Sold for Sex because of War:

 Trafficking of women and girls for the purpose of Sexual Exploitation during conflict and in post-conflict context in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sierra Leone

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This thesis is submitted for obtaining the Joint Master’s Degree in International Humanitarian Action. By submitting the thesis, the author certifies that the text is from his own hand, does not include the work of someone else unless clearly indicated, and that the thesis has been produced in accordance with proper academic practices.
Abstract: Sold or Sex because of War: Trafficking of women and girls for the purpose of Sexual Exploitation during conflict and in post-conflict context in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sierra Leone

The trade in human beings, or Trafficking in Persons (TiP) is global and affecting every country. In the last years, increasing attention has been paid to TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This led to a growing need to tackle this phenomenon. Only recently, the relationship between TiP and armed conflict has been acknowledged but remains understudied. Cameron and Newman (2008) have outlined a framework in which structural factors linked to proximate factors could have explanatory value on the relationship between armed conflict and TiP. This thesis analyzes two cases of armed conflict, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sierra Leone, attempting to explain the increase in TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation by applying this theoretical framework. In this qualitative research a comparative method is used in applying the framework to two case studies, aiming to identify the explanatory value of Cameron and Newman’s (2008) framework. It is found that the general explanatory value of the framework is high and the proximate factors can be classified as: a fully explanatory proximate factor, case dependent proximate factors, and conflict-phase proximate factors. In addition, this thesis is identifying some elements that could influence TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation during conflict and post-conflict that could be of added value to this framework, namely: the implementation of government strategies, corruption of non-government officials, economic deterioration as a consequence of migration, and involvement of peacekeepers and members of the international community in TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation.
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List of Abbreviations

AFRC Armed Forced Revolutionary Council
APC All People’s Congress
BiH Bosnia and Herzegovina
CEDAW Declaration in the Elimination of Violence Against Women
DPA Dayton Peace Accords
EC European Commission
ECOMOG ECOWAS ceasefire Monitoring Group
ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States
HDZ Croat Democratic Union
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs Non-Governmental Organizations
NPFL National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPRC National Provisional Ruling Council
ICTY International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
IDPs Internally Displaces Persons
IFOR Implementation Force
INGOs International Non-Governmental Organizations
IOs International Organizations
IOM International Organization for Migration
IPTF International Police Task Force
IR International Relations
RUF Revolutionary United Front
SDA Party of Democratic Action
SDS Serb Democratic Party
SFOR Stabilization Force
SGBV Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SLPP Sierra Leone Peoples’ Party
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<tr>
<td>TiP</td>
<td>Trafficking in Persons</td>
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<td>UCDP</td>
<td>Uppsala Conflict Database Programme</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNAMSIL</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone</td>
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<td>UNOMSIL</td>
<td>United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>UNDPKO</td>
<td>United Nations Department of Peace-Keeping Operations</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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<td>UNMIBH</td>
<td>United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
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<td>UNOCHA</td>
<td>United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs</td>
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<td>UNODC</td>
<td>United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime</td>
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<td>UNPROFOR</td>
<td>United Nations Protection Force</td>
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<td>United Nations Security Council</td>
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<td>UNWomen</td>
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Preface

During my NOHA internship, which I ran at UNODCs Regional Office for Southern Africa, I got hooked on the topic of Trafficking in Persons and decided to write my thesis about it. Although, the topic made it challenging at times, I am grateful I was able to write my thesis about a topic dear to my heart.

More practically, I would not have written the thesis without my employer, the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Pretoria, for providing me with electricity, internet and coffee in times of load-shedding. I am also grateful for the guidance in the thesis writing process of my supervisor, Manuel Salamanca, and the NOHA Director, Lars Löfqvist.

Furthermore, I would like to thank Patrik Engström, my internship supervisor, who introduced me to this topic and gave me confidence in my work. Tineke Mulder for her insights, realistic, sensitive support and countless offers to work from your home.

Naturally I have to thank E. for his countless pieces of advice, that I have learned to trust almost blindly. Your support, encouragement and your humor has cheered me up and pulled me through. You are an amazing person. Also my parents and their partners need to be thanked for their patience, love, support and believing in me.

Finally, I am grateful for all those people who kept asking me when I would finally finish my thesis and graduate. It was annoying at the time, but it definitely worked.
Sold for Sex because of War:

Trafficking of women and girls for the purpose of Sexual Exploitation during conflict and in post-conflict context in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sierra Leone

1. Introduction

The trade in human beings, or Trafficking in Persons (TiP), is a global phenomenon and affecting every country worldwide albeit differently. Countries can be divided in countries of origin, transit, destination or a combination of the three.1 The estimates of people being trafficked vary between 4 and 27 million.2 Furthermore, the United Nations (UN) estimates that the total market value of TiP is 32 billion US Dollars,3 which makes it the most lucrative criminal activity after illicit drugs and arms trade.4 Expected is that half of the victims of TiP are children and two-thirds are women and girls.5

Although the terminology, ‘Trafficking in Persons’ or ‘human trafficking’, is new, the actual trade in human beings is nothing new. Decades ago it was called ‘slavery’ and recently the illicit trade in human beings was re-labelled as TiP.6 Simultaneously with the change in name, the topic of TiP has increasingly received attention in media and in the national and international political arena.7 Special attention has been paid to TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation or sex trafficking because of

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4 Ibid.
7 Marie Segrave, Sanja Mihajlovic, and Sharon Pickering, Sex trafficking (Devon: Willan publishing, 2009), 1; Lee, Human Trafficking, 1.
its relation to issues of gender, immigration and prostitution. Additionally, the
discussion around TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation has been influenced by
issues of morality and ethics. As a consequence of this increasing attention as well as
the extent TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation was reported about, the need to
tackle this phenomenon grew.

This need has been reflected in the academic institutions, International
Organizations (IOs), and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) which produced a
vast volume of academic research, policy documents and reports in various disciplines
such as criminology, (international) politics, law and human rights on TiP- focusing on
counter-trafficking mechanisms. The broader social, economic and political context in
which TiP takes place is often neglected in research, which has led to studies with
descriptive, rather than explanatory.

The relationship between TiP and armed conflict has recently been
acknowledged. Some scholars even state that the two are inextricably linked or that
armed conflict can be a predictor for an increase in TiP in the country affected.
Although the link between TiP and armed conflict was determined, the cause-effect
relationship between the two remains under-studied. Cameron and Newman (2008)
have outlined a framework in which different structural factors could be linked to
proximate factors as legal and policy effects, rule of law and inadequate partnerships
between civil society and state which influence TiP in a country. This framework is
attempting to reveal a cause-effect relationship between social, cultural, economic and
political dimensions and TiP.

A geopolitical structural factor of Cameron and Newman’s framework that is
assumed to drive TiP, and will be used in this thesis is ‘War or conflict’. Cameron and

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8 Lee, Human Trafficking, 1.
9 Segrave, Miliojevic, and Pickering, Sex Trafficking, 28-29.
10 Ernesto U. Savona and Sonia Stefanizzi, Measuring Human Trafficking: Complexities and Pitfalls
11 Lee, Human Trafficking, 1-3.
12 Segrave, Miliojevic, and Pickering, Sex Trafficking, 6-10.
13 Sally Cameron and Edward Newman, Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political
Rendall K.Q. Akee et al., “Ethnic Fragmentation, Conflict, Displaced Persons and Human Trafficking-
14 Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleff, Women, War and Peace: The independent experts’
assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women’s role in peacebuilding, United Nations
Development Fund for Women (New York: UNIFEM, 2002) in Cameron and Newman, Trafficking in
Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions, 47; Bales, “What predicts Human Trafficking?” 278.
15 i.e. Economic, social, ideological and geopolitical factors.
16 Cameron and Newman, Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions, 3.
Newman link this structural factor to seven proximate factors, which have been incorporated in this thesis under three umbrella themes, namely: Breakdown of Governance, Migrating Populations and Trafficking for War and Peace.

The thesis applied the theoretical framework, built on Cameron and Newman’s (2008) framework, to two case studies of armed conflict in which there has been evidence of an increase of TIP for the purpose of sexual exploitation during the armed conflict and in post-conflict context: Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and Sierra Leone. The objective of the thesis is to identify to what extent the seven proximate factors, incorporated in the three umbrella themes, can be linked to TIP for purpose of sexual exploitation in the cases during conflict as well as in post-conflict context. The thesis is based on the main assumption that there is a cause-effect relationship between the presence of armed conflict in a country and TIP for purpose of sexual exploitation. Within this relationship it is assumed that factors exist that facilitate the TIP process. Cameron and Newman’s (2008) framework will be used as a tool to analyze this particular relationship and to identify the explanatory value of the proximate factors.

The following paragraphs will elaborate on: the relation of TIP to Humanitarian Assistance, the justification of the research, the aims and objective, the research question and sub-questions, the ontology and epistemology, its methodology, limitations as well as the thesis outline.

1.1 TIP and Humanitarian Assistance

The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) estimates that 51.2 million people worldwide were affected by armed conflict in 2013. In armed conflict humanitarian assistance is the ‘aid that seeks to save lives and alleviate suffering of a crisis-affected population.’ In 2013 the sum of international humanitarian assistance worldwide was US$ 22 billion, provided by governmental and non-governmental donors. The ten countries or geographical areas receiving most of

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17 Ibid., 47.
19 Ibid.
the humanitarian assistance, have been marked by the Uppsala Conflict Database Programme (UCDP) as countries with currently one or more conflicts: minor conflict, war, or non-state conflict. Most of the financial means for humanitarian assistance worldwide goes to conflict affected countries.

In armed conflict settings sexual violence is a well-known and high risks problem. Lack of a social support system during armed conflict makes women and girls more vulnerable to sexual abuse, abduction and exploitation. Nowadays approaches of humanitarian assistance are often gender-sensitive and take Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) into account. This broad term however, incorporates domestic violence as well as rape as a weapon of war and TiP of women and girls. Although these phenomena may be linked to one another, this does not necessarily mean that they should be tackled in the same way.

TiP as a phenomenon is currently countered by UN agencies, government agencies, International Non-governmental Organizations (INGOs) and NGOs foremost in developmental settings focusing on prevention, protection of victims and prosecution of traffickers, rather than in emergency context. However, when one wants to counter TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation during armed conflict or in post-conflict settings, interventions to counter TiP be initiated in emergency context. In order to find what kind of interventions counter TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation could be successful in emergency setting, predisposing factors should be analyzed. This thesis could help identifying factors contributing to TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation of women and girls in conflict and post-conflict settings in specific cases, which could contribute to inform interventions in humanitarian assistance.

In summary, most of the funds allocated for humanitarian action are channeled to states affected by armed conflict. Although in recent years humanitarian assistance has attempted to be sensitized about gender and has taken SGBV into account, different forms of SGBV should be tackled differently. In order to find interventions that tackle

TiP specifically, research is needed to identify factors increase TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation in emergency settings as armed conflict.

1.2 Justification

Over the last decade the volume of literature on TiP has grown rapidly. However, clear understanding of why TiP occurs in some situations more than in others remains under researched. This thesis could contribute to this understanding by looking at two specific cases of armed conflict in which TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation took place and analyze which factors could have explanatory value in this process. By analyzing these specifics, it could reveal some facts about TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation and how its process looks.

1.3 Aims and objective

The thesis aims to examine the relationship between armed conflict and TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation during conflict and in post-conflict contexts. In order to achieve this aim, the thesis will analyze to what extent the proximate factors theorized by Cameron and Newman are applicable in the case studies BiH and Sierra Leone. Finally, it attempts to contribute to academic literature on TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation, by looking into similarities and differences in the two case studies and at explanatory value of the factors.

The objective of the thesis is to serve as investigative study, which is done by testing a theory consisting of specific factors by applying it to two case studies. The results of this test to the case studies will be compared in order to make the framework more specific, and to confirm or reject elements of the framework.

1.4 Research question & Sub-questions

In order to achieve the aims and objective of the thesis, the following main research question was formulated:

“To what extent can the proximate factors of the structural factor war or conflict, as outlined by Cameron and Newman, explain the Trafficking of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation in the cases of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sierra Leone during conflict and in post-conflict context?”
The set of sub-questions underpinning the main research questions is:

1. What is Trafficking of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation?
2. How can Trafficking in Persons of women and girls for purpose of sexual exploitation be analyzed from Critical Security Studies perspective according to Cameron and Newman’s framework?
3. To what extent the proximate factors of Cameron and Newman framework are influencing the vulnerability of Trafficking in Persons of woman and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation in the cases of BiH and Sierra Leone?
4. How can the findings of the applied proximate factors be compared between the case studies and what are the implications on Cameron and Newman’s framework?

1.5. Ontology & Epistemology

The thesis analyzes the chosen topic from Naturalist philosophical perspective; it will be ontologically assumed that in the social world there are facts and patterns that could be revealed. These facts and patterns can be distinguished from the observer and objectively described. Epistemologically this implies that we assume that knowledge is singular and therefore could be relied on the knowledge produced by Cameron and Newman.25

The thesis serves as an investigative study, which is done by testing a theory consisting of proximate factors by applying it to two case studies. The results of this test of the case studies will be compared in order to make the framework more specific, and to confirm or reject elements of the framework. As a result the dependent variable of the thesis is Cameron and Newman’s framework, whereas the independent variables are the cases of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sierra Leone. This implies a deductive approach: A general claim is made, which is tested by the particular.

1.6 Methodology

In order to make the test of the framework as inclusive as possible, a comparative method is used to establish general empirical relationships and to trace out the causal mechanism of the cases in their natural contexts.26 In the application if the framework, the proximate factors are the dependent variables in the thesis. The independent

26 Ibid., 96-97.
variables are the presence of armed conflict and an increase of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation in the case studies.

The case selection is based on the John Stuart Mill’s logical design of the Method of Agreement. In this design case studies are selected on the occurrence of a particular phenomenon in an attempt to find commonalities in these cases. In the thesis the common case selection factor is the increase of Trafficking in Persons for the purpose of sexual exploitation during armed conflict. Each case is acknowledged to be different, except for the particular phenomenon which is studied. In this common phenomenon, the definition of the UCDP of armed conflict is used, namely: "An armed conflict is a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year."

In addition to the common phenomenon on which the case selection was based, there were also other, more practical, selection criteria. First, the Peace Agreement signed in this armed conflict should, at least, be seven years ago because the time span for each case after the peace agreement is five years. This time frame has been chosen in order to have a period of at least five post-conflict years to analyze. Furthermore, it takes time for academics as well as NGOs, INGOs and think tanks to produce reports and research. Therefore, two more years are added for data collection and knowledge production purposes. In short, the armed conflicts in the cases should have officially ended after 2007.

Second, the two cases which were chosen from different geographical areas. This has been a result of attempting to exclude local factors as much as possible (e.g. culture) and to highlight that TiP is not a phenomenon that occurs in a limited geographical area.

The third criterion is that in all case studies one or more international UN peacekeeping missions were deployed to assist creating the conditions for sustainable peace. Since one of the proximate factors in Cameron and Newman’s framework is the influx of foreign troops this is a highly important requirement for the case studies.

The data collected for this thesis is based on qualitative literature research, based on academic monograms, journal articles, government reports, publications from UN agencies as well as INGO and NGO reports, and websites. For the selection of empirical

27 Ibid., 99-105.
28 Ibid.
information I used some selection criteria as well. First, the monographs used are published by reputable scholars in their fields of study. Second, the journal articles used in the thesis were found through academic databases as EBSCOHOST and JSTOR. Third, the reports and websites of INGOs and the UN are reports produced by reputable organizations and agencies as Human Rights Watch, Transparency International, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and other UN agencies. Fourth, the reports produced by national governments should be considered official reliable documents and are therefore also included in this thesis.

1.7 Limitations of the research

There are also some limitations to the thesis that should be stated. First, is the lack of data. Finding reliable data in times of armed conflict is usually a difficult matter. Data on TiP however is limited even without this obstacle and more importantly most of the data is collected inconsistently. Furthermore, most of the data that could be found were already processed and possibly influenced by the person or organization publishing it.

Despite the fact that this thesis is focusing on sexual exploitation of women and girls who are victims of TiP, including men and boys who are also victims of TiP could have benefitted the research outcomes. However, due to the lack of data on men and boys this research was not able to cover this specific component.

By applying case studies to a theoretical framework as a methodology, there are also some methodological limitations. First, by using two particular case studies, claims about the general cannot be made. However, it can be proof that in some cases the theory is not correct or should be refined according to the cases it is applied to. Second, the research has been carried out by one researcher as a primary instrument of the research. This might have bias the research as is the case in most social science research.

1.8 Thesis outline

The thesis is divided in seven chapters. In the Introduction, the research problem is outlined as well as its relation to Humanitarian Assistance, the justification, aims and objective of the thesis, the research question and sub-questions, the ontology and epistemology, methodology as well as the limitations of the thesis. The second chapter contains a short conceptual chapter on the definition of TiP and its relation to the

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concept of SGBV. The third chapter contains the theoretical framework of the thesis. After an outline on how TiP as a topic and the theoretical framework fits in the perspective of Security Studies, the framework of Cameron and Newman (2008) is elaborated on and theorized within the three umbrella themes. The fourth and fifth chapters contain the case studies. In these chapters the three umbrella themes, containing the seven proximate factors are applied to BiH and Sierra Leone. The sixth chapter contains the comparison of the application of the two case studies and the implications of results will be analyzed. Chapter seven contains the conclusion which is the answer to the main research question.
2. Conceptualizing and defining Trafficking in Persons for the purpose of sexual exploitation

TiP is a highly contested concept.\textsuperscript{31} In media, popular language and by politicians the concept of TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation is often used as synonym or interchangeable to the concepts of smuggled migrants, illegal migration, irregular migration, prostitution and SGBV.\textsuperscript{32} This is a result of the concept being used in different debates and the fact that some of the concepts are linked to each other as well as part of one another.\textsuperscript{33} In the following sections, we elaborate on the concept and definition of TiP as well as how it fits in the broader framework of SGBV.

2.1 The concept of TiP

The concept of TiP has been approached from many different research angles. One of which is the perception of TiP as modern-day slavery.\textsuperscript{34} Although historically slaves were working in a public environment and trafficking nowadays is more hidden, some similarities between traditional and TiP could be perceived. The common element is that vulnerable human beings are taken advantage of and treated as commodities in contemporary conditions akin to slavery. In this perspective trafficking in persons is linked to forced labor and exploitative contractual relationships.\textsuperscript{35} Another use of the concept of TiP could be found in crime research, in which the framework of transnational organized crime offers insight in organized crime groups or factors as a driving force of trafficking.\textsuperscript{36}

The concept of TiP has also been incorporated in discussions around prostitution, forced prostitution and the sexual exploitation of women. These, mostly feminist, perspectives mainly focus on the sexual aspect of trafficking and most of the studies place women as the main object of research. Whereas in the past studies mainly

\textsuperscript{31} Lee, \textit{Human Trafficking}, 3.
\textsuperscript{33} Lee, \textit{Human Trafficking}, 2-3.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{35} Bales, “What predicts trafficking,” 278.
\textsuperscript{36} Lee, \textit{Human Trafficking}, 6-7.
focused on white slave trade, currently they focus on commercial exploitation of young women and girls based on sexual vulnerability of women.  

Although this thesis also focuses on women and girls as well as TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation this does not imply a feminist perspective is used in the thesis. In the thesis one of the approaches to TiP will be used which is used mainly in migration studies to patterns, policies and politics regarding immigration and migration control. Studies in this field identify an increase in uncontrolled and irregular migration flows from mainly developing countries to the developed. Since migration is part of the factors which we are looking at in the thesis, this will be used in the case studies. Additionally however, use of the concept of TiP from a human rights approach, makes it possible to look at TiP and understand the broader causes and consequences of trafficking, in attempting to develop counter-trafficking policies and practices. The use of the concept TiP in human rights (or human security) approach will be elaborated on in the next chapter. The next section will discuss the definition of TiP.

2.2 Defining TiP for the purpose of Sexual Exploitation

In order to use the TiP concept, in this thesis we will use the definition as stated in the Additional Protocol on Trafficking in Persons to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC): “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.”

The UNTOC definition identifies several key elements of TiP namely, act, means and purpose as is demonstrated in figure 1. In the thesis however, not all purposes are relevant. In the thesis the upper two purposed in the scheme will be used, i.e. Prostitution of others and sexual exploitation.

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37 Lee, Human Trafficking, 4-5.
38 Ibid., 7-8.
39 Ibid., 9-10.
This follows from the definition, as it states ‘at a minimum the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation,’ which implies that ‘prostitution of others’ is a form of sexual exploitation. In addition to the narrow understanding of TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation, TiP can also be part of the broader concept of SGBV which will be explained in the following section.

2.3 TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation as part of SGBV

TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation can also be conceptualized as part of the broader term of SGBV. In the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (CEDAW), adopted in 1993, SGBV is defined as: “Gender-based violence is violence that is directed against a person on the basis of gender or sex. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty. While women, men, boys and girls can be victims of gender-based violence, women and girls are the main victims. SGBV shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to the following:

b) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution.”

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42 United Nations General Assembly Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, articles 1 and 2.
As section b of CEDAW states, trafficking in women and forced prostitution is part of SGBV and fits the definition of TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation as outlined in the previous section. Therefore, one can conclude that a segment of the SGBV broader tem indeed is TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. It is important to state this explicitly, because much of the literature on this topic in relation to armed conflict the concept of SGBV has been used for analysis and measurement.

In this conceptual chapter on TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation, it was identified what the concept of TiP entails and how it could be defined. Furthermore, it was identified that TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation also fits in the broader framework of SGBV which is often used in literature on armed conflict. Both these concepts with the corresponding definitions will be used throughout the thesis. In the next chapter will the theoretical framework will be outlined.
3. Trafficking of women and girls for the purpose of Sexual Exploitation during conflict and in post-conflict contexts

There is ample evidence available that the number of reported incidences of SGBV against women and girls is higher among populations affected by armed conflict than among populations in non-conflict contexts. Among this SGBV against women and girls in armed conflict, only more recently a relationship between armed conflict and TiP was claimed. Moreover, among others Rhen and Sirleaf (2002) claim their report on Women, War and Peace that TiP for sexual exploitation and armed conflict are inextricably linked. Cameron and Newman (2008) build on this assumption and constructed a framework in which TiP can be analyzed during conflict and in post conflict contexts.

In this chapter the theoretical framework is outlined. The core of this chapter is Cameron and Newman’s (2008) framework; in particular the part which links armed conflict to TiP. First however, will be explained how Cameron and Newman’s framework fits in the field of Critical Security Studies in order to understand where the thinking behind the framework derives from. Thereafter, Cameron and Newman’s (2008) framework as well as the assumptions it builds will be discussed. Furthermore, the structural and proximate factors that are the pillars of the theoretical framework will be elaborated on. The following section will zoom in on the structural factor ‘War or Conflict’ which is used as a tool of analysis throughout the thesis. Finally, the proximate factors related to the structural factor ‘War or Conflict’ are divided in umbrella themes and their relationship with the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation is discussed.

3.1 From Traditional to Critical Security Studies

Until the end of the Cold War, the field of Security Studies was dominated by political Realism with strong roots in the field of International Relations (IR). This perspective offered a state-centric approach, with strong emphasis on military capacity of these

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44 Rhen and Sirleaf, Women, War and Peace: The independent experts’ assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women’s role in peacebuilding, 12-14.
This Traditional or Realist approach to security studies builds on the premises that states act in an anarchic world in which they are the main subjects of security and struggle for power. 47

As a consequence of dramatic political changes in the 1990s, the traditional school of Security Studies lost its ability to explain and understand the global changes that occurred. 48 This was mainly a result of an increase of subjects of security which were not states or military related, such as transnational or international subjects, companies, communities, topics and individuals. One of the Schools that emerged to understand and explain Security in the post-Cold War world was the School of Critical Security Studies. 49

The most important difference between the Traditional and Critical Security School is their treatment of the state in analyses. 50 Whereas in the traditional approach the state is the central object of study, in the field of Critical Security Studies threats to security should not be limited to states. Instead all kinds of threats from different dimensions could cause insecurity and therefore different actors should be included in analyses. 51 Furthermore, the question of positive and negative securitization was posed: does the absence or the presence of certain factors contribute to security? 52 This process could provide new insights on how some issues should be secured. 53 As a result of questioning traditional security studies, led to a broadening of Security Studies. 54

The theoretical framework used in the thesis, is derived from the field of Critical Security Studies. A topic of security is analyzed, namely TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Furthermore, different dimensions are incorporated in Cameron and Newman’s (2008) framework and are analyzed. Additionally, a securitization question is asked: Does the presence of specific factors contribute to the insecurity of individuals? To be more specific: To what extent does presence of the proximate factors of Cameron and Newman’s (2008) framework contribute to the TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation during conflict and in post-

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48 Ibid., 4, 18.
49 Ibid., 93-95.
50 Ibid., 93-94.
51 Cameron and Newman, Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions, 84.
52 Ibid.
conflict context? In the following section is elaborated on Cameron and Newman’s framework and which factors it incorporates.

### 3.2 Explaining TIP through Cameron and Newman’s Framework

The framework Sally Cameron and Edward Newman’s have constructed is based on the assumption that there are two types of factors which are involved with TIP and enable us to understand and explain TIP: Structural factors and proximate factors. Whereas the structural factors consist of the broad context TIP takes place, the proximate factors consist of policy and governance issues. The structural factors are economic factors, social factors, ideological factors or geopolitical factors. Examples could be found in poverty, social inequality, gender discrimination, xenophobia, and the structural factor used in this thesis, ‘War or Conflict’.55

The proximate factors consist of policy and governance issues, the rule of law, and inadequate partnerships between civil society and state. These proximate factors, in alliance with specific structural factors, contribute to vulnerability of individuals to TIP. Examples of the proximate factors could be found in inadequate legislation, poor law enforcement, corruption and low awareness.56 The framework therefore aims to understand and explain TIP by combining factors of the broad context -structural factors- as well as specific issues –proximate factors- which determine the vulnerability of individuals (Figure 2).

![Figure 2: Overview factors involved in TIP- Cameron and Newman](image)

After having determined the most important elements from the overall framework and reasoning behind it, the following paragraphs will elaborate on the structural factor of ‘War or conflict’ within Cameron and Newman’s framework.

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55 Structural factors include issues of economic deprivations and market downturns, the effects of globalization, attitudes to gender, the demand for prostitutes and situations of conflict. Cameron and Newman, *Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions*, 1-3, 21.

56 Examples of proximate factors include Include lax national and international legal regimes, poor law enforcement, corruption, organized criminal entrepreneurship, and weak education campaigns. Cameron and Newman, *Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions*, 1-3, 21.

57 Ibid., 1-3.
3.3 The structural factor ‘War or conflict’

As explained in the previous section, in Cameron and Newman’s framework various structural factors are used to understand TiP. In the thesis however, TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation during conflict and in post-conflict context is analyzed. As a result, the geopolitical factor from the framework ‘War or Conflict’ is used.

According to the framework of Cameron and Newman (Figure 2), the structural geopolitical factor armed conflict can, if aligned with specific proximate factors increase the vulnerability of individuals to become TiP victims. The proximate factors which are linked to the structural factor armed conflict are: Government strategies to reduce TiP are not prioritized, breakdown of governance facilitates corruption among officials, disruption of immigration and border controls, economic breakdown causes migration to find alternative sources of income, lack of safety and security causes people to migrate, influx in foreign troops may cause an increase in demand for prostitution, military groups may utilize child and trafficking women and girls for sexual purposes (Figure 3).

The structural factor War or conflict and the set of proximate factors attached to it from Cameron and Newman’s (2008) framework are foundation of the theoretical framework of the thesis. In the following sections will be elaborated on these proximate factors. However, in order to carry out a structured research when applying this theoretical framework in the Chapters 4 and 5, the seven proximate factors incorporated

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58 Cameron and Newman, *Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions*, 47.
59 Ibid., 47-51.
60 Ibid.
in three umbrella themes. In the umbrella themes Breakdown of Governance, Migrating Populations, and Trafficking for War and Peace two or three proximate factors are incorporated (Figure 4). Breakdown of Governance incorporates the proximate factors related to government issues. Migrating Populations combines the proximate factors related to migration and border control. Trafficking for War and Peace, included proximate factors related to armed groups related to the conflict national as well as international.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Proximate Factors</th>
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| Breakdown of Governance     | 1. Government strategies to reduce TiP are not prioritized  
                                2. Breakdown of governance facilitates corruption among officials |
| Migrating Populations       | 3. Disruption of immigration and border controls        
                                4. Economic breakdown causes migration to find alternative sources of income  
                                5. Lack of safety and security causes people to migrate |
| Trafficking for War and Peace| 6. Influx in foreign troops increases demand in prostitution  
                                7. Military groups which traffic or utilize trafficked women and girls directly for the purpose of sexual exploitation |

In the following sections the relationship between TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation during conflict and in post conflict context and the proximate factors will be explained in the umbrella themes

3.4 Breakdown of Governance

The first umbrella theme, Breakdown of Governance, includes two proximate factors from Cameron and Newman: Government strategies of TiP are not prioritized and corruption of government officials.61

3.4.1 Government strategies to reduce TiP are not prioritized

In different stages of armed conflict state institutions in general are highly dysfunctional, which results in impunity and lawlessness.62 This makes states in armed conflict and in post-conflict context ideal business environments for criminal activities

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61 Cameron and Newman, *Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions*, 47.
as trafficking in drugs, gems or weapons, for organized crime networks and TiP.63 During armed conflict national judicial institutions are often in a state of total collapse and state authorities are involved in human rights abuses which might create reluctance by national courts to acknowledge and prosecute human rights abuses in conflict. In post conflict context, there might be a fear to prosecute because it might interrupt the peace and reconciliation process.64

As a result of the absence of a strong government and law enforcement capacity, counter-trafficking policy and legislation remain unenforced and is not prioritized.65 The government strategies that might have been in place before onset of conflict as awareness raising or training of police officers are stopped during and post conflict. Combined with high levels of violence, this proximate factor increases the vulnerability of women and girls from and through war zones to become victims of TiP.66 As a result, the lack of prioritization of counter-trafficking policies and legislation makes women and girls more vulnerable to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.67

3.4.2 Corruption among government officials

As a result of the breakdown of governance during conflict and post-conflict contexts, corruption among government officials is likely to increase related to organized crime activities.68 These high corruption levels are one of the factors which allow TiP to flourish.69

63 Rehn and Sirleaf, Women, War and Peace: The independent experts’ assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women’s role in peacebuilding,’ 12; Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women, 5, 19-20.
65 Cameron and Newman, Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions,’ 48.
66 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women, 5, 19.
67 Rehn and Sirleaf, Women, War and Peace: The independent experts’ assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women’s role in peacebuilding,’ 14.
68 Cameron and Newman, Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions,’ 48.
Corruption among government officials occurs in different stages of the TIP Process.\textsuperscript{70} According to UNODC the facilitation of TIP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation also occurs in many ways by corrupt government officials. The traffickers may recruit, transport and exploit their victims assisted by corrupt public officials in order to get the victims in the place the traffickers want to. Furthermore, government officials can stop ongoing investigations, slow down prosecutions, stop collecting data or reporting on TIP cases and impede victim protection.\textsuperscript{71} In summary, as a result of the increase of corruption levels during conflict and in post-conflict context, the vulnerability of women and girls becoming victims of TIP for the purpose of sexual exploitation increases.

3.5 Migrating Populations

The second umbrella theme is Migrating Populations which includes three proximate factors from Cameron and Newman: Disrupted immigration and border controls, economic breakdown causes migration to find alternative sources of income, and migration as a consequence of a lack of safety and security.\textsuperscript{72}

3.5.1 Disrupted immigration and border controls

UNODC’s Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2014 states that globally around 70 percent of the identified TIP victims between 2010 and 2012 were trafficked cross-border.\textsuperscript{73} Although crossing borders is not a pre-condition for TIP, it often is the case.\textsuperscript{74} During conflict and in post conflict context, immigration and border controls are often disrupted. As stated above in Breakdown of governance, state institutions are weak or collapsed and this affects immigration and border controls.\textsuperscript{75}

Absence of procedures, immigration officials, law enforcement officials and border control at land, air or sea borders facilitates transport for TIP for traffickers in or out of the conflict affected area. Without immigration or border control, there is no inspection on who comes in and goes out of the country and with which papers. This provides opportunities for traffickers in conflict affected countries. As a result,

\textsuperscript{70} United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, \textit{Role of corruption in trafficking in persons}, 10.
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., 15, 27.
\textsuperscript{72} Cameron and Newman, \textit{Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions}, 47.
\textsuperscript{75} Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, \textit{Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women}, 19.
disruption of immigration and border controls increases vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.  

3.5.2 Economic breakdown causes migration to find alternative sources of income

During conflict and in post-conflict context economic activities in states are disrupted. Without any expectations to get a job as a result of economic breakdown, migration becomes an option. As violence increases, desperation of women and girls increases which may push them to migrate in order to facilitate their livelihood, within or outside the country. This migration process and attempting to find a new livelihood might increase vulnerability of women to become victims of TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation.

In conflict context, families headed by women or girls increase as men and boys might have left. As a result they become increasingly responsible for family survival and the main source of income. This higher responsibility might push women into forms of employment that before conflict were considered to be too risky, but now become an option to sustain themselves and their families. Additionally, social support structures and other forms of support might fade during conflict and in post-conflict context. Families or communities are splintered and behavioral norms fade out, with people focusing on survival. In this trajectory abduction, forced marriage, forced prostitution or enslavement is not uncommon. The lack of social support systems combined with limited choices of employment, might forces women to become sex workers. As sex workers, women and girls are more vulnerable to become victims of TiP. Thus, As a result of economic vulnerability and a lack of employment opportunities, women and girls vulnerability increases to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

3.5.3 Migration as a consequence of a lack of safety and security

Political turmoil and armed conflict cause unsafely and insecurity for citizens which, in most of the cases, lead to a catalyst for migration. As a consequence, the numbers of Internally Displaced People (IDPs), irregular migrants and refugees increase. Displacement and migration during armed conflict is usually experienced with

76 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women, 5, 19.
77 Ibid.
78 Cameron and Newman, Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions, 48.
80 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women, 20.
81 Rehn and Sirleaf, Women, War and Peace: The independent experts’ assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women’s role in peacebuilding, 11.
82 Cameron and Newman, Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions, 48.
psychological and physical abuse, loss of loved ones and belongings. Uncertainty, lack of financial means and support system go parallel with displacement. This directly links to an increase in vulnerability of trafficking in persons.\textsuperscript{83}

Women and children constitute the majority of IDPs and refugees.\textsuperscript{84} Many of them are widowed, abandoned, unaccompanied or be without family.\textsuperscript{85} Especially women and girls without family members present are at high risk of recruitment of criminal groups.\textsuperscript{86} Their vulnerability to SGBV in general, and TiP for the purposes of sexual exploitation in particular, is increased as a result of a lack of protection.\textsuperscript{87} IDP or refugee camps may even become a source for traffickers’ recruitment. Especially in protracted conflict situations, criminal organizations might establish a well-founded network involving corrupt camp administrators.\textsuperscript{88} Additionally, if women and girls stay out the camps, their chances of being separated from family members increase as well as their chances of being abducted or killed on the road from disease or malnutrition. Furthermore, also on the road they are vulnerable for SGBV and abduction to end up in TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. As a result, the lack of safety and security causes migrations, which increases the vulnerability to TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.\textsuperscript{89}

3.6 Trafficking for War and Peace

The final umbrella theme is Trafficking in Persons for War and Peace. This theme includes two proximate factors from Cameron and Newman’s framework: Influx in foreign troops which increases the demand for prostitution and military groups which traffic or utilize trafficked women and girls directly for the purpose of sexual exploitation.\textsuperscript{90}

\textsuperscript{83} Stephanie Hepburn and Rita J. Simon, \textit{Human trafficking around the world- hidden in plain sight} (New York: Colombia University Press, 2013), 111.
\textsuperscript{84} Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, \textit{Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women}, 20.
\textsuperscript{86} Cameron and Newman, \textit{Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions}, 48.
\textsuperscript{88} Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, \textit{Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women}, 20-21.
\textsuperscript{89} Leatherman, \textit{Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict}, 101.
\textsuperscript{90} Cameron and Newman, \textit{Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions}, 47.
3.6.1 Influx of international or foreign troops increases the demand in prostitution

Many have argued that armed forces can be considered the main perpetrators of SGBV during conflict and in post-conflict contexts. These armed forces can include the domestic forces, which are discussed in the next section, and the international or foreign troops that are deployed in conflict situations. During conflict and post-conflict countries, the presence of foreign or international military forces increases the demand for paid sexual services. The increase in prostitution is a result of the increase in men as well as the disparity between two groups: well-paid foreign military personnel and women without employment options. As a result, the number of women providing paid sexual services increases simultaneously, which may include victims of trafficking. Members of international or foreign troops may become clients of trafficked women. Additionally, once an increased market is created for international troops, local demilitarized militias and ex-combatants often become also part of the clientele. The relationship between influx of international troops and the demand in prostitution, is also reflected in a decrease of prostitution when these troops depart.

Although Cameron and Newman’s focus is on armed forces, the same could be argued about aid workers or other representatives of the international community. Also these groups may play roles in TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation as part of the clientele. This increase in demand for paid sexual services and the growing pool of sex workers increases the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

3.6.2 Military groups which traffic or utilize trafficked women and girls directly for the purpose of sexual exploitation

The second factor in this umbrella theme is the TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation by armed groups that are part of the conflict, as rebel groups and

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91 Cameron and Newman, Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions, 49; Rehn and Sirleaf, Women, War and Peace: The independent experts’ assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women’s role in peacebuilding, 70; Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women, 27; Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and implications for the security sector, 169.
92 Cameron and Newman, Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions, 49-50; Rehn and Sirleaf, Women, War and Peace: The independent experts’ assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women’s role in peacebuilding, 11.
93 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women, 31.
94 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women, 6.
95 Ibid., 6, 27.
96 Cameron and Newman, Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions, 49.
97 Leatherman, Sexual Violence and armed conflict, 106; Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and implications for the security sector, 169.
government forces. During conflict the majority of abducted women and girls are enslaved by armed government and rebel groups, which hold them for sexual exploitation, forced prostitution or forced marriage. In addition to TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation, they often are supposed to do some of the most dangerous tasks as demining areas and securing areas for the soldiers.100

Girls are especially at risk of capture and induction to rebel groups or government forces.101 Although many young victims attached to armed rebel groups, often state they decided to join them; in most cases they are under extreme psychological pressure for immediate survival or trying to protect their families.102 Women and girls attempting to escape sexual enslavement from rebel or government forces, are also at risk of being recaptured by the same or other factions. This group especially those psychologically damaged by abduction and SGBV, is of high risk to become victims of TiP.103 Also in the post-conflict context, the former combatants might go into trafficking to replace revenue made in the war context. Additionally, returning home post-conflict might be problematic as a consequence of the stigma that women or girls bear: they could be repudiated by their husbands or family members.104 As a result, also post conflict the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation is increased.

This chapter explained how the theoretical framework and topic of TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation fits in the field of Critical Security Studies. Rather than using states as primary objects of study, the topic of TiP is analyzed. Additionally, TiP is analyzed in a broad context and it is studied whether the presence or absence of specific factors leads to insecurity, which fits a Critical Security Studies perspective. Cameron and Newman’s framework suits this perspective with its

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99 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women, 5, 13-14; Marsh, Purdin and Navani, “Addressing Sexual Violence in humanitarian emergencies,” 137; Rehn and Sirleaf, Women, War and Peace: The independent experts’ assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women’s role in peacebuilding, 14.
100 Rehn and Sirleaf, Women, War and Peace: The independent experts’ assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women’s role in peacebuilding, 14; Cameron and Newman, Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions, 50-51.
101 Leatherman, Sexual Violence and armed conflict, 53.
102 Cameron and Newman, Trafficking in Humans: Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions, 51; Rehn and Sirleaf, Women, War and Peace: The independent experts’ assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women’s role in peacebuilding, 14.
103 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women, 5.
structural and proximate factors influencing individual’s vulnerability to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Additionally, the chapter elaborated on a specific structural factor of Cameron and Newman’s framework: ‘War or conflict.’ This factor is used to analyze the relation between conflict and TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation throughout the thesis. Furthermore, the seven proximate factors, attached to the structural factor ‘War or Conflict’ were outlined. The chapter explains how in applying the theory to the case studies, throughout the thesis these seven proximate factors are combined in three umbrella themes: Breakdown of Government, Migrating Populations, and Trafficking for War and Peace. Lastly, the relationship between the proximate factors and the increase in vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation was explained. In the following chapter these will be applied to the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Attached it was shown that this structural factor, there are seven proximate factors which influence TiP in armed conflict context.
4. Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH)

In this chapter the first case study, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), will be analyzed according the thematic division of proximate factors as explained in the theoretical framework. This chapter will analyze to what extent the proximate factors of Cameron and Newman’s framework (2008) have increased the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation in the case of BiH. Before the analysis of the case study, a summary of the conflict between 1992 and 1995 will be provided. Thereafter, an overview of TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation, during and post conflict will be outlined. Finally, the proximate factors will be applied to the case study of BiH in the umbrella themes.

4.1 Armed conflict in BiH: A destructive war on European soil

In the 1990s the most destructive war fought on European soil since 1945,105 was the armed conflict in the former Yugoslavia which took place from April 1992 until October 1995.106 After three years of war, 4.3 million citizens were displaced, 250,000 were killed or missing, over 200,000 people were wounded and human rights had been violated on massive scale.107 Nevertheless, none of the warring parties took initiative to settle the conflict.108 Under high pressure of the international community the Dayton Peace Accords (DPA) were signed in 1995.109

BiH had three ethnic groups, respectively Bosnians (Bosnian Muslims), Croats and Serbs which shared political power.110 Under communist rule BiH functioned politically, on strict constitutional basis with rotation of representatives of the three ethnic groups. When the Communist Party disintegrated in 1989, the political landscape shifted. By the mid-1990s the three ethnic groups had formed three political parties: the

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107 Ibid.
108 Ibid., 256-257.
109 Ibid.
110 Roland Kostic, Reconciling the Past and the Present: Evaluating the Dayton Peace Accords (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Resolution, 2009), 18.
Sold or Sex because of War: Trafficking of women and girls for the purpose of Sexual Exploitation during conflict and in post-conflict context in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sierra Leone

Bosniak SDA, the Croat HDZ, and the Serb SDS. In a joined coalition these parties were elected in November 1990. The dissolution of Yugoslavia in June 1991 led to major political divisions in BiH regarding their future status: Whereas the HDZ pushed for a Yugoslavia without Croatia supported by the SDA, the SDS was willing to maintain a BiH within Yugoslavia. As a consequence of complex ideological, religious, ethnic and historical grievances, the party leaders were critical about terms and conditions of multi-ethnic coexistence.

Additionally, the political factions disagreed about representation of the groups in parliament and adopted a memorandum stating their desires. When a referendum on self-determination was called for and held on 29 February and 1 March 1992, 98.8 percent of the voters, voted for independence. The Bosnian Serbs however, boycotted the referendum because to be wanted to separate from BiH.

On 6 April 1992 BiH was recognized as a country by the European Commission (EC). At the same time, the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was created and Serb functionaries called upon to break with BiH while the Serb Territorial Defence and paramilitaries started to control municipalities considered being part of their self-proclaimed Republika Srpska. On 8 April BiH decreed unification of the countless militias and created a basis of an army. Three months later, the Bosnian Croats proclaimed the Croatian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The war that followed, ended in a violent process of territorial takeovers, whereby the three sides attempted to obtain the largest possible territory in an attempt to build their own states.

The international response to the BiH conflict during the first year was cautious. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) authorized the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) on 21 February 1992, pursuing humanitarian assistance and

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111 The original name of the political party is ‘Stranka Demokratske Akcije,’ which in English means ‘Party of Democratic Action.’
112 The original name of the political party is ‘Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica,’ which in English means ‘Croat Democratic Union.’
113 The original name of the political party is ‘Srpska Demokratska Stranka,’ which in English means ‘Serb Democratic Party.’
115 Ibid., 21.
118 Ibid.
120 Roland in Kostic, Reconciling the Past and the Present: Evaluating the Dayton Peace Accords, 22.
mediation.\textsuperscript{121} During the conflict however, the mandate of UNPROFOR expanded as well as the troop size from initially 10,000 to 52,000.\textsuperscript{122} Furthermore, from May 1992 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) gradually expanded its involvement in the BiH conflict to execute tasks out of UNPROFOR was not mandated nor had the means to.\textsuperscript{123} A year later, NATO had enforced a maritime embargo and a no-fly zone. They contributed personnel, equipment to establish a command and control element for UNPROFOR, and developed contingency planning preventing possible spill-over in the region.\textsuperscript{124} After the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa in July 1995, which resulted in massacres of Bosniak male population, it was decided that attacks against other safe areas would lead to a firm and rapid response from NATO air forces of bombing Bosnian Serb Army positions.\textsuperscript{125}

Until early 1994, all peace proposals for BiH presented by the UN and the EC failed. On 18 March 1994 however, a new constitution between the Bosnian Croats and the Bosniak-led Bosnian Government was adopted, which led to creation of the Federation of BiH and stopped fighting between Bosniaks and Croats.\textsuperscript{126} After some months of intensive diplomacy, United States (US)-led negotiations started 1 November at the Dayton Airbase in which Bosniak, Croatian and Serbian presidents as well as their foreign ministers took part. The DPA was signed on 14 December 1995.\textsuperscript{127} In the DPA was agreed that on 20 December 1995 authority in BiH shifted from UNPROFOR to the Implementation Force (IFOR).\textsuperscript{128} Furthermore, it was agreed on that an UN led International Police Task Force (IPTF) monitoring law enforcement activities.\textsuperscript{129} In the following section will be explained how TiP of women and girls developed during the conflict as well as in post conflict context.

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{123} Ibid., 459.
\bibitem{124} Ibid., 460.
\bibitem{126} Ibid., 22-24.
\bibitem{127} Ibid., 28, 35-36.
\bibitem{129} Ibid., 28, 35-36.
\bibitem{130} Dick A. Leurdi, “Before and after Dayton: The UN and NATO in the former Yugoslavia,” 461.
\end{thebibliography}
4.2 An overview of TiP in BiH

During the 1990s TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation increased in BiH. During the conflict in the Former Yugoslavia, between 20,000 and 50,000 women and girls were subjected to SGBV, including TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation. Whereas from 1992 to 1995 TiP was linked to the armed conflict in the forms of sexual slavery in detention centers, post-DPA there were years followed by an increase in TiP of women and girls for sexual exploitation in the form of forced prostitution. The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) laid the groundwork in international law for persecuting TiP. Namely it labeled sexual slavery as a crime against humanity.

The signing of the DPA overlapped with a boost in TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Since the mid-1990s BiH is described as a major source, transit and destination country for TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In addition to internal trafficking as a major problem in the country, also trafficking from other Eastern European countries to BiH, and BiH women trafficked out of the country has been problematic. Moreover, BiH serves as a link between other Eastern European countries and Western Europe mainly for women from Moldova, Romania and Ukraine. Nevertheless, only in the early 2000s cases of TiP were documented in official police reports in BiH. Within the region, IOM estimated in 2001 that 120,000 women and children were being trafficked to Western Europe, which was raised to

134 Leatherman, Sexual Violence and armed conflict, 27.
135 Ibid. 27.
139 Friman and Reich, Human Trafficking, Human Security and the Balkans, 81.
200,000 by the EC in 2003. In the next subchapter the relation between TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation and Breakdown of Governance will be discussed.

4.3 Breakdown of Governance

As explained in the previous chapter, the thematic area of Breakdown of Governance consists of two proximate factors which influence the vulnerability of TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In the first part of this subchapter will look at government strategies to reduce TiP during the conflict of BiH as well as in its post-conflict context. According to Cameron and Newman, the vulnerability of women and girls to become victim of TiP increases, when government strategies to counter TiP are not prioritized. The second part of the subchapter will elaborate on the influence of corruption among government officials on the TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation in the BiH conflict as well as the post-conflict context. The main assumption is that the high level of corruption among government officials increases vulnerability of women and girls to become victim of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In the following sections, will be evaluated to what extent these factors influence the TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation in the case of BiH.

4.3.1 Government strategies to reduce TiP

In the 1980s, before the onset of armed conflict in BiH, the process of economic and political dissolution of the Former Yugoslavia had resulted in a weak and disorganized government, which was aggravated in armed conflict. During the conflict in BiH no legislation was enforced or policy implemented to counter TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Moreover, SGBV was a policy carried out as strategy by mostly the Serbian warring parties, of which TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation was part. Rather than stating that government strategies to reduce TiP are not prioritized, it would be more accurate to state that they were absent.

140 Ibid., 2.
In post-conflict BiH some of the cases involving conflict related TIP of women and girls, have in retrospect been addressed to the BiH criminal justice system. Furthermore, the ICTY has successfully addressed sexual slavery in their cases. The majority of the perpetrators however were not held accountable by the criminal justice systems. Only in 2003, the government of BiH introduced legislative, institutional and operational measures to enable domestic prosecution of traffickers and victim identification instruments. These interventions included ratification of the UNTOC Trafficking protocol. Additionally, a State coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Migration in BiH was established. In 2014 the government of BiH had not yet harmonized or implemented all international and national legislation. Although initiatives were taken, in post-conflict BiH the government did not prioritize TIP reduction strategies.

4.3.2 Corruption among government officials

In addition to the weak and disorganized government in the former Yugoslavia, the economic and political landscape was characterized by crime and corruption in the 1980s. When BiH descended into war these characteristics increased. During the conflict paramilitaries were hired by the political parties to carry out ‘the dirty work’ as perpetrating SGBV, including TIP, against opposed ethnic groups. Additionally, during the BiH conflict the space for criminal activities expanded as a consequence of the leadership being dependent on smuggling activities of criminal organizations. The relationship build between the political and criminal spheres did not evaporate in 1995. Despite the fact that it is highly likely that, corrupted government officials contributed to TIP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation during the

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144 Since the ICTY started its work 78 individuals, or 48 per cent of the accused persons accused of SGBV have been convicted. “ICTY in Numbers,” International Criminal Court for the Former Yugoslavia, accessed 12 April, 2015, http://www.icty.org/sid/10586.
146 Ibid., 7.
147 Ibid.
151 Ibid., 362-363.
153 Ibid.
conflict, there is no direct evidence confirming this. This could be a result of the fact that during the war it was not necessary to bribe officials, since TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation was considered part of a government strategy by itself. However, it could also be a cause for a lack of data collection or reporting during conflict.

The political and affiliated criminal organizations during conflict became a hybrid of these organizations in post-conflict BiH: an official political organization with strong criminal, illegal and corrupt elements. As a consequence, BiH’s informal sector post-conflict was complementary and accommodating the formal government. This is reflected in the flourishing arms and drugs trafficking, as well as TiP of women and girls for sexual exploitation. In 2002 Human Rights Watch estimated that in 227 nightclubs and bars in BiH were involved in TiP, and that 25 percent of them had trafficked women and girls working there. The embedded corruption of government officials was displayed in the fact that officers of the Bosnian Police Force (BPF) and other government officials were involved in cases of TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In these cases they were directly or indirectly part of TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation: direct as owners of nightclubs or guards, indirectly as clients, informants to brothel owners or producers of counterfeit documents. Furthermore, the US TiP report 2014 stated that in that year BPF officers were bribed for information about upcoming raids. In the case of BiH, government officials could be seen as a permissive factor in TiP of women in girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation as a result of the embedded corruption in the BiH society. As a result, the corruption of government officials in post-conflict BiH increased the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP.

In this sub-chapter the presence of the proximate factors within the thematic area of Breakdown of governance was outlined. It was demonstrated that during the armed conflict there no government strategy to reduce TiP of woman and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation was present. To the contrary, to some extent the government

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154 Ibid., 858.
155 Ibid., 857.
156 Cameron and Newman, Trafficking in Humans: Social, cultural and political dimensions, 48.
159 US Department of State, Trafficking in Persons Report 2014, 104.
160 Leatherman, Sexual Violence and armed conflict, 113.
parties conducted offences (related to) TiP. In post conflict BiH, it took a long time for the government of BiH to implement counter trafficking policies and legislation. It could be concluded that in conflict and post-conflict BiH, countering TiP was not a priority in government strategies and a factor which has increased the vulnerability of women and girls to become victim of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Additionally, the role of corruption of government officials in BiH during conflict and in post-conflict context was analyzed in relation to TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. During the conflict in BiH there has been no evidence that government officials were involved in TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In post war context however, there were many occasions is ample evidence in which government officials, were directly or indirectly involved in TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Therefore it could be concluded that the corruption of government officials in post-conflict BiH, contributed to increased vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In the following sub-chapter will the proximate factors in the thematic area of Migrating Populations will be analyzed.

### 4.4 Migrating Populations

During the conflict in BiH more than half of the country’s population, 4.3 million citizens were displaced as refugees or IDPs.\(^{161}\) The displacement could be distinguished in two waves: the first in 1992 at the onset of the war, and the second in 1995 following the Srebrenica massacre.\(^{162}\) As a result of the high number of migrants in post-conflict BiH, there were and still are difficulties with IDPs. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) states that in 2013 there still were 113,000 IDPs in BiH as consequence of the conflict.\(^{163}\)

In the following sections the three proximate factors of Cameron and Newman’s framework in the theme Migrating Populations are elaborated on in the case of BiH. The three proximate factors are the disruption of immigration and border control, migration as a consequence of economic breakdown, and migration as a consequence of a lack of safety and security. In the following sections will be explained to what

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\(^{162}\) *International Organisation for Migration, Labour Migration Patterns, Policies and Migration Propensity in the Western Balkans* (Budapest: IOM, 2009), 23.

extent these factors influenced the TIP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation in BiH during conflict and in post-conflict context.

4.4.1 Immigration and border controls
As explained the previous sub-chapter on Breakdown of Governance, BiH had a criminalized society which during the war created opportunities for criminal organizations as trafficking in arms and people. Immigration and border controls were affected by this criminalized environment and were disrupted. For example in the capital Sarajevo, a tunnel was dug which connected two outskirt neighborhoods of the city which transported approximately 4,000 people and 20 tons of materials a day.\textsuperscript{164} As a consequence of disrupted border control during the war, in 1993 UN member states were requested to provide observers to control the borders of BiH. However, the UN lacked capacity to control all BiH borders and it was decided on a border monitoring mission. In September 1994 the borders between BiH and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were closed and several economic sanctions were taken against Yugoslavia (e.g. restrictions on civilian passengers).\textsuperscript{165} Although the border controls were disrupted, no evidence was found to link it to TIP during the war.

In post-war Bosnia, the lack of immigration and border control became an important facilitating factor in TIP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation.\textsuperscript{166} The criminal trafficking organizations used this opportunity mainly to traffic women from BiH to Western Europe.\textsuperscript{167} Also women from other Eastern European countries as Moldova, Romania and Ukraine were trafficked for purpose of sexual exploitation to and through BiH as a consequence of a lack of immigration and border control.\textsuperscript{168} As a result the lack of immigration and border control in post conflict BiH has increased the vulnerability of women and girls to become victim of TIP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

4.4.2 Migration, Economic breakdown and alternative sources of income
In literature no evidence was found, confirming that during conflict in BiH economic breakdown lead to migration which resulted in TIP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This could be explained by the fact that the relief operation in the

\textsuperscript{167} Peter Andreas, “The Clandestine Political Economy of war and peace in Bosnia,” 45-46.
former Yugoslavia was one of the largest relief initiatives ever undertaken. Between 1991 and 1995, one billion US Dollars was used only by UNHCR for humanitarian assistance.\(^{169}\)

Post-Dayton however the economic position of women deteriorated in BiH. During the Bosnian war, relatively many men lost their lives or were injured. As a consequence 16 percent of post-conflict households were headed by women living in precarious conditions and without sufficient financial support. Many women were exposed to look for alternatives to complement income and migrated to Sarajevo or Western Europe. At arrival it turned out that the employment offer was false and they ended up in prostitution.\(^{170}\) According to Sirleaf and Rehn seventy-five percent of the women in BiH trafficked for purpose of sexual exploitation, were promised false jobs and were then forced into TiP.\(^{171}\) As a result, the increased number of women in prostitution is linked to an increase in vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of trafficking in persons for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

**4.4.3 Migration because of unsafety and insecurity**

As outlined in the introduction, many fled BiH as a consequence of a lack of safety and security between 1992 and 1995. During the conflict in BiH, SGBV took place on large scale especially in the detention camps set up by the Serbians.\(^{172}\) This section however, deals with migrating populations, as IDPs or refugees, not with detained persons which is analyzed in the section 4.5.2. Among IDPs and refugees, no evidence is found that the vulnerability of women and girls was higher during the conflict to become victims of TiP. Therefore, there is no link between the increased vulnerability of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation as a consequence of migration for reasons of a lack of safety and security.

In post conflict BiH, many IDPs attempted to return to their homes, in order to counter what the worst part of the conflict was about: ethnic cleansing. The process of return was extremely difficult because other IDPs occupied houses from people who

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temporarily left the country or their houses. In 2014 UNHCR reports about the remaining 84,500 IDPs and 47,000 minority returnees whose situation is still unsettled. In 2013 it was found that an increasing number of victims of trafficking found in BiH, were IDP women from female headed households. As a result, it might be concluded that this proximate factor has increased the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TIP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. It should be noted however, that this was only noted in 2013 which is long after the end of the war and could also be more related to the economic difficulty situation IDPs are in generally.

In the previous sections three proximate factors in the thematic area Migrating Populations were analyzed in conflict and post-conflict BiH. In the first paragraphs it was established that during the conflict as well as in post conflict BiH, the immigration and border control were disrupted. During conflict however, no evidence was found that this proximate factor influenced the vulnerability to TIP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Post conflict however, the lack of immigration and border control was a facilitating factor in BiH becoming a source, transit and destination country for TIP for purpose of sexual exploitation. As a result, in post conflict BiH the disruption of border and immigration controls increased the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TIP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

In the second section the proximate factor on economic breakdown, causing migration and subsequently women would become more vulnerable to become victims of TIP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. During conflict there has been no evidence of the presence of this factor in the case of BiH. Post conflict however, there is ample evidence of women migrating as a consequence of economic breakdown and ending up in TIP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

The final section discusses the proximate factor on migration as a consequence of a lack of safety and security in relation to TIP in BiH. During the conflict no evidence was found that migration as a consequence of unsafety and insecurity has increased the


vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP. In post-conflict BiH, there is
some evidence that the number of IDPs among victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual
exploitation is higher compared to other groups.

In the following sub-chapter the proximate factors in the thematic area of
Trafficking for War and Peace are discussed.

4.5 Trafficking for War and Peace

The final umbrella theme discussed is Trafficking in Persons for War and Peace, which
includes two proximate factors from Cameron and Newman’s framework: the influx of
international or foreign troops which increases the demand for prostitution, and military
groups which traffic or utilize trafficked women, and girls directly for the purpose of
sexual exploitation. The first part of this sub-chapter elaborated on the influx of the
international troops and other officials during the conflict and in post conflict in BiH. It
will be outlined to what extent this has increased the vulnerability of women and girls to
become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The main assumption is
that parallel to the influx of international troops the demand for paid sexual services
increases. As a result, the group of sex workers grows and the vulnerability of women
and girls becoming victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation increases. In
final part of the sub-chapter will be looked on the armed groups that are part of the
conflict in BiH. In this proximate factor, the main assumption is that in many conflicts
the armed groups are involved in TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation, which
increases the vulnerability of women and girls to become TiP victims. In this chapter we
will evaluate to what extent these factors are present in BiH during conflict and post
conflict.

4.5.1 Influx of international troops

During the conflict in BiH and more in post-conflict context, the demand in paid sexual
services increased, generated by an expanding pool of UN and NATO international
peacekeepers, private sub-contractors and aid workers. As a consequence of an
increased demand for sex workers, this market flourished especially in post-conflict
BiH. Although there are indications that TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation
took place during the war in relation to international troops, in post conflict context

\textsuperscript{176} Friman and Reich, Human Trafficking, Human Security, and the Balkans, 2.
\textsuperscript{177} Jennifer Murray, “Who will police the Peace-Builders- The Failure to Establish Accountability for the
Participation of the United Nations Civilian Police in the Trafficking of Women in Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina,”
there is ample evidence.\textsuperscript{178} Women the whole country, were trafficked to Bosnia by the networks focusing on the growing international community as clientele.\textsuperscript{179}

After the DPA all involved parties agreed with implementing an overseeing peace process mission in Bosnia, the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH). UNMIBH was composed of an International Police Task Force, Human Rights Office, Civil affairs unit and division to assess the functioning of the Bosnian judicial system. UNMIBH worked closely with the NATO-led military Stabilization Force (SFOR).\textsuperscript{180} As a result in 1995, there were around 50,000 mainly male peacekeepers in BiH.\textsuperscript{181} This international community increased the demand for paid sexual services and perceived as an opportunity for the traffickers.\textsuperscript{182} Local NGOs estimate that up to fifty percent of the costumers of paid sexual services were from the international community.\textsuperscript{183} The income from members of the international community however, accounted for seventy to eighty percent or the total.\textsuperscript{184}

Additionally, some of these members of the international community in BiH were actively involved in TIP. Multiple members of the OPTF have been implicated with offences involving and related to TIP of women for purpose of sexual exploitation.\textsuperscript{185} Furthermore, a former employee of a private security company, DynCorp, was dismissed for disclosing evidence regarding employees of this company being involved with TIP.\textsuperscript{186} These employees were suspected to have bought young girls

\begin{footnotesize}

\textsuperscript{179} Human Rights Watch, “Hopes Betrayed: Trafficking of Women and Girls to Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina for Forced Prostitution,” 11.

\textsuperscript{180} Haider, “The politicisation of Humanitarian Assistance: Refugee and IDP Policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina.”


\textsuperscript{182} Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women, 37.

\textsuperscript{183} Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and implications for the security sector, 117.


\end{footnotesize}
and women.\textsuperscript{187} Although the employees of DynCorp only had functional immunity, the only sanction taken against them was being repatriated to the US to avoid criminal investigations in Bosnia.\textsuperscript{188} Also the United Nations Department of Peace-Keeping Operations (UNDPKO) acknowledged allegations of UN peacekeepers involved in TiP in post conflict BiH.\textsuperscript{189} None of the accused was held accountable by the UN member states.\textsuperscript{190}

Although there are some indications that international deployed troops were involved in TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation during the war, in post-conflict context this factor is more prominent. The influx of international troops contributed to the increase of vulnerability of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In addition to the troops also a larger pool of international community members contributed to the increase in TiP. Finally, it could be concluded that there was active involvement of international community members in TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

4.5.2 Involvement of military groups in TiP

During the conflict in BiH, SGBV was part of the ethnic cleansing campaign and common among all military groups in BiH. Sexual assaults commenced immediately after clashes broke out between the Serb and Muslim population in April 1992.\textsuperscript{191} In BiH however, mostly Bosnian Muslim women were targeted by Serbian militias and forced into sexual slavery in so called 'rape camps.'\textsuperscript{192} As a consequence of the definition used in the thesis, this sexual slavery would qualify as TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Namely, women and girls were being harbored, and threatened, abducted or coerced for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

During the war 162 detention camps were located in the Former Yugoslavia.\textsuperscript{193} It was aimed by forced impregnation to destroy the Muslim community in BiH while simultaneously spread and strengthen the Serbian community. The BiH government estimates that around 35,000 women were held in these camps,\textsuperscript{194} the exact number of women brought into TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation is unclear. Discrepancy

\textsuperscript{188} Leatherman, \textit{Sexual Violence and armed conflict}, 113-114.
\textsuperscript{189} Friman and Reich, \textit{Human Trafficking, Human Security, and the Balkans}, 82.
\textsuperscript{190} Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, \textit{Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and implications for the security sector}, 477-478.
\textsuperscript{191} Ibid., 117.
\textsuperscript{192} Leatherman, \textit{Sexual Violence and armed conflict}, 112.
\textsuperscript{193} Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, \textit{Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and implications for the security sector}, 117.
\textsuperscript{194} Leatherman, \textit{Sexual Violence and armed conflict}, 112.
between estimates can be attributed from under-reporting of survivors and over reporting by the governmental parties attempting to exaggerate crimes perpetrated by enemies.\footnote{Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, \textit{Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and implications for the security sector}, 117.} Although in most cases it was reported that there were male perpetrators of these crimes, it was also reported that women participated in detaining women and facilitating TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.\footnote{Ibid.} During the war in BiH women and girls’ vulnerability to become a victim TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation, has increased as a consequence of the armed groups involved in the conflict.

In post conflict BiH, to the contrary of the impunity of the peacekeepers and private military contractors, the ICTY laid new ground work in international law, and established sexual slavery as a crime against humanity and convicted perpetrators in the cases they had for sexual violence.\footnote{Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, \textit{Combating impunity for Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Progress and Challenges}, 9.} The ICTY argued that as the victims were held without consent and therefore were coerced, they were brought into sexual slavery, or TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation, during the war.\footnote{Leatherman, \textit{Sexual Violence and armed conflict}, 112.} Post conflict, however there has been no evidence that armed groups continued TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

The previous sections analyzed the presence of the proximate factors within the Trafficking for War and Peace theme. It was demonstrated that to some extent during, but mostly in post-conflict BiH, the demand in paid sexual services increased and simultaneously the TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation. Furthermore, there is evidence members of the international community were actively involved in this TiP. This has increased the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Additionally the extent in which armed groups took part during conflict contributed to TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation was also evaluated. During the conflict TiP was part of a broader ‘ethnic cleansing’ strategy. Many women were held against their will, with the purpose of sexual exploitation. As a result it could be concluded that this proximate factor in the BiH conflict also contributed to an increased vulnerability of woman and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation during the conflict. Post-conflict, no evidence was
found to support this proximate factor in contributing to the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP.

Between 1992 and 1995, the most devastating conflict on European soil after the Second World War took place in BiH. In the 1990s and especially after signing of the DPA, TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation increased. Throughout the chapter was established, that some proximate factors contributed more to the increased vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation than others. Furthermore, some factors have explained the increase in TiP in a specific conflict phase (i.e. during conflict or post-conflict).

Related to the Breakdown of Government theme, the following conclusions could be made. First, in BiH no government policies were present before or throughout the conflict. During the conflict, TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation was part of the government strategy. Only a decade after signing the DPA, government efforts were made to counter TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. As a result of non-prioritization of counter trafficking strategies, women and girls vulnerability was increased during armed conflict as well as post conflict. Additionally, corruption levels were high in BiH during conflict as well as in post conflict context. Although during conflict no evidence was found of government officials being involved in TiP, in post-conflict BiH ample evidence exists of corrupt government officials being directly or indirectly involved in TiP. As a result, corruption of government officials in post conflict BiH contributed to the increased vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

In the umbrella theme Migrating Populations some observations could be made. In conflict as well as post-conflict BiH immigration and border controls were disrupted. During conflict no relation was found between the disrupted immigration and border controls and TiP of women and girls. In post-conflict BiH however, disrupted border control has been a facilitating factor in the country becoming a source, transit and destination country for TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation. In post-conflict BiH this has increased the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Furthermore, it was found that during conflict no relation was found between women and girls migrating as a consequence of economic breakdown and becoming TiP victims. In post-conflict BiH however, ample evidence
exists of women migrating as a consequence of economic breakdown and ending up in TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Additionally, there has been found no link between migration as a consequence of unsafety and insecurity in relation to TiP in BiH during the conflict. In post-conflict BiH however, some evidence was found that the number of IDPs is higher among victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation compared to other groups. In post-conflict BiH, this factor has influenced the TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

In the final section, the proximate factors in the Trafficking in War and Peace theme were evaluated. It was established that during, but foremost in post-conflict BiH, the international community contributed to an increased demand in prostitution, which led to an increase in TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation. Furthermore, members of this community were actively involved in the TiP cycle. This has increased the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Additionally, it was explained that during the conflict, TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation was part of the armed forces strategy. This proximate factor was also present in BiH during conflict and contributed to an increased vulnerability of woman and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. No evidence was found that this factor contributed to TiP in post-conflict BiH.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Proximate Factor</th>
<th>Conflict</th>
<th>Post-Conflict</th>
<th>Explains increase in vulnerability of TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Breakdown of Governance</td>
<td>1. Government strategy to reduce TiP are not prioritized</td>
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<td>2. Breakdown of governance incites corruption among officials</td>
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<td>Migrating Populations</td>
<td>3. Disruption of immigration and border controls</td>
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<td>4. Economic breakdown causes migration to find alternative sources of income</td>
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<td>5. Lack of safety and security causes people to migrate</td>
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<td>Trafficking for War and Peace</td>
<td>6. Influence foreign troops increases demand in prostitution</td>
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<td>7. Minor groups which suffer vs other trafficked women and girls</td>
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Figure 5 displays an overview of the relationship between proximate factors and vulnerability to TiP in BiH.

In the table is displayed whether the proximate factor contributes (+) to the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP in the case of BiH or not.
Furthermore, two columns were integrated to display this relationship in the different conflict phases, conflict and post-conflict. In the last column the result of both the conflict phases could be found.
In this chapter the second case study, Sierra Leone, is analyzed according the thematic division of proximate factors as explained in chapter three of the thesis. Throughout the chapter will be analyzed to what extent the proximate factors of Cameron and Newman’s framework (2008) have influenced the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Sierra Leone. The outline is similar to the previous chapter on BiH. The chapter starts with a summary of the conflict in Sierra Leone that took place between 1991 and 2002, after which an overview of the TiP situation in Sierra Leone during conflict and post-conflict will be provided. Thereafter, the case of Sierra Leone will be analyzed structured in the umbrella themes. In the sub-chapters, will be analyzed to what extent the proximate factors influence the vulnerability of woman and girls to become victims of TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation in this case.

5.1 War in Sierra Leone: A decade of destruction

Between 1991 and 2002 Sierra Leone was ravaged by armed conflict for over a decade, after the rebel group Revolutionary United Front (RUF) invaded the country from Liberia.\(^{199}\) It was estimated that the conflict caused between 50,000 and 70,000 casualties and 2.6 million displaced people. Sierra Leone’s armed conflict is notorious for the brutalities conducted against civilians from all conflict parties including executions, amputations, decapitations and SGBV.\(^{200}\) Attacks against cities and villages were more common, than government troops fighting rebels. Whereas many men and boys were forced to join RUF to fight, sometimes against their own family members, many girls and women were forced in the movement as fighters or sexual property of the RUF.\(^{201}\)


In the years between independence in 1961 and the war in 1991, the situation in Sierra Leone got progressively unstable. Under rule of Stevens and thereafter Momoh of the All People’s Congress (APC), the country’s fragile democracy was turned into a one-party state, the police and army were corrupted, the treasury was bankrupted and the education system collapsed.\(^{202}\) This was mainly the result of an extractive economic system based on Sierra Leone’s natural resources.\(^{203}\) Additionally, the government’s fear of military coups resulted in a small weak army.\(^{204}\) By the 1990s the state was set for trouble: it had weak and fractionalized army, a corrupt and unpopular autocratic government, many opportunities for illicit natural resource extraction and an unemployed and frustrated youth.\(^{205}\)

When the RUF, led by Foday Sankoh, in March 1991 invaded Sierra Leone, it was supported by Charles Taylor, the head of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL).\(^{206}\) This invasion triggered the many military coups during the conflict that would follow.\(^{207}\) After the first year of war the National Provisional Ruling Council’s (NPRC), popularity had grown because of the country’s situation: the number of refugees grew, the food situation deteriorated, and the violence against civilians had increased. Simultaneously, the war had settled into a stalemate situation in which no breakthrough seemed possible. In 1992 the NPRC led by Valentine Strasser took over the government.\(^{208}\)

In December 1994 the first attempts were made to settle the conflict through the UN. However, the mediators were rejected by Sankoh. In response the government, in attempt to crush RUF, employed South African private security companies. Furthermore, Nigerian and Guinean troops that were deployed in the country as part of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) were used to attack RUF. In March 1994 Strasser was overthrown in a coup. The military junta organized elections supported by the UN, which made Ahmad Tejan Kabbah of the Sierra Leone Peoples’ Party (SLPP) president. The first peace agreement was reached by the Kabbah-government and RUF in Abidjan on 30 November 1996.\(^{209}\)

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\(^{203}\) i.e. diamonds and timber.

\(^{204}\) Leatherman, *Sexual Violence and armed conflict*, 41.

\(^{205}\) “Sierra Leone,” Uppsala Conflict Database Program.

\(^{206}\) Hirsch, “War in Sierra Leone,” 147.


\(^{208}\) Gberie, *A Dirty War in West Africa: The RUF and the Destruction of Sierra Leone*, 71.

\(^{209}\) Kaldor and Vincent, “Case Study Sierra Leone: Evaluation of UNDP Assistance to conflict affected countries,” 6.
Implementation of the conditions stated in the Abidjan Agreement proved to be difficult. Four months after signing the Abidjan Agreement, junior army officers seized power as the Armed Forced Revolutionary Council (AFRC). The AFRC led by Major Koromo, included the RUF as part of their movement, and for the first time the RUF was on government side. Simultaneously, the Kamajors (traditional hunters) militia, supporting Kabbah, had grown in popularity and power. In order to restore the Kabbah-government, the Kamajors took up arms against the AFRC-RUF junta, supported by the Nigeria-led ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). The pressure of the Kamajors and ECOMOG paid off and in March 1998 Kabbah is reinstated as president. Furthermore, the UN decided to send a light mission with 70 military observers, the United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL).

The RUF however remained active in the field. When in February 1999 the first democratic elections in 16 years take place in Nigeria, RUF almost defeats ECOMOG in Freetown. In the RUF operation in Freetown codenamed “Operation No Living Thing,” the rebels went on a two week killing spree throughout the city. As a result, Nigeria, the United Kingdom and the US pressed for negotiations which led in July 1999 to the Lomé Peace Agreement. The Lomé Peace Agreement included conditions as an immediate ceasefire, power sharing between government and rebels, amnesty for rebels, disarmament and demobilization, establishment of commissions for human rights, truth and reconciliation commissions as well as a stronger UN force.

As a result, the UN authorized the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) going up to 6,000 armed troops and 260 observers. RUF however, did not abide the agreement and initiates attacks on UNAMSIL. Thereafter, RUF leader Sankoh is captured, UNAMSIL’s mandate strengthened and troop size expanded to 11,100 troops. Under the new leadership of Issa Sesay, the Abuja Agreement is
signed in November 2000. In May 2002 general and presidential elections are held in Sierra Leone and Kabbah is re-elected as president.\(^{221}\)

In the following section an overview is provided of TIP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Sierra Leone is provided during the conflict as well as in post-conflict context.

### 5.2 Overview of TIP in Sierra Leone

Throughout the conflict, it is estimated that between 215,000 to 257,000 women and girls were subjected to SGBV, including TIP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.\(^{222}\) This number is around nine percent of the total population of Sierra Leone, which could provide a picture regarding the widespread nature of SGBV.\(^{223}\) The trafficking offences committed most commonly included abduction and thereafter sexual slavery or forced sexual exploitation.\(^{224}\) Although all parties in the conflict committed SGBV, the RUF and the AFRC could be attributed to most of them. To a lesser extent is reported about other conflict parties.\(^{225}\)

In post-conflict Sierra Leone, the number of victims identified globally originating from Sierra Leone increased. Especially between 2006 and 2008 the number of victims identified in Europe with Sierra Leonean nationality significantly increased.\(^{226}\) For example the victims identified between 2006 and 2008 that were found in The Netherlands doubled.\(^{227}\) Post-conflict Sierra Leone became a source and destination country for women and children subjected to TIP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Within Africa, Sierra Leone is one of the countries of which most TIP victims originate.\(^{228}\) Most of the victims come from rural provinces and are recruited for urban or mining centers, after arrival at destination they are forced in TIP for purpose of sexual exploitation. Within West Africa, many victims end up in neighboring countries

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\(^{221}\) “Sierra Leone,” Uppsala Conflict Database Program.


\(^{223}\) Human Rights Watch, “We’ll kill you if you cry- Sexual violence in the Sierra Leone Conflict,” 25-26.

\(^{224}\) Leatherman, ‘Sexual Violence and armed conflict,’ 95.

\(^{225}\) Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and implications for the security sector, 57.

\(^{226}\) United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, Trafficking in Persons to Europe for sexual exploitation, UNODC (Vienna: UNODC, 2010), 9.

\(^{227}\) Ibid.

\(^{228}\) United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns, UNODC (Vienna: UNODC, 2006), 87.
as Mauritania and Guinea. Intercontinentally, the Middle East and Europe are destinations countries for trafficking victims from Sierra Leone. 229

In UNODC’s Global report on TIP 2014 was outlined that within Sub-Saharan Africa, the highest numbers of child trafficking could be identified which concerned both boys and girls. 230 In the case of Sierra Leone this has been a particular challenge, which has originated during the conflict and has been not tackled since. The main challenges are the unaccompanied children roaming the urban areas which become victims of TIP for purpose of sexual exploitation. 231

5.3 Breakdown of Governance

The following sections discuss the two proximate factors which influence the vulnerability of TIP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation related to the theme of Breakdown of Governance. In the first part of this sub-chapter will be looked on government strategies to reduce TIP during the conflict in Sierra Leone as well as in its post-conflict context. The second part of the sub-chapter will elaborate on the influence of corruption among government officials on TIP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation during the conflict in Sierra Leone and post-conflict context. In both sections will be evaluated to what extent these factors have contributed to increased vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TIP for the purpose of sexual exploitation in the case of Sierra Leone.

5.3.1 Government strategies to reduce TIP

Before and during the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, the government generally failed to provide public services, implement policies or law enforcement. In 1990 Sierra Leone had the second lowest human United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) development ranking in the world. 232 Furthermore, governmental control on its territory was very weak, as a consequence of the RUF controlling the country for around sixty per cent. 233

As a result of a general weak government, it might not come as a surprise that there were no government policies or legislation to reduce TiP. Although many women and girls were targeted for TiP, there was no government strategy to be implemented or prioritized. Furthermore, it should be noted that during the conflict among all conflict parties, also the governments of Sierra Leone, crimes involving TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation were committed. In 1996 the Ministry of Gender and Children’s Affairs was created by the government of Sierra Leone, which on paper incorporated gender as a topic of government affairs. However, this did not involve any activities or strategies related to TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

In post-conflict context, a combination of criminal justice mechanisms were implemented in Sierra Leone in order to deal with the violations of international humanitarian law that had taken place in retrospect. One of these mechanisms, the Special Court for Sierra Leone, started its operations in 2002 and used the broad definition of SGBV, which included TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Additionally, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which was established post-conflict, included an explicit focus on SGBV, including TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation with specific hearings on these crimes. Furthermore, in 2005 the government of Sierra Leone adopted the Anti-Human Trafficking Act, as well as establishing a police unit responsible for TiP cases. A year later, a National Task Force on TiP was established to implement the Trafficking Act and focus on issues as law enforcement, prevention, victim support, increasing public awareness of causes and consequences of TiP.

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234 Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and implications for the security sector, 57.
236 Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and implications for the security sector, 159.
237 Ibid.
5.3.2 Corruption among government officials

During the reign of the APC small elite ruled Sierra Leone who promoted their own interest. As a consequence of lack of accountability for the use of public funds by politicians, corruption became common practice between 1968 and 1992. The widespread of corruption combined with political leaders reluctant to fight poverty, resulted in bureaucratic and institutionalized corruption embedded in all ways of daily life for the Sierra Leoneans.  

During the conflict in Sierra Leone, its law enforcement, judiciary and military system collapsed, which makes it impossible to identify corruption. No evidence was found that corruption among government officials directly increased the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. It should be noted however, that during the conflict among all conflict parties, crimes involving TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation were committed. This could be a result of the fact that during conflict it was not necessary to make use of corrupt officers as it was considered part of the job.

In post-conflict Sierra Leone, some effort was made to establish institutions and adopt and implement legislation to fight corruption. However, in 2011 and 2012 Transparency International ranked Sierra Leone as 134\textsuperscript{th} and 124\textsuperscript{th} globally, of the 182 countries in their Corruption Perception Index. The high levels of corruption are reflected in the evidence of corruption among government officials in relation to TiP of women and girls for purpose of sexual exploitation. Human Rights Watch has reported instances in which police officers as well as medical doctors were bribed not to file reports or to refuse medical investigations or medical aid in cases of SGBV, including TiP of women and girls for purpose of sexual exploitation. Furthermore, evidence was found on police officers demanding money for interviewing witnesses and taking them to court. Corruption of government officials has also been reported in child

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\textsuperscript{242} Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, \textit{Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and implications for the security sector}, 57.
\textsuperscript{244} Transparency International Sierra Leone, \textit{Report on the National Integrity System Survey (NIS) of the Pillars of integrity}, Transparency International 12.
\textsuperscript{245} Human Rights Watch, \textit{“We’ll kill you if you cry- Sexual violence in the Sierra Leone Conflict,”} 67-68.
\textsuperscript{246} Ibid.
trafficking cases, in which often passports are counterfeit or fraudulently obtained, or information is intentionally changed in order to let children travel unaccompanied.\footnote{Rebecca Surtees, \textit{Child Trafficking in Sierra Leone}, United Nations Children’s Fund (Vienna: UNICEF, 2005), 48.}

In the previous sections was elaborated on the presence of the proximate factors in the thematic area Breakdown of Governance in Sierra Leone. It was established that during the conflict in Sierra Leone, no government strategy to counter TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation was present. Swiftly after the conflict however, TiP reduction strategies became a priority. Thus, although TiP reduction policies were not prioritized during conflict, in the post-conflict phase the reduction of TiP was a priority. It could be concluded that the proximate factor explains the increased vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP during conflict, not in the post-conflict context.

Furthermore, the role of corruption of government officials in Sierra Leone was analyzed during conflict and in post-conflict context. Although during the conflict there has been no evidence that corrupt government officials were involved in TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In post-conflict context however, there is ample evidence of police officers and other government officials being involved in TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Furthermore, also other officials, as medical doctors were mentioned being corrupt. It could be concluded that the proximate factor on corruption of government officials, explains the increased vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP in post-conflict context, not during conflict.

\subsection*{5.4 Migrating Populations}

At the end of 2000, just before the end of the war, almost 4.5 million people fled their homes in Sierra Leone, which was half of its population at the time. Out of the 4.5 million, two million stayed in the country as IDP and the rest fled as refugees mainly to neighboring countries.\footnote{Norwegian Refugee Council, \textit{Internally Displaced People: A Global Survey} NRC (London: Earthscan Publications Ltd, 2002), 67.} The IDP population was harder hit by SGBV than the non-displaced population.\footnote{Bastick, Grimm and Kunz, \textit{Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Global Overview and implications for the security sector}, 58.} Whereas 9 percent of the total population of women and girls reported to have experienced SGBV during the conflict, within the IDP population this
was 13 percent according to Physicians for Human Rights.\footnote{Physicians for Human Rights, War-Related Sexual Violence in Sierra Leone- A Population Based Assessment, PHR (New York: PHR, 2002), 2, accessed 25 April, 2015, \url{https://s3.amazonaws.com/PHR_Reports/sierra-leone-sexual-violence-2002.pdf}} Among these women that had experience SGBV, 15 per cent reported to have been victim of sexual slavery, i.e. trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation.\footnote{Ibid.}

In the following sections the three proximate factors of Cameron and Newman’s framework which are incorporated in Migrating Populations are applied to the case of Sierra Leone. These three proximate factors- disruption of immigration and border control, migration as a consequences of economic breakdown, and migration as a consequences of a lack of safety and security- influence the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation according to the theory. The following sections will display to what extent these factors have increase the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP the purpose of sexual exploitation.

### 5.4.1 Immigration and border controls

Before onset of the conflict Sierra Leone’s borders were porous which increased during the war. The borders had many illegal border crossings in which people could come in and out of the country without any documents being investigated.\footnote{Rebecca Surtees, Child Trafficking in Sierra Leone, 49.} As a result many fled to neighboring countries as Guinea and Liberia.\footnote{Ibid.} During the conflict however, there has been no evidence to support that this factor contributed to the TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation.

In post-conflict Sierra Leone however, the immigration and border controls did not improve. While there were 55 manned crossing points before the war, in post-conflict Sierra Leone only 11 manned border points remained.\footnote{Ibid., 49.} While technically all persons crossing the borders should carry passports or any other identification with photographic material, also in post-conflict Sierra Leone legislation was not always enforced.\footnote{Ibid., 49.} Especially the borders (and rivers) with Guinea and Liberia, have several unmanaged border crossings which are notorious for being used by criminal networks, trafficking people, arms and drugs through West Africa.\footnote{International Organisation for Migration, IOM Migration Initiatives 2015, 101.} This lack of immigration and border control in post-conflict Sierra Leone is an important factor contributing to TiP in
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5.4.2 Migration, Economic breakdown and alternative sources of income

Before the onset of war, Sierra Leone’s economy had collapsed and did not improve throughout the conflict.257 During the conflict many women and girls, especially among IDP populations, were abducted mainly for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In addition to TIP for sexual exploitation also forced labor (e.g. washing, cooking, carrying ammunition and looted items) was common.258 There are however also examples of women who joined to rebel forces because of the economic situation they were in and benefits they received in the form of looted clothes, shoes and jewelry.259 This could have resulted in TIP, when these women and girls did not consent anymore. Additionally, there are examples of abducted women who could not return to their villages as a consequence of the fact that there were no economic perspectives to sustain themselves within these villages.260 During the conflict however, there is no evidence of women and girls ending up in TIP for the purpose of sexual exploitation as a result of migration for economic reasons. There is to some extent evidence that during the conflict in Sierra Leone, trafficked women for the purpose of sexual exploitation remained in the TIP cycles as a consequence of a lack of economic opportunities in the villages that the came from.

In post-conflict Sierra Leone, numerous forms of SGBV persisted. Women and girls living as IDPs did have little means to sustain themselves -and their children. As a result many chose prostitution, which made them vulnerable for trafficking for purpose of exploitation of sexual exploitation in attempt to support themselves and their families.261 Additionally, some of the women and girls trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation during the conflict, stayed with the rebels because they lost their family and houses. As a consequence of the lack of employment opportunities these women became vulnerable for TIP for purpose of sexual exploitation as they remained in the same situation as they were in during conflict.262 Although in 2005 action was taken by the government as adoption of counter trafficking legislation, the closure of

258 Human Rights Watch, We’ll kill you if you cry- Sexual violence in the Sierra Leone Conflict, 43.
259 Ibid.
260 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women, 17-18.
261 Ibid.
262 Ibid.
nightclubs and brothels in which women and girls were held as well as public awareness campaigns, the trafficking for purpose of sexual exploitation remained a problem especially because of economic situation and lack of employment opportunities in Sierra Leone.263

It could be stated that as a consequence of the weak economy, women and girls were more vulnerable to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. However, in the evidence found during and post-conflict, the reasons for migration are not purely economic. The evidence implies a different cycle, namely: as a consequence of migration the economic situation of women and girls deteriorates, rather than economic breakdown causes migration. This might be a result of fact that the economy had already collapsed before the onset of the war. As a result, the Sierra Leoneans did not have intentions to migration for economic reasons. When they flee for the lack of safety and security (section 5.4.3) however, they ended up in a worse economic situation than they were in before. It could be concluded that migration because of economic breakdown in Sierra Leone, did not increase the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

5.4.3 Migration because of unsafety and insecurity
The main cause of the many refugees and IDPs as outlined in the introduction was the widespread human rights abuses that took place during the conflict, perpetrated by all conflict parties. During war in Sierra Leone civilians were a target, especially by the RUF rebels. As a consequence of the waves of violence that took place, many left and returned to their homes several times during the war.264 The people in Sierra Leone that tried to escape this unsafe situation were highly vulnerable for trafficking.265 Young women and girls on their way to the IDP camp or sometimes from IDP camps were abducted and forced to become sex slaves or ‘bush wives.’266 Especially children proved to be a vulnerable group, which consisted of 60 percent of the IDP population.267 As a result it could be concluded that migration as a lack of safety and security during the conflict in Sierra Leone, increased the vulnerability of women and girls to become a victim of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

In post conflict Sierra Leone, many of the IDPs and refugees were repatriated supported by UNHCR and its partners. The returning population however remained

263 Leatherman, ‘Sexual Violence and armed conflict,’ 111.
265 Surtees, Child Trafficking in Sierra Leone, 48.
266 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, Armed Conflict and Trafficking in Women, 17-18.
vulnerable for TiP for purpose of Sexual Exploitation mainly for economic reasons as described above. Additionally, women feared for their safety and security because they were held by the rebels maybe for years and might have children with them. As a result, the stigma and blame they expected after coming home is so big, that they did not want to return. There are indications that many women who eventually have left there rebel husbands have become sex workers, which also makes them again vulnerable for TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

The previous paragraphs elaborated on the presence of the proximate factors in thematic area of Migrating Populations during conflict and in post conflict Sierra Leone. In the section on border control was established that before, during and post-conflict, the borders in Sierra Leone were porous. Although during the conflict no evidence was found that laxity of border control could be related to TiP, in post-conflict Sierra Leone this was the case. In post-conflict Sierra Leone disruption of the land as well as the water borders has increased the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Furthermore, in the analysis on migration as a consequence of economic breakdown and its relation to TiP in Sierra Leone, it was found that the collapsed economy could be seen as an influencing factor to TiP. However, in both conflict and post-conflict contexts, the reasons for migration were not economic in the first place. Only after women and girls migrated, or being forced to migrate, their economic situation deteriorated and this made them more vulnerable to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Finally, migration as a consequence of unsafety and insecurity was analyzed. From the analysis follows that in conflict as well as post-conflict, this factor contributed to an increased vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The protection against on the way or within the IDP camps was low and as a result, many women could be targeted. Furthermore, women and girls that during the conflict stayed with rebel forces, had difficulty to return because of stigma. As a result women stayed in the TiP cycle and were more vulnerable to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Surtees, *Child Trafficking in Sierra Leone*, 64.
5.5 Trafficking for War and Peace

The final umbrella theme is Trafficking in Persons for War and Peace. This theme includes two proximate factors from Cameron and Newman’s framework: Influx in foreign troops which might increase the demand for prostitution and military groups which traffic or utilize trafficked women and girls directly for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The first part of the sub-chapter elaborates on the influx of international troops during the conflict and in post-conflict. As outlined in the theoretical framework, the main argument in factor is that parallel to influx of international troops the demand for paid sexual services increases. As a result, the group of sex workers grows and the vulnerability of women and girls becoming victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation increases. In last part of the sub-chapter will be looked on the armed groups that are part of the conflict in Sierra Leone. In this section it will be outlined to what extent the armed groups that were part of the conflict have contributed to the increased vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation during the conflict as well as in post-conflict context. The chapter will evaluate to what extent these factor were present in the case of Sierra Leone during conflict and post-conflict.

5.5.1 Influx of international troops

During the conflict in Sierra Leone, three official international troop forces were implemented: ECOMOG (1991 and 1997), UNMOSIL (1998) and UNAMSIL (1999). The UNAMSIL mission was deployed latest and its mandate and troop size was revised several times as a consequence of the continuing violence. In March 2001, this resulted in an authorization of the UN Security Council to increase UNAMSIL to 17,500 military personnel, including 260 military observers. This meant that Sierra Leone hosted the largest UN peacekeeping mission in the world.

During conflict and in post-conflict Sierra Leone, the prostitution as well as the alarming fall of the age of prostitutes has been linked to the increase of international peacekeepers and aid workers deployed in the country. Among these, often very young, sex workers were many victims of TiP. In addition to peacekeepers being part

271 Ibid.
273 Human Rights Watch, We’ll kill you if you cry: Sexual violence in the Sierra Leone Conflict, 4.
274 Ibid.
of TiP victims clientele, there have also been instances in which the peacekeepers from ECOMOG and UNAMSIL, were in actively involved SGBV and in particular to TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation of women and girls. The increase in prostitution as a consequence of the presence of peacekeepers and aid workers, as well as the involvement of some peacekeepers in TiP of women and girls, has increased the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP during conflict as well as in post-conflict context.

5.5.2 Involvement of military groups in TiP

The TRC found that during conflict in Sierra Leone, women and girls were subjected to systematic SGBV as rape, sexual abuse, TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation, abductions, amputations, forced pregnancy, forced labor and forced detention. Young girls were particularly vulnerable and often made to consume cocaine, gunpowder, alcohol or a combination. Although all conflict parties conducted these crimes, the most can be attributed to the RUF. Sometime women were marked with RUF or AFRC on their chests which made escaping difficult or impossible. If these women would be caught by opposite forces, they would most likely be killed as they were expected to be property of that other conflict party.

Many of these practices, including TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation, continued in post-conflict Sierra Leone. This could be connected to the common practice that had developed during conflict among Sierra Leoneans, in which many rebels had polygamous marriages which included abducted women who belonged to them during the war. The Special Court however, has made efforts to investigate and prosecute persons that committed TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. A number of RUF leaders are in detention and might be brought before court for crimes committed during the armed conflict which included TiP.

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275 Human Rights Watch, We’ll kill you if you cry: Sexual violence in the Sierra Leone Conflict, 4; Leatherman, ‘Sexual Violence and armed conflict,’ 106.
277 Leatherman, ‘Sexual Violence and armed conflict,’ 93.
278 Human Rights Watch, We’ll kill you if you cry: Sexual violence in the Sierra Leone Conflict, 44.
280 Human Rights Watch, We’ll kill you if you cry: Sexual violence in the Sierra Leone Conflict, 43.
Additionally the extent in which armed forces contributed to TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation was evaluated. During the conflict TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation was common and perpetrated by all conflict parties. The involvement of the armed groups perpetrating crimes of TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation continued in post-conflict Sierra Leone as well during conflict. As a result it could be concluded that this proximate factor during conflict and in post-conflict Sierra Leone was present and it increased vulnerability of woman and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

In Sierra Leone a war ravaged the country for over a decade. During the conflict and in the post-conflict phases, many women and girls became victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This chapter analyzed the relation between the proximate factors and the increase in the vulnerability of women to become victim of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

In the Breakdown of Government sub-chapter some evaluations were made. During the conflict in Sierra Leone there was no government strategy to be prioritized. Shortly after the conflict however, TiP reduction policies were introduced and prioritized. As a result, only during armed conflict this proximate factor increased the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Furthermore, the sub-chapter analyzes the role of corruption of government officials. Although no evidence was found that during conflict corrupt government officials increased vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation, in post-conflict Sierra Leone there was ample...
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Furthermore, in the Migrating Populations theme conclusions could be drawn. During the conflict as well as in post-conflict context the border and immigration controls were disrupted. Although during the conflict no evidence was found to relate this to TiP, in post-conflict Sierra Leone the lack of immigration and border control has been a facilitating factor in TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. As a result this factor has increased the vulnerability of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Additionally, the factor ‘migration as a consequence of economic breakdown which led to TiP’ was analyzed; it was found that the reasons for migration were not economic. In conflict as well as post-conflict context, it was only after migration women and girls were in more difficult economic circumstances. Therefore economic breakdown increased vulnerability of women and girls, but as a result of the migration and not the other way around as proposed by Cameron and Newman.

Furthermore, the factor ‘migration as a consequence of a lack of safety and security’ was analyzed. It was found that this proximate factor, in conflict and post-conflict context increased vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This is a result of a lack of protection in IDP camps during the war as well as stigma after attempting to return to villages post-conflict.

Finally, the two proximate factors attached to the Trafficking for War and Peace theme were analyzed. It was established that to some extent during, but mostly in post-conflict Sierra Leone, the demand in paid sexual services increased and simultaneously TiP, as a consequence of the presence of international troops. Furthermore, it was found that peacekeepers and international aid workers belonged to clientele of trafficked woman and girls as well as being involved in the TiP cycle. This has increased the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Additionally, it was found that the military groups were involved in TiP during conflict as well as post-conflict. This has increased the vulnerability of woman and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Figure 6 displays the relationship of which proximate factors explain the increase in vulnerability of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In the table is displayed whether the proximate factor contributes (‘+’) to the vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP in the case of Sierra Leone or not (‘-’).
Furthermore, two columns are added to display the differences in conflict phases. In the following chapter the case studies of Sierra Leone and BiH will be compared.

![Table of proximate factors and vulnerability to TiP in Sierra Leone](image)

Figure 6: Overview of the relationship between proximate factors and vulnerability to TiP in Sierra Leone
6. Comparison & Implications

The previous chapters on the case studies, BiH and Sierra Leone, were elaborated on the presence of proximate factors from Cameron and Newman’s (2008) framework in the umbrella themes. Furthermore, it was displayed to what extent these proximate factors explained the increase in vulnerability of TIP for purpose of sexual exploitation in that specific case study. In this chapter, the information obtained from the application of Cameron and Newman’s framework, will be used to compare the findings from both case studies within the umbrella themes. Furthermore, the explanatory value of the different factors will be compared. Finally, the comparison as well as the findings will be discussed in relation to Cameron and Newman’s (2008) Framework.

6.1 Breakdown of Governance

In the Breakdown of Government umbrella theme, two proximate factors from Cameron and Newman’s (2008) Framework were evaluated in the cases of BiH and Sierra Leone. In figure 7 the combined results of the findings could be found. In the following paragraphs these findings will be compared.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Proximate Factor</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Conflict</th>
<th>Post-Conflict</th>
<th>Explains increase in vulnerability of TIP for purpose of sexual exploitation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Breakdown of Governance</td>
<td>1. Government strategies to reduce TIP are not prioritized</td>
<td>BiH</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Breakdown of governance facilitates corruption among officials</td>
<td>BiH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>./+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>./+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7: Combined findings BiH and Sierra Leone Breakdown of Governance

6.1.1 Government strategies to reduce TIP

As displayed in figure 7, the proximate factor on non-prioritization of government strategies is explaining the increase in vulnerability of TIP for the purpose of sexual exploitation in the case of BiH. In BiH it was established that during the armed conflict as well as in post-conflict context government strategies were not prioritized. Similar was the situation of Sierra Leone during conflict. However, in post-conflict context the
Sierra Leonean government swiftly adopted counter trafficking legislation as well as policies and law enforcement mechanisms. Therefore it could be concluded that although governments prioritize TiP strategies, the vulnerability of individuals to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation might still increase in post-conflict context.

An important element that could explain the increase of vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP, is the implementation of government strategies. Although in post-conflict Sierra Leone the government adopted strategies to reduce TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation, the levels policy implementation and law enforcement were low. This element could be added to this proximate factor in the framework in order to explain the increase of vulnerability.

6.1.2 Corruption among government officials

In both BiH and Sierra Leone, no evidence was found that during armed conflict government officials were involved in TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation as a consequence of corruption. In both cases however, there was ample evidence of corrupt government officials being directly involved in TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation in post-conflict context (figure 7). Remarkable is that in Sierra Leone in addition to government officials, also medical practitioners were accused of corruption in relation to TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

The lack of evidence to confirm corruption of government officials could be a result of general underreporting which is often the case in times of conflict. Furthermore, BiH as well as Sierra Leone had societies in which corruption was widespread even before the onset of armed conflict. During the conflicts, it might not have been an issue to address as corruption was business as usual. An addition to Cameron and Newman’s framework could however, to add corruption among other professions, like medical practitioners.

In the Breakdown of Governance theme, the results from the case studies are very similar. The only difference between these two proximate factors is the non-prioritization of government strategies in post-conflict contexts.

6.2 Migrating Populations

The Migrating Populations umbrella theme evaluated three proximate factors from Cameron and Newman’s (2008) framework in the cases of BiH and Sierra Leone. In figure 8 the combined results of the findings could be found. In the following paragraphs these findings will be compared.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Proximate Factor</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Conflict</th>
<th>Post Conflict</th>
<th>Explains increase in vulnerability of TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Migrating Populations</td>
<td>Disruption of immigration and border controls</td>
<td>BiH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>. / +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>. / +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic breakdown causes migration to find alternative sources of income</td>
<td>BiH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>. / +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>. / +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of safety and security causes people to migrate</td>
<td>BiH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>. / +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 8: Combined findings BiH and Sierra Leone Migrating Populations

6.2.1 Immigration and border controls

In BiH as well as Sierra Leone the disruption of immigration and border controls were present during the conflict as well as in post-conflict setting. In both cases however, only in the post-conflict phase this proximate factor was related to TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Additionally, in both case studies the porous borders of the countries were important facilitating factors for TiP.

As was the case with corruption (6.1.2), the lack of evidence linking border control to TiP during conflict could be a result of underreporting. Another explanation could be that, in the post-conflict phase the lack of immigration and border control becomes more of an opportunity for traffickers. As the violence and political instability decreases it might become more lucrative for organizations to traffic cross border.

6.2.2 Migration, Economic breakdown and alternative sources of income

The proximate factor of economic breakdown causing migration and subsequently finding other sources of income was in both BiH as well as Sierra Leone not linked to the increase in vulnerability of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In the post-conflict context however, this was an important factor in BiH. In Sierra Leone, this factor could not be related to TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation in post-conflict context either. As a result, this proximate factor does not explain the increased vulnerability of women and girls fully.
In fact, by analyzing TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Sierra Leone, it was found that in conflict and post-conflict context, after women and girls had migrated their economic situation deteriorated which increased vulnerability for TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This could be a factor added to the framework of Cameron and Newman.

**6.2.3 Migration because of unsafety and insecurity**

The results found in this proximate factor differ somewhat from each other. During the conflict in BiH there no evidence was found on women or girls migrating as a consequence of unsafety and insecurity, and whom subsequently were trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In Sierra Leone to the contrary, woman and girls were more vulnerable while migrating to and staying in IDP camps during the conflict. In both post-conflict BiH and Sierra Leone, the number of TiP victims for the purpose of sexual exploitation is higher among IDP populations compared to other groups. This proximate factor, explains the increased vulnerability to TiP in post-conflict context in both case studies.

In the Migrating Populations theme are two differences in results of the application of proximate factors, all other findings are similar. The differences could be found in the proximate factor of economic breakdown causing migration in post-conflict context which is an explanatory factor in BiH but not in Sierra Leone. The other difference is related to the proximate factor on migration for safety and security. Whereas during the conflict this factor contributed to the increase invulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP in Sierra Leone, this was not the case in BiH.

**6.3 Trafficking for War and Peace**

In the Trafficking for War and Peace umbrella theme, two proximate factors from Cameron and Newman’s (2008) Framework were evaluated in the cases of BiH and Sierra Leone. In figure 9 the combined results of the findings could be found. In the following paragraphs these findings will be compared.
6.3.1 Influx of international troops

The proximate factor on influx of international troops explains the increase in vulnerability of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation in both cases in conflict as well as in post-conflict context. However, the evidence in both cases is slimmer during the war in contrast to the post-conflict evidence. This factor in Cameron and Newman’s (2008) framework explains the increased vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation fully.

Furthermore, there is an element which could be contributed to the framework. The framework does not mention the involvement of peacekeepers in TiP of women and girls, which was found in the case of BiH as well as Sierra Leone. This element increases the vulnerability of women and girls and could be added to this proximate factor.

6.3.2 Involvement of military groups in TiP

The proximate factor on the involvement of military groups in TiP explains the increased vulnerability of women and girls during conflict well. In BiH as well as Sierra Leone, armed groups subjected women and girls to TiP. Interesting is that in post-conflict however, in BiH the involvement of armed groups swiftly stopped, whereas in the case of Sierra Leone involvement of armed groups in TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation continued. In the literature was found that this could be attributed to the fact that over the years of conflict, it had become common practice.

In the final theme on Trafficking for War and Peace, in comparing the outcomes of the cases, the findings are similar. Only one difference could be found, in the factor of military groups utilizing trafficked women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation in post-conflict phase. Whereas this factor explains increased vulnerability in post-conflict Sierra Leone is does not in BiH.
6.4 Explaining Trafficking of women and girls for Sexual Exploitation in BiH and Sierra Leone

In the previous sections comparisons were made between the cases of BiH and Sierra Leone. This section will compare all sections with each other, analyzing to what extent the proximate factors explain the increased vulnerability of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation in the cases of BiH and Sierra Leone. In figure 10 all factors and whether they explain the increase in TiP of women and girls for sexual exploitation in a specific conflict phase, in a specific case are displayed. In order to structure the comparison of explanatory value, four classes will be used: Fully explanatory, case dependent and conflict phase dependent. The definition of these classes will be explained in the paragraphs from below. It should be stated that there is no proximate factor, which does not explain the TiP in any case study or conflict phase. As a result all the factors in Cameron and Newman’s (2008) framework have some explanatory value.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
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<td>-</td>
<td>+/ -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Breakdown of governance facilitates corruption among offenders</td>
<td>BiH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Disruption of immigration and border controls</td>
<td>BiH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Economic breakdown causes migration to find alternative sources of income</td>
<td>BiH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Lack of safety and security causes people to migrate</td>
<td>BiH</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migrating Populations</td>
<td>6. Relocation of foreign troops increases vulnerability in prostitution</td>
<td>BiH</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Military groups which traffick or exploit trafficked women and girls directly for the purpose of sexual exploitation</td>
<td>BiH</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 10: Combined findings BiH and Sierra Leone all themes

6.4.1 Fully explanatory proximate factor

With a fully explanatory proximate factor is meant, the factor which explains the increase in vulnerability to TiP in both cases in both conflict phases. As could be found from the different types of classes that are used in this section, it would logically follow that also a classification would be used in which proximate factor could be classified that did not obtain explanatory value. As a consequence of the fact that there is no proximate factor without explanatory value this class is left out.

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283 From the different types of classes that are used in this section, it would logically follow that also a classification would be used in which proximate factor could be classified that did not obtain explanatory value. As a consequence of the fact that there is no proximate factor without explanatory value this class is left out.
in figure 10, the proximate factor on the influx of foreign troops is fully explanatory. In BiH and Sierra Leone during conflict as well as in post-conflict context, the influx of foreign troops explains the increased vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

6.4.2 Case dependent proximate factors

The case dependent factors, are the proximate factors which to some extent explain the increase in vulnerability to TiP in one case. In one case study they explain the increased vulnerability, whereas in the other they do not. The non-prioritization of government strategies to reduce TiP, is fully explanatory in the case of BiH in Sierra Leone however, it does not explain the increased vulnerability of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation in the post-conflict context.

The second case dependent proximate factor is the factor on economic breakdown which causes migration and women and girls to look for other sources of income. This proximate factor does not explain the increase in vulnerability to TiP in the case of Sierra Leone. In post-conflict BiH however, it does explain the increase in vulnerability to TiP for purpose of sexual exploitation.

The third case dependent proximate factor, is the factor on migration for safety and security reasons. In the case of Sierra Leone, the increase in vulnerability to become victim of TiP is explained in conflict as well as post-conflict phase. In the case of BiH however, the factor is not present during the conflict.

Finally, the proximate factor on military groups involved in trafficking is a case dependent proximate factor. Whereas the increase in vulnerability is explained during conflict in BiH as well as Sierra Leone, in post-conflict context it only explains the increase in vulnerability in Sierra Leone. This proximate factor however, does not explain increase in vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP in post-conflict BiH.

6.4.3 Conflict phase dependent proximate factors

Finally, two proximate factors could be classified as conflict phase dependent proximate factors. These factors explain the increased vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation in both case studies but only in a specific conflict phase. As could be found in figure 10 the proximate factors on corrupt government officials and the disruption of immigration controls explain the increased vulnerability to TiP in post-conflict phase. In both case studies there has been no
explanatory value during conflict, in post-conflict context however it does explain the increased vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP.

In the previous paragraphs was displayed to what extent the proximate factors of Cameron and Newman’s (2008) framework have certain explanatory value. First, it is important to note that none of the factors have proven to be irrelevant to explain the increase in TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. One of the proximate factors, influx on foreign troops, has been classified as fully explanatory. Second, there have been four proximate factors identified that explain the increase in TiP in one case in a specific conflict phase. Finally, two proximate factors have shown identical results in both case studies in specific conflict phases.

6.5 Implications for Cameron and Newman's framework

The previous paragraphs compared the two cases studies. Accordingly was evaluated to what extent the findings were supported by the proximate factors of Cameron and Newman’s (2008) framework which explain the increased vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TiP. The following paragraphs will outlined based on the comparison and the section on the explanatory value of the proximate factors what implications this could have on the framework.

The proximate factor of non-prioritization of government strategies, could not fully explain the increase in vulnerability in post-conflict Sierra Leone. This was a result of the fact that indeed Sierra Leone’s government adopted counter-trafficking strategies but lacked policy implementation as well as law enforcement mechanisms. When this element would be included, the proximate factor would also explain the post-conflict phase in Sierra Leone case study.

Furthermore, when comparing case studies in the proximate factor on corruption of government officials, it was found that in Sierra Leone also officials other than government officials were mentioned related to corruption in TiP cases. As a result, this is an element which could be added to the framework of Cameron and Newman.

Also the proximate factor on economic breakdown causing migration and which leads women and girls to look for other sources of income could be of more explanatory value. By adding another element to this factor namely, deterioration of economic situation as a consequence of migration causes to find other sources of income.
Although the proximate factor regarding the influx of foreign troops is fully explanatory, there is an element that could be added. In the comparison of the case studies, it was found that in BiH as well as in Sierra Leone peacekeepers as well as members of the international community were actively involved in TiP for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This is an element which could be added as an element in the framework.

In the previous paragraphs was shown, that although the explanatory value of Cameron and Newman’s (2008) Framework has been shown, some elements could be added to specific proximate factors. This would make the framework more comprehensive and increase the explanatory value, in the cases of BiH and Sierra Leone. The elements which could be incorporated in the framework are: the implementation of government strategies to reduce TiP, the corruption of officials other than government officials, economic deterioration as a consequence of migration, and active involvement of peacekeepers and members of the international community in TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

From the comparison of the results between the case studies follows, that there are very limited differences between the case studies. Furthermore, in this chapter was established to what extent the proximate factors of both case studies explain the TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation during conflict as well as in post conflict in BiH and Sierra Leone. The factor of influx of foreign troops has been proven to be fully explanatory in conflict as well as post-conflict phases in both case studies. Additionally, four factors have proven to have case dependent explanatory value. As a result, these factors have proven to be of explanatory value in a specific case. Lastly, two proximate factors have proven to obtain conflict phase dependent explanatory value. Meaning that they explain the TiP of women and girls either in conflict or post-conflict phase in the cases of BiH and Sierra Leone. Furthermore, some elements were identified which could be of added value in Cameron and Newman’s (2008) Framework in order to increase its explanatory value, namely: the implementation of government strategies, corruption of officials other than government officials, economic deterioration as a consequence of migration, and involvement of peacekeepers and members of the international community in TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation.
7. Conclusions

The relationship between armed conflict and TIP has recently been acknowledged. This thesis is aiming at examining this relationship, by testing the theoretical framework of Cameron and Newman (2008) focusing on TIP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation in the cases of BiH and Sierra Leone. In order to find out to what extent the proximate factors in the framework are able to explain TIP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation in both case the following findings were obtained.

First, the concept of TIP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation was identified and fitted it the broader framework of SGBV. Second, it was established how Cameron and Newman’s (2008) framework fits in the field of Critical Security Studies. Furthermore, this framework consisting of structural and proximate factors was explained, focusing on the structural factor ‘war or conflict’ with its corresponding seven proximate factors. Additionally, the relationship between the proximate factors and the increase in vulnerability of women and girls to become victims of TIP for the purpose of sexual exploitation was explained.

Third, the proximate factors were applied to the case studies of BiH and Sierra Leone and it tested the extent to which proximate factors in each study could explain the increased vulnerability to TIP of woman and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Fourth, the findings from the case studies were compared and the explanatory value of the proximate factors was examined.

From the comparison of the case studies follows that there were very little differences in proximate factors explaining the increase in vulnerability of TIP for the purpose of sexual exploitation between the case studies during conflict and in post-conflict context. One of the proximate factors, the influx of international troops, explained TIP in both case studies during conflict and post-conflict. Additionally, four of the proximate factors, non-prioritizing government policy, economic breakdown causes migration and alternative sources of income, migration for unsafety and insecurity, and military groups, have found to be case-dependent proximate factors. These proximate factors explain the increase in vulnerability of TIP in one of the cases, but not in both. Finally, two of the proximate factors, corruption of government officials and disruption of
immigration and border control, were classified as conflict phase dependent. These proximate factors explain the increase in vulnerability of TiP in both cases but in only one of the conflict phases.

Furthermore, some elements were identified which could be of added value in Cameron and Newman’s (2008) Framework in order to increase its explanatory value, namely: the implementation of government strategies, corruption of officials other than from government, economic deterioration as a consequence of migration, and involvement of peacekeepers and members of the international community in TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

It is worth mentioning that this research work has been faced with some limitations and constraints, which is basically related to the lack of strategic information related to TiP of women and girls for the purpose of sexual exploitation which is often scarce and getting more challenging during in conflict contexts. Furthermore, when using two case studies, claims about the general cannot be made and this is not the intention of the thesis.
Bibliography


http://www.unwomen.org/~/media/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/CSW/59/National_reviews/Sierra_Leone_review_Beijing20.pdf.


Sold or Sex because of War: Trafficking of women and girls for the purpose of Sexual Exploitation during conflict and in post-conflict context in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sierra Leone


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