

EastBordNet

COST Action IS0803 Working Paper

**“Balkan Brothels”:
A Filmic Investigation into the Correlation between Human Trafficking
and International Peacekeeping Missions**

Dr. Michaela Schäuble

Department of Anthropology

Martin-Luther University Halle-Wittenberg (Germany)

michaela.schaeuble@ethnologie.uni-halle.de

This paper was first presented at: **WS3: Border Transgressions of Gender and Sexuality**

WG or WS Name: **Gender and Sexuality**

On: **5-6 November 2010**

Location: **Budapest**

Keywords: **human trafficking; forced prostitution; human rights; international peacekeeping missions; organised crime; UNO; NATO; Balkans; documentary film**

Disciplines: **anthropology; gender studies**

Abstract

“Die Helfer und Die Frauen” (“The Peacekeepers and the Women”) is a documentary film directed by German filmmaker Karin Jurschick in 2003 that exposes the structures of trafficking and (forced) prostitution in its correlation with international ‘peacekeeping missions’ in the Balkans. One of the disturbing repercussions of the presence of NATO-led forces such as KFOR, SFOR and various relief organizations in the post-war regions of the former Yugoslavia has been a considerable increase of trafficking across the borders of neighbouring states (i.e. Moldova, Romania, Ukraine, etc.). As a result, the forcible abduction of women and girls or their recruitment under false pretences into coerced prostitution has become a flourishing shadow economy in Bosnia-Herzegovina and especially in Kosovo. My contribution will comment on the nexuses mentioned above in relation to Jurschick’s filmic investigation of the topic.

Hopes Betrayed

In 2002, Human Rights Watch (HRW) reported on extensive trafficking into and within the Western Balkans since the start of the 1990s. This report, entitled HOPES BETRAYED: TRAFFICKING OF WOMEN AND GIRLS TO POST-CONFLICT BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA FOR FORCED PROSTITUTION revealed for the first time that Bosnia-Herzegovina was not simply a point of transit and/or source in trafficking (mainly) women and girls into the EU, but that these women were trafficked *into* Bosnia-Herzegovina and victimised in the sex trade to meet a demand specifically generated by members of the United Nations, NATO international peace-keepers, private subcontractors, and relief workers (i.e. Friman & Reich 2007: 2; see 2002 HRW report at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/bosnia/>).¹ Under headings such as “Police As Bar/Brothel Owners and Traffickers”, “Police As Employees of Establishments”, “Police Complicity and Corruption: Bribes and Freebies”, “Police Visitors to the Nightclubs” or “Tip-offs about Raids” HRW provides evidence for the direct involvement of international civilian police forces in shielding or actively supporting traffickers and further describes the practices of police of taking advantage of women detained in police raids.

In a 2004 follow-up report, entitled TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN AND GIRLS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, HRW provides additional documents that prove that civilian police expelled from one mission due to involvement in prostitution and trafficking were redeployed in other missions, that American civilian police officers (in this case in Kosov@) were involved in activities violating the code of conduct, and that one accepted gifts from a brothel owner in the form of “girls”. The report further contains a Memorandum describing the

¹ Further reports on the topic include *Victims of Trafficking in the Balkans: A Study of Trafficking in Women and Children for Sexual Exploitation to, through and from the Balkan Region* (Geneva, Switzerland: International Office of Migration, 2001), available at http://www.iom.int/en/PDF_Files/Others/balkan_trafficking.pdf; M. Radovanovic and A. Kartusch, *Combat of Trafficking in Women for the Purpose of Forced Prostitution. Bosnia and Herzegovina - Country Report* (Vienna: Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights, 2001), available at <http://www.univie.ac.at/bim/download/bosnia.pdf>; Barbara Limanowska, *Trafficking in Human Beings in South Eastern Europe*. (New York: UNDP, 2005), available at <http://www.unicef.org/ceecis/Trafficking.Report.2005.pdf>; Dina F. Haynes, “Used, Abused, Arrested and Deported: Extending Immigration Benefits to Protect the Victims of Trafficking and to Secure the Prosecution of Traffickers,” *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2004): 221–272; Amnesty International, *So Does It Mean We Have the Rights? Protecting the Human Rights of Women and Girls Trafficked for Forced Prostitution in Kosovo* (London: Amnesty International, 2004).

involvement of International Police Task Force (IPTF) members in trafficking of women and related misconduct and verifies that Bosnia is a major destination for trafficked women. This report also confirms disciplinary action against American personnel assigned to the International Police Task Force due to allegations of improper conduct in connection with trafficking in women. In reading these reports and the related documents there remains no doubt that the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) had knowledge of these incidents and practices and did not manage and/or intend to intervene timely and appropriately (http://www.hrw.org/english/docs/2004/06/14/bosher8815_txt.htm).

The author of the HRW reports, the lawyer Martina E. Vandenberg, conducted research for HRW on trafficking in BiH from 1998 to 2001 and in 2006. Based on her research and access to documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act (and published in the 2004 HRW report), Vandenberg comes to the conclusion that the international peacekeeping operations in the region effectively created the grounds (and the markets) on which human trafficking and sex trade could flourish (Vandenberg 2004; 2005 & 2007; see also Friman & Reich 2007: 16). This nexus, however, is not just a specificity of the Balkans, but concerns a number of other conflict and post-conflict regions. In their 2002 study *Women, War and Peace*, Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf report that UN peacekeepers have been found involved in sexual violence, including trafficking and that “[v]iolations have been documented in Angola, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia, DRC, East Timor, Liberia, Mozambique, Kosovo, Sierra Leone and Somalia” (Rehn & Sirleaf 2002: 70). There are no exact numbers of victims of trafficking in South East Europe, but based on the number of women identified by police in bar raids, referred to the IOM and other organizations, and assisted in South Eastern Europe during this time period as well as based on estimates of the likely unofficial figure in Barbara Limankowska’s updated report *Trafficking in Human Beings in South Eastern Europe*, about 15,000 females may have been trafficked in the three and a half years between January 2000 and June 2003 (Limanowska 2005; see also Mendelson 2005: 9).

Martina E. Vandenberg also researched DKPO's knowledge of international Peacekeepers' involvement in human trafficking and reports that a December 2004 DPKO publication clearly indicates awareness of the situation by stating: "Peacekeepers' use of trafficking victims for sexual and other services has been a source of major embarrassment and political damage to U.N. PKOs [peacekeeping operations]. Despite the fact that PKO involvement is usually not widespread, the political and moral stigma attached to this behaviour can taint entire missions."² The contribution of the majority of uniformed service members and civilian contractors who honourably work in peacekeeping operations is profoundly damaged by such misconducts and human rights abuses.

Filmic Investigation into Peacekeepers' Participation in Trafficking

Around the time when this scandalous development in the Balkans started to become public, the German documentary filmmaker Karin Jurschick set out to document various trafficking patterns and reveal the entanglement of international NATO-led forces on-site. Equipped only with her video camera she travelled to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosov@ to investigate the matter and confront various parties involved in the forced recruitment, harbouring, and movement of women for the express purpose of enslavement. Her 2003 film DIE HELFER UND DIE FRAUEN, [THE PEACEKEEPERS AND THE WOMEN] is a remarkable piece of investigative journalism that won the Arte-Documentary Award for Best German Documentary and the Adolf-Grimme-Award, also known as the „German TV Oscar.“ The film, however, remains strangely unnoticed, not only in academic but also in activists' circles working on the issue. I will take a closer look at the film and relate its findings to HRW reports and other written material related to the connection between international peacekeeping missions and trafficking.

The films' synopsis reads as follows:

² United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations Best Practices Unit, *Human Trafficking Resource Package*, New York, December 2004, 23, quoted in Vandenberg 2007.

“THE PEACEKEEPERS AND THE WOMEN shows how the trafficking of women and girls and forced prostitution in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo has advanced into a lucrative economic sector. Members of the international troops and the aid organizations stationed there are some of the slave holders’ well-heeled customers. Women and girls from Moldavia and other areas are often lured with false promises into the conflict zone. THE PEACEKEEPERS AND THE WOMEN shows how military and political organizations try to solve the problems they are partly responsible for causing. When troops withdraw, the infrastructures built to accommodate affluent peacekeeping organizations remain, and become attractive to the resident population. In the best-case scenario, the UN, NATO and other organizations bring human rights and democracy to a country before they withdraw. Yet the criminal exploitation of women that has been established in their wake carries on indefinitely. THIS FILM IS NOT AVAILABLE IN THE US.”

In her film, Jurschick mainly shows how the international institutions are trying to solve the problem of human trafficking and forced prostitution – the very problem they intrinsically supported or even created themselves. She interviews several representatives of women’s organizations in BiH and Kosov@, UN officials, former UN police officers and others on the topic of trafficking and also conducts anonymous interviews with trafficked women. With her camera she follows brothel raids by UN police and traces the security implications of both human rights abuses and organised crime – all in all she provides a comprehensive and unvarnished assessment of the situation on-site. She also tackles the issue that the constant misperceptions of trafficking in humans as “just prostitution” have systematically led to sanitisation and/or inaction on an institutional and organisational level. In my paper, I will give a short overview of the various aspects of the nexus between peacekeeping missions and the trafficking of women and girls mentioned in Jurschick’s film. I will also discuss some of the advantages and disadvantages of a filmic approach towards these issues and in the last section of the paper I will offer some considerations on the role of borders, border-crossings and border-control in relation to trafficking/sex trade in the Western Balkans and beyond.

Near the beginning of her film, Jurschick talks to an American UN police woman who was stationed in the gender office in Bosnia and who, after writing an email in which she informed officials early on about the involvement of UN international police officers in abusing women, was first transferred for disciplinary reasons and then dismissed. Jurschick then has a chance to confront Jacques Paul Klein, then Principal Deputy High Representative with the Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina with this case/allegations. By contrasting their statements Jurschick illustrates how matters are dealt with and hushed up by the UN. After the dismissal of the Policewomen, Jacques Paul Klein hired the journalist Celhia de Lavarene as his personal consultant in gender questions, and she initiated so-called S.T.O.P. – a Special Trafficking Operation Programme.³ The STOP teams conduct raids in bars and nightclubs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They are also responsible for helping victims of human trafficking to return to their home countries. Jurschick gets to film an interview with a trafficked woman who contacts the STOP team to be repatriated to Moldova. Through the statement of this lady it becomes clear that women are being bought and sold like slaves, are physically and psychologically abused and do not earn enough money to return to their home countries by their own means. The UN police categorises the women as either “actual victim” or “genuine prostitute” and the “victims” are transferred to the repatriation programme of the International Organization of Migration, IOM. The annual budget of IOM for anti-trafficking initiatives worldwide is 8.5 million Euros. The Head of the International Human Rights Law Group Bosnia states that trafficking as well as Anti-Trafficking have by now turned into a lucrative “industry.”

Madeleine Rees, former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina and one of the leading figures in the field of women’s rights, peace, and security heavily criticises the activities of the STOP teams, as they do not follow an overreaching strategy

³ In an interview in the film Celhia de Lavarene tells that after having asked Jacques Paul Klein for an exact job description, he apparently answered: “I need someone who looks like a woman but has balls.” When Jacques Paul Klein was transferred to Liberia in 2004 to run the peacekeeping mission there, he hired Celhia de Lavarene again to fight human trafficking. She found that young girls from across Eastern Europe, Asia and North Africa had been trafficked to Liberia, following the international UN peacekeeping troops around the globe.

and have “no substance and no sustainability.” In an interview in the film she points out that STOP and IOM can only help women who contact them by their own free will and want to return to their home countries. All other women that are registered by the STOP teams are either arrested for prostitution, handed back to their traffickers, or deported because of their illegal status. Male IPTF (International Police Task Force) officers have no sustainable way of dealing with trafficked women, nor the necessary sensibility on how to approach them in order to help. During raids they kick in nightclub doors in the manner of action movies and arrest women, but in the long run they only record names and produce numbers for their statistics but do not change the overall situation of trafficked women. When not properly done, brothels raids have no real consequence either, as bar and brothel owners simply open new establishments after a raid. In addition, according to Rees, local police are not trained in how to carry out proper searches and when the IPTF eventually leave, local police forces are left to themselves and probably will not achieve much improvement either.

In Kosov@, the situation is comparable to BiH and the “peacekeeping community” consisting of KFOR (NATO forces in Kosovo) and UNMIK (UN Mission in Kosovo) also have an impact on schemes and markets for trafficking women and girls. Different from in Bosnia, however, IDPF in Kosov@ have the right to interrogate and arrest suspects and do house searches, whereas in Bosnia only local police can perform such tasks. Jurschick addresses the topic filmically by accompanying UNMIK troops during house searches and bar/brothel raids with her camera. The viewer gets an impression of how badly the women are treated and intimidated– not just by traffickers, “employers” and customers, but also by international police whose actual aim should be to protect them. Jurschick also witnesses how UNMIK personnel not only searches bars and brothels but also frequents them as customers.

Furthermore, she focuses on the public relations of the UN and analyses programmes of UNMIK-TV, the broadcasting station of the UN mission in Kosovo. She makes clear how TV-shows that are intended to educate local police officers about the topic of trafficking are

modelled on the British “Crimewatch” programme and provide little more than kitschy clichés concerning the harsh realities of trafficked women in post-conflict regions.

Apart from filming in BiH and Kosov@, the filmmaker finally visits a “reintegration initiative” in Moldova that tries to find jobs for women who had previously been trafficked and then later sent back to Moldova. Interviewing members of this initiative and women who were forced to return or returned voluntarily, she concludes a.) that “the face of poverty is female” and b.) that trafficking follows the rules of the market and that the “demand” in women is shifting to other ‘war zones’ such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, etc., following the presence of the international community, without the UN efficiently intervening.

All in all, Jurschick manages to gain some significant insights into UN strategies of dealing with involved personnel: police who stand traceably convicted of abusing women are sent home by the UN, but without any record in their file – which means that officially there was no “misconduct” and the UN does not take responsibility for their behaviour. The incidents are, in short, covered up.

Challenges and Risks of International ‘Peacekeeping Missions’

United Nations peace operations in former conflict regions have the avowed aim of settling local conflicts, furthering democratisation processes and helping in the reconstruction of a functioning civil society. These operations, however, often have (unintended) side effects that promote criminal machinations and networks – constellations that are also closely related to gender and human rights issues in the affected post-conflict regions but are often neglected or overlooked by the international community. Madeleine Rees has continuously pointed towards the nexus between international peacekeeping operations and trafficking. Jurschick uses interviews with Rees in her film that she skilfully and provocatively intercuts with statements by Jacques Paul Klein, who is systematically downplays the impact of the presence of internationals on local criminal networks, corruption and trafficking. In these interviews Rees openly criticises

UN policies and their consequences and, for example, states: “Introducing the free market economy, what we didn’t do was having a regulative framework for that quickly enough. And unfortunately by doing nothing to prevent the trafficking in persons, we have actually facilitated the growth of organised crime, because essentially the traffickers are the same ones who were making money in the conflict. They were the one who were initially trading throughout the conflict – they have now just changed the product: They are now trafficking. So in fact, by failing to do that we have failed to, I think, give enough support to the development of a coherent and legal economy.” Ambassador Klein on the other hand, takes the view that “[w]hat we are talking about is multi-national crime. I’m talking about major smuggling of gasoline, alcohol, tobacco...has nothing to do with internationals. The few thousand internationals here have some impact on rents, and paying salaries. But I am talking of massive national corruption.” Rees, again counters: “And that corruption, as I say, is just a nice handy little screen that we can then blame everything on instead of actually dealing with our own failures and actually working through the systems. This is just another historical incident where militarisation has led to the abuse of women. If you look historically at militarisation in the Philippines, in Cambodia, Thailand, Mozambique – every single place that has then ended up with some form of trafficking for sexual exploitation. This is no different. The traffickers are nothing better than very smart entrepreneurs. They see a market and then they seek to exploit that market.” In this verbal repartee that Jurschick creates by intercutting the two interviews, it becomes clear that the connection between trafficking and the systematic abuse of women, organized crime and the presence of internationals in post-conflict regions is a complex yet tragically obvious one, that still many refuse to acknowledge.

The United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations’ (DPKO) Cover-Up Strategies

At the time when Jurschick and others investigated the correlation between peacekeeping missions in the Balkans and trafficking, civilian and military leadership at NATO headquarters in

Bosnia and Kosovo avoided the topic and the reactions of individual soldiers, police officers and civilians, as well as organisational attitudes ranged from indifference, denial, misperception to acceptance. With the increasing attention brought to the topic, however, the official standpoint started to change. “In 2004, the U.S. Department of Defense, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the United Nations each took potentially dramatic steps to address the role of peacekeeping operations in human trafficking. They each adopted a zero-tolerance policy on trafficking,” Sarah E. Mendelson recounts in her 2005 report *BARRACKS AND BROTHELS on peacekeepers and human trafficking in the Balkans* (Mendelson 2005: viii). In the same report she also outlines the reasons why the successful implementation of these anti-trafficking policies was heavily challenged from the beginning and that the above mentioned organisations were rather reluctant to directly address the security implications of misconduct by uniformed service members and civilian contractors, as well as in acknowledging the role of organized crime in shaping the security environment in post-conflict regions (*ibid.*).

Although “in December 2006, U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan reiterated his ‘zero tolerance’ policy toward sexual exploitation and abuse by peacekeepers, admitting that U.N. personnel had committed crimes including ‘rape, pedophilia, and human trafficking’ in missions around the world”⁴ (Vandenberg 2007), the UN’s Special Trafficking Operations Program (STOP) and international as well as local anti-trafficking strategies did not really prove successful – partly due to the impact of patterns of immunity accorded to members of the international community.

New numbers, released in 2005 that suggest a reduction in human trafficking, can according to Vandenberg, sadly be accredited to the fact that large numbers of the international

⁴ “The United Nations’ own statistics indicated that as of 2006, only 316 peacekeeping personnel had faced investigation in all missions. These investigations resulted in the summary dismissal of 18 civilians, repatriation of 17 members of police units, and 144 repatriations or rotations home on disciplinary grounds. In comments made on December 5, 2006, Secretary General Annan did not point to any criminal convictions, and conceded that the United Nations lacked the authority to discipline 80 percent of 100,000 people working in its peacekeeping operations. BBC News, “Zero Tolerance’ for UN Sex Abuse,” 5 December 2006, (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/6208774.stm>)” (Vandenberg 2007)

military and civilian forces had left the country (Vandenberg 2007). Like Jurschick in her film, Vandenberg also comes to the conclusion that it is crucial to address the criminal accountability of UN personnel and to seriously question their ability to “act with impunity.”

Advantages and Disadvantages of Approaching the Topic Filmically

In her documentary, Karin Jurschick interviews a number of people, among them members of Bosnian women’s organizations; the Special Commissioner of the Secretary General and coordinator of the UN-mission BiH Jacques Paul Klein; the High Commissioner for Human Rights in BiH; the President of the Association of Private Entrepreneurs Republika Srpska, BiH; a former UN policewoman in Bosnia, Gender Office; the coordinator of S.T.O.P., Celhia de Lavarene; the Producer of the UNMIK-TV, the TV station of the UN mission in Kosov@; the Media Commissioner of the UN; leaders of the investigation unit for trafficking in Kosov@; the Regional Commander of UN Police in Kosov@; the Head of the Mission International Organization for Migration IOM Kosovo; the Head of the Mission IOM Moldova; the Head of the International Human Rights Law Group Bosnia as well as a series of trafficked women who anonymously report about their destinies.

The film gives a voice to trafficked and abused women without revealing their identity and without violating their dignity. Through these statements the viewer gets an impression of these women’s various reasons for leaving their home countries, their hopes for a better life, the false pretence under which they were lured into prostitution, the way they are treated by traffickers but also (international) police etc. They directly confirm that their customers included UN personnel. As eyewitness report, these statements of the women on camera have a strong impact on viewers.

In the way the film is constructed Jurschick manages to radically contrast the viewpoints of different actors involved. As a filmmaker and investigative journalist she can describe the situation more drastically than an “objective” scientific report and she takes a clear political

standpoint. Her film is an educational or activists' film inasmuch as she gives an overview of possible contact points and helplines for trafficked women. The film could further be used as instructive material in the class room as well as in training programmes for international staff in future peacekeeping missions.

By working with a small, mobile camera team, often only consisting of Jurschick herself and an interpreter, she also manages to convey a realistic image of how the lives of the international troops look like, i.e. in a SFOR camp. The mobility of her small team also allows her to directly accompany raids of IPTF in night clubs and brothels and to record the ways under which trafficked women and women forced into prostitution live and how they are being treated by international police. By closely following various tasks of UN personnel she directly and indirectly shows how the bureaucracy of the UN works, or rather fails. These, I would say, are all advantages of the medium film in comparison to non-visual research techniques, be they of journalistic, scientific or activist nature. A further obvious advantage of the medium film is its vividness and accessibility. Released in 2003 Jurschick's film created awareness for the topic long before it was a major public issue in the news and has the potential to reach a broad audience – even if one would wish the film a far more wide-reaching reception.

Security Implications and Border Politics

Trafficking in conflict and post-conflict regions has security implications – most often connected to organised crime - that are frequently overlooked. Mendelson has rightly pointed out that trafficking not only provides criminals with resources, but that networks that traffic in humans also traffic in guns and narcotics (Mendelson 2005: 14). With particular relation to peacekeeping missions, military misconduct that involves human rights abuses clearly poses a serious threat to the credibility and local acceptance of these missions (ibid.)

Friman and Reich refer to four different conceptual approaches towards human trafficking as

- a.) a migration problem
- b.) a law enforcement problem

c.) a human rights challenge

d.) a broader economic issue

each of which advocates different solution strategies (Friman & Reich 2007: 11f) – and all of which are in one way or another related to the issue of border control. “Parallel to these globalization processes [leading to the displacement of marginalized populations and, in turn, increased incentives for migration and the rise of transnational criminal networks] regionalization processes have contributed to the increasingly porous nature of national borders. Within the EU, states have become less able to regulate transnational flows as external borders have pushed deeper into geographic areas where the institutional apparatus and physical capacity to guard borders have not, historically, been as well developed” (Friman & Reich 2007: 4). This statement clearly illustrates the close connection between trafficking/sex trade and changing border politics.

In Jurschick’s film, Sevima Sali-Terzic, Head of the International Human Rights Law Group Bosnia states: “I was very frustrated, for instance, at a meeting with some ambassadors. Most of them thought about illegal migration as a problem and they thought that in Bosnia we should do something to prevent [trafficked women] to get to Western Europe. Whereas they never thought about these women as victims of horrible crimes and horrible human rights abuse. So, sometimes it is more about – again – denying women’s rights to make their own decisions.” Jacques Paul Klein confirms this attitude by maintaining: “When we got here, Bosnia-Herzegovina had no visa regime. Anyone could come for 90 days from anywhere the world. And I can show you the figures: When you look at six months in the year 2000, we had 14.000 Iranians enter Sarajevo airport. 1263 left legally, 13.000 went somewhere else in Europe. That’s why we created the state border service, that’s why we created the STOP team. And those numbers now are down to almost nothing. So what you need: first you need a visa regime. You need laws on deportation, denaturalisation, you need a secure border. Now, as you know, yesterday we finally closed the border of Bosnia-Herzegovina. So 100% of the border is secure. Now why? [...] [Previously] you didn’t need internal border control. Now we are an independent

state and we want to get into Europe. And as I told the leadership here: ‘Look. Europe has a Schengen curtain around it. If you want to get into Europe, you gonna have to demonstrate that our borders are as secure as anyone else’s.’” His statement illustrates that trafficking is still not seen as a major problem in itself and that helping trafficked women and girls are not among the main objectives of the STOP teams. UN officials are rather much more interested in the border and migration issues involved. In other, more drastic words: they don’t care what happens to these women as long as they don’t violate the Schengen border agreements and illegally enter into Western Europe.

In 2004, “Amnesty International and Anti-Slavery International’s Recommendations to strengthen provisions of the July 2004 draft European Convention against Trafficking in Human Beings” was published, entailing suggestions for the protection and assistance of trafficked persons and witnesses. One of the Articles, concerned with Border measures, lists, along others, the following suggestions:

- Without prejudice to international commitments in relation to the free movement of persons, Parties shall strengthen, to the extent possible, such border controls as may be necessary to prevent and detect trafficking in human beings.
- Parties shall consider strengthening co-operation among border control agencies by, *inter alia*, establishing and maintaining direct channels of communication (<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/IOR61/016/2004/en/5271c0ab-d596-11dd-bb24-1fb85fe8fa05/ior610162004en.pdf>)

When relating these suggestions to the realities presented in the film DIE FRAUEN UND DIE HELFER it can be stated that such suggestions might be useful on a superficial level but do not really tackle the roots of the problem. Strengthened border controls do not really help these women. On the contrary: a strengthening of border and visa regimes between EU and non-EU countries will widen the wealth gap between Western und South-Eastern European countries. It has become clear throughout Jurschick’s film that the desolate situation of many women in

their home countries and the existence of criminal networks that exploit their poverty cannot easily change by sealing-up borders. Sealing-up borders can only help to defer these problems and keep them away from EU countries. Strengthened border controls further cannot change the assessment that “the face of poverty is female” and that women who have to act as breadwinners for their families are sexually exploited by traffickers, but also simply by anyone who can afford it. Heightened border controls will also not change the fact the human rights violations in relation to trafficked women are still vastly trivialised – with those responsible for international peace keeping missions leading the way. The problem can only be solved if trafficking as well as anti-trafficking efforts no longer pose a “lucrative industry” in economically weakened conflict and post-conflict regions – this is also the message of Karin Jurschick’s film.

Jurschick ends her film with a number of forecasting statements by outspoken women who featured throughout the documentary. Mara Radovanovic, the spokeswoman of the Bosnian women’s organisation Lara, for example, expects continuation of human rights abuse in Bosnia: “I don’t think that now trafficking will stop when the internationals leave, because it became a kind of attraction for men, for Bosnian men. And even when they leave, I think that Bosnian men will go to nightclubs, too. It became some kind of common thing to go there.” Madeleine Rees seconds this assessment by stating that “[f]rom 1995 [brothel customers were] almost 100% internationals. Last year it was calculated at roughly perhaps 30%, but that meant 70% of the money going in, because internationals spent more money – in drinks, whatever. Now, talking with the NGO’s who are to talk with the women who have been trafficked, they say that most of their clients are actually Bosnian. Which is probably right. But then, if you think of it, it’s a bit like having a mobile phone: that to actually set up the infrastructure and everything else costs a lot of money and therefore the prices are prohibited. So only if you have access to money can you afford to buy the product. Well, now the infrastructure is set up, the trafficking routes are established, the buildings are there, the routes...it’s all set up. And it’s a much cheaper market.” This problem, however, is not limited to the Balkans. With the shifting location of conflicts and

post-conflict interventions of international troops, the trafficking routes change. Liuba Revenko, Head of the IOM Mission Moldova observes the following: “As we now see the military conflict moving to the Afghanistan and Pakistan area, we have now very many signals that Moldovan girls are really being trafficked to this part of the world. And also to Israel and Arab countries. And it becomes really more difficult to help them get back. But the rule of the market act here: when you have the demand, you would always regulate the supply to the market.” And in a concluding remark Madeleine Rees also warns against a global expansion of human rights violations and the abuse of women after the model established in Bosnia-Herzegovina: “How do women manage to find their own way to Kabul when you have to cross so many borders, where it’s so difficult, where it’s so regulated? And it’s a classic case of trafficking. I was speaking to a journalist, a war correspondent and he was saying: ‘why isn’t a UN and everybody else doing something about this now? Because now is the time to stop it. Let it entrench itself, you’re gonna have another Bosnia.’ And that’s so true.”⁵ The anti-trafficking measures as they have been developed and implemented in South Eastern Europe are not completed yet and the modalities of trafficking in the region keep changing. Nevertheless, the vast findings and remarkable number of reports written by politically engaged and brave women so far might serve as a gateway for awareness-raising activities and effective programmes that can also be implemented beyond the Balkans.

⁵ The last shot of the film is of Jacques Paul Klein listening to Emmerich Kálmán’s sentimental operetta “Die Zirkusprinzessin” in his office.

Bibliography:

Friman, Richard H. and Simon Rich (eds.) (2007), *Human Trafficking, Human Security, and the Balkans*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Human Rights Watch Report (2002) "Trafficking of Women and Girls to Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina for Forced Prostitution"
http://www.crin.org/docs/resources/treaties/crc.39/Bosnia_HRW_ngo_report.pdf (accessed 22/02/11)

Limanowska, Barbara (2005), *Trafficking in Human Beings in South Eastern Europe*. New York: UNDP. <http://www.unicef.org/ceecis/Trafficking.Report.2005.pdf> (accessed 22/02/11)

Mendelson, Sarah E. (2005), *Barracks and Brothels. Peacekeepers and Human Trafficking in the Balkans*. The CISS Press: Washington.
http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/0502_barracksbrothels.pdf (accessed 22/02/11)

Rehn, Elisabeth and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (2002), *Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building*. New York: UN Development Fund for Women.

Vandenberg, Martina E. (2007), "Peacekeeping and Rule Breaking: United Nations Anti-Trafficking Policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina," in *Human Trafficking, Human Security, and the Balkans*, edited by Richard H. Friman and Simon Rich. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press: 81-95.

Vandenberg, Martina E. (2005) "Peacekeeping, Alphabet Soup, and Violence against Women in the Balkans," in *Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping*, edited by Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts and Jane Parpart. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers: 150-167.

Vandenberg, Martina E. (2005) "Out of Bondage: Defense Department Should Focus Attack on Global Trafficking in People," *Legal Times*, Vol. 27, No. 7.
http://www.jenner.com/files/tbl_s20Publications/RelatedDocumentsPDFs1252/889/Legal_Times_Vandenberg_021405.pdf (accessed 22/02/11)

Filmography

Jurschick, Karin (2003) *Die Helfer und die Frauen*, Germany (80 min)