is important to note that disregarding the voices of male child survivors of trafficking can hinder the success of the programme. If programmes are meant to protect and prevent male child trafficking, it is essential that the real needs of the boys are met. Understanding the real needs of male child trafficking must include actual participation of male child survivors of trafficking.

1.8 Prosecution

Data on prosecutions is extremely limited. In fact, since the law was signed by President Karzai in 2008, only three cases have gone to prosecution. Along with limited prosecutions, there is a lack of awareness of the existing protocol for prosecutions. Therefore, data collected on prosecution was very limited. Key informants were confused as to who was responsible for prosecutions. Others admitted that prosecution was often not pursued because the process was so difficult.

Within the data that was analysed, three main categories emerged:

- Actors responsible for prosecution
- Actors working in building capacity of those responsible for prosecution
- Gaps in prosecution

Key findings

- Limited understanding of prosecution currently exists
- Police are a key player in increasing prosecutions
- Arrest of victims more likely than recruiters/perpetrators

1.8.1 Actors involved

During the interviews, actors, perceived by key informants, as responsible for prosecution were all part of the GIRoA. The majority were part of the law enforcement agencies (police, NDS and

Mol). The attorney general was also listed as a key actor in prosecution. No actor within the justice system was mentioned (judges, prosecutors), nor the AIHRC.

Figure 4.0: Stakeholders involved in prosecution

Perceived actors in prosecution	Actual actors in prosecution
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police • NDS • Mol • AGO 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mol TIP unit • NDS TIP unit • Court

Comparing the perceived actors with the actual actors highlights the disconnect between perception and reality that currently exists. However the disconnect is not due entirely to a lack of awareness of the process of prosecution. There is a lack of action by the players responsible to prosecute which fosters a void in prosecution. The result is almost no action in prosecuting cases of trafficking in persons, let alone any prosecution of male child trafficking cases.

1.8.2 Actors involved in building capacity

Increasing the awareness and will to prosecute among stakeholders will be the responsibility of those equipped to build capacity in regards to trafficking in persons. During field research, a minimal list of organisations currently implementing capacity training on trafficking in persons was established. Though not extensive, this list refers to those organisations recognised by key informants as providing trainings. A major gap in this list is the lack of Afghan organisations, especially the AIHRC. The lack of references to AIHRC is concerning, however; it may be due to the fact that the AIHRC focuses more on protection rather than prosecution. Yet, whatever the case, without the Afghan organisations taking ownership of prosecution, capacity will dissolve once international involvement is gone.

Figure 4.1: Capacity building organisations

Prosecution	Monitoring	Building capacity
UNICEF * (potential for 2014)	EUPOL	Hagar International
	UNAMA	USAID

1.8.3 Gaps

“They brought the perpetrator to the Afghan police, but they could not arrest him because they had no facility to transport to Herat City.” - Project Manager, Herat/Iran border

“Three dancing boys are arrested, but they did not arrest the recruiters.” -Manager, Kabul

Listening to the shared cases and personal experiences, four gaps in prosecution were identified:

- At the border there is an inability to prosecute because of the lack of a criminal police section.

- In most cases, victims are arrested, not perpetrators
- There is no central database to track prosecution of cases
- Afghan local police are responsible for protection and prosecution, yet also are known to be the perpetrators of the crimes

Summary:

Similar to victim identification, prosecution has the existing framework in place, yet limited capacity and lack of focus. The involvement of police in the perpetration of male child trafficking hinders effective prosecution. Although three cases have been prosecuted since 2008, findings suggest that there is no expectation for more prosecutions, unless the capacity of key stakeholders is improved.

2. Male Child Survivors of Trafficking

A critical aspect of the research was ensuring that the voices of survivors of male child trafficking were heard and their stories told. Hearing from survivors themselves builds accurate knowledge of male child trafficking. Listening to their stories ensures that future recovery programmes meet the actual needs of boy survivors.

One hundred and thirty boys were interviewed during the field research, 50 individual and 80 in FGDs. The boys interviewed were a cross section of at-risk populations, including seven boys in shelters. Ten per cent of the boys interviewed were identified as survivors of male child trafficking. This is a conservative percentage. In fact cultural stigma, time limitations and misunderstanding of exploitation, would have hindered many boys from sharing the full story. Therefore, it is more likely that survivors could have numbered closer to 20 per cent of the primary informants interviewed. Yet, the research team, in a desire to ensure validity and limit bias, kept definitions very rigid, resulting in ten per cent of the boys being identified as survivors of male child trafficking.

What does this say for male child trafficking at a national level? Numbers of survivors of male child trafficking are difficult to establish, due to the largely hidden nature of the crime.⁵² Afghanistan is no exception. The cultural stigma and lack of understanding on male child trafficking makes it difficult to get a good grasp of the actual number of cases. At the same time, it is a risky move to generalise data, limited to four provinces, onto the nation as a whole. Therefore, this research will in no way declare that 10 per cent of boys in Afghanistan are victims of male child trafficking. However, if within such a small cross-section of population of boys, ten per cent were identified as survivors of male child trafficking; it is not unreasonable or invalid to estimate, based on our findings that potentially ten per cent of boys in Afghanistan will become victims of male child trafficking.

It is sometimes difficult to visualise percentages. What exactly does 10 per cent of boys in Afghanistan look like? To put it in perspective, it is helpful to compare statistics with other more well publicised issues. Figure 4.2 provides an interesting comparison of different statistics.

Figure 4.2: Extent of male child trafficking

Male child trafficking	13 out of 130	10 per cent
Infant mortality	7.1 out of 100	7.1 per cent
IDP population	1.4 out of 100	1.4 per cent

Infant mortality is a major issue of concern in Afghanistan. World Bank figures in 2012, noted that 71 of 1000 infants die before their first birthday, or 7.1 per cent.⁵³ The issues of internally displaced populations in Afghanistan are a continuing focus of humanitarian efforts, in 2012, 1.4

⁵² UNODC, Global trafficking report, 2012.

⁵³ World Bank, Mortality rate, Infant, 2012. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.DYN.IMRT.IN>

per cent of the population was internally displaced.⁵⁴ At ten per cent, male child trafficking impacts more Afghans than either issue and demands the attention of the GIRoA and international organisations

Data gathered from the 13 male child survivors of trafficking enable the research team to get a snapshot view of who survivors are, where they come from, what exploitations they face and their value systems.

Findings paint the following picture of a typical male child survivor:

“Thirteen years old, he probably has been trafficked internally for sexual exploitation or labour and most likely has been identified as a criminal, not a victim. Attendance at a local school is possible, but not likely. Recruited from the North region, his family’s economic and relational insecurity has pushed him into a vulnerable situation.”

Key findings

- Boys younger than 13 are more vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Boys older than 13 are more vulnerable to recruitment for child soldiers.
- Trafficking for sexual exploitation appears to be mainly internal.
- Male child survivors of trafficking are likely to be sent to the JRCs, unidentified.
- Male child survivors of trafficking value a family and a safe, secure place to live.
- At the time of research, there was only one emergency shelter, exclusively for boys in Afghanistan

2.1 Demographics

- 12-18 years old
- 5-Sexual, 4-Labour, 2-military recruitment, 2-sold (by family members)
- 7 out of 13 not identified as victims of trafficking
- 4 educated
- 9 were from unstable family situations

Who?

At the time of the interviews, male child survivors of trafficking ranged from 12-18 years old. The mean age was 13 and the average was 13.8 years old. Since the interviews occurred after the trafficking incident, the ages at the time of the victimisation would have been younger, at least by one year, putting the range of ages of victims of male child trafficking at 11-17.

⁵⁴ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Afghanistan, 2013. <http://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/afghanistan>

Ages of survivors were connected to the types of exploitation. Male child survivors of sexual trafficking were from 12- 13 years old. Male child survivors of trafficking as child soldiers were ages 14-18. The fact that male child survivors trafficked for sexual exploitation were younger was a confirmation of the reports of secondary informants who shared that it was boys younger than 15 that were more vulnerable to sexual abuse, due to the ability of the perpetrator to control the boys.

Nine of the 13 boys came from unstable family backgrounds. These backgrounds involved economic instability, such as large loans, medical instability, such as long-term illnesses of heads of family, and relational instability, such as poor relationships with fathers, one parent households or second marriages by the father or mother.

The educational background of boys played an interesting role. While education or lack thereof did not seem to impact the vulnerability of the primary informant to male child trafficking, it did appear to correlate with the type of exploitation experienced by the primary informant. Boys trafficked as child soldiers were more educated and more socially functional. Boys trafficked for sexual exploitation were less educated, illiterate and had difficulty in social settings. The other aspect of education focused on the lack of access to religious education. This appeared to be a push factor for boys being recruited as child soldiers.

Where?

Overall, male child survivors of trafficking were from three regions of Afghanistan: the North, Central and East.

Three male child survivors in Herat originated from the North (Balkh and Faryab) as well as one from Paktika in the Central region. There was one survivor, with mental disabilities, who did not remember where he was from. In Kabul, the three male child survivors had all been trafficked from the North (Takhar and Kunduz). The three male child survivors of trafficking in Jalalabad were from the Central region (Kabul, Logar and Maidan Wardak). The two primary informants identified as survivors of male child trafficking in Kunduz came from the North and Central regions (Kabul and Kunduz).

Figure 4.3: Provinces of origin of male child survivors



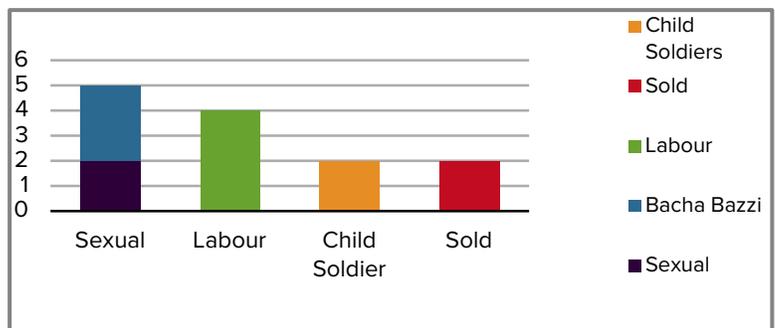
2.2 Exploitation

Types of exploitation appear to determine the destination, whether internal or external.

Exploitation of male child survivors fell into three major categories: sexual, labour, and military.

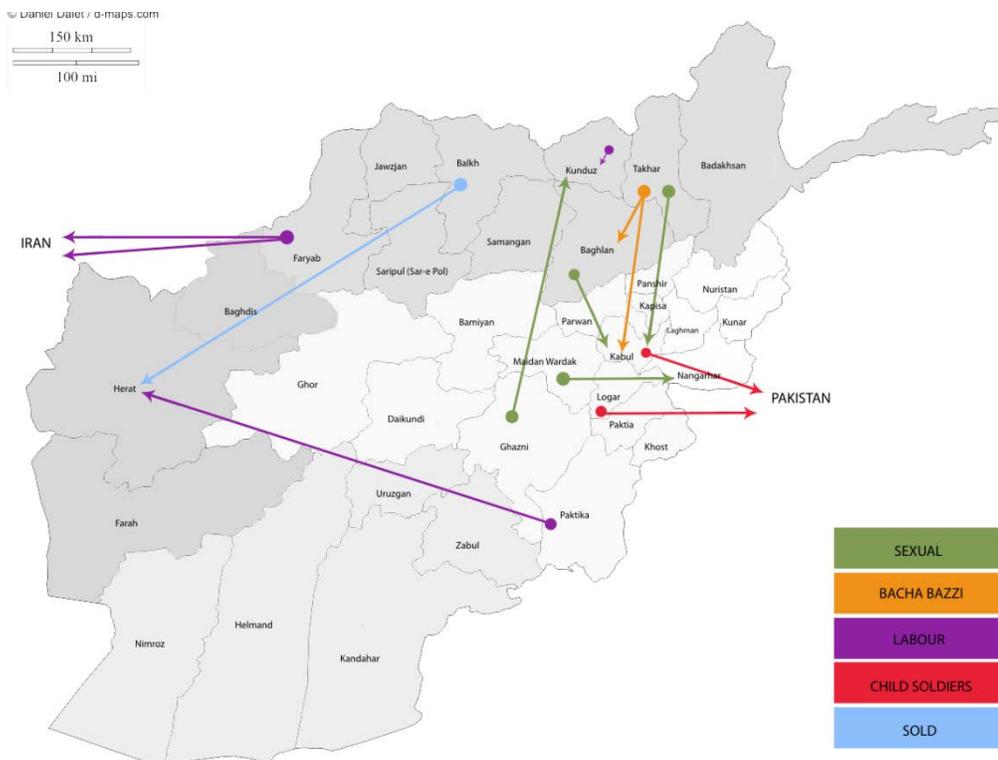
Within sexual exploitation, three out of five were for bacha bazi. At times the types of exploitation intersected with others. For example, within one case of labour exploitation, there was sexual abuse as well. Within child recruitment for military groups there was labour exploitation; within sexual exploitation, labour exploitation was also involved.

Figure 4.3: Exploitation of male child survivors



While movement is not necessary for trafficking to occur, in the research, exploitation seemed to correlate to destination. Figure 4.4 displays the origin and destination of the individual cases of male child survivors of trafficking.⁵⁵ The arrows are colour coded based on exploitation, with the dot symbolising the point of origin and the arrow symbolising the point of destination/exploitation.

Figure 4.4: Exploitation and destination of male child survivors



Patterns in trafficking highlighted that sexual exploitation took place exclusively within Afghanistan. Boys recruited for military groups were trafficked across the border to Pakistan. Boys trafficked for labour exploitation were exploited both internally and externally, however, the trafficking focused on the Western region and Iran, except for one case in the North region.

2.3 Victim Identification

Seven of the boys had not been identified as survivors of male child trafficking.

An alarming trend was the lack of identification of primary informants as survivors of trafficking. Five of the male child survivors of trafficking were in the provincial JRCs (one in the Kabul JRC, one in the Kunduz JRC and 3 in the Jalalabad JRC). These boys had either been charged with crimes against the law, or were waiting to be charged. Two boys had been identified as UAMs

⁵⁵ The map only shows twelve cases, because one of the survivors did not remember where he was from.

and were receiving basic services at the transit centre in Herat City. These research findings, along with reports from secondary informants, raise concern as to the unknown number of boys currently within the JRCs in Afghanistan who are actually survivors of exploitation, including male child trafficking.

2.4 Values

“I want to go home.” -Boy, Nangarhar

“I want to go to the orphanage.” -Boy, Herat

A safe place to live and feel secure is important to male child survivors of trafficking. Family is viewed as the best way to access that safety and security. For primary informants without family stability, the future seemed very insecure without a place to live.

One primary informant interviewed at the Herat JRC said:

“I can build, do wood work, windows, doors, but no facility to do this, so I do bad things, first I need a place to stay.” - Boy, Herat JRC.

The importance of helping their family’s needs and how that help then ensures their safety was emphasised.

“Attention to family is very important.” -Boy, Kunduz

All male child survivors referenced the importance of basic services in any programme design:

“They will need an orphanage, to study and to stay. There should be food, clothes, education and a safe place for staying.” Boy, Kabul

Education seemed to be seen as a nice opportunity, but not essential to survival.

“Schools exist, need work.” -Boy, Herat

They face many economic pressures.

“If I had money, I had food. If I didn’t, I didn’t have food.” -Boy, Nangarhar

Unemployment was mentioned as a frequent difficulty, even though most of the boys were below 15 and not legally allowed to be working. A key factor in the economic difficulty was the pressure from family to work.

“I had to work for the family.” -Boy, Herat

2.5 Psychological needs

Emotionally, male child survivors view what happened to them as something that has changed their future security and stability for the negative. They are worried and afraid about their future.

“When they become adults they don’t have the ability to work and so they do negative works.”
Boy, Herat

They are afraid of the unknown and ashamed of what has happened to them.

“Bad changes have come into my life. They did bad things to me and made me dance.” -Boy, Kabul

The broad reach that shame has was emphasised:

“Boys are ashamed, community and families are ashamed.” -Boy, Nangarhar

The stigma involving male child trafficking, especially involving sexual exploitation was astonishing coming from their peers. Comments by primary informants referred to male child survivors as not smart and placed responsibility for their actions on themselves.

“Boys should be smart and not become hunted by perpetrators.” -Boy, Kabul

There was also a viewpoint that God will punish them (the male child survivors) in the afterlife. As well as the need to punish them in this life:

“Boys that do this (sexual abuse) should be finished.” -Boy, Herat

2.6 Child rights

The rights of male child victims and survivors in Afghanistan are consistently denied.⁵⁶ Their right to access appropriate recovery services has been hindered solely by the fact that there are currently no services specifically for male child survivors of trafficking. Access to existing services for survivors of trafficking in general is limited based on the age of the boy, the type of exploitation, and the length of time needed for reintegration. At the time of the research, only five shelters (four run by IOM and one by Aschiana) would take boys over the age of 10.⁵⁷ The longest length of time male child survivors could stay at the shelter was three months and boys recruited as child soldiers were not accepted in any of the shelters because of the security risk.

Male child survivors within the JRC are also denied their rights to be treated with dignity and worth and to be presumed innocent. The primary informants identified as criminals within the JRC were at times not aware of the charge or the sentencing. Those charged with *lewat* (sex with a man) dealt with stigma from both peers and JRC staff who viewed as “bad” and seen as having no hope for a better life.

Within four different interviews with primary informants, they reported physical abuse and intimidation by the Mol, NDS and police during the interrogations, prior to being referred to the JRC. This type of physical abuse has also been reported in the 2012 UNAMA Annual report on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict.

“They beat me and blamed me for doing bad work.” -Boy, Kunduz

⁵⁶ Based on the rights within the UN Convention on the Rights of Children. 1990.

⁵⁷ At time of publication, the only two shelters in Kabul have been closed, due to funding and capacity.

2.7 Positive deviance in male child survivors of trafficking

During the field research, two cases of positive deviants were discovered. Specific interviews with two boys who, although having the indicators of vulnerability and having been approached by a perpetrator, chose not to go with the perpetrator and therefore did not become victims of male child trafficking.

“My mother and father are dead and my younger brothers and sisters live with my older brothers and their wives. I came from the central region to Nangarhar on my own to find work to support my sister. I was working at a hotel receiving a little money. In the hotel I did not have anything bad happen to me. One day, when I came to get a Pepsi, I met two boys and they asked me to come with them and work with them. So I went with them to a farm. But when we arrived the boys said, ‘let’s have sex’. I went to the police, told them these boys were asking me to have sex with them. The police arrested us all and brought us to the JRC.” -Boy, 13 or 14, Nangarhar.

Although the case is disturbing because of the fact that the victim was arrested along with the perpetrators, it was encouraging to see that the primary informant was able to protect himself from being sexually abused. Not only was he able to protect himself, he attempted to follow the law and have the perpetrators arrested. This is a positive deviant. Even with his young age, unstable family background, and current employment at a hotel, he was able to keep himself safe.

“My parents are alive. I was born in Pakistan. After coming back to Afghanistan, I had some friends, and one was from Pakistan. A couple of weeks after I saw my friends there was a bomb blast in the money exchange roundabout. I saw some of these friends in the roundabout with others. Because I knew them from childhood, I knew they were busy with bad habits. They asked me to come with them back to Pakistan. I said to them “No”, because I knew if I went with them, the next day I would die. In Pakistan I have seen them working with the Taliban.” -Boy, 17, Kunduz.

This client also was in the JRC, arrested on charges of cooperating with the Taliban, but it was based on the fact that his father had turned him into the authorities. However, his case illustrates the positive effect that awareness has on protecting boys from becoming male child victims of trafficking. This boy was recruited by friends, but still, because of his personal knowledge of the situation and the dangers that awaited him in Pakistan, he chose to say no to the recruitment.

In pursuing culturally appropriate programme design, it will be beneficial to identify more “positive deviants” within male child trafficking. If the factors that contributed to their ability to protect themselves from becoming victims of male child trafficking can be identified and tracked, they may be able to be transferred to their peers, empowering others to say “no” to vulnerable situations.

Summary:

Ten per cent of primary informants interviewed were identified as male child survivors of trafficking. Ranging from 12-18 years old, they were mainly from the North, Central and Eastern regions of Afghanistan. The top two types of trafficking were sexual and labour. Exploitation appears to correlate with the destination within the trafficking. Victim identification is a major

challenge in Afghanistan, with seven out of the 13 male child survivors not identified as survivors of male child trafficking by the Afghan staff. Male child survivors value family and a safe stable place to live, and see those two needs as a necessary foundation before vocational and educational opportunities can be beneficial.

3. Programme Design

This research was not designed to build understanding and knowledge of male child trafficking in Afghanistan, but primarily to drive the development of a culturally appropriate model of care for male child survivors of trafficking. Active participation from boys at risk and/or survivors of trafficking was essential for this goal to be successful. Thirteen male child survivors and 117 boys at risk were interviewed, individually or in FGDs, in order to gather the data necessary to drive the design of a culturally appropriate model of care that meets the needs of this specific population of boys.

Four main questions were asked during interviews to gather data:

- What needs exist among male child VoTs?
- What services currently exist for male child VoTs?
- What are the gaps in services currently?
- What services should be offered in the future and where?

Responses to these questions provided insight into the three main areas of the programme design:

- Programme focus
- Programme beneficiaries
- Programme location

Data from both primary and secondary informants was analysed for emerging themes, and then compared between the two groups to discover any patterns between both groups.

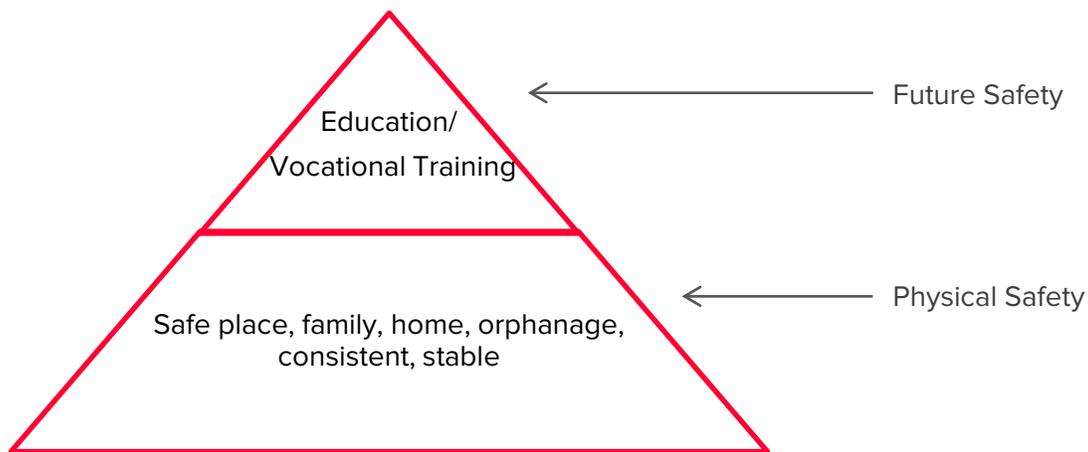
Key Findings

- Programme focus needs to ensure that physical and future safety needs will be met.
- Programme focus must acknowledge that physical safety should take precedence over future safety initially.
- Male child survivors with no known family currently have no option for reintegration besides an orphanage.
- Male child survivors of child soldier recruitment and sexual exploitation require specific recovery programme designs.
- Families are a key indirect beneficiary that must be included in any programme design.

3.1 Programme focus

Needs mentioned by primary informants focused on safety.⁵⁸ Yet, within safety, the primary informants created a sub-hierarchy of needs: Physical safety and future safety. Physical safety focused on the need for a safe, stable place to live (i.e. family, home, orphanage). Future safety focused on those needs that improved the prospect of a better future, such as, education and vocational opportunities.

Figure 4.5: Male child survivor hierarchy of needs



Primary informants, without a safe, stable place to live, could not see a benefit in services focused on vocational and educational trainings.

"I have no family, no place to stay. I can build and do wood work, First, I need a place to stay."
-Boy, Herat

The desire for improving their future security existed (when asked about what they would want to do in the future, the plans always included vocational and educational programmes) yet, there was a common belief that those needs could not be met until they felt physically safe.

Physical safety:

Physical safety emphasised reintegration with family and a safe, stable place to live. In regards to family, the conditions focused on providing economic assistance to families, in order to improve stability within the family and allow the primary informants to be able to stay at home. Orphanages were mentioned specifically twice, and appeared to be one of the only tangible examples primary informants had of a safe, continuous place to live.

⁵⁸ Wikipedia, Maslow's hierarchy, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maslow's_hierarchy_of_needs

Otherwise, the idea of physical safety was described as:

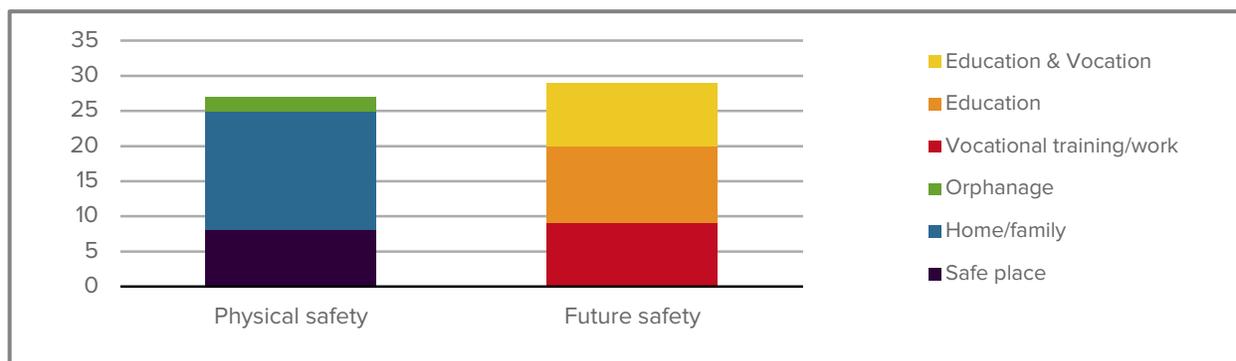
“A place to stay, food...” - Boy, Kabul

“There needs to be a place that brings them out of this work.” - Boy, Herat

“A need for a safe place...” -Boy, Kabul

“A facility to study, school, a madrassa, a room and bed...the centre should be continual.” - Boy, Kabul

Figure 4.6: Male child survivor needs



Future safety:

Future safety emphasised studying in school, facilities for vocational training and opportunities to work. In nine out of 27 responses, primary informants referred to education and vocational opportunities together.

“A place where they can work half day and study.” -Boy, Nangarhar

“Program for work and study.” -Boy, Herat

“If there was work opportunity, schools...” -Boy, Herat

In references to work, the needs fell into both the creation of work opportunities and the skills training.

“We need to learn a vocation.” - Boy, Nangarhar

“Provide a good work facility.” -Boy, Herat

Reference to studying 10 out of 27 times was connected with a safe place, home.

“I want there to be a place like an orphanage where I can be and go to school.” -Boy, Kabul

“A place to stay, food, opportunity to attend school.” -Boy, Kabul

“I want to go to the UK and study.” -Boy, Kunduz

Secondary Informants:

Secondary informants also focused mainly on the physical and future safety of male child survivors of trafficking. Physical safety emphasised shelters and family assistance. However, there was a larger emphasis on more permanent places to stay and also places that were designed for specific populations (i.e. boys, children without parents).

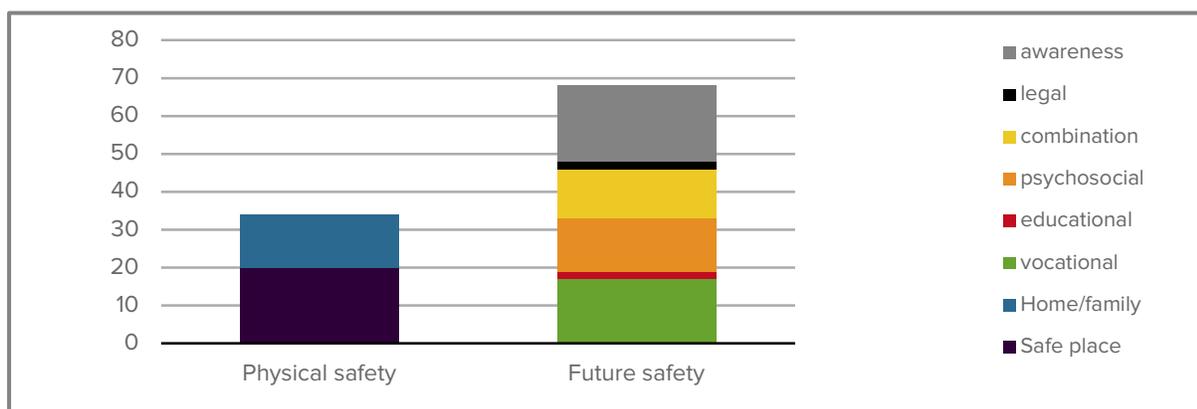
“Need for a long-term shelter, 24 hours staying facility...” -Caregiver, Kabul

“Children without parents need a safe house to stay.” - Caregiver, Kunduz

Future safety included a broader list of needs, compared to primary informants. While primary informants focused specifically on educational and vocational needs, secondary informants added psychosocial, awareness and legal needs as well.

“Need long-term services, including vocational, educational and psychosocial support as well as health.” -Senior leader, Herat

Figure 4.7: Existing needs from secondary informants’ viewpoint



A pattern of hierarchy within secondary informant’s data also existed, even though it was not as strong as the primary informants. One secondary informant noted:

“There is a process to help. First make boys functional, normalise lives, then focus on traumatic issues.” -Psychologist, Kabul

While this focused on physical needs before the psychological needs, the concept was similar: programme focus must look at service provision as a process.

3.2 Programme beneficiaries

Currently there are no services specifically designed to meet the needs of male child survivors of trafficking. The field research reinforced the prior understanding that there was a need for programmes designed specifically for male child survivors.

“Shelters specifically for boys.” -Director, Kunduz

“Unfortunately in the NDS we don’t have any place to keep victims for even one night.” -Director, Kabul

“Lack of shelter for trafficking victims and lack of focus on men and boys.” - Advisor, Kabul

Therefore, the analysis of data focused on identifying specific sub-categories of beneficiaries within the overall population of male child survivors.

Information on potential target beneficiaries was gathered from key informant responses to the following questions:

- What gaps currently exist in services?
- What challenges exist for service providers?
- What difficulties do boys face?

Analysis of the data collected from these questions provided insight into key sub-populations of male child survivors of trafficking that existing services are not able to provide recovery services for:

- Male child survivors in need of long term residential services
- Male child survivors of sexual trafficking and trafficking as child soldiers
- Assistant truck drivers
- Male child survivors within the JRCs

Male child survivors in need of long term services:

Reintegration is the main focus of existing services for children and boys. Research showed that reintegration generally occurs within the first month of service provision. However, for boys whose families are unable to be found, the dilemma is where to place them. Existing shelters, except for orphanages, have a time limit on how long boys can stay at the shelter. Shelters for victims of trafficking in persons, funded by IOM, are unable to keep boys longer than three months. A shelter, operated by Aschiana, for boys (including male child victims of trafficking) allowed boys to stay for up to one month.⁵⁹

“More than three to four months in the shelter is too long. We can’t help them longer than that, so they are referred back to DoLSA.” -Caregiver, Nangarhar

⁵⁹ Shelter closed in spring 2013.

“(Need) long-term programmes for more than six months.” -Social worker, Kabul

“Child without parents need a safe place to stay.” -Programme Officer, Kunduz

After boys have run out of time at the shelters, the only option for a place to live is the orphanage, which provides none of the recovery services needed for male child survivors of trafficking.

Male child survivors of sexual trafficking and trafficking as child soldiers:

A repeated theme among secondary informants was the need for different types of services depending on the exploitation.

“Need different types of programmes for children recruited for suicide bombers.” - Psychologist, Kabul

“Different needs of boys in conflict (with the law) and those from more ‘typical traumas’.”
-Caregiver, Kabul

“Focus on individualised care.” -Caregiver, Kabul

In many situations, programme criteria and programme security limited the number of beneficiaries. The Aschiana shelter had specific criteria that excluded children in conflict with security or boy victims of sexual abuse. Security risks also prompted many organisations to not offer services to boys trafficked as suicide bombers and for bacha bazi.

“Security risks of boys leaving conflict situations (suicide bombers).” - Senior Director, Kabul

“The boy/client was very beautiful and the caregiver was receiving threats about his situation.”
- Caregiver, Kabul

Assistant truck drivers:

Two different times in the field research, there was specific mention to the needs for a programme focused on assistant truck drivers.

“There needs to be a place that brings them out of this work (assistant drivers).” -Boy, Herat

The fact that this population was mentioned specifically is important to note, as well as the repeated connection between sexual exploitation and assistant truck drivers highlights the complex recovery needs. These recovery needs should be considered in future recovery programme design.

Male child survivors of trafficking within the JRCs:

As previous findings have shown, male child survivors of trafficking are often sent to the JRCs, either charged with a crime or because there is no other option. The inclusion of statements regarding increased emphasis on the JRCs only goes to strengthen existing concerns.

“Need to work with the families and follow up with the families.” -Senior Director, Nangarhar

“No reintegration plan for boys at the JRC.” -Senior Advisor, Kabul

Along with the target population of male child survivors of trafficking, key informants highlighted other indirect beneficiaries of future recovery programmes.

Primary informants focused solely on families.

“Attention for the family is very important.” -Boy, Kunduz

“If we could support for feeding and helping our families.” -Boy, Herat

Secondary informants highlighted a much broader scope of indirect beneficiaries:

- Families
- Caregivers
- GIRoA
- Mullahs
- Communities
- NGOs
- Schools
- Police

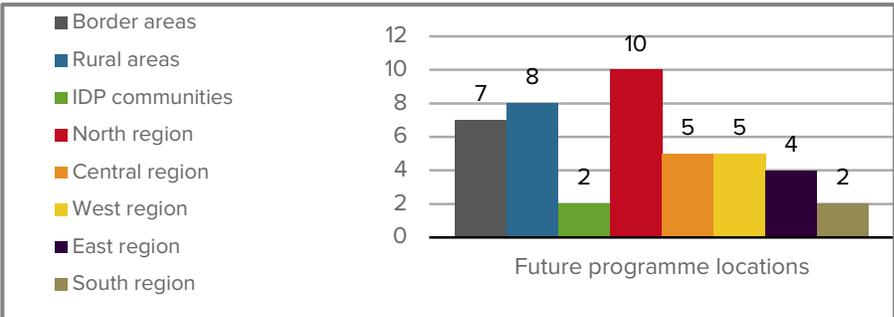
3.3 Programme location

With 34 provinces in Afghanistan and over 70 per cent of Afghans living in rural areas,⁶⁰ it can be overwhelming to consider all the locations in need of recovery services for male child trafficking survivors. In field research, the question regarding future programme sites was asked in order to gain insight on where an initial recovery programme for male child trafficking should be implemented.

The data was coded for frequency and the findings highlighted three locations seen as ideal programme locations by key informants.

- Rural areas
- Border areas
- The North region

Figure 4.8: Future programme locations



⁶⁰ Worldbank, Afghanistan: Priorities for agriculture and rural development, 2011. <http://go.worldbank.org/ONRZAEWOTO>

Border and rural areas:

In the seven references to borders, only one specific border region was mentioned - the Islam Qala border with Iran - otherwise the key informants just referred to borders in general. The rationale for targeting services on the borders was that these areas had limited monitoring and perpetrators were easily escaping.

Smuggler goes free at border.” -Caregiver, Herat

“No real monitoring on border, hard to know why boys go back and forth.” -Caregiver, Nangarhar

Rural areas were mentioned eight times and were connected with economic assistance. The idea expressed was that if organisations were providing services in the home villages, then boys would not be pushed to leave home.

*“Should be factories for boys to work in the home village so they don’t have to leave to work.”
- Boy, Herat*

“No shops in our area now.” -Family, Ghazni

The North region:

When key informants were asked where they thought is the best area for a recovery programme, there was a list of provinces mentioned. Similar to the coding for high-risk provinces, these provinces were coded for frequency based on the CPAN regions.⁶¹

The results overwhelmingly (10 out of 26 provinces, as highlighted in figure 4.8) noted the North region as the region most in need of future programmes. This is not surprising, considering that the findings on high-risk provinces also pointed overwhelmingly to the North region when discussing high-risk provinces for male child trafficking. Therefore, the idea that the North region would then be the region to focus recovery programme implementation is a logical conclusion. Kunduz, Balkh, Badakhshan and Faryab were the provinces specifically mentioned in the North region.

3.4 Recognising challenges

In the design of a recovery programme for male child survivors of trafficking, it is important to identify challenges and difficulties that current programmes face, in order to establish mechanisms to minimise those challenges in the future programme design.

Four major challenges were expressed:

Challenges within programme focus:

- A limit of time spent within a shelter (three months for the IOM shelter) created difficulty in ensuring all clients were accessing the needed services. Clients unable to be reintegrated in three months were referred back to CPAN.

⁶¹ Refer to figure 1.5, p 24.

- A focus solely on basic needs, with no emphasis on empowering clients to be self-sustaining, harmed clients, creating a dependency on external sources.
- Programmes were not equipped to meet the individualised needs of male child survivors, based on types of exploitation faced.

Challenges within security:

- Security influenced different aspects of the programme design. It influenced the work that caregivers could do, (i.e. Social workers were unable to visit insecure areas and therefore the follow up of boys reintegrated into those areas was not completed.) Also, it hindered the provision of recreational services for boys, because of restrictions on travel.
- Security was also mentioned in regards to the risks of working with boys who had experienced different types of exploitation. One caregiver highlighted that working with child soldiers brought risks to the staff, other clients and the programme itself. Another caregiver discussed how he had received threats regarding a boy trafficked for bacha bazi, because the boy was so beautiful.
- Finally, one caregiver highlighted the impact that on-going conflict has on the stability of the family structure, resulting in children being pushed into vulnerable situations.

Challenge of low capacity among key stakeholders:

- Low capacity was mentioned in reference to the GIRoA ministries themselves, and the inability to implement the necessary laws.
- The lack of professionals with adequate experience to work with children hindered the provision of appropriate services for children.

Challenges of limited understanding:

- A limited understanding of male child trafficking and the inability to identify male child survivors of trafficking was mentioned more than once as a challenge in service provision.
- A lack of understanding of the importance of child protection was also mentioned. One CSO noted that GIRoA does not see child protection as a priority and that has hindered any increase in provision of child protection services.

3.5 Ensuring success

Along with recognising challenges, identifying successes in current programmes can facilitate a successful programme in the future.

Successes in programmes fell into four categories:

- Staff
- Programme focus
- Curriculum
- Involvement of key players

Staffing:

- Save the Children in Nangarhar related the success of a community programme to the high number of staff hired for its implementation.
- An organisation working with street children in Nangarhar attributed the success of their vocational training programme to the fact that the staff hired were already working within the community as business owners, giving more credibility to their skills.

Programme Focus:

- Success was attributed to programmes that focused on family reintegration, looked at cases individually, and focused on prevention.
- Programmes that focused on building respect within communities, adults and families also created more success within a programme.

Curriculum:

- TDH shared how their curriculum manuals for community development were created by the staff themselves.
- TDH also shared that connecting child rights issues with Islam was much more successful than trying to use the International Human Rights Framework.
- The PARSA Scouts programme was mentioned twice as a successful programme for kids, in helping children recover from vulnerable situations.

Involvement of key players:

- Successful programmes will need to involve the related GIROA officials.

3.6 Programme considerations:

Based on the findings on programme design, the following considerations are suggested for service providers implementing recovery programmes for male child survivors of trafficking.

1. A culturally appropriate model of care for male child survivors of trafficking should include:

- Comprehensive recovery services, including vocational training, education, health, legal, and counselling services
- Family focus
- Small staff to client ratio
- Individualised case planning
- Close cooperation with MoLSA, CPAN and the Mol

2. Recovery programmes for boy survivors of male child trafficking need to be designed to target specific types of exploitation.

3. Programmes focused on child soldiers would benefit from a partnership with the JRC to assist in service provision.
4. Focus on the creation of capacity building programmes that will motivate key stakeholders to investigate and prosecute cases of male child trafficking within the NDS and Mol TIP units.
5. Establish a residential based recovery programme within an urban centre in the North or Central region, in order to meet the needs of survivors of male child trafficking.

4. Recommendations

The following recommendations are focused on increasing understanding of male child trafficking within Afghanistan through improvements in research, as well as the three main paradigms of male child trafficking: protection, prevention, and prosecution.

Research:

- Target research on trafficking for forced labour, to get a more in-depth understanding of the action involved and the types of labour most common in Afghanistan.
- Focus studies on the positive deviants within communities, in order to foster improved community awareness programmes by playing off of existing strengths.
- Explore the specific types of action that exist in Afghanistan, moving beyond the more common recruitment, transport or harbouring into those actions that don't necessarily involve movement.

Protection:

- Inclusion of basic knowledge on male child trafficking and the tools available to identify and refer male child survivors into existing Afghan police training programmes.
- Target training on identification of male child survivors of trafficking and referral options among the staff of the juvenile rehabilitation centres to foster early identification and limit the impact of the stigma attached to being identified as a criminal.
- Implement cross border training for victim identification and identification of perpetrators along the Pakistan/Afghanistan border.

Prevention:

- Coordinate with community development service providers in the provinces of Badakhshan, Kunduz, Takhar and Balkh to provide basic training on male child trafficking awareness within their existing community development programmes.
- Ensure police are aware of recruitment strategies and potential hotspots to enable them to more effectively prevent recruitment from occurring.
- Increase quality and access to madrassas in Afghanistan, to limit unaccompanied travel to Pakistan by Afghan boys.
- Target trainings on male child trafficking within the province of Kunduz to improve the understanding among key stakeholders in child protection.
- Provide organisations working among the three major populations at risks (UAMs, JRCs, and boys at work) with training on male child trafficking and victim identification.
- Further research on assistant truck drivers, as well as a study of the vulnerabilities of boys working in hotels would be beneficial to increasing the knowledge of at-risk populations.

Prosecution:

- Improve the access to justice for male child survivors by training caregivers, organisations, and government ministries on the legal rights and options available for male child survivors of trafficking in Afghanistan.
- Implement training on the identification of perpetrators and survivors of male child trafficking within the Attorney General office, the Ministry of Justice and the NDS attorney department.
- Increase knowledge and understanding of existing protocol for identifying and prosecuting male child trafficking survivors among members of TIPCAP coalition.

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6. Annexes

Annex 6.1: Legal Sources

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- United Nations. Convention on the Rights of the Child. Adopted 2 September 1990, accessed at http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?mtdsg_no=IV-11&chapter=4&lang=en

- Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. Law on Combatting Abduction and Human Trafficking, 15 July 2008. Article 3. Definitions:

Human trafficking: carrying away, transiting, employing, keeping or taking possession of a person for the purpose of exploitation taking advantage of his/her desperate or poor economic conditions by paying or receiving money or benefits or other deceiving ways for acquiring the victims consent or that of his/her guardian.

- United Nations. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime, 2000, accessed at http://www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions/dcatoc/final_documents_2/convention_%20traff_eng.pdf

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

Within the context of children: the “means” element is removed, leaving recruitment, transport, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons for exploitation.

Movement is not required for trafficking in persons to occur.

Annex 6.2: Child consent form

Introduction:

Hello, my name is _____, I am here from Hagar Afghanistan. We are talking to boys and adults to get information about their lives and experiences so that we can understand and create new ways to help support boys, caregivers, parents, and organisations in the future.

Involvement:

We think it's really important to understand what children's opinions and ideas are when we are planning services and help. We are here only to listen to your ideas and opinions.

Procedures Involved:

We would like to spend some time with you talking and listening to your opinions. The meeting will last 30 - 45 minutes. I have a few questions and you can answer by talking, writing and drawing or whatever way you think is best. You can meet us on your own, or if you want an adult member of the staff present, then we are happy with that- whatever you think is best!

Ability to say NO:

Some of the things we may talk about are quite personal and might be hard to answer, you do not have to talk about anything if you don't want to. Hearing your voice and words is very important to us, but you don't have to talk about anything if you don't want to.

Confidentiality:

If you agree to take part in the interview, no one will know who told me those things. Your name will be kept private, so no one can tell who shared it. That will be kept confidential between you and me. We might use some of the things that you say in the report to help other people understand how boys feel and think about this subject and to help think of ways to help, but no one will know it is you.

So, I will not write down your name here but if you agree to take part and help us, you can make a mark here and someone can witness that you agree, that could be any adult member of the staff, you can choose.

What will happen to the information?

We will be listening to boys from different places in Afghanistan; when we have finished meeting everyone, we will collect all the information from here and keep it safe. We will then add all the information together and share the information with people in Afghanistan and suggest ways that people can help boys. We will use the information to design a programme to help boys that have been trafficked here in Afghanistan.

Understanding:

Do you have any questions about anything I have just said?

So, if you are willing to help- do you want someone to stay here with you while we are talking?

Youth/ child agreement

Witness

Adult present: **Yes** **No**

Who?

Researcher Name

Date and time of meeting

Any other comments:

Annex 6.3: Research Tools

Secondary informants: Thematic Survey

Organisation:	Date:
Name:	Position:

Background/Focus of Organisation:

Services Provided? [What, Where, Capacity, Funding, Timeline of services]:

Contact with victims of trafficking? [if so, how do they identify victims, how do they define trafficking?]

Working with boys? (male child VoTs)

Specific needs for boys? (male child VoTs)

Any gaps/needs in the services offered currently?

In regards to male child VoTs:

Suggestions on further research/contact persons?

Challenges?

Secondary Informants: Family Questionnaire

High Risk Communities/Families

Method: Questionnaire (semi-structured)

Timeframe: 45-60 minutes.

Facilitator: National researcher

Assistant: Education and Technical Advisor

Language: Dari or Pashto

Space: Comfortable (table, chairs, open space on floor), Warm, Private.

<p>Filter Question:</p> <p>We are talking to families in Afghanistan about the issue of boys who have been trafficked. Are you able and willing to represent your household and speak to us about this issue?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No (End interview - select another family)
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Community Questionnaire		
No.	Question	Answers
A	Interviewer	01: Bareq 02: Thorson
B	Date of interview	__/__/____
C	Province/District	/
D	Village	
E	Gender of interviewee	01 - Male 02 - Female
F	Age	

Community Questionnaire		
No.	Question	Answers
G	Ethnicity	
Household profile		
1	Number of people living in household?	Men: Women: Boys (under 18): Girls (under 18):
2	Are there immediate family living elsewhere?	Yes No (skip to Q 6)
3	If yes, where are they living?	
4	With whom are they living?	
5	Why are they living in another location?	
6	Migration status of the household	1. Returnee (formerly legal refugee): Country of exile: 2. Returnee (formerly irregular migrant) 3. Internally Displaced Person 4. Non-migrant (neither returnee nor displaced) 5. Other (specify):
Education profile		
7	Can you read and write?	Yes No (skip to Q 9)

Community Questionnaire		
No.	Question	Answers
8	If yes, what is the highest education grade you have completed?	
9	Do the children in your household currently attend school?	Yes No (skip to Q 11)
10	If yes, how many days per week?	
11	If no, what is the main reason why not?	
Economic profile		
12	What is your main source of light in the home?	
13	What is your current housing arrangement? (rent or own, by self or with others?)	
14	What is your household's current monthly income?	
15	What is your household's main source(s) of income?	
16	Do you currently have any debt?	Yes No (skip to Q 20)
17	What were the reasons for the loan?	
18	If you or your family do not repay your advance/loan or if your payment is late, do you face any punishment?	

Community Questionnaire		
No.	Question	Answers
Health profile		
19	Do you have access to clean water?	Yes No
20	Have you or anyone in your family had any serious illnesses/injury in the past 12 months	Yes No
21	Do you have access to health care	Yes No (skip to Q 24)
22	If yes, how far is the nearest clinic or hospital	
23	How often in the last year did you have problems satisfying the food needs of your family?	1. Never 2. Rarely (1 or 2 times) 3. Sometimes (3 to 6 times) 4. Often (a few times every month) 5. Very often (more than a few times every month)
Social profile		
24	Do the men in your family participate in community decision-making?	Yes No
25	Do the women in your family participate in community decision-making?	Yes No

Community Questionnaire		
No.	Question	Answers
26	Do you think your household's economic situation is better, the same, or worse than other members of the community?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Better 2. Same 3. Worse 4. I don't know
27	Do you think your household's access to services is better, the same, or worse than other members of the community?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Better 2. Same 3. Worse 4. I don't know
Trafficking profile(Qualitative)		
28	What are the problems for children in your community? (do not prompt)	1.
<p>We are finding out in our research that families all over the world and in Afghanistan sometimes allow other adults (family, friends or strangers) to take their boys to other locations, promising that they boys will have education or will be able to work and help the family.</p>		
29	Has this happened in your household? (explain)	
30	Have you heard of this happening in other households in your community? (explain)	
31	Have your heard of this happening in other communities? (explain)	1.
32	What reasons do families have for sending their boys to other locations?	1.

Community Questionnaire		
No.	Question	Answers
33	Who makes the decision to send the boy to another location?	1.
34	With whom do the boys travel?	1. Family 2. Friends 3. Strangers
We are hearing that sometimes when boys are promised education and work, the adults make them do other things, maybe harmful things to the boys. Some people call this “trafficking”.		
35	What do you know about this word?	
36	Do you have other words to describe this? (listen to what they say and add what is missing so they have a clear understanding of trafficking)	1.
37	Have you heard of this happening in your family or community? (explain)	
38	What help do boys need who have been trafficked?	
We are learning of people and committees in Afghanistan that work to help keep boys safe from “trafficking”.		
39	Have you heard of any people, government officials or organisations in your community that are doing this?	Yes No (skip to Q 40)
40	In what ways do they help?	1.

Community Questionnaire		
No.	Question	Answers
<p>We are learning that families often feel like they must send their boys away in order to help the family . However, “trafficking” of boys does not help families, but actually hurts families by hurting their boys.</p>		
41	<p>What would be ways to help families in your community and still keep boys safe from trafficking?</p>	
<p>Thank you for taking time to answer our questions.</p>		

Secondary Informants: Semi-Structured Interviews

Procedures	Tools
<p>Introduction (10 minutes)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thank the respondent for their time, introduce yourself and explain the purpose of the research. (relaxed and comfortable) • Explain confidentiality privacy. • Express how important their ideas and thoughts are. • Ask if they have any questions before we begin. 	Field notes.
<p>A. Background</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (introductions) Tell me about yourself. How long have you worked here? What is your role? What services does the project offer? What training have you had? 	Field notes.
<p>B. This research is about trafficking of boys. What is your understanding of the definition of trafficking?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share with them the meaning of trafficking that we are using, make sure they understand the difference between smuggling and trafficking. 	
<p>C. Tell me about your experience working with boys who have been trafficked?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How many boys have you worked with? • Do you think it is a big or small problem? • How do you find out about their experiences? • What do you think the causes of trafficking are? • What types of trafficking have you seen? • Some people are sharing stories of dancing boys, have you encountered that type of trafficking? (explain) 	Field notes
<p>D. In your experience, what kinds of problems does trafficking cause boys?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical? Emotional? Behaviours? Feelings? • Share examples. 	Field notes.
<p>E. In your own work with boys who have been trafficked:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What successes have you had? Share an example. • What things have helped you as a caregiver (service provider?) • What help do you wish you had? • What is the most difficult things when working with boys who are trafficked? Share an example. 	Field notes.
<p>F. In your experience, what works and helps boys get better?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategies, methods, tools. Give examples please. 	Field notes.

Procedures	Tools
<p>G. In your experience, what is missing in providing a complete recovery programme for boys who have been trafficked?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Practical services, emotional services • What models do you think would be helpful in working with boys? • Where do you think programmes for boy VoTs are most needed? 	Field notes.
<p>H. Anything else you would like to say in regards to trafficking among boys?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thank them for their time and participation. • Remind them of the confidentiality. • Report will hopefully be released in May. 	Field notes.

Primary Informants: Individual Interview/FGD

Procedures	Tools
<p>Introduction (10 minutes)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain purpose and process of interview • Explain confidentiality and consent, get consent. • Explain their ability to end interview at any time (traffic light) 	<p>Consent form</p> <p>Traffic light</p>
<p>A.Life Story (20-30 minutes)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problem free talk. • We have been talking to boys in Afghanistan so that we can learn their stories. Can you tell us about your story, 1. What life was like before you left home, 2. How you left and what happened when you left, and 3. What you are doing now? (allow the boy to draw, talk or write his story, whatever he is more comfortable doing) • From the telling of the life story, we want to find out the following information: where they came from, how they were trafficked, and how they were exploited. We also want to find out education, reasons why they left, family history (mom and dad alive), along with other information that will give a complete picture of the boy. • Have child complete their life story (actively involve self in story, helping when needed, and highlighting events, age, places, etc.) 	<p>Paper, pens, colours, lined paper</p> <p>Field notes, recorder</p>

Procedures	Tools
<p>B.Focus Group Discussion/Interview (30 minutes)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problem free talk: choose element from life story or some other light topic to discuss, to relax child (notebook closed, no writing) • Explain research purpose and remind them they can stop at anytime <p>Trafficking/Exploitation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are finding out that boys all over the world and in Afghanistan are sometimes hurt by people. In what ways do you know of boys being hurt in Afghanistan? (list or draw, if they don't talk about trafficking, that's okay) • Sometimes adults recruit boys, promising help to them and their families, take the boys to other locations (in Afghanistan or other locations). Have you heard of this happening in Afghanistan? What kinds of things do adults do to boys when this happens? (listen for actions that would be considered exploitation, if they don't mention situations like forced begging or having to repay debt, mention that we are finding out that some boys are forced to beg or forced to work to repay debt, and have they heard of this happening? Explain to them that is also "hurting" boys) • Some people call this "trafficking" (use word in dari/pashto). What do you know about this word? Do you have other words to describe this? (list, if they don't have any words, that is okay) • What kind of things happen to boys who are "trafficked" (maybe done by adults or other children)? (can be self or other boys-can draw or list, *listen carefully, be gentle in asking questions*, ask follow up questions related to what they share, allow them to share in third or first person.) • We are finding out that some boys in Afghanistan are trafficked as dancing boys. Have you heard of this happening in Afghanistan? (ask this question if dancing boys have not been discussed previously) • When boys are 'trafficked' it changes things in their life. Do you know of ways trafficking changes boys lives? How about the lives of their families? (can be self or other boys -can draw or list, *listen carefully, be gentle in asking questions*, ask follow up questions related to what they share, allow them to share in third or first person.) 	<p>Pens, paper, art materials, lined paper</p> <p>Field notebook, recorder</p>
<p>Getting Help</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are hearing of people and programmes that are helping boys who are "trafficked". Have you heard of any people or things that have helped boys who have been "trafficked" to feel better here in Afghanistan? (if they haven't heard of anything, it's okay. As they list things, find out where and why it was helpful) • If you could design or create new services (help) for boys, what would it be like? (can draw or list, personal qualities of service providers, practical support, emotional support, first choice of a place to stay) • If you could be anywhere right now, where would you want to be? <p>Giving boys a voice:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If you could say anything about trafficking what would you say (to Afghans, other boys, adults who hurt boys) 	<p>Pens, paper, art materials</p> <p>Field book, recorder</p>

Procedures	Tools
Ending: (10 minutes) <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Thank you for helping. (notebook closed, no writing)• Remind them that this will be confidential.• Problem free talk for a few minutes	

Annex 6.4: Terminology

Words are powerful. They bring with them assumptions and biases. It was essential for the research design that the proper terminology was used in the questions, to ensure that it fostered a proper understanding of trafficking in persons.

During pre-field research, three phrases (both in Dari and Pashto) were identified as the main terminology used in talking about trafficking in persons:

- Qachaq e Ensan (smuggling of people)
- Trafficking (English cognate)
- Tejarat e Ensan (business of people)

The research team vetted each of these words, within interviews, to learn how these words impact, both positively and negatively, the understanding of male child trafficking.

Qachaq e Ensan:

Qachaq e Ensan (smuggling of people) is the most widely used phrase for trafficking in persons in Afghanistan, both at the policy and service provision levels. It is used within the 2008 Law Combatting Abduction, Human Trafficking and Smuggling. GIRoA officials consistently use this phrase when discussing the concept of trafficking in persons, and pocket indicator cards recently printed by the MoI, with assistance from EUPOL, use the phrase, qachaq e ensan. However, there have been many issues raised, within the international and Afghan community as to the dangers of the continued use of the phrase qachaq e ensan. The main issue is the duality of the meaning. IOM specifically detailed their concern at the assumptions that this phrase creates, specifically in blurring lines between trafficking and smuggling. Issues easily blurred, even with clear vocabulary. Another danger of this phrase was in creating bias towards certain assumptions. Two major assumptions linked with the phrase qachaq e ensan were that:

- Boys, in Afghanistan, are most vulnerable to being smuggled for work by Afghanistan
- Trafficking occurs externally, across borders to other countries, not within Afghanistan

Trafficking:

Some higher government officials preferred to use the English word, trafficking. The research team quickly recognised the futility in using this phrase in interviews. Except for one or two officials who enjoyed practicing their English, the use of the word trafficking resulted in an immediate connection to traffic accidents. Both a staff member at one of the provincial JRCs and a staff member at a local health clinic initially referred to traffic accidents after the research team used the word trafficking.

Tejarat e Ensan:

In an interview with IOMs counter trafficking department, they discussed their attempts to introduce a new word: tejarat e insan (business of people).⁶² Tejarat means selling and buying and insan means humans, so the phrase focused on the business aspect of human trafficking, the idea of the person/child being traded for a benefit. The rationale for the use of this new word, as stated by IOM, was threefold:

- Provided a context of business or trade
- Used in Arabic speaking countries, as well as Tajikistan
- Distanced trafficking from smuggling

IOM has begun to actively use the word “tejarat e insan” in its public awareness campaigns. Hagar Afghanistan has also recently implemented this phrase within their trafficking in persons TIPCAP training programme.

It is the opinion of the research team that tejarat e insan provides a clearer description for what human trafficking involves, and introducing it in Afghanistan would be beneficial to future understanding of trafficking in persons. However, the challenge is to ensure that a focus on terminology does not distract from a continued emphasis on the needs of the survivors. A change in vocabulary will take a large scale awareness raising campaign to introduce the word. The trickle-down effect from policy makers and government officials to the rural communities in the far regions of the country will take a long time. Terminology is important at the policy level, but action is essential for protection, prevention and prosecution. Action will not happen with a new word, it will happen with an awareness of the aspects of human trafficking, its dangers, and the tools necessary to stop it.

In the research tools, trafficking was explained in Dari or Pashto using the following expressions:

- Qachaq e insan (bacha)
- Tejarat e insan (bacha)
- Boys being recruited and misused
- Boys being trafficked and exploited

⁶² Key informant interview with IOM counter trafficking programme manager, 02 December 2012.