A STUDY OF THE TRAFFICKING OF CHILDREN IN FIJI FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION, AS AN EMERGING URBAN ISSUE

by

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Declaration

Statement by the Author:

I, Marie Jane Elaisa Fatiaki, declare that this thesis is an original piece of work done by me, and where other sources have been used, these have been duly acknowledged. Any omission or error or otherwise is my own. To the best of my knowledge, the main content of this thesis has not been previously submitted for any degree in any other University.

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Abstract

Human trafficking, also known as modern day slavery, grossly violates human rights and strips away human dignity, exposing the hopelessness and ugliness of humanity. Human trafficking is driven by greed and the demand for cheap labour, exacerbating poverty and widening inequalities. Vulnerabilities in the Pacific that increase the risks of children being trafficked include weakening family structures, the breakdown of family and community social safety nets, customary practices of informal adoption and marriage, and gender biases. Rapid urban growth in the Pacific, characterised by mushrooming informal settlements beset with poverty, unemployment, overcrowding, crime, violence, peer pressure and family problems also increase the risks of child abuse and trafficking.

This research study explored child sex trafficking as an emerging urban issue in Fiji. The research found that children are trafficked into prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation in and between urban areas in Fiji. Trafficking source and destination areas include Suva, Nasinu, Nausori, Sigatoka, Nadi, Lautoka, Ba, Levuka, Labasa and Savusavu, and Nabouwalu. The exploiters who drive the demand for children in the sex trade are those who have the money to trade, and client-exploiters and family members who benefit financially from exploiting children in the sex trade.

The children's family situation and socio-economic conditions of the family are the major causes of vulnerability and risk. Children are pushed into the sex trade by parents who neglect or abandon them, family members or relatives who sexually and physically abuse them, and families who cannot provide for their well-being and directly or indirectly push them to earn an income. The complacency of parents, schools and communities, the demand for children in the sex trade and increasing supply of children in the sex trade, the lack of anti-trafficking capacity, resources and services, and abuse and corruption by those in power, poses challenges to combating child sex trafficking in Fiji.

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Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CSA	Child Sexual Abuse
CSEC	Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children
DOSW	Department of Social Welfare
DPP	Department of Public Prosecutions
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution and Trafficking
ERP	Employment Relations Promulgation
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FJD	Fiji Dollar
FWCC	Fiji Women's Crisis Centre
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HTU	Human Trafficking Unit
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Office for Migration
IPEC	International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	Non-government Organisation
PNG	Papua New Guinea
RA	Rapid Assessment
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
STI/ STD	Sexually Transmitted Infections/ Diseases
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNGIFT	United Nations Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking

USTIP United States Trafficking in Persons [Report]

1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Trafficking in persons or human trafficking grossly violates human rights, strips away human dignity and exposes the hopelessness, moral corruption and ugliness of humanity. The most vulnerable in society, especially women and children, are the most affected, as they are sold into labour, into the sex trade or both. Rescue of victims is almost impossible, detection is generally low and prosecution of perpetrators or the 'traffickers' is inadequate. Therefore, global attention has been on preventing human trafficking and protecting those most vulnerable as the main means to ending this multibillion dollar criminal industry.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimated that 40.3 million people were in modern slavery in 2016, including 24.9 million in forced labour and 15.4 million in forced marriage. One in four victims of modern-day slavery were identified as children (ILO, 2017). The number of victims in forced labour had increased since the ILO estimates of 2012 whereby 20.9 million men, women and children were estimated to be in forced labour, including 4.5 million (22%) in forced sexual exploitation and 14.2 million (68%) in forced labour exploitation in agriculture, construction, domestic work or manufacturing, and 2.2 million (10%) in state-imposed forms of forced labour. The vast majority, (90%) were exploited in the private economy and women and girls made up 55% of the total number in forced labour and 95% of victims in sexual exploitation (ILO, 2017). According to the ILO Forced Labour Report (2012) this estimate captures the full realm of human trafficking for labour and sexual exploitation or modern-day slavery, as human trafficking can also be regarded as forced labour.

Global profits from forced labour in 2005, was estimated at US$44 billion per year, of which US$32 billion was generated by human trafficking (ILO, 2005). In 2012 the ILO estimated that total profits from forced labour in the private sector economy amounted to US$150 billion per year, with the majority of the profits generated in Asia mainly from forced sexual exploitation. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) database estimates that a total of 800,000 people are trafficked annually across

international borders to meet the corrupt demand for cheap labour, sexual services and criminal activities.

The Global Report on Trafficking in Persons from the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2016) reported the detection of 63,251 trafficking victims of 137 different citizenships involved in over 500 trafficking flows from 2012 to 2014. Most of the victims were females (71%) compared to males (29%), and were trafficked into sexual exploitation, thus continuing the predominant trend of human trafficking detected by UNODC over the past 10 years. Cases of domestic trafficking had increased, with 42% of the detected victims trafficked within a country's border. Although the number of child trafficking victims had decreased from 34% to 28% from 2010 to 2014, still more than one- quarter of the trafficking victims were children (20% girls, 8% boys). Perpetrators were identified as predominantly male (63%) although the number of female traffickers seemed to be increasing (UNODC, 2014 & 2016).

The statistics show that there is a huge disparity between the numbers of victims trafficked annually and the number of trafficking victims rescued or detected. Millions of trafficked persons remain trapped in sexual and, or, forced labour exploitation. There are also significant data gaps on the numbers of victims trafficked for sexual or labour exploitation.

Although it is not always the poorest who are trafficked, the majority of the victims are usually in vulnerable situations and in particular women, children and minority groups in developing countries and countries in transition. Females, children and ethnic minority groups trafficked into sweatshops, garment factories, domestic work and prostitution. Although data on the trafficking of male victims is lacking, available information indicate that men and boys are usually trafficked into the agriculture, construction, and mining sectors, or as child soldiers and in illegal activities[1] (ARCPPT, 2003[2]; Omelaniuk, 2006, 3; Parrot & Cummings, 2008, 25).

Human trafficking is an extensive business and development issue that impacts a number of Sustainable Development Goals, including poverty reduction, education,

[1] Qualitative analysis of 55 case studies on human trafficking victims, sourced from literature and Internet research.
[2] Asia Regional Cooperation to Prevent People Trafficking

decent work and the promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women. Human trafficking is ultimately an issue of basic human rights. Victims are sold like goods. They are violated and become disempowered and stateless. When they are released from atrocious conditions, they may be further subjected to human rights violations at the hands of authorities. Rescued trafficked victims may be arrested for their 'illegal' entry status, held in detention centres and deported, often before they are able to participate in court proceedings involving their employer or trafficker. In many cases the trafficked person is treated more like a criminal than a victim, with little consideration of what he or she has experienced (Pearson, 2000, 38).

1.2 Trafficking the Most Vulnerable: Focus on Children

Child trafficking is defined in international laws as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation" (UN Trafficking Protocol, 2000). Child trafficking violates Article 1 and Article 4 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as multiple Articles of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child such as the right of the child to be protected from exploitation, the right for the child to remain with his/her family, to pursue an education, to have the time to play and enjoy his/her childhood, and to be protected from sexual abuse. The ILO Convention No. 182 (1999) on the Worst Forms of Child Labour[3] classifies child trafficking among "all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery" and therefore, as a worst form of child labour. Children may be trafficked into debt bondage, forced or compulsory labour, armed conflict, prostitution, pornography, illicit activities such as drug trafficking, begging and organized crime, and hazardous or harmful work.

The ILO Global Report on Forced Labour (2005) estimated that between 980,000 to 1,225,000 children were in forced labour as a result of trafficking. Girls were disproportionately affected and were trafficked especially for commercial sexual exploitation and domestic labour. Boys were generally trafficked into agricultural work, mining and quarrying, and armed conflict. The Global Report on Trafficking in

[3] See Appendix 1 Glossary for definition of child labour, worst forms of child labour and child trafficking

Persons (UNODC, 2016) found that 28% of the detected victims of trafficking were children, mainly girls (20%), trafficked for sexual exploitation.

Child trafficking can happen internally, within the borders of one country, but also across national borders and across continents. It is closely interlinked with the demand for cheap, malleable and docile labour in sectors and among employers where the working conditions grossly violates the human rights of children. It flourishes in environments that are dangerous to the health and the development of the child, particularly in domestic labour, commercial sexual exploitation, drug trafficking, child soldiering and slavery-like practices usually in the informal sector (ILO, UNICEF & UNGIFT, 2009).

Children are engaged in harmful and exploitative work for profit, in many cases by adults seeking to gain from children's labour who persuade poor parents to let their children go through false promises of their children's future. Impoverished parents may give up their child to traffickers who promise a better life elsewhere or children themselves may choose illegal and hazardous occupations for quick and easy incomes. The trafficking of children may not be recognised as trafficking by those participating in it. For example, in Zimbabwe, children from poor rural areas are sent by their families to relatives or friends in urban areas for better opportunities, education and good meals, are trapped as cheap and pliant domestic labourers for urban families, and girls in domestic labour in particular can be subject to emotional, physical or sexual abuse (Bourdillon, 2005, 149-152).

Children engaging in labour at an early age are often trapped in a cycle of poverty, poor health and poor education status and are exploited in subtle ways in which rights and wrongs may not be so obvious. In Indonesia, thousands of children work on small fishing rigs off the coast of Sumatra for long hours, poor food, poor pay, insufficient sleep, no education and recreation. Street children in Harare Zimbabwe, especially girls, trade sex for the support of men and boys, and both boys and girls sell sex to well-off businessmen for the comforts of a bed, a bath and a good meal. Children in Manila scavenge on rubbish heaps where they are exposed to sharp and dangerous objects, weather extremes, infectious diseases and disorders from poisons or eating leftover foods (Bourdillon, 2005, 149-152).

In a review of children working in the tourism and entertainment sector[4], poverty, associated with low family income, or parental unemployment or both, was the main factor pushing children into employment. Other factors were family breakdown, children becoming orphans or abandoned, and parents allowing children to work in menial and low-earning occupations like scavenging, shoe shining, collecting waste from dumps and selling food. Lacking experience and qualifications, the children worked in informal employment not regulated by labour inspectorate (Black, 1995, 29). The statistics on work-related injuries of children illustrate that most child labourers work in dangerous and harmful work, with an estimated 106 million children experiencing a work-related injury in a one- year period (ILO, 2013).

Child trafficking preys on children's vulnerability and in many instances involves a relationship of trust between the trafficker[5] and the victim. Vulnerability factors include individual factors such as orphan-hood, family or community factors such as illness in the family, abuse, illiteracy, unemployment or poverty, and institutional-level risk factors such as the lack of birth registration, conflict or natural disaster, weak legal framework and enforcement, corruption, discrimination, large unemployed youth population and unregulated informal economy. It is often a combination of vulnerabilities, for example, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and abuse, that puts the child at risk of being trafficked (ILO et.al, 2009) [6].

The UN Special Rapporteur on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography (M'jid, 2013) reported that child prostitution is a serious problem in many countries. More children are at risk of being sold and trapped in sexual exploitation as a result of the weakening of families, economic hardship, migration, conflicts and violence, breakdown of families and displacement, climate change and natural disasters creating vulnerability to exploitation, increasing global demand for child sexual exploitation and the global spread of the internet allowing distribution of child abuse materials and facilitating the sale of children.

[4] Report commissioned by the ILO in the hotel, catering and tourism sectors- studies were undertaken in the Philippines by L. A Cruz, Sri Lanka by N. Tatnapala, Kenya by J. Umbina and Mexico by P. Staelens.
[5] A child trafficker is anyone who contributes to an element of the trafficking process with the intent to exploit the child including those who play only a part in the entire process, such as recruiters, intermediaries, document providers, transporters, corrupt officials, service providers and unscrupulous employers.
[6] The training manual to fight trafficking in children for labour, sexual and other forms of exploitation produced by the ILO, UNICEF, UN.GIFT in 2009 states that "Some of these activities may not be seen as labour. The reality is however that they have a commercial motive and that the child is seen by those seeking to make a profit from trafficking […]".

1.3 The Trafficking of Children as an Emerging Urban Issue in the Pacific

There is a lack of statistics on the magnitude of human trafficking, flows, trends and dynamics specific to the Pacific region. Current data on human trafficking lump the Pacific region into combined and lop-sided statistics for the Asia-Pacific or East Asia-Pacific region contained in reports of international and regional organisations. Available information is mainly from short-term, qualitative research and desk reviews carried out as part of programmes or projects by UN agencies, civil society or academia and victim-centred data, held by authorities. The problem with this sort of data is that it is inadequate and non- representative, providing only glimpses of the full picture. More generally data on human trafficking is very difficult to access as neither trafficker nor trafficked victims are easily accessible and they do not share information readily and freely.

Available information indicates that child trafficking is an issue in the Asia- Pacific region, and provides some background on the nature of the problem, vulnerabilities, and trends. For example, the UNODC Global Report on Trafficking in Persons (2016) established that most victims in the East Asia Pacific region are trafficked for sexual exploitation[7]. A significant number of trafficked victims in this region – over one-third – are children. Girls and females are more likely to be victims of both sexual and labour exploitation. Although trafficking victims from the East-Asia Pacific region were detected in Europe, Africa and North/South America regions, the main trafficking flows in the region are intra-regional over a short distance, that is, within countries (domestic) or to neighbouring countries such as Australia, Japan, China, Thailand and Malaysia (UNODC, 2016, 102-109). Additionally, the ILO forced labour report noted that the largest number of forced labourers – 11.7 million or 56% of the global total – are found in the Asia-Pacific region. The majority of forced labourers are exploited in their place of origin and cross-border movement is commonly associated with sexual exploitation (ILO, 2012).

[7] Victims detected from 2012 to 2014 in East Asia Pacific Region – 61% trafficked into sexual exploitation, 32% trafficked into forced labour and 7% trafficked for other purposes.

Other research studies indicate that child trafficking is a growing concern in the Pacific.[8] Studies on child sexual exploitation in Fiji, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea (PNG), Solomon Islands and Vanuatu by UNICEF, UNESCAP and ECPAT (2006) found that child prostitution, child sex tourism and sex trafficking exists in each country. Most perpetrators were local citizens from within their own communities. The PNG country study cited cases of girls as young as 10 years sold to older men as child brides. The Fiji country study identified situations of irregular adoptions leading to exploitation. In one case parents gave their three daughters to an expatriate male in exchange for money and goods. In another case a Fijian woman married an Australian male who also adopted her three children. Upon arrival in Australia, he held them captive and sexually exploited her 14 year old daughter (UNICEF, UNESCAP & ECPAT, 2006, 33-48). Although these cases were not identified as child trafficking, it is clear that elements of trafficking were involved such as the sale and transfer of children for exploitation.

A report by the IOM (2012, 11-12) in PNG from surveys conducted in the National Capital District, Autonomous Region of Bouganiville, West Sepik Province and Western Province, found that trafficking for forced labour and sexual exploitation was increasing, especially in the logging industry and around bars, restaurants and gaming clubs. Female children were cited as more vulnerable to being trafficked and those who did not attend school were also at great risk. Thus female children not attending school were at greatest risk of being trafficked. Similar concerns had previously been mentioned by others including Ali (2006) who noted that children in PNG were being exploited through the logging industry, early-age marriages and the custom of bride prices, with some fathers using this tradition to trade their daughters for cash or other goods from mining and logging companies. The issue of child sexual exploitation had also been raised in the Solomon Islands. The findings of a qualitative research study in the Solomon Islands shared over 40 stories from children in prostitution and who had either been sold into marriage by parents or married at an early age. In both cases the majority of children were between 13 to 15 years and the exploiters were mainly foreign loggers (Herbert 2007, 5).

[8] Various research studies commissioned by UN agencies such as ECPAT International, UNICEF, UNESCAP, UNIFEM and the ILO in collaboration with NGOs such as RRRT, CCCM, Save the Children Fiji, FSPI and USP

1.4 Research Significance

This research is significant as it expands on identified issues and responds to recommendations from previous research studies and national action plans. Child labour research studies coordinated by the ILO in 2009 found over 500 children in the worst forms of child labour in Fiji, including 109 children in commercial sexual exploitation. The report stated that:

> "More children are seemingly involved in work as 'migrant labourers', moving internally to selected areas around Fiji as seasonal farm labourers, sex workers or as street workers. Children working on the street tend to be highly mobile and are exposed to numerous risks which range from conditions of work through environmental risk factors associated with a life lived on the streets, to participating in illicit activities including petty theft and drug trafficking" (ILO, 2010,13).

The ILO 2010 report recommended the need for further research on child trafficking and child sex tourism in Fiji. Subsequent child labour studies by the ILO carried out in Kiribati, Samoa, PNG and Solomon Islands between 2010 to 2014 also identified children in the worst forms of child labour in prostitution, begging, hazardous labour, organized petty crime and drug trafficking, particularly in the main towns and cities.

The US Department of State has also consistently profiled Fiji as a source country for children in sex trafficking and forced labour, and a destination country for Asian men and women in forced labour and prostitution. The Trafficking in Persons (US TIP) Reports from 2013 to 2018 alleged that children in Fiji are at risk of human trafficking as families send children to live with relatives or families in larger cities, and that these children may be subjected to domestic servitude, or coerced into sexual activity in exchange for food, clothing, shelter, or school fees, or subjected to forced labour in agriculture, begging, and industrial sectors.

The 'Fiji National Action to Prevent Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children' (Trafficking NAP) launched by the Fiji Government in 2011, improved

Fiji's trafficking status to Tier 2[9] from a Tier 2 Watch List status in 2010 and Tier 3 status in 2009. However, in 2018, Fiji's status was downgraded to Tier 2 Watch List due to a number of reasons which included poor efforts by the government to identify victims, to prevent trafficking of migrant workers, to reduce the demand for sex and labour trafficking or train military peacekeepers prior to deployment. It was also noted in the report that the Fiji Trafficking NAP from 2011 was still not implemented. For example, although the NAP included as a thematic area, the need for research and data on human trafficking in Fiji, to date, there has been no provision from government to fund any such trafficking research and limited or no resources allocated to implement any of the other actions proposed in the NAP.

This research study responds to the recommendation for human trafficking research in the NAP, and to recommendations in the ILO Fiji Child Labour Research Report in 2010 for further research on child trafficking and child sex tourism. More importantly this research is significant because it seeks to highlight the plight of children in the sex trade as an important child protection issue that should not be placed in the 'too hard basket' and ignored.

1.5 Research Objectives

Focusing on Fiji, the research explores child sex trafficking as an emerging urban issue in Fiji. The research seeks to answer the following questions:

- What is the nature of the trafficking of children for commercial sexual exploitation in Fiji?
- What factors create risks and vulnerabilities to children being trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation, particularly in urban areas in Fiji?

[9] Brief explanation of the Tier ranking provided in the US TIP Reports:
- **Tier 1**- Countries whose governments fully meet the Trafficking Victims Protection Act's (TVPA) minimum standards.
- **Tier 2**- Countries whose governments do not fully meet the TVPA's minimum standards, but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards.
- **Tier 2 Watch List**- Countries whose governments do not fully meet the TVPA's minimum standards, but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards AND:
  a) The absolute number of victims of severe forms of trafficking is very significant or is significantly increasing;
  b) There is a failure to provide evidence of increasing efforts to combat severe forms of trafficking in persons from the previous year; or
  c) The determination that a country is making significant efforts to bring itself into compliance with minimum standards was based on commitments by the country to take additional future steps over the next year.
- **Tier 3**- Countries whose governments do not fully meet the minimum standards and are not making significant efforts to do so.

- How does the child sex trafficking chain operate in Fiji, who are the perpetrators and what roles do they play?
- What are the limitations to combating child sex trafficking in Fiji, and how can these be addressed?

1.6 Research Approach

In designing the research strategy, the researcher has followed the social constructivist approach. According to Andrews (2012), social constructivists view knowledge as created by the interactions of individuals within a society. Learner construction of knowledge is the product of social interaction, interpretation and understanding (Vygotsky, 1962 cited in Amenih & Als, 2015). The researcher has used fieldwork as a major component of the research to interview research participants, allowing them to describe their views and understandings of their situation, shaped through their own experiences, background and their interactions with others. This research builds open-ended questions into the key informant interviews, focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews to get insights into the overall scope of the problem and to analyse the risks and vulnerabilities of children that lead them into situations where they may be trafficked into the sex trade.

According to Creswell (2013), in this context, researchers recognize that their own background and experiences shapes their interpretation, and their intention thus is to make sense of or interpret the meanings others have about the world. Particular situations are understood and ideas are constructed from the rich data gathered through the interaction with the target group and other people. Where the victims of trafficking provide the information to indicate that he or she has been trafficked, is the most clear-cut way to classify trafficking and understand the issue (Tyldum & Brunoviskis, 2005).

In the Pacific, interpretations of child trafficking vary depending on how different actors define the terms exploitation, slavery, forced labour, and vulnerability (terms used but not defined in the Trafficking Protocol). The lack of data and different 'trafficking' definitions applied by various organisations makes it difficult to gauge the level of human trafficking in the region (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2011). This research examines human trafficking through a child trafficking lens by

using the provisions outlined in the international legal framework, particularly the Trafficking Protocol 2000 and the national legal framework, particularly the Fiji Crimes Decree 2009.

To determine whether a case is indeed a child trafficking case, this research ensures that firstly, there was an action, that the child was involved in some form of recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt by other persons; and secondly, that the child was recruited, transported, transferred, harboured or received with the intention to exploit or for the purpose of exploitation, including sexual exploitation (for prostitution, pornographic performances, sexual abuse and sex shows). The research also explores how the child was recruited into the sex trade (the means), whether by consent or not, acknowledging the individual agency of children who may choose to enter into the sex trade to escape economic hardship, abuse, discrimination or violence (Bessel, 2004). Listening to the children's voices is important in broadening our understanding and knowledge of the issue and ensuring their views are taken into account when formulating responses.

The research selected as its main target group, children in commercial sexual exploitation- identified as children in the sex trade, for a number of reasons. Firstly, the commercial sexual exploitation of children through prostitution was identified by key informants as the most common form of child trafficking in Fiji particularly in urban areas. Additionally, initial discussions with key informants did not generate enough evidence of children trafficked into other forms of labour such as scrap metal collection, farming or begging and it was difficult to try to find children engaged in these sectors to participate in the research.

The researcher identified children in commercial sexual exploitation as children who are trafficked into the sex trade, based on previous research and experience with children in the sex trade in Fiji which revealed that all children in the commercial sex trade are recruited in various ways and moved in various means across various distances for sexual exploitation. Fiji's laws, particularly the Crimes Decree 2009, defines the movement of children for sexual exploitation as child sex trafficking and therefore, applies to all children in the sex trade who move from place to place. The stories shared by the research participants and agencies who worked with these

children with the researcher revealed the horrors and hopelessness of the children's exploitation, starting from their family homes, onto the streets and into the hidden underground world where sex trafficking thrives.

The reality is that children in the sex trade in Fiji are severely exploited, grossly violated and abused daily and this trend will continue to increase due to worsening conditions such as poverty and the breakdown of family social structures. The situation of children in the sex trade should never be taken lightly and therefore, the full penalty of the law should apply to protect children from sexual exploitation. Therefore, identifying children in commercial sexual exploitation as victims of child sex trafficking keeps Fiji in the international trafficking spotlight and should motivate the Fiji government to address this issue as a matter of urgency.

1.7 Research Method

1.7.1 Rapid Assessments (RA)

The methodology for this research project was designed following the ILO and UNICEF guidelines for Rapid Assessments (RA), a methodology based on child-centred action-oriented research for the worst forms of child labour, including the trafficking of children. The RA methodology is recommended for situations of hidden labour where children are sexually exploited, are live-in domestic workers, engaged in armed conflict, involved in criminal activities such as drug trafficking, or are trafficked or in bonded labour. Although the RA is primarily a qualitative methodology, it integrates quantitative data, such as sex-disaggregated data and can also produce comparative results. The RA approach is similar to Participatory Action Research within the transformative framework which seeks to bring about action or change to the lives of marginal groups by exposing issues such as oppression, suppression and alienation and providing a voice for research participants (Creswell, 2013, 26).

1.7.2 Secondary Data: Literature Review

The research included a literature review to provide an understanding of the problem and the context in which to discuss research findings, refocus research questions and identify research gaps in the area of human trafficking in the Pacific. Case study

analysis using a standardised victim identification form was also envisaged but this was discarded as discussed in the section on research limitations.

1.7.3 Primary Data: Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

The fieldwork was undertaken with three main research target groups, and total of 104 participants were involved in the research (See Table 1). The primary data for analysis was gathered from:

i. Interviews with Key Informants such as Department of Social Welfare, Human Trafficking Units of Police and Immigration, Homes of Hope Fiji, Save the Children Fiji, identified through networking.

ii. Semi-Structured Interviews, Focus Group Discussions and Interviews with Key Informants including exploiters, pimps[10], clients, transporters, parents, port workers, workers in nightclubs, bars, motels, Internet cafes, and brothels. (See Appendices for research tools)

iii. Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Group Discussions with children who are 'perceived' victims of sex trafficking. As trafficking in children involves a hidden form of exploitation, the research identified and interviewed children working under exploitative conditions such as prostitution, on the streets and working and living away from home.

Table 1: Research participants and research tools

Research participants	Total participants	Research tool
Children trafficked into sexual exploitation	30	Semi-structured interviews
Client-exploiters of children in sexual exploitation	13	Semi-structured interviews
Key informants	34	Key informant interviews
Participants in 4 focus group discussions with adults and children in the sex trade and pimps	27	Focus group discussion guiding questions
Total number	**104**	

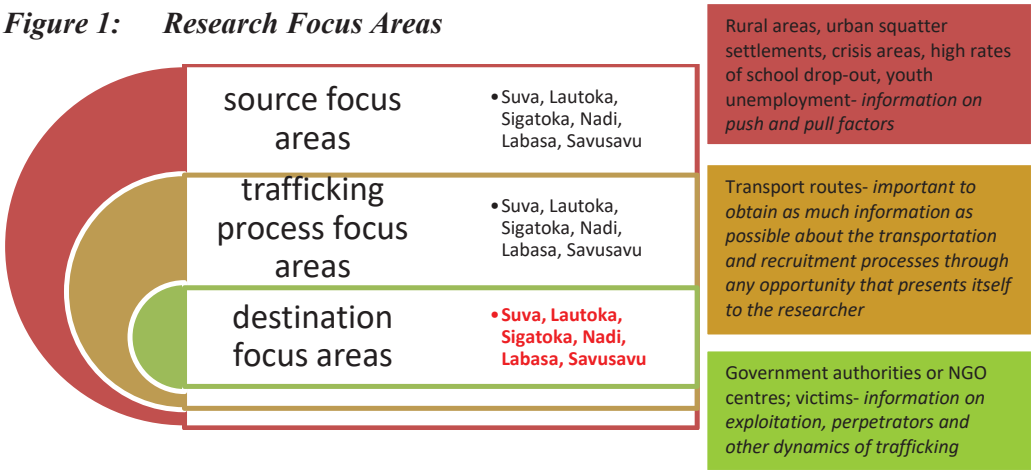
[10] A pimp is a person who controls prostitutes and arranges clients for them, taking a share of their earnings. Pimping refers to arranging clients for adults or children in prostitution or the sex trade.

1.7.4 Research Area[11]

The interviews were conducted in urban areas in Fiji, namely Suva, Lautoka, Sigatoka, Nadi, Labasa and Savusavu, around informal settlements and residential areas with high incidence of poverty and where there are known cases of child exploitation and are potential sites where child trafficking may be occurring. In addition, children were interviewed in motels and hotels where they were engaged. Within these urban trafficking focus areas (See Figure 1), the research attempted to map trafficking routes and identify risk and vulnerability factors.

Focusing the research on source and destination areas has several advantages as children may be more easily found here, may be more willing to share their stories, and most service providers who can be interviewed are also found in these areas (ILO, 2010). It is in these urban centres where poverty and inequality abound, where informal settlements have mushroomed and where growing social ills include the breakdown of families and societies and where children have been exploited (Naidu, 2007) and therefore, may be found and interviewed.

Figure 1: Research Focus Areas



1.7.5 Sampling

As identifying trafficking victims and traffickers was difficult, a convenience sampling method was used for the fieldwork. This involved snowball sampling to identify research participants, including key informants, trafficking victims, exploiters and

[11] See Appendix 12 Map of Fiji: Towns and Cities, Divisional and Provincial Boundaries to locate research areas.

clients. From February to March 2013, conversations were held with beggars, port workers, bar tenders, food sellers, taxi drivers and community members to identify leads worth investigating. As much of the information derived from these conversations was based on observations and personal opinions, other key informants were sought to confirm or expand on the information and leads identified.

The researcher liaised with key informants who had experience in the sex trade and could access hard to reach participants and connect the researcher with others in the sex trade. Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with children, pimps, clients and taxi drivers in the sex trade were conducted between March to June 2013, with the assistance of sex worker networks in Fiji. During this period a total of 7 children in the sex trade and 13 client-exploiters were interviewed using the semi-structured interview forms. The four focus group discussions were also conducted during this period.[12]

From August to September 2015, the researcher sought the assistance of key informants from the sex worker networks in Fiji and three research assistants with previous experience in conducting interviews with children in the sex trade to identify and interview other children in the sex trade. One of these research assistants was a counselor and provided counseling and referral support to children on request from the children interviewed. A total of 23 children in the sex trade were interviewed during this period using the semi-structured interview forms.

Police, service providers and journalists also provided information on leads and persons who may be interviewed, and exploiters and victims also identified others who were willing to be interviewed.

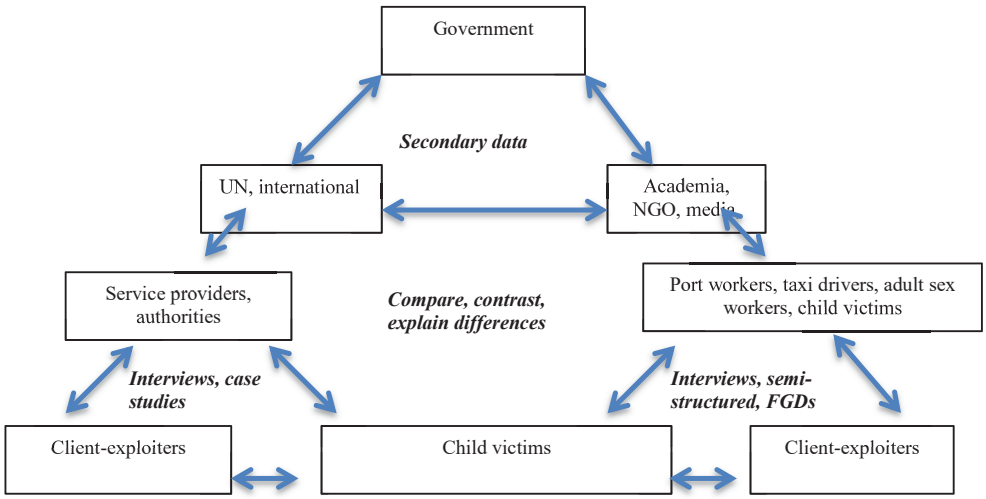
1.7.6 Data Analysis

Data collected through the literature review, key informant interviews, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions was analysed thematically. In addition, the software package for social scientists (SPSS) was used to analyse data from semi-

[12] See Appendix 8 for the list of children and client-exploiters interviewed by ID number, location and date and focus group discussion dates. Reference made in the analysis (Chapter 5) to children and client-exploiters interviewed using the semi-structured interview form is referenced using the ID, location and date of interview.

structured interviews with victims and exploiters. Data was compared and contrasted through triangulation between information gathered from the different research tools demonstrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Triangulation to compare and contrast data[13]



1.8 Ethical Guidelines

The research adhered to ethical guidelines in the conduct of the research which served to inform the decisions of the researcher throughout the research process. The established ethical guidelines from the University of the South Pacific and the ILO served as a code of conduct for the research. The main ethical principles for the research were centred on full disclosure, informed consent, confidentiality and voluntary participation.

Great care was taken to "do no harm" in the data collection process. The researcher worked closely with agencies working in this sector to establish trust and links between the researcher and the children and other research participants. Agencies and individuals working with children in the sex trade sought their permission to be interviewed before arranging for their participation in the research. Children in the sex trade who were approached where they were operating were interviewed only if they

[13] Adapted from ILO Trafficking in Persons research conducted under the Mekong Sub-regional project to combat trafficking in children and women, 2003

agreed, selecting a private location to be interviewed. Only those who consented participated in the research.

Prior to the interviews the researcher explained to the research participants, who she is, where she comes from and why she is conducting the research and ensured that all respondents understood the risks associated with being interviewed and obtained their informed consent. (See Appendix 2: Consent Form)

Critical consideration was given to the protection of participants involved in the research. The researcher was mindful that some information gathered through the research would not be presented if not beneficial to the safety and well-being of participants, and of the need to present findings in a manner that is respectful and knowledgeable of the context, and to avoid the stigmatization of and identification of participants. To maintain the safety of the participants and the researcher, local contacts/ liaison persons were involved in scoping to arrange interviews and explain clearly to potential participants the aims of the research, the rights of the participants regarding consent, the interview process and the confidentiality clauses.

The researcher was mindful and sensitive to the participant's body language and willingness to proceed with the interview, asking at various stages of the interviews whether participants would like to answer the question or skip or would like to continue with the interview or end it. The questions were phrased and asked in such a way to ensure participants were comfortable with discussing sensitive issues. During the interview process, the researcher explained what the next set of questions was about before asking the participant whether he/she was comfortable to proceed. Approval from research participants was also sought before taking notes or recording interviews.

Confidentiality was a major issue and all research participants had to be assured that no names or details would be given which could identify respondents, and that information or stories would be shared only with the their permission.[14] In addition the research participants also understood that their participation in the research was

[14] Names and details of all children and client- exploiters who participated in semi-structured interviews, key informant interviews and focus group discussions remains confidential.

voluntary, that they were free to answer only the questions that they wanted to answer and that they could stop at any time in the course of the research process. Research participants were made aware that no specific names of companies, hotels, locations would be presented in the report. The researcher used ID numbers for each participant. No private details such as towns/cities, street names, name of boarding house, company and so forth that may identify the participants is presented in the thesis.

The researcher also engaged children as direct informants and as active research partners, in accordance with Article 12 of the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child, recognizing that they are valuable sources of authentic insights into their own situations and lives and that they can propose valid recommendations and suggestions for improvement. Children who participated in the research and who gave their permission were referred to agencies working in this sector to participate in their programmes.

Other ethical guidelines included avoiding prejudicial behavior or remunerating respondents, either in cash or kind during the research and not raising the children's expectations of dramatic lifestyle changes as an outcome of the research activity. The researcher maintained gender neutrality and involved counselors when requested by the research participants. Additionally individuals[15] with prior experience in conducting research with children in the sex trade also played a valuable role as Research Assistants and accessing children through their own networks. The individuals that the researcher was fortunate to work with provided invaluable assistance by accessing respondents, sharing their personal experiences, observations and advice and assisting with the interviews which led to a deeper understanding of various contexts of the respondents.

1.9 Research Limitations

The main limitation of the research was trying to gain access to interview children and traffickers or exploiters in the sex trade. This was overcome by working with key persons in existing networks and organisations which had programmes with children

[15] Ms. Litiana Temo, Ms. Asesla Naisara and Sesenieli. N are acknowledged here as key research assistants, and Ms. Naisara as Counsellor, contributing to the data collection process in 2015 and Jada played a key role in 2013.

in the sex trade, who contacted children and arranged meetings if the child was willing to be interviewed. Interviews with pimps and clients were also pre-arranged by key persons connected to this target group. However, within the initial timeframe of the research, only a small number of research participants were interviewed. Additional data gathered in 2015 confirmed that the data gathered in 2013 was still valid.

Parental consent was not possible for most of the interviews conducted with children in the sex trade due to the nature of the research. Some children interviewed were living away from home, some were living with friends, and most children did not want parents aware or involved. Consent was therefore given by the child and countersigned by the trusted contact person from the organisation who made contact with the child.

Analysing case studies from service providers to fill into the prepared trafficking victim identification form was an additional limitation, as most case studies submitted by the service providers did not have the required information to input into the forms to conduct an analysis. The victim identification form was therefore discarded but is included in the appendices (See Appendix 11).

1.10 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis comprises of five chapters. The first chapter provides an introduction to the research and outlines the research objectives, approach and methodology, including the sampling, ethical guidelines and limitations. Chapter 2 explores the challenges of definitions and constructs on the legal frameworks, the influence of the discourse on prostitution and sex trafficking on human trafficking definition, and gaps and challenges to human trafficking research approach and methods. Chapter 3 discusses human trafficking as a development issue and expands on the conceptual framework from Chapter 2, which has guided the research approach from the viewpoint that human trafficking is a consequence of capitalism and globalisation. Chapter 4 examines the evidence of human trafficking in the Pacific context from the labour traffic to modern day slavery and analyses the vulnerabilities in Pacific urban areas that place more children at risk of being trafficked into labour or sexual exploitation. Chapter 5 discusses the findings of the field research, and Chapter 6 presents a summary of key findings, concluding remarks and recommendations. This is followed by a bibliography and appendices.

2 Human Trafficking Definitions, Constructs and Research Challenges

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by reviewing the background of the international legal framework to provide the context of the study by outlining the UN Trafficking Protocol and linkages to related laws including the Slavery Conventions of 1926 and 1956, the 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989 and the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention 1999. It also discusses the key Fiji national laws on trafficking contained in the Crimes Decree 2009 and the Employment Relations Act 2007.

The discourse on sex trafficking and prostitution is then examined, followed by an analysis of the limitations of human trafficking research and research approaches, methodologies and lessons learnt from child trafficking and child labour research. The review of the literature in this chapter has helped to shape the research approach and methods of data collection and analysis, ethical guidelines and research limitations for this thesis as outlined in Chapter 1. A summary is included at the end of the chapter.

2.2 Challenges in Human Trafficking Definitions and Constructs

> Slavery - "the state or condition of being a slave; a civil relationship whereby one person has absolute power over another and controls his life, liberty and fortune; the subjection of a person to another person, especially being forced into work; and, work done in harsh conditions for low [or no] pay [or payment in kind]."
>
> The Collins English Dictionary

There are challenges in establishing a consistent definition for human trafficking. Agencies construct their own definitions and understanding of human trafficking which often overlaps with notions of slavery and prostitution. For example, some NGOs label all persons involved in prostitution and who have been sexually abused as

trafficking victims. Other organisations restrict the definition of human trafficking to only apply to children in commercial sexual exploitation. Government departments such as customs and immigration often limit their definition to the trafficking of persons across national borders.[16]

The terms trafficking and slavery are often used interchangeably, heightening public intolerance for such exploitation (Vijeyarasa 2015, 6). According to Quirk, there are many who still identify situations as slavery but do not technically explain or understand how the slavery status was determined and who do not differentiate where slavery begins and other forms of exploitation ends (Quirk 2009, 30-32). Additionally, distinguishing between a trafficked person and a smuggled person is difficult as there is significant overlap between the two, as both trafficking and smuggling situations are a crime, involve movement over borders, a third party or people operating the movement or harbouring of persons and people profiting, exploiting or being exploited. Often persons who have been smuggled across borders end up being trafficked into exploitation. Therefore, it is essential to utilize the international and national laws such as the UN Trafficking Protocol to clearly distinguish between human trafficking and other similar crimes.

Prior to the adoption of the UN Trafficking Protocol in 2000, anti-slavery and human trafficking campaigns ran parallel to each other and human trafficking was closely tied to campaigns against prostitution and sexual servitude, and was commonly known as 'white slavery'. The 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others[17], clearly show this overlap of trafficking and prostitution. Article 1 of the 1949 Convention states that all parties agree to punish any person who "procures, entices or leads away, for the purposes of prostitution another person, even with the consent of that person, and exploits the prostitution of another person even with the consent of that person."

The Slavery Conventions illustrate the overlap between slavery and human trafficking and the transfer of children for the purpose of exploitation. The 1926 Slavery

[16] The lack of understanding of human trafficking causes confusion in differentiating between trafficking and smuggling as seen by statements made by government officers regarding 'trafficking' cases published in the Fiji Times
[17] Download the Convention: http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/TrafficInPersons.aspx

Convention[18] states that the slave trade includes all acts involved in the capture, acquisition or disposal of a person with intent to reduce him/ her to slavery; all acts involved in the acquisition of a slave with a view to selling or exchanging him/ her; all acts of disposal by sale or exchange of a slave acquired with a view to being sold or exchanged, and, in general, every act of trade or transport in slaves. The 1956 UN Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, provides a broader framework of slavery to include in addition to chattel slavery, debt bondage, serfdom, servile marriage, and the transfer of children for the purpose of exploitation.[19]

2.3 Defining Human Trafficking Using the International Legal Framework

The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children (referred to in this report as the Trafficking Protocol), adopted in 2000, provides a comprehensive definition and framework for understanding human trafficking. Article 3 of the Trafficking Protocol, defines human trafficking as:

> (a) 'Trafficking in persons' shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;
>
> (b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used;

[18] Download the Convention; http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/SlaveryConvention.aspx
[19] http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/SupplementaryConventionAbolitionOfSlavery.aspx

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

(d) 'Child' shall mean any person under eighteen years of age.

According to the international legal definition, all three elements, that is, the action, means and purpose, must be present, with the exception of child victims of trafficking whereby the means, that is whether tricked, forced, or coerced, is excluded in determining child trafficking. Trafficking in children therefore involves two major components. Firstly it involves the action of recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child, and secondly, that this action is undertaken for the purpose of exploitation of the child (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2011).

The Trafficking Protocol complements the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989 which prohibits the sexual exploitation and abuse of children (Article 34), and the abduction, sale and trafficking of children (Article 35), further amplified by the Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography[20]. It also is consistent with the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999[21], which prohibits and defines the worst forms of child labour as all practices similar to slavery such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom, forced and compulsory labour, the use of children in armed conflicts and for prostitution, pornography or pornographic performances, and the use of children for illicit activities such as drug trafficking and in hazardous work.

2.4 Defining Human Trafficking in Fiji Using the Legal Framework

Fiji has ratified the Convention for the Suppression of Trafficking in Women & Children 1921, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women 1981 and the ILO Conventions on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, Minimum Age of Employment, and Forced Labour, and the principles of these international Conventions have been

[20] Download at https://www.unicef.org/crc/files/Protection_list.pdf
[21] Download: http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C182

adopted into national laws. Fiji has not however, ratified the UN Trafficking Protocol 2000, although the government acceded to the Trafficking Protocol in September 2017.

The national legal framework relevant to the sale and trafficking of children in Fiji includes the Crimes Decree, Family Law Act, Immigration Act, Adoption of Infants Act[22], Employment Relations Act 2007[23] and the Marriage Act. The Crimes Decree 2009 is the national legislation that comprehensively addresses domestic and international trafficking in Fiji, and is closely aligned to the international conventions on trafficking. Provisions in Division 6 of the Crimes Decree, Sections 111-118, outlines the offences of international and domestic trafficking in persons and children, and the penalties imposed for traffickers. Section 117 of the Crimes Decree states that "A person commits an indictable offence of domestic trafficking in children if –

(a) the first-mentioned person organises or facilitates the transportation of another person from one place in Fiji to another place in Fiji; and
(b) the other person is under the age of 18; and
(c) in organising or facilitating that transportation, the first-mentioned person:
    i. intends that the other person will be used to provide sexual services or will be otherwise exploited, either by the first-mentioned person or another, during or following the transportation to that other place; or
    ii. is reckless as to whether the other person will be used to provide sexual services or will be otherwise exploited, either by the first-mentioned person or another, during or following the transportation to that other place."

The Employment Relations Act (ERA) 2007 establishes the circumstances and ages at which children may work and prohibits the exploitation of children in the worst forms of child labour. Part 91 of the ERA prohibits –

[22] The Adoption of Infants Act prohibits adoption of non- resident children; adoption by non- residents of Fiji and adoption by sole male applicants. Section 8 of the Act mandates the Department of Social Welfare to act as the guardian ad litem and to investigate as fully as possible all the circumstances of the infant and the applicant, and all other matters relevant to the proposed adoption, with a view to safeguarding the interests of the infant before the court. The Immigration Act 2003 states that "A person who engages in trafficking a child regardless of whether the child's entry into the Fiji Islands or any other state was arranged by unlawful means commits an offence"

[23] The Employment Relations Act was previously Employment Relations Promulgation 2007 or ERP 2007

(a) all forms of labour slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and any form of forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children in armed conflict;
(b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in relevant international treaties; or
(c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances.

Shameem (2013), states that there may be a danger in confusing the terms in the Crimes Decree 2009, such as recklessness and exploitation, which requires a part objective, part subjective analysis that may lead to judicial determination of what is exploitation, notwithstanding the perspective of the victim. She emphasises that trafficking is a human rights issue and should not be confused with illegal migration or national security issues, and that authorities involved should understand and be sensitive to social structures and vulnerabilities faced by the poor, disabled, women and children, and to the way in which these vulnerabilities are manipulated to exploit them. These situations of vulnerability may be causes as well as consequences of trafficking of children for labour or sexual exploitation.

The inconsistencies in the definition of human trafficking and complexities surrounding this issue poses problems for data collection and the formulation of clear policies and guidelines to identify and address human trafficking. One such area of contention is differentiating between prostitution and sex trafficking and understanding where prostitution ends and sex trafficking begins. The different positions or schools of thought on this issue have influenced legislation, policies and perceptions on human trafficking as discussed in the next section.

2.5 Influences of the Discourse on Sex Trafficking and Prostitution on Definitions and Approaches to Human Trafficking

Trafficking definitions and approaches are largely influenced by personal agendas or the agendas of different groups or organisations. According to Obrien, Hayes and Carpenter (2013), perceptions of the problem of trafficking are influenced by value judgements on the harm of sex work. The emotive way in which trafficking has been defined and linked to slavery, and the overlap of sex work or prostitution with slavery and trafficking, has resulted in sex trafficking dominating the trafficking discourse.

According to Kempadoo (2015, 10-11), trends in anti-trafficking campaigns have followed three veins- modern anti-slavery, abolitionist feminism and celebrity humanism. The modern anti-slavery campaign is based on the notion of "force or violence by one towards another, through which the victim loses control over his or her life and comes to exist in a state of total unfreedom". Kempadoo calls this a moral campaign involving westerners on a moral crusade to rescue and save the world- especially Asia and Africa. Abolitionist feminism, also a moral campaign, is historically founded on campaigns against white slavery, focusing on patriarchy and sexual violence against women. Prostitution is viewed as violence against women, and is a "male-created, patriarchal institution" to terrorise, control and exploit women. Abolitionist feminism has shaped anti-trafficking campaigns conflating prostitution with female sexual slavery and sex trafficking. Celebrity humanism also plays the 'rescue politics' focusing its attention on the rescue of young women and girls from modern day slavery and sex trafficking by modern-day especially Hollywood celebrities.

These three campaigns overlook the individual agency of women who may choose to engage in sex work and promote anti-prostitution ideologies. According to Kempadoo (2006, 12) these campaigns do not address the structural underlying factors that have created situations for human trafficking and exploitation and "overlook the roles of white supremacy, neoliberalism and capitalism in cocreating and sustaining the underlying problems". The three campaigns are primarily directed from the developed world promoting a rescue and redemption narrative to save the poor and proliferating notions of the "white men's burden" or white supremacy. Although "global capitalism is acknowledged as the economic context within which sex trafficking and modern-

day slavery occurs and creates problems such as poverty, it is not identified as a system from which people need to be freed". Therefore, the focus is on ensuring compliance through stronger laws and enforcement. Capitalism therefore, is given a boost as organisations raise exorbitant amounts of capital for anti-trafficking campaigns which have little effect on the causes of the problem. These campaigns only allow a superficial participation of sex workers or "survivors" (who are perceived as victims who have been coerced and lack agency) as authorities on prostitution and human trafficking and voices in their own right, and therefore impose their own value system and ideologies on the "rescued others" (Kempadoo, 2006, 16).

Provisions in the Trafficking Protocol were influenced by the "forced or free" prostitution debate which polarised discussions during the crafting of the Trafficking Protocol into two camps. One camp argued that prostitution was inherently a cause of trafficking thus all prostitution was harmful and should be abolished. The other camp argued that prostitution was legitimate labour and that trafficking was not caused by the existence of a sex industry but by restrictive migration policies which resulted in the deception and coercion of migrant labourers, of who sex workers are a group. This resulted in the clause in the Trafficking Protocol that "exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation." This clause allows countries to determine whether trafficking applies to consensual prostitution or only to forced prostitution or other forms of sexual exploitation. A result of this ambiguity is the easy use of the term trafficking victim, to apply to individuals and groups who may not consider themselves as such, or would not be identified as a trafficked victim according to national laws (Obrien et.al, 2013, 100-113).

The Trafficking Protocol has similar sentiments as the 1949 Convention Against Trafficking in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others as it does not distinguish trafficking from being forced or free. The Trafficking Protocol states that the consent of a victim of trafficking in persons shall be irrelevant if any of the means have been used to ensure their exploitation- the means being various forms of force and more significantly the 'abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability'. This according to Jeffreys (2006, 195-211) means that whether women who were being trafficked knew their destination was prostitution, their circumstances – such as giving

up travel documents, being in a strange place and in debt – would place them in the control of their traffickers, and whether they consented or not, they would still be classified as trafficked. She adds that as prostitution is becoming less distinguishable from trafficking and slavery, trafficking and prostitution should not be studied as separate issues as this would hinder efforts to stop trafficking and protect the sex industry from scrutiny, and safeguard the development and profits of the industry.

Vijeyarasa (2015, 168-170) argues that the Trafficking Protocol focuses on the trafficker and deflects attention away from the decision- making process of the individual that may have led them to engage in unsafe and risky practices. Citing discussions by Desyllas (2007), Truong (2006), Demir and Finckenauer (2010) and van der Kleij (2002), Vijeyarasa emphasises that movement of victims is an essential element of human trafficking and that "abuse of power and position of vulnerability" as a means by which a person may be trafficked, focuses on the trafficker's state of mind and [his] intention to exploit the victim's vulnerabilities, further perpetuating the notion that the victims are weak and lack agency, ignoring the victim's role in choosing to migrate for economic or social betterment, a movement which may eventually have led to him or her being trafficked. [24]

Definitions of trafficking adopted by legislators offer insights into perceptions of prostitution. For example, in the United States, sex trafficking includes all migrant sex work, supporting the dominant abolitionist ideology advocating that all migrant sex workers are victims of trafficking and would not voluntarily move to create a better life for themselves. The victims are portrayed as poor and vulnerable women and girls who are innocent, naïve and lack agency and have not participated in any way to being trafficked (Obrien et.al, 2013, 102-106 & 170-175).

[24] In her book, Vijeyarasa examines victims of trafficking from four mainstream categories:

- The coerced-victim, represented in most literature as involuntary victims, mainly young girls who are trafficked through abduction, kidnapping or force, mainly into sexual exploitation.
- The uneducated victim- represented in most literature as illiterate, uneducated or early school drop-outs who are more vulnerable or at risk to trafficking compared to educated individuals as they are less able to read and understand terms of contracts, easily manipulated and 'less equipped to negotiate trafficking and abuse."
- The poor victim- particularly women who have less employment opportunities and are more likely to be more affected in times of high unemployment through discrimination in hiring and lay-offs and illegal terminations during maternity leave, contributing to high poverty and unemployment rates.
- The female victim. There is a gendered dimension to trafficking with women the victims suffering at the hands of male perpetrators, considered easy targets for traffickers as socio-cultural values influence women's decisions whether to migrate or seek work elsewhere to support their families economic well-being and obligations of girls to care for their parents put girls at risk of being trafficked. (Vijeyarasa, 2015, 10-12)

These perceptions influence the approaches of many NGOs and civil society groups to human trafficking, who focus on rescuing women- as the unsuspecting victims of poor socio-economic backgrounds, who have been forced, duped, tricked, coerced, kidnapped and trafficked- from the sex industry. Notably, male and transgender sex workers are less commonly targeted for rescue. This approach shifts between saving victims, punishing wrong-doers, and defining normative boundaries and moral standards and fails to address the economic situation of the women and reasons why they were trafficked in the first place (Vijeyarasa, 2015, 30-34).

Montgomery (2011, 149-150) highlights that the media also shapes predominant perceptions of sex trafficking. For example, in the 1990s, the media portrayed a pattern of young Thai girls tricked into leaving home or sold by impoverished parents to a brothel into sexual servitude to foreign men. In reality however, the overwhelming majority of young prostitutes were not found in tourist bars but in the brothels of rural Thailand or the streets of Bangkok where they serviced local clients for low wages. Global reports such as the US Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report, also influences perceptions on human trafficking. [25]

Finally, often missing from the discourse on trafficking is the overarching human rights framework and the labour protections for workers, and the treatment and welfare of migrant workers regardless of their legal status. As trafficking by its very nature violates the human rights of individuals, a human rights-based approach emphasises the human dignity of the individual including the right to freedom from exploitation (Vijeyarasa, 2015, 180).

The discourse on prostitution, sex trafficking and human trafficking illustrates how dominant values and ideologies on commercial sex influences the definition and the approach to human trafficking and shapes laws, policies, programmes and individual attitudes. Determining human trafficking is complex and conducting human trafficking research is also complex and has proven to be an extremely difficult and challenging area of research, as outlined in the next section.

[25] The US State department while providing a brief description of the statistical methods used to calculate estimates fails to explain the methodology used to attain the baseline data according to Laczko and Gozdziak, 2005,

2.6 Limitations of Human Trafficking Research

There is still little systematic and reliable data on the scale of trafficking in persons, limited understanding of the characteristics of 'victims'[26], their life experiences, and their trafficking trajectories, and very poor understanding of the operations of traffickers and their networks (Gozdziak & Bump, 2008). Human trafficking experts agree that there is limited information on domestic trafficking, the domestic trafficking corridor, routes and trafficking networks and the trends within countries and regions, and insufficient data on the relationship between child domestic service, migration and trafficking (Laczko, 2008, 6). Additionally, there is very little literature and empirical research on the trafficking of men (Vijeyarasa, 2015, 16). Much trafficking research has focused on the supply side of trafficking for sex leaving a significant gap of knowledge on the demand for trafficked prostitution (Di Nicola, Lombardi, Cauduro and Ruspini, 2009, 231-235).

Gozdziak and Bump's (2008) review of the literature on human trafficking research found that majority of the 741 pieces of literature on human trafficking were:

(i) Reports (58%) – of which 68% of reports were based on empirical studies; mainly using qualitative methods; random sampling used in 5.3% of the studies; 89% of the reports focused on sex trafficking and 55% of the reports discuss labour trafficking; the majority of reports discuss women and girls;

(ii) Journal articles (29%) – 179 journal articles were based on non-empirical research; 35 of the 39 articles based on empirical research were on sexual exploitation; all but one empirical study used qualitative methods; most studies focused on women and thus very little is known on the trafficking of men for sexual or forced labour;

(iii) Books (13%) – mostly non-empirical studies focused on policy analysis, literature reviews, and critiques of trafficking frameworks or views of the trafficking debate.

The gaps in information and systematic data on human trafficking is not surprising given the diversity in legal frameworks, poor research capacity at national levels,

[26] There is inconsistent use of the words "victim" or "survivor" of human trafficking in existing literature on human trafficking. For consistency, 'victims' is used in this paper.

different research methods and sampling techniques and the difficulty in accessing victims and perpetrators of human trafficking and obtaining information from service providers and authorities. According to Obrien et.al (2013) and Surtees (2009), it is difficult to build a comprehensive picture of trafficking due to data collection challenges and inconsistent definitions.

Laczko and Gramegna (2003), emphasize that the lack of data and statistics on human trafficking is related to the underreporting of human trafficking, the lack of capacity to collect human trafficking data, lack of detection and enforcement of fairly recent human trafficking laws and the reluctance of trafficking victims to testify. Quirk (2009, 50), agrees that the main issues in human trafficking statistics is accuracy and reliability as many use anecdotal evidence and extrapolations and various means of arriving at an estimate, some through undefined and questionable means.

The main strength of trafficking research is that it is action-oriented and designed as part of programmes or interventions, aimed at researching the causes of human trafficking and process of recruitment, transport and exploitation of victims, accompanied by a review of the existing legal and policy frameworks and a set of policy and programme recommendations. However, as many trafficking cases are undiscovered, trafficking research has been based on small samples of survivors and cases from NGOs, authorities or international organisations and therefore samples are not representative of the total number of trafficked persons (Laczko & Gozdziak, 2005, 8-15).

Experts recommend that trafficking research should take a longer term multi-disciplinary approach that views trafficking from a range of different perspectives such as health, migration, human rights and law enforcement, and encourages more research on demand-side trafficking, assessments on actors involved in counter-trafficking measures and systematic collection of data (Laczko & Gozdziak, 2005, 8-15). They also recommend that trafficking research should investigate that high number of victims of trafficking who may fall outside the mainstream trafficking framework and explore how poverty, low education levels, labour market barriers and growing inequalities contribute to increasing the vulnerabilities of individuals and groups to being trafficked. (Vijeyarasa, 2015, 16)

Tyldum and Brunovskis (2005, 21-31) agree that gathering data on human trafficking and sampling is an issue. Snowball sampling recruitment is one of the data collection methods for hard to reach populations such as human trafficking, that have been employed by the IOM, UNICEF and other agencies such as the ILO for hidden types of child labour. However, this is not representative as snowballing is not based on random sampling and equal inclusion probability. In addition, observations are inadequate to determine whether a person is a trafficking victim. Although the number of cases registered by law enforcement might be an indicator of how enforcement functions, it is also not a good estimate of the number of trafficking victims. Surveys of victims of trafficking whereby the person provides the information to indicate that he or she has been trafficked is the most unambiguous way to classify trafficking.

The most challenging issue in human trafficking research is the sampling method as the target group is hidden and largely evasive, thus many samples have a clear selection bias. However, although most samples are not representative, they provide important information on trends and characteristics of the target group. (Andrees & van der Linden, 2005, 60)

2.7 Child Trafficking and Child Labour Research Methods

The ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) has supported the use of Rapid Assessments as a research method for child labour and child trafficking. From 2002 to 2004, the ILO conducted 38 Rapid Assessments (RA) to produce qualitative and quantitative data on the worst forms of child labour to develop and validate the ILO/UNICEF RA Methodology on Child Labour. The RA methodology was recognized as a valid research approach to investigate the worst forms of child labour, such as child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation. The analysis of the RA reports highlighted an important component of the RA to protect the identities of children and venues where they were interviewed (Fee/ILO, 2004). The lessons learned by the analysis of the rapids assessments strengthened the guidelines for RAs for investigating child labour, published by the ILO/UNICEF. These guidelines were consulted in the design of this research.

Experiences from the ILO promoted the use of chain referral techniques such as snowball sampling especially for researching the less visible and more dispersed categories of children in domestic labour or family-based work, self- employment or in criminal occupations. Snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling technique that identifies a number of child respondents who then identify other child respondents thus increasing the sample size.[27] Snowball sampling is also efficient in research with mobile working children who have a high turnover rate, and do different types of work during the year and at different times of the week (ILO, 2014, 29).

For example, an ILO trafficking research study carried out in Albania, Romania, Moldova and Ukraine, used included a standardised questionnaire for returned migrant labourers, semi-structured interviews with key informants and focus group discussions and applied the snowballing sampling technique. The authors agreed that the method used was probably the best way to approach the sampling difficulties for a hard to reach and covert population. They noted however, that the results were not representative, and recommended that trafficking and forced labour research use a multi-method approach, triangulation and innovative research methods that provide information that "in the long-run is used to broaden the scope of viable alternatives for the victims so that they may break out of forced labour, or even better to broaden the scope of choices for migrants so they do not become victims in the first place" (Andrees & van der Linden, 2005, 60-69).

In researching child survivors of trafficking for labour and sexual exploitation in the United States, Gozdziak and Bump (2008) used key informant interviews with service providers, in- depth case file reviews, and ethnographic interviews with survivors of trafficking in the care of the state. Child trafficking cases of children in foster care and unaccompanied refugee minors programmes were reviewed. Research limitations included the delay in classifying the children as trafficking victims (3 to 21 months), the length of time it took to develop rapport with the children and understand their trafficked history, and the time and the law enforcement agencies who were unconvinced that these children were victims of trafficking.

[27] For more information on research techniques for child labour research see also Verma, V; 2013; Sampling of Elusive Populations: Applications to Studies of Child Labour; ILO, Geneva.

The EU region has developed a methodology for collecting victim-centred data and trafficker-centred data which is collected from detected or flagged victims by law enforcement agencies and organisations working on victim-assistance. This methodology avoids re-interviewing of victims and uses case management files to collect data excluding personal information and providing much useful information that can assist with prevention and understand the dynamics of trafficking. The method however, is limited only to the victims detected, flagged or assisted and therefore subjective. The trafficker-centred data provides background information of alleged traffickers and their role in the trafficking process, as well as where gaps, issues and strengths of the criminal justice system are, in the efforts to arrest and penalize traffickers. However, the data set only relates to persons charged and there are time issues in completing the data set from the time the person is charged to when the legal proceedings are completed- which can take months or even years (Surtees, 2009, 27-32).

The literature exploring human trafficking, child labour or child trafficking research limitations and lessons learnt offers valuable information on strengths and limitations, and influenced the design of the research approach and methodology for this research. Methods such as semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, key informant interviews, victim-centred data analysis and snowball sampling, and challenges such as access to victims and timing were examined and addressed in the research approach, outlined in Chapter 1.

2.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter sought to outline the challenges in distinguishing between trafficking, slavery and prostitution and highlighted how dominant values and ideologies on prostitution have influenced the definition and the approaches to human trafficking. The anti-trafficking campaigns were closely linked to global campaigns to end prostitution and sexual servitude and this influenced the Trafficking Protocol 2000 which identifies individuals who have been ‘coerced, tricked, kidnapped or deceived into prostitution as trafficking victims. Anti-trafficking campaigns have also been seen to remove individual agency away from sex workers, who are seen as victims, who could not consent to be sex workers but are pushed into it. As a result, these campaigns

have focused on rescuing women and girls from sex trafficking, without addressing the systematic root causes which have led to their situations. This thesis therefore refrains from the 'saviour-victim, rescue-redemption' mentality, but takes the opportunity to learn from expert voices in this field.

The Fiji Crimes Decree 2009 and Employment Relations Act 2007, the Trafficking Protocol, Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989 and Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour 1999 (all ratified by Fiji), are benchmark national and international laws prohibiting child trafficking in any form. These important instruments provide the parameters that have been used by the researcher to determine cases of child sex trafficking.

Child trafficking research in Fiji and the Pacific region is critical. As there are many methodological challenges in trafficking research, the Rapid Assessment (RA) mixed quantitative and qualitative approach by UNICEF and the ILO was selected as this has been successfully used to investigate child trafficking and children in commercial sex. Previous ILO RA studies provide important advice on research methods and tools, sampling techniques and tips for accessing hard to reach groups. These were essential issues to be explored and addressed in the research strategy for this thesis.

3 Human Trafficking as a Development Issue

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a conceptual framework for understanding human trafficking and further expands on the links between human trafficking, slavery and prostitution that were discussed in Chapter 2. The conceptual framework presents human trafficking as a consequence of globalisation and capitalism, and links capitalism and the accumulation of wealth to the exploitation of labour and rising inequalities and vulnerabilities. A discussion on migration and human trafficking is also presented and a brief historical overview of human trafficking in the Pacific labour traffic and indentured system is discussed to illustrate that this is not a new phenomena in the Pacific and to view incidences of trafficking in this context from the perspective of current legal frameworks on human trafficking.

3.2 Human Trafficking as Modern Day Slavery

> "…this 'new slavery' focuses on big profits and cheap lives, and complete control over people who are cheap, require little care, and who are held only as long as they are useful then disposed." [28]
>
> (Bales, 2012)

Human trafficking is not a new phenomenon, having existed previously as slavery, sexual servitude or forced labour. Today it is often referred to as modern day slavery or new slavery (Bales, 2012; Quirk, 2009; Bello, 2013) or as forced labour (ILO, 2012). Shameem (2013) states that "human trafficking is as old as blackbirding and *girmitya*, but what is new is the global movement to identify trafficking as a criminal act and to promote a standard approach to address human trafficking".

Human trafficking is a development issue. For numerous reasons people have been displaced either voluntarily or involuntarily as part of the process of development or even as a response to underdevelopment. Development and displacement are connected and are historically linked. For example, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade

[28] Bales estimates that there are 27 million slaves in the world today with 15 to 20 million of this number in bonded labourer in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal.

involved millions of Africans[29] taken against their will as slaves to progress European and American industrial and economic development. According to Mohan (2002, 78-84), labour diasporas have involved groups travelling in search of a range of employment opportunities often eventuating in semi-forced conditions such as in the case of the indentured labourers working in menial, labouring jobs.

Human trafficking is a response to the demand of the market which preys on the vulnerabilities of people and communities. It is also driven by a demand for increasing profits or reducing costs and involves a combination of deception, violence, vulnerability and desperation, debt and depravation. Poverty and desperation creates an environment for deception and trafficking to survive and flourish. Isolation is a means to control and is closely linked to illegal migration and the removal of identifying documents (Quirk, 2009, 52-57).

Human trafficking focuses on weakness, gullibility, deprivation, and whether people are vulnerable enough to be enslaved. The common denominator is poverty, rather than race or colour. For example, enslaved prostitutes in Japan are rarely Japanese, but more likely to be Thai, Filipino or European women as Japanese women are not nearly as vulnerable and desperate as Thai or Filipinas. In Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, Muslim Arabs enslave Sri Lankan Hindus, Filipino Christian and Nigerian Muslims (Bales, 2012, 4-11).

Human trafficking is a lucrative business, especially sex trafficking or trafficking into prostitution, with high profits and few risks. Unlike drugs and weapons which are confiscated once caught and used as evidence in court, the prosecution of trafficking cases are extremely difficult and the trafficked victim may be resold many times to different exploiters for profit (Gallagher, 2005, 17). According to the ILO (2014), two-thirds of the profits from forced labour were generated by forced sexual exploitation, amounting to an estimated US$99 billion per year. According to Quirk (2009, 112-118) an estimated 10,000 women have been trafficked for sexual servitude into Britain mainly through debt, deception, psychological manipulation, isolation, confinement and threats, violence and vulnerability. He states that although the British Government

[29] It is estimated that 12.5 million slaves were shipped from Africa, and 10.7 million had arrived in the Americas during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, from The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database http://www.slavevoyages.org/

has improved legislation and enforcement, the major obstacle remained the tremendous profit made from human trafficking.

3.3 Human Trafficking as a Consequence of Capitalism and Globalisation

A considerable body of literature links human trafficking and slavery to capitalism and globalisation. The UNFPA State of the World Report (2006, 44) states that trafficking constitutes the dark underside of globalisation. The opening up of national borders and international markets increased international flows of capital, goods and labour and led to the globalisation of organised crime. For example, according to the Foundation for Women, Thailand opened its markets to international competition in the mid-nineteenth century leading to an increase in international trade and a subsequent and serious increase in the trafficking of women and children (Skrobanek, Boonpakdi & Janthakeero, 1997, 30).

Globalisation has expanded the boundaries of markets making them free for all kinds of products, including a trafficked person who must be malleable to accept the exploitative conditions that give employers a competitive advantage. To reduce costs and compete in the global market, small and medium sized industries fuel the demand for cheap labour usually provided by irregular migrants, women and children. On the other hand, improved economic opportunities and competition in rapidly developing countries has created situations where locals do not want to work in cheap and harsh working conditions which are therefore filled by migrant labourers and trafficked women and children (ILO, 2006, 18).

3.3.1 Global Capitalism and the Exploitation of Labour

Amin (2014, v-xxix) states that capitalism is a system that is based on the exploitation of labour by capital and a global system that gives rise to polarization. He highlights that the new ideology of capitalism praises winners and dismisses losers without further consideration, such ideology supporting a sort of “social Darwinism” that is similar to that of criminal organisations, where the winner is always right, even when his methods, not necessarily criminal, border on the illegal and ignore common moral values.

Rich nations have become richer by a system of global capitalism with freer flows of commodities and capital whereas poorer nations have become poorer often as a result of the same dynamics that have made other nations richer, with more restrictions on labour flows from poorer countries. This "explosive situation" according to Bello (2013, 144-146) has been "filled by a system of trafficking in human beings that can in many respects be compared to the slave trade of the sixteenth century". Quirk (2009) also agrees that unfree labour has expanded under contemporary neoliberal capitalism, similar to the expansion of slave labour and repressed labour in the early phase of the global capitalist expansion.

Bello (2013, 149) presents the example of increasing labour demand from the richer booming economies in the Persian Gulf and Saudi peninsula and restricted local labour supply, which has resulted in migrant workers mainly from South and Southeast Asia filling the labour demand and making up a significant proportion of the population of these states. He estimates that 90% of the 9000 domestic workers from the Philippines have been smuggled in to the Middle East and are in conditions of work akin to slavery and subjected to rape and sexual abuse.

According to Hines (2000, v-xi, 204) globalisation has reduced the security, basic needs provision and employment prospects for billions of people. Protective barriers to the flow of goods and money are systematically removed by international trade rules shaped by and for big business, pitting country against country, community against community and workers against workers, as such a structure and process maximises profit. For example, before the 1997 Asian crisis, as workers in newly industrialised Asian began to earn more wages, Japanese, Korean, Thai, Taiwanese and other owners of factories were already going overseas in search of cheaper labour.

In discussing the link between capitalism, globalisation and labour, Tabb (2001, 21, 25,195) cites Marx and Engels, who describe globalisation's continuous search for lower waged workers from manufacturing towns to nearby valleys seeking the lowest possible wage level which has long been central to the nature of capitalism. According to Tabb, capitalist growth by its nature is biased towards increasing the power of capital over people as consumers, citizens and workers and thus jobs need protecting because capital creates and maintains coercive pressure on labour, using state power

and the so-called freedom of the market place to escape social control to the maximum degree possible.

Giddens (1971, 11-45) in his analysis of the writings of Marx, highlights Marx's argument on the alienation of the worker who loses control over his labour with the expansion of capitalism. In the free market the worker is treated as a commodity to be bought and sold on the market, with the market acting in such a way to promote the interests of the capitalist at the expense of the worker.

Amaladoss (1999) further adds that globalisation is a form of economic colonisation, leading to the further impoverishment of poor countries obliged to follow the policies set by rich countries under the guise of structural adjustment. The richer countries use their political power to support and promote their own economic machines increasing the gap between the few rich and the mass poor, promoting materialism, individualism, competition, consumerism, and profit oriented commercial activity. Life is mechanised, people are expandable and there is no sense of the common good. These sentiments are supported by Bales (2012, 13) who states that the political elites in the developing world, driven by their self-interest and requirements of global financial institutions, focus on economic growth and pay little attention to sustainable livelihoods for the majority. While the rich get richer the poor have fewer and fewer options.

3.3.2 The Accumulation of Wealth and Disposable Labour

Capitalists and workers are engaged in a continuous struggle – the capitalists to gain profits, the workers to regain control over their lives. The capitalist hires workers in order to make a profit. The workers not having the means to provide for themselves are forced to produce for the capitalists a greater value of goods and services than they receive as a wage, this surplus value becoming the capitalist's profit (Walker et. al, 1979, xi).

Fernandes (1999, 18) states that globalisation has led to the monopolisation of the natural resources to the profit of a few, denying the rights of the poor over their livelihood and subsistence, creating displacement, further impoverishment and powerlessness. Technological transformation has meant loss of employment and

livelihood options, with women among the worst victims. As males take limited available jobs, women become unemployed, or work in the home-based sweatshops, remaining in the informal sector. Rising costs makes it more difficult for women to provide for the household, elevating their desperation and hopelessness and increasing their vulnerability to being exploited.

Paunga (1999, 139) adds to the discussion linking slavery to capitalism and globalisation quoting Felix Wilfred as stating that "the hub of globalisation is liberal capitalist economy, its aim to serve profit, the market and consumerism, concerned with the free market and not free people and as an instrument of gain and profit. It is a system where economy grows without the poor and is an instrument of slavery rather than freedom". Similarly Bosquet (1977, 173-189) argues that capitalism, is incompatible with human survival, founded on the race for profit and output, on competition between firms [people] that consider nothing but their own particular interests and on the need to produce more every year and sell more every year – the firm never wonders how to make the work as pleasant as possible…its only interest is producing the maximum exchange value at the minimum cost, at the expense of workers who can be replaced cheaply and easily".

According to Dewey and Kelly (2011, 2-5) the present phase of late capitalism has led to the commodification of all things, especially domestic and other forms of service work, including sex work which has become one of the few available options to the underprivileged to earn income and survive in an unstable economy. Using the example of Thailand, they blame the neo-liberal economic policies in Thailand for the decline in subsistence agriculture, increasing inequalities between rich and poor, and pushing more people to migrate for economic opportunity.

3.4 Migration and Human Trafficking

With the globalisation of labour in the early twentieth century resulting in the movement of many people, especially women across borders, increased concerns over trafficking have been linked to concerns surrounding increasing migration (Obrien et.al, 2013, 2).

Globalisation has led to competition in labour-intensive sectors and the use of irregular and illegal migrants in developed countries to significantly save on labour cost, therefore increasing the demand for cheap migrant labour and providing incentives for smuggling and trafficking in people. Migrant labour is mostly used for the 3D jobs (dirty, dangerous, and difficult[30]) in both developed and underdeveloped countries to keep costs low and sustain businesses that are just surviving. The most vulnerable migrants are those who have entered the country illegally, without work permits, are unprotected and live on the margins of society. Most jobs for female migrant workers are in the unregulated sectors such as domestic work and in the sex industry, where they have less access to information and proper migration channels, and thus are more vulnerable to exploitation (ILO, 2006, 4).

Women and men often migrate irregularly for economic betterment based on some process of voluntary decision-making and their expectations of opportunities away from home. According to Vijeyarasa (2015, 185-191), barriers to employment are the main factors influencing the decision of an individual to risk and accept exploitative conditions. She argues that many victims are fully aware of the possible risk of exploitation and that deception and fraud are more central to the concept of trafficking than coerced movement. Trafficking thus, should be examined as a phenomenon that exists because of failed migration, when a migrant faces a situation of exploitation that departs from their expectations.

Skrobanek et al (1997, 28,98) maintains that trafficking in persons especially women is an outcome of migration or closely linked to it, as millions of people migrate temporarily to other countries to find better opportunities and are diverted into forced labour by traffickers through their extensive networks. In their study of the traffic in women in Thailand, Skrobanek, Boonpakdi and Janthakeero argue that it is inequality between and within countries that allow trafficking to continue, rooted in unequal power relations between rich and poor, and men and women. In most cases the law targets the victims rather than the traders and beneficiaries and most women fear reporting to the authorities because of their illegal status and because statements from prostitutes in court carry much less weight than evidence from defendants.

[30] The term 'difficult' is often interchangeable with demanding or degrading

Different viewpoints exist on the issue of victims who have been trafficked into prostitution and voluntary migrant sex workers. Jeffreys (2006, 210) presents examples of Thai women who are actively recruited by Australian traffickers in Thailand and exploited in legal, illegal, and escort services in Australia. These women receive false travel documents, owe debts up to 50,000 Australian, and are beaten or raped in order to control them. She states that pro-trafficking campaigners in Australia make trafficking seem like a reasonable arrangement by denying that women brought in from Thailand or other countries to be prostituted in Australia are trafficked, in fact, labeling these women as migrant sex workers and their debts as contract fees which have accumulated as a result of their ignorance and poor knowledge of exchange rates.

The demand for cheap or low cost labour and the supply of overabundant labour in poorer countries, exacerbated by stringent migration policies that prevent legal migration for workers, has created an environment of irregular migration and vulnerability to exploitation and trafficking. According to Gallagher, trafficking should be viewed as a result of failed globalisation, state, trade agreements and migration policies, which has created the demand for trafficked labour and the abundance of people who may be easily trafficked (Gallagher, 2005, 15-16). A 2005 ILO report agrees that restrictive migration policies push women and girls into illegal migration, making them more vulnerable to being trafficked, citing the example of Germany where legal means of migration for work are male-dominated and women resort limiting legal options for women in migrant labour schemes. The report found that in destination countries trafficking flourishes in the informal, underground, female- occupied sectors where labour standards and conditions of work are ignored (ILO, 2005, 10-25).

Bales (2012, 12) supports these viewpoints, pinning the ‘blame’ for the growth of human trafficking and modern day slavery to the enormous population explosion which flooded the world's labour markets with millions of impoverished, desperate people and the revolution of economic globalisation and modernized agriculture which dispossessed poor farmers resulting in mass migration and unemployment. In addition, he states that rapid economic change in developing countries has bred corruption and violence, destroying social rules such as traditional ties of responsibility and kinship that might once have protected the most vulnerable individuals. The resulting chaos of

greed, violence and corruption, reinforces poverty and vulnerability, allowing human trafficking to thrive.

3.5 Slavery in the Pacific: A response to Capitalism and Globalisation

> " a year ago when the trade[31] began all the labourers were taken by stealth or force, indeed the trade could not have had a beginning had this not been the case, for the general impression which the islanders had at first were that the white were taking them to eat them…" (Giles, 1968).

> "An ample and steady supply of labour is absolutely essential to the Colony. From whence and under what management shall we obtain it and most certainly, most cheaply and with the least probability of abuse? For £12/18/8 we obtain a coolie servant for five years with his wages of 5d (pence) per day additional with rations"[32] (Sir Arthur Gordon's Speech to Planters on September 8, 1875).

> "They were all coolies[33] in the eyes of the world, beasts of burden…" (Lal, 2015).

Human trafficking is not a new phenomenon in Fiji or the Pacific, having existed in the Pacific through the labour traffic, otherwise referred to as the slave trade or blackbirding[34] and to some extent in the indenture or *girmit* period. Graves (1986, 237-238) states that the most important industry in the Western Pacific in the last half of the nineteenth century was the export of labour power. The robust development of capitalism within and on the periphery of the region and particularly the global demand

[31] Referring to the labour traffic and 'recruitment' of labourers from the Pacific to work on farms in Queensland
[32] Prior to February 15, 1971 ("Decimal day," or "D-day"), monetary amounts in the U.K. were expressed as pounds (£), shillings (s.), and pence (d.), where £1 = 20s. = 240d. https://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/
[33] Referring to the indentured labourers. Coolie is a disparaging and offensive term used for unskilled Asian/ Indian labourers, found almost exclusively in historical contexts, suggesting imperialistic exploitation of these workers
[34] According to Moore, the word 'Blackbirding' often used to describe the indentured labour process is derived from the African slave trade which means to steal black labour, and has strong connotations of illegality and slavery. Others define indentured labour as "a person, especially a South Sea Islander, who was kidnapped and sold as a slave especially in Australia, taken against their own free will from their homeland and forced to work without choice or without the person's permission" (Moore 2015, 156-160).

and market price for cotton, gave rise to an enormous demand for labour in Queensland, Fiji, Peru, Hawaii and Samoa, much of which was supplied from Vanuatu and Solomon Islands. Nearly 300,000 Pacific islanders were engaged for colonial contract labour between 1840 and 1915 (Graves, 1986). The recruitment of workers by force or trickery was a characteristic of the labour trade as direct coercion or kidnapping was necessary for optimum voyages and recruitment quotas.

Much of the literature on this topic – Bishop (1900), MacArthur (1874), Churchward (1888), Lucas (1884), Palmer (1871), Giles (1968), Emmer (1986) – describe situations of human trafficking, how islanders were recruited by force, deception or fraud from the Pacific islands and taken as cheap or unpaid labourers and exploited in harsh labour conditions on the plantations in Fiji or Queensland. Some evidence of human trafficking for forced labour or sexual exploitation can also be found in the literature – Naidu (2004), Lal (2015) – on the indentured period.

3.5.1 Human Trafficking in the Pacific Labour Traffic

Bishop (1900) narrates that story of Koroko, the son of a Solomon Island chief, who with a group of young men had been enticed on to a trading vessel, kidnapped and transported to work on the Fiji cotton plantations where there was a demand for cheap labour. Bishop adds that "the first of these kidnapping raids was even more disastrous than even the worst conflicts the islands ever had with their enemies, because by it they lost about 85 of their best men, a very few of whom ever found their way back home" (Bishop, 1900, 115).

A published speech by MacArthur (1874) indicates that girls were brought in from Solomon Islands and Vanuatu through the labour trade and were sold for sexual exploitation. Today this would be identified as human trafficking. According to MacArthur, young Fijian girls of thirteen or fourteen purchased from a chief in Ra, were brought to Levuka and sold to planters for eight times the original cost and although this was known to the Fijian government, it was difficult to halt this trade because of corruption. There was also evidence of Melanesian labourers (from Solomon Islands and Vanuatu) being sold to planters in Fiji: "If the labour or Polynesians are passed by the British Consul, the best looking girls (I am assuming from the cargo) are handed over to the dealer at higher rates than are given to the

ordinary class of imported labourers...they are usually allotted to planters who buy them through a left-handed partner"[35] (MacArthur, 1874, 14-15).

Lucas' (1884, 62-69) description of the main factors of the labour traffic also illustrate the main components of human trafficking including recruitment by kidnapping, force and deception and many dying from crowded accommodation during transport on vessels and soon after arrival to the plantations from grief, hard labour, hardships and resulting diseases.[36] The work of Captain George Palmer also proved Polynesians were kidnapped by Sydney merchants, Queensland planters and ruthless black-birders to work the new sugar plantations of north-eastern Australia and Fiji. Palmer (1871, 31-141) states that as no interpreter had been brought with the natives to Fiji from the New Hebrides, it was a moral impossibility that they could hire themselves out to the planters on those islands as free labourers. They were thus taken to Fiji not for their own advantage but for that of the shippers [and essentially the planters who would benefit from their cheap labour] who sold them for four pounds and ten shillings each.

According to Giles (1968, 2-5) from 1869 to 1906, some 60,819 islanders had been taken to Queensland, many who had no notion of the places they were going to and no idea what plantation work involved and how long they were away. He cites a letter in 1873[37] to support claims that the islanders were deceived or forcefully taken to work on the plantations "… a year ago when the trade began all the labourers were taken by stealth or force, indeed the trade could not have had a beginning had this not been the case, for the general impression which the islanders had at first were that the whites were taking them to eat them". An estimated 95% of labourers taken to Queensland during the labour traffic were adolescents and young adult males who were in bonded labour, poorly paid and often transported and held in circumstances described as slave-like[38] (Moore, 2015, 156-160).

[35] In a published speech of Mr. Alderman McArthur M.P. in the House of Commons in 1873, Extracted from a letter addressed by Mr., March to the Daily News from which he gives an extract from the diary of his son, late consul in Fiji

[36] According to a Fiji government report, from 1 January 1878, to 31 December 1881, the number of 'Polynesian' labour (immigrants) from New Britain and other islands, brought into Fiji to develop the sugar industry was 7,137, of which 1,270 died during this period. On the Colonial Sugar Company's three Rewa plantations employing some 471 men, some 240 or over 50% died.

[37] Letter from Tower to Branston, 22 August 1873, Queensland, Letters to Governor, IV

[38] In the 1970s, 150 hours of oral testimony of children and grandchildren of the first generation was recorded at James Cook University included accounts of kidnapping although the term slavery is not used consistently. The Forgotten People, transcripts of interviews from 1978 contains best published examples.

3.5.2 Human Trafficking in the Indentured System

While the indenture system was not comparable to the slave trade, Emmer (1986, 196-204) concedes that fraud, deception and misunderstandings could not possibly be stamped out as some recruiters used fraud and deception to increase their pay as it was based on the number of emigrants recruited. Ali (in Lal, 2015) on the other hand is cited as stating that the indenture was simply slavery by another name, an institution of brutality and violence which characterised the relations of the ruler and ruled, between masters and servants and among the labourers.

The first Indian immigrants of the indenture system arrived in Fiji on 14th May 1879 on the ship Leonidas which had sailed from Calcutta on March 3rd with 373 male and 149 female *coolies*, marking the beginning of over forty years of servitude. From 1879 to 1916 over 60,000 indentured Indian labourers had been transported to work on Fiji sugar, banana and coconut plantations (Prasad, 2009, 170). According to Lal (2015, 179 & 186-187), the impact of British revenue policy changes in rural India which aggravated poverty, and resulted in dislocation and fragmentation of landholdings increased migration from rural to urban areas, and it was from this 'uprooted mass of humanity on the move' that indentured immigrants came, some undoubtedly victims of fraudulent recruiting practices by the *arkatis*[39] but others in search of opportunities elsewhere.

The recruits were collected in questionable ways by disreputable people, mixed together regardless of caste and religion and taken away, usually never to return (Gillion, 1962, 23). Mishra (2012) selects an extract from the story of Sanadhya[40] who explained how attractive working in Fiji seemed to the poor, vulnerable, internally displaced and illiterate peasants: "The *arkati* explained things to the people there – 'look, brothers, the place where you will work you will never have to suffer any sorrows. There will never be any kind of problems there…" In his tale he tells of how he was tricked by the *arkati* to get a very good job and when he protested against going to Fiji he was then handed over to two elders, locked in a room and left hungry and thirsty until helpless, he was forced to agree to go to Fiji.

[39] Recruiters
[40] Totaram Sanadhya in Men Mere Ikkis Vash (My Twenty-One Years in the Fiji Islands)

Sharma (2010, 64) documents a similar journey of Devi Sharan Pathak who with others, believed they were going to work in highly-paid labourer positions in Fiji which was 'located close to the coast of Calcutta'. When he had reservations he was locked up in a cell for two days without food and water. In Fiji "the environment was one of fear and intimidation and we had no choice in the matter. Those who tried to escape were beaten and chained. We worked from 4am to 7pm with a 10 minute lunch break under hard labour, being whipped and beaten if working to slow or stopping."

It is also evident that children (persons below 18 years old) were trafficked during the indenture period for labour exploitation. In a testimony by Pancham to Ali (1979, 26-27) he says, "I was actually 17 years old but had to say I was 20, as I had been advised, to be given permission to go." When they arrived and were taken to the coolie lines they were confronted with what they had not anticipated. Tinker, cited in Ali described *girmit* "a lifeless system, in which human values always mattered less than the drive for production, for exploitation." For labourers themselves *girmit* was *narak*[41] and the coolie lines *kasbighar*[42].

Gillion (1962, 126-129) adds that in 1912 there were many suicides. Long hours, hard monotonous tasks, the unattractive and monotonous life on the plantations, drudgery, frequent quarrels and violence, the disproportion in sexes and breakdown of the traditional social systems were factors contributing to the high suicide rates and the tired and unhappy migrants who would have gladly left *narak* and returned home if given the chance. Women suffered more – bearing the brunt of racism as well as sexism and held accountable for the high infant mortality rates and the high rate of suicides. Some of the causes of suicides which occurred in a relatively short time following the immigrants' arrival in the colony, were the breakdown of traditional family, kinship and community institutions, the violence, the relentless pace of work, and a sense of despair knowing that there would be no return to India[43] (Lal, 2015, 179-180).

[41] Narak was a term used by immigrants to describe their life on the plantations, meaning hell
[42] Kasbighar meaning brothel
[43] The indenture system was abolished by the Indian Government in 1920 following the exposure of some of the poor conditions of the indentured and reports of sexual abuse of women threatening massive civil protest in India.

3.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a conceptual framework for understanding human trafficking as a development issue. Globally rising unemployment and poverty has narrowed the gap between migrant work and trafficking as more migrant workers enter into unregulated, informal and dubious contracts in a desperate bid for work. The excess supply of readily available cheap labour that is temporary and of low value allows the workers in the free capitalist market to be treated as a commodity to be bought and sold on the market with the market acting to promote the interests of the capitalist at the expense of the workers. Millions more people are trafficked today through the globalisation of organized crime where there are no borders and where human trafficking or modern day slavery has become a billion dollar global industry.

The chapter also explored the Pacific labour or slave trade and indenture system in Fiji as a consequence of emerging globalisation and capitalism. The global demand for cotton and high market price required cheap labour. Islanders from Solomon Islands and Vanuatu were recruited by kidnapping, force or deception, transported to the cotton field of Australia, Fiji, Hawaii and Samoa, and exploited into bonded labour. The indenture system also involved elements of human trafficking. Many of the poor and unemployed, seeking better opportunities, travelled from India to work in the sugar cane plantations in Fiji under fraud, deception, misunderstanding and force. Labourers were subjected to long hours, hard monotonous work, harsh conditions and violence and in most cases, earning much less than what they had agreed to.

The history of the Pacific labour traffic and indenture system is an essential reminder of the underlying root causes of human trafficking. Poverty, unemployment, inequality, the great divide between the rich and the poor and on-going accumulation of wealth by a few (largely at the expense of others). These structural factors that pushed indentured labourers and slaves into labour and sexual exploitation in the past are even greater today creating vulnerable and desperate communities and people on an unprecedented scale, and perpetuating the cycle of exploitation. Without addressing the root causes and inequalities in this capitalist society, and ensuring social and economic justice for all, the trafficking of human beings will continue into the future. The next chapter focuses on elaborating the issues of trafficking in the Fiji context by

assessing vulnerabilities and inequalities especially in urban areas that place children at risk of trafficking and exploring available evidence of child exploitation and trafficking in Fiji.

4 Child Trafficking and Exploitation in the Urban Pacific, particularly in Fiji

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part of the chapter provides a brief overview of Fiji and statistics of population, informal settlements in urban areas, poverty, employment and unemployment. This overview is presented in the first part of this chapter to provide some context to the discussions that follow on inequalities and vulnerabilities in urban areas that create risks for child exploitation and trafficking in Fiji.

The second part of the chapter elaborates on the inequalities and vulnerabilities in urban areas in the Pacific and resulting societal issues and nuances of life in informal settlements in Fiji. The third part of the chapter examines the available evidence of child trafficking and exploitation in the Pacific, especially in Fiji, with the intention of describing the nature of exploitation, assessing the factors that put children at risk of exploitation, and understanding the involvement of perpetrators and the challenges and complexities that are involved in researching and responding to child trafficking. This is followed by a chapter summary.

4.1 A Brief Overview of Fiji

The Republic of Fiji is an island group in the South Pacific Ocean with over 300 islands of which 110 islands are inhabited and a total land area of 18,376 square kilometers. Fiji was a former colony of Great Britain, achieving independence in 1970. According to Walsh (2006), British colonial and traditional influences are evident in the administrative structures and geographic boundaries that were established which included the formalization of traditional structures into law, such as the Great Council of Chiefs, and traditional boundaries fixed on maps. From independence to 1987, Fiji had a parliamentary government led by an elected Prime Minister and members of parliament in the House of Representatives and a Senate with members appointed by the Council of Chiefs.

The country has faced political turmoil with two military-led coups in 1987 after which Fiji was expelled from the Commonwealth and became a republic, and a civilian coup in 2000 and a military-led coup in 2006, which overthrew existing governments and

resulted in significant changes to Fiji's political and administrative landscape, including the abolition of traditional administrative structures such as the Great Council of Chiefs, removal of the Senate and changes to the electoral system. Fiji is currently ruled by an elected government (Walsh, 2006, 3).

Fiji's economy is driven primarily by tourism, overtaking sugarcane which was previously the largest industry, accounting for more than half of Fiji's exports. Other important sectors are agriculture, forestry and logging, fishing and aquaculture, mining and quarrying, manufacturing, construction, wholesale and retail, water supply and sewerage, electricity, transport, storage, real estate and other service industries (FBOS, 2017).

4.1.1 Population and Urbanisation

The total population of Fiji is 884,887 comprising 448,595 males and 436,292 females. The multi-racial population is comprised of Fijians (I Taukei) who are the indigenous people, Indo- Fijians, Rotumans, part- Europeans, Chinese, and islanders from the neighbouring Pacific islands. Over 50% of Fiji's population resides in the urban areas located on the main islands of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu. Suva, the capital city of Fiji is the biggest urban centre with the highest population of 185,913 (FBOS, 2017).

Table 2: The population of all urban areas in Fiji with more than 1000 inhabitants by census years

Name	Population Census 1976	Population Census 1986	Population Census 1996	Population Census 2007	Population Census 2017
Ba	9,173	10,260	14,716	18,526	15,846
Labasa	12,956	16,537	24,095	27,949	26,601
Lami	...	16,707	18,928	20,529	24,637
Lautoka	28,847	39,057	43,274	52,220	71,573
Levuka	2,764	2,895	3,746	4,397	4,481
Nadi	12,995	15,220	30,884	42,284	71,048
Nausori	12,821	13,982	21,617	47,604	57,882
Navua	2,568	2,775	4,183	5,048	5,812
Pacific Harbour	...	...	1,607	1,816	1,963
Rakiraki	3,755	3,361	4,836	4,952	5,964
Savusavu	2,295	2,872	4,970	7,034	6,833
Sigatoka	3,635	4,730	7,862	9,622	10,509
Suva (including Nasinu)	117,827	141,273	167,975	173,137	185,913
Tavua	2,144	2,227	2,419	2,388	...
Vatukoula	6,425	4,789	7,079	5,580	...

Source: Fiji Population Census 2017; http://www.citypopulation.de/Fiji.html

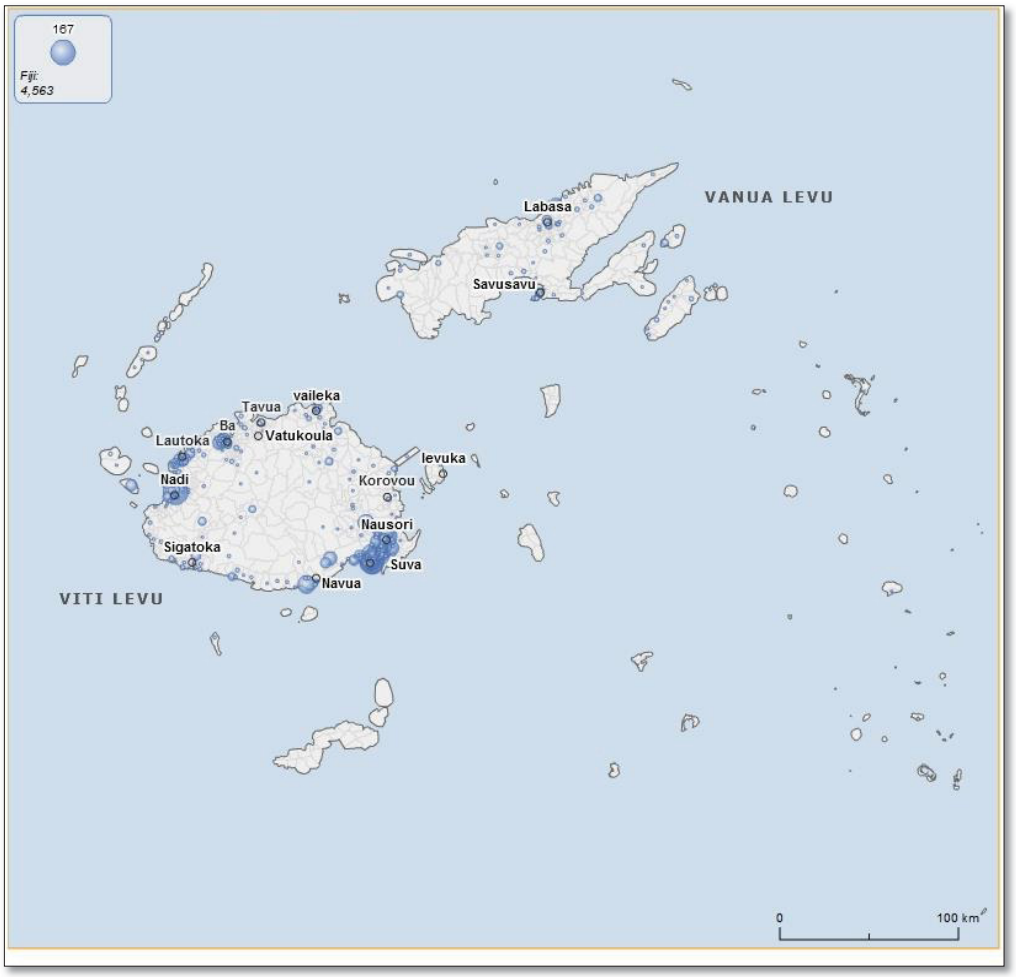
According to the Fiji 2017 Census report, the proportion of Fiji's population living in urban areas has continued to increase from 37.2% in 1976, 38.7% in 1986, 46.4% in 1996, 50.7% in 2007 and 55.9% in 2017. Since 2017, the urban population has increased by 69,406 (16.3%) while the rural population has decreased by 21,790 (5.3%).

4.1.2 Poverty and Informal Settlements

Poverty in Fiji is a concern, with 28% of the population in poverty, 20% of the population in poverty in urban areas and 37% in poverty in rural areas (FBOS, 2017). The Northern Division is the poorest of all the divisions, with some 45% of the population living below the basic needs poverty line. According to the ADB (2014), the increasing displacement of sugarcane farmers as a result of expiring land leases, the loss of employment in the garment industry, rising consumer prices, and low real growth in wages have eroded the standard of living for the poorest members of the community. Regional disparities have resulted in significant urban migration and although poverty rates are higher in rural areas, most poor people are concentrated in urban and peri-urban areas around the main centres of Suva and Nadi. The issues of urban informal settlements will be discussed further in section 4.2.

Over 25,000 households with a population of over 120,000 people are located in informal settlements in urban areas in Fiji. The highest number of informal settlements is in the Central Division with a total number of 12,562 households and a population of 64,417. The highest concentration of informal settlements is in Suva (5558 households, 28,035 people) and Nasinu (3570 households, 18441 people). The Western Division has 11,489 households in informal settlements with a population of 50,411, mainly concentrated in Lautoka (18,909 people) and Nadi (18,664 people). The Northern Division has 1,327 households in informal settlements with a population of 5,666 located in Labasa (FBOS, 2018). Figure 3 below shows the urban areas- towns and cities- in Fiji and the distribution of households without legal tenure arrangements, that is, informal and squatter settlements. (Also see Appendix 12 Map of Fiji: Towns and Cities, Divisional and Provincial Boundaries)

Figure 3: Map of Fiji urban areas and areas showing distribution of households without legal arrangement (2007 Census)



Source: FBOS, https://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/index.php/population-gis-maps

There is a strong correlation between the level of education and risk of poverty in Fiji with poverty rates higher for households with education below secondary levels. The Fiji government has introduced universal access to free primary and secondary education, and according to the ADB (2014) this has resulted 100% enrolment rate for primary school and close to 100% enrolment rate for secondary school. However, the data shows that students are still dropping out of school before completing their education heightening their vulnerabilities and putting them at risk of exploitation and potentially trafficking.

Fiji had a drop-out rate of 0.2% at primary school level and 0.3% at secondary school level in 2010, decreasing from 1.3% at primary level and 4.2% at secondary level in

2009. In 2015, the transition rate between primary to secondary school was 98%. The proportion of pupils starting Year 1 who reached the last grade of primary in 2013 was 93.1%. Gross enrolment rate at secondary school in 2015 was 98%, dropping to 88.4% in 2016 (SPC Database[44] & MEHA, 2015).

4.1.3 Employment and Unemployment

Fiji's labour market is characterised by a very high informal employment, extensive subsistence activities, high underemployment rate, and large number of working poor. In the ILO-ADB Fiji Employment Diagnostic Study (2015), agriculture was identified as the highest national employer by sector (44.2%) and skilled agricultural and fishery workers accounted for the largest share of employment (39%). The study identified the national unemployment rate at 4.7% including 15% for youths and women and national poverty rate at 28.1%[45] .

Although there are more females in the Central Division, and in urban areas in all of the 4 divisions who are above 15 years, there is a gender gap in labour force participation rates of 76.4% for males and 37.4% for females, and also a gender gap in unemployment rate of 2.9% for males and 7.8% for females. (FBOS, 2018) The participation rate of females in the labour has declined since 2014. In 2014, the labour force participation rate was 59% and female participation, at 41.6%, was more than 34% lower than the male equivalent at 75.8%. Women earned around one-third less than men. There is evidence that the gender gap has been worsening with women being more likely to enter informal work and subsistence activities (ILO & ADB, 2015).

Narsey (2007) also highlighted the issues of gender inequalities in education, employment and underemployment in Fiji. According to Narsey (2007, x), despite similar educational profiles between the two genders, females comprised 31% of those classified as economically active and 99% of household workers. More females were also under-employed and receiving low incomes as they made up 51% of family workers and 77% of community workers, and although they did over 50% of all time

[44] Statistics sourced from the SPC database at http://www.spc.int/nmdi/
[45] According to the report, unemployment and poverty were expected to increase following the devastating Tropical Cyclone Winston, the most intense tropical cyclone on record, which made landfall in Fiji in February 2016.

work done in the economy, females received only 27% of all income earned in the economy.

Much of the informal economy in Fiji is home-based and consists of tailored products, handicrafts and the processing of agricultural produce. The informal service economy is largely confined to local transport providers, food stalls and shoe shine work. Where rural-urban migration is accelerating and job opportunities in the wage sector are declining, the informal sector appears to play an important role in absorbing surplus labour, contributing to GDP and augmenting household income (ILO, 2016).

Unemployment rates for youth, aged 15–24, in 2010–2011 was 15.0%, almost 4 times higher than people aged 25–44, and almost 14 times higher than the 45–64 group. The unemployment rate for young women was 19.5% compared with 12.9% for young men. In 2010-2011 young women aged 15–24 who were neither employed nor educated was 27.5%, three times higher than men at 8.8% (ILO, 2016). This highlights a potential issue for young women in urban informal settlements and poor rural areas who may be unable to find work in the formal employment or informal employment and are pushed to accept irregular contracts and unsafe work. According to the ILO, each year over 18,000 new entrants join the labour market in Fiji, about 4,000 are graduates of tertiary level technical and academic institutions, 2,400 are laid-off workers seeking new jobs while an estimated 800 are adults who either never attended school or who delayed entering the job market because of domestic commitments (mostly women). The remainder, approximately 11,000, are mainly secondary school leavers who are unable or unwilling to continue their education leading to increases in both youth unemployment and child labour, and possibly into child trafficking (ILO, 2016).

4.2 Inequalities and Vulnerabilities in the Urban Pacific Today

Since independence, populations in Pacific Island Countries have undergone rapid movement from rural to urban areas, with capital cities growing twice as much as the population growth rate in most countries (Naidu & Vaike, 2016, 104). In 2011, not considering PNG, the total urban population of most Pacific Island Countries was 34%. The growth rate of Pacific urban areas continued to increase with cities such as Suva

and Port Villa and villages in South Tarawa, recording very high population densities (ADB, 2012, 7).

According to Naidu and Vaike (2016), internal migration has been predominant in much of Melanesia and will continue to increase, and urban areas, especially capital cities will continue to be the hub for employment, livelihood opportunities and services. This notion is supported by the ADB (2012) predicting that Pacific urban populations should double over the next 25 years given current growth rates, and the youth population (15-24 year olds) is also forecasted to increase steeply and impact on rural-urban migration, urban unemployment and demands on urban infrastructure. Consequently, this may also result in greater migration in search of economic opportunities and a surplus population group with little options and more vulnerable to exploitation.

Many Pacific rural to urban migrants end up in mushrooming squatter and informal settlements[46] with substandard housing, lack of access to clean water and sanitation facilities, and no security of land tenure. Urban poverty is now more widespread than rural poverty in the Cook Islands, Kiribati, Federated States of Micronesia, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu, and the problem of inadequate housing and land tenure issues is acute in Honiara, Port Moresby and Suva. With low employment growth in the agricultural sector and insufficient employment opportunities in the urban formal sector, the bulk of the Pacific urban population is sustained by informal sector activity, providing both employment and income to over 1 million of the urban poor, especially females as they are less likely to secure jobs in the formal sector. The decline in overall quality of life in Pacific urban areas is mirrored by increasing rates of poverty, mental health issues, depression and anxiety, especially among unemployed youth (ADB, 2012, 1-18).

According to Naidu (2013), both income inequality and poverty are on the rise in the Pacific, with poverty levels increasing from 30% to 50% of the population in Pacific Island Countries. Mohanty (2006) adds that urban squatters, the symptom of poverty, are the most vulnerable population group in the Pacific, with many settlements located

[46] Squatter settlements are those on state land with no negotiated land tenure arrangements. Informal settlements are those on customary land where land tenure arrangements have been negotiated with customary land owners.

in unproductive waste land, unsuitable for commercial development and often hazardous and unhealthy environments. Similar sentiments are echoed by others including Jones (2012) who agrees that the two main issues in the Pacific are the explosive growth of squatter and informal settlements and closely related to this, the manifestations of urban poverty.

The priority for many poor households in squatter and informal settlements is meeting day-to-day family and household survival needs. These needs often have greater priority with policy makers than longer term urban development and upgrading plans. Occupants of squatter and informal settlements are perceived as undesirable, and havens of crime and social unrest (Jones, 2012, 153). In addition to the wide range of social issues in informal settlements in urban areas (overcrowding, inadequate infrastructure, unemployment and lack of livelihood opportunities and resulting increase in poverty etc.), other social issues such as substance abuse, violence against women and children and crime are common. Young men without jobs are caught in a downward spiral or crime and violence and young women may be subjected to sexual abuse, violence or recruited into the growing sex industry (Naidu & Vaike, 2016, 102-103).

In Fiji, poverty and inequality has continued to increase as a result of globalisation and the neo-liberal policies supporting principles of liberalisation and laissez faire market model that prioritise commercial interests. Globalisation has worsened poverty and led to the emergence of new forms of poverty, increasing production but not social distribution of the profits and widening disparity between rich and poor (Skjolseth, 2003, 15). A large proportion of Fiji's population are vulnerable to poverty, including residents of informal settlements, depressed rural areas, the unemployed, disabled and aged, the irregularly employed, low wage earners, artisan and small stall and shop vendors (Naidu, 2013).

Low income squatter populations have drastically increased in Fiji with 50% to 60% of squatter population living below the poverty line and more than one third earning an average weekly income of less than FJ$100, and many are extremely vulnerable with limited resources and live in absolute poverty. Health issues such as dengue fever,

diarrhoea, dysentery, jaundice, leptospirosis, malaria, pneumonia, scabies, tuberculosis and typhoid, are also common in squatter areas (Mohanty, 2006, 4-8).

Studies of the Namara settlement in Labasa Fiji identified low incomes, unemployment and underemployment as common issues, with most households engaged in seasonal employment supplemented by other low income work including fishing, collecting seafood, planting vegetables and rearing goats and chickens. Children from the poorest households were often absent from school, scavenged in the rubbish dump for food and useful items, were malnourished, had skin diseases, received poor parental support and were often physically, emotionally and verbally abused at home (Naidu et al, 2015, 33 & Matadradra, 2013, 47).

Koto (2008, 65-73) surveying 50 households in Namadai informal settlement also identified similar social issues with over 50% living below the poverty line. As the incomes earned was so low and only enough to put food on the table, less priority was placed on children's education. The study found that parents had low education levels and thus low paying jobs and as a coping mechanism they relied on alternative means of earning income, remittances, borrowing money, establishing small home businesses, and engaging in criminal activities such as thieving and prostitution. Mohanty (2006, 9) had also previously stated that a vast majority of the squatter poor work in the informal sector and as a copying strategy households have more than one income earner, work longer days, reduce expenses, and rely on the extended family and community for mutual help and support.

People in informal settlements are beset by both inequality of conditions referring to the unequal distribution of income, wealth and material goods, and inequality of opportunities referring to unequal distribution of life's chances such as access to education, health, housing and the criminal justice system. Most poor households in informal settlements have one or two working members but the jobs they have do not pay enough to keep them out of poverty (Barr, 1993 cited in Naidu et al, 2015, 30-32).

It should not be surprising therefore that against this backdrop of poverty, unemployment, poor education and health, growing criminal activities, debt, unregulated informal sector, overcrowding and consequently peer pressure, lack of

parental supervision and overall feelings of un-inclusiveness, that children in urban areas, particularly in urban informal settlements, are more vulnerable and at risk of trafficking for labour or sexual exploitation.

4.3 Evidence of Child Trafficking and Exploitation in the Pacific

The US Trafficking in Persons Report (2018) states that men, women and children are subjected to some forms of trafficking in Fiji, PNG, Solomon Islands, Kiribati, Palau, Marshall Islands, Tonga and the Federated States of Micronesia. Fiji is reported as being a source, destination and transit country for men, women and children subjected to sex trafficking and forced labour. Local women and children are in sex trafficking, domestic servitude, forced labour, and migrant women from China, Thailand, East Asia are in sex trafficking in brothels, massage parlours, spas and private homes. Migrant labourers from China, Taiwan, South and East Asia, predominantly male are in forced labour on farms, factories, construction industry and on fishing vessels, and migrant workers from Fiji are vulnerable to forced labour in construction and agriculture industries in Australia and New Zealand (US TIP, 2018).

In the Marshall Islands, local girls and women are reported to be in sex trafficking with crew of foreign fishing and trans-shipping vessels Some Marshallese children who travel to the US are vulnerable to sexual abuse and sex trafficking, and to date, two child sex trafficking cases have been investigated. Similarly in Kiribati, foreign crew of fishing vessels are reported to exploit children and some women in commercial sex and family members, older women, and hotel and bar workers may facilitate child sex trafficking. In the Federated States of Micronesia, one prosecution of a child sex trafficking case has led to two convictions, and in Palau, four defendants have been convicted for child sex trafficking (US TIP, 2018).

In PNG, parents sell or force daughters into marriages or sex to settle debts or support families. Girls are sold into polygamous marriages forced into domestic service for husbands' families or sexually exploited. Children and women travelling for education or work to other provinces are subjected to sex trafficking or domestic servitude and tribal leaders trade in the exploitative labour and service of girls and women for guns and to forge political alliances. Women from Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, China &

Philippines women are trafficked to logging and mining camps, fisheries, and entertainment sites for forced prostitution and domestic servitude, and Chinese, Malaysian, and local men are subjected to forced labour in mining, logging and fishing vessels, work in debt bondage. Vietnamese, Burmese, Cambodian, and local men and boys are subjected to forced labour on fishing vessels (US TIP, 2018).

Local children in the Solomon Islands are in sex trafficking and forced labour near foreign logging camps, on foreign and local commercial fishing vessels, hotels and entertainment establishments. Girls and young women are recruited for domestic work and daughters are forced into marriages with foreign workers at logging camps, mining companies exploited in domestic servitude and prostitution. Children offered for "informal adoption" are subjected to forced labour or sexual servitude and young boys at logging camps are forced to work as domestic servants (US TIP, 2018).

Poverty, vulnerability, discrimination and demand are some of the key factors that lead to trafficking. According to Bessel (2006, 23), children are vulnerable because of structural discrimination based on age and girls face dual vulnerability based on sex and age. Children are trafficked for early marriage such as in parts of Africa and South Asia and for illicit adoption such as from Guatemala to North America and Europe. Young boys from poor and vulnerable communities in South Asia are trafficked as camel jockeys to meet the demand of wealthy camel owners and race enthusiasts in the United Arab Emirates. Young girls are trafficked from Togo as domestic servants to Gabon where strict child labour laws, compulsory education and labour shortage fuel the demand for foreign workers. According to an ILO study on child trafficking in Cameroon in 2001 (cited in Bessel, 2006, 24), of the 329 children surveyed, 60% of children were from single parent families or without family support, including children who had been abandoned, run away from home or moved from rural to urban areas to find work, and many of whom were working on the streets.

There are close links between child trafficking, child prostitution, child labour, child domestic labour, and other forms of child exploitation to structural underlying factors of poverty, inequalities, vulnerability and gender, age and other forms of discrimination. Larsen, Lindley, and Putt (2011), in a report by the Australian Institute of Criminology, states that the largely youthful population of the Pacific is vulnerable

to exploitative and criminal activities including commercial sexual exploitation, sex tourism and labour exploitation due to high education costs, lack of employment opportunities for young people and risky cultural practices such as billeting, informal adoption and early marriage. Many parents send their children to urban areas for education and often the pressure of an additional member of the household to support may lead to children engaging in risky activities and increase their vulnerability to being trafficked.

Citing studies by Bryant- Tokalau (1995), Hezel (2001), UNICEF (2005), UNESCAP and Rallu (2007), Save the Children (2005), Mosley (1995), Abbott & Pollard (2004) and others, a UNICEF report by Connelly and Jiwanji (2010) also mentions the increase in social issues due to the breakdown of traditional social safety nets as a result of Pacific urbanization. Large household sizes in urban areas have little or no space for children to do homework or even sleep and more children can be found on the streets at nights or in the markets, into begging, stealing or engaging in commercial sexual exploitation for survival. [47]

Children of single parent households in urban areas headed mainly by mothers or grandmothers are vulnerable to the stress and challenges brought on by poverty and are often without adequate parental guidance, supervision or care. High social and economic inequalities in urban areas result in exclusion, and nurture low self-esteem and feelings of alienation. Combined with high unemployment and breakdown of traditional family patterns, these factors push more children into commercial sexual exploitation, which has become a concern in countries such as Fiji, PNG, Solomon Islands, Kiribati and Vanuatu (Connelly & Jiwanji, 2010, 30). A report by the ADB notes the same, adding that widespread unemployment and underemployment has caused a dramatic rise in malnutrition, begging, child labour and security issues and a general decline in the urban fabric of Pacific urban areas (ADB, 2012, 1).

According to a UNICEF report (2002), urban poverty and school dropouts are linked as children leave school because they cannot afford school costs or need to work to support their families. The lack of education opportunities, academic issues and

perceptions of TVET education for failures and the mismatch of education and the labour market and skill needs are also cited as reasons for children dropping out of school and not being able to secure decent employment. Other issues facing children in urban areas is higher risk of contracting HIV and AIDS and the lack of avenues for children to share concerns or receive support promoting. This further marginalises of children in poor urban pockets (Connelly & Jiwanji, 2010, 32-34).

The link between education and labour or sexual exploitation was also highlighted by Tuisawau (1983) in her research of three sex workers in Fiji who had each entered into commercial sex after dropping out of school early (below 18 years). She found that stressful life events experienced by each subject in the family, school and community left emotional scars, wearing down their resistance to negative anti-social influences.

Five studies on Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) by UNICEF, UNESCAP and ECPAT International conducted in 2006 identified children in Fiji, Kiribati, Solomon Is, PNG and Vanuatu who were engaged in commercial sexual exploitation in prostitution, sex tourism, pornography, trafficked for sex and sold through marriage and informal adoption. In assessing the five Pacific Country reports, Naidu (2007) stated that social inequalities such as age, gender, income and class were at the heart of "exploitative relations". Inequality, poor income and access to education and employment, inadequate legislation and enforcement, dysfunctional families and lack of supervision, were main factors increasing the vulnerability of children to exploitation and abuse. The most vulnerable children were the poor, those out of school, children living away from home with relatives, unsupervised children and those on the streets, and those who were swayed by peer pressure and the pull of the lifestyle and purchasing power of friends in commercial sex.

Anecdotal information in the media has also indicated an increase in the incidence of the child sex trade in the Pacific. In 2010, Fiji's Director of Immigration stated in the media that prostitution had become a booming trade in Fiji. Connell (2010) reported on the rapid growth in prostitution in Pacific urban centres and estimated that in PNG, 38% of unemployed women were sex workers. The Vanuatu Daily Post (2017) reported that practices of prostitution had increased among young women and girls in

Vanuatu as a result of poverty and with the arrival of cruise ships and Chinese construction workers. Rural areas where mining towns had sprung up, such as in the Solomon Islands (The Solomon Times, 2010) were also reported as being centres for prostitution, alcoholism, petty crime and violence. This is a concern as it indicates the increasing demand for commercial sex and demand for children in the sex trade.

With limited economic opportunities, selling sex provides a means of earning an income and meeting specific economic needs such as education costs or coping with family financial crisis (Jivan & Forster, 2011, 278). The Director of the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre and long-time advocate of women's rights, Shamima Ali (2006, 12-14, 20), presents similar sentiments, adding that gender inequality and traditional gender biases in all Pacific societies increase the vulnerability of girls in the Pacific to violence and abuse. The consequences of girl's vulnerability are seen in the high numbers of girls engaged in child labour especially in unpaid family work involving long hours, heavy work and subject to mental, physical and sexual abuse.

4.4 Evidence of Child Trafficking, Exploitation and Sex Trafficking in Fiji

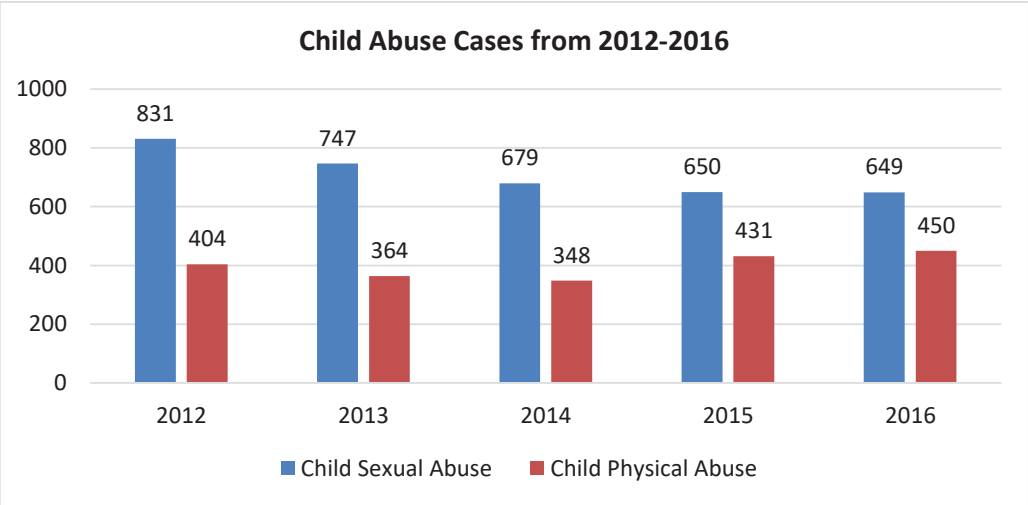
The Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) and Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) study (UNICEF, UNESCAP & ECPAT, 2006, 48) found children in commercial sexual exploitation or in the sex trade in Fiji. Over 50% of the children in the sex trade interviewed in Fiji reported that they were victims of sexual abuse when they were younger, highlighting the link between child sexual abuse and commercial sexual exploitation. Perpetrators were mainly men, people with authority or money (landowners, police, clergy, teachers, church and community leaders, senior public servants and politicians, businessmen, seafarers, loggers, drivers, youths) and from the local community and likely to be known to the victims. Facilitators included taxi drives, security guards, hotel workers, pimps or boyfriends, family members and older sex workers who received some remuneration for connecting clients with children. Family members were reported as being complicit or direct facilitators of CSEC.

The Fiji country study highlighted cases where parents gave their three daughters to an expatriate male in exchange for money and goods and a case where a Fijian woman married an Australian male who adopted her three children and upon arrival in

Australia held them captive in his house and sexually exploited the woman's 14 year old daughter until they managed to escape back to Fiji. The report does not elaborate whether the children were legally adopted but it is unlikely based on the reported culture of informal adoptions in the country which provides opportunities for exploitation and sex trafficking (UNICEF, UNESCAP & ECPAT, 2006, 50). Although the report cites this was a case involving exploitative adoption, applying Fiji's Crimes Decree 2009, this could possibly be investigated as child trafficking case.

According to recent Child Welfare Decree statistics from 2012-2017 released by the Ministry of Women, Children and Poverty Alleviation, child abuse and neglect is a growing concern in Fiji (The Fiji Times, 2018).[48] In 2016, 1077 cases of child abuse and neglect were reported to the Ministry, this figure rising to 1145cases in 2017, the highest in the past five years (The Fiji Sun, 2018). In 2016, 59% of the cases involved children 10 years old and below, and in 2017, 67% of the cases involved children 12 years old and below, with the largest cohort of abuse and neglect cases being children under 5 years old. In most of the child abuse and neglect cases, the perpetrators were from the immediate family, including parents, aunts and uncles and step parents. Data from the Fiji Police, in Figure 4 (FBOS, 2017), also indicate that child sexual abuse and physical abuse is high in Fiji, pushing many children into situations of vulnerability and risk of being trafficked into labour and sexual exploitation.

Figure 4: Child abuse statistics from Fiji Police: Key Statistics 2017, FBOS



[48] The Child Welfare Decree was gazette by the Fiji Government in 2010. Reporting of child abuse and neglect cases to the Ministry of Women and Children by authorities such as Police, Health Officials, Teachers, is mandatory.

On February 18th 2013, Fiji's first child trafficking case was heard in the Magistrates Court in Suva. Prosecuted were two LGBTI persons alleged to have trafficked two girls (ages 16 and 17 years) and a woman (age 20 years) between Suva and Nadi from May to December 2012, into the sex trade.[49] The case brought to the fore the issue of domestic trafficking in children for sexual and labour exploitation in Fiji, and the particular vulnerabilities of girls and LGBTIs to sexual abuse and sex trafficking in Fiji.

Prior to this, UN agencies, NGOs and media had published reports on children in commercial sexual exploitation and at risk of being trafficked. Law enforcement authorities had also prosecuted cases involving exploitation of children in pornography and child sexual abuse. For example, in 1999 the issue of commercial sexual exploitation of children in Fiji was given prominence in the much publicized case of State vs. Mutch (1999)[50] whereby the accused, Mutch, a 41 year old Australian citizen was charged on eight counts of sexual acts against children including two counts of rape and six counts of indecent assault after his computer was discovered with hundreds of images of men having sex with Fijian and Indian girls leading to his arrest in August 1997 and sentencing in November 1999 (Shameem, 2013).

Additionally, Fiji had successfully prosecuted two international trafficking cases. Fiji's first trafficking case prosecuted after the Crimes Decree 2009 came to effect was the case against Murti, an Indian national who had organised the travel of seven Indian nationals to Fiji on the pretext that they were travelling to work on a farm in New Zealand. The victims had paid the accused 150,000 rupees each to travel to New Zealand and he had shown them employment letters from a farm in New Zealand, however, he had intended to abandon them in Fiji, demonstrating recklessness to exploitation. Murti was guilty and sentenced by the Court of Fiji. The second case which was successfully prosecuted was against Phanat Laojindamanee and others who brought in two Thai girls from Bangkok on the understanding that they would be working as masseurs in a resort. On arriving in Fiji they were transported from Nadi to Suva and forced to work as prostitutes to work off the debt they owed to the accused. All the four accused were sentenced to prison, with sentences ranging from 8 years to

[49] The Fiji Times, February 19th 2013, p1:
[50] State vs Mutch (1999) FJHC 116: [1999] 45 FLR 253 (26 October 1999); http://www.paclii.org/fj/cases/FJHC/1999/149.html

11 years and 9 months. Both cases were challenging as the witnesses spoke no English and had to admit to working as sex workers (Shameem, 2013).

Other evidence of international trafficking was reported by Stillman (2011) of three Fijian women who were trafficked to Iraq to join the 'invisible army' working on U.S. military bases. The three hairdressers were approached in Fiji with a job offer to work in a hair salon in a luxury hotel in Dubai and earn FJ$3800 a month. They each paid a $500 commission fee to the recruitment agency (Meridian Services Agency) to cover their travel expenses to Dubai. In actuality, the visas to the Emirates were not employment permits but thirty day travel passes that forbade all paid or unpaid work. Also they were to on their way to work at US military bases in Iraq and Afghanistan, to work 12 hours a day, 7 days a week and earn $800 a month. Their vacation was a return ticket after completion of service and they had to sign a contract saying they had travelled there willingly. They were closely supervised by a Turkish man who repeatedly raped one of the ladies.[51]

Rokoduru (2006) had also highlighted the plight of women migrating from Fiji to USA, Samoa and Cook Islands as care givers and/ or domestic workers who were vulnerable to abuses, exploitation and violations. To reduce the risk of women migrants being trafficked and exploited, she recommended training for migrant labourers on expectations of foreign employers, culture of destination countries, and finance/banking, insurance and health services and assistance with contracts, passports, visa and travel arrangements.

4.5 Chapter Summary

The review of the literature shows that much of the information on trafficking in the Pacific and Fiji is sourced from research studies on child abuse and sexual exploitation, and specific evidence on child trafficking is limited. Although much of the human trafficking cases detected in Fiji and the Pacific region involved international trafficking especially of adult migrant workers, there are more child trafficking cases

[51] In 2011, the Commission on Wartime Contracting in its final report to the US Congress, stated that it had uncovered evidence of human trafficking in Iraq and Afghanistan by labour brokers and subcontractors. This included third country nationals lured to work in Kuwait with good wages but transported instead to Afghanistan with lower wages, subjected to poor living and working conditions, and having their wages withheld until the end of contract terms thus preventing them from leaving earlier http://www.wartimecontracting.gov/index.php/reports

being identified and perpetrators prosecuted as highlighted in the US TIP 2018 report. The first domestic child trafficking case in Fiji successfully prosecuted in 2013, raised questions on whether there was a trend of children being trafficked into the sex trade – who were their exploiters? How and why were they exploited and what factors put them at risk? Where did they come from? This research aims to shed light on some of the questions raised and fill the information gaps on the domestic trafficking of children into the sex trade in Fiji.

Factors pushing children into child labour and the vulnerabilities that allow for the trafficking of children into labour or sexual exploitation are a reality in the modern urban Pacific. More children today are at risk of child abuse and sex trafficking as a result of weakening families, economic hardship, migration, conflicts, violence, and the breakdown and displacement of families. They are an easy target for cheap labour and sexual servitude through deception, desperation or choice. Child trafficking is a multifaceted and complex issue. There is no one size quick fix to the problems. To eliminate trafficking there is a need to address the inequalities and vulnerabilities, poverty, unemployment and discrimination and the other underlying structural factors that are the main drivers of exploitation and trafficking.

The discussions in this chapter are essentially linked to the next chapter particularly when assessing the nature of child sex trafficking, the factors that push or pull children into the sex trade, the role of the traffickers and how the child sex trade operates and the challenges faced by all involved.

5 Field Research: Findings and Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data and analysis of the field research findings from semi-structured interviews with victims and client-exploiters, and from key informant interviews and focus group discussions.

The background of the research participants is outlined followed by an analysis of their responses to the key research questions:

- What is the nature of the trafficking of children for commercial sexual exploitation in Fiji?
- What factors create risks and vulnerabilities to children being trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation, particularly in urban areas in Fiji?
- How does the child sex trafficking chain operate in Fiji, who are the perpetrators and what roles do they play?
- What are the limitations to addressing child sex trafficking in Fiji, and how can these be addressed?

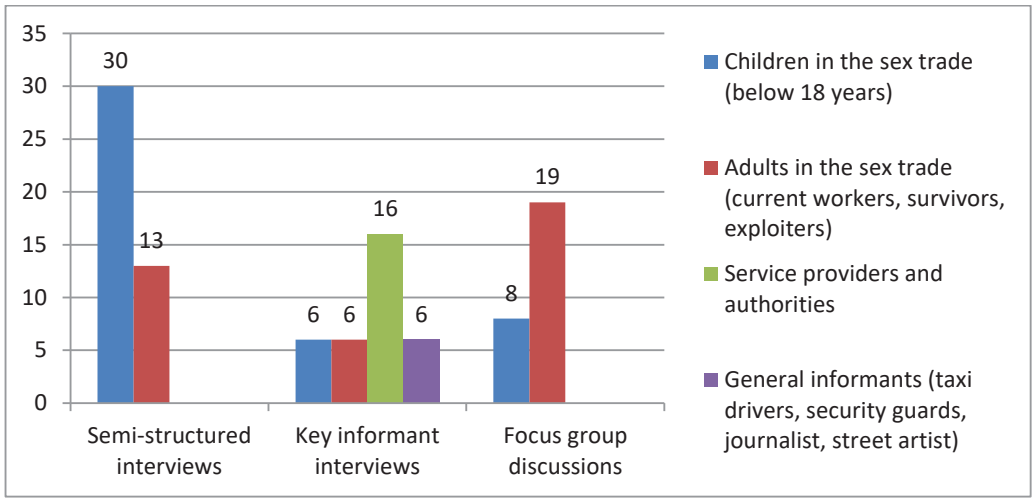
To distinguish the responses from the different research groups, the data analysis in response to the research questions are presented separately:

(i) analysis of the semi-structured interviews of children in the sex trade;
(ii) analysis of the semi-structured interviews of client-exploiters;
(iii) analysis of key informants on trends and case studies of child sex trafficking;
(iv) analysis of focus group discussions on trends and challenges of children in the sex trade;
(v) analysis from stakeholders on limitations and challenges to address child sex trafficking.

5.2 Research participants

The field research involved 104 research participants (See Figure 5) and the review of available case files of suspected trafficking cases obtained from service providers or authorities.

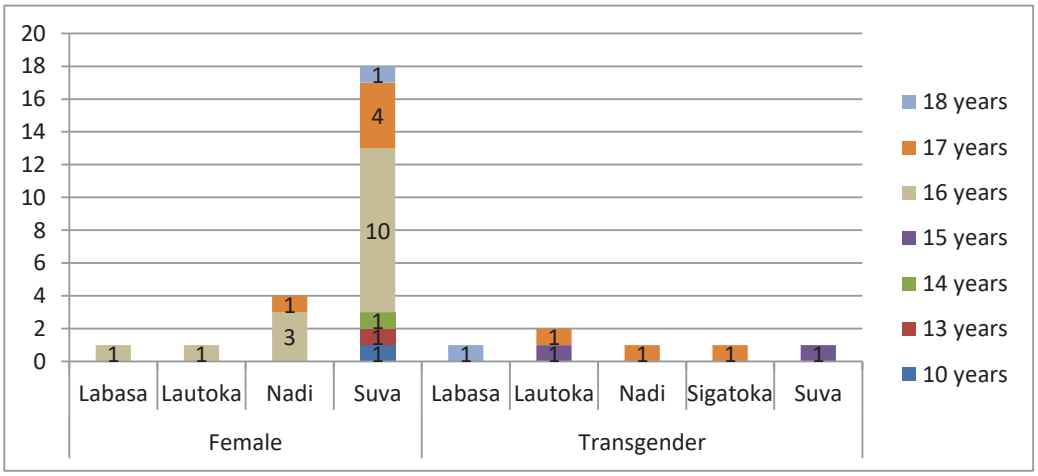
Figure 5: Research participants



5.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

A total of 30 female and male (transgender) children from 10 to 18 years old, in the sex trade were interviewed in urban areas in Suva, Sigatoka, Nadi, Lautoka and Labasa (See Figure 6) using semi-structured interviews combining both quantitative and qualitative responses.

Figure 6: Children in semi-structured interviews by age and location



In addition, 13 client-exploiters participated in the semi-structured interviews in Suva, Sigatoka, Nadi, Labasa and Savusavu. These included 3 clients (males), 8 pimps (5 transgender males and 3 females) and 2 taxi drivers who also acted as pimps and clients (males). The ages of client-exploiters ranged from 24 to 49 years old.

5.2.2 Key informant interviews

Key informants included service providers and authorities who gave information on the definition of trafficking, relevant national legislation, related services and programmes, key risks and vulnerabilities, trends and the dynamics of the trafficking chain. Service providers and authorities involved organisations with mandates covering the protection of children, upholding criminal and labour laws, and with known trafficking programmes. These included government organisations such as the Fiji Police Force, Departments of Immigration and Social Welfare, Ministry of Employment, Productivity and Industrial Relations, and NGOs such as Save the Children Fiji and Homes of Hope.

The researcher sent letters to government and non-government agencies outlining the research purpose and requesting for the support of the agencies towards the research. This was followed by scheduling and conducting interviews with these key informants. Service providers and authorities who worked in this field also assisted in providing access to trafficking survivors and children in the sex trade.

Other key informants were community or street-based informants with some local knowledge of the sex trade who provided information particularly on trafficking trends, characteristics, and risk and vulnerability factors. These included adult sex workers, pimps, trafficking survivors, journalists, artists, taxi drivers and security guards. It should be noted here that building trust and establishing a relationship with these key informants was an essential part of the process of obtaining information on child sex trafficking. In most cases for example, pimps were only willing to share information because the researcher was accompanied by a trusted sex worker who contacted them and was able to assure them of the confidentiality of their identity and the potential value of the research. Only if they were satisfied that they were protected and had some appreciation of the research, then they would identify and contact others who could be interviewed.

5.2.3 Focus group discussions

Four focus group discussions were held with 27 participants in Suva, Nausori, Nadi and Sigatoka, involving 8 children, and 19 adults and pimps in the sex trade. See Table 3 and Appendix 8(c).

Table 3: Focus group discussions

Focus group	Location	Participants	Total participants
Group 1	Suva	4 pimps 4 adult sex workers 2 children in the sex trade	10
Group 2	Nausori	5 adult sex workers	5
Group 3	Nadi	6 adult sex workers 1 child in the sex trade	7
Group 4	Sigatoka	5 children in the sex trade	5

5.3 Analysis of the semi-structured interviews of children in the sex trade

The analysis of the semi-structured interviews of children in the sex trade provides answers to the research questions on the nature and operation of the child sex trafficking chain, risks and vulnerabilities that push or pull children into the sex trade, and the dangers faced by children and challenges to combat child sex trafficking. (See Appendix 8 (a) for full list of children interviewed by ID, location, date interviewed and age).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a total of 30 children in prostitution (hereafter referred to as children in the sex trade) in urban areas, mostly in motels, on the street and in informal settlements. An additional 14 children in the sex trade also participated in the research, including 6 children interviewed as key informants, and 8 children in focus group discussions.

Some children in the sex trade were identified by agencies and individuals working with them who sought their permission to be interviewed before arranging for their participation in the research. Other children in the sex trade were approached on the streets or where they were operating and were interviewed if they agreed. It should be noted here that not all children who were approached agreed to be interviewed and therefore the number of children who participated in the research reflects only those who consented.

Networking with agencies and individuals in this field, such as Save the Children, Homes of Hope and Sex Workers Advocacy Network (SANS) was essential in gaining

access to children in the sex trade, adult sex workers and client-exploiters. Additionally, individuals[52] with prior experience in conducting research with children in the sex trade also played a valuable role as Research Assistants and accessing children through their own networks. The individuals that the researcher was fortunate to work with provided invaluable assistance by accessing respondents, sharing their personal experiences, observations and advice and assisting with the interviews which led to a deeper understanding of various contexts of the respondents.

5.3.1 Age and gender of children in the sex trade

The majority of the 30 children who participated in the semi-structured interviews were females between the ages of 16-17 years. Two 18 year olds (one female and one transgender) who had been in the sex trade for over 3 years were also interviewed.

Table 4: Age and gender of children

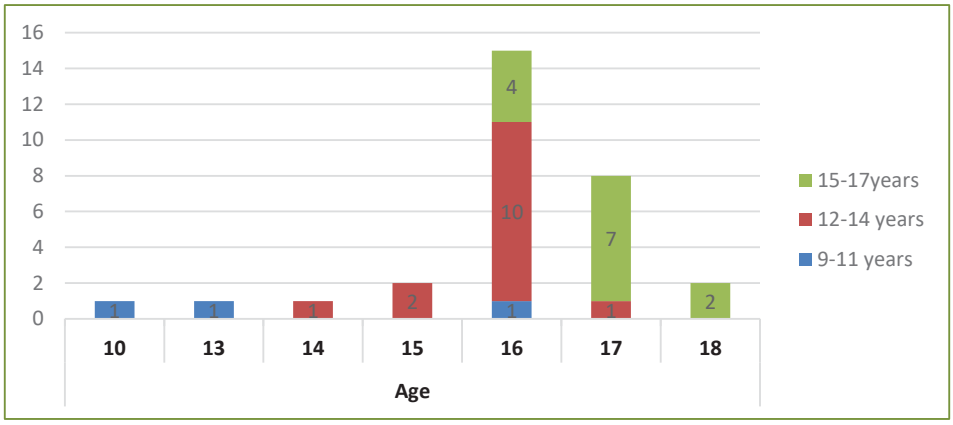
Age	Gender		
	Female	Transgender	Total
10	1	0	**1**
13	1	0	**1**
14	1	0	**1**
15	0	2	**2**
16	15	0	**15**
17	5	3	**8**
18	1	1	**2**
Total	**24**	**6**	**30**

5.3.2 Age which children enter into the sex trade

Most children entered into the sex trade between 12 to 14 years old. The youngest child in the sex trade interviewed was a 10 year old girl who had never been to school.

[52] Ms. Litiana Temo, Ms. Asesla Naisara and Sesenieli. Naitala are acknowledged as Research Assistants, and Ms. Naisara as Counsellor, contributing to the data collection process in 2015.

Figure 7: Age when children entered into the sex trade by age of child



5.3.3 Children's home situation

The majority of children interviewed were living in urban squatter or informal settlements. There were also children interviewed who were living in rural villages as well as in motels in urban areas. The majority of children lived with friends or with only one parent or with relatives or extended family as shown in Table 6. The children's home situation and who they live with is further elaborated under 5.3.4.

Table 5: Where children live by age

Where children are living	Age							Total
	10	13	14	15	16	17	18	
Live in an urban squatter/ informal settlement	0	1	1	1	7	3	1	14
Live in an urban residential area	1	0	0	1	6	3	0	11
Live in a rural village	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3
Others	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2

Table 6: Who children live with by age

Who do you live with?	Age							Total
	10	13	14	15	16	17	18	
With both parents	0	1	1	1	2	1	0	6
With one parent only	1	0	0	0	4	2	0	7
With relatives/ extended family	0	0	0	1	2	2	2	7
With friends	0	0	0	0	5	3	0	8
Others	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2

Household sizes varied with most children living in families with more than five family members, and some in households with over 10 family members. Most of the children's household members were engaged in low paid jobs (in garment factories, shops, bakeries, factories, restaurants, ports, hair salons, prisons and nightclubs) and in the informal sector as shoe shine and wheelbarrow boys, garage and construction labourers, domestic workers and street and market vendors. A table showing a cross tabulation between the number of persons in the household and number of persons in the household who are working is included in the Appendices under Additional Tables. See Appendix 10 (a) Household characteristics.

5.3.4 Children's family situation creates vulnerability to exploitation

Of the 30 children interviewed, two children stayed in households where there was no one in the family working and the household was dependent on the children's income from the sex trade. Nine of the children were living with other family members or friends who were also in the sex trade, including children staying in motels.

Parents and relatives were also responsible for putting children to work, and in some instances facilitated children's entry into the sex trade. For example, children may follow either a mother, aunt, cousin or other relatives who were in sex work, or they may sent by their parents into the sex trade or they may be forcefully pimped by a family member.

5.3.5 Children living away from home are vulnerable

A total of 19 out of the 30 children interviewed indicated that they had left their original home to live elsewhere, with either parents, relatives, friends or on their own, and most with their parents knowledge. These included 9 children who had run away from home to stay with boyfriends or friends. The main factors leading to children moving from home were – (a) children sent to stay with relatives in urban areas for education; and (b) children running away from home due to family problems (conflict or stress in the family from death, divorce, separation, new marriage), or as a result of sexual abuse or due to peer pressure.

Children living away home are vulnerable and may end up being trafficked into the sex trade. For example, a 17 year old child shared how her aunt brought her to town a few years ago, following her mother's death, after going to the village and asking her

father if she could look after the girl and send her to school. Her father agreed as he had younger children to look after. Within a few months her aunt's partner had raped her and her aunt had started to sell her to other men. She soon dropped out of school and found out later that her aunt was a sex worker and pimp (ID 003, interviewed 13 July 2013, Nadi). This situation illustrates how traffickers are able to take advantage of people's vulnerabilities and raises two questions that could determine whether this is a case of child sex trafficking:

a) Did the aunt have the intention when she went to the village of 'recruiting' and exploiting the child in the sex trade? The aunt was a pimp and sex worker.
b) What level of responsibility does the father have, after letting the child go, to ensure that she is adequately and safely cared for? The child had dropped out of school after only a few months.

The reasons given for children leaving home or running away from home highlight how much of an impact the breakdown of family structure and societal norms have on increasing the vulnerabilities of children, thus exposing them to dangerous and risky situations. The traumatic loss and sense of belonging is somewhat replaced by pimps who fill the surrogate role of parents in these children's lives. While some children returned home to visit their parents, others did not want to go home as they expected abuse from the families who were aware that they were in the sex trade. There was also more freedom away from home to do what they wanted and they had made a new home with friends, pimps or grandparents and other relatives.

> "I ran away from home a few times and each time I was caught and taken back home and beaten up. After a while they got fed up of looking for me."
>
> (16 year old child, ID 15_1, interviewed 13 August 2015, Suva)

5.3.6 Children who are victims of sexual abuse are further victimized

Half of the children interviewed stated they had been sexually abused and most were sexually abused between 10 to 14 years of age. Being raped and molested were the two most common forms of child sexual abuse, with the perpetrator being someone the child knew, that is either a relative (a cousin, stepfather, or uncle) or acquaintance (boyfriend), with the abuse happening in the home of child, relative or abuser. Only

one child shared that she was sexually abused by a stranger (16 year old, ID 15_2, interviewed 14 August 2015).

Table 7: Sexual abuse of children by age

Have you been sexually abused?	Age							Total
	10	13	14	15	16	17	18	
Yes	0	0	1	0	9	4	1	15
No	0	1	0	2	5	3	0	11
Refused to answer	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	4

There is a strong link between child sexual abuse and entry into the sex trade, with most children engaging in the sex trade in a relatively short period of time after being sexually abused. Child sexual abuse acerbates vulnerabilities and pushes children into situations where they may be easily trafficked or exploited by perpetrators.

Table 8: Age when child was sexually abused and entry into the sex trade

Age of child	Age when sexually abused	Age when first entered into the sex trade					
		10 years old	12 years old	13 years old	14 years old	15 years old	16 years old
14	13 years old			1			
16	10 years old	1					
	12 years old		1				
	13 years old			1	1		
	14 years old				3		
	15 years old					2	
17	9 years old		1				
	11 years old						1
	14 years old					1	
	16 years old						1
18	15 years old					1	

Children who are sexually abused often run away from home and stay with friends or relatives who are in the sex trade and become trapped in the sex trade.

For example, a 16 year old child shared how she was raped when she was 14 years old after her mother remarried a drug pusher. She ran away from home to stay with a transgender friend of her mother who ended up 'pimping' her (ID 004, interviewed 14 March 2013, Nadi). Another child shared how her mother abused her and threw her out on the streets after her stepfather raped her. She was taken in by a transgender pimp who became her mother, mentored her and arranged her clients (ID 005, interviewed 14 March 2013, Nadi).

Child sexual abuse therefore, is a crucial factor that may push children to enter into the sex trade, whether directly or indirectly. Child abuse may lead to negative emotions such as anger, frustration and low self-esteem, reduced social control and commitment to school, and may push children to associate with delinquent peers, use alcohol and drugs to feel better and choose to engage in making money for sex or put themselves in situations where they allow others to make that choice for them.

5.3.7 Children dropping out of school early are at risk

Children engaging in the sex trade are mostly out of school children. Of the 30 children interviewed, 25 children were out of school, including one 10 year old child who had never been to school, and 5 children were still in school (See Table 9).

Table 9: Highest education level by age

Age	What is the highest class you have reached?							Total
	Class 1-2	Class 5-6	Form 1-2	Form 3-4	Form 5-6	Form 7	Never been to school	
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
13	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
14	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
15	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
16	1	2	4	6	2	0	0	15
17	0	0	2	2	3	1	0	8
18	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Total	1	2	9	11	5	1	1	30

The highest education level for most of the children interviewed was Form 3 and Form 4 (Years 9 and 10), with 12 children leaving school at primary level. A total of nine children had to leave school in order to work compared to fifteen children who did not have to leave school in order to work. Children dropping out of school prematurely, with little qualifications, are vulnerable and likely to engage in cheap labour involving unsafe practices which may put them at risk and drive them into the sex trade.

Reasons children gave for dropping out of school related to family financial problems especially faced by single parent families, the lack of support given by parents to the child's education such as homework assistance and supervision, peer pressure for example following peers into sniffing glue, smoking marijuana, hanging out in town and going to the nightclub and coming into contact with peers in the sex trade or pimps, and running away from home to join friends, missing school and then dropping out entirely. Child sexual abuse was a key factor for some children, resulting in children running away from home and dropping out of school.

Some children dropped out of school after engaging in the sex trade. One child, for example, was advised by her aunt that it was better to leave school and engage full time in the sex trade as she could make easy money (17 year old, ID 003, interviewed 13 March 2013, Nadi). Facing difficulties at school due to academic challenges, bullying and being ashamed to remain in school after being caught stealing and smoking were given as reasons for dropping out of school by 5 children.

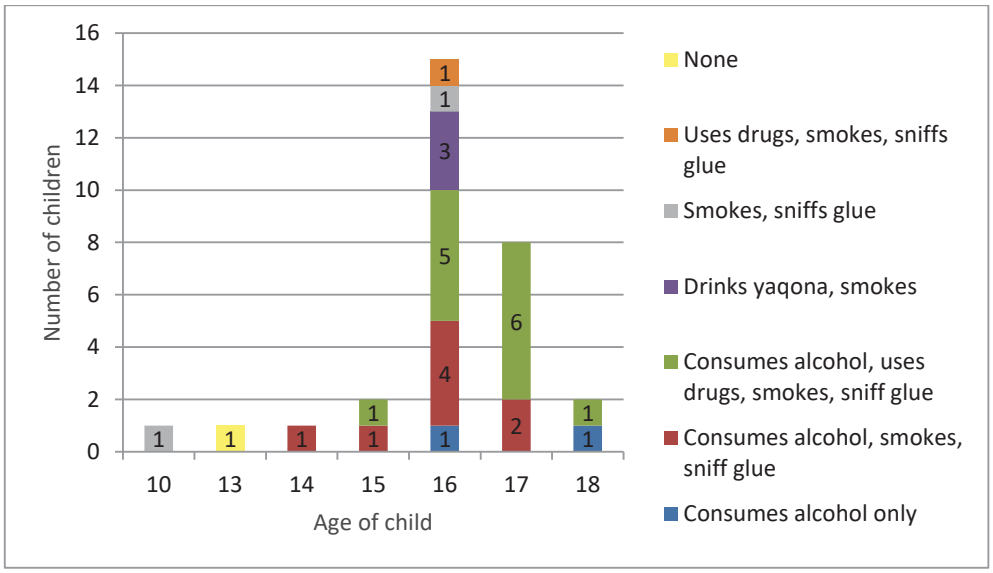
Half of the children interviewed stated that they would like to go back to school if given the chance to get qualifications and a good job. However, there were some children who were against returning to formal school fearing stigma and ridicule by peers. They preferred the specialized trainings offered by institutions such as Homes of Hope.

5.3.8 Substance abuse traps children in the sex trade

As discussed in the section above (5.3.7) substance abuse is a main cause of children dropping out of school and getting into the sex trade, and substance abuse also keeps children in the sex trade. As illustrated in Figure 8, almost all the children interviewed consume alcohol, smoke, take drugs and sniff glue.

Although marijuana was identified as the main drug that children took, one child also took hard drugs such as ice[53], which was given to her by a client. Children also consumed alcohol, smoke and or sniff glue either among themselves, with pimps or clients. Some mentioned that they do this to feel good about themselves. It was obvious that substance abuse was a regular daily 'group' activity, taken either with peers or with clients. Glue sniffing was very common, with 24 out of 30 children confirming that they also sniffed glue in addition to other substances.

Figure 8: Substance abuse by age of child



5.3.9 Peer pressure and other factors putting children at risk

Peer pressure is a factor that draws children into the sex trade. Younger children in school follow older students, friends or relatives who are in the sex trade, attracted by the stories of partying, fun and getting good money. Often friends or relatives arrange their entry into the sex trade or introduce them to pimps. When asked 'who put you to work' and 'how they found this work', most children stated 'through friends' (See Figures 9 and 10).

[53] https://adf.org.au/drug-facts/ice/ Crystal methamphetamine ('*ice*') is a stimulant drug that speeds up the messages travelling between the brain and the body. It is stronger, more addictive and has very harmful side effects.

Figure 9: How children got into sex trade (a)

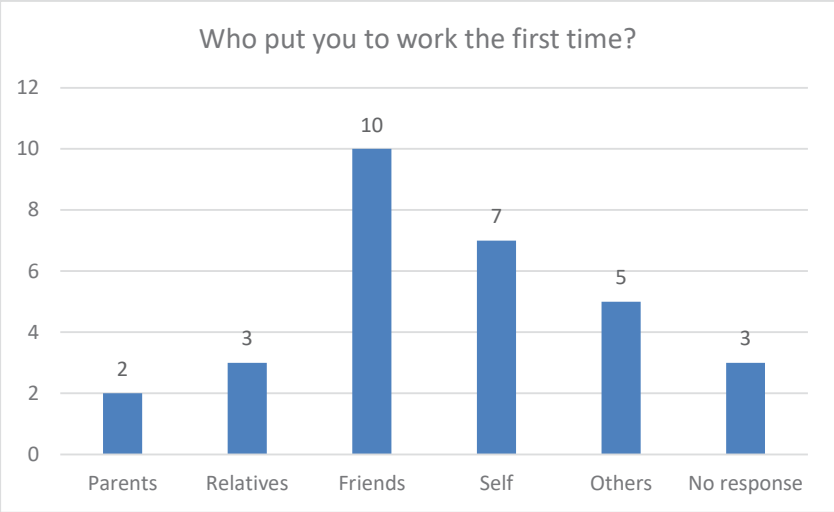
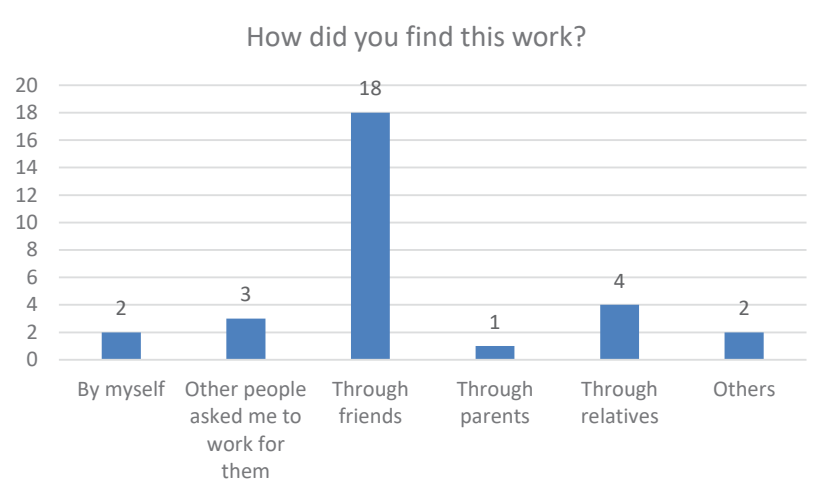


Figure 10: How children got into the sex trade (b)



A total of 22 children stated that they do not sleep at the same place every night. Other places where they slept included friend's homes, boyfriend's homes, clients places, motels, apartments and hotels, the bus stand, street, BBQ stall, taxis, or relatives home. In some cases children stay overnight at a friend or aunt's home so they can work late nights or when they are drunk.

Most children were unaware of available support services that they could access. Services that children were aware of included Homes of Hope, Medical Services Pacific, Red Cross, Hospital clinic for STI testing. Only one child was aware of the

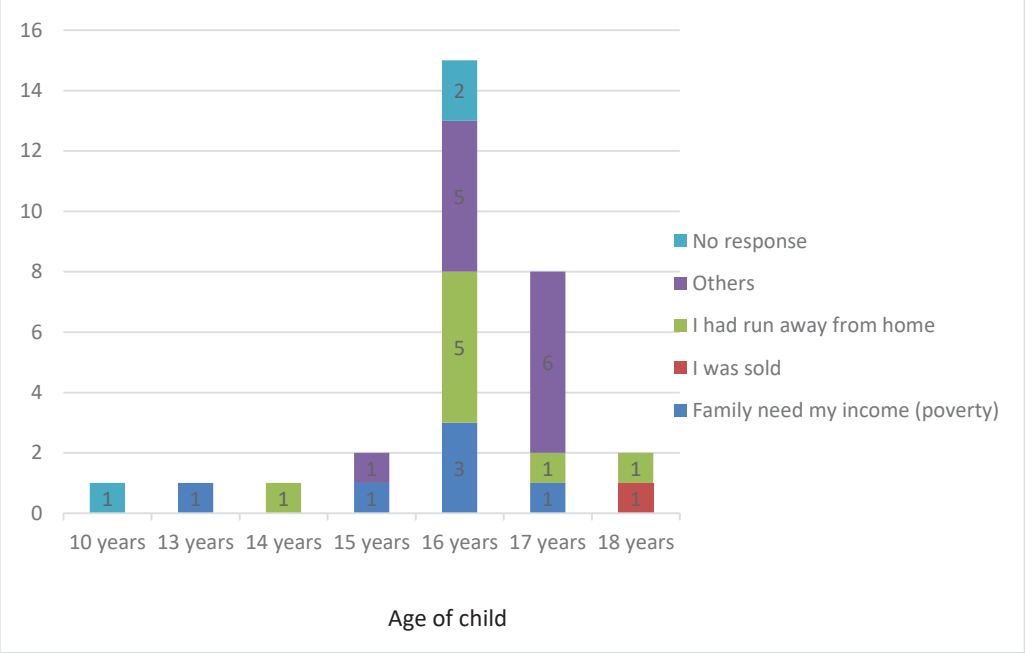
Department of Social Welfare. Children were not aware of the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre and Sex Worker Advocacy Network Fiji, possibly because these agencies were perceived to deal with adults.

5.3.10 Operation of the child sex trafficking chain, perpetrators and their roles

5.3.10.1 Recruitment into the sex trade

The two most common factors that push children into the sex trade were identified as: (i) the family needing the income of the child in the sex trade, which often forces the child to drop out of school and (ii) the child running and living away from home due to physical or sexual abuse or fighting with parents. The sexual abuse of children at home is established as a major factor that creates vulnerability and may lead children to run away from home, to stay or hang out on the streets with friends, putting them into situations of risk and usually preceding their recruitment into the sex trade. A major pull factor attracting children is the ability to make money or earn an income in the sex trade, as at least half of the children interviewed were from informal settlements, and 25 children were school drop outs. Children participating in the Fiji CSEC research in 2009 identified this pull factor as 'easy money' and a major reason why they entered into the sex trade (ILO, 2010).

Figure 11: Reasons why children had to start work by age distribution



The one child who was sold explained that she had followed her two sisters and friends to an apartment to join a party and was then sold by a pimp (18 year old, ID 001, interviewed 6 February 2013, Suva). The following excerpts from the interviews illustrate some of the factors that push or pull children into the sex trade:

> "I ran away from home after fighting with my parents and started hanging out with my friends drinking and sniffing glue. They bought everything and after a while I joined them to earn money and buy food for my parents when they were not working" (16 year old, ID 15_1, interviewed 13 August 2015, Suva).

> "My parents are back in the village and I stay with my uncle who beat me up so I ran away from home and stayed with my boyfriend. I met a pimp who is a friend of my boyfriend and he offered to make me rich" (16 year old, ID 002, interviewed 13 March 2013, Nadi).

> "I dropped out of school in class 8 and this was the only way to earn money" (16 year old, ID 15_22, interviewed 25 September 2015, Lautoka).

> "My family is very poor, my father is sickly and no one is working. My older sister was used by my parents to get money from doing this so I followed her" (16 year old, ID 15_15, interviewed 11 September 2015, Suva).

> "After I was raped at home I ran away and went to stay with my mother's friend. One day someone took us out to the clubs and later that night after a few drinks he told me that I would have to have sex with the man. The man paid him $250 and he gave me $50" (16 year old, ID 004, interviewed 14 March 2013, Nadi).

When asked who they worked for, 20 children stated that they were self-employed and 3 children stated that they work for their family/ relatives. Further explanations provided by the children on who they worked for revealed that most of the children work for themselves, pimp, friends or relatives.

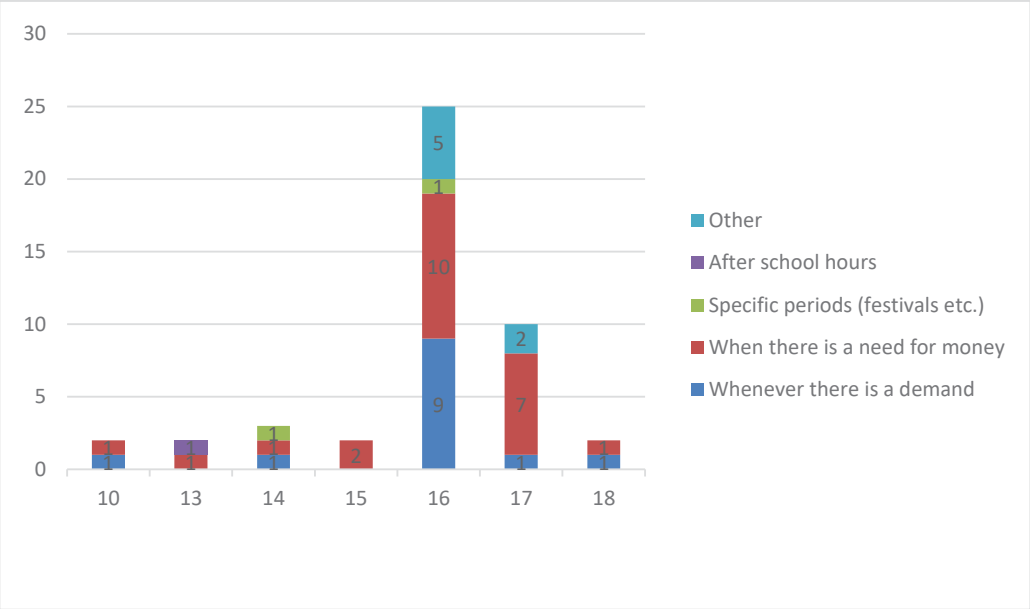
A total of 14 children knew of other family or household members who were also in the sex trade such as older sisters, cousins and aunties and mothers. This was a vulnerability factor and influenced children who would follow other family members into the sex trade. Other children indicated the role played by their own parents or relatives in pushing them into the sex trade. In some cases children are directly recruited on the streets by pimps or clients, drawn by the attraction of earning money, and the party lifestyle offered. For example in one case a child was waiting at the bus stop when a car stopped and the driver offered him $250 for sex. He consented, lured by the amount of money he would earn, and this first venture into the sex trade would be the beginning of his life as a regular sex worker (15 year old, ID 15_7, interviewed 19 August 2015, Suva). These situations illustrate how capitalism nurtures a system of inequality and dependency where the wealthy few (the haves) are able to exploit the 'have nots', who themselves may also exploit each other in order to gain more capital, that is income.

A worrying case noted from the interviews with children is of a child who was taken by a taxi driver when she was 13 years old, became his sex slave and he later started selling her to other men. She had a child and then ended up on the streets, initially giving herself freely until she realized she could get money for sex (16 year old, ID 15_2, interviewed 14 August 2015). Although there are gaps in the story, it raises questions on the complicity of parents, and the role of the school, community or extended family in preventing such situations from happening.

5.3.10.2 Operation in the sex trade

When asked when they normally engage in this activity, children gave multiple responses which linked the two main factors that push or pull children into the sex trade, that is, when there is a need for money, and when there is a demand. Engaging during festivals or after school hours can also be linked to the need for money and demand for commercial sex (See Figure 12).

Figure 12: When children engage in the sex trade by age distribution (multiple responses)



The 5 students in the sex trade mainly work in the weekend, although this varies depending on the demand from clients and when students are desperate for money, and after school. The majority of the out of school children are in the sex trade daily, with the busiest days from Thursday to Sunday. Most children stated that there is no set time for the number of hours they spend a day in the sex trade. According to a child, the earlier she gets clients the earlier she can go home. Otherwise she will stay on the streets until morning (16 year old, ID 15_16, interviewed 15 September 2015, Suva).[54]

Details provided by 22 children on their daily start and stop times in the sex trade should raise alarm bells with parents or relatives and one should enquire how children are able to explain their comings and goings at these odd hours. For example, a 14 year old child who lives with both parents starts work at 9pm and ends at 1am (ID 15_12, interviewed 10 September 2015, Suva). Most of the out of school children start work after 6pm and the 10 year old child who has never been to school starts work at 9pm and stops around 4am (ID 15_6, interviewed 19 August 2015, Suva). It is very likely that parents and relatives are aware that their child is in the sex trade especially as over 50% of children give their earnings to parents or their family (See 5.3.10.4).

[54] See Appendix 10: Additional tables b and c on working hours

5.3.10.3 Client-exploiters of children in the sex trade

Clients for children in the sex trade include local and foreign businessmen [Indo-Fijian, iTaukei, Asian/ Chinese, European, PNG]. Most clients are local and range from taxi drivers, van and bus drivers, BBQ sellers, civil servants, students, farmers and fishermen, teachers, head teachers, policemen, soldiers, mechanics, shop owners and hotel managers and tourists.

Most children use more than one way of getting clients. The two most common means are standing on the street and getting clients through a pimp. It is mainly the older children who get clients from bars and clubs and operate from motels or brothels. Other ways that children get clients is through their own network, clients call them directly, through friends or family members who take clients to their home, at billiard shops, supermarkets or industrial areas, on bus rides, from friends who work at nightclubs and through phone calls from taxi drivers on behalf of passengers requesting for commercial sex. Some clients were arranged for children by their family members such as mother or aunt and some clients would go to where the child was based.

Table 10: How children get clients (multiple responses)

How do you search for clients?	Age							Total
	10	13	14	15	16	17	18	
Stand on the street	1	0	1	1	10	6	0	19
Pimp arranges clients	0	0	0	1	10	4	2	17
Work at brothel/ motel	0	0	0	0	5	3	1	9
Get clients from bars and clubs	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	4
Other	1	1	0	2	10	3	0	17

5.3.10.4 What children earn in the sex trade

Most payment in the sex trade is received in cash. About 8 children earn over $100 (FJD) a day and can earn up to $800 (FJD) a week, however, the majority of children in the sex trade earn on average $20 to $50 (FJD) a day. Income earned is influenced by the number of clients as well as the demand of the clients. Tourists paid children between $80-$300 (FJD).

There were some 'extreme' trends noted whereby some clients paid as low as five cents, $1, $2, $6 or $10 (FJD) to children for sex. In one instance, the 10 year old child shared that she gets FJ$1 from a regular client (ID 15_6, interviewed 19 August 2015, Suva). In another instance a 16 year old child stated that she gets $6 on a good day. This child had been used as a sex slave since she was 13 years old and when she finally ended up on the streets she sold herself freely until she realized she could get money for sex (ID 15_2, interviewed 14 August 2015, Suva). It was observed that some of these children had a background of violence and abuse, seemed immature and uncaring about the money they earned.

Pimps collected the money for some children and paid them either in cash or in kind, buying them food, jewellery, clothes and paying the rent. Payments in- kind received from clients were clothes, perfume, jewellery, food, alcohol, cigarettes and drugs such as marijuana or ice[55]. In addition, 7 of the children interviewed had another source of income through other jobs such as working as a kitchen hand in a restaurant, at a department store, a coffee shop, a liquor shop, as a babysitter, domestic labourer and selling food such as jam and *roti* parcels.

Most children spent their earnings on themselves, buying alcohol, cigarettes, food, clothes, cosmetics, deodorant and hair products, marijuana, glue, perfume and toiletries. However, half of the children also gave a share their earnings to their parents or grandparents, support school costs for younger siblings, paid for the food shopping for home and sends money home to parents. Three children saved some of the money earned and other children shared their money with the pimp or pimp would take all the money then give the child a share.

5.3.11 Dangers faced by children in the sex trade

To assess dangers and risks of child sex trafficking and the sex trade, questions were asked on sickness and injury, feeling safe or unsafe, worst moments at work and contact with the law. Responses indicated that violence and abuse, and exposure to

[55] Street term for methamphetamine also referred to as crystal, crystal meth or ice which is a stimulant drug that is swallowed, smoked or injected.

drugs and sexually transmitted diseases were the most significant dangers children face in the sex trade.

Types of sickness and injury shared by 8 children included getting beaten up and punched by clients, drug dealers and friends, headaches, getting pregnant, having an abortion, and suffering effects of glue sniffing and tiredness from late night activities and contracting sexually transmitted diseases. A total of 7 children stated that they had been tested for STI/STD and 3 children had contracted an STI/STD. Testing for STI/STD was either done at the hospital or by the Homes of Hope as part of their outreach programme.

Most of the children interviewed felt unsafe in the sex trade because of violence and abuse from family, clients, pimps, older sex workers, Police officers and members of the public. They are forced to take drugs and fear getting STI. Children's responses on their worst moments in the sex trade were also related to violence and abuse. Some of the reasons children gave for feeling unsafe and their worst moments in the sex trade were:

- Fear of parents and relatives finding out that she or he is in the sex trade. In one incident a child was beaten up by her father whilst standing on the streets (16 year old, ID 15_1, interviewed 13 August 2015, Suva).
- Physical and sexual abuse by clients, some who are drunk and violent and also having clients who do not pay and are verbally abusive. For example a girl had her arm cut with a knife by a client (16 year old, ID 15_22, interviewed 25 September 2015, Lautoka), and a transgender boy had a client who tried to stab him with a broken bottle (17 year old, ID 15_19, interviewed 21 September 2015, Sigatoka).
- Chased, threatened and treated badly by the policemen. Some shared that they were being beaten up and, or raped by policemen.
- Verbally and physically abused by the public for example, being sworn at, punched, chased, and thrown at.
- Threatened and abused by pimps and older sex workers and forced to take drugs by pimps or clients
- Getting STIs or getting pregnant.

Over half of the children interviewed had come into contact with law enforcement, mostly 15-17 year old children. In most cases, children in the sex trade came into contact with the law after being accused of soliciting, loitering, or theft. Children in the sex trade are often further victimized at the hands of authorities. Once they come in contact with the law, they may be verbally, physically, sexually or emotionally abused. In addition, a number of children confirmed that they provide some form of payment to officers to stand on the street. Some of these shared experiences of abuse from law enforcement officers are listed below:

- A 15 year old boy and his friends were taken to the station on suspicion that they were soliciting and made to do the duck walk and read the constitution (ID 15_7, interviewed 19 August 2015, Suva).
- A girl was approached by 2 policemen when they saw her with a guy and questioned about her age and what she was doing there. They told him to leave and then took her to the back of the canteen and beat her (I6 year old, ID 15_2, interviewed 14 August 2015, Suva).
- A policeman arrested a girl on the streets and took her to the beach, raped her and then dropped her back to the streets (16 year old, ID_002, interviewed 13 March 2013, Nadi).
- A girl was forced to sleep at the Police Station after she stole juice from a fridge in a billiard shop although was not charged (16 year old, ID 15_22, interviewed 25 September 2015, Lautoka).
- He and his other friends were taken and told by policemen to undress in front of them (17 year old, ID 15_20, interviewed 20 September 2015, Lautoka).

5.4 Analysis of the semi-structured interviews of client-exploiters

A total of 13 client-exploiters participated in the semi-structured interviews, with the majority of interviews arranged and conducted with the assistance of contact persons in the sex trade. The researcher also discovered the identity of some of the client-exploiters through simple investigation and directly contacted the persons, arranged and conducted the interviews. Confidentiality was a key concern of most client-

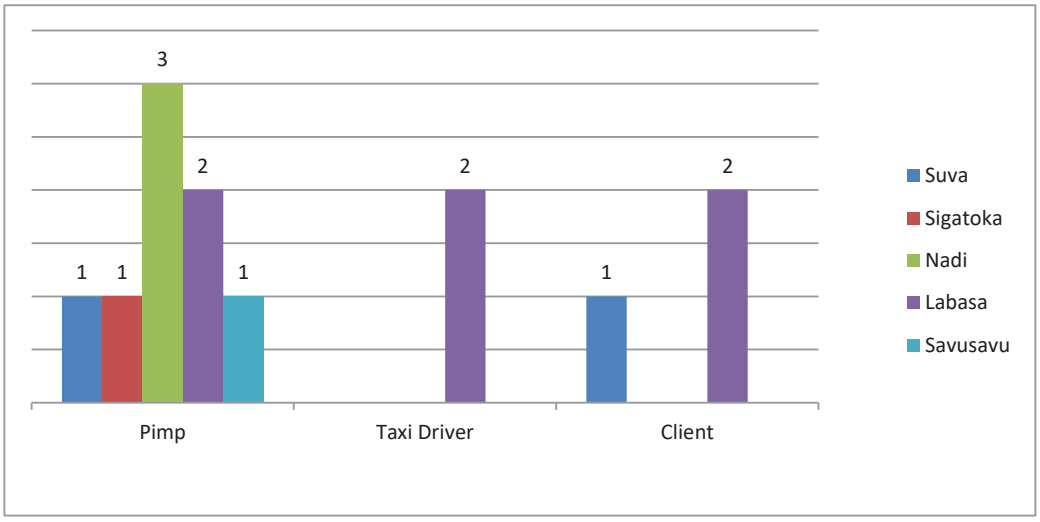
exploiters. It should be noted that other pimps also participated in the focus groups discussions and provided information as key informants.

Client-exploiters provided information on the nature of trafficking of children in the sex trade, vulnerabilities, risks and factors pushing children into the sex trade, the perpetrators and their role, the operation of the child sex trade, and the dangers facing children in the sex trade. The term "client-exploiters" is used as this covers clients or customers of children, taxi drivers and pimps, each group benefitting in some way from the sexual exploitation of children.

5.4.1 General information

All the 13 client-exploiters interviewed confirmed that they used children for prostitution. They included 3 clients (males), 8 pimps (5 transgender males and 3 females) and 2 taxi drivers (males) who were also pimps. The majority interviewed were in their 30s. Most were interviewed in the locations where they normally lived, except a client from Savusavu who was interviewed in Labasa and a pimp from Nadi who was interviewed in Suva. (See Figure 3 & Appendix 12 Maps of Fiji for location of urban areas and Figure 13 for numbers of client-exploiters by location).[56]

Figure 13: Client-exploiters by location



[56] See Appendix 8 (b) for list of client-exploiters by ID, location and date interviewed.

5.4.2 Recruitment and role of perpetrators

The child sex trade involves an organized network of pimps, clients, taxi drivers and other sex workers. Each group keeps contact details of the other, for example of pimps, clients and young sex workers and arranges engagements mainly via mobile phone. There was also some mention by pimps of using the internet and social media sites such as closed groups on Facebook and tagg.com to find clients for commercial sex and where photos of young girls and boys in the sex trade were posted. In most cases clients are requesting for young girls or transgender boys, although some pimps noted that there were clients who requested for young 'straight' boys.

5.4.2.1 Pimps

All the pimps interviewed had young girls and transgender boys who were their "products" or who they "looked after" and arranged their engagements with clients. These girls and transgender boys ranged from minors to teenagers (15 to 17 years old) to older youth (18-21 years old). Prostitution was the main form of 'work' arranged, although one pimp stated that she provides girls and transgender boys under 18 years old to clients also for strip shows (ID CE_11, interviewed 26 March 2013, Nadi).

Pimps in various urban centres network amongst themselves to provide "products" to meet client demands. Pimps also network with taxi drivers and older sex workers to identify young children in the sex trade. In some cases pimps may provide young transgender boys to local clients at a cheaper rate, for food, marijuana or taxi fare. Some pimps may recruit children from the village and some may rent a room at the motel to accommodate children in the sex trade. According to the pimps interviewed, more arrangements are now being made over the phone instead of girls and boys going out to stand on the streets, and that being in the sex trade is easy money and girls go places and meet different men every night. In many cases older sex workers who entered into the sex trade as children have become pimps.

5.4.2.2 Taxi Drivers

The taxi drivers, besides transporting the girls and transgender boys to motels or homes of clients also keep contacts and arranges engagements between clients [most of whom are taxi passengers] and the children, in return for cash or sexual services from the

girls and transgender boys. Days and hours of work depend on client requests. The taxi drivers also keep contacts of pimps in other centres. For example, a taxi driver from Labasa stated that he has a pimp in Savusavu who he calls to arrange clients for girls, either transporting the girls to Savusavu or the clients travel to Labasa (ID CE_9, interviewed 21 March 2013, Labasa).

5.4.2.3 Clients

Clients also frequent areas where young girls hang out, including certain streets, nightclubs, bars and billiard shops and they also recommend girls to other clients and pimps. The clients stated that they preferred young girls as they are 'cheap and interesting' and some of these clients relied on pimps to get them young girls. Other ways they engage children in the sex trade included buying them drinks at nightclubs and thus attracting other young girls to join them, driving around at night looking for areas where young girls hang out, taking girls for a cruise in the car and making them drunk and, supplying young girls with alcohol and marijuana. For example, one client looks for girls who hang around billiard shops and throws parties where he invites girls he has picked up to bring their friends to join the parties (ID CE_5, interviewed 19 March 2013, Labasa). According to the clients interviewed, they had been soliciting sex from older sex workers for years but have recently changed to the new and younger children in the sex trade who can be supplied by pimps[57] or who can be easily found on the streets in larger numbers than before.

5.4.3 Targeting vulnerable and at-risk children

Two main reasons were given for client-exploiters engaging children. One was the increase in demand by clients for underage girls and transgender boys and the other the increase in the supply of girls and transgender boys on the streets.

According to the taxi drivers more clients are requesting for younger girls and the high cost of living and unemployment has led to more young girls entering the sex trade.

Clients stated that young girls and transgender boys are more approachable and likely to drink alcohol, are easier to dominate and will listen and do what they are told and

[57] Those in the sex trade belonging to pimps are often referred to by pimps as their products.

are cheaper compared to the older sex workers who are more expensive and demanding. Pimps agreed that there is now more demand for young girls and boys by many clients and that it is easier to work with them as they listen and accept what is given. However, more pimps stated that there was an increase in girls already on the streets who wanted to work with pimps and in some cases had nowhere to stay and so were accommodated and cared for by pimps. Pimps provide children in the sex trade with companionship and oversee their grooming. They also try to prevent children who stay with them from linking up with violent clients and getting abused on the streets. According to the pimps majority of street girls were from broken families and they had been the ones to approach pimps to ask for clients. In some cases pimps recruited girls from the streets or recruited "party girls" at house parties with offers to find clients for them. Party girls were taught by pimps to trade sex for money.

The client-exploiters identified the same risks and vulnerability factors as children interviewed. They identified that dropping out of school early, abuse or rape, broken families, running away from home and poverty as the vulnerabilities that push children into the sex trade. For example, pimps in Labasa, Savusavu, Nadi and Sigatoka had girls from rural settlements and nearby villages that came from poor families and some were from squatter settlements and some had come from the streets. According to pimps, children who were from well off families who ended up on the streets were likely to have been sexually abused or raped. They mentioned that there are many school girls and transgender boys who are in the sex trade.

Whether directly, or indirectly, all pimps interviewed recruited children into the sex trade. Some even traveled to between Suva and Savusavu to recruit young girls for the sex trade. Most however, recruited young children off the streets and through peers, including boys who had been pushed out of home because they were effeminate. In most cases children ended up staying with pimps who 'dolled' them up and helped them operate in the sex trade.

> "Some [children] came off the streets to live with me, they had nowhere to go. Some were raped and had run away from home. I took them home and dressed them; bought things for them, do everything for them" (ID CE_10, interviewed 25 March 2013, Nadi).

> "I make friends with girls during parties, especially girls who like to party and give free sex. I teach them how to demand money from clients. They are motivated by making money, the house parties and alcohol. Most are school drop outs and victims of rape, violence and abuse" (ID CE_2, interviewed 25 March 2013, Sigatoka).

The clients and taxi drivers stated that it was easier to recruit young girls who sniff glue. The clients and taxi drivers also gave the same responses as pimps when asked about the recruitment and background on children in the sex trade. That is, the children whom they knew in the sex trade were out of school or runaway children recruited off the streets, at parties, games places or clubs or through pimps.

5.4.4 Operation of the child sex trade

All the pimps interviewed arrange the engagements for the children. Taxi drivers drop girls off with clients at motels and collect their fee before leaving. They keep contact details of sex workers who they share with clients on request and may drive around town with clients looking for young girls to pick up. Hotel workers also contact pimps for guests requesting commercial sex and pimps also make arrangements with clients through the internet, sending pictures and setting the price before dropping the girls with clients and collecting the commission.

Local clients were identified as cane farmers, mill workers, civil servants, students (secondary school and university), marijuana farmers and drug peddlers, lawyers and members of the judiciary, and businessmen. Foreign clients identified included Chinese construction and road workers, expatriate workers for big companies, businessmen from neighbouring Pacific countries, Asian seafarers, foreign-owners of yachts in Savusavu, tourists and judiciary.

Profit made from the exploitation of children in commercial sex ranged from $10 to $300 received as commission. Taxi drivers received a payment for each 'arrangement' of $10 to $20 per girl or transgender boy in addition to taxi fare. Pimps received payment ranging from $25 to $200 and sometimes can receive up to $300 or alternatively are paid with alcohol or drugs. Payment for older sex workers was less, ranging from $10 to $20. Some pimps collected earnings that could total up to an

average of $800 per week and they paid the girls $80 to $100 per week, and used the rest for food and rent.

5.4.4.1 Travel out of town and travel routes

All client-exploiters confirmed that they had girls who travel from out of town for the sex trade. The main means of travel out of town was by taxi. According to one client, he paid for 16 year old girls to travel to hotels in Savusavu for friends from Suva or overseas (ID CE_6, interviewed 20 March 2013, Labasa). Another client stated that he hooked up with underage girls on the streets when he travelled to Labasa and Suva (ID CE_5, interviewed 19 March 2013, Labasa). Clients either picked the girls themselves or hired taxi drivers.

The two taxi drivers interviewed transported 16 and 17 year old girls from Labasa to Nabouwalu or Savusavu with expenses paid by clients. For example, one transported some young girls from Labasa to Nabouwalu, and a young girl and her mother from Labasa to Savusavu with all expenses paid by the client (ID CE_9, interviewed 21 March 2013, Labasa).

Pimps also travel to recruit children from out of town, made arrangements with pimps in other towns and accompanied their products or girls to meet clients in another town. This was common when there is a major event happening, for example during the cane cutting season, a soccer tournament or a festival. In some cases pimps travelled with clients to other towns and arrange for client to meet other pimps and may usually travel by taxi, in clients' cars or by mini-van, either paying for their own travel or their travel costs were paid by clients. Some of the common travel routes along which children in the sex trade are transported were identified by the client-exploiters, including:

Source area		**Destination areas**
Suva	⇨	Nadi, Labasa
Sigatoka	⇨	Nadi
Nadi	⇨	Lautoka, Ba, Suva
Labasa	⇨	Savusavu, Nabouwalu, Suva
Savusavu	⇨	Labasa, Suva

5.4.5 Others exploiting children in the sex trade

Others identified as exploiting children in the sex trade were older sex workers, 'brothel' owners, mothers selling their daughters and clients who trade contacts and details of girls in the sex trade with their peers. A well- known pimp stated that a father of three girls regularly collects money from her for his three daughters, although never acknowledging that the money he is given is from the sexual exploitation of his children.

> "Their father comes here all the time. He just turns up and asks if I can give him some money. He meets his daughters here… he knows what we do…he just outrageously pretends that he doesn't know that his daughters get money from selling sex and that is the money I give him" (ID CE_13, interviewed 27 March 2013, Suva).

5.4.6 Dangers and risks faced by children in the sex trade

Responses given by client-exploiters on dangers and risks are the same as the responses from children. These responses reiterate the fact that violence against children is often an inescapable part of the life of children who are in the sex trade. According to client-exploiters children in commercial sex are robbed and beaten up by clients, other sex workers or authorities. Children also have limited access to STI clinics and test results are slow to be produced. Most responses from client-exploiters related to children being taken in for questioning and sexually and physically abused by Police. One pimp shared how a transgender boy was taken by police to an isolated area, stripped, had his belongings taken away and forced to provide sexual services to four police officers (ID CE_11, interviewed 26 March 2013, Nadi). Another pimp declared that he pays off certain Police Officers when arrested for pimping (ID CE_13, interviewed 27 March 2013, Suva). Pimps also confirmed that young sex workers sniff glue, drink alcohol and smoke marijuana as part of their life in the sex trade.

5.5 Trends and case studies of child sex trafficking: analysis from key informants in the sex trade

Key informants were aware of a number of cases involving children below 18 years old trafficked into the sex trade, as well as the varying dynamics of sex trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of children. The responses from key informants on

child sex trafficking confirmed and elaborated on the findings from the analysis of semi-structured interviews of children and client-exploiters. These were that:

a) Children in the sex trade frequent apartments, motels and hotels where child prostitution occurs and well-known bars and nightclubs where workers give contacts of young girls and boys to clients.
b) Pimps recruit young girls, clean them up and take them to a hairdresser and look after them. Girls progressively become psychologically dependent on the pimps who fill a gap in their lives. Many are from broken families and get addicted to alcohol and drugs. Children in the sex trade are constantly moved all the time between towns and cities to keep the "product" fresh. Pimps move them and they are not forced as they agree to be moved.
c) There are about 20 pimps in Suva with an average of 4-8 girls each, referred to both the girls and the pimps as "products". Some of these girls are branded, for example, the Ninja tattoo girls are owned by a pimp in Suva who marks them with a ninja tattoo. He actively recruits young girls from Savusavu to Suva and 'works' them between Suva to Nadi.
d) Some of the key informants alleged that they pay off Police Officers and are sometimes solicited or bribed by legal officers with promises to have cases waived in their favour in exchange for sex.
e) Young girls were reported to be selling sex to Asian fishermen at the Suva wharf from around midnight to early morning. Informants reported that local girls at the wharf are being replaced by Asian girls seen entering the wharf with Asian fishermen.

Case studies were shared by key informants and some of these are shared as narratives (Narratives A to E) to illustrate the different situations of risk and vulnerabilities, perpetrator and the roles they play in the trafficking chain, and the challenges to combat sex trafficking.

5.5.1 Narrative A: 23 year old male sex worker

He was molested in class 5 when he was 10 years old by his sister's friend and physically abused by father for behaving like a girl. By the time he was 15 years old he was having an affair with a 55 year old married foreign businessman and owner of

a local company, who had approached and started a paid relationship with him. The businessman used to pick him up from school. When the senior boys in school found out, they sexually abused him and forced him to drop out of school. He later started having other clients who were businessmen.

(Interviewed as a key informant, 12 February 2013, Sigatoka)

5.5.2 Narrative B: 24 year old male survivor

He was in Class 7 when a tourist came to the school to sponsor a child and was introduced to his family. The tourist paid for his education and went into business with his family and built a house for them. The tourist would call him regularly at school and take him to the resorts. His "grooming" first started with the tourist showing him porn movies as a child. He refers to this as his 'education and part of growing up' by a person who was a father figure to him. The tourist took him overseas and introduced him to male friends and forced[58] him to have sex with them. When his parents found out that he had been sexually abused by their close friend and business partner (the tourist) they said, "…everybody makes mistakes."

(Interviewed as a key informant, 12 February 2013, Sigatoka)

5.5.3 Narrative C: 17 year old male survivor

He came from a poor, broken family whose parents had divorced and his mother was a sex worker. Someone on social media offered to put him in a school pay for his education so he travelled to Suva and ended up on the streets for 3 months sniffing glue and surviving by selling sex with 3 other friends from out of town. He moved off the streets to stay with an older male who had put him back to school and was well-known for entertaining street children as young as 12 year olds at house parties and supplying them with alcohol and marijuana. He was still in school at the time of the interview.

(Narrative shared by a key informant, 14 February 2013, Suva)

[58] According to the interviewee, he was obliged to have sex with the friends because of his trusted relationship to the tourist and to make him happy.

5.5.4 Narrative D: 40 year old mother and sex worker

She was raped when she was 20 years old by her father's cousin and ran away from home. She stayed with friends who taught her how to sell sex. She met a man and had three daughters from him and continued in the sex trade to help him pay the bills. Her older daughter was molested at 14 years old by a relative, so she arranged a client for her daughter at a cost of $1500, convincing her daughter to be sold into sex by showing her the money. Her daughter dropped out of school and she began to pimp her. Her second eldest daughter also dropped out of school after her mother sold her when she was 15 years old to a businessman. Both daughters smoke and drink alcohol with their mother. The older sister has had sexually transmitted infections and the mother advises them when to use condoms depending on the client. The daughters have been abused by clients and consume alcohol to feel good.

(Interviewed as a key informant, 11 February 2013, Lautoka)

5.5.5 Narrative E: 31 year old female sex worker

She started in the sex trade when she was 18 years old in Suva and was recruited by older sex workers. She had a pimp and also stood on the streets and moved around the urban centres to get clients. She is in a relationship but still does sex work for high class businessmen. When she was 25 years old, a good friend arranged for her to travel to PNG, paying for all her travel expenses. They planned to travel from PNG to Australia for a holiday. When she arrived in PNG she was picked up by a local and taken to a villa belonging to a local business man. Her friend called her and told her she was to stay for a while with him as she had collected already a lot of money from him. She was scared and shocked because she had not agreed to this. He offered her money for sex and took away her passport and itinerary. Her friend visited her every day at the villa. She was hosted to parties and received money daily until she found her passport and ran away to her friend's house with all her luggage and insisted that she send her back to Fiji.

(Interviewed as a key informant, 18 February 2013, Labasa)

5.6 Trends and challenges of children in the sex trade: analysis from focus group discussions

Four focus group discussions were organised with pimps, adult sex workers and children in the sex trade with the assistance of individuals of agencies or networks connected to these groups. The focus group discussions generated similar information also gathered through interviews with children, clients- exploiters, service providers and other general key informants.

Findings from focus group discussions identified distinct groups of children involved in the sex trade including young girls on the street recruited by their peers and some older sex workers who are usually victims of sexual abuse, rape and violence, from broken families and live in informal or squatter settlements; high class underage working girls usually from broken families; and young girls and transgender boys who are school dropouts. In some cases the child's parent or sibling was already in the sex trade, increasing the risk of the child also entering the sex trade by 'choice' or by being pimped by the older sister, aunt or mother.

Focus groups identified parental neglect as a major factor pushing children onto the streets and into the sex trade. A child neglected or physically abused, or chased from home soon starts drinking, smoking, sniffing glue, then drops out of school and follows peers and eventually gets recruited it the sex trade. According to the focus groups, there are many new girls standing on the street because of family problems, homelessness, and need to make money and substance abuse is a fact of life of children in the sex trade.

According to focus groups, children are recruited into the sex trade by their own peers, family members, pimps or older sex workers from the same settlement or village, and are recruited at games places, billiard shops and from the streets. Recruited children are from urban areas, informal settlements and peri-urban villages.

Children also arrange clients through the internet, mobile phone, through pimps and may find clients at bars and nightclubs by standing on the streets. They travel mainly between Suva, Sigatoka and Nadi and Lautoka usually during festivals and major holidays. Taxis are the main means of transport of girls to the clients in or out of town, and girls usually travel with the pimp who makes the arrangements and collects the money from the clients. Some of the common travel routes of children in the sex trade identified by focus group discussions were:

Source area		**Destination areas**
Suva, Nasinu, Nausori	⇨	Nadi, Labasa
Sigatoka	⇨	Nadi
Nadi	⇨	Lautoka, Ba, Suva
Labasa	⇨	Savusavu, Nabouwalu, Suva
Savusavu	⇨	Labasa, Suva
Lautoka	⇨	Nadi
Levuka	⇨	Suva, Nadi

From the focus group discussions it was obvious that there is the need for awareness raising, sensitizing and training of government authorities and service providers as key stakeholders in understanding their role in assisting victims of human trafficking, and particularly children.

Focus group discussions confirmed that children and adults in the sex trade are harassed and physically and sexually abused by some Police officers. For example, a child in one of the focus groups shared that she was taken to the Police station and forced to have sex with some of the officers and some confirmed that they pay money to officers who allow them to stand on the streets. Participants in focus groups also stated that the stigma and discrimination they received from staff at health centres prevented them from attending STI clinics and seeking medical attention. The next section identifies some of these key stakeholders and outlines their experiences and challenges in addressing trafficking in persons especially children.

5.7 Trafficking experiences and challenges: analysis from interviews with stakeholders

The major stakeholders were interviewed as key informants and included the Department of Immigration, Fiji Police Force, Department of Social Welfare, Ministry of Employment, Save the Children Fiji and Homes of Hope. Feedback from the stakeholders provided information on the limitations to addressing child sex trafficking, and additional information on risks and vulnerabilities, trends and the dynamics of the trafficking chain. A summary of the feedback from key stakeholders is provided below.

5.7.1 Department of Immigration[59]

The Department of Immigration has established a safe house providing accommodation for trafficking victims, has a National Action Plan to prevent and eliminate the trafficking in persons, especially Women and Children (HT-NAP), and a Human Trafficking Unit which is responsible for coordinating the national Human Trafficking task force. The task force involves all key stakeholders including Ministries of Labour, Police, Social Welfare, Health, Foreign Affairs, Planning and Defence. Key stakeholders such as the Fiji Police, the Department of Social Welfare and Ministry of Health report domestic trafficking cases to the Human Trafficking Unit.

Most trafficking cases handled by the Department of Immigration involved foreigners coming into the country on work or student visas, to work in the sex trade. Examples of two international trafficking cases were discussed. One case involved 6 nationals who arrived in the country with the trafficker. They had paid the traffickers for jobs in New Zealand. They were detected at the border as none of them could speak English. The letter the trafficker had from their 'proposed' employer in New Zealand could not be verified. Additionally the 6 victims did not know each other. They were deported back to their country and the trafficker imprisoned in Fiji. There was no compensation for the money spent by the victims who did not want to go back as they had borrowed the money to pay the trafficker and travel.

[59] Interview with Director of Immigration followed by Interview with Immigration Officers

The second case involved Asian females trafficked by an Asian national who had been living in Fiji for over 2 years. The youngest victim was an 18 year old model and the only one who could speak some English. The women were promised jobs by the trafficker but sold into the sex trade to Asian and local clients. The trafficker was the only contact person for the women and collected $200 per client, giving each of them $120 which they used to pay for their hotel rooms at $90 per night.

Some of the challenges faced by the Department are the lack of resources and poor coordination of stakeholders who work independently on human trafficking issues. For example, the Department of Immigration is not involved in assisting the Fiji Police Force to design and facilitate trafficking training workshops implemented by Fiji Police Force. Their input is only as a presenter, not capitalizing on the opportunity to share resources and develop standard training programmes and materials for all officers. Although the Department focuses more on cross border trafficking, officers stated that enhanced efforts to address domestic trafficking would improve Fiji's ranking in the US TIP report. They agreed there are domestic trafficking cases which are not detected and investigated by the Department as this was the responsibility of the Human Trafficking Unit of the Fiji Police Force.

5.7.2 Fiji Police Force[60]

Respondents from the Juvenile Bureau and other sections of the Fiji Police Force had little knowledge of trafficking cases handled by the Fiji Police Force referring questions to the Human Trafficking Unit (HTU). The HTU at the Fiji Police Criminal Investigations Department (CID) headquarters in Suva was established on 3rd July 2010 to identify and prosecute persons involved in trafficking others either domestically or internationally. In 2013, the HTU was staffed by 5 officers and supported by special CID officers working undercover to identify and report human trafficking suspected cases.

Officers confirmed child sex trafficking as the common form of trafficking in Fiji and perpetrators were mainly families and others who exploited potential victims. Officers identified that they had heard of perpetrators allegedly exploiting young girls at the

[60] Interview with the late OIC of the HTU, Mr. Aminiasi.Cula (2013) and additional interviews held in 2016 with HTU Officers.

bus station and had evidence of children in the sex trade who lived with relatives in urban areas. They had interviewed children standing on the streets and identified 4 children who were sent from rural villages to stay with relatives in town to complete their education. These children were below 18 years old and forced to earn money from sex, especially if their parents do not send them money. Officers also confirmed that children in the sex trade were very mobile and moved from urban-urban and rural to urban areas, and that most clients were in the western division. According to the HTU most of the detected cases were children in the sex trade in Suva, Sigatoka, Nadi and Lautoka, many of whom were students who engaged after school hours. The HTU was currently investigating 2 child sex trafficking cases involving an 11 year old girl in Suva trafficked by her mother 3 sisters trafficked by a pimp. The HTU does not have a programme providing assistance to the victims of trafficking, and during investigations refers the child victims to the Department of Social Welfare or Homes of Hope to provide a safe house or to Save the Children for counseling.

5.7.3 Department of Social Welfare[61]

The Department of Social Welfare (DoSW) had yet to handle any child trafficking cases at the time of the interviews. The DoSW reviews cases of sexual abuse, physical and emotional abuse and victims of court and provide housing services for children and also conducts awareness and advocacy. The DoSW had significantly scaled up child protection and child services. In 2015 the DOSW launched the child helpline for children and members of the public to report any suspected cases of child abuse and the Child Welfare Decree that mandates that all key stakeholders, such as teachers, health professionals and police officers, are to report suspected or actual child abuse cases to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Women, Children and Poverty Alleviation.

The DoSW has established a database of all reported cases of child abuse and neglect, from which updated data is shared with stakeholders such as other government departments (Education, Police, Health, Justice, and Statistics) and civil society organisations, annually. The DOSW coordinates most government and civil society agencies working on child protection issues through a National Coordinating

[61] Interviews held with Child Welfare Officers in Nausori, Sigatoka and Labasa,(2013) and Director of Child Services Unit in Suva (2017)

Committee on Children, chaired by the Permanent Secretary. The Committee meets quarterly or when needed.

When asked about child trafficking cases, Welfare Officers shared examples of child beggars from Ba moving to work in Sigatoka, Nadi and Lautoka during peak times or child sex abuse cases. The potential child trafficking cases discussed by Welfare Officers involved a 14 year old child raped by her uncle; a 6 year old child molested by an elderly neighbour; a 10 year old child raped by her father; a 14 year old child defiled by at a church meeting; and an 8 year old child raped by her adopted father. It was evident that officers were not trained to detect potential child trafficking cases, resulting in inadequate information gathered by the officers that would allow one to determine whether the case was indeed a child trafficking case.

5.7.4 Ministry of Employment, Productivity and Industrial Relations

There were no child trafficking cases detected and investigated by the Ministry of Employment, Productivity and Industrial Relations (MEPIR). The MEPIR has a Child Labour Unit (CLU) which was established in 2011 with the support of the ILO through the Tackling Child Labour through Education project, implemented from 2008 to 2013 and funded by the European Union. The CLU has been responsible for training Labour Inspectors to conduct child labour inspections and has also trained police officers, teachers, Social Welfare and Immigration Officers and agricultural extension workers and farmers on the child labour monitoring and referral system implemented by the ministry. Since its establishment, the CLU had investigated over 200 cases of child labour violations and developed a child labour data-base which provides valuable information on child labour by age, gender, occupation, location, education status, and other working conditions. Child labour inspection systems and processes have been successfully included in the Ministry's labour compliance services under the Employment Relations Act 2007. In 2015, the labour inspection standards received ISO certification (ISO 9001:2008) ensuring that there is a standard investigation procedure on child labour, and that labour compliance systems and processes are standardised in all district offices.

The MEPIR has drafted the National Action Plan to eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour and a national child labour policy and were currently drafting provisions

protecting children in entertainment industry and artistic performances. [62] However, although child trafficking is a worst form of child labour and prohibited in the Employment Relations Act 2007, officers acknowledged that they lacked the capacity and resources to combat child trafficking and referred any cases of children in the sex trade to the Department of Social Welfare and Police. Other challenges that they identified in regards to child labour included the lack of support from other stakeholders especially when children in child labour were returned to school, requiring regular monitoring of children in school and proving children with additional assistance in their school work. They also identified that there was no education programme for out of school children in child labour who did not want to go back to the formal school system, but was willing to participate in non- formal education.

5.7.5 Save the Children Fiji[63]

Save the Children Fiji (SCF) has a Child Protection Unit which has conducted research in Fiji on the commercial sexual exploitation of children. SCF has also implemented programmes on combating trafficking and other forms of commercial sexual exploitation of children. Save the Children Fiji responds to child trafficking or abuse cases when they are informed by Police and in most cases, their role is to provide a counselor. According to officers interviewed, the most common form of trafficking in Fiji involved children trafficked into sexual exploitation, mainly as a result of family breakdown, poverty, dropping out of school, peer pressure and attraction to easy money. SCF officers had some knowledge of a case currently being investigated which involved a mother selling her 15 year old daughter into the sex trade. A challenge identified by SCF to combating child sex trafficking was the lack of up to date research and resources to implement targeted programmes.

5.7.6 Homes of Hope Fiji[64]

Homes of Hope is an organisation working with young women who are survivors of sexual exploitation and their children, families and communities in Fiji. They provide psycho-social and physical care, basic financial literacy and parenting skills. Since it was established in 1996, Homes of Hope has helped over 500 young women and

[62] Interviews held with Director of Labour Standards Division/ Manager Child Labour Unit and Labour Officers from Suva, Sigatoka, Nadi, Lautoka, Labasa and Savusavu in March 2013; and Suva Labour Officers in August 2015.
[63] Interview held with Save the Children Child Protection Unit Officers, Mr. Sosaia Tapueluelu and Amita Singh, 2013
[64] Interview with Homes of Hope Director Lynnie Roche and Manager Turenga Nakaivula, 2018

children who have been victims of sexual abuse, sexual exploitation, rape, incest, sex trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation in Fiji, including over 148 have been girls, some as young as 11 years old and pregnant through forced sex.

Some common trends on forced sex observed by Homes of Hope over the years, highlight the vulnerabilities and challenges in addressing trafficking: (a) girls were abused at a very young age; (b) girls did not access support due to fear and ignorance of existing service providers; (c) majority came from dysfunctional families and were raised by elderly family members; (d) majority have low self-esteem and high health risks; and (e) survivors need to overcome trauma, rejection, stigma, shame and negative support in communities. Additionally the lack of up to date research and resources to implement targeted programmes and the lack of capacity and commitment by service providers to address sex trafficking, were identified as challenges.

5.7.7 Limitations to combating child sex trafficking in Fiji

Limitations and challenges to addressing child sex trafficking were mainly identified through key informant interviews of service providers and authorities. These informants also confirmed that child trafficking exists in Fiji and highlighted risks and vulnerabilities that push children into situations where they may be trafficked. These were related mainly to family crisis situations or broken families from divorce, separation or death leading to parental neglect or lack of supervision and children being shuffled within extended families. Families facing financial difficulties and needing children's income and families placing little value on education were more likely to pull children out of school and put them at risk. The ability of people in urban centres with access to mobile phones to pay for sex, and peer pressure and attraction of high tech gadgets such as iphones and ipads to children, were also cited as factors that pulled children into the sex trade.

Service providers and authorities defined trafficking according to their organisational responsibilities and legislation underpinning their work. For example, Immigration Officers defined trafficking using the Immigration Act, focusing on international trafficking. Police Officers defined trafficking using the Crimes Decree that assists them to identify human trafficking elements during investigation. Service providers such as Welfare Officers use the child abuse framework to review cases stating that

although it was possible that some of the child sexual abuse cases may be trafficking cases, they did not identify and view these cases through a 'trafficking lens'. Non-government organisations defined domestic child trafficking using the international Trafficking Protocol, defining trafficking as the recruitment, transporting and harbouring of children from one place to another within a country for sexual or labour exploitation. All key informants linked the sexual exploitation of children to child trafficking.

Responses on the definition of trafficking showed inconsistent perceptions of human trafficking which could hinder effective trafficking detection, identification and appropriate policies, including:

- Husbands selling their wives for a living
- Child sexual abuse cases exploited within family households
- The recruitment, deception and exploitation of people
- Exploitation of a human being as a slave, using force and abuse
- Exploitation of children and women using financial, sexual or political positions of power that leads to the gain of the exploiter
- Even if the movement is only within Suva, it becomes a trafficking case if the child was forced into sexual exploitation.

Stakeholders recognized that not only international trafficking exists but also identified the difficulties in differentiating between trafficking and smuggling. All other key informants defined human trafficking by citing examples of sexual exploitation and prostitution. Other limitations identified by key informants included:

a) No data on human trafficking and child trafficking, and existing data is also not centralized between Fiji Police, Immigration, Ministry of Employment, Productivity and Industrial Relations (MEPIR), Department of Social Welfare;
b) Poor collaboration between key agencies. For example, in most instances the Department of Immigration handles a foreign labour contract case without any input from the Ministry of Employment, Productivity and Industrial Relations. Once the employer brings the case to Immigration complaining that the worker has breached his or her contract and he/ she has terminated the contract, and produces the ticket to send the worker back home, the Department of Immigration cancels the work permit and the worker is sent home. There is no

collaboration between the Immigration department and MEPIR to investigate the conditions of contract.

c) Lack of resources and capacity. For example, the Fiji Police Human Trafficking Unit does not have any support for victims, instead focus only on prosecution. Victims are only brought in for interviews and no assistance given and therefore there is a need for a safe home for child victims of domestic sex trafficking. Investigating trafficking cases also takes time and the lack of resources such as vehicles and the lack of capacity hinders investigative processes. There is also a lack of capacity and training on how to identify child trafficking and trafficking investigation methods.

d) Insufficient awareness of human trafficking to the communities and general public. More awareness so communities are able to detect and report suspected cases, and churches and community leaders are able to work together to protect children.

5.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the findings of the field research which involved a total of 104 participants including 44 children in the sex trade, 38 adults involving sex workers and client-exploiters, 16 representatives from authorities and service providers, and 6 key informants from the general public.

The field research found that the Fiji is a source, destination and transit point for trafficking in persons. The field research found evidence of child trafficking, not only within Fiji's borders (domestic trafficking) but also beyond Fiji's borders (international trafficking). The main type of child trafficking investigated and discovered by the field research was child sex trafficking. The main findings from the field research were presented in response to the four research questions and are summarized below:

(i) The nature of trafficking of children for commercial sexual exploitation in Fiji

Children below the age of 18 years old, as young as 10 years old are trafficked into the sex trade by pimps, peers, parents or relatives. Most children enter into the sex trade between the ages of 12 to 14 years old, closely linked to the age when children drop out of school. They are very mobile and get clients by various means such as standing on the street, through pimps, at games centres or nightclubs and through the mobile and internet networks. Payment for children in the sex trade is mainly in cash either to the child or to pimps.

Children in the sex trade are trapped in a cycle of violence and abuse. They experience verbal, psychological, sexual and physical abuse from families, clients, authorities, peers and the public. Marijuana, glue sniffing and alcohol abuse is a sad reality of the everyday life of a child in the sex trade who take these drugs as a coping mechanism or are forced by pimps and clients.

(ii) Factors that create risks and vulnerabilities to children being trafficked into the sex trade

The children's family situation and socio-economic conditions of the family are the major causes of vulnerability and risk. The majority of children in the sex trade interviewed lived in urban informal settlements, most with one parent, relatives or friends, most in large households where members were unemployed or engaged in low paid work in the informal sector. With over 20% of Fiji's poor found in urban areas and over 120,000 of Fiji's population found in urban informal settlements (FBOS 2017), family poverty and unemployment are particular vulnerabilities that put children at risk. The socio-economic conditions of most of these children places them in a vulnerable situation where earning money in sex trade can become desirable.

Children living with other family members or who had friends in the sex trade (50% identified in the study) and children who were victims of sexual abuse (over 50% identified in the study) are particularly vulnerable to being trafficked. Children running away from home as a result of family problems, parental neglect, sexual abuse and

rape, violence and peer pressure, were more likely to end up on the streets and in the sex trade.

Children who get into work early (into child labour) are also vulnerable to being trafficked into the sex trade. This includes children working in bars, peddling marijuana, selling food on the streets and working in informal garages. Early school drop-out creates vulnerabilities and risks, with 25 out of 30 children dropping out early due to lack of support from parents, financial difficulties, peer pressure and sexual abuse.

(iii) How the trafficking chain operates, who the perpetrators are and the roles they play

Parents, family members, partners and friends all play a role in pushing or pulling children into the sex trade. The child sex trade involves a network of pimps, clients, taxi drivers, adult sex workers and in some cases parents, families and partners all benefitting from the trade of children in commercial sex.

Pimps recruit, look after and mentor children connecting children to clients and move them frequently between the urban centres to keep the 'products' fresh. Taxi drivers transport children to clients and are also pimps and clients themselves. Hotel workers and bartenders also connect clients to children in the sex trade. Clients come from all sectors of society.

The main urban centres in Fiji, Suva, Nasinu, Nausori, Sigatoka, Nadi, Lautoka, Levuka, Labasa and Savusavu were identified as source areas for child sex trafficking and Suva, Sigatoka, Nadi, Lautoka, Ba, Labasa and Savusavu were identified as child sex trafficking destination areas. Nabouwalu was also identified as a destination area for child sex trafficking.

(iv) Limitations and challenges to combating child sex trafficking

The lack of awareness by parents, schools and communities, the increase in demand from clients for children in the sex trade and the increase in supply of children in the sex trade, pose challenges to combating child sex trafficking. Key challenges include

the lack of resources, weak interagency coordination and collaboration, lack of research data and data sharing, and the lack of a formal victim services mechanism, including an untested referral system and limited counseling services. There is a critical need to build the capacity of key stakeholders on understanding the legal framework for child protection and trafficking and a need to document a process system for detecting and investigating and referring child trafficking cases. This and other recommendations are elaborated in the concluding chapter.

6 Conclusions and Recommendations

The overall objective of the research was to explore child sex trafficking as an emerging urban issue. Four main research questions were formulated:

- What is the nature of the trafficking of children for commercial sexual exploitation in Fiji?
- What factors create risks and vulnerabilities to children being trafficked for commercial sexual exploitation, particularly in urban areas in Fiji?
- How does the child sex trafficking chain operate in Fiji, who are the perpetrators and what roles do they play?
- What are the limitations to combating child sex trafficking in Fiji, and how can these be addressed?

The researcher investigated the commercial sexual exploitation of children as cases of children who are trafficked into the sex trade. The researcher followed the social constructivism approach, using fieldwork as a major component of the research to interview research participants to better understand their particular situations and the interactions that influence or shape their realities and to form ideas from the rich data gathered with the overall purpose of proposing solutions to solve the social problems of the target group.

The researcher identified children in commercial sexual exploitation as children who are trafficked into the sex trade after previous research and experience with children in the sex trade in Fiji revealed that all children in the commercial sex trade are recruited in various ways and moved in various means across various distances for sexual exploitation. Fiji's laws, particularly the Crimes Decree 2009 define the movement of children for sexual exploitation as child sex trafficking.

The reality is that children in the sex trade in Fiji are severely exploited, grossly violated and abused daily and this trend will continue to increase due to worsening conditions such as poverty and the breakdown of family social structures. The situation of children in the sex trade should never be taken lightly and therefore the full penalty of the law should apply to protect children from sexual exploitation. By identifying children in commercial sexual exploitation as victims of child sex trafficking ensures

that Fiji remains in the international trafficking spotlight and should motivate the Fiji government to take the necessary steps to combat this issue.

The research confirmed that the domestic trafficking of children into the sex trade is an emerging urban issue in Fiji. Children are trafficked into prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation. The main trafficking flows are between the urban centres, and peri-urban villages to urban centres. [65]

Trafficking source area	**Recruitment**	**Transport- taxi, minivan, boat**	**Trafficking destination areas**
Suva, Nasinu, Nausori	Mainly pimps, peers, clients, hotel workers, security guards, bar tenders, taxi drivers, friends, partners, parents, and other family members	⇨	Nadi, Labasa
Sigatoka		⇨	Nadi
Nadi		⇨	Lautoka, Ba, Suva
Labasa		⇨	Savusavu, Nabouwalu, Suva
Savusavu		⇨	Labasa, Suva
Lautoka		⇨	Nadi
Levuka		⇨	Suva, Nadi

The key research findings are summarized in this chapter as conclusions, followed by recommendations.

[65] Although the urban centres are identified, the villages and specific urban informal settlements and residential areas are not identified to protect the confidentiality of the respondents.

6.1 Conclusions

The literature on child trafficking and child labour research highlighted the data gap on human trafficking and the methodological challenges in trafficking research. Based on prior experience, the researcher selected the UNICEF/ILO Rapid Assessment mixed quantitative and qualitative guidelines for researching 'hard-to-reach' children in child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation, to design the research strategy.

The research methods included a literature review and a field research with children in the sex trade, client-exploiters (pimps, clients, taxi drivers) and key informants including government, civil society and street informers. Semi-structured interviews, key informant interviews and focus group discussions were used and case files were reviewed. Snowball sampling was used to identify research participants and data was analysed using SPSS. The field research involved 104 participants including 44 children in the sex trade, 38 adults including sex workers and client-exploiters, 16 representatives from authorities and service providers as key informants, and 6 key informants from the general public.

6.1.1 Link between the legal framework, the conceptual framework and research findings

The research found that there are challenges in defining human trafficking and distinguishing between trafficking, slavery and prostitution which has influenced research and policies in these areas. The discourse on trafficking and prostitution clearly showed that identifying the vulnerabilities that lead to a situation of trafficking and the underlying causes of human trafficking is critical. Therefore the research tools included questions that identified the risks and vulnerability factors pushing or pulling children into the sex trade.

The conceptual framework illustrated that human trafficking was driven by capitalist greed and the consequent demand for cheap labour. Globalisation and capitalism are mutually inclusive and have disadvantaged the marginalised and vulnerable and increased poverty and inequalities, promoting conditions which have allowed human trafficking to flourish. Rising unemployment and resulting supply of cheap labour has

allowed labour to be treated as a commodity to be bought and sold on the market, valued at a low cost and to be discarded easily. Factors such as free market trade, deregulation of financial markets, individualisation promoted by capitalism and globalisation have created a system of gross inequalities, dependency and exploitation, evidenced by a correlation in the rise of forced labour in sex and other industries and the increasing accumulation of immense wealth by a few (Kempadoo, 2015).

Anti-trafficking campaigns have had little impact on addressing the causes of human trafficking largely because the focus of these campaigns have been on organisations and individuals from western countries raising exorbitant amounts of capital for moral crusades or rescue missions to developing countries. Kempadoo (2015), citing Kapoor (2013) states that these anti-trafficking campaigns focuses only on "an outward violence that is symptomatic of an underlying structural violence" and failing to tackle the broader politics of inequality, capitalism and globalisation. These campaigns only allow a superficial participation of sex workers or 'survivors' (who are perceived as victims who have been coerced and lack agency) as authorities on prostitution and human trafficking and voices in their own right, and therefore impose their own value system and ideologies on the 'rescued others'.

The history of the Pacific labour traffic and indenture system was a reminder that the underlying root causes of human trafficking remain intact. Poverty, unemployment, inequality, the great divide between the rich and the poor and on-going accumulation of wealth by a few (largely at the expense of others) are structural factors that pushed indentured labourers and slaves into labour and sexual exploitation in the past. The scale of poverty, unemployment and inequality is much greater today creating millions more vulnerable and desperate communities and people and perpetuating the cycle of exploitation. Without addressing the root causes and inequalities in this capitalist society, and ensuring social and economic justice for all, the trafficking of human beings will continue into the future.

The field research findings confirmed that there has been an increase in the supply of children in the sex trade in Fiji and most live in the impoverished communities in urban and peri-urban areas. The exploiters who drive the demand for children in the sex trade are those who have the money to trade, and the pimps and family members who supply

the children and benefit financially from the sex trade. People in authority through inaction or abuse allowed the exploitation of children in the sex trade. Most pimps had also been children in the sex trade, continuing this cycle of poverty and exploitation.

The Fiji Crimes Decree 2009 which adopted provisions from the UN Trafficking Protocol was used in the research approach to decide how to identify children who were trafficked. This included two criteria, firstly that the child must be recruited and moved, and secondly that the recruitment and movement of the child is with the intention that the child will be exploited in sexual servitude, harmful labour or other forms of exploitation as specified in the national and international laws. Using the legal framework as a guide, the literature review and the field research found evidence of human trafficking and child sex trafficking in Fiji.

6.1.1.1 The nature of trafficking of children for commercial sexual exploitation in Fiji

The research found that children below 18 years old and as young as 10 years old were trafficked into the sex trade, mainly into prostitution and pornographic performances. This confirmed the trafficking and worst forms of child labour Fiji country profiles in the US TIP and Worst Forms of Child Labour reports. Children entered into the sex trade through peers, pimps, parents, relatives and strangers who included locals and foreigners.

Most children entered into the sex trade between the ages of 12 to 14 years old, also the age when most children would drop out of school. They spend long hours in the sex trade and those who were still in school were in the sex trade during the weekends, school holidays and after school.

Children in the sex trade were very mobile and moved frequently between the urban centres. The most common way they found clients was by standing on the street or through a pimp. They also got clients from games centres, nightclubs and bars, and through mobile phones and social media sites. Cash was the main form of payment received by the child or pimp or parent.

The life-long impacts of violence and abuse experienced by children in the sex trade cannot be ignored. Physical and sexual violence and abuse pushed children into the sex trade, where they continued to experience violence and abuse and some became violent pimps later in life. Substance abuse was identified as a coping mechanism for children, either voluntary, through peer pressure or forced by pimps and clients to consume drugs and alcohol. Contact with drugs, alcohol, cigarettes and other substances such as 'glue' is part of the everyday life of a child in the sex trade.

6.1.1.2 The risks and vulnerability factors that push or pull children into the sex trade

With over 20% of Fiji's poor found in urban areas and over 120,000 of Fiji's population found in urban informal settlements (HIES, FBOS 2017), family poverty and unemployment are particular vulnerabilities that put children at risk of trafficking. Over 50% of Fiji's population is urban and over 120,000 of the population live in urban informal settlements. Risks and vulnerabilities to trafficking, exacerbated in urban centres, were identified as poverty, unemployment, lack of employment opportunities for young people, early school dropout and poor qualifications, the breakdown of family and community social safety nets, customary practices of informal adoption and marriage, gender biases and child sexual abuse.

The majority of children in the sex trade in the field research were living in informal settlements, either with one parent, or with relatives and extended family, or with friends, in large households of more than 5 members, many of whom were unemployed or in low paid work and consequently relied on the income of children. Children living with other family members or who had friends in the sex trade (50% in the study) and children who were victims of sexual abuse (over 50% in the study) were particularly vulnerable to being trafficked.

Children running away from home as a result of family problems, parental neglect, sexual abuse and rape, violence and peer pressure, were more likely to end up on the streets and in the sex trade, allowing perpetrators to establish a relationship of trust with these children, perpetuating their exploitation.

Prematurely dropping out of school (25 out of 30 children were out of school) and working on the streets as beggars or street vendors, or working in informal businesses and illicit activities created vulnerabilities and risks of being trafficked into the sex trade. Children's reasons for dropping out of school were also linked to factors pushing them from home such as parental neglect, financial difficulties, peer pressure and child sexual abuse.

Child sexual abuse in the family home was acute as 50% of the children reported that they had been sexually abused before engaging in the sex trade. Child sexual abuse pushed children away from home, to friends or the streets and into the sex trade and the entry of the child into the sex trade usually took place within a year of being sexually abused.

6.1.1.3 How the trafficking chain operates, who the perpetrators are and the roles they play

The main urban centres in Fiji- Suva, Sigatoka, Nadi, Lautoka, Labasa and Savusavu were identified as source and destination areas for child sex trafficking. Levuka, Nasinu and Nausori were identified as source areas and Ba as a destination area. Nabouwalu, due to the road construction project underway during the research, was identified as a destination area for child sex trafficking. (See Appendix 12 for Map of Fiji: Towns and Cities)

The child sex trade involved an organized network of pimps, clients, taxi drivers and adult sex workers, and parents (mother, father), family members (aunt, uncle, cousins), partners and friends who played a role in pushing or pulling children into the sex trade. Pimps fill the role of parents in the lives of children in the sex trade, providing children with a sense of belonging and affection and can directly recruit children from the urban streets or villages or from friends of children already in the sex trade. Pimps selected children based on client demands and networked with other pimps, clients, taxi drivers and family members to meet the demands. Payment received by pimps is shared with the children in the form of cash payment, food, accommodation, clothes, makeup, jewellery, toiletries, cigarettes and alcohol. Payment for children was much higher than the adult sex workers indicating the growing demand for children in the sex trade.

Clients were businessmen, public transport drivers, civil servants, lawyers, teachers, policemen, soldiers, farmers and fishermen, marijuana farmers and drug peddlers, students, shop owners, hotel managers and tourists. Clients engaged children in the sex trade either through pimps or taxi drivers or directly from the streets, nightclubs, games centres or house parties. Taxi drivers transport children to clients and connect clients to children and pimps and in some cases were also clients. Hotel workers and bartenders also played a role in connecting clients to children in the sex trade.

6.1.1.4 Challenges to combating child sex trafficking

The research identified challenges to combating child sex trafficking through interviews with key stakeholders. These included:

(a) Vulnerabilities that put children at risk of trafficking into the sex trade and the demand for children in the sex trade will need to be addressed. These vulnerabilities included financial hardship, weakened family structures, family problems, parental neglect, practices of sending to children to live with relatives, child sexual abuse, gender biases, dropping out of school and substance abuse;
(b) Different perceptions of human trafficking across agencies prevented agencies from detecting and investigating potential child trafficking cases and resulted in inadequate and insufficient data;
(c) Resource gaps prevented the Human Trafficking Unit and the Human Trafficking Task Force to function effectively and hindered the implementation of the Fiji National Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children;
(d) Weak interagency coordination and collaboration between Police and Prosecutors, Immigration and Employment officers and between other key government agencies and civil society service providers;
(e) Lack of a formal victims services mechanism, including an untested referral system and insufficient counseling services;
(f) Inadequate awareness and training of Police and persons in authority, exemplified by their exploitation and abuse of children in the sex trade;

(g) Poor capacity of service providers, including the Department of Social Welfare to identify and investigate child trafficking cases, resulted in potential child trafficking cases screened only for child abuse;
(h) Insufficient public awareness on child trafficking resulted in the complacency of parents, schools and communities, which allowed child sex trafficking to take place.

6.2 Recommendations

The thesis proposes the following policy recommendations in order of priority, crafted in response to the challenges to combat child sex trafficking identified by children and key informants interviewed, the literature review and personal experience.

1. Children in the sex trade have hopes and dreams of acquiring an education or skills to secure a good job. Policies should be designed in consultation with the children involved for (a) a bridging programme of skills training for out-of-school children in the sex trade, which considers their education levels and responds to their special needs as learners, (b) street-outreach programmes for children in the sex trade that includes literacy and numeracy, personal safety and hygiene and lifeskills, and (c) increasing apprenticeship schemes for young workers (child labourers) in hazardous occupations such as mechanical work.

2. Develop policies to promote youth employment and poverty alleviation strategies that provide for social and economic empowerment programmes and ensure social security protection for all. Develop policies for low cost housing and to enable people who live in informal settlements to have access to basic amenities and secure land tenure.

3. Implement policies promoting the retention of children in school and equal access to quality education for all children and conduct training and awareness including (a) training parents and teachers on positive discipline and positive parenting, conflict resolution; (b) facilitating the development of school and community-based child protection policies which incorporate strategies to reduce the risks of child trafficking and child labour; (c) training faith-based organisations, teachers, and community workers who are involved in helping

people understand the issues; and (d) developing resource materials that are effective and translated into local language.

4. Strengthen the institutional capacity of relevant authorities including (a) resourcing the Human Trafficking Unit (Police) and Trafficking Task Force (Immigration) to sensitize and train Police Officers on proper procedures for handling child trafficking cases and to carry out investigations; (b) building the expertise of authorities and service providers, including the Ministry of Employment, Department of Social Welfare and NGO/CSOs on trafficking investigation and detection techniques and improving monitoring and reporting mechanisms; (c) building the capacity of trade unions and employers organisations to work with transport and tourism sectors to develop codes of conduct on child sex trafficking; and (d) providing more victim services such as counseling services, translators, legal services and safe houses for victims.

5. Develop procedures for victim identification and referrals, monitoring and reporting, including a standardised victim identification form and trafficking indicators to be used by all agencies for interviewing potential trafficking victims. Protocols for interviewing children should be developed by relevant agencies followed by training of all officers.

6. Update the Fiji National Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children and develop and submit a comprehensive budget and implementation plan to deliver the NAP for government funding as part of the national budget under the Ministries of Labour, Immigration, Police and Women, Children and Poverty Alleviation.

7. The Government of Fiji should take immediate steps to enforce the child trafficking provisions in the Crimes Decree 2009 and the Employment Relations Act 2007, and prosecute and convict exploiters, especially clients, of children in the sex trade.

6.3 Research Limitations and Opportunities for Future Research

There were certain limitations of this research and related personal challenges that the researcher faced in conducting this study that may be of interest to others contemplating research in this field.

First, the small sample of research participants for the field research restricts the findings only to the sample interviewed. Findings are not generalized nor representative. Therefore one cannot estimate the magnitude of the problem. Second, the moral and ethical dilemma. To what extent were the responses from the research participants influenced by the contact persons (whether the sex workers or the counselors), whom the researcher relied on to gain access to this group? Linked to this, how does one then filter through truths, half- truths and untruths? Finally, what happens next?

Great care must be taken to ensure that in the data collection process "you do no harm". Therefore trust must be established between the researcher and the contact persons/ groups and clarity of expectations, research ethics and standards between both parties must be understood and agreed to. Trust must also be established between the researcher and the respondents who should feel secure in sharing their personal stories.

The researcher used a variety of cross-checking questions in the semi-structured interviews and in some cases had more than one 'conversation' with the respondent. Detailed explanation of the respondents' situation is required, and this information should be triangulated with other sources to confirm themes or trends. However, in some cases, very long, detailed off-topic explanations yielded very little data of value to the research. The researcher found that having a non- judgmental attitude, asking the right questions (often more than once), and being prepared to listen and cross unknown boundaries resulted in establishing a relationship with respondents who willingly shared their personal stories.

Considering the important findings that the research has generated on children trafficked into the sex trade in Fiji, it is recommended that a more in-depth and representative study on child trafficking is conducted. To be able to conduct trafficking

research with a larger sample would require a much longer timeframe, additional resources, a team of trained research assistants with the skills to draw out and manage information and also a range of data collection methods and sources.

Although the research focused on domestic child sex trafficking, the researcher did interview a young adult who had been 'groomed' by an adult and taken abroad as a child for sexual exploitation. The trafficking of children across international borders may be an emerging issue and should be researched. Additionally the study did not delve deeply into the psychological impacts of child neglect and violence against children, as a vulnerability putting children at risk of entering into the sex trade. Future research should examine this and explore the relationship between displacement of children and families and trafficking. Other important areas for future research would be focus on exploring the role of parents and families in child sex trafficking.

Finally, children in the sex trade have hopes and dreams of going back to school and getting a good job, as a teacher, nurse, accountant, doctor or lawyer. They are trapped in the sex trade by circumstances and not by choice. They suffer from violence and abuse. Combating child sex trafficking requires a holistic response to poverty, housing, family welfare, education, employment, law enforcement, rehabilitation services, public awareness and sensitivity, and so forth. Emphasis should be placed on preventing child sex trafficking and protecting those most vulnerable as the main means to ending this criminal industry. Attention to their plight is our responsibility. There is no need to wait!

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Definitions of Key Terms and Concepts

Action-oriented research: Research that leads to action (similar to applied research). Research is the first step of planning projects and putting them into practice. The research involves the people and institutions that will take action based on the results of the research.

Bonded labour: The relationship of debt slavery, where labour is pledged (mortgaged) against debt (same as debt bondage). A bonded labourer has to work until all debts have been paid off. Some forms of debt slavery keep labourers bonded for life or even for generations.

Child: Person less than 18 years of age

Child labour: Work undertaken by children under the legal minimum working ages. The law normally lays down various minimum ages for different types of work. (e.g. normal full-time work, light work, and hazardous or potentially harmful work). Child labour includes work that:

- is mentally, physically, socially, or morally dangerous and harmful to children;
- interferes with their schooling by depriving them of the opportunity to attend school, obliging them to leave school prematurely;
- or requires them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long hours and heavy work.

Whether or not particular forms of work can fairly be termed child labour depends on the child's age, the type of work performed, the time at which it is carried out, the conditions under which it is performed, and the national objectives pursued by individual countries.

Child domestic labour: Domestic work undertaken by children under the legal minimum working age, as well as by children above the legal minimum age but under

the age of eighteen, under slavery-like, hazardous, or other exploitative conditions – a form of "child labour to be eliminated" as defined in international treaties.

CSEC: Commercial sexual exploitation of children- is the exploitation by an adult with respect to a child or an adolescent – female or male – under 18 years old; accompanied by a payment in money or in kind to the child or adolescent (male or female) or to one or more third parties. Commercial sexual exploitation in children includes all of the following:

- The use of girls and boys in sexual activities remunerated in cash or in kind (commonly known as child prostitution) in the streets or indoors, in such places as brothels, discotheques, massage parlours, bars, hotels, restaurants, etc.
- The trafficking of girls and boys and adolescents for the sex trade.
- Child sex tourism.
- The production, promotion and distribution of pornography involving children.
- The use of children in sex shows (public or private.)

The Stockholm Declaration adopted at the World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (1996) defines the commercial sexual exploitation of children as "a form of coercion and violence against children (that) amounts to forced labour and a contemporary form of slavery," while the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (the Palermo Protocol) defines the term "exploitation" to include "the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs."

Focus group discussion: A method of information collection on a particular topic involving a carefully planned discussion among a small group led by a trained facilitator (or moderator). The members of a focus group usually share common characteristics, such as the same age and sex, or the same socio-economic background.

Informed consent: Agreement for voluntary participation of a participant in research, based on the individual fully understanding the goals, methods, benefits and risks of

the study. Informed consent is given on the understanding that the participant can change his or her mind about taking part in the research at any time.

Key informants: People who are believed to have in-depth knowledge and understanding of an issue.

Rapid assessment: A process of data collection that uses a variety of tools (observation, key informant interviews, group discussions and visual methods) to get a quick overview of a population or a research topic.

Snowball sampling: Selecting people by starting with one participant and asking for suggestions about, and introductions to, other people who might be interested in taking part in the research.

Stakeholders: People and organisations that have an interest or role ('stake') in an activity, event or organisation. Stakeholders can include clients, development agencies, donors, relatives, professionals, community leaders, agency administrators, volunteers, or child labourers.

Trafficking: The recruitment and/or transportation for labour exploitation by means of violence, threat, deception, or debt-bondage.

- **Child trafficking** (children under 18 years of age) is a combination or series of events that may take place in the child's home community, at transit points and at final destinations. The recruitment and movement may appear voluntary initially but then take on aspects of coercion by a third person or a group. The relocation may be across borders or within a country. Exploitation may occur at the beginning, middle or end of the trafficking process or indeed at several points. Those who contribute to it with the intent to exploit – recruiters, intermediaries, document providers, transporters, corrupt officials, service providers and employers – are traffickers, even when they take part only in a small fragment of the whole process.

- **Elements of child trafficking:**
    - A child - a person under the age of 18 years;
    - Recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt, whether by force or not, by a third person or group;
    - The third person or group organizes the recruitment and/or these other acts for exploitative purposes;
    - Movement may not be a constituent element for trafficking in so far as law enforcement and prosecution is concerned. However, an element of movement within a country or across borders is needed - even if minimal - in order to distinguish trafficking from other forms of slavery and slave-like practices enumerated in Art 3 (a) of ILO Convention 182, and ensure that trafficking victims separated from their families do get needed assistance;
    - Exploitation includes:

a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict (Convention 182, Art. 3(a));
b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances (Convention No. 182, Art. 3(b));
c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties (Convention No. 182, Art. 3(c));
d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children (Convention No. 182, Art. 3(d) and Convention No. 138, Art 3);
e) work done by children below the minimum age for admission to employment (Convention No. 138, Art. 2 & 7)

Threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud or deception, or the abuse of power or a position of vulnerability at any point of the recruitment and movement do not need to be present in case of children (other than with adults), but are nevertheless strong indications of child trafficking.

Worst forms of child labour: Forms of hazardous child labour that are most damaging for children and that must be the priority of interventions. They include child slavery, trafficking of children, sexual exploitation of children, children involved in drug trafficking and children working in harmful conditions and are defined in ILO Convention 182 and in ILO Recommendation 190.

Appendix 2: Research Consent Form

A. Good morning / afternoon / evening, my name is Marie Jane Fatiaki. I am carrying out a study on children in exploitation. Are you under 18 years of Age?

Yes (>B) No (>B) Don't know (>B) Refuse (>F)

B. Can I please interview you?

Yes (>E) No - not available (>C) No – refused (>F)

C. What would be a good time to come back to speak to you for about 30 minutes?

- Note the name of the respondent, address and a time to return and (> D)
- If the time mentioned is not possible for the interviewer, explain this and (>F)

D. Thank you for your time or Thank you. I will come back then to speak to you.

E. I want to assure you that all of your answers will be kept strictly confidential. I will not keep a record of your name or address. You have the right to stop the interview at any time, or to skip any questions that you don't want to answer. Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to choose not to participate, and you are free to discontinue at any time. This research may include topics of a personal nature. However, all your answers and personal data will be kept strictly confidential and will be used only for the purpose of this research. We encourage you to be as honest as possible - there is no right or wrong answers. We are simply seeking to gain an accurate picture of the situation and what you think and feel about it. You will have the opportunity, if you wish to obtain a copy of the results of the research in which you are taking part. If you have any questions regarding this research, you may contact me on phone: 679 3313866. (>G)

F. Would you be able to identify someone else who may be interviewed? Thank you for your time and for your help. Goodbye.

G. I have read and understood all the information above, and give my voluntary consent to participate in this research. I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time.

H. I consent/ do not consent to the use of a voice recorder during this interview.

I. I consent/ do not consent to having my case study published in the report. Note that no names will be used in publishing the case studies.

_____Signature

_____Date

J. To b*e completed by the Interviewer:*

I certify that I have read the above consent procedure to the Participant

Interviewer signature: _____

Language - Interview conducted in: _____

Note: if respondent is over 18 years but had started working/ earning before he/ she was 18 years old, interview him/ her. Also if worker believed to have been trafficked internationally- interview him/ her.

Appendix 3: Child Semi Structured Interview ID No: __

F1	**Name of Interviewer:**	
F2	**Area Location:**	
F3	**Respondent Number:**	
F4	**Location of Interview:**	
F5	**Date:** **Time Started:** **Time Ended:**	
F6	**Cross-Checked:**	
F7	**Date entered into SPSS:**	
	This section to be answered by all child respondents on general information and living conditions	
1.	Contact Details: (voluntary)	
2.	How old are you? …….years	
3.	Gender: *1. Male* *2. Female* *3. Transgender* 4. *Other, specify:*	
4.	Where are you originally from? 1. Village: 2. District: 3. Province: 4. Region: 5. Other, specify:	
5.	Where are your parents? 1. Both parents dead 2. Both parents live back in my original hometown/village 3. Both parents live with me 4. My father lives with me 5. My mother lives with me 6. Other, specify:	
6.	Who do you live with? 1. No one, I am on my own 2. With friends 3. With both parents 4. With one parent 5. With brothers/sisters 6. With relatives/ extended family 7. Other, specify:	

7.	Where do you live? 1. On the street 2. Renting in town area 3. Live in a settlement 4. Live in a compound 5. Live in a rural village 6. Live in an urban village 7. Other, specify:	
8.	How many people live with you?	
9.	How many people living with you are working? ***Note: work or working refers to any form of work to earn an income or to be paid in cash or in kind; whether formal, informal, subsistence farming, fishing, street vendors etc.***	
10.	Where do they work?	
11.	Where do you sleep every night?	
12.	Do you sleep at the same place every night? 1. Yes 2. No	
13.	If yes, how long have sleeping at this place?	
14.	Where else do you sleep and why?	
15.	Do you have to pay anything for where you sleep?	
16.	How often do you eat in a day? 1. Three times a day 2. Two times a day 3. Once a day 4. Other, specify:	
17.	What do you usually eat? i.e. your normal daily meal	
18.	Have you been without food any days last week and if so why?	
	This section to be answered only by child respondent who do not live with their biological parents	
19.	Why did you leave your original home to come here?	
20.	Who did you come here with? *1. Parents* *2. Relatives* *3. Friends* *4. On your own* 5. Other, specify:	
21.	Did your parents know that you were leaving? *1. Yes* *2. No* *3. Parents are dead*	

22.	Did someone arrange for you to come here? 1. Yes 2. No 3. Not sure	
23.	Who arranged for you to come here?	
24.	Did you or your **parents/ friends/ family back home** have to pay them anything? (cross not applicable) 1. Yes 2. No 3. Not sure	
25.	How did you travel from your original home to where you are now living?	
26.	Describe the route you took?	
27.	When was the last time you visited your parents? *1. Last week* *2. Last month* *3. 3 – 6 months ago* *4. 6 months – 1 year ago* *5. More than 1 year* *6. Parents are dead* *7. I don't visit them* ***If 7 proceed to the next question.*** ***If 1 – 6 proceed to question 28.***	
28.	Why haven't you visited them?	
29.	How long ago did you leave your original home? *1. Days _____* *2. Months_____* *3. Years_____* *4. I don't remember*	
30.	How long have you been living in this **town/ city/ village**? (cross not applicable) *1. 1 – 3 months* *2. 3 – 6 months* *3. 1 – 2 years* *4. More: Specify*	
31.	Have you lived in other towns/cities/ other villages before moving here? *1. Yes* *2. No* ***For each town/ city/ village stayed before arriving here, please provide details:*** ***Month/ Year*** ***Name of town*** ***Reasons for moving there*** ***Duration/ Length of stay*** ***Person involved in organizing the movement*** ***Main mode of travel***	

32.	If given the chance, would you go back home? 1. Yes 2. No ***Why or why not?***	
This section to be answered by all child respondents (5-17years old) on working conditions		
33.	Do you do any form of work where you earn an income or get paid in some other form or way? 1. Yes 2. No ***If 1, proceed to next question*** ***If 2, proceed to question***	
34.	When did you start doing this type of work? *1. Days _____ago* *2. Months_____ ago* *3. Years_____ ago* *4. I don't remember*	
35.	How did you find this work? *1. By myself* *2. Other people asked me to work for them* *3. Through friends* *4. Through parents* *5. Through relatives* *6. Others - specify:*	
36.	Describe the work that you do?	
37.	How old were you when you started doing this work? *1. 6 – 8 years old* *2. 9 – 11 years old* *3. 12 – 14 years old* *4. 15 – 17 years old* *5. Below 6 years old (specify)* *6. Other, specify:*	
38.	How many days a week do you work?	
39.	How many hours a day do you spend doing this work? Time Start:_____ Time End:_____	
40.	Do you move out of your town or village boundary or area as part of the work that you do? *1. Yes* *2. No* If so, please explain:	

41.	How are you paid? 1. Cash 2. In Kind, explain: 3. Other, specify:	
42.	How much do you earn or what do you earn a day? Week?	
43.	What do you do with your earnings?	
44.	Do you spend your earnings on yourself, others? Explain.	
45.	Do you enjoy the work that you do? 1. Yes 2. No ***Why or why not?***	
46.	Who do you work for? *1. Self-employed* *2. Employer* *3. Family* *4. Relatives* *5. Friends* *6. Others, specify:*	
47.	Do you work on your own? *1. Yes, I work on my own* *2. No, I work with my family* *3. No, I work with relatives* *4. No , I work with other children* *5. No, I work with others: Specify*	
48.	Are you doing any other kind of work? 1. Yes 2. No *If yes, what other kind of work are you doing? List all responses*	
49.	How many hours do you spend doing this other work? Start : _____ End: _____	
50.	Do you feel safe at work? 1. Yes 2. No *Explain answer:*	
51.	Have you ever been sick or injured as a result of your work? 1. Yes 2. No *If yes, what type of sickness or injury was it and how did it happen?*	
52.	Are you still sick or injured? 1. Yes 2. No	

53.	During the time you were sick/ injured; did anyone take care of you? 1. Yes 2. No	
54.	Did you seek medical help? 1. Yes 2. No ***If 1, proceed to the next question.*** ***If 2, proceed to question 56***	
55.	Who did you seek this medical help from? *1. Doctor* *2. Traditional Healer* *3. Family* *4. Relatives* *5. Friends* 6. *Other (specify):*	
56.	Why didn't you seek medical help? *1. Lack of money* *2. No medical centre nearby* *3. Sickness or injury not serious* *4. Other, specify:*	
57.	Did this affect your work? 1. Yes 2. No If yes, in what way:	
58.	How old were you when you first started working to earn an income?	
59.	Who put you to work the first time? *1. Parents* *2. Relatives* *3. Friends* *4. Self* 5. *Others*	
60.	Why did you have to start work? *(Can select more than 1 response)* *1. Family needed more income* *2. I was sold* *3. Parents had a debt* *4. I had run away from home* *5. To send money back home* *6. To pay for my school fees* *7. To pay for my board* *8. Others (specify):*	
61.	If you work on the streets or brothels, how do you survive on the streets/ in brothels? List all responses.	
62.	Have you ever felt unsafe in your line of work? 1. Yes 2. No **Why or why not?**	
63.	What do you enjoy most about the work that you do?	

64.	What was your worst moment at work?	
	This section to be answered by all child respondents (5-17years old) on education	
65.	Do you know how to read? 1. Yes 2. No ***(Please ask him/her to read this questionnaire to verify whether he/she is able to read)***	
66.	Do you know how to write? 1. Yes 2. No ***(Please ask him/ her to write something here)***	
67.	Have you ever been to school? 1. Yes 2. No 3. Informal only 4. Never. ***If response is 1,2,or3, go to the next question*** ***If response is 4 go to question 73***	
68.	Are you still in school? *1. Yes* *2. No* ***If response is 1, go to question 70*** ***If response is 2, go to next question (66)***	
69.	What is the highest class you have reached?	
70.	Why did you stop going to school?	
71.	Did you have to stop school in order to work? *1. Yes* *2. No*	
72.	Given the chance would you like to go back to school? Why? **Proceed to question 77**	
73.	What class are you in?	
74.	Have you ever been absent from school? 1. Yes 2. No ***If 1, proceed to next question.*** ***If 2 proceed to question 77***	
75.	How many days would you be absent from school in a term? A week? Why? ***Proceed to question 77***	

76.	Why have you never been to school? ***Proceed to question 77***	
	This section to be answered by all child respondents (5-17years old)	
77.	What are your hopes and dreams?	
78.	Have you ever come into contact with the law? 1. Yes 2. No *If yes, what was the reason for the contact? What happened as a result of the contact?*	
79.	Do you know of any support services available to you? 1. Yes 2. No If yes, have they assisted you? How?	
80.	Is there anything you would like to add?	

Appendix 4: Exploiter Interview ID No: _____

This research study is to obtain information on child trafficking. Thank you for agreeing to answer the questions. The information that you provide will be kept confidential and will be used in ways that will respect confidentiality.

	This questionnaire to be answered by people who 'coordinate' or organize the work e.g. pimps, scrap metal gang leaders etc.	
1.	How old are you? …….years	
2.	Gender: 1. *Male* 2. *Female* 3. *Transgender* 4. *Other, specify:*	
3.	Marital status: 1. *Single* 2. *Married* 3. *Divorced* 4. *Separated* 5. *Widowed* 6. *De- facto relationship* 7. *Other, specify:*	
4.	Where do you normally stay/ reside? *i.e. town or city or district*	
5.	Have you always lived in this place of residence? 1. *Yes* 2. *No* 3. *Other, specify:*	
6.	Do you have persons below 18 years old working for you? 1. *Yes* 2. *No* 3. *Other, specify:*	
7.	How many persons below the age of 18 years work for you? Please specify age groups and gender according to kind of work noted below: 1. *Scrap metal collection* 2. *Begging* 3. *Street vending (selling of products on the street)* 4. *Prostitution* 5. *Pornographic performances* 6. *Sex shows* 7. *Domestic work* 8. *Farming, specify:* 9. *Other, specify:*	

8.	How many hours a day and days a week do they work for you? What / how do you pay each person below 18 years who works for you?	
9.	Where do they come from? *Settlement:* *Town:* *City:* *District:*	
10.	How did they come to work for you? Who identified them for you?	
11.	Did you organize the work for them? *Please explain your answer:* 1. *Yes* 2. *No* 3. *Other, specify:*	
12.	Do you have any contact with their parents? *Please explain your answer:* 1. *Yes* 2. *No* 3. *Other, specify:*	
13.	How much profit do you make from employing each person below 18 years? *(please specify profit per week or month for each person)*	
14.	How do you select where the person/ child works? The clients?	
15.	How do you normally contact your child workers? *Through….* 1. *Landline phone* 2. *Mobile phone* 3. *Facebook* 4. *Email* 5. *Pass the message through child's friend/ peer contact* 6. *Pass the message through child's family contact* 7. *Other, specify:*	
16.	Does the work that they do involve movement out of town? 1. *Yes* 2. *No* 3. *Other, specify:*	
17.	Why does the work require them to move?	
18.	How often do they move in a week?	
19.	How long do they stay out of town?	
20.	Where do they stay?	

21.	What is their main means of travelling out of town? 1. *Public bus* 2. *Mini- van* 3. *Taxi* 4. *Boat* 5. *Airplane* 6. *Private car* 7. *Other, specify:*	
22.	Who pays for their travel?	
23.	Do they get permission from their parents when going out of town for work? 1. *Yes* 2. *No* 3. *Not sure*	
24.	What are the main routes of travel?	
25.	Do they face any trouble when they travel out of town for work? 1. *Yes* 2. *No* 3. *Not sure* 4. *Other, specify:*	
26.	Do you know any other people who employ children? what type of work do most of this children do?	
27.	Are there special risks or dangers faced by children below 18 years old? Can you describe some incidences that you are aware of where these workers were harmed or put in danger?	
28.	Do children who work in these industries/ sectors come from a certain area/ location/ type of community?	
29.	How did you get involved in this type of activity in the first place?	
30.	Is there anything else you would like to add?	

Appendix 5: Client Interview ID No: _____

This research study is to obtain information on child trafficking. Thank you for agreeing to answer the questions. The information that you provide will be kept confidential and will be used in ways that will respect confidentiality.

	This questionnaire is to be answered by all CLIENTS OF CHILDREN IN THE SEX TRADE- BELOW 18 YEARS OLD	
1.	How old are you? …….years	
2.	Gender: 1. *Male* 2. *Female* 3. *Transgender* 4. *Other, specify:*	
3.	Marital status: 1. *Single* 2. *Married* 3. *Divorced* 4. *Separated* 5. *Widowed* 6. *De- facto relationship* 7. *Other, specify:*	
4.	Where do you normally reside? (dwelling place/ home) *Town:* *City:* *District:*	
5.	Have you always lived in this place of residence? 1. *Yes* 2. *No* 3. *Other, specify:*	
6.	Do you pay persons below 18 years old for sexual services? 1. *Yes* 2. *No* 3. *Other, specify:*	
7.	What kind of work do they do for you? 1. *Sexual intercourse* 2. *Pornographic performances* 3. *Sex shows* 4. *Other, specify:*	
8.	How many persons below 18 years old in total have you paid for this type of service? *Can you please give a breakdown of age (if possible) and gender*	

9.	On average, how many hours a day or days a week do you engage this group (sex workers below 18 years) in this type of work? ----------hours a day ----------days a week	
10.	Where do these sex workers below 18 years old mostly come from? *Settlement:* *Town:* *City:* *District:*	
11.	How did they come to work for you? Who identified them for you?	
12.	Do you have any contact with their parents? Relatives? Friends? 1. *Yes* 2. *No* 3. *Other, specify:*	
13.	What / how much do you pay each sex worker below 18 years old who works for you?	
14.	How do you select the sex workers below 18 years old to work for you? 1. *Select from a line up on the street* 2. *Select from nightclub* 3. *Internet/ on-line service (specify_____)* 4. *Select at brothel* 5. *Contact pimp* 6. *Contact parent of the child* 7. *Contact relative of the child* 8. *Contact friend of the child* 9. *Other, specify:*	
15.	How do you normally contact the sex workers below 18 years old? *Through….* 1. *Landline phone* 2. *Mobile phone* 3. *Facebook* 4. *Email* 5. *Pass the message through child's friend/ peer contact* 6. *Pass the message through child's family contact* 7. *Other, specify:*	
16.	Does the work that they do for you involve movement out of town? 1. *Yes* 2. *No* 3. *Other, specify:*	

17.	Why does the work require them to move out of town?	
18.	How long do they stay out of town?	
19.	Where do they stay when out of town?	
20.	What is their main means of travelling? 1. *Public bus* 2. *Mini- van* 3. *Taxi* 4. *Boat* 5. *Airplane* 6. *Private car* 7. *Other, specify:*	
21.	Who pays for their travel?	
22.	Do they get permission from their parents when going out of town for work? 1. *Yes* 2. *No* 3. *Not sure*	
23.	What are their main routes of travel?	
24.	Do they face any trouble when they travel out of town for work? If yes, can you explain? 1. *Yes* 2. *No* 3. *Not sure* 4. *Other, specify:*	
25.	Are there special risks or dangers faced by sex workers below 18 years old? Can you describe some incidences that you are aware of where these workers were harmed or put in danger?	
26.	What are your reasons for selecting this group of sex workers (below 18 years old)?	
27.	Is there anything that can be done to prevent persons below 18 years old from being involved in sex work?	
28.	Do you know any other people who use sex workers below 18 years old for this type of service?	
29.	Do you know whether sex workers below 18 years old come from a certain area/ location/ type of community?	
30.	Is there anything else you would like to add?	

Appendix 6: Questions for Service Providers & Key Informants

This research is to obtain information on child trafficking. Thank you for agreeing to answer the questions. The information that you provide will be kept confidential and will be used in ways that will respect confidentiality.

Name of Respondent: _____

Position: _____

Name of Organisation/ Department: _____

Brief Description of Organisation/ Department Role:

_____

_____

_____

Phone: _____ Email:_____ Fax:

_____

Date: _____ Time: _____

1. What does human trafficking & child trafficking mean to you or your organisation?

   _____

   _____

2. Does your organisation or department directly work with human trafficking/ child trafficking in Fiji?

a. Yes

b. No

c. Not sure

d. Other, specify:

3. Services or programmes provided by your department to address child trafficking?

   (whether directly or indirectly)

   _____

   _____

4. GENERAL QUESTIONS RELATED TO CHILD TRAFFICKING

a. What types of child trafficking cases have you worked with?

   _____

   _____

   _____

b. Are you aware of child trafficking cases that exist in Fiji? Can you please describe?

   _____

   _____

c. What are the push and pull factors? What are risks and vulnerability factors in Fiji that allow trafficking and the exploitation of children to happen?

   _____

   _____

d. Are children being exploited in specific sectors or industries? List these:

   _____

   _____

*e. Are children moving **from** certain areas in the country **to** other areas? What would these areas be?*

   i. Areas children are moving from:

   ii. Areas children are moving to:

f. Can you describe the trends or characteristic features of child trafficking?

   _____

   _____

g. Who are the people involved and what role do they play?

   _____

   _____

h. *What are the main routes, direction, flow or pattern of movement of children?*

_____

_____

i. *What is the relationship between human trafficking, child trafficking and urbanization?*

_____

_____

j. *What can be done to address the issue of child trafficking?*

_____

_____

5. QUESTIONS FOR AGENCIES THAT PROVIDE SERVICES FOR VICTIMS

a. *How many child or human trafficking cases has your organisation or department:*

- **Identified-** legally identified as a trafficking victim by the authorities _____
- **Detected/ flagged-** presumed to be a trafficking victim but status still under investigation/ review _____
- **Assisted-** assisted through rehabilitation, reintegration etc. _____

b. *Total number of cases handled:*

Year	Number domestic	Number international	Number male	Number female	General Remarks
Child trafficking cases (below 18 years)					
Cases involving persons 18 years and above					

c. *How does your department identify child trafficking or human trafficking cases?*

_____

_____

d. *Please describe the steps taken when a case is detected?*

_____

_____

e. *How are the victims supported/ assisted through your programmes?*

_____

_____

f. *How long have the victims stayed in your care?*

_____

_____

g. *How many have successfully complete the programme, or have not completed the programme at all? Please explain with reasons.*

_____

_____

h. *What are the strengths and challenges of your programme?*

_____

_____

i. *How does your organisation or department plan to improve this service?*

_____

_____

Thank you for your time.

Appendix 7: Sample Focus Group Discussion Questions/ Unstructured Interviews

1. What do you understand by the phrase child trafficking? (where it came from; what does it refer to; is it legal)?
2. Do you know of any children who have been trafficked? (In your community, school, town etc.) Discuss the situations and case studies of child trafficking- who are involved, why, what is the family situation of these children, are they in school, are they moved, who recruited them, what forms of exploitation, impacts, dangers, injuries, contact with the law.
3. Should anything be done for these children? What should be done?
4. What do you think is your role in preventing trafficking?
5. What role do you think the government should play?
6. Are there any agencies you know who can assist? What do they do?

Appendix 8 (a): list of semi-structured interviews of children

ID Number	Location	Date interviewed	Age
001	Suva	06/02/2013	18
002	Nadi	13/03/2013	16
003	Nadi	13/03/2013	17
004	Nadi	14/03/2013	16
005	Nadi	14/03/2013	16
006	Labasa	20/03/2013	16
007	Labasa	20/03/2013	18
15_1	Suva	13/08/2015	16
15_2	Suva	14/08/2015	16
15_3	Suva	17/08/2015	16
15_4	Suva	18/08/2015	16
15_5	Suva	19/08/2015	16
15_6	Suva	19/08/2015	10
15_7	Suva	19/08/2015	15
15_8	Suva	19/08/2015	16
15_9	Suva	10/09/2015	17
15_10	Suva	10/09/2015	16
15_11	Suva	10/09/2015	16
15_12	Suva	10/09/2015	14
15_13	Suva	10/09/2015	17
15_14	Suva	11/09/2015	16
15_15	Suva	11/09/2015	13
15_16	Suva	15/09/2015	16
15_17	Suva	17/09/2015	17
15_18	Suva	17/09/2015	17
15_19	Sigatoka	21/09/2015	17
15_20	Lautoka	23/09/2015	17
15_21	Lautoka	24/09/2015	15
15_22	Lautoka	25/09/2015	16
15_23	Nadi	27/09/2015	17

Appendix 8 (B): List of Semi-Structured Interviews of Client-Exploiters

ID Number	Location	Category	Date Interviewed
CE_1	Labasa	Pimp	18/03/2013
CE_2	Sigatoka	Pimp	25/03/2013
CE_3	Savusavu	Pimp	21/03/2013
CE_4	Labasa	Pimp	19/03/2013
CE_5	Labasa	Client	19/03/2013
CE_6	Labasa	Client	20/03/2013
CE_7	Suva	Client	27/03/2013
CE_8	Labasa	Taxi driver	21/03/2013
CE_9	Labasa	Taxi driver	21/03/2013
CE_10	Nadi	Pimp	25/03/2013
CE_11	Nadi	Pimp	26/03/2013
CE_12	Nadi	Pimp	26/03/2013
CE_13	Suva	Pimp	27/03/13

Appendix 8 (C): List of Focus Group Discussions

Focus group	Location	Date	Participants	Total participants
Group 1	Suva	17/06/2013	4 pimps 4 adult sex workers 2 children in the sex trade	10
Group 2	Nausori	19/06/2013	5 adult sex workers	5
Group 3	Nadi	24/06/2013	6 adult sex workers 1 child in the sex trade	7
Group 4	Sigatoka	26/06/2013	5 children in the sex trade	5

Appendix 9: list of key informants/ consultations

Research Group	Key Informants Interviewed
Group 1: 'Formal' Key Informants and Service Providers	Police: - Director Juvenile Bureau; Director Legal Prosecution; - Commanding Officer - Human Trafficking Unit; Commanding Officer Sigatoka; Crimes Officer Sigatoka Social Welfare Department: - Director Child Services; - Social Welfare Officer (SWO) Child Protection; SWO Sigatoka; SWO Lautoka; SWO Labasa Immigration: - Director Immigration; - Immigration Officer Suva Labour: - Manager Child Labour Unit; - Labour Inspector Sigatoka; Labour Officer Labasa; Labour Officer Savusavu NGO/CSO: - Save the Children Fiji Child Rights Officer Suva and Labasa; - PCN Project Officer on Child Labour and Consultant; - Homes of Hope
Group 2: 'Informal' Key Informants	Ports Authority Stevedore Suva, Journalist Taxi Driver, Farmer, 'Street adults, Adult sex workers Pimps, Mother pimping own children, Children in sex trade
List of agencies who participated at the presentation of the research design and findings	Ministry of Employment, Productivity and Industrial Relations Ministry of Education Department of Social Welfare Fiji Police Force Immigration Department Fiji Trades Union Congress Fiji Employers Federation Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics Save the Children Fiji People's Community Network Homes of Hope Foundation of the People of the Pacific International Empower Pacific (Labasa); Salvation Army (Labasa); Red Cross (Labasa); Provincial Office (Labasa); Town Council (Labasa)

Appendix 10: Additional Tables

(a) Household characteristics

How many people live with you?	How many people living with you are working?					
	0	1	2	3	5	Other
1	0	1	0	0	0	0
2	1	1	2	0	0	0
3	1	0	1	0	0	0
4	0	2	0	0	0	0
5	0	2	2	1	1	0
6	0	1	1	1	0	0
7	0	0	0	1	0	0
8	0	1	1	2	0	1
More than 10	0	1	1	1	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	3

(b) Hours (start time) by education by who children live with

Are you still in school?	Start time	Who do you live with?					Total
		With both parents	With one parent only	With relatives/ extended family	With friends	Others	
Yes	3pm	1	0	0	0	0	1
	4pm	1	0	0	0	0	1
	6pm	0	0	1	0	0	1
	9pm	0	1	0	0	0	1
No	6am	0	0	0	1	0	1
	7am	0	0	1	0	0	1
	9am	1	0	1	0	0	2
	6pm	0	1	0	1	0	2
	7pm	0	0	0	1	2	3
	8pm	1	0	0	2	0	3
	9pm	1	1	0	0	0	2
	10pm	0	1	0	2	0	3
Never been to school	9pm	0	1	0	0	0	1

(c) Hours (stop time) by education status by who children live with

Are you still in school?	Stop time	Who do you live with?					Total
		With both parents	With one parent only	With relatives/ extended family	With friends	Others	
Yes	8am	0	1	0			1
	6pm	1	0	0			1
	10pm	0	0	1			1
	3am	1	0	0			1
No	6am	0	0	1	0	0	1
	1pm	0	1	0	0	0	1
	9pm	0	0	1	0	0	1
	12 midnight	1	0	0	0	2	3
	1am	1	0	0	1	0	2
	2am	0	0	0	2	0	2
	3am	1	1	0	0	0	2
	4am	0	1	0	2	0	3
	5am	0	0	0	2	0	2
Never been to school	4am		1				1

(d) Client-exploiters categories and marital status

Exploiter categories	Marital status			
	Single	Married	Divorced/ Separated	Other
Pimp	4	1	1	2
Taxi Driver	0	2	0	0
Client	0	3	0	0
Total	**4**	**6**	**1**	**2**

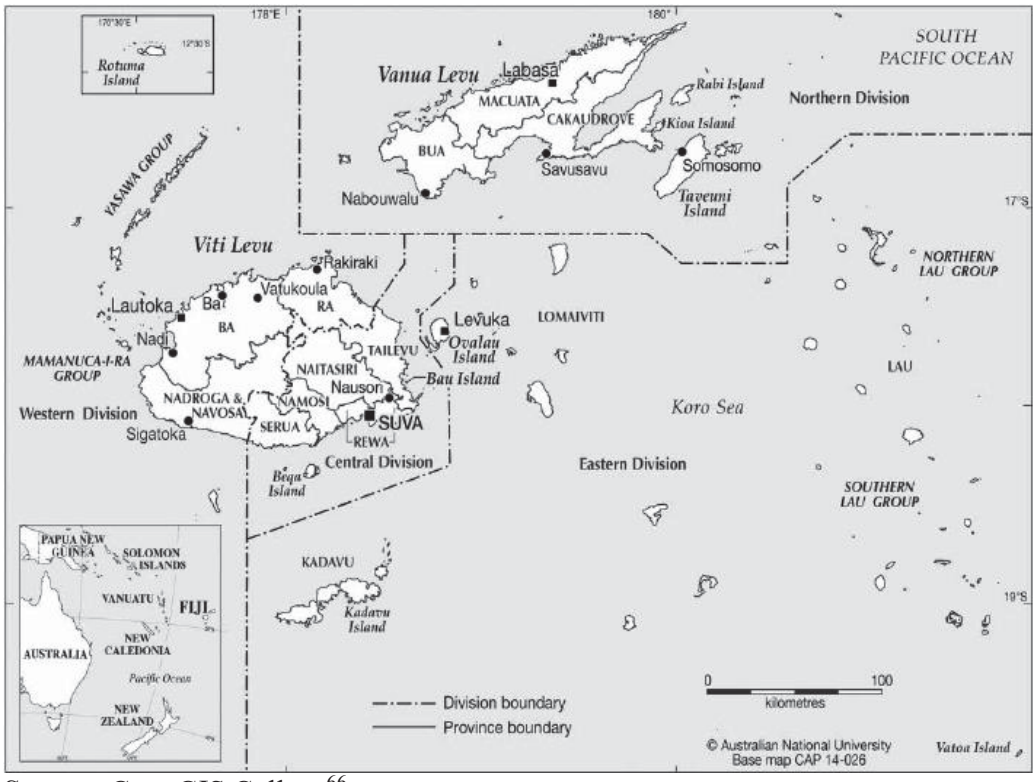
Appendix 11: Analysis of Victim-Centered Data

Section 1: Case registration	
a) Code/ number for each victim	
b) Registering agency- *agency where case was received or anyone coming into contact with the victim in an official capacity. NGOs, Police, DPP, Immigration, Social Welfare, MOL*	
c) Date when case is registered	
d) Source of information- *person who provided the information about the case apart from the registering agency. Information about the victim may have been collected from multiple sources- family member, friend, NGOs, client, individual, hospital, DPP etc.*	
e) Trafficking status- ○ *Detected/ flagged- presumed to be a trafficking victim* ○ *Identified- identified as a trafficking victim by the authorities- investigated case* ○ *Assisted- detected, identified and assisted through rehabilitation, reintegration etc.*	
Section 2: Victims Background	
a) Gender	
b) Date of birth/ age at registration/ identification and age at time of trafficking	
c) Citizenship- *country where the victim holds citizenship*	
d) Country of residence- *country where victim normally resides*	
e) Area/ region of origin- *where the victim was living at time of recruitment. This may or may not be the same as the area/ region where the victim was born.*	
f) Demographic setting – *examines type of city, town, village or settlement child was living in at recruitment and whether it was a rural, urban or semi-urban setting*	
g) Marital status when trafficked- *married, unmarried, living with boyfriend, separated/ divorced*	
h) Marital status when identified or flagged	
i) Household status before trafficking- *whether child was staying with parents, extended family*	
j) Contributors to household income before trafficking	
k) Number of children when trafficked- *if the victim was knowingly pregnant at that time, 'unborn' child should also be counted*	

l) **Education level-** *formal schooling, TVET school/ college, tertiary, university, other*	
m) **Activity before recruitment-** *school, unemployed, school drop-out, unpaid work, paid work, none, other*	
n) **Motivation for leaving home-** *what offer was made? How they came to leave? What ambitions they had in leaving? Job opportunity, study opportunity, wanted adventure, economic need, marriage, family problems/ conflict, escape violence, family reasons, adoption, visit friend, visit extended family*	
Section 3: Recruitment Experience	
a) **Age at recruitment/date of recruitment-** *age when the initial offer (of migration/ work/ marriage etc.) was made or the date when the individual was forcibly taken (kidnapped) and/or answered a job advertisement, contacted job agency*	
b) **Country of recruitment-** *may be the victim's country of residence and/or country of citizenship, or the victim may have been recruited either while in the process of migration or in the destination country.*	
c) **Means of recruitment/entry into trafficking-** *means by which the victim was initially contacted and recruited- via personal contact (known person); via personal contact (unknown person); via advertisement (television, radio, billboard, Internet); via agency (travel agency, employment agency, marriage broker); abduction/force; other; unknown.*	
d) **Victim's relationship to recruiter-** *focuses on the recruiter himself/herself and the pre-existing relationship, if any, to the trafficked person: family member; close friend; acquaintance; stranger; other; unknown.*	
e) **Gender of recruiter-** *male, female, transgender*	
f) **Recruiter's citizenship**	
g) **Recruiter's country of residence**	
h) **Proposed destination country or destination area at recruitment**	
Section 4: Transportation and travel routes	
a) **Means of transportation-** *private car; taxi; commercial plane; private plane; train; charter/private bus; public bus; on foot; boat; other; unknown*	
b) **Route-** Countries/ towns/ villages/ settlements and locations where the victim may have stayed/ passed through	
c) **Use of documents-** *whether the victim used legal or false/falsified documents during travel/ transportation.*	
d) **Attendance of traffickers during travel/transportation-** *Travelled alone, accompanied by other victims, accompanied by traffickers/facilitators, other, unknown.*	
Section 5: Exploitation experience	
a) **Forms of trafficking/ exploitation-** *hazardous work, sexual exploitation, forced labour, removal of organs, adoption, begging, delinquency, criminal activity, forced marriage, forced military service, slavery and servitude, other.*	
b) **Site of trafficking/ exploitation-** *Night club, bar, Massage parlour, Brothel, Apartment, private house, Street, Construction site etc.*	

c) Present activity at time of detection/ "flagging" or identification- *victim's activity at the time of detection and/ or identification.*	
d) Forms of control while trafficked- *Direct threat, indirect threat (e.g. to family), use of violence (sexual and/or physical), forced/kidnapped; control of or limited movement, corporal offence, withholding documents, debt incurred, withholding food, non-access to medical assistance, other, unknown.*	
e) Date when exploitation began- *when s/he was first exploited – whether sexually (which would also include being raped and/or forced to provide sexual services to the recruiter or transporter), for labour, for begging, etc. In some cases, this will have occurred prior to the victim's departure/travel; in other cases in transit and/or during the transportation phase; or at destination.*	
Section 6: Identification, assistance and co-operation with officials and authorities	
a) Date exited trafficking/ exploitation- *when the victim's trafficking/exploitation ended.*	
b) Means of exit from trafficking/ exploitation- *means by which trafficking came to an end – for example, when an anti-trafficking actor intervened; when a victim exited or escaped; released by trafficker; escaped on own; escaped with help of third party (e.g. family member, friend, acquaintance, client, stranger, boyfriend/girlfriend); intervention of law enforcement agencies; through a helpline, intervention of social worker (from GO, NGO, IO); intervention of outreach workers (from NGO, IO, GO) etc.*	
c) Location where victim was detected/"flagged" or identified- *Private residence, public space, hotel/lodging, restaurant/food and beverage establishment, dance hall, on the street, other (please specify), unknown.*	
d) Assistance received	
e) Type of assistance- *any type of assistance provided to the victim; the type of services provided such as shelter/accommodation, medical care, psychological assistance, legal assistance etc.*	
f) Transfer to other service providers- *when a victim was transferred to another service provider for assistance/intervention – from NGOs, IOs or GOs.*	
Section 7: Other	
a) **Comments on the case-** *additional details, clarification or comment about the case.*	
b) **Date of last editing- last date when edits were made to this case –** in day, month and year.	
Comments from researcher reviewing case files. Additional questions asked? Clarification sought?	
Details- date, time start, time finished, place reviewed, name of researcher	

Appendix 12: Map of Fiji: Towns and Cities, Divisional and Provincial Boundaries



Source: CartoGIS College[66]

[66] https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Map-of-Fiji-s-provincial-and-divisional-boundaries-prepared-by-CartoGIS-College_fig3_273525703; accessed 12/11/2017