

Child Trafficking in Norway

Media Perspectives of Child Trafficking in VG and Klassekampen

Liu Yang



**Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Master of Philosophy in
Culture, Environment and Sustainability**

Centre for Development and the Environment

University of Oslo

Blindern, Norway

June 2008

Table of Contents

TABLE OF CONTENTS	III
LIST OF TABLES AND CHARTS.....	VI
PREFACE	VIII
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 THESIS OBJECTIVES	3
1.2 KEY CONCEPTS.....	4
1.3 METHODOLOGY	6
1.3.1 <i>Media Analysis</i>	7
1.3.2 <i>Interview</i>	12
1.3.3 <i>Survey</i>	14
1.4 THESIS OUTLINE	17
2. CHILD TRAFFICKING, CONCEPTS AND INTERNATIONAL BACKGROUND.....	18
2.1 WHAT DOES CHILD TRAFFICKING ENTAIL?.....	19
2.1.1 <i>About Human Trafficking</i>	19
White Slavery	20
Illegal Immigration	21
Trans-national Organized Crime	22
2.1.2 <i>About ‘Children’</i>	26
2.1.3 <i>About ‘Exploitation’</i>	31
2.2 EXPLAINING CHILD TRAFFICKING.....	34
2.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	37
3. NORWAY AND CHILD TRAFFICKING	40
3.1 A CHILD-FRIENDLY COUNTRY.....	40
3.2 CHILD TRAFFICKING IN NORWAY.....	42

3.3	NORWAY AGAINST CHILD TRAFFICKING	45
3.4	CHALLENGES TO NORWAY AGAINST CHILD TRAFFICKING	48
3.5	CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	50
4.	THEORETICAL INSPIRATION.....	52
4.1	SOCIAL SEMIOTIC AND FRAMING.....	52
4.2	NORWEGIAN EGALITARIANISM	57
4.3	ORIENTALISM.....	59
4.4	AN ORIENTALISM INFLUENCE ON NORWEGIAN EGALITARIANISM.....	60
4.5	CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	62
5.	A QUALITATIVE APPROACH TO THE REPORTS	63
5.1	REPORTING GENRE: AN INCREASE IN QUANTITY AND VARIETY	63
5.2	PHRASING CHILD TRAFFICKING: THE MANY NAMES OF CHILD TRAFFICKING	69
5.3	REPORTING ANGLES: INTERESTS AND IGNORANCE.....	78
5.4	IDEOLOGIES BEHIND CHILD TRAFFICKING: ATTENTION AND STEREOTYPE.....	83
5.5	CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	89
6.	TWO CASE STUDIES.....	92
6.1	DISAPPEARANCE OF THE CHINESE KIDS	92
6.1.1	<i>Media Reports</i>	94
6.1.2	<i>Discussion</i>	98
	The Other Parents.....	98
	The Other Children	100
	A Picture of We	103
6.1.3	<i>Summary of the Chinese Children Case</i>	105
6.2	CASE STUDY 2: THE ESTONIAN GIRL CASE.....	108
6.2.1	<i>Media reports</i>	111
6.2.2	<i>Discussion</i>	112

Victims or Prostitutes?.....	112
Whose Children’s Best?	115
6.2.3 <i>Summary of the Estonian Girl Case</i>	118
6.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	119
7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	121
7.1 HOW DO THE STUDIED MEDIA COVER CHILD TRAFFICKING?	121
7.2 WHAT KINDS OF PERCEPTION DO THE REPORTS REFLECT?	122
7.3 HOW TO EXPLAIN THE COVERAGE FROM A SOCIO-CULTURAL APPROACH?	123
7.4 WHAT CAN WE DO TO IMPROVE THE COMMUNICATION OF CHILD TRAFFICKING IN ORDER TO BETTER COMBAT THIS CRIME?	126
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	131
APPENDIX 1: LIST OF INFORMANTS	147
APPENDIX 2: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE.....	149
APPENDIX 3: COMPOSITION OF SURVEY SAMPLE.....	155
APPENDIX 4: SOLUTION TO THE NINE-DOT PROBLEM	157
APPENDIX 5: TABLES OF WORDING AND ORIGINS.....	158
APPENDIX 6: VG FRONT PAGE, NOV. 29, 2005	159
APPENDIX 7: USEFUL WEB LINKS.....	160

List of tables and charts

Tables

Table 1: Research Period of Studied Media _____ 10

Table 2: Phrases Used to Describe Child Trafficking _____ 71

Charts

Chart 1: Reports about child trafficking in VG and Klassekampen 1996 – April 2008 (per year) 64

Chart 2: Reports about child trafficking in VG and Klassekampen 2005 – 2007 (per month) 65

Chart 3: Child trafficking report types in VG and Klassekampen 1996 – 2008 66

Chart 4: Reporting angles of child trafficking in VG and Klassekampen 1996 – 2008 79

Chart 5: Forms of exploitation reported in VG and Klassekampen 1996 – 2008 80

Acronyms

CRC: Convention on the Rights of the Child

CSEC: Congress against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

ECPAT: End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes

ILO: International Labour Organization

IOM: International Organization for Migration

NGO: Non-governmental Organization

NOVA: Norsk institutt for forskning om oppvekst, velferd og aldring

SFGSN: Soros Foundation and Global Survival Network

UN: United Nations

UNODC: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

WHO: World Health Organization

KOM: Koordineringsenheten for Ofre for Menneskehandel

Preface

In 2004 my husband and I lived in Beijing. Like most young people, we liked to go out late. Outside the bars, there were three girls selling roses and two boys begging for money. They usually stayed all night. Sometimes they would press their small, dirty fingers, snotty noses and frozen red cheeks against the window, staring at our food in hunger. I learned that you would only meet their eyes when they clung to your pants, held you back, and cried “please, please, please help me”.

They woke me up. I looked around and saw children begging, selling roses, beaten and thrown out on the street to bring more money back home. I cried “please, somebody help them!” But nobody did. “Just give them a penny, and enjoy your wine.” I became confused, angry, and despaired, but found out that my despair did not help the children a bit.

In July 2005 I came to Norway. Like most immigrants, I thought Norway was a beautiful country where children are loved and grow up happily. Three months later, two Chinese children who had disappeared from a Norwegian asylum centre were found in Sweden. The police forwarded theories about child trafficking and sexual exploitation. Being a new immigrant in a new society with a new language environment, the newspapers became my main source of information. I found out that refugees seeking children who had disappeared from Norway was a problem in this country. The same month I arrived in the country, three men were charged with trafficking a 16-year old girl. Young Norwegian children prostitute themselves in exchange for money, drugs, cigarettes, and ‘love’. I asked, why? Fingers pointed, heads turned away, eyes closed, “their problems, and their problems”. I became disappointed, confused, angry, despaired, and again it did not help these children a bit. But this time I wanted to take action.

The children I saw, heard of, read about and empathized with are the reasons why I quit my job and chose to study. Only with knowledge can I fight child trafficking so these children can have the chance of having a future. The children are the reason why I chose to study at SUM and why this thesis exists: development needs a human face, and equality requires unconditional love.

Fortunately, I manage to express many things in this thesis. I owe this to my very patient and responsible supervisor, Tanja Winther: thank you for keeping me on safe ground and at the same time giving precious advice on how to effectively express what I want to. I also want to thank Stian Vatnedal at the HVISK (Whisper) program at Save the Children Norway. Thank you for your generous help and opening the door for me. I also want to thank Ove, my husband, for always being supportive, patient, understanding, and showing me the bright side of life. Last, but definitely not least, I want to thank the trafficked children I have encountered in Beijing. Though they might never be able to read this thesis, it is for them.

Unfortunately, there are many things I still do not know, and I am urged to see more, hear more and learn more about child trafficking as well as how we can help our children. I hope this thesis will serve as a key to open many doors; with the light that could shine through, we could be able to see how we can be the source of genuine hope for our children.

1. Introduction

Trafficking in children, an affront to human rights and human dignity has reached epidemic proportions and is escalating out of control.

H.M. Queen Silvia of Sweden

Nov. 29th 2005, on the front page of Norway's largest newspaper Verdens Gang (VG): next to photos of two young Chinese boys, the title reads "Disappeared from Moss – the police fears: TAKEN by human traffickers"¹. It was the first time VG put a child trafficking case onto its front page. Given the growth of child trafficking both globally and locally in Norway (Renland 2001, ECPAT 2004, Kanavin & Pedersen 2007), the attention to the problem is timely, and much needed.

Human trafficking, following arms trafficking and drug trafficking, has become the third most profitable organized crime in the world (UNICEF 2006), generating an estimated US \$9.5 billion in annual revenue (US Department of State 2005). The crime involves a highly sophisticated global network, including money laundering, drug trafficking, document forgery and human smuggling. In 2000, the International Labor Organization (ILO) estimated that as many as 1.2 million children were victims of trafficking and forced into various forms of exploitation (ILO 2005). And the problem is rapidly increasing out of control. For example, in 1988, approximately 150,000 child trafficking victims were believed to work as child prostitutes² (Campagna & Poffenberger 1988). By 2007 the estimate was 1.8 million (UNICEF 2007).

¹ My translation of "Forsvant fra Moss – politiet frykter: TATT av menneskehandlere" (capitalization as in the original)

² Note that child prostitution is only one of several forms of exploitation associated with child trafficking. Therefore this number does not equal the total number of trafficked children, but only the number of children trafficked for this specific purpose. More on this in chapter 2.1.

Due to the global nature of trafficking, every country in the world is implicated, whether as a point of origin, transit or destination (Protection Project 2004). The terms sending/origin, transit, and receiving/destination describe the role a country plays in global child trafficking. A country can play one or several of these three roles. It is believed that Norway plays all three, but that its main roles are as a transit or receiving/destination country (Norwegian Parliament 2008).

Why should we combat child trafficking? One common answer from the international community is that child trafficking is a symbol of cynicism, evilness, and of the dark side of human nature. Most of the countries and organizations who actively participate in global movements against child trafficking are countries that highlight appreciation of universal human rights and equality: Norway, UN, ILO and UNICEF, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Terre des Hommes³, Amnesty International and Save the Children International, to mention only a few.

However, the needs of the children can easily drift out of focus as these international campaigns against child trafficking tend to focus on the causes of the crime. Topics like illegal immigration, modern slavery, severe human rights violations, extreme poverty, gender inequality, corruption, and bad governance receive a lot of attention, but children's perspectives are seldom taken into account. Meanwhile, stereotypes reflected through socially constituted meanings of 'different' children, discrimination³ in the treatment of victims based on ethnic backgrounds, and ignorance and cowardice in the receiving countries when it comes to combating child trafficking domestically, are seldom mentioned.

Scholars who have studied child trafficking for a long time believe that one of the main tasks of the NGOs is to bring about a redefinition of the public perception (Campagna & Poffenberger 1988). This seems especially true in countries where public opinion has a strong influence on policy making. One

³ Terre des Hommes has an online library dedicated to child trafficking. It is available at www.childtrafficking.com.

obvious way of influencing public policies is to work directly with policy makers, but to successfully alter policies in democratic countries, such as Norway, NGOs need to translate redefined public perceptions into voter demand. This involves making the issue real to voters and pushing it up in their list of priorities, which is largely done through the mass media.

Meanwhile, the presentation of child trafficking in mass media is also influenced by the media's own interests and the structural limitations it is presented with, and which frame the perception of both reporters and the public. The public depends on mass media as a main source of knowledge about child trafficking. How the media perceives and presents child trafficking is not only the result of the socio-cultural frames in the society that the media exists in, but it also influences the social perceptions of and the actual activities against child trafficking and victimized children. To a large extent, the media's framing of a topic decides the framing of the public debate (Tuchmann 1978, Parenti 1993).

1.1 Thesis Objectives

This thesis has two objectives: (1) to find out what the selected media have reported about child trafficking and (2) how to explain the reporting from a socio-cultural approach.

Despite the recent increase in research on human trafficking in general, there is still relatively little research specifically focusing on child trafficking. When child trafficking is mentioned in existing research, the focus is mainly on child trafficking in developing countries and on culture as the basis for generating the problem (Croll 2000, CSEC 2001, Rossi 2003). But culture also influences how we perceive and communicate with regards to child trafficking, and how we communicate is both influenced by, and can influence, current social perceptions of child trafficking as a social problem and as a violation of children's rights. Social justice is influenced by the notion of equality, and what we consider human rights are mainly codifications of social values and beliefs. In this sense, child trafficking of foreign children into Norway also becomes a symbol that

reflects and challenges certain values held by the society. By examining the relationship between the presentation of child trafficking in the media and socio-cultural perceptions of children and equality, this thesis aims to explore some of the symbolic meanings of child trafficking in the Norwegian society.

1.2 Key concepts

There are several different definitions of child trafficking, and these focus on different aspects. In this thesis, I use the definition of human trafficking from the UN Palermo Protocol, together with the definition of children given in the same protocol. Since the definition is quite long, I will only list some key points here. I will elaborate in Chapter 2, where I will also include the full definition.

- Child trafficking is the trafficking **a person under 18 years old**.
- Trafficking is a continuing process that includes several stages from **the recruitment to the exploitation of the victims**
- Traffickers use various means to achieve **control over the victims**, including threat, use of force, coercion, abduction, just to name a few. Violence is frequently used, but is not the only means to achieve control.
- The purpose of trafficking is to **exploit the victims**. There are various forms of exploitation, for instance, sexual exploitation, forced labor, removal of organs, etc.
- The **consent** of the victims on the purposes, means or exploitations is **irrelevant** to the fact and criminal nature of child trafficking.

In the UN Palermo Protocol, 18 years is the age that identifies the victims as children. This is a stricter definition than the one used in Article 1 of the Child Convention, where a child is defined as “every human being below the age of eighteen years *unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained*

earlier” (my italics). Still, 18 years does happen to be the age of majority⁴ in Norway and most, but not all⁵, other countries in the world.

I use the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child, also known as the UN Child Convention, as a basis for notions of equality amongst all children. The Child Convention highlights that equality of all children is based on respect for the dignity and worth of the individual child, regardless of “race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status.” (UN Child Convention, Article 2-1). The ‘equality’ defined in the Child Convention is a rights-based issue: it recognizes the unique characteristics of each child, encourages the inclusion of children’s perspectives into decision making processes, and advocates that the protection of a child’s rights should be carried out on a basis of equality for all, yet respecting the child’s individuality. In this sense, equality is different from sameness and commonality. The Convention also points out that the rights of children to be treated equally is independent and indivisible, which means that “we cannot ensure some rights without – or at the expense of – other rights” (UNICEF 2008). In Chapter 2, I will elaborate more on the concept of children.

Though this thesis is not about the different social perceptions on immigrant children and Norwegian children, some of the data touches upon the field. This makes it necessary to clarify three terms: ‘Norwegian children’, ‘immigrant children’, and ‘children with immigrant backgrounds’. Both ‘immigrant children’ and ‘Norwegian children’ are used referring to the citizenship of the children, not the ethnic and cultural notions associated with ‘immigrant’ or ‘Norwegian’. Thus, ‘immigrant children’ refers to children who are born outside of but currently reside in Norway with or without a Norwegian citizenship. The term

⁴ *Age of majority* is a legal term and signifies the age when a person is given the full legal rights and responsibilities of an adult. It is different from ‘*maturity*’, a term usually used to describe a physical or psychological state of being fully developed.

⁵ For example in Nepal and Uzbekistan, where the age of majority is 16 years old, or in Egypt and Argentina, where the age of majority is 21 years old. (<http://www.interpol.com/Public/Children/SexualAbuse/NationalLaws/>, accessed on May 21, 2008)

‘children with immigrant background’ refers to children who have a Norwegian citizenship and immigrant parents⁶. ‘Norwegian children’, refers to all children who have a Norwegian citizenship, regardless of their race, color, religion, culture, etc. In this sense, ‘Norwegian children’ also includes ‘children with immigrant background’, but no necessarily all ‘immigrant children’. In this thesis, I interchangeably use the words ‘exploiter’, ‘trafficker’, ‘offender’ and ‘criminal’ to refer to people involved in trafficking or facilitation of trafficking.

1.3 Methodology

The methods selected to collect and analyze data in this thesis are influenced by social semiotic studies. Social semiotics is a way of analyzing the way in which significations (symbols, signs), meanings, and actions are configured within social contexts. From a social semiotic perspective, the meanings of semiotics cannot be fully understood without the knowledge of the context, because meanings are constituted by the communicative processes taking place in them. Traditional content analysis of semiotics in the media tends to use media content as a means to accomplish reader analysis, and thus usually relies on quantitative methods, holds an approach based on reductionism, and focuses on essential types, roles and functions of narratives (signs)⁷. In this research, I am interested in gaining insight into the Norwegian perceptions of child trafficking through the media’s discursive practices, as they are likely to transform into social action. Inspired by Klaus Jensen’s (1995) work and proposition on social semiotics in mass media, I therefore adopt a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods.

This combination of methods is adopted for both data collection and analysis. I carried out a content analysis on a quantitative base of reports from two different

⁶ I consider children born inside Norway, but who do not have a Norwegian citizenship, as ‘foreign children’, but this concept is irrelevant to the thesis. I therefore did not expand the discussion on it.

⁷ See Jensen (1995) for more about social semiotics.

newspapers. Meanwhile, in order to supplement the knowledge of child trafficking in Norway and obtain indications of the public's perception of child trafficking, I conducted in-depth interviews with professionals, and conducted a public survey with a semi-structured questionnaire. The collected data were analyzed qualitatively, though some data also appeared quantifiable and are presented in tables and charts to visualize specific patterns and indications.

1.3.1 Media Analysis

I chose newspapers rather than other types of media – such as radio, TV and Internet – since newspaper as a media has higher pass-on readership and relatively easy and regular access. Research also shows that in Norway, the newspaper publication and circulation rates (including pass-on rate) are higher than in other European countries (McQuail & Siune 1998: 2-20). Norwegians still “top the list of the world's most avid newspaper readers” (Norwegian Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs 2008).

When I started looking at which newspapers to choose, I considered several options, including the tabloid-style VG, more liberal-oriented Dagbladet, more right-wing broadsheet Aftenposten, academic Morgenbladet, and the left-wing Klassekampen. I had three criteria: first of all, I wanted to have a combination of two papers that gives broad readership coverage, both geographically and through circulation numbers, hence preferably a daily newspaper. Second, there should be indications that the newspaper has an interest in reporting about child trafficking, and preferably having already published reports about child trafficking. Third, I want two newspapers with different reporting interests and angles. Based on these criteria, I came up with three possible combinations: VG and Aftenposten, Klassekampen and VG, Klassekampen and Aftenposten.

Eventually I chose VG and Klassekampen due to their different positioning and target group, and the relatively large combined circulation. I gave up the

combination of VG and Aftenposten⁸ because both newspapers are owned by the same news company⁹. I preferred the combination of Klassekampen and VG, as opposed to Klassekampen and Aftenposten, as VG replaced Aftenposten in 1981 to become the largest newspaper in Norway. According to VG's own statistics, its circulation is 371,000 on weekdays, 468,000 on Saturdays and 280,000 on Sundays (VG.no 2008). The pass-on readership of the newspaper is 1.4 million daily. In Oslo, the readership is 41%. In addition, VG has quite a lot of news published on its website, which is also the country's most visited (VG.no 2008).

When VG changed its format in 1963, it was positioned as a quality tabloid, and the tabloid style is represented in both the format and reporting style. But in recent years, the newspaper has been criticized for being too concentrated on the market, which leads to a down-market trend (meaning more trivialization and more sensationalism) in journalism quality. Crime, sex, disasters, celebrity, and sports have become the core topics¹⁰.

Klassekampen is a Marxist-Leninist newspaper. Established as a monthly in 1969, it developed to weekly in 1973, and to a daily newspaper four years later. Up till today it still exists as a small, respected left-wing newspaper. Compared to VG, Klassekampen has a very small circulation of 8,087 per day. Influenced by Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the newspaper holds serious attitudes and strong opinions towards class and social inequality. Frequent use of commentaries and

⁸ Aftenposten is also one newspaper actively engaged in reporting about child trafficking, especially in recently years. I am also very interested in their reporting of the issue, but I did not include this newspaper because it does not fit into the criteria of this thesis.

⁹ Schibsted, one of the three major media companies in Norway controlling the majority of the newspapers in the country. Schibsted consists of 8 main companies and also has holdings in larger regional Norwegian newspapers, in TV2 and in several companies in the Scandinavian film and television industry. In 1995 VG generated 200 million (50 %) alone to Schibsted-Consolidated.

¹⁰ There exists a rich body of literature on the relationship between journalism quality and market concentration. The argument exists whether concentration will lead to reduced quality of journalism, and whether it is a major element causing the reduction of quality. Scholars such as Bakdikian (1992) think that too much concentration will threaten ideological pluralism, and lead to homogenized newspaper content, while other scholars, represented by Ruotolo (1988) believe that as long as concentration does not impoverish editorials, it is hard to say whether it leads to bad journalism. At the same time, other scholars such as MsQual think that concentration can lead to reductions in journalistic quality, but that there are other causes as well, such as political influence and media ownership.

editorials is a distinctive feature of this newspaper (Klassekampen.no 2008, Norwegian Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs 2008).

These two newspapers are selected to achieve a broader and different coverage of media opinions. Though I noticed their differences in reporting angles and reporting interests on individual cases during the study of child trafficking reports from these two newspapers, the main purpose of this thesis is not to compare the reports from the two selected media outlets, but rather to let their different approaches make the broader picture more complete.

The researched period covers a period from January 1980 to April 2008. Keeping in mind that the international anti-human trafficking movements had a relatively less active period from mid-1980s to mid-1990s, and knowing that the available media database has a thorough coverage since 1984, I read newspapers dated from before 1985 on a daily basis, while some reports during the less active period were read on a weekly basis.

I specifically paid attention to reports during certain periods (dates). The hypothesis is that some days have special symbolic meanings in the context, and hence are often found to be more or less appropriate opportunities to bring up issues such as child trafficking. Based on the human rights and egalitarian basis of international and Norwegian movements against child trafficking, I paid specific attention to decade shifts, and the week of May 17th, with the Norwegian National Day. There are two reasons I chose May 17th: first, Norway does not appoint a specific day as Universal Children Day; second, as a main celebration activity, the 'child parade' ("barnetoget") on May 17th has a symbolic meaning of the equality of all children in Norway and attracts a lot of media attention. The following table (Table 1) shows how I read the newspapers.

Table 1: Research Period of the Studied Media

Reading Frequency (VG + Klassekampen)	Reports Skimmed During Period
Every day	Jan. 1980 – Dec. 1985 Jan. 1990 – Dec. 1992 Jan. 1999 – April 2008
Every other week	Jan. 1986 – Dec. 1989 Jan. 1993 – Dec. 1998

I read microfilms of the newspaper archives at the Norwegian National Library. I focused on reading reports on the pages of international and social events, and paid relatively less attention to other pages, such as sports, entertainment, economy and advertisements.

My reading method was to let the microfilm machine run on a readable speed, while I quickly read the titles and skimmed the content to look for any subject related to child trafficking. When I found a relevant report, I saved it to read in detail later. I had an average reading tempo of three months of both newspapers per day. The reports were skimmed paying special attention to reports that had child trafficking as their main subject, meaning that the reports explicitly feature child trafficking as an independent report subject¹¹. Specific attention was paid to texts including ‘*barn*’ (children), ‘*barnehandel*’ (child trafficking), ‘*menneskehandel*’ (human trafficking) and ‘trafficking’ in the texts. After

¹¹ One thing that I’ve frequently noticed during the study of academic and media reports is the different occasions and contexts where child trafficking is mentioned. Sometimes children are mentioned in a supplementary and assisting fashion in the trafficking of women, and sometimes child trafficking is touched upon to demonstrate the seriousness of human trafficking. In general, though more and more researches and media reports have realized the necessity of giving children and child trafficking specific focus, compared to reports on the trafficking of adults, especially of women, children in human trafficking still receive noticeably less attention as a special and independent group whose needs and rights are different from the adults.

reading these newspaper reports manually, I also searched the online versions of VG and Klassekampen¹² to see if any extra reports could be found there. I then cross checked what I found with Atekst, a Norwegian media database which stores digital versions of Norwegian newspapers dated back to 1984. The archives include reports from both the print and the online edition. The search terms used here included ‘*menneskehandel*’, ‘*menneskehandel med barn*’, ‘*menneskehandel av barn*’, ‘*barnehandel*’, ‘*handel med barn*’, ‘*handel av barn*’, ‘*child trafficking*’, and ‘*trafficking og barn*’. The reason why I included so many search terms is that, based on my impression from reading the newspapers manually, the media uses many different phrases to refer to child trafficking. I will discuss the further implications of this finding later in Chapter 5.

Through these methods, I narrowed down the reports, and eliminated a vast quantity of reports on trafficking of adults, prostitution, immigration, organized crimes, racism, child exploitation, etc. However, I do realize and agree with other scholars that, both in reality and in research, child trafficking can not, and should not, be completely separated from other forms of trafficking. Therefore, in my study I also give some attention to those reports that are obviously relevant to trafficking of children, though their main focus is on other issues such as trafficking of adults, prostitution, immigrants in Norway, etc. However, these reports are not included in the analysis, unless they have a very clear and explicit relevance to the trafficking of children.

I use a quantitative method in coding the reports, registering them by genre, use of sources and framing¹³. The tendencies in the framing are coded on the basis of different ideological positions towards child trafficking. The strength of this method lies in that it allows me to identify the presence of certain ideological positions (or styles) and to use the sources in a quantitative manner. However,

¹² Klassekampen does not have an online news edition, but its website provides some news abstracts.

¹³ Framing is a kind of communication effect and communication tactic in mass communication. I will talk about it later in Chapter 4.

this analysis must be used carefully since it does not give a clear picture of the main story in each report. I code the reports in three systems. One based on reporting genre, another on reporting angles, and the last one based on repetitive narratives which are marked with regard to points of view and intention.

The reporting genres include: news (hard news), feature (reportage), commentaries, editorials and interviews¹⁴. The reporting angles are categorized into violation of children, condemnation of exploiters, government action/decision, politician/celebrity, discussion/criticism and reports of concrete cases. In the third coding system, I extract narratives (semiotics) from reports as indication of ideological positions. Therefore, through the coding system of the media reports based on genre, reporting angle/interest, and repetitive narratives, I aim to identify the significant elements and shed light on the possible ideologies behind the narratives. However, like all selections and interpretations, mine are not the only ones possible.

1.3.2 Interview

Content analysis of media reports of child trafficking in Norway requires a lot of knowledge of the situation of child trafficking in Norway. However, there is not much literature on child trafficking in Norway available. In order to obtain more insightful knowledge of child trafficking in Norway, and to get to know the perspectives of how media present child trafficking from people who actively

¹⁴ **Hard news** is a kind of news reporting in the mass media. The purpose of hard news is to inform the public 'objectively, neutrally and impersonally'. Hard news usually follows a strict informational and rhetorical structure. There are various subtypes of hard news, where the most relevant to this thesis are the event-based and communication-based reports. Event-based news focuses primarily on material events, such as the rescue of trafficked children, the disappearance of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children, etc. Communication-based news is based on speeches, interviews, critiques, reports or press releases.

Feature, also known as news feature, is a kind of report where journalists have more space and freedom to explore and tell a story. News features usually require the journalists to be the readers 'eyes and ears', to conduct independent investigations of the events or issues, to go on the spot, observe and talk to people who are involved.

Both the **commentary and editorial** are opinion-based and ideology-oriented reports. The role of the author of commentaries and editorials is 'precisely to offer up subjective interpretation in which a central role is played by explicit value judgements, aesthetic evaluations, theories of cause-and-effect and so on' (White 2005: 107). One important difference between editorial and commentary is that editorials are usually composed by editors from the newsroom, while commentaries invite people outside the news room to make comments. These people are usually experts and/or professionals in the issue concerned (ibid.).

work to fight against child trafficking here, I interviewed 14 people who actively work in various sectors to combat child trafficking.

I used the snow-balling method to expand my contacts. The 14 interviewees include professionals from the police, a refugee center, a children's home ('barneverninstitusjon') where trafficked children lived, representatives of various NGOs, a journalist, etc. See Interview list 1 in the Appendix for a full list and more information about the interviewees. Five interviews took place in the interviewee's working places; seven outside their offices such as a cafe; two interviews were done through email and telephone. The interviews are in-depth, non-structured, and were recorded by a tape recorder and/or by taking notes, with the consent of the interviewees. The interviewees were also informed that the interview content would be used for this thesis, and I also acknowledged their rights of anonymity. The average interview time is approximately one hour, with the longest being 2 hours and the shortest being 15 minutes.

The original plan of the thesis included interviewing trafficked children in Norway. I applied and received permission from the Norwegian Social Science Data Service (Norsk Samfunnsvitenskapelig Datatjeneste NSD), which is chosen by the Norwegian Data Inspectorate to implement the "statutory data privacy requirements in the research community" (NSD 2008). However, it turned out that both UDI and Barnevernet have their own application and evaluation systems regarding granting researcher access to interview trafficked children. The application procedures are strict to Master students and time-consuming, so I eventually aborted the plan to interview trafficked children¹⁵.

¹⁵ Barnevernet clearly told me that they do not grant any Master students access to trafficked children due to the sensitivity of the case as well as the concern of protecting the children. UDI employees who have daily contact with trafficked children were very positive and encouraging regarding the possibility of being granted the interview permit, but in practice, the bureaucratic system of UDI made obtaining it problematic. For example, after being declined to interview the children, I wanted to interview one director of an asylum center where these children stayed. The communication with UDI on the matter started in November 2007. A question list including all the questions I planned to ask the director was first required to be sent to the director's supervisor at the regional office for approval, and the communication through e-mail and telephone was very ineffective, as the communication took as long as five months, and remains fruitless as the thesis was written in May 2008. Through the communication with

1.3.3 Survey

The thesis attempts to uncover socio-cultural explanations for the media's perceptions of child trafficking. The media's presentation and perspectives of child trafficking is a result of the mutual influence between mass media and the audience, as mass media itself is a part of the public sphere. Thus, it is necessary to include the public perceptions of child trafficking. To search the public perception of child trafficking is a huge topic that itself can encompass one or several research projects alone. Due to the absence of similar research in Norway, I conducted a mini-scaled semi-structured survey with 48 respondents randomly selected from the public, based on a questionnaire of both open-ended and close-ended questions (See *Appendix 3: Survey Questionnaire*).

There are 11 questions in the questionnaire aiming to obtain information under four categories: (1), the interviewee's knowledge of child trafficking; (2) his/her definition and perceptions of children, Norwegian children and immigrant children, and how these children are related to child trafficking; (3) how the interviewee perceives Norway as a country and Norwegian society in relation to child trafficking; and (4) how much the interviewee believes the media would cover child trafficking. I arranged these 11 questions in such a way to create an integral coherence and at the same time to avoid hinting at answers.

I was aware of the dilemma of how to broaden the diversity of interviewees with so small a sample, so the selection of participants was random. At the same time, I also wanted to include people with immigrant backgrounds and to avoid the possibility of ending up with 48 students from the same university. So I imposed some criteria upon the selection of spots where the survey took place. Most of the survey took place at various spots in Oslo and along the train routes between Oslo and Dal. These spots include Oslo University Cafeteria, the Grønland area, which is known for having a relatively larger population of immigrants, Karl

Johan Street (Oslo's iconic commercial street), starting at Oslo Central Station and ending in the National Theatre subway station, as well as on the trains between Dal and Oslo. For detailed information about the respondents, see *Appendix 3: Composition of Survey Sample*.

I accompanied most of the respondents as they answered the questions, except four questionnaires that were taken home to answer by SUM students. In this way, I was able to answer their questions regarding the questionnaires and the research topic, and it also gave me a chance to receive face-to-face feedbacks, as well as to observe the respondents' reactions.

My background as an immigrant living in Norway for less than three years may result in that I looked at the Norwegian society and culture from different angles than the respondents, and these differences may be reflected in my questionnaire. The questionnaire is also written in English, but the majority of the respondents have another first language, and this may cause some problems understanding the survey and expressing themselves. In some cases I translated the questions to Norwegian orally, and encouraged the respondents to reply in Norwegian. A lot of respondents told me that though they had heard of child trafficking, they had never thought about the issue thoroughly, and many respondents were very careful and serious with their answers. The average time of answering the survey was 25 minutes. In some cases, the respondents took up to one hour to answer it.

Meanwhile, the respondents were aware of my role as a researcher. This had two results: Some respondents took the survey as a test. They may have tried to find the 'correct' answers instead of answering what they think. Some respondents were very interested in my research. They would spend extra time before/after the survey to learn more about my thesis. Many of the respondents told me that they had learned new things from answering the survey.

Some of the information about child trafficking included in the questionnaire was 'new' to the respondents, depending on their knowledge of the issue in the first place. I encountered a number of respondents who had never heard of the topic.

Their reactions varied. Some thought it was a terrible violation of children, and would like to know more. I encountered two young men who thought that the idea of child trafficking and some forms of exploitation, such as organ harvesting and bestiality, was ‘very interesting’ because they had never heard of such concepts. Obviously, such crimes and exploitation was beyond their imagination. These are only a small portion of the whole survey, but they indicate the importance of media’s role in educating the public about child trafficking.

Some respondents noticed my identity as an immigrant/foreigner. I noticed two kinds of results: First, my being a foreigner doing a research about child trafficking in Norway may have misled the respondents in understanding what child trafficking is. Some of the respondents were more interested in asking me about immigrant children, especially Chinese children, than child trafficking. A girl taking the survey asked me “Did you come to Norway just to study this (child trafficking)?” On the other hand, because of my immigrant identity, some respondents may have found it necessary to address certain things in their answers. Some of them were interested in ‘educating’ me about Norwegian culture, especially about the meanings of the children’s parade and May 17th. They found it quite unbelievable that I could make a connection between the children’s parade on May 17th and child trafficking, and some of them told me that they ‘understood’ this because I obviously am not originally from Norway.

The survey aims to provide a glimpse of Norwegian public knowledge and perception of child trafficking, which are necessary supplements to complete the media content analysis. I am aware that the sample is very small, which means the data are not representative of any social groups, nor of the Norwegian public, hence it is hard to generalize the data to a general socio-cultural level. However, I still decided to include this survey for the value of the data when approached qualitatively. It is worth pointing out that similar academic research on the public perception of children, child trafficking and media’s presentation are lacking. This absence may indicate an alternative research direction for future researchers.

1.4 Thesis outline

There are seven chapters in the thesis. As an introduction, Chapter 1 draws attention to the objectives of the thesis, provides clarifications of key concepts, and introduces the methodology. Both Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 aim to provide some background information on child trafficking. Chapter 2 provides an introduction of child trafficking on the international level. In this chapter, I first introduce the different approaches in the defining of child trafficking in various historical backgrounds, then shed some light on the discussions regarding two key concepts in child trafficking, ‘children’ and ‘exploitation’. To conclude the chapter, a group of theories developed in hopes of understanding the crime are attended to. Chapter 3 provides the background information of child trafficking in the Norwegian context. This chapter begins with a short introduction of Norway regarding its history as a child-friendly country, then the chapter draws attention to the legal framework, academic attention and media interest in child trafficking, addressing both Norway’s efforts and challenges in combating child trafficking internationally and domestically. Chapter 4 searches for theoretical enlightenment through three groups of theories: social semiotic theories and persuasion/framing theories, egalitarianism, and Orientalism. These theories are used as perspective tools in Chapter 5 and 6, where I present the data and elaborate on the analysis. Chapter 5 focuses on the general directions of the data based on quantitative indications; Chapter 6 focuses on qualitative analysis of reports of two trafficking cases in Norway. The findings of the thesis, as well as suggestions on future work, are included in Chapter 7.

2. Child Trafficking, Concepts and International Background

Recognizing that, in all countries in the world, there are children living in exceptionally difficult conditions, and that such children need special consideration.

UN Convention on the Rights of the Child¹⁶

What exactly is child trafficking? This is a difficult question to answer. People are trafficked for various economical, social and cultural reasons and purposes. Two concepts are central to understand child trafficking: children and exploitation. People's understanding of both these concepts varies. The crime is largely related to international organized crime, which is by nature hidden and easily ignored by the public. As recognized by scholars and politicians, there is a need for a clear definition of child trafficking in order to enable international cooperation in identifying, rescuing and rehabilitating the victims, and because it is important to separate child trafficking from other forms of crime.

On the one hand, many people have told me that they have never thought about what child trafficking is, and how this phenomenon either differs from or relates to child smuggling, child prostitution and other forms of exploitations of children. On the other hand, to theorize around child trafficking is a double-edged sword. By attempting to summarize child trafficking in one single definition, one risks being too vague and creating frames and stereotypes that could jeopardize and contradict individual human rights in certain cases (Tyldum, Tveit and Brunovskis 2005: 9). For the layman, and even to some experts, the current global, widely adapted Palermo definition of child trafficking is too ambiguous and vague. It leaves considerable room for interpretation, and

¹⁶ UN Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted and opened by ratification at the UN General Assembly in 1989, and put into enforcement in 1990.

has become a hurdle for further identification, investigation and interpretation of individual cases.

In this chapter, I will give a brief introduction of the main concepts relevant to child trafficking, drawing attention to the different focuses in the interpretations of this crime in their historical and institutional contexts. This chapter will also touch upon various theoretical camps related to child trafficking.

2.1 What does Child Trafficking Entail?

Defining child trafficking has been proven to be a very difficult issue in both academic and political domains. Child trafficking is a kind of human trafficking, a form of violation of the rights of the child, and a daily increasing international problem that remains relatively under-researched (Campagna & Poffenberger 1988, Bales 2005:37-39). Thus, when talking about child trafficking it is inevitable that we first need to clarify the concept of human trafficking, which in itself is a heated topic with many disagreements and discussions (Davidson 2005: 66-72). Furthermore, social perceptions and political interests are also significant factors influencing the conception of ‘child trafficking’ in individual societies, since the definitions of children and of exploitation are socially and politically constructed.

2.1.1 About Human Trafficking

Human trafficking has long been a topic of discussion in the international arena. Throughout history the concept of human trafficking has surfaced several times, and was approached from different viewpoints almost every time. Behind this history are several rounds of defining and re-defining of human trafficking, reflecting the changes of political interests in different historical contexts (Doezema 2002: 22, ILO 2002, Bales 2005: 112-125). I will look at three aspects of human trafficking, each being addressed in specific historical contexts: ‘White slavery’ from the beginning of the 20th century, ‘illegal immigration’ from the

post-war reformation period, and ‘international organized crime’ from the contemporary political arena.

White Slavery

‘White Slavery’ was a widely spread crime at the end of the 19th and start of the 20th century. Referring to ‘the abduction and transport of white women for prostitution’ (Doezema 2002: 22), a typical story of ‘White Slavery’ usually features “wicked parents who sold their daughters to white slavers, or young and virginal country girls being lured to big cities where they were seduced, corrupted and ultimately destroyed” (Davidson 2005: 66).

The international agreement on combating White Slavery started in 1904, in the ‘International Agreement for the Suppression of White Slave Trade’¹⁷, which aimed to “combat the compulsive and abusive procuring of women or girls for immoral purposes abroad” (Deflem 2005: 275-285, Derk 2000: 4). Six years later, in 1910, the definition was expanded to include women and girls who were trafficked within national boundaries and not only globally. Note that the 1910 convention clearly stated that the victims’ consent is not relevant in the definition of exploitation (Derk 2000: 5). The 1921 convention further extended the definition to include boys, and the 1933 International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age removed the condition of coercion at the international level (Tyldum, Tveit and Brunovskis 2005: 10).

In 1949, all these agreements were superseded by The UN Convention on the Suppression of Trafficking in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (Resolution 317). Looking back on the history of the global effort to combat human trafficking, the 1949 UN Convention was a milestone. It points out that prostitution is not only a crime against women and girls, but can also be the exploitation of any person including men and boys. The Convention once

¹⁷ The International Agreement was signed by 12 states in Paris 1904. These were: France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, Sweden-Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal and Switzerland.

again emphasizes that the consent of the victim of being trafficked and to work in prostitution is *not* relevant to the definition of exploitation.

High-level discussions and the participation of the UN and various nation-states put human trafficking on the international agenda, and the convention generated a lot of public attention worldwide. Discussions in the media and in the public further explored the social factors behind the ‘cultural myth’ of White Slavery, for instance, the social changes of sexuality, perceptions of gender and race, national identity, migration patterns and public health.

However, it is also worth noting that sexuality and race differences dominate the basic tones of the 1949 UN Convention and its following wave of global movement against human trafficking (Bales 2005). Because the convention was developed based on a series of agreements regarding ‘White Slavery’, human trafficking was primarily interpreted from a point of view based on prostitution, and more specifically, prostitution of women and girls from the Balkan area. As suggested in the term ‘White Slavery’ itself, there is a racial difference between the trafficking of people who are ethnic European or ‘white’, and the rest who are not ‘white’, non-European, and belong to ‘traditional slavery’.

Illegal Immigration

After the 1949 UN Convention there had been few discussions of human trafficking in the international arena during the post-war period, until the issue was brought up again during the late 1990s (Tyldum, Tveit and Brunovskis 2005: 10). This time the focus of human trafficking centered on forced labor and illegal immigration, as the world was in a post-war reformation period, and economic growth boosted the labor market. At the same time, the collapse of the former USSR also made many former USSR residents migrate to other parts of the world.

The UN 1994 General Assembly of ‘Traffic in Women and Girls’ defines human trafficking as

The illicit and clandestine movement of persons across national and international borders, largely from developing countries and some countries with economies in transition, with the end goal of forcing women and girl children into sexually or economically oppressive and exploitative situations for the profit of recruiters, traffickers and crime syndicates, as well as other illegal activities related to trafficking, such as forced domestic labor, false marriages, clandestine employment and false adoption.

UN Resolution 49/166, 1994

In the same period, various other international instruments and agencies also rephrased their definition of human trafficking. For example, the International Organization for Migration specifically addressed “any illicit transporting of migrant women and/or trade in them for economic or other personal gain” as human trafficking in their report of trafficking in “Migrants: IOM Policies and Responses.” (IOM 2000), while the Soros Foundation and Global Survival Network stressed “sweatshop laborer exploitative domestic servitude” in the exploitation of human trafficking victims (SFGSN 1998).

The international shift of interest from looking at the human trafficking issue from the prostitution aspect to the problem of illegal immigration reflects general global tendencies in the 1990s, when economical development and globalization were high on the agenda. During this period, human trafficking was understood not only as a regional problem of prostitution, but also as an indicator of other global issues, such as how globalization influenced migration and how unequal economic development as a pull factor could affect human trafficking. However, a dualist view of immigrants as legal and illegal is risky, because, as we see in many current discussions of human trafficking cases, human trafficking is often interpreted as a trans-national crime that is caused by illegal immigrants instead of a crime violating the universal human rights of the victims.

Trans-national Organized Crime

Despite the increased international, regional, and national attention, and despite movements to address and prevent the crime of trafficking, there was no

internationally recognized definition of human trafficking as being different from human smuggling until the 21st century (NGO Group for the Convention of the Rights of the Child 2005). In 2001, the UN General Assembly passed the Palermo Protocol, *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime*¹⁸.

Because the UN Protocol is currently the main point of reference for political and academic debates on human trafficking, many actors have adopted the protocol definition of human trafficking as their working definition (Tyldum, Tveit and Brunovskis 2005: 10). I will also use this definition when I refer to human trafficking. Under the protocol, trafficking means:

The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of 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 funding or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

Palermo Protocol, Article 3a, 2001

The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in sub-paragraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in sub-paragraph (a) have been used.

Palermo Protocol, Article 3b, 2001

¹⁸ In November 2000, the UN General Assembly adopted the UN Convention Against Trans-National Organized Crime, with its two other protocols – one on smuggling of migrants and one on trafficking of people. Because the protocols were open to states' signature at a conference in Palermo, Italy, the Protocol on trafficking in persons is often referred to as 'the Palermo Protocol'. In some documents, the protocol is also mentioned as having been signed in 2001. Here I will adapt the format of UN 2001 Palermo Protocol, in consistence with the UN documents.

The definition of human trafficking given by the UN Palermo Protocol is first of all important because it explicitly states that ‘trafficking and the related exploitation of the victim are distinct from smuggling and kidnapping and should be understood differently¹⁹ (Palermo Protocol, Article 3(a), 2001). Both trafficking and smuggling involve the transporting of victims through illegal means, and both can occur cross-border. But the two crimes differ in what happens after the victims have been transported to the destination: smugglings aim to transport the victims to the destination, while trafficking aims to further exploit the victims after they have arrived at the destination country (Bhabha 2005). However, according to the US Department of State, many countries fail to distinguish trafficking from smuggling (US Department of State 2005: 12). Trafficking exists both inside and outside a country, but many countries tend to overlook trafficking within the country (El-Cherkeh et al. 2004: 48).

Second, the protocol also clearly points out that human trafficking is a very complex issue, and that we should be aware that there are many different forms of exploitation and means that exploiters use to achieve control of the victims. Simply categorizing victims as ‘voluntary or forced prostitutes’, or as ‘illegal or legal immigrants’, “obscures the complex interplay between structure and human agency in shaping that experience” (Davidson 2005: 78-79) because such categorizing assumes that there exists radical disjunctions among different forms of exploitation, and “in reality these categories do not describe temporally separated, hermetically sealed and permanently fixed groups, nor can they grasp the continuum that exists between each of these poles” (Davidson 2005: 78). Prostitution is not, and should not be considered as, the only form of exploitation of the victims (Costa 2008).

Besides, the definition stresses that in addition to exploitation of the victims in certain destination countries, human trafficking should also be viewed and

¹⁹ The UN General Assembly at Palermo passed two protocols, one against human trafficking, the other against human smuggling. It is the first time that human trafficking is defined distinctly different from smuggling.

understood as a dynamic process that involves various actors and countries in different stages in the process. This aspect is important because it shows that almost all countries in the world are somehow involved in, and responsible for, human trafficking. The trafficking process is a continuum of experiences for the victim, and this means that international cooperation is necessary for tackling the problem through a holistic approach. Understanding human trafficking as a process also shows the importance of educating the public, especially youth, in identification and self-protection.

Last, but not least, the Palermo Protocol emphasizes the importance of viewing and treating the victims as victim first, criminal second (or not at all). Through ratifying the Protocol, national governments are urged to implement domestic legislation that reflects and incorporates the agreed understanding of the vulnerability and exploitation of the trafficked victim and the crime of the trafficker. Furthermore, because human trafficking is “an activity that commonly targets children because of their age and maturity level (...) children should never be criminalized for being trafficked and can never consent to be trafficked” (NGO Group for the Convention of the Rights of the Child 2005: 10-11).

However, like other definitions, the Palermo Protocol definition of human trafficking still has problems. The protocol is criticized for raising certain issues, such as exploitation and vulnerability of the victims, but remaining ambiguous towards them (Davidson 2005: 77-78). This makes it hard for international cooperations to operationalize a consistent international cooperation plan in a uniform way, because vulnerability and exploitation are not only politically, but also socially constructed. As the focus in this thesis is on children and child trafficking, I will further discuss how I understand vulnerability and exploitation in the context of child trafficking. But first I will sum up the definitions of human trafficking.

Above, I have given an outline of how the definition of human trafficking has changed based on changing contemporary political interests. We see that

although a lot of improvement has been made, the definition that is currently being used the most, the Palermo Protocol, is still vague on some very important concepts such as vulnerability and exploitation. On the one hand, I realize that it is impossible to make a universal definition of these key concepts due to different social systems and cultural understandings in different societies. On the other hand, based on the heated discussions around the rights issues of the victims, it is necessary that the governments who have ratified the Protocol have a general agreement on certain principles guiding decision making and detailed operations in individual cases.

2.1.2 About ‘Children’

What is a child? The answer obviously concerns general issues pertaining to legislation, such as identifying the nature of a crime, assessing the degree of violation, and making judgments accordingly²⁰. But it also influences priorities when dealing with more practical issues such as which group of children should be rescued first in a given society, to what extent the rights of a child as stated in the UN Child Convention should apply, and what priority should be given to individual cases. Even as we are beginning to realize that the crime of child trafficking is very much an international crime, most of the effort to combat and prevent it depends on the local level, and different societies usually have different understandings of what constitutes childhood (Archard 2003: 92).

Academically, there have been many discussions about what a child is, all adopting various approaches. Philosophers ask questions like ‘Who are children?’ or ‘What is owed to children?’ in practical ethics (Archard 2003: 91-112, Harris & Holm 2003: 112-136), sociologists explore how changes of social structures influence the understanding of children, while anthropologists study

²⁰ The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human rights addresses specifically that “Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance”, Article 25.1, meaning violations of childhood and the children’s rights would receive more severe punishment than those on adult’s rights.
(<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/043/88/IMG/NR004388.pdf?OpenElement>)

how traditions and social norms in various cultures affect the meaning of children and childhood. Some scholars find that not all societies have a marked difference between children and adults, while others argue that all modern societies have drawn such a line, though in different ways. Here it is useful to borrow Rawls' distinction between concept and conception (Rawls 1971: 5): A concept of something is a shared understanding of what that thing is, while a conception of something specifies the particular nature of the thing in question. Thus, in academic discussions the concept of child is the shared understanding of what separates childhood from adulthood, while the conception of child focuses on issues such as where and how a child is treated differently from an adult. In this sense, "all societies have a concept of childhood but different societies may have different conceptions of childhood" (Archard 2003: 92). Two schools of the conceptions of children are relevant to the understanding of the children's positions in child trafficking: the children's right conservationists and liberationists.

The conservationist camp views childhood as a 'state', an independent, if not separated, period in life to adulthood, while the liberationists conceive childhood as a continuum, a 'stage', on the way towards adulthood (ibid.). Represented by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the conservationist camp perceives children as 'different' and 'separated' beings compared to adults, which is to say children have fundamentally different ways of feeling, thinking and seeing the world (Rousseau 1762/1979: 34). As opposed to adulthood, childhood is often perceived as being a symbol of "a magic place of uncorrupted innocence, wonder, and trust." (Archard 2003: 92). From this perspective, an age boundary separating children from adults may well make a lot of sense, and children should be accorded a different standard concerning moral, metaphysical and aesthetic issues. A problem with holding this dualist view of childhood and adulthood is that adulthood is often socially constructed as being more powerful and superior to childhood, giving adults absolute power over children to decide what is best for them, from an adult's point of view. This can be problematic in

issues related to child trafficking such as how to empower youth to participate in the combat against child trafficking. Besides, though the conservationist approach appreciates the value and characteristics of childhood, this appreciation is made, and can only be made, from an adult's perspective (ibid.: 93), which means the meanings of children and childhood are subject to individual adults. Whilst childhood can be appreciated for its purity and innocence by some adults, the same characteristics can also be seen as negative by other adults, who judge them to be representative of childishness, naivety, incompetence and dependence.

Compared to the conservationist camp, a more liberal view of childhood as an ongoing continuum of unfinished/pre-adulthood is more widely held, and has been deeply influential, especially in the West (ibid., Matthews 1998: 21). Aristotle believed that "the common defining feature is that the child is 'unfinished' relative to a human *telos*. In the biology, the child is viewed as unfinished in his or her growth as a human animal, in ethics, unfinished in the training in virtue, in the politics unfinished in the education for adult life as a responsible citizen" (Matthews 1998: 21). This liberal way of thinking is crucial because it stresses the importance of viewing childhood as a continuous part of adulthood, with children also being right agents. Therefore, according to this view, we should consider bringing in the children's perspectives when combating child trafficking. However, viewing children as actors and right agents also brings up other issues. On the one hand, along with rights come responsibilities, meaning that children also need to be made responsible for their mistakes. On the other hand, as unfinished adults, children are very often still perceived as irrational, irresponsible, and are given limited autonomy. This dilemma does not only suggest the possibilities, but also, as many cases of child trafficking already show, that child victims are seen as agents who also should take responsibility for their mistakes, not to mention children who are not only victims, but also 'partners in crime'.

As indicated above, scholars from various disciplines may ask similar questions, but different answers are given. Sociologists claim that the changes of social structures also change childhood, so what constitutes a child and childhood varies socially (Wyness 2000). Anthropologists say that not only is the value of a child determined by his/her social status, but that the meanings of a child and childhood are also gender-differentiated and culturally constructed, and thus any understanding of childhood and protection of children has a great deal to do with a culture's tradition and social norms (Croll 2000). No matter how different the answers are, they are important because they not only help interpret the domestic policies and laws on children-related issues in a society, as these policies reflect the general interests, values and ideologies of children in the society, but also serve as the socio-cultural basis for how mass media in a society accepts, understands, presents and interprets child trafficking and related issues to the public.

Our understanding of children is also “crucially influenced by our understanding of the nature and character of childhood.” (Archard 2003: 91). Besides, as we will see in later chapters, data from this research shows that ethnicity, culture and social groups of children also determine the public opinions of children from corresponding groups. However, though differences and disagreements remain in societies about both the concept and conception of children and childhood, child trafficking has become an international issue, and in order to combat child trafficking collectively, the international community needs a ‘global’ definition of the concept of childhood, that is to say, we not only need a clear age boundary for the children, but we also need to acknowledge the rights of children, which are internationally recognized and agreed on. Nowadays, the most broadly ratified and adopted definition of children and the rights of children is the UN Child Convention.

In the 1924 UN Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child, a child is defined as a person below the age of eighteen (18) years²¹. Seventy-five years later, in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the same definition is kept: “a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier”²². In addition to the United Nations, the International Labor’s Organization also defines that “the term child shall apply to all persons under the age of 18.”(ILO 2000).

Even though the concept of children cannot be universally expressed by age alone, and the consensus on any such symbolic age varies from culture to culture, the UN definition of the age of the child has been globally recognized and agreed upon: the Convention on the Rights of the Child (The Child Convention) came into force on September 2nd 1990, and by 2004, 190 countries and regions had ratified the Convention, including Norway²³. The broad ratification not only made the Child Convention the most ratified human rights instrument in the world, but also means that these countries have agreed to the articles in the Convention, and have promised to adopt, enforce, and reflect the rights of the children in their own state laws and policies.

The UN Palermo Protocol has two articles that specifically address the involvement of children:

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

UN Palermo Protocol, Article 3 (c), 2000

²¹ In 1924, the United Nations General Assembly passed the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which was later recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human rights. The Declaration was first ratified by 48 countries in 1924, the number increased in 1937, and by June 2004, 190 countries had ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which embodies the 1924 Geneva Declaration. Source: UN Library/Archive.

²² UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/pdf/crc.pdf>

²³ Status of Ratifications of the Principal International Human rights Treaties, 06-09-2004, shows that Norway ratified the UN Child Convention in 1991.

'Child' shall mean any person under eighteen years of age

UN Palermo Protocol, Article 3 (d), 2000

To sum up, for practical and political reasons, it is important to have a clear age-based definition of 'children' because research has shown that child trafficking has become a global problem, which requires international cooperation to be fought. In the context of operationalizing plans, a uniform standard of 'children' is needed. And the internationally agreed standard for children is a person under 18 years old.

2.1.3 About 'Exploitation'

There are many forms of exploitation. Researchers have identified problems with regards to children trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation, organ harvest, illegal adoption, child labor in both developing and developed countries²⁴, forced marriage including mail-order bride services, ritual sacrifice, to name just a few. Some of these forms of exploitation are relatively obvious to identify, for instance those that include the use of violence and are against the will of the children. However, exploitation is not always visible.

Some forms of exploitation are hidden and difficult to identify. Along with the geographical expansion of this highly organized crime come variations and frequent innovations in how children are victimized, as well as the rapid development of various industries directly and/or indirectly related to child-trafficking. Some of the abuse and industries are easy to identify and more publicly discussed, for example child labor, domestic service, forced marriage, child prostitution, child pornography, sex tourism, etc, while others are more hidden and difficult to identify, such as street beggars and shop lifters, and less discussed in society or never talked about in public as they are considered as

²⁴ For example, children have been found trafficked to work on plantation in South America, as domestic servants and seasonal farm workers in Europe, as camel jockeys in Middle East, as fishermen and to untangle fishnets anchored on the waterbed in Africa.

social taboos, as for instance, children trafficked in organ harvesting, the demand of female molesters, or in forced bestiality. A great deal of these forms of exploitation exists in a less visible form, which make them more difficult to identify and measure. For instance some of such cases involve the consent of the trafficked children, and some do not show a distinctive sign of violence.

Exploitation of children happens throughout the process of trafficking, from the recruiting period, the transportation phase and to the control and exploitation of the victims in destination countries. In some cases, the practice of exploitation involves several people in one or several criminal networks. The division of roles includes recruiters, transporters, and people in the destination countries who actually take control of the victims. It is usually at the destination country that methods involving physical violence are used to achieve exploitation (Costa 2008, Misha: interview 27.02.08). However, physical violence may not necessarily be a chosen method to achieve exploitation goals. For instance, in some other cases the exploiters are not only recruiters and pimps; they are also 'boyfriends/girlfriends' and people whom the child victims trust and have developed an emotional and material dependence on²⁵. It is more difficult in such cases to identify and punish the act of exploitation, because even though the Palermo Protocol clearly states that the consent of the children is irrelevant to the act of child trafficking, many people still tend to overlook and/or under-evaluate the existence and degree of exploitation when consent of the children is involved.

Meanwhile, the public tend to respond to extreme and dramatic forms of and means to achieve exploitation. Many factors can cause this. The increased visibility and publicity of such exploitations is one. The public rely on mass media as a source of information about child trafficking. And mass media products such as the movie "Lilja 4-ever" provide insight to the dramatic and brutal side of child trafficking for the public (Tveit: interview 27.11.07).

²⁵ In some cases, the children believe that the 'back men' have saved their lives, and become their 'best friends'. Some other cases also show that some children are given drug, become addicted, and rely on the back men as their source of drug.

However, there is a lack of balance between reporting the dramatic cases and the less extreme but more frequent cases in child trafficking. The media's interests in highlighting dramatic elements in trafficking, such as 'kidnapping', 'rape' and 'use of physical violence' also help create a stereotype regarding exploitation.

Two misunderstandings are commonly made. First, a lot of people think child trafficking is the same as sexual exploitation of children. As we will see later in chapter 5, the media and some government sectors in Norway also hold a similar misunderstanding. Limiting our attention to sexual exploitation risks leaving a great deal of children in other forms of exploitation unprotected. The second misunderstanding is that people tend to over-address the economic motivations in exploitation. Financial benefit is a crucial motivation in exploitation, but not the only one. Using children trafficked for sexual exploitation as an example, the motivations of exploitation of children range from "pursuit of economical benefit, sexual gratification, to a depraved sort of personal fulfillment" (Campagna & Pofferberger 1988: 6). Thus, exploiters in child trafficking are not only those who exert economic control over the victims, but also involve both direct and indirect benefit. Only paying attention to the 'cynical' offenders behind trafficking may result in other exploiters being left free to run at large.

To sum up, 'exploitation' is a term which is difficult to identify or measure under a uniform standard, because 'vulnerability' and the forms and degree of exploitation are subject to social and cultural interpretations. And socio-cultural interpretations are deeply embedded in the belief, value and attitudes in the society concerned. As we will discuss later in Chapter 6, whether a child is a 'volunteer' or a 'victim' in child trafficking for sexual exploitation is influenced by the cultural interpretation of 'prostitution'. Meanwhile, social beliefs, values and attitudes not only influence the society's moral standards of right and wrong, giving different definitions of exploitation in the term of what is acceptable and what is not. They also affect the social perceptions of different social groups. In child trafficking, some groups are perceived as being more vulnerable than the rest, and are considered more closely related to certain forms of exploitation.

Stereotypes and prejudice against certain social groups not only influence the identification of exploitations of the victims, but also color the lenses of social perceptions of the exploiters.

2.2 Explaining Child Trafficking

The biggest challenge for researchers studying child trafficking, due to the scale and complexity of the crime as well as its hidden nature, is methodology (Campagna & Poffenberger 1988). It is difficult to tell exactly how many children are trafficked globally or regionally, as all such figures and statistics are estimates (Tyldum, Tveit and Brunovskis 2005).

Some researchers have attempted to explain the existence and patterns of child trafficking from the perspectives of mass economy, human rights protection, international laws (Smolin 2005), cultural differences, globalization and uneven regional development, but in general child trafficking is still little understood in both details and its broad themes. Many theories tackle the problem from the market and economics approaches, and a few from socio-cultural perspectives. Of the existing socio-culturally oriented theories, gender inequality and areas such as Asia and Africa attract most of the research interests, while internal trafficking in OECD countries receive relatively less research attention. Topics such as girls' rights and sending countries receive more research attention, while research on trafficked boys and girls in a non-Asian, non-African country, such as Norway, are scarce.

One common theory is the mass economics supply-demand theory, which would explain international child trafficking as children being supplied (and even 'produced' in some areas) in order to meet the demand for certain trafficking purposes (ILO 2002, Danailova-Trainor & Belser 2006). This theory is useful in explaining the phenomenological traits of child trafficking, such as why some children of a certain race and other specific characteristics are trafficked to a certain area. However, too much emphasis on supply and demand factors in child trafficking usually traps international discussions into the chicken-egg loop,

which usually lead to countries blaming each other of being suppliers or consumers.

Other theories view the issue from a human rights base, tackling the crime as a kind of modern slavery (Ruggiero 1997, ILO 2005, Bales 2005). However, whether the definition can be adequately applied to children is still questionable (Bales 2005), and these theories do not consider children who are not violently threatened, or exploitation which does not include labor factors, for instance, children trafficked for illegal adoption. Also, history has proved that tackling trafficking from merely an anti-slavery approach is not enough: more than 300 international regulations and conventions have been adopted since the international world believed that slavery was successfully abolished, when the Slave Trade Act was signed 200 years ago²⁶. However, today there are still 27 million modern slaves worldwide (Bales 2005: 41-68).

Some researchers also look into the relations between economic globalization and child trafficking. Globalization is believed to provide necessary infrastructures, communications, and technologies to enable the internationalization of criminal networks, hence triggering global human trafficking (Bruckert & Collete 2002, Tyuryukanova 2003). Some other scholars believe that globalization not only stimulates fast cross-continental transportation and communication, but also results in a cost-competition among developing countries (Bales 2005: 37-39, 112-125), especially in countries where manufacturing industries and export play the key role in the national economy, such as China and India. In order to minimize the cost, cheap labor is required. A huge demand and supply of child labor is thus generated, as children are cheaper than adults, seen as easier to manage, and in some cases, disposable. Other theories related to globalization and child trafficking concern the uneven development of legal protection of children and prevention of child trafficking in

²⁶ <http://slavetrade.parliament.uk/>

individual countries (CeLRRd 2002), as well as the problems of international adoption regulations (Bartholet 1993, Cederblad 2003).

Traditionally, child trafficking in developing countries generates more academic and political attention. In recent years, research has also pointed out that child trafficking also exists among children living in developed countries, such as OECD countries. For instance, research on child-trafficking for sexual exploitation in the U.S. finds that many of the victims are from rich and middle-class families. Run-away teenagers, both boys and girls, are usually easy prey (Campagna & Poffenberger 1988).

The above-mentioned theories are only a few examples from the academic and political discussion of child trafficking which are carried out in a broader range and deeper level. As we can see, there are many different academic opinions regarding the causes of child trafficking. Despite the wealth of knowledge gained, along with the increase in academic research on human trafficking in the recent years, in general child trafficking still remains an under-researched field, especially given the fast evolution of the crime. As researcher Kevin Bales said about research on child trafficking “At the moment, we really are like the blind men with the elephant, each describing just one part of the beast, with only the slightest idea of the actual shape of the whole animal.” As we can see, most of the theories remain at the grant research level focusing on the push-pull factors and regional/global trend of the crime, while there is relatively less research on the presentation and public communication of child trafficking in developed countries. Indeed, combating child trafficking also depends on decision-making and efforts from the individual level. Public perceptions and attitudes towards children and child trafficking in the culture concerned are also crucial factors determining the fate of trafficking victims. Maybe the only way to explain that this crime exists is “because someone is willing to pay, while others close their eyes or look the other way” (Save the Children 2007).

2.3 Concluding Remarks

As we have seen in this chapter, child trafficking is a specific type of human trafficking, namely the trafficking of persons under 18 years of age. Usually characterized as modern-day slavery, human trafficking first generated attention from the international arena as a problem of 'White Slavery' - the trafficking of white, European women into forced prostitution. In the last century, the world has gained much knowledge of the nature and changes of human trafficking, and the problem has been tackled from various angles, such as illegal immigration, international organized crime, etc. However, despite the increased knowledge, considerable uncertainties in the field of child trafficking still exist.

First of all, the Western ideologies of prostitution and immigration have been the dominating factors influencing the political definition of human trafficking, which do not reflect a holistic knowledge of the crime. Second, child trafficking can exist both within and across borders, but many countries tend to focus on either internal trafficking, or cross-national trafficking, at the expense of the other. Besides, many countries also overlook the difference between trafficking and smuggling. As discussed in this chapter, smuggling is often related to illegal immigration and transportation of people across borders through illegal means, and trafficking is the continuance of smuggling for the purpose of exploiting the transported people. Furthermore, the relationship between child trafficking and trafficking of children for sexual exploitation also tends to be blurred. Child trafficking is often reduced to and restrained within the discussion of sexual exploitation of children. There are many forms of exploitation of trafficked victims. Sexual exploitation is one of the many purposes for which children are trafficked. However, the discussion of child trafficking has been dominated by the discussion of child prostitution and children trafficked for sexual exploitation. There may be many reasons for this phenomenon. For example, certain forms of exploitation may become more pervasive, more visible, more publicly discussed, and hence become more distinctive problems in certain regions. As the data shows in this study, the studied media report child

trafficking for the purpose of street begging less than sexual exploitation of the victims. Similarly, many people tend to focus on child prostitution as the only form of sexual exploitation of children; this is not a phenomenon limited to Norwegian media. In actuality, the exploitation is more complex than what is visible. Meanwhile, economic motivation is one of the many motivations that stimulate exploitation. What makes the work to identify the perceptions of exploitation in fieldwork challenging is that different societies may have different perceptions of vulnerability regarding different social groups. Stereotypes and prejudices can influence the identification of concrete cases as well as the protection of victims. That is why I have chosen to also focus on the socio-cultural context in the media's presentation of child trafficking.

The concept of children is another key concept in understanding child trafficking. Despite the international agreements on the age of children, usually at age of 18, much of the work to combat child trafficking remains at the local level, which means the local perceptions of children play a significant role. Whether a child is perceived from a conservative or a liberal view usually has different impacts on the perceptions towards trafficked victims in the society concerned, hence influencing the strategies aimed towards victim protection. The important thing in the concept of children as related to child trafficking is that a child is defined as a person less than 18 years of age, and the consent of the child is irrelevant to the actual exploitative nature of the crime itself.

Academically, child trafficking has been tackled from various perspectives, but the topic still remains relatively under-researched. Scholars have applied various theories in disciplines such as economics, human rights and international laws, cultural studies, and globalization and development, in an effort to explain the phenomenon as well as the causes of child trafficking. However, the major problem existing in academic research is the difficulties regarding methodology development, due to the complexity and hidden nature of the crime as well as the difficulties in accessing data.

Despite the difficulties in understanding and researching, child trafficking has received more and more attention on both international and local levels. One reason can be that child trafficking has become a symbol, reflective of the evil and dark side of human nature. Also, global safety and concerns for illegal immigration are certainly important topics. At the same time many actors have joined the movement to combat child trafficking because they perceive the crime as being a violation of the universal values that the international community believes in. Those values are embedded in universal human rights of children. Both internationally and on the domestic level, Norway has long been an active country in advocating the protection of children under the umbrella of humanity and equality.

3. Norway and Child Trafficking

Norway is a country in Northern Europe with a population of 4.7 million people. According to Statistics Norway, by the beginning of 2008, 23% of the country's population are 'children and youth' ("barn og ungdom") under the age of 18 years²⁷ (Statistics Norway 2008). In the 1970s, Norway discovered large oil reserves under the Atlantic ocean and begun an oil voyage which not only dramatically improved living standards²⁸, but also awakened the country's nationalism (Bjørgero & Witte 1993: 9-27). A late-comer to the industrialized world, Norway today has one of the highest living standards in the world. The country has been characterized as a 'welfare society'²⁹. However, despite this rapid material development and accumulation of wealth, research also shows that the Norwegian population does not feel happier than before (Hellevik 2003).

In this Chapter I will introduce some important aspects of Norway in relation to child trafficking. These aspects include the position of children in Norway, the situation of child trafficking in Norway, and the country's effort to combat the crime.

3.1 A Child-Friendly Country

In Norway, there is a strong tradition for recognizing the special needs of children. Scholars even suggest that there is something special about the

²⁷ 1 099 300 people under the age of 18 years old

²⁸ According to The Statistic Central Bureau of Norway (Statistic Norway, Statistisk Sentralbyrå), the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) value of Norway in the 4th quarter of 1978 was 202,088 million NOKs. In 2007 the number doubled to 466, 206 million NOKs.

Figures from the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) show that the estimated GDP per capital value of Norway in 2007 is 55,600 dollars, more than the GDP per capital value of 46,000 dollars in the US.

²⁹ 'Welfare society' and 'Living standard', also known as 'Level-of-living', are concepts established by a Swedish study in 1971. The indicator incorporates measures for health, nutrition, housing, family origins and family relations, education, work and work milieu, economic resources, political resources, leisure and leisure-time pursuits.

Norwegian ideology with regards to children, which makes the country “child-oriented”³⁰ (Martinson 1992).

‘For the child’s best interest’ (“barnas beste”) is a well-integrated principle in Norwegian policies aiming to protect children. Meanwhile, it also serves as a guideline in the interpretation and practices of various policies, for instance, the Norwegian government’s white paper about asylum and refugee policies Stortingsmelding no. 17 (2000-2001), and the policies in the Law of Child Protection (Barnevernsloven)

Internationally, Norway is recognized and praised for being one of the very few countries in the world that has a politically independent entity focusing on the rights of children (Barneombudet), and the country used to have a ministry specifically devoted to children. Though the ministry was recently reformed and renamed to Ministry of Children and Equality, “to realize equality and work against discrimination” remains its main tasks (Norwegian Ministry of Child and Equality). The Norwegian government has promised equal treatment and protection of rights of all children, regardless of ethnicity, citizenship and social status (Martinson 1992). This is relevant in the case of child trafficking.

Norway does not acknowledge an official date for Universal Children’s Day, but the country’s National Day on May 17th is reputed for being ‘The Day of the Children’ (“Barnas dag”). One distinguishing celebration on May 17th is the child parade (“barnetoget”) where children, regardless of ethnicity, race, skin-color and cultures are encouraged and allowed to parade and celebrate Norway’s birthday. This is why, in this study, I paid special attention to reports around May 17th to see if child trafficking has been given more or less attention in the media.

Norway has traditionally been perceived as relatively ethnically homogeneous, and until recently, racism was something that concerned others (Saetersdal &

³⁰ Though some researchers also point out that the prioritization of children has not always been a choice in Norway. It was mainly during the democratic movements in 1970s when more attention was given to treating children as equal individuals (Archard 1993).

Dalen 1991: 83). In the early 1970s, immigration and refugees from the Third World to Norway started growing steadily (Kristofersen 1992). Over the past 38 years, Norway has become a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic society, and some of the social and economic patterns which were well-known in other multi-ethnic societies have appeared in Norway (Bjørgero 1993a). The rise of neo-racism and neo-Orientalism are examples of this (Gullestad 1997, Wikan 1999). Children with immigrant backgrounds in Norway are also subjected to racism (Frønes 1998), and the mass media has an important role both to structure and challenge the prejudice (Bjørgero 1993b).

3.2 Child Trafficking in Norway

Statistics show an increase of trafficking victims in Norway since 2005 (Kanavin & Pedersen 2007). According to the KOM project, as of September 2007 there had been at least 150 people identified as possible human trafficking victims³¹, among them 60 (40%) were children (*'mindreårige'*³²) (Ellefsen 2007). A frequently discussed group of the trafficked children is unaccompanied asylum-seeking children in Norway: 11 children during 2005-2007 (Norwegian Ministry of Justice 2008). According to the latest Trafficking in Persons Report from the US Department of State, "children in Norwegian refugee centers are vulnerable to human trafficking" (US Department of State 2008:66).

With the rapid expansion and development of this global organized crime, the role of Norway in it is also changing. Traditionally, Scandinavian countries are perceived as being the main destinations for children (both boys and girls) and women trafficked for prostitution and sexual exploitation within Europe, and most of the prostitutes are very young: teenagers or in their early twenties (Lehti 2003: 31). Recent reports also indicate that, in addition to its status as being a

³¹ The number varies to 190 according to the Trafficking in Persons Reports from the United States.

³² 'Mindreårige' is usually translated to 'minors'. In Norwegian laws, 'mindreårige' is used to refer to people under 18 years old, hence children. Here I choose to translate this term 'children' in consistence with the overall use of terminologies in this paper.

receiving country of children and women trafficked for prostitution (Skybak 2005), Norway also has become a transit and recruiting country for children trafficked into other forms of exploitation (US Department of State 2006), and the Norwegian government itself acknowledges the situation (Norwegian Parliament 2008). The forms of exploitation have expanded. In Norway, trafficking victims are also found begging, and in the black market for cheap labor, etc (Vatnedal 2007). Besides this, men have become another group of trafficking victims in Norway (Ellefsen 2007).

Norwegian citizens are involved in the organization of child trafficking and the exploitation of the victims (Lehti 2003: 9). There has been an increase of prosecuted cases of child trafficking in Norway since 2004 (US Department of State 2005: 198). Norway is also a 'consumer' country of trafficked children, which means that there exists a market of trafficked children inside Norway, and Norwegian citizens travel to other countries to purchase products and services produced by trafficked children, for instance Norwegian sex tourists travel to Thailand, the Baltic countries and St. Petersburg to purchase sex with minors.

Child trafficking through refugee channels is a unique form of trafficking which has existed in some countries for quite a while (Martens, Pieczkowski & Vuuren-Smyth 2003: 28-34). The victims are usually unaccompanied asylum-seeking children, and/or 'separate children'³³, running away or being picked up by agents/offenders after they arrive at refugee centers. Media coverage in Norway also indicates that this type of trafficking also exists in Norway and other Scandinavian countries (Aftenposten 11-26-2005, 11-30-2005).

In recent years, unaccompanied refugee children have garnered increased attention in the Norwegian government, NGOs, and academic debates (Kristofersen 1992, Knoff 2003). Asylum-seeking children disappearing from

³³ According to research on the social work on unaccompanied asylum-seeking children in Britain, many of the children are in situations which are less compatible with the conventional legal definition of 'refugee', hence 'separate children' is a term more appropriate and precisely describing the children's situation. (Bertrand 2000, Jacobson and Landau 2003, SCEP 2006, Kohli 2007).

Norwegian asylum centers who end up in child trafficking has become a serious consideration among professionals working in the sector (Skybak 2005: 24-25, Norwegian Ministry of Justice 2008). According to UDI, the number of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children has steadily increased in Norway since 2000; there were 916 unaccompanied asylum-seeking children in 2003, which was almost double the figure from 2000. The number dropped to 424 in 2004, 349 in 2006, possibly due to stricter asylum rules (Skybak 2005, UDI 2008). The largest groups of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children exploited in child trafficking are from Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Russia, Congo, and diverse African countries (Skybak 2005:25, UDI 2008).

As the number of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children dropped, so did the amount of these children disappearing from Norwegian asylum centers increase. According to the latest report from the Norwegian Ministry of Justice, 10 children disappeared in 2005, while in 2006 the number doubled to 22, and in 2007 19 disappeared. Altogether 51 unaccompanied asylum-seeking children had disappeared, and 11 of them are possible child trafficking victims (Norwegian Ministry of Justice 2008). It is worth noting that the number from the Ministry of Justice is quite different from the number from Save the Children, which conducted an independent investigation and found that since 2000 more than 600 unaccompanied asylum-seeking children have disappeared from Norwegian asylum centers (Andresen 2008). But both the ministry and Save the Children agreed that whilst the police were aware of the cases, they made minimal effort to find out where the children were, which was different treatment from disappearing cases of Norwegian children, and results that, up til today, 37 of 51 cases left unsolved (73%) (Skybak 2005, Norwegian Ministry of Justice 2008).

Professionals actively working at combating child trafficking in Norway expressed concerns that unaccompanied asylum children, especially children from Africa and Russia, could be victims of child trafficking and used as mules in drug trafficking (Presto: interview 06.02.08, Kanavin: interview 06.02.08). There are also several reports about unaccompanied asylum children and/or

refugee children in Norway being recruited to and/or engaged in prostitution in Oslo (Skybak 2005: 21).

Other forms of child trafficking also exist in Norway, such as the organized begging of children, usually Gypsy children, in Oslo. Save the Children Norway has reported cases of young children begging in Oslo. However, the cases did not generate much attention from the police due to the small quantity of children found. The police interpreted these being single cases, and weak evidence lead to uncertainty surrounding whether the children were organized or not (Skybak 2005: 22, Vatnedal 2007). Meanwhile, according to Save the Children, by 2005 there had been a lack of knowledge regarding the situation of children trafficked as forced/cheap labor into Norway (Skybak 2005), and interviews with FAFO researcher and the director of the police's KOM project also indicated the possibility of children having been trafficked into Norway to work on construction sites (Tveit: interview 27.11.07, Ellefsen: interview 29.02.08). Besides this, a group of research also found that many Norwegian children have been integrated into organized prostitution rings (Hegna & Pedersen 2002). Some research points in the direction of forced prostitution (Svedin & Pribe 2004).

3.3 Norway against Child Trafficking

To protect children against trafficking, Norway has ratified a series of international conventions and treaties, which include the UN Palermo Protocol on Human Trafficking, UN Conventions on the Rights of the Child, its Optional Protocol on the Sale of children, child prostitution or incorporation³⁴, and several other international conventions including the UN Convention of 1949 on the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others. In 2008, Norway also ratified the Europe Convention for action

³⁴ Norway ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the 8th of January, 1991. The ratification means that Norway should implement the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in Norwegian law. The protocol was ratified by Norway on the 23rd of March 2001.

against human trafficking, which was put into force in May 2008 (Council of Europe 2008). Ratifying these international treaties and conventions has two important consequences: First, Norway is obliged to cooperate with other countries on the movement to combat child trafficking, as well as to protect all children's equal rights. Second, Norway has made an oath to integrate these international treaties into domestic laws, policies and operational guidelines in the identification, rescue, protection and rehabilitation trafficked children and children who are vulnerable to child trafficking.

Since 2003, Norway has had a national law aiming specifically at preventing human trafficking: penal code 224 (Straffeloven 224). Penal code 224 sets the sentence of 10 years in jail as the highest punishment for human trafficking. The law says (my translation):

Those who with violence, threats, taking control of vulnerable situations or other unacceptable situations to force a person into

- *prostitution or other sexual exploitation*
- *forced labor*
- *war service in a foreign country or*
- *removal of organs*

or who lead a person into similar exploitation, will be punished for human trafficking with up to 5 years in prison³⁵.

The law also addresses that in a situation of exploitation of a person under 18 years of age, the punishment is independent from the use of violence, threats, control of vulnerable situation or other unacceptable behaviors used.

In addition, the Norwegian law, chapter 19, paragraph 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 199 and 203 specifically deal with sexual offences, and with protecting children and young persons against all forms of sexual exploitations in Norway. It is punishable to have sexual relationships with a person under 16 years old.

³⁵ In this article the law states the punishment of 5 years. But the law also addresses that in severe cases the highest punishment can reach 10 years in jail.

According to penal code 203, people buying sexual services from a person under 18 years of age will be punished. In addition, the Norwegian Children Act is another useful tool protecting all children in Norway with regards to their rights to have a guardian and other relevant issues (Norwegian Ministry of Children and Equality 2007)

The Norwegian government has issued three action plans against human trafficking since 2003. The current one is called ‘Stop Human Trafficking, The Norwegian Government’s Plan of Action to Combat Human Trafficking [2006-2009]’ (Norwegian Ministry of Justice). In this plan, human trafficking is addressed as the “exploitation for the purpose of prostitution, forced labor and illegal trade of organs” (Stop Human Trafficking: 3.4 – 3.6). The plan also outlines 37 measures to combat human trafficking, among which measures no. 12 -18 specify that “child victims of human trafficking will be ensured appropriate follow-up.”

The police program Kripos has been an active organization within the police sector, aiming specifically to combat human trafficking through cooperation with other European countries. Kripos has cooperated with other countries, especially countries in Scandinavia and Baltic areas to combat human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Besides this, the police also has a special unit called KOM, an inter-ministerial coordination unit aiming at the protection of trafficking victims (Norway at the UN.GIFT, 2008). These organizations include the police, UDI, Child Welfare Services (Barnevernet), the ROSA project, and various NGOs such as Save the Children, Pro-Centers, etc.

In addition to government institutions, NGOs in Norway are also actively engaged in combating child trafficking and protecting victims. On July 31st 2007, Save the Children Norway launched the program HVISK, the first aid/help program in Norway, specifically targeting trafficked children. The main victim focus groups are foreign children and immigrant children in Norway (Vatnedal 2007). Besides this, HVISK is also designed to educate the public about child

trafficking, through a 24-hour green number and an anti-child-trafficking-themed website in several languages. In addition, the IOM office in Oslo works on urging the government to provide services for trafficking victims who are willing to go back to their countries of origin.

3.4 Challenges to Norway against Child Trafficking

Though the Norwegian government officially acknowledges human trafficking as a social problem in Norway, and there has been some training projects within the government sectors related to combating this crime, the country “has no well-established experience or competence in this field [of child trafficking in Norway]” (Renland 2001, Bjerkan, Dyrliid & Tveit 2006). In Norway, more research is carried out on child trafficking in other countries than on how Norway itself is related to child trafficking. I have found very few reports concerning the latter³⁶. Apart from this, among the existing research, there is much concentration on legislative and political approaches, while researches from socio-cultural and semiotic approaches on how developments and changes in the crime and children are presented in Norwegian media are largely absent.

Child trafficking, along with immigrant-related issues, has been given some attention by the Norwegian media. However, unbiased and in-depth reports are lacking (Brune 1997). Some scholars have observed a paradigm shift regarding the perception of immigrants featured in the media during the period of 1980s to 1990s. Research shows that the media showed an attitude change in reporting immigrant issues from positive to less positive to negative. The media image of immigrants changed from being one of a good, helpful hand to a source of social problems (Van Dijk 1991, Brune 1997).

³⁶ One is the United States Report on Human Trafficking, the other is the ECPAT/Save the Children Norway. FAFO has also conducted some research on child trafficking among refugees and immigrants in Norway, as well as on methodology development.

Though the Norwegian government acknowledges that trafficking of women (many of them teenagers) to Norway for sexual exploitation exists, the government has been criticized by various national and international organizations for not taking effective action to realize Norway's promises of helping the victims of child trafficking. For instance, the government has "[paid] little or no attention to" the danger of minor asylum seekers being trafficked (Renland 2001: 25-26). Prior to December 2007, refugee children who were suspected of being trafficking victims were treated as refugees first: they were housed together with other refugees and there were no specific facilities targeting the specific housing, physical and psychological protection needs of these children. It was not until December 2007 that the Norwegian government decided to put unaccompanied refugee children under the protection of the Child Welfare Authority (Barnevernet)³⁷.

The United Nations has criticized Norway's ineffectiveness in protecting child trafficking victims when several trafficked children were sent back to their home of origin without or after testimony in Norway. The Norwegian government has been criticized for having interests tantamount to first and foremost simply getting rid of the problems. The children's situation back home such as the danger of being targeted by criminal networks and the risk of being re-trafficked have not been seriously enough considered by government authorities.

³⁷ In December 2007, the Norwegian government announced that Norway had built the country's first special center with Eidsvoll Omsorg Center (EOS) in Eidsvoll community, specifically to house and protect all unaccompanied asylum-seeking children. Since this day, unaccompanied asylum-seeking children will not live in transit asylum centers or any asylum center, but rather will be directly transferred to the special center hosted by the Child Welfare Authority (Barnevernet). UDI still has the responsibility to process the children's asylum-seeking cases, including to interview them and fully process the application, but it is Barnevernet which has the responsibility to meet the children's daily needs. Based on an interview with an employee from one child home (barneverns omsorgscenter), EOS is built to house 24 children. But 37 children currently live there, and by the end of May 2008, there are in all more than 80 unaccompanied asylum-seeking children in Norway. The children who are not placed in EOS live in various other centers in Eidsvoll and other communities under Barnevernet's responsibility (Informant #1:07-03-2008). One of the many problems of such placement is that some children are denied access to schools because communities usually (mis)interpret the laws differently, and some of the communities have set up own rules regarding the schooling and other treatment of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children. For instance, in Halden community, the children cannot go to school until they have lived in Norway for three months.

Apparently, neither has the government conducted a proper security-assessment through the Norwegian authorities before sending rescued victims back to their home countries. Also, there are little effective witness protection mechanisms in Norway that would be applicable to victims of trafficking, and some victims are deported after the court proceedings (Lehti 2003, Nevala & Aromå 2004). This contradicts Article 17 in the ratified UN Convention of 1949 on the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, stating that ratified countries should provide special protection to children whilst entering/leaving a country.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

Norway is a wealthy and welfare country with 23% of the population comprised of children. Norway has been reputed as being a ‘child-friendly’ country for its active effort promoting equality-oriented child policies. For instance, children’s rights are one major field of work for the Ministry of Children and Equality. Besides this, Norway is one of the few countries having an independent governmental organization (Barneombud) targeting the equality and welfare of children. However, along with the increase of immigration, the Norwegian society has also witnessed a rise of racism, projecting discriminative opinions and practices towards foreign children and children with immigrant backgrounds.

Norway is a recruiting, transit and destination country in child trafficking, and child prostitution is the most recognized form of child trafficking amongst the Norwegian officials. Meanwhile, evidence also points in direction of the occurrence of recruiting and trafficking unaccompanied asylum-seeking children in Norway for the purposes of prostitution, forced labor and other forms of organized crimes. The problem of street-begging children also generated some concerns from NGOs; however, the problem has not received much attention from the police.

In recent years, along with the increase of child trafficking in Norway, the Norwegian government and public has put a lot of effort into combating this

crime. Internationally, Norway has ratified both the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the UN Palermo Protocol, meaning that Norway will endeavor in the global fight against trafficking of people under 18 years of age, as well as protect the universal human rights of all children regardless of races, gender, origin, culture, etc. Domestically, Norway has implemented a new law specifically against human trafficking, the so-called penal code 224. The government has issued three plans of action against human trafficking, among which child trafficking has been given specific attention. Both the Norwegian police and several NGOs in Norway have allocated specific groups of personnel to working with the problem of child trafficking in Norway.

Despite the increased attention for child trafficking from both the official sector and non-governmental organizations, the competence in Norway remains improvable. Internationally, Norway has been criticized by the United Nations for its ineffective and biased policies regarding the protection of refugee children and trafficked victims. On the national level, the problem of child trafficking inside Norway remains under-researched in the Norwegian academia. In practice, stereotypes and prejudices of immigrants exist in press coverage as well as the actual operation of child trafficking cases. These indicate that despite the general awareness of equality of all children, certain ideological boundaries framing the social perceptions of children, especially of immigrant children, exist in the Norwegian society.

4. Theoretical Inspiration

Since this thesis aims to explore the socio-cultural interpretations of the media's presentation of child trafficking, two sets of theories are important: social semiotic theories and framing theories in mass communication, and Orientalism and its influence on Egalitarianism in Norway. This study of media's presentation of child trafficking in Norway is in fact a search for meanings. The signs/symbols that are studied under the umbrella of this thesis are not only the textual signs in media reports, but also the culturally constructed symbols in the culture, such as 'equality', 'children', etc. The media reports not only give meanings to child trafficking; at the same time, the reports also construct 'child trafficking' into a symbol for the society. In this case, I find that social semiotic theory sheds light on this field. Meanwhile, communication is a process of persuasion through various selections. Both the making and the interpretation of news reports are framed by certain textual, structural and socio-cultural boundaries. In turn, the selection of frames and boundaries are influenced by the power-relationships among various social groups and cultures in the society.

4.1 Social semiotic and Framing

Traditional media analysis usually adopts semiotic theories of textual analysis, as semiotics studies the process of signification and the creation of symbols from a linguistic approach. In this thesis, I understand media as a stage of textual and cultural meanings; I find it more appropriate to adopt social semiotic theory, which analyses the ways in which signification, meanings, and actions are configured within social contexts.

Social semiotic studies rejects traditional media content analysis based on reductionism and essentialism³⁸, instead proposing a ‘thick’ description “(seeking) to establish the meaning of linguistic features in their discursive context, giving priority to measures of contextual meaning over measures of recurrence” (Jensen 1995: 99). From a social semiotic perspective, contexts are constituted by the communicative processes taking place in them (Jensen 1995). That is to say the meanings of media reports are not only in the textual basis, but they also reflect social codifications and interpretations based on the value system in the Norwegian context. As Lemke said:

Discourse forms do not, in and of themselves, "have" meanings; rather they have a range of potential meanings. Words, phrases, sentences are tools that we deploy in complex contexts to make more specific meanings, to narrow the potential range of possible meanings down to those reasonably or typically consistent with the rest of the context. Even in context, at a moment, an utterance or phrase may not have a completely definite meaning.

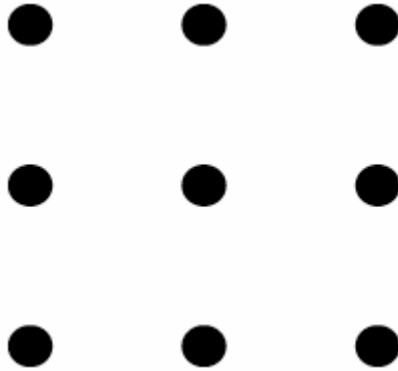
(Lemke in Tobin & Fraser 2008)

The decision of “to make more specific meanings” and “to narrow the potential” meanings is not only an ability deeply embedded in the socio-cultural contexts the communication participants are in, but also a consequence of the frames and boundaries surrounding the participants.

Framing theory is a social persuasion and communication effect theory which addresses the fact that both the media’s selection of rhetorics and the public’s interpretation of meanings are products of socially constructed ‘rules’ and ‘norms’, or ‘common senses’. According to Gitlin, “Frames are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters” (1980: 6). When thinking of solutions, making sense of things and giving meanings to symbols, socio-cultural contexts

³⁸ Traditional media analysis usually applies semantic theories to study the media’s use of language as elements of communication. Typical elements to look into include vocalics (audio), kinesics (visual), proxemics (space & spatial relationship of the media concerned), haptics, chronemics, as well as visual resources.

become the solution space, the mentally confined boundaries which restrict people from being innovative, open-minded and thinking out of the box. The framing theory is well illustrated in the famous 9-dot problem by Watzlawick, Weakland & Fisch (1974).



The question is how to connect the nine dots shown above by four straight lines without lifting the pen from the paper. The problem is that many people hold self-imposed conditions that the instructions do not contain, and these self-imposed rules doom all attempts to solve the problem.³⁹ What the nine-dot problem tells us is that frames are usually initially assumed by the players themselves, and assumptions and stereotypes usually contribute to the creation of these frames.

There are many forms of frames. Language, especially rhetoric, is a common one. All language, whether spoken or written, creates a world of value orientations through defining what is taken to be true or likely, good or desirable, important or obligatory. The ways in which the texts/narratives are arranged is the art of rhetorics. Narratives are language used to tell a story, and rhetorics are the styles of language used in order to persuade an individual. Different use of rhetorics can give the same texts different messages. Aristotle, Plato's student, said that rhetoric often is effective as a tool to reveal truth. On the other hand, Socrates, Plato's mentor, said rhetoric has nothing to do with real knowledge;

³⁹ For the solution to the nine-dot problem, see *Appendix 4: Solution to the nine-dot problem*

instead it is a game of gulling the ignorant about the justice and injustice of a matter, to make the worse look better and allow the guilty to go free. Polus, student of Gorgias, said that rhetoric, as an art of persuasion, reflected power-relations in society (Simons 2001:3-5).

As we can see, rhetoric is a tool that media uses to reach certain communicative goals, for instance the use of metaphor, capitalization of selected words and phrases, the tactic of categorizing and labeling, etc (ibid.). When talking about media, the use of rhetoric is more diverse. Some of the rhetorical tactics can be detected in the texts, while others are more hidden in the use of certain structural characters in media. For instance, not many people pay attention to where and when a piece of news appears in a newspaper, but front-page placement and a small corner in a newspaper usually symbolize great differences in the seriousness of the message.

Besides this, mass media is another crucial generator of frames that shape the public's perceptions of meanings (Reese 2001). The media's discourse of child trafficking not only aims to present the 'facts', but also persuade the public of a constructed image of 'truth'. Though there always are discussions in ethics on whether the 'intentions' are consciously or unconsciously decided, in media studies, the choice of frames has been treated as a more or less deliberate process.

[t]o frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation.

Entman 1993: 52

The crux of news reporting encompasses selection and deflection of information, reporting genres and angles, and arranging the text in desired ways in order to serve certain goals. Thus, 'objectivity' in reporting is only relative.

Meanwhile, the art of persuasion and the persuasive effect are as well framed by the culture in which persuasion takes place. Mass media is not only a concrete communications mechanism, but also a kind of psychological effect emanating

from a group of people living in and experiencing the dilemma between the pursuit of media objectivity and the influence of the beliefs, values and attitudes in the culture, as boundaries. The so-called BVA theory (Belief-Value-Attitude) claims that public opinions, choices and actions are derived from social beliefs⁴⁰, values and attitudes (Simon 2001: 27-29). What and how the media frame, reinforce, change and respond are all influenced by the society and the culture they live in. Therefore, the value and beliefs in a society are the knowledge structure of the media, and hence the public.

However, values and beliefs sometimes also create the so-called schemas, such as biased attitudes, and stereotypes towards certain social groups. A schema is the selective guiding of values, beliefs and attitudes in the structure of knowledge (Tesser & Leone, 1977). Schemas exist not only in the knowledge of social groups, but also among programs and practices, such as the interpretation of legal rights and the design of programs. Through the selection of the reporting subject, reporting angles and the use of rhetoric, the media can help enhance the problems of schemas. One serious problem of schemas in mass media is the misinforming, misleading and confusing of the public. Meanwhile, the schemas-theory also emphasizes that both media and the public reflect each other in the process of schematizing certain groups to be associated with certain beliefs, values and attitudes (Kuklinski et al, 1998). That is to say the influence between the public and the media is reciprocal: the media influences the public voice of opinions, formation of choice, and decision of actions, as well as being itself influenced by the beliefs, values and attitudes in the society. Therefore, the media can generate new frames and enhance old schemas. At the same time, it also can persuade people to think out of the frames, and re-frame and alter stereotypes.

⁴⁰ Here, the beliefs are not only about what we believe in (e.g., the value of equality), but also the things we believe that are true (e.g., we are more aware of equality than them).

4.2 Norwegian Egalitarianism

Norway is a social democratic country with a history of social policies geared towards equalization among its populace, and egalitarianism is an influential ideology in social life as well as a political agenda. Norwegian egalitarianism addresses 'equality' in two respects: equal opportunities and equal consequences, which usually lead to the same treatment.

Norwegian cultural values encompass the notion of '*frugality*' ('*nøysomhet*') and a 'Janteloven' ("you shall not think you are better than us")⁴¹ way of thinking (Gayle & Knutsen 1993). On the one hand, equality in Norway is based on a modest and even strict attitude with regards to denying certain self-perceptions from the others' sides: you can think you are different, but not that you are better than us. Such attitudes are reflected in the emphasis on equal opportunities in Norway, that no one should be denied access to resources or excluded from activities due to differences in ethnicity, religious belief, gender, sexual orientation, social status, etc. This is reflected in Norway's Discrimination Law⁴² where discrimination based on any of the above mentioned differences is explicitly forbidden.

In addition, the 'you shall not think you are better than us' doctrine also reflects a kind of self-enhancement of the speaker, as the rule is often applied outwards towards people other than the speaker(s). Lastly, Janteloven in Norway also highlights individualism and dictates that Norwegians should not mind other people's business, since one should not think one is special, neither better nor worse in any way. Norwegians are educated from a young age to respect the individuality and difference amongst people, and to not bother (*plage*) others. In

⁴¹ Janteloven, the Law of Jante, is not a set of laws existing in reality in Norway. The term 'Janteloven' first appeared in 1933, by Aksel Sandemose, a Danish/Norwegian writer in his novel "En flyktning krysser sitt spor" (A refugee crosses his tracks). What the 'laws' entail are widely considered as being good a description of the social mindset of 'equality' in Nordic countries. There are 10 articles in the 'laws', including "You shall not think that you know more than us", "You shall not think that you are better than us", "You shall not think that you can teach us anything", etc.

⁴² Available online on <http://www.lovdato.no/all/hl-20050603-033.html>

Torbjørn Egner's children's book "Folk og Røvere i Kardemomme by" (first translated to "People and Robbers of Cardamon Town", later to "When the robbers came to Cardamon Town"), the police officer upholds justice according to a single law, the Cardamon Law: "One should not bother others, one should be nice and kind, other than that you can do what you want"⁴³ (Egner 1955). A great majority of all children growing up in Norway since the book was published in 1955 have heard or read this story, not just once or twice, but many times. From a positive viewpoint, it can be understood as respecting individuality. On the other hand, Norwegians are often viewed as "selfish and cold" by immigrants (Witoszek 2007).

What has been stated in Janteloven has been broadly commented upon and to a large extent perceived as being a 'correct' description of some social norms in Norwegian society (Gayle & Knutsen 1993). These social norms set the foundations of Norwegian egalitarianism. Meanwhile, scholars have also argued that the basis behind Norwegian egalitarianism is not faith in equal treatment based on the view that 'individuals are born equal', but 'men should be treated the same', thus, Norwegian egalitarianism has been cultivated in the ideology of pursuing averageness, sameness, and commonality among all (Wikan 2002). This determines that despite all their differences and individualities, people should be treated 'equally'. And 'equality' should be measurable according to sets of rules. For instance, there is no huge salary gap between labor workers and intellectuals, and school children do not receive any grades before middle high school.

To sum up, individualism is an important element in Norwegian egalitarianism. It is both respected and dismissed. How to soothe the tension regarding when and how much to address and to oppress individualism under the big umbrella of equality depends on the contexts and the power relationships in a society.

⁴³ My translation of "Man skal ikke plage andre, man skal være grei og snill, og for øvrig kan man gjøre hva man vil."

4.3 Orientalism

Edward Said first instituted “Orientalism” as a critical category in 1978 (Said 1979). For him, Orientalism is both practice and ideology of the imagined East by the West. First, Said pointed out that Orientalism is not based on an airy European fantasy of the Orient; instead, it is a set of discourses that exists politically, socially, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and artistically. What these discourses reveal are a group of discursive practices which structure an imagined picture of the Oriental Other. Besides, Orientalism is also “a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and... ‘The Occident’” (Said 1978: 2). This means that in the European representation of people living in Oriental areas, the Orientals are viewed less as individuals, but more as a typical cultural creation. Thus, people from a ‘primitive’ culture are all barbarians. This kind of representation of the Orient enables those powerful countries to dominate the subjugated and conquered under the premise of being a more advanced culture. Since its first publication in 1979, Orientalism has been received both approvingly and critically in the academic world⁴⁴.

Orientalism is deeply embedded in the notion of cultural leadership, or cultural hegemony, which is “an indispensable concept for any understanding of cultural life in the industrial West” (Said 1979: 7). Said pointed out that there had been a tradition of Europeans feeling their cultures and identities were superior in comparison with all non-European peoples, and he also referred to the study by Denys Hay when discussing the roots of the idea of Europe. According to Hay, the concept of Europe is hardly based on geographical boundaries as Europe is not a continent. Instead, the traditional idea of Europe is based on a hegemonic collective notion identifying “us” Europeans from all “those” non-Europeans who structure the boundary of ‘Europe’ (Hay 1968). Later in his work Said

⁴⁴ For critiques of Orientalism, see 'For Lust of Knowing, The Orientalists and Their Enemies', by Robert Irwin.

referred to this European awareness as ‘cultural strength’: “Europe was always in a position of strength, not to say domination” (Said 1978: 40). In other words, it is a power- relation between the powerful and the weak that has been influential in forging European perceptions of the Orient, the Others.

4.4 An Orientalism Influence on Norwegian Egalitarianism

Meanwhile, research also shows that the Norwegian egalitarianism view of Norway as aides in a world of neediness is based on a version of the Norwegian Orientalism, closely related to a ‘colonial culture’ introduced and constructed through the Norwegian missionary movements (Nielsen 2007).

Though Norway has never been a world colonizing power, many Norwegian missionaries and enthusiastic amateurs have joined the European expansion movement, especially during the colonizations of the 1800s. The interests of the Norwegian ‘missioners’ were not driven by the desire to preach particular religious beliefs, but by the Norwegian egalitarianism belief of humanity, aiming to create many ‘spiritual colonies’ (“åndelige kolonier”) for Norway (ibid.: 210-124).

Nielsen, who studied the biggest Norwegian missionary expeditions in the period of 1940s -70s, found that the Norwegian missionary programs are major contributors in shaping the Norwegian version of Orientalism. The information gathered from the Other and brought back by the missionaries to be presented to the Norwegian public highlighted the differences in two aspects, between “We” and the “Other”: material difference and civilization hierarchy based on the culture of ‘equality’ in the country concerned (ibid.).

The development level of the material world was an important factor the Norwegian missionaries addressed to distinguish Us from the Other. Through nation-wide exhibitions, missionaries usually told stories of the Other living in extreme poverty, evidenced by their selected assemblies of documents, photos

and personal collections from the Orient, showing that material differences exist not only between Norway and the rest, but also among the rest.

One message sent is that material development determines the country's civilization status: difference exists not only between We and Them, but also among the Others. In a promotional letter sent to a school by the organizer, the exhibition was described as an opportunity to give "an overview of China and Japan's ancient, fine cultures, the more primitive living standard of the Sudanese, and of South Africa and Madagascar's more colorful multiplicity"⁴⁵ (ibid.: 204). Missionaries also arranged their exhibition sections in a hegemonic order of cultures. Goods brought back from the foreign country were used to demonstrate the material development there, and to determine its position in the culture hierarchy. For instance, a common option in arrangements was to start with the Cameron booth, representing Cameroonian culture's position at the bottom of the hierarchy. The arrangement usually ended with China (ibid.: 204-205).

Nielsson's research also showed that the media, both in printed and electronic form, since the 1940s, has played an important role in spreading the ideology of Orientalism and the role of Norway-as-a-savior for the rest of the world into a much broader range than the missionary exhibitions could reach (ibid.: 210-214). In addition, various other researchers also point out that contemporary Norwegian media also work on constructing and framing a dichotomous view of the Orient Others in the public's mind (Van Kijk 1991/1993, Campell 1995). As opposed to the time of the missionaries, media nowadays not only create images of the distanced Others, but also attempt to categorize the Others based on their Otherness: 'foreigners' are the absolute 'Others', 'immigrants' can be divided into different groups of 'Otherness' depending their roles of victims (women and refugees), trouble-makers (second-generation immigrants), integrated examples

⁴⁵ My translation of "en oversikt over China og Japans eldgamle, fine kultur, sudanesernes mer primitive livsforhold og over Sør-Afrika og Madagaskars mer brokete mangfoldighet."

(refugees and selected ‘normal’ people with immigrant backgrounds), or national heroes (soccer player and other athletes) (Brune 1997, Eide 2001).

4.5 Concluding Remarks

The socially perceived meanings of child trafficking, represented in the presentation of the issue, are combined products of the medias as well as socio-cultural perceptions of symbols. As opposed to traditional semiotic theories on media content analysis, social semiotic theory emphasizes that the media’s use of rhetorics indicates a potential rhetorical communication effect on the reader. At the same time, it also reflects a broader range of socio-cultural perceptions outside the textual context. To put it in a simple way, the meanings of media reports not only reside in their textual basis, but are also embedded in the semiotic network existing in the culture and society at large. The meanings and perceptions of child trafficking and children are a combined result both of the media’s interpretation of signs and symbols in textual contexts, as well as of the social perceptions of relevant concepts such as children, exploitation and equality.

There is no absolute equality. Recognition of equality realization relies on a shared social agreement on the ‘appropriate’ values assigned and recognized to the groups concerned. Therefore, equality of all children is a good wish and a goal to pursue for an equality-aware society. But the realization of equality of all children depends on how the Norwegian society defines and perceives the values of children from different social groups. Research has argued for the influence of Orientalism in Norwegian egalitarianism, indicating that the Norwegian notion of equality is bounded in the power-relations among different social grounds in the Norwegian society. A hegemonic view of cultures, as suggested in Orientalism, can contribute to polarized perceptions of our children vs. their children.

5. A Qualitative Approach to the Reports

Language defines reality: the words used to discuss crimes reveal something about our knowledge of and attitudes towards them

Daniel S. & Poffenberger, 1988: 9

Among all the reports I have found in VG and Klassekampen discussing child trafficking, I have identified 120 reports as relevant for further analysis in this thesis. In the selected 120 reports child trafficking is the main topic that information is given about and discussions are structured around. There are many other articles, especially articles about prostitution, where possibly relevant topics are touched upon, but not as the main topic. Unless otherwise stated, those reports are kept outside the analysis that follows.

The following analysis adopts a combination of qualitative analysis and quantitative methodology, such as charts and tables, to visualize important indicators. As mentioned in chapter 1, I look at three different aspects of the reports in order to detect the ideology behind the text: (1) reporting genre, (2) reporting angles/interest, and (3) narratives in the text. In this chapter, I will present and analyze the data based on these three aspects. In 5.1 I will discuss the general trends of the data. Specific attention will be given to a quantitative analysis of the reporting genres, but I will also look at the reporting angles. In 5.2, I will take a closer look at the phrases that media used to conceptualize 'child trafficking'. In 5.3, I will look at the reporting interests of the data. In 5.4, I will discuss the representation of children and their associated stereotypes in child trafficking as described by the reports. Finally, in 5.5, I will give a summary of the chapter.

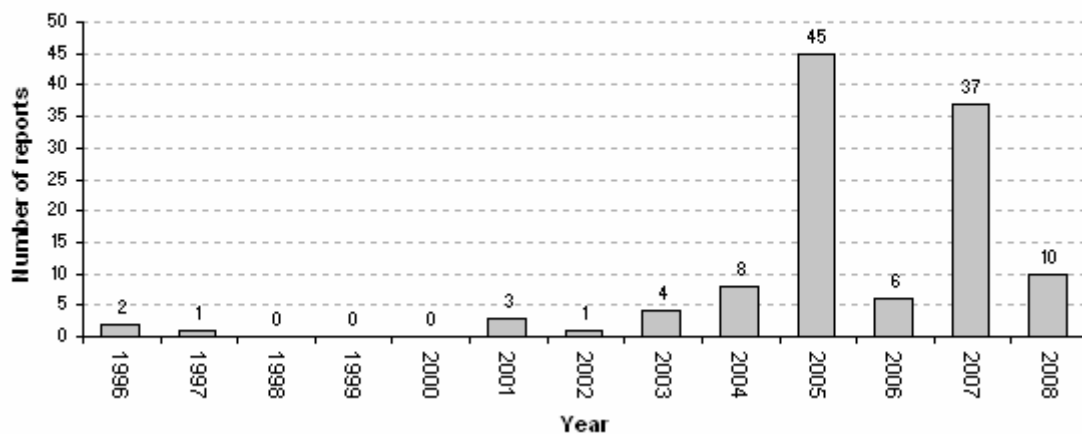
5.1 Reporting Genre: An Increase in Quantity and Variety

This research is a journey into the past. Like on any journey, there were ups and downs, as well as many surprises when searching for and reading child

trafficking-related reports in Norway from the last 27 years. In the period from 1980 to 1995, the media published a multitudinous amount of stories related to child welfare and protection worldwide, featured numerous debates and discussions related to equality, and demonstrated some serious concerns related to trafficking of women for prostitution but I encountered no story on child trafficking. There could be many reasons causing this relatively 'silent' period in the media. There was no case of child trafficking discovered in Norway during the period, and, relatively little attention was given to child trafficking in the international arena in the same period.

However, the situation changed in 1996, when VG had two reports featuring child trafficking-related issues overseas, which broke the 'silence' in the studied media in child trafficking-related reports. Chart 1 shows the change of quantity in reports on child trafficking in the media from 1996 to April 2008.

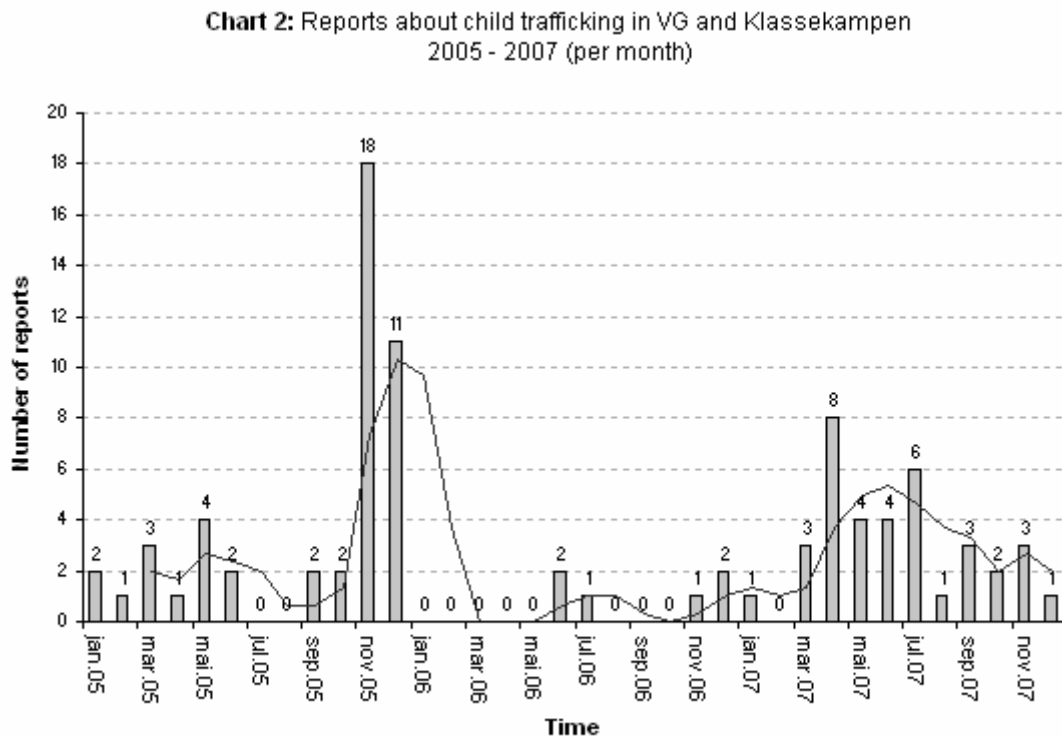
Chart 1: Reports about child trafficking in VG and Klassekampen 1996 - April 2008 (per year)



The chart shows that there has been a gradual increase of reports from 1996 to 2008, but with sudden jumps in 2005 and 2007, when the quantity jumped to 45 and 37 reports, respectively. In both cases that is almost five times more than the previous year. The jumps do not seem to have any effect on the general gradual trend of increasing reports, since the increase started already before the first jump and continued with a relatively stable speed after the last jump within the studied

period. Besides this, no increase in the quantity of reports has been observed during the shift of decades and in the weeks of May 17th.

A closer look at 2005 and 2007 reveals that the reports were concentrated in three periods: March – June 2005, November – December 2005, and April -July 2007. Chart 2 shows the quantity of reports from 2005 to 2007 per month.



(The trendline shows a moving average from the previous 3 months)

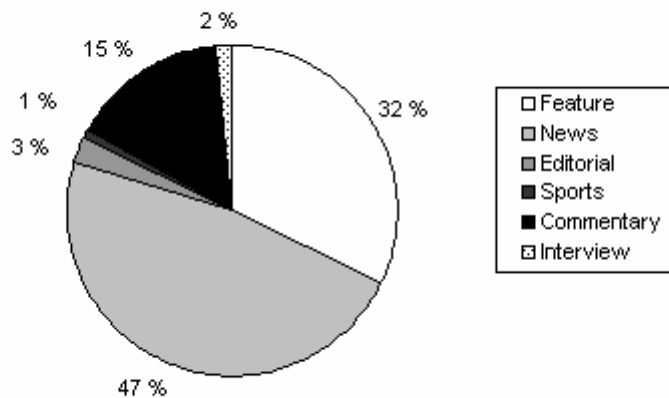
This pattern is closely related to three relevant cases in Norway during the same periods. 55 of the 120 reports are directly related to these cases. In the period from January to March 2005, Norway experienced its first child trafficking case, involving a 16 year-old girl from Estonia⁴⁶. In November same year, Swedish police found four Chinese children in Sweden, who had previously disappeared from Norwegian asylum centers. Finally, in April to July 2007, a Norwegian was charged with child trafficking for purposes of sexual abuse and the trafficking of boys in Thailand. As several politicians commented, these three cases are

⁴⁶ Though the court eventually judged the case by the pimp act, different opinions regarding the judgement and the interpretation of the human trafficking act remain. I will discuss this case later in this chapter.

remarkable because they marked several ‘firsts’ in the Norwegian history of child trafficking. Later, I will look at the reports of two of the three cases in detail.

In addition to the increase in quantity, there is also variation in terms of the reporting genre, which I examined first through the three different coding systems outlined in the methodology section⁴⁷. I divided the 120 reports into four primary media models based on reporting genre⁴⁸. Chart 3 shows the percentages of the different report types in the 120 reports.

Chart 3: Child trafficking report types in VG and Klassekampen 1996 to 2008



Almost half of the reports (56 reports, 47%) are news, which includes both event-based and issue-based hard news. Following news, feature reports is the second most frequent report type (39 reports, 32%). Commentaries (18 reports) and editorials (4 reports) are also relatively frequent report types in the reports studied on child trafficking.

Aside from this, the data also echoes the different self-positioning and features of the two selected newspapers. As a quality tabloid, VG contributed 103 reports to the total 120 reports, and more than half of the reports from VG on child

⁴⁷ The other two coding systems are based on reporting interests/angles, and repetitive narratives. I will analyze the data based on these two coding systems later in this chapter.

⁴⁸ Note that the category ‘Interview’ can be grouped with ‘Feature’, and ‘Sports’ with ‘News’. The reason why I group ‘Interview’ and ‘Sports’ separately, in addition to ‘Feature’ and ‘News’, is to acknowledge their existence as well as to illustrate the small quantity of such reports.

trafficking are news (53 reports). This means 95% of the news reports on child trafficking among the 120 studied reports are from VG. Meanwhile, Klassekampen has a considerably large quantity of commentaries in relation to its relatively few reports: 8 out of 17 reports from Klassekampen are commentaries, and that is 44% of the total number of commentaries among the 120 reports.

Increasing Interests: To Inform and To Persuade

The increase of reports with regards to both quantity and reporting variety is a sign of increasing interest in the newsroom for child trafficking. As the mass media reflects and responds to events, issues, and ideologies in the society, this could in turn be caused by the increasing attention in the international arena, and/or by the concrete child trafficking cases in the Norwegian society.

However, both the large percentage of reports (55 reports, 46% of all studied) on concrete cases in Norway and the sudden jumps related with those cases also indicate that instead of bringing up important issues on their own initiative, the studied media tend to react to acute events.

The large proportion of news and features in the reports seems to indicate that events and issues related to child trafficking are becoming increasingly newsworthy. As the data indicates, news and features make up 79% of all the reports studied; this relatively large percentage also indicates that the media studied remain concentrated on informing the public about specific events and issues related to child trafficking.

However, that there are more news reports than commentaries does not mean that child trafficking is presented more objectively. There are structural limitations present in the reporting genres. Even in a reporting genre like hard news, which has distinctive textual characteristics, a relatively stricter structure and rules regulating the 'objectivity' of reports, the generic and textual structures are first and foremost human-made rules, which naturalize the ideologically influenced judgments about socially significant and moral order (White 1998 and 2005). In

this sense, the discussion of ‘objectivity’ in journalism is similar to that in academia, in that ‘objectivity’ is not a fact, but instead more or less remains a goal to be pursued, but that may never be reached. Methodology and ethics are important as means and controls to strive more rigorously for this goal.

Though news and feature reporting supposedly comprise the ideal approaches of objectivity, journalism is a discipline of selection and deflection (see Burke 1945: 59). Journalists do not only write news, they *make* news. Many theorists have argued that it is virtually impossible to achieve objectivity in news reporting (Hackett 1984, Cappella & Jamieson 1997), because the ‘objective facts’ in news are indeed constructions of selected words and structures influenced by broader personal and social contexts. Through choosing what to cover, journalists and newsrooms select what to reflect, and what to deflect. Besides this, pressure from the market and competitors plays an important role in influencing decision making. In this sense, mass media is a machine of persuasion. The readers are both consciously and unconsciously persuaded, not only through linguistic rhetorics in commentaries/editorials, but also through structural and textual narratives in everyday news reports. The difference may lie in the fact that the readers may be more aware of reading ‘other’s opinions’ in commentaries/editorials, while accepting information from news/features as ‘objective facts’.

Therefore, the increase of both news/features and editorials/commentaries in the child trafficking reports studied may also suggest that public persuasion is at play, whether in affirming or challenging certain ideologies related to child trafficking.

The data show no quantitative changes of child trafficking reports on special occasions such as the shift of decades and the child parade on May 17th. This echoes the findings from the survey, where only 6 out of the 48 interviewees thought the child parade on May 17th would be an appropriate occasion to report child trafficking. When asked to explain why they thought May 17th would be an

inappropriate occasion to report child trafficking, many of the interviewees answered that this day symbolizes Norwegian nationalism, and that the child parade (“barnetoget”) on the same day symbolizes ‘happiness’, ‘celebration’ and ‘unity’, rather than the ‘equality of all children’. Hence, they believe that only reports that reflect this happiness, celebration and national pride are really appropriate on this special day.

Though the majority of the interviewees did not agree that May 17th is a good occasion for reporting about child trafficking, many of them thought that it is necessary to have a special day on which issues that violate children’s rights- such as child trafficking- can be brought up. The data from the survey points in two very interesting directions. On the one hand, 45 out of the 48 interviewees (94%) believed that the media could mention child trafficking when reporting on issues about immigrant children. These 45 people include both Norwegians and people with immigrant backgrounds. On the other hand, 40 of 48 (83%) interviewees believed that the Universal Children’s Day is an appropriate time to discuss child trafficking. This means that though the majority of the interviewees thought child trafficking to be related to immigrant children, many of them also believed child trafficking to be first and foremost a violation of all children’s rights. Currently, Norway does not have an official Universal Children’s Day, but the data may suggest that having such a day could be a good idea. That 94% of the interviewees saw child trafficking as related to immigrant children’s issues also indicates the presence of certain ideologies, even stereotypes, towards immigrant children, in the social perception of child trafficking. I will discuss this later in 5.4 and Chapter 6 as additional data also points in this same direction.

5.2 Phrasing Child Trafficking: The Many Names of Child Trafficking

“Hjelpearbeider avhørt om barnehandel i Kosovo” (VG Nett 2001)

“Frykter barne-trafficking”) (Stalsberg 2004)

“Det er første gang en nordmann er tiltalt for menneskehandel med barn (...)” (VG 2007)

“Kjendisdamen som vil sette søkelys på sextrafikk gjennom salg av neglelakk (...)” (Ryste 2005)

“ECPAT arbeider mot barnepornografi, menneskehandel med mindreårige og barnesexturisme.” (VG 2006)

“(...) det er svært viktig å ha internasjonale avtaler og samarbeid for å bekjempe trafficking med barn.” (Ryste 2007)

(the underlining is mine)

The first type of narrative I examined when I began the research was how child trafficking is phrased in the studied reports. As shown in the few examples above, the media use several different phrases.

I found 20 different terms or phrases used by VG and Klassekampen when referring to the concept of child trafficking. Table 2 shows the exact narratives of the 20 phrases used in the 120 reports. I have grouped the 20 phrases into four categories, based on the wording and the highlighted aspect(s) of child trafficking in the phrase. The four categories are: ‘Menneskehandel’ (Trade in Humans) which address child trafficking from a more general aspect as the trade in humans; ‘Barnehandel’ (Trade in Children) which highlights the aspect of children; ‘Trafficking’ which appears in the studied media as a borrowed English word; and ‘Other’ which includes several less used phrases. Though some phrases are only slightly different from others in the text, such as barnehandel and barne-handel, they are listed separately in the table below. The table also shows how often these phrases appear in VG and Klassekampen, and the exact Norwegian phrases used with an English translation⁴⁹. The translations are literal word-by-word translations of the Norwegian narratives, and not based on the exact meanings of the concept they imply.

⁴⁹ Note that some of the Norwegian phrases used in the media contain some grammatical mistakes. I chose to not correct these mistakes in order to illustrate the variations of phrases used by the media.

Table 2: Phrases used to describe ‘child trafficking’

	Phrase	VG	Klassekampen	Total
Group 1	Menneskehandel ("Human trade")	48	6	54
	Menneskehandel med barn ("Human trade with children")	8	4	12
	Menneskehandel av barn ("Human trade of children")	4	0	4
	Handel med menneske ("Trade with human")	3	1	4
Group 2	Barnehandel ("Child trade")	9	1	10
	Barne-handel ("Child-trade")	2	0	2
	Handel med barn ("Trade with children")	3	2	5
	Handel av barn ("Trade of children")	1	0	1
	Illegal barnehandel ("Illegal child trade")	1	0	1
Group 3	Trafficking	16	7	23
	Trafficking av barn ("Trafficking of children")	2	0	2
	Sextrafficking ("Sex trafficking")	1	0	1
	Barne-trafficking ("Child-trafficking")	0	1	1
	Trafficking med barn ("Trafficking with children")	2	0	2
Group 4	Menneskesmugling ("Human smuggling")	7	2	9
	Sexhandel ("Sex trade")	4	0	4
	Slavehandel ("Slave trade")	2	0	2
	Salg og misbruk av barn ("Sale and abuse of children")	2	0	2
	Export av barn ("Export of children")	1	0	1
	Menneskehandel med mindreårige ("Human trade with minors")	1	0	1

As shown in Table 1, variations in the choice of phrases exist in both VG and Klassekampen. Reports containing these 20 different phrases related to child trafficking were written by 72 different authors, including journalists from the two newspapers studied, commentators from NGOs invited by the two newspapers, and various governmental institutions.

The data also shows that “Human trade” (“Menneskehandel”) and various similar phrases are the most used phrases in the reports. These phrases are consistent with the phrasing of child trafficking in the Norwegian law against human trafficking (penal code 224), the Norwegian government’s action plan *Stop Human Trafficking* (“*Stopp Menneskehandel*”) and numerous Norwegian official as well as academic reports of child trafficking.

“Trafficking” is another frequently used phrase. However, the data indicates that the term “trafficking” is used in a more narrow scope than the concept of trafficking which is referred to in the Norwegian government’s action plan and in the UN Palermo Protocol. In the following examples, I take a closer look at the meaning of “trafficking” in the media:

“The Puerto Rican world famous star (37) has spent the last few days in Cambodia to take a closer look at the problems caused by the sex-trade, so-called trafficking.” (Ighanian 2008)⁵⁰

“(…) prostitution is unfortunate (...) where people force people to sell sex, as in trafficking.” (Kleppe 2004)⁵¹

“Trade in humans in the sex industry, so-called trafficking, is too serious (...)” (Ryste 2005)⁵²

“So-called trafficking – trade in humans in the sex industry – is becoming the biggest threat to women and children in the world.” (Kadafi et al, 2004)⁵³

⁵⁰ “Den puertorikanske verdensstjernen (37) har tilbrakt de siste dagene i Kambodsja for å se probl[e]mene som følge av sex-handel, såkalt trafficking, på nært hold.”

⁵¹ “(...) prostitusjon er en ulykke (...) der man tvinger mennesker til å selge sex, som i trafficking.” (Kleppe 2004)

⁵² “Menneskehandel i sexindustrien, såkalt trafficking, er for alvorlig (...)” (Ryste 2005)

These examples show that the phrase “trafficking” in the media is specifically associated with two particular aspects: *sexual* exploitation, and the notion that victims are *forced*. This is different from the definition of human trafficking in the UN Palermo protocol and the definition adopted in the Norwegian action plan against human trafficking, which both mention the irrelevance of the victims’ consent and the fact that child trafficking encompasses a multitude of various forms of means to achieve control and realize exploitations.

“Child trade” (“barnehandel”) is the third biggest group of phrases that the media use for child trafficking. These phrases specifically highlight the aspects of ‘children’ (barn) and ‘trade’ (handel) in the narratives, but reports that directly address the children aspect are relatively few.

Group 4 consists of some less used phrases. They are “sexhandel” (trade of sex), “slavehandel” (trade of slaves), “salg og misbruk av barn” (sale and abuse of children), “eksport av barn” (export of children), etc. It is worth noticing that some reports mix the phrases child smuggling and child trafficking with each other.

A closer look at the data shows that although the reports use different phrases to describe child trafficking, 114 out of the 120 reports did not define the chosen phrases. Many reports use more than one phrase, without explaining any of them: about a quarter of the reports (32) used more than one phrase, among which 21 reports used two different phrases, eight reports used three different phrases, and three reports used four different phrases⁵⁴.

⁵³ “Såkalt trafficking – menneskehandel innen sexindustrien – er i ferd med å bli den største trusselen mot kvinner og barn in verden.” (VG 2004)

⁵⁴ Besides this, some of the phrases have grammatical and spelling mistakes, for instance in Norwegian “handel av barn” contains an incorrect choice of preposition, and in some reports “trafficking” was spelled as “trafficing”.

Missing Targets: Misleading Definitions and Misunderstandings Coexist

Despite the increasing attention given to child trafficking, a general inexplicit and ambiguous use of phrases referring to child trafficking in the two media studied still exists. This indicates that the media may know about (or have heard of) child trafficking and related crimes, but do not necessarily understand the crime and the differences between them. There can be many reasons for this. For instance, market interests in reporting child trafficking to generate more sales, rather than taking the issue seriously as a social problem which requires better understanding of the crime, may be a factor. Moreover, the inconsistent use of phrases also can be caused by a general uncertainty and lack of knowledge about the reported issue among the media studied, which could be caused by the relatively short time and lack of resources available to learn more about child trafficking.

It is very difficult for journalists to correctly report child trafficking when there is limited access and availability of relevant information in Norway. In general there are very strict rules regarding victim protection, and the application is time-consuming. Besides this, there is very little academic research on child trafficking in Norway. Both the NGOs and the journalist I interviewed were concerned about the relatively little knowledge we have of child trafficking in Norway (Haug: interview 06.02.08, Tveit: interview 27.11.07, Vatnedal: interview 22.11.07).

Insufficient information leads to insufficient knowledge, which in turn can lead to ambiguity in media's presentation of the definition of child trafficking. The concept of 'children' ("barn"), 'youth' ("ungdom") and 'minors' ("mindreårige"), are different but closely related. Yet, these phrases are generally used interchangeably by the media when referring to children. Though both internationally and inside Norway, legislation systems recognize that child trafficking is trafficking of a person under 18 years of age, the terms 'children'

(“barn”), ‘minors’ (“mindreårige”) and ‘youth’ (“ungdom”) are usually identified with different groups of people, given different expectations, associated with different social meanings, and socially judged with different value/moral standards. The inconsistent use of ‘children’ and ‘minors’ may mislead the public to the conclusion that child trafficking only concerns the youngest children, and not all people below 18 years of age. From my survey, I found that for many participants, a child means a person under 16 years old (30 of 48 participants, 62.5%), to some a child should not be more than 14 years old (4 people, 8%) and to some, childhood stops at age 12 (4 people, 8%).

Consistent use of phrases helps to realize effective communication. The public needs knowledge based on consistent narratives. People respond to repetition and consistent use of terminologies when learning new things (Laurillard 2002). Certainly there are many factors that serve to trigger communication problems, but communication scholars found that confusion arises when omitting definitions and using inconsistent phrases when referring to the same concept (Rank 1976). A basic and simple communication model (Shannon-Weaver's Transmission Model 1947) is composed of four elements: message, which is also known as the codes, message sender (encoder), message receiver (decoder), and context (Shannon & Weaver 1963, Pierce 1980). When the message sender can correctly translate the meanings into codes, and the receiver can successfully decode the message sent by the message sender, common ground is built, understanding occurs, and good communication happens. To have clear, coded messages in codes that are both understandable to the senders and the receivers is crucial in building good communication. Mutually understandable codes involve correct language, clear definitions, consistency and a more pragmatic willingness to cooperate with each other. Besides this, context is also important in communication. An ideal communication context occurs with minimal ‘noise’. Here ‘noise’ refers not only to physical noises in the environment, but also to semantic ‘noises’, such as ineffective language or inconsistent phrases, which create distractions and confusions within the message. This simple

communication model illustrates the key elements and the basic process in communication. Mass media usually involves several senders in the production of a message (eg. journalist, photographer and editor), and a more complex composition of the message receivers, the public.

A lot of elements in the ways that child trafficking has been covered by the two studied media can generate communication break-downs. Firstly, without clear definition, the media create a message that is difficult to understand. To a certain extent, the public is left to explain and interpret what child trafficking is through their own understandings and 'imagination'. Secondly, with so many different phrases all referring to the same thing, the media create a lot of 'noise'. When child trafficking is featured under 20 different names, with as many as 114 reports writing about this complex issue without further explaining the phrases, and with a quarter of the reports using a mixture of different phrases without explanation, the public end up with fragments of disconnected and poorly integrated jargons.

In addition to confusion, there also is a widespread misunderstanding in the media that trafficking equals forced prostitution, and the explanation of 'trafficking' in the media is at best incomplete, if not inaccurate. Some reports euphemistically refer to 'trafficking' simply as sexual abuse, and this does not completely express the finality of the acts of child trafficking. As discussed earlier, sexual exploitation is only one of the many forms of exploitation of the victims, and trafficking does not necessarily involve the use of force to achieve control over the victim.

The misunderstanding of child trafficking as being forced prostitution exists not only in the media, but also among some government sectors. In one seminar against global human trafficking organized by UDI, legislating prostitution and criminalizing sex buyers became the dominant topic. Antonio Maria Costa, the executive director from UNODC, made the following comment when he was

repetitively asked by the organizer whether he thinks legalizing prostitution or criminalizing sex buyers would prevent human trafficking:

I am seeing that we are sliding into a very dangerous area here, mainly this protocol (Palermo protocol) is not a protocol against prostitution, which happens to be one of the oldest activities of humanity. This is a protocol against trafficking of human beings. We are focusing on our countries a bit too much, in the equality talking of legalizing sexual exploitation. In the reports which were published two years ago, our estimates of the sex market of the (trafficked) victims, we said that forced sex activities, sex services, may be half, or less than half, of the problems. (...) and I refuse to be drawn into a discussion of whether prostitution should be legalized or the men who purchase prostitutes should be legalized or not. I am willing to discuss these topics under a different chapter, but these are not trafficking of human beings. I think we would be ending in a messy disturbance to the victims of human trafficking.

Costa 2008

As Costa suggested, human trafficking, prostitution and sexual exploitation are different discourses. Even though they are closely related, mixing them risks creating confusion and misunderstanding. Sexual exploitation is only one of the many forms of exploitation in human trafficking, and by focusing only on sexual exploitation in the discussion of human trafficking, we risk marginalizing the victims of other forms of exploitation.

The data on the different use of phrases also illustrate the use of inflated language, such as ‘illegal child trafficking’ and ‘export of children’. Inflated language is a kind of communication downplaying tactic in public persuasion, frequently used in the advertisement industry, aiming to distract the public’s attention and to persuade them using big fancy words that overwhelm the readers, and that make things look more dramatic than they are. Whether the journalists consciously choose to use inflated language in the reports is another question. However, the effect of inflated language is that it easily creates confusion and masks the realities behind the words (Simons 2001:101-102).

On the subject of confusion: The inconsistent phrasing and inaccurate definitions of child trafficking among the reports not only reflects the general confusions related to child trafficking among the media studied. They may also have already affected the public. When asked the question ‘What is child trafficking?’ 46 out of 48 respondents (95%) told me that they did not know what child trafficking is. And 31 respondents (64%) could not tell that child trafficking is different from child smuggling and child prostitution.

Given the pressure from the edit room and the limited resources available to research the topic, it is difficult for journalists to cover the issue as precisely as experts can. What the media can do is bringing up the issue, generating public attention, and calling for discussions on a deeper level. As shown by the data, the problem of how to phrase child trafficking is not restrained to time or preference of newspapers, and this may well suggest that there is something pervasive and socially constructed behind the incomplete and incorrect phrasing of child trafficking. Next, I will take a closer look at the reports to examine what kind of perspectives the media take when they present the issue of child trafficking.

5.3 Reporting Angles: Interests and Ignorance

The reports approach child trafficking from various angles. 55 among the 120 reports approach child trafficking through four concrete cases in Norway⁵⁵.

Given that there are at least 60 identified child trafficking cases in Norway (Ellefsen 2007), child trafficking in Norway is an under-reported subject.

In general, child trafficking has been approached by the reports as: a chance for the government to take action and make decisions (34 reports); a crime conducted by exploiters (25 reports); a violation of children’s rights, drawing attention to the situation of the victims (23 reports); a problem in other countries

⁵⁵ The four cases are: the Estonian girl case in 2005, the Chinese boy case in 2005, the case of a Norwegian girl with Thai mother suspected for child trafficking in 2005, and the case of a Norwegian man in child trafficking in Thailand in 2007.

outside Norway (21 reports); a chance for journalists and professionals to discuss and criticize related ideologies behind child trafficking and/or certain treatments of people involved in the crime (11 reports); and as a topic to report politician/celebrity activities (6 reports). The majority of the reports have a clear reporting angle when approaching the topic, while some reports involved more than one reporting angle. In these reports, only the most important angle is registered. The different reporting angles and the percentage of each approach in relation to the total number of relevant reports (120 reports) are summarized in chart 4.

Chart 4: Reporting angles of child trafficking in VG and Klassekampen 1996 - 2008

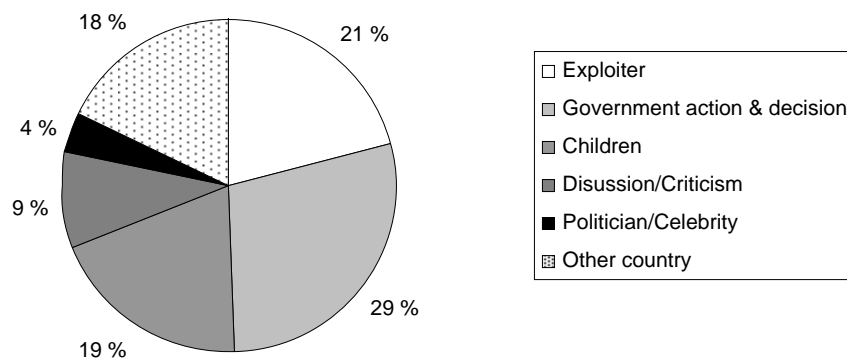


Chart 4 shows that there are more reports that approach child trafficking from the angle of the Norwegian government's action and decision in combating child trafficking (34 reports, 29%), in comparison to approaching child trafficking as a violation of children's rights. This indicates that the media have been more interested in reporting how the government reacts to child trafficking and play the role of a 'watchdog'. It also indicates that to a certain extent, child trafficking is interpreted more as a political issue, a chance to evaluate the government's performance. Meanwhile, the media also approached child trafficking as a problem in other countries (21 reports, 18%), which somehow reflects the awareness of equality of all children, both inside and outside Norway. At the

same time, it also indicates that the media took upon itself the task of being a watchdog of the inequality in other countries.

It is worth noting that around half of the 120 reports (66 reports, 55%) mentioned various forms of exploitation in their reports. Sexual exploitation is most frequently mentioned (54 reports). Two reports discuss trafficked children ending up in organized begging in Oslo; three reports discuss the ritual sacrifice of African children trafficked to Britain; three reports are related to trafficking children for illegal adoption, including two on the situation in Guatemala, with the other being about the adoption scandal surrounding the pop star Madonna; two reports also briefly mention the possibility of Chinese children being trafficked to work in child labor; one report mentions the possibility of being trafficked as organ donors in Europe; and finally, one report concentrates on African children being trafficked as camel jockeys. Chart 5 shows the percentage of the forms of exploitation mentioned in the reports.

Chart 5: Forms of exploitation reported in VG and Klassekampen

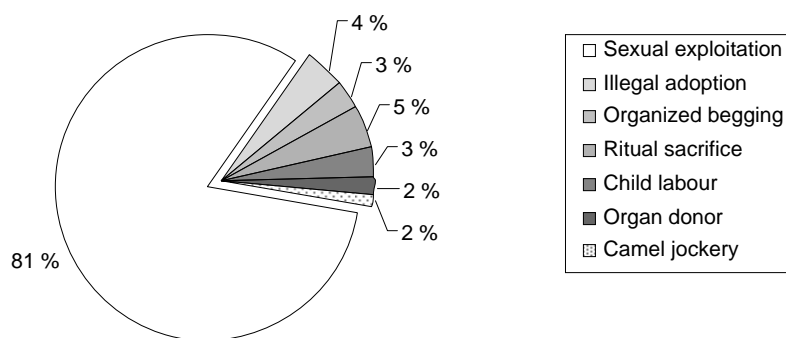


Chart 5 shows that most of the media attention for the forms of exploitation is restrained to sexual exploitation. This may be due to the fact that many people's knowledge of human trafficking is still influenced by the discussion of 'white slavery'. Sexuality being a relatively more publicly discussed topic in the

Norwegian society than the rest of the forms of exploitation may also contribute to the ‘visibility’ of children trafficked into the sex industry.

Interestingly, the data show that begging as a form of exploitation has not attracted much attention from the media, and this echoes the survey findings. One question in the survey asked for the respondents’ opinions on whether they knew about certain forms of exploitation of trafficked children exist in Norway and whether they believed the media would report such exploitations if they did exist. Respondents were generally very confident about that the media would cover the various forms of exploitation, but begging stands out as the one type of exploitation that the respondents were not so sure that media would cover. I asked the respondents about the reasons, and I found two types of answers especially interesting. Several respondents questioned whether media would report “such trifle things as begging”, but one respondent was obviously offended and, apparently unable to take the question seriously at all, threw a question back to me: “who would believe that child begging exists in Norway? Do you see any? I don’t.” The two replies contradict each other, and represent two different ways of thinking.

The first answer demonstrates a kind of self-projected frame of what the public expects the media to report: the media is expected to report something more ‘important’ than begging. The first answer also illustrates that the perceptions of exploitation of children are related to the social hierarchy of ‘seriousness’. What the public consider as ‘trifle’ and ‘important’ are related to the value system in the society. Some social activities, such as begging, are considered less serious than other activities, such as prostitution for monetary gain. Some scholars argue that along with the rapid material progress in the 70s-90s in Norway, and along with the increasing dominance of egoistic, materialistic and individualistic values in the society, the Norwegian society has become a ‘valueless’ society (“verdiløst samfunn”). The society becomes dominated by an ideology dominated by indifference (“likegyldighet”) (Geelmuyden 1993: 11-24). Nothing is any longer serious enough to matter.

The second answer indicates a self-understanding of Norway. The respondent was telling me that there was something special in Norway that made him not believe that begging could ever exist in this country. Cultures and histories cannot seriously be understood or studied without also studying their force, or more precisely their configurations of power (Said 1979:5). Throughout the modern history of Norway, the discovery of oil was an important event that not only has improved the living standards in Norway, but also has changed Norwegian self-perceptions in relation to other countries.

On the one hand, welfare constructed the Norwegian perception of who Norwegians are. The identity of Norway is that of a country with high living standards, beautiful nature and an active engagement in pursuing equality (Leira m.fl. 2007, Anholt 2007). Here 'Norway' is a culture perceived both as an embodiment of welfare and an ideal based on equality.

On the other hand, wealth also empowers people to do a lot of things which the Other may not be able to do. Many Norwegians are aware of the economic power they have to help eradicate poverty and improve equality⁵⁶. At the nation-state level, Norway has also become able to financially support humanitarian actions. In 2007, the Norwegian government provided 18 millions dollars to international anti-human trafficking projects. Domestically, the input from the government was 2 millions dollars to NGOs and relevant governmental sectors to provide assistance to victims by providing housing, medical care and other facilities and services (US Department of State 2008)⁵⁷. However, the awareness of being economically powerful can lead to another direction, such as the advent of the Orientalism view used to separate Us and the Other.

⁵⁶ As many as 2,480,000 Norwegians are registered in various forms of volunteer work (Frivillighet Norge 2007), which is almost 50% of the entire Norwegian population. But statistics from Statistic Norway also show that only 1% of the population actively does volunteer work through action and participation (SSB 2006).

⁵⁷ In addition to illustrate the scale of the financial support Norway provides to combat child trafficking, these figures also show a contrast in terms of the amount of financial support internationally and domestically. As a matter of fact, one of the many reasons that the police did not thoroughly investigate the cases of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children is the lack of money (Kanavin: Feb.06, 2008)

As Nielssen pointed out, the awareness of being wealthier than many other countries, especially countries in Asia and Africa, is a precondition for the Norwegian Orientalism, which exaggerates the difference in economic power, equates wealth as superiority, and becomes a socially constructed boundary separating Us and the Other (Nielssen 2007). Poverty becomes a frequently discussed topic in the public, but mostly with regards to other countries. Poverty is not a concept that people associate with Norway. In this sense, to suggest that child begging exists in Norway is almost the same as to doubt the Norwegian identity.

When culture is equated with material existence, it becomes a kind of objective power, a kind of 'true' power because it can be measured. In this sense, whether certain kinds of exploitation exist in Norway, becomes a subjective matter to the Norwegian society. As the answer indicates- the core issue may not be whether trafficked children begging in the Norwegian streets are visible, but whether they are 'seen' by the society.

5.4 Ideologies behind Child Trafficking: Attention and Stereotype

As mentioned in the methodology, the third coding system I applied to the data is based on the narratives of child trafficking in the reports, especially on the repetitive use of narratives. The first thing I noticed is the large quantity of reports that address child trafficking outside Norway. In total, I found 37 reports featuring child trafficking outside Norway. I refer here to two types of reports: those that focus on child trafficking exclusively as a crime in other countries, such as the 21 reports mentioned in 5.3, and those that see Norway as somehow included in child trafficking occurring in other countries, for instance in the case of the Norwegian pedophile involved in child trafficking in Thailand, and the participation of Norwegian police in combating child trafficking in the Balkan area.

Since most of the reports are news, I examined the titles and leads of the 37 reports, and noticed two kinds of tactics adopted: the selection of words in passive tense, and the use of capitalized words to highlight the dramatic aspects of child trafficking. On the one hand, the reports use narratives such as 'CHILD FACTORY' ("BARNEFABRIKKEN"), 'SOLD' ("SOLGT"), 'RENT' ("LEIE"), 'SEX-SALE' ("SEX-SALG"), etc. On the other hand, the titles also highlighted the violent side and the 'extremely' vulnerable situation of children in child trafficking. For example, many titles used capitalized letters to highlight words such as 'TAKEN' ("TATT"), 'USED' ("BRUKES"), 'STRONG VIOLENCE' ("GROV VOLD"), 'DID NOT DARE' ("VÅGET IKKE"), 'CRIED' ("GRÅTT"), 'SEXUALITY' ("SEKSUALITET"), etc.

These examples demonstrate two features. First, many titles use passive tense, which indicate that the children are perceived as passive and powerless. Second, the capitalized words characterize the children as commodities and/or focus on the sensational aspect in child trafficking. These two features indicate the commoditization of children in the crime as well as the dramatization of child trafficking occurring in other countries. Some Norwegian scholars have criticized the Norwegian media for being more interested in the sensational surface of serious stories. Instead of concentrating on informing the public and starting a fruitful public discussion, the media has focused on dramatic and fabricated information (Veiden 2008, Geelmuyden 1993). One of the many problems of this kind of reporting is that public knowledge and perceptions are framed by fragmented, distorted information and biased judgments made by the media, which are usually based on the ideologies of the dominant culture in the society, exaggerating the difference, and alienating 'the Other' from 'we'.

Some titles also highlight child trafficking in other countries and the Others as the source of the problem. For instance, some titles read 'SEXSLAVES FROM THE EAST' ("SEXSLAVENE FRA ØST"), 'Fewer Foreigners Sell Sex' ("Færre Utlendinger Selger Sex"). Some report titles refer to child trafficking as a problem in Africa, England, Guatemala, Kosovo, Chad, Sweden, Germany, just

to name a few. A closer look at the report texts shows that one typical characteristic of the reports on child trafficking is their frequent reference to the foreign origins of children.

In order to reveal ideologies behind the narratives, I approached the data quantitatively, and based on two steps: First, I marked the appearance and frequency of two groups of words from the reports, to get a closer view of the relationship between reporting perspectives and the reported origin of the children. The first group includes words that describe and characterize the children (victims). The second group includes words that characterize the criminals/exploiters. Note that I manually checked individual reports to make sure that children, criminals and crime are the subjects the words describe. For example, in one report 'voluntarily' ("frivillig") was used to describe both NGOs and the children, but is counted one time only. Second, I cross-checked both the groups with a third categorization based on the narratives of the origins of the victims and exploiters, including criminals/exploiters from China, Estonian, Russia, Germany, Sweden, Norway, and children who are South American, African, East-European, and Asian⁵⁸. Interestingly, I have not found any reports that refer to Norwegian children.

There can be many reasons why there has been no mention of Norwegian children in the reports, for instance most of the anti-child trafficking NGOs in Norway focus on immigrant children, and the police has not yet seen any child trafficking of Norwegian children. Another important reason could be the assumption that it is impossible Norwegian children would be involved in such a crime. Findings from the survey indicate that this assumption is rather common. When asked 'Do you think it is possible that there are Norwegian children involved in child trafficking?' 28 participants (58%) replied 'No'. Note that the question only asked about the possibility, not if Norwegian children are actually

⁵⁸ See *Appendix 5: Tables of wording and origins* for a quantitative view of the data.

known to be involved in trafficking. The question may seem meaningless because 'everything' is possible. One of the participants even told me that 'You should be aware that everything is possible', but then he still chose 'No'.

The data indicates that certain stereotypes are associated with children from different origins. 'Poor' ("fattig") and 'cynical' ("kynisk") are used to describe the trafficking situations of all children with foreign origins. Compared to children from other parts of the world, Eastern European children and Asian children receive relatively more attention from the media when reporting child trafficking.

Children from both of the groups are associated with poverty, but not significantly more frequently than children with other origins. However, Eastern European children are more frequently characterized as being voluntarily involved in the crime. The frequency of Eastern European children being featured as 'voluntarily' ("frivilig") involved is almost 10% (9.64%) higher than average. Asian children are the only group whose 'vulnerability' ("sårbarhet") is more frequently mentioned than the average by the media. This indicates that when reporting about children in child trafficking, children from Eastern Europe are more frequently presented as children who willingly choose to be trafficked, while Asian children are perceived as being more vulnerable. This suggests a difference of values for children from different origins present in the Norwegian society.

The data also indicate stereotypes towards exploiters/criminals from other countries: More than half of the reports (6 out of 11 reports, 54%) using 'cynical' and three out of the four reports using 'greedy' to describe offenders, are about Chinese. Half of all report using 'mafia' to describe offenders are about Eastern Europeans. Though several reports mentioned Norwegian men buying sexual services from trafficked children, labels such as 'cynical', 'mafia' and 'greedy' were not applied to the Norwegian exploiters. Instead, the reports tend to present these exploiters as a very small number of individuals outside the mainstream

Norwegian society. For instance, the Norwegian man reported in the trafficking case of Thai boys in 2007 was described as a ‘pedophile’, and featured as a pervert, by the media.

Children and Exploiters: Attention vs. Ignorance

The data from the quantitative analysis of the narrative data shows that several misunderstandings of child trafficking and stereotypes of the victims and the exploiters exist in the reports. Child trafficking has been associated with poverty, as the data shows that the children mentioned in the reports are all from areas that are usually perceived as being less economically developed, such as Africa, South America, China, Thailand, Eastern Europe, etc. All trafficked children in the reports are described as coming from ‘poor’ countries. This also echoes what I have discussed in 5.3 about the ideologies behind why begging is expected to be less reported by the media.

Meanwhile, there is no mention of Norwegian children in the description of trafficked children in the media. This can be related to the fact that almost no trafficking cases of Norwegian children have been reported by the police⁵⁹. However, it can also be related to how ‘Norwegian children’ are defined, which I will discuss in more detail in the next chapter.

The data indicates stereotypes towards Chinese and Eastern European children as these two groups stand out from the other children in terms of the attention they receive from the reports. Chinese children are considered more vulnerable, and Eastern European children are perceived as ‘volunteer’ prostitutes. This indicates an Orientalism view in the media’s presentation of child trafficking, as one of the features of Orientalism is the “culturally sanctioned habit of deploying large generalizations by which reality is divided into various collectives” (Said 1979:

⁵⁹ Several academic reports have described situations, which according to the UN Palermo Protocol, fall within child trafficking. But in the reports do not use the word ‘child trafficking’. The reports indicate the existence of ethnic Norwegian children being trafficked, or in danger of being recruited to be trafficked, within Norway. The reports will be mentioned in Chapter 7.

227). In the case of the media reports, behind the associated characters of the children are the stereotypes of the cultures they come from.

With regards to exploiters, the media constructs a picture where ‘all’ foreign criminals are ‘cynical’, but when it comes to Norwegian criminals and exploiters, the media seems wordless. This indicates that a rigidly binomial opposition of ‘ours’ and ‘theirs’ underlies each category.

Meanwhile, the data also indicates a misuse of the word ‘pedophile’ when describing the exploiters of trafficked children. This is shown in the reports specifically about the case where a Norwegian man was involved in the sexual exploitation and trafficking of several Thai boys in 2007. Since the first day the case was covered by the media, the man has been labeled as a ‘pedophile’. However, by simply labeling the man and the group of people who exploit children as pedophiles, the media make at least two mistakes: *Firstly*, not everyone who exploits children sexually is a pedophile. Pedophilia is a psychological disease, and there are strict diagnostic criteria which determine whether a person is a pedophile. More importantly, stereotypical views of the exploiters are usually based on inaccurate and outdated presumptions of knowledge (Campagna & Poffenberger 1988: 4-8, 21-27), which overlook the complexity of the exploiters, and easily create stereotypes surrounding who is an exploiter, as well as who is not. Research shows an exploiter is “anyone who promotes, perpetuates, or knowingly derives some form of benefit from the trafficking” (ibid.:7), and social status, family values, and religious beliefs are often fragile barriers against exploitation in the form of the purchase of goods and/or services provided by trafficked children. In this sense, an offender can be both a consumer and supplier of child sex, and carry many identities in life. For instance, a consumer of sex provided by trafficked children can be a father, a husband, a boss and a neighbor, etc. And it should be noted that female exploiters are appearing with ever-growing frequency.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I aimed to give the reader an overview of the data and shed light on the possible ideologies behind the reports by using a quantitative approach based on three coding systems: reporting genre, reporting angles and use of narratives. 120 reports in VG and Klassekampen are identified as being related to child trafficking during the period of 1980 to April 2008. Though this is not comparative research of VG and Klassekampen, it is worth pointing out that both VG and Klassekampen have distinctive characteristics regarding the reporting of child trafficking. The majority of the news and features reports are from VG, while Klassekampen has provided numerous commentaries. Such reporting characteristics also reflect the self-image of these two newspapers. No relevant reports were found before 1996, but there has been a gradual increase in the quantity of reports on child trafficking-related issues since 1996. This means child trafficking has generated more and more reporting interest from the media studied. The large quantity of the news (79%) in the reports also indicates that the media has been interested in the news-worthiness of the topic.

Despite the gradual increase, when compared to the growth of child trafficking inside Norway, the topic of child trafficking remains under-reported. The increase in reports was slow compared to the rapid increase of child trafficking in Norway, as well as uneven, since most of the increase is concentrated around three major jumps in 2005 and 2007. According to KOM, 60 children are identified as victims of child trafficking in Norway (Ellefsen 2007), but the media covered only four concrete child trafficking cases inside Norway⁶⁰.

Though as many as 20 different phrases are used in the reports of child trafficking, the Norwegian society is not well informed, and to a certain extent

⁶⁰ About the four cases: The disappearing Chinese children from Norwegian asylum centres in 2005, the children were suspected for being child trafficking victims. I will discuss this case in Chapter 6; The Estonian girl case in 2005, which will also be discussed in chapter 6; The case on a contracted marriage between a Thai girl and a Norwegian man, which was later described by the Ministry of Justice as child trafficking, and which received a lot of media attention in 2006; and the case of the Norwegian man in the child trafficking of a Thai boy in Thailand in 2007.

even misinformed, about what child trafficking is. The inconsistent use of so many phrases referring to the same concept can easily create confusions among the readers. As opposed to the holistic view of trafficking, which is open to the various forms of exploitation and means to achieve control, the media's use of the phrase 'trafficking' is limited within the boundaries of forced sexual exploitation.

The emphasis on sexual exploitation in child trafficking is also shown when the reporting angles of the reports are examined. Up to 82% of the reports about exploitations in child trafficking feature sexual exploitation. And this number contrasts with reports on other forms of exploitations, for example, begging, illegal adoption, etc. The data once again illustrates the strong misunderstanding of child trafficking as being sexual exploitation only. At the same time, it also indicates a self-understanding of Norway which serves as the basis of the assumption that certain forms of exploitation of trafficked children, such as begging, do not exist here.

Values are judgments of relative worth (Devito 1978). The data indicates that perceptions of children assign different values. At a first glimpse, the reports highlight the equal value of all children, since the reports cover both child trafficking inside and outside Norway. However, a closer look reveals ethnification of the children and exploiters, with stereotypes associated with their origins and cultures. For instance, Chinese children are perceived as being more vulnerable, while Eastern European children are presented as being volunteer prostitutes in Norway. The different values in different children reflected in the studied reports demonstrate the Norwegian Orientalism view of the other children with different values and worth. The children are perceived as being symbols representing specific groups of people, whose values are judged upon a hegemonic ideology present in Norway about We and the Other.

Our values play a significant role in the shaping of our opinions, making of judgments, and directing of actions. The data indicates that ideologies that justify

different values of We and the Other lie behind the stereotypes, misunderstandings and assumptions of child trafficking. However, the quantitative features of this data in this chapter can only demonstrate certain indications. Without a qualitative look into the texts, it is hard to say what ideologies may be behind the reports, and to what extent they influence the reporting. Therefore, whether and how these different values of children are associated with the societal prejudices and stereotypes towards different social groups, is what I am going to examine next in the two case studies specifically related to Eastern European and Chinese children in trafficking.

6. Two case studies

"Everyone has had one's own Orient, pertaining to space and time, most often of both"

Todorova 1997: 12

Data from chapter 5 indicate that certain stereotypes towards Chinese children and children from Eastern Europe exist. With that in mind, I look into reports of two trafficking cases in Norway. The first one is about the arrest of two Chinese human smugglers in Sweden, which in turn revealed the case of the disappearing asylum-seeking children in Norway. The second one concerns the sentence in a trafficking case of a 16 year-old Estonian girl. The two cases are chosen for two reasons. *Firstly*, comparing to other child trafficking cases in Norway, the two selected cases generated a relatively large quantity of reports, and the reports on these two cases provide further information about the socio-cultural perceptions of Chinese and Eastern European children in child trafficking⁶¹. *Secondly*, the two cases are historically important for child trafficking in Norway: the Estonian girl case was the first child trafficking case to reach the court in Norway, while the Chinese children case revealed the risks pertaining to refugee children being trafficked into/through Norway through refugee systems.

6.1 Disappearance of the Chinese Kids

In September and October 2005, 12 unaccompanied Chinese children arrived in Norway, seeking asylum. Six of them, including 13-year-old Chen and 15-year-old Li, who both arrived in Norway together on Sept. 19th, were placed at a transit asylum center at Vårli in Moss. The children soon attracted attention from

⁶¹ The two cases generated the first report sudden increase in the media coverage of child trafficking in 2005. The third jump happened in 2007, when a Norwegian paedophile was sentenced for trafficking Thai boys in Thailand. That case is not selected for analysis in this thesis due to limited space and time. Also, it reveals more about the social perceptions of exploiters, while I try to limit my research interest to the perceptions of children.

the staff at asylum centers since they dressed very similar and had mobile phones with several different SIM-cards.

In October 2005, two Chinese children left Vårli asylum centre without giving any notice⁶². On November 3rd 2005, Chen and Li were reported missing by the asylum centre, which also immediately informed Nye Kripos. UDI issued an alarm notice to all asylum centers to pay attention to children in a similar situation.

At the same time, in November 2005, the Swedish police conducted the operation 'Skrekk-Aksjon' aiming at cracking down on the human smuggling and trafficking network in Sweden. In this operation the police arrested a Chinese woman and her Chinese boyfriend, who were both suspected for smuggling and intending to traffic Chinese children in Scandinavia. In the woman's apartment, the police also found four Chinese boys, including Chen and Li, who were on the list of missing children from Norwegian asylum centers. In total, the Swedish police rescued more than 100 Chinese children smuggled by this couple. The four rescued Chinese boys were sent back to Norwegian asylum centers, and altogether the Norwegian police and UDI identified 12 Chinese children in the Norwegian asylum system as possibly being related to the case. The Chinese couple were charged with human smuggling in Stockholm as the police did not find enough evidence to charge them with human trafficking. Chen and Li, the two Chinese boys in this heated media reporting of the Chinese case, stayed in Norway. Both have been protected by the child welfare authority (Barnevernet) and are integrated into local Norwegian communities. (Kanavin: interview 06.02.08, Ellefsen: interview 29.02.08).

Internationally, the discussion of human trafficking through refugee channels has been going on for quite a while. A lot of attention has been given to regions in South Africa where trafficking of refugee women has been detected as a unique

⁶² These two Chinese children are referred as the 'Vårliboys' (Vårligutter) by some media, but they are not Chen and Li. Up till today, these two children still have not been found by the Norwegian police.

form of trafficking (Martens, Pieczkowski & Vuuren-Smyth 2003: 28-34). The Chinese children cases share some similarities with the case of women in South Africa. For instance, the refugee systems in both countries are used by the offenders to allocate a temporary legal status for the victims. Similarly, the Chinese children case in Norway indicates the possibility that the trip to Norway and the application for asylum status was planned by the offenders. However, unlike the South Africa case, we still know very little about the details, such as how and why the refugee children in Norway disappeared from the asylum centers. Nevertheless, the Chinese children case serves as a milestone in the discussion of child trafficking because it not only indicates the possibilities of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children in Norway ending up in trafficking, but also reveals certain systematic problems in the Norwegian asylum system that weakens the protection of the potential victims.

6.1.1 Media Reports

Although Chen and Li disappeared on Nov. 3rd, it was not until 24 days later that it was first mentioned in the media. The first relevant report appeared on Nov. 27th when VG Nett had a report of “Chinese caught for child-trade”⁶³ (VG Nett 2005). The last article appeared on Dec. 1st when Klassekampen had a news brief mentioning that UDI would interview the two Chinese children (Klassekampen 2005). The media interest lasted almost one week. During the week from Nov. 27th to Dec. 1st 2005, there were totally 17 relevant reports, among which VG had 15 reports in the printed newspaper and on VG Nett⁶⁴, while Klassekampen had 2 small news reports in the printed newspaper, on Nov. 30th and Dec. 1st.

The articles told the story from several different angles. In the news articles, 6 reports presented the story from the angle of how the Norwegian government

⁶³ My translation of “Kinesere tatt for barne-handel”

⁶⁴ The articles in VG were comprised of: 8 news reports (6 online, 2 printed), 6 features (1 online, 5 printed), two commentaries (both printed), and one editorial (printed).

responded to the crime and the protection of the victims; 3 concentrated on the Chinese criminals who were arrested in Sweden; VG correspondents in Sweden also wrote 2 features on the story of two of the rescued Chinese children. Family members of the arrested woman were interviewed, photos of where the children had been hidden were taken and published, and commentaries were written.

The case apparently shocked the Norwegian society. The reports reached their peak on Nov. 29th and 30th. On those two days, VG had in total ten reports on this issue. In addition, on Nov. 29th VG put the Chinese children case on the front page, interrupting the newspaper's coverage of the Anne Sofie Blom-Pettersen homicide investigation, which had dominated the front page for more than one week. On the front page of VG on Nov. 29th, there was a large photo of the two Chinese children. The caption read "Disappeared from Moss –The Police Worry: TAKEN by Human Trafficking" (See *Appendix 6: VG Front Page, Nov. 29, 2005*). It marked the first and, so far (by June 2008), only time that child trafficking had made it to the front page of either VG or Klassekampen.

In this analysis, I will focus on the two columnists in VG, because commentaries are more representative than news items in term of expressing the media's opinions

An Ocean of Difference

On Nov. 29th, 2005, VG columnist Ane Håbjørg wrote an article commenting upon the case of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children from various aspects, under the title of "An Ocean of Difference" (Et hav av Forskjell) (Håbjørg 2005). The author started the article with a question asked in the lead:

We hesitate to send our children to kindergarten. Can we at all understand what makes Chinese parents send their children alone out into the big world before they are 15 years old?

Then the report began with answering the question:

*Probably not. Parents do not do such things in our part of the world.*⁶⁵

*We do not need to send the children away in order to give them – and us – a better future. But in Fujian province in China (...) there are many who view this as the only opportunity for a better life.*⁶⁶

She wrote that in the Chinese countryside, “the poverty is extreme”⁶⁷. She also borrowed a statistic from a CNN report from 2000, saying that 80% of the 100,000 annual illegal immigrants from China are from Fujian province, the home province of the two Chinese children who featured in VG’s Nov. 29th front page story.

According to Håbjørg, the children who were sent out by their desperate parents in poverty did not fit into the traditional Norwegian conception of ‘victims’:

*The commonality of these children is that they apparently are not scared and anxious, but rather relaxed and clearly focused on a goal. (...) It does not match our perception of how children in the age of 12-15 years old would behave if they were stolen from their parents.*⁶⁸

Håbjørg explained that these children view themselves as ‘heroic messengers’, who also want ‘to have a piece of the cake’ from the West:

*(...) [The children are] someone who do not see themselves as victims, but heroic messengers, and who hardly have any intention to make it more difficult for themselves and their families by revealing the game behind the scene.*⁶⁹

⁶⁵ My translation of “Vi kvier oss for å sende barna i barnhagen. Kan vi overhodet forstå hva som får kinesiske foreldre til å sende sine unger alene ut i den store verden før de er 15 år? Antagelig ikke. Foreldre gjør ikke slikt i vår del av verden.”

⁶⁶ My translation of “Vi trenger ikke å sende barna vekk for å gi dem – og oss – bedre fremtidsutsikter. Men i Fujian provovisen i Kina (...) er det mange som ser dette som eneste mulighet for et bedre liv.”

⁶⁷ My translation of “Fattigdommen er prekær”

⁶⁸ My translation of “Felles for disse barna er at de tilsynelatende ikke er redde og engstelige, men snarere rolige og målbevisste. (...) Det stemmer ikke med vår oppfatning av hvordan unge i alderen 12-15 år ville opptre om de var røvet fra sine foreldre.”

⁶⁹ My translation of “(...) [barna er] noen som ikke ser seg selv som ofre, men heltemodige utsendinger, og som neppe har til hensikt å gjøre det vanskeligere for seg selv og sin familie ved å røpe noe som hva slags spill som foregår i kulissene.”

At the end of the report, the journalist also advocated that the government pay more attention to saving the children, and addressed the importance of not projecting the ‘We’ vs. ‘the Other’ way of thinking in interpreting the case.

Chinese Bad Fish (Kinesisk Ufisk)

On Nov. 30th another columnist commentary appeared in VG. The lead was as follows:

*During this fall 12 Chinese children have come alone to Norway. Last year there were two. The explanation is rotten. It is about money.*⁷⁰

The journalist then asked the readers to be realistic about what Norway is:

*Let us be realistic. This is Norway. You would have been reasonably behind as a offender in human smuggling if you believe that there is a market here for adoption of Chinese teenagers and illegal organ transplantation, no barriers for youth in the sex trade or an endless demand for child slaves in restaurants here in this country.*⁷¹

The journalist also presented a picture of why Chinese came to Norway:

*The numbers from UDI shows that most Chinese come to Norway because they want to find a job and study. No Chinese person has applied for family reunion in the last two years.*⁷²

Later the journalist used much of the article to tell the public about a specific kind of fish, “snake heads” (“slangehodene”). The article discussed the diets of the fish and its habitat. The author then explained the metaphoric use of the fish ‘snake heads’ in connection with Chinese criminals in human trafficking. She also explained that the migration of Chinese individuals was a result of distress

⁷⁰ My translation of “I løpet av høsten har 12 kinesisk [sic] barn kommet alene til Norge. I fjor kom det to. Forklaringen er råtten. Det handler om penger.”

⁷¹ My translation of “For la oss være realistiske. Dette er Norge. Du skal være rimelig bakpå som bakmann i en menneskesmuglerliga hvis du tror det er marked her for adopsjon av kinesiske tenåringer og illegal organtransplantasjon, fritt frem for unger i sexbransjen eller umettelig behov for barneslaver i restauranter her i landet.”

⁷² My translation of “Tall fra Utlendingsdirektoratet viser at de fleste kinesere som kommer til Norge, er her fordi de skal jobbe og studere. Ingen har søkt om familiegjenforening de siste par årene.”

(“nød”), hunger, poverty and uncompromising (“kompromissløs”) one-child politics.

On the risk of being trafficked, the author wrote:

But in this part of the country [the journalist refers to Fujian province where the two missing Chinese children were from] there is a long tradition of migrating towards better economic possibilities. It is a risk many Chinese have been willing to take – often with deeply tragic results⁷³

6.1.2 Discussion

Overall, reports about the Chinese children case illustrated two contradictory pictures: on the one hand, the media expressed concerns that everyone has the equal right to search for a better life, and the reports were aware of the unequal treatment of the children when their dream of a better life succumbed to exploitation at the hands of criminals. The reports expressed a sympathetic view of the children, their parents, as well as their limited choices in life due to poverty, and called for public attention to not to judge the victims based on a view of the Other vs. Us. On the other hand, some of the rhetorics in the reports worked to exaggerate the difference between *Us* and the Other, projecting stereotypical views towards the victims, as well as suggesting a blaming attitude towards the children.

The Other Parents

The title of the report ‘An Ocean of Difference’ plays on a metaphor that gives a feeling of great distance. The difference between We and the Other is not like an ocean, it *is* the ocean: deep and vast understanding of the Other is probably impossible – like wading across the ocean. The report followed up with a question, asking the readers if they could understand how Chinese parents treated their own children.

⁷³ My translation of “Men i denne delen av landet er det lange tradisjoner for å migrere mot bedre økonomiske muligheter. Det er en risiko mange kinesere har vært villige til å ta – ofte med dypt tragisk utfall.”

Asking questions is a frequently used tactic in persuasive communication aiming to generate attention and/or lead opinions (Simons 2001). The question asked in the report is firstly constructed on a presumed knowledge of Chinese parenting, and secondly, aims to highlight a contrast between Norwegian and Chinese parents. By first comparing the familiar situation of sending children to kindergarten, the journalist seems to presume that parents of the disappearing Chinese children send their children out of the country without much consideration of their safety and welfare, a presumption that is generalized to all Chinese parents, and compared with Norwegian parents as if it was a ‘truth’. This question creates a contrasting picture: ‘caring’ Norwegian parents in a child-friendly society would still hesitate to be separated from their children, even if they know that the children will be safe in the kindergarten, and ‘ignorant’ Chinese parents send their children out of the country alone. This contrast creates an illusion that what Norwegians consider wrong and immoral is something that is normal, acceptable, and probably quite frequent in China, where parents send their children out of the country unaccompanied just as *we* send *our* children to kindergarten. In this way, Chinese parents are perceived by the media as the ‘different’ Others, being abnormal, incomprehensible and ignorant.

Then the journalist provided an easy answer to her own question: “Parents do not do such things in our part of the world”, because “We do not need to send children away in order to give them – and us – a better future”. The narratives in the report clearly show a separation of our world and their world, as well as the perception that our world is better. In the later part of the report, the journalist suggested that poverty, a different political system, and the one-child policy were major causes for the ‘difference’ between We and the Other. Such a suggestion indicates that the ideology behind the media-constructed picture of the ‘normal’ parents and the ‘abnormal’ parents is one of ‘high cultural humanism’, which means *our* values are liberal, humane, and correct, while the Others’ are backward, inhumane and wrong (Said 1978: 227). To be more specific, though

China has been viewed as an exotic country that may rank quite high in the hierarchy of civilization, it remains a barbaric and irrational culture with little sense of ‘equality’⁷⁴ (Nielsen 2007:205). In the same spirit, the media used their imagined stories of Chinese parenting culture to make the point: Chinese parents are considered worse than Norwegian parents. This clearly demonstrates a split of view of responsible and good parents, such as Norwegian, vs. the bad and irresponsible Chinese parents. By generalizing the conclusion based on assumptions, the journalist suggested that Chinese ‘culture’ is the main cause of the ‘difference’ in parenting.

The Other Children

In the report ‘An Ocean of Difference’, the journalist highlighted that the Chinese children do not match our perception of children separated from their parents. This can be interpreted in two ways: the Chinese children fall outside *our* perception of ‘normal’ behavior based on the behavior of *our* children, or they do not match *our* perceptions of *them*. So what is the ‘normal’ behavior of children separated from their parents? And how would a Chinese child behave in such circumstances? The journalist seemed to suggest that a ‘normal’ child under such circumstances should be scared, anxious, nervous and restless.

As mentioned, there are two possible ways to interpret the data. If the journalist meant that the Chinese children behaved ‘abnormally’ because they did not fit the perceptions of separated children based on our children’s behavior, it indicates that how *our* children behave is perceived as being the standard *all* children should follow; otherwise they are not ‘normal’. At the same time, it also suggests a stereotype of *our* children, on how they should normally behave.

What is considered ‘normal behavior’ for a child is based on assumed knowledge of the children and the expected role models that these children should follow.

⁷⁴ The missionaries used examples of Chinese women wrapping their feet and the Chinese other’s religious rituals of burning paper houses and paper money to illustrate the backwardness of culture in China

One of the expected roles is that the children should be, based on our perceptions, 'scared and anxious'. In other words, there are certain expectations from the journalist with regards to how the Chinese children should behave, and the journalist thinks her perception is representative enough to be 'our perception'. Besides, by commenting that the children are not scared or anxious, the journalist also expects the children to visibly express their vulnerability.

The expected child role model is created by the media. Behind such expectations are the views that Chinese children are less individual children, who may have different ways of expressing feelings. Instead, they are perceived as fixed symbols, static, comparable and predictable. Hence they can be spoken about by the media, and as an expert would, the media presented assumptions about the children's feelings as if they were 'truth'. In this sense, 'culture' is interpreted as being objective, as an achievement to be defended, as something static to be passed down from generation to generation with no possibilities of expansion (Wikan 2002). To the contrary, scholars find that similar notions of culture do not apply to ethnic Norwegian children. Instead, when talking about ethnic Norwegian children, culture becomes changeable, fluid in nature, and symbolizes a kind of kinship.

When the children's behaviors do not match expectations, their 'innocence' is questioned, as shown in the following quotes from the report: "(...) [the children] do not see themselves as victims, but heroic messengers, who hardly have any intention to make it more difficult for themselves and their families by revealing the game behind the scene."⁷⁵ The journalist assumes that the children perceive themselves as being 'heroic messengers', contradicting the 'hero' image of the children with the previously expected 'victim' picture. In doing so, the journalist started to question the 'innocence' of the children, suggesting that they and their families are accomplices in the crime of trafficking. This indicates that to

⁷⁵ My translation of "(...) [barna er] noen som ikke ser seg selv som ofre- men heltemodige utsendinger, og som neppe har til hensikt å gjøre det vanskeligere for seg selv og sin familie ved å røpe noe som hva slags spill som foregår i kulissene."

‘correctly’ play the role of ‘victims’ is one of the preconditions for gaining media’s sympathy. Throughout the history of Orientalism, the poor have not only been viewed as powerless and needy, but also characterized as dependent, lazy and sneaky, and sometimes opportunists (Said 1979). Meanwhile, Ziolkowski, who studies Western discourse of children in religion, literature and art, finds that the Orientalism view is also incorporated into Western attitudes towards children. Children in particular from the East have been characterized as amiable, imbecilic, naughty, and less innocent (Ziolkowski 2001). Though perceiving children as evil has never been a dominant perspective on childhood in Norwegian history, research has found similar elements in the Norwegian teaching of religious reformers (Martison 1992).

Furthermore, in another VG commentary on the Chinese children case, ‘Chinese Bad Fish’, by the same author, the journalist first wrote about the arrival and disappearance of the Chinese children. Then, without further connection or explanation, she wrote “The explanation is rotten. It is about money”. Without clearly specifying the subject of ‘explanation’, the journalist left many ways for the readers to interpret the connections themselves. For instance, the criminals could think child trafficking is ‘rotten’. One of the many possible interpretations of this sentence is that ‘the children’s explanation of why they come to Norway is rotten. It is about money.’

The journalist also wrote that no Chinese individuals sought family reunion in Norway during 2003 -2005⁷⁶, and claimed that migrating, and even being trafficked for economic purposes, is “a risk many Chinese have been willing to take – often with deeply tragic results”. Here, the journalist suggested that both the parents and the children may be aware of the risk of ending up in trafficking, but they still choose to leave the country and even willingly cooperate with the traffickers.

⁷⁶ However, according to UDI, though Chinese individuals do not comprise the majority of immigrants in Norway, in 2005 there still were 218 Chinese seeking family reunion and being granted residence permits (UDI 2005).

To a certain extent, the discussion of child trafficking in the media has been mixed and blurred with the discussion of immigration. Leaving the 'rotten explanation' unspecified, and describing the children and their parents as willingly leaving the country in full awareness of the dangers associated with trafficking, could indicate a suspicious attitude from the media towards the children's 'questionable' motivation for coming to Norway in the first place. This sounds very similar to some Norwegian immigration discussions viewing immigrants as untrustworthy outsiders, as 'unwelcome and poorly behaved guests' (Gullestad 1997: 53), who take advantage of *our* wealth while threatening *our* culture and *our* stability.

A Picture of We

In 'Chinese bad fish, the journalist attempted to create a 'realistic' picture of Norway, which not only questions the possibility of a market in Norway for adopting Chinese teenagers and illegal organ transplantation, but also downplays the existence of a market for trafficking children for sexual exploitation and child slavery in restaurants. Besides this, data from the Norwegian Statistic Bureau shows that in 2005, 887 Chinese children were adopted in Norway (Statistics Norway 2006a). Research has shown that every third Norwegian admits that they have bought services or goods from the black market in Norway (Hansen, Nygaard & Arnseth 2005).

However, what the media ignored is that exploiters may be able to traffic the children to the destination country, but they do not create the demand for these children. The existence in the first place of a market demand for trafficked children in Norway is what attracts the criminals. Just a few months before the case of disappearing Chinese children, the Norwegian court received its first-ever case of foreign children trafficked to Norway as prostitutes (Trondheim tingrett 2005). During the investigation of this case, the police found a list of 156 sex-buyers.

Downplaying the existence of a market for trafficked children in Norway indicates that the media perceives child trafficking as being less caused by *us*. It also echoes the finding from the survey that 44 participants (92%) think that the fact that 'there are more and more immigrants and refugees' is one important reason for why child trafficking exists in Norway. The data also reflect that there is, to a certain extent, a feeling of reluctance in society to admit that *we* can also contribute to causing child trafficking. As mentioned earlier, one basis for the Orientalism view is to perceive the other as less humane and more barbaric. To admit that the market of trafficked children also exists in *our* society would be tantamount to saying that *we* are as inhumane as the Others. This would certainly challenge the self-appointed image of Norway as an equal and humane society.

Therefore, the best choice of explanation for the existence of child trafficking in *our* society would be to blame the Others: as indicated in 'Children on Sale', Chinese culture is not only associated with poverty, but also with a dramatic picture full of cynical offenders and mafias, as well as desperate, even 'crazy', children and parents who are both victims and opportunists accepting the risks and dangers of being trafficked. Behind this logic lies the suggestion that *We*, the prosperous, the ones who are more advanced both economically and morally, are also victims because *We* are 'used' and 'cheated' by the children for the sake of our wealth and belief in humanity. In the case of child trafficking in Norway, *We* are passively dragged into the play as the Others send their children to us, and we have to deal with *their* problems.

In contrast to the downplaying of the market in Norway, are the media's sharp eyes when other countries do not do enough to combat child trafficking. For instance, in the report 'Seksuelt barnemisbrukt øker i Sverige' (VG 2006), the journalist pointed out that more Swedish tourists went on sex tourism in other countries, and criticized Sweden's 'dubious and sad decision' ("en tvilsom og trist beslutning") not to join UNWTO, a UN tourist organization aiming to combat child trafficking by combating sex tourism. However, the journalist did not mention that Norway, just like Sweden, has a similar problem with an

accelerating increase of sex tourists, and is, like Sweden, still not a member of UNWTO⁷⁷. This indicates that when it comes to being reflective of their own society, the studied media is not able to detect similar problems that are known to trigger child trafficking in other societies.

The data suggest a self-perception of Norway by the media as a ‘just’ and ‘ethical’ society. ‘Different’ from the other societies, the Norwegian society is featured as one almost ‘immune’ to child trafficking. This may be caused by a self-perception influenced by Norwegian egalitarianism, that equality and human rights are perceived as the fundamental values in building the Norwegian identities (Johansen 2007). However, as the reports indicate, a misunderstanding where being more *aware* of equality is taken to mean the same as *realization* of equality exists. The contrast between the reality and the constructed ‘perfect’ image by the media indicates a self-granted and self-evidenced cause-effect logic: Norway being a society more advanced in and more conscious of equality is perceived by the media as being evidence, tantamount to ‘reality’ and ‘fact’, in support of an unquestionable ‘truth’ that there is less child trafficking in Norway.

6.1.3 Summary of the Chinese Children Case

Every child is unique. Every unaccompanied asylum-seeking child has their own ‘baggage’. It is UDI’s job to investigate the background of the child and what made him/her leave his/her own country⁷⁸. However, the reports on the Chinese children case indicate that, even before the results from the investigations of UDI

⁷⁷ The Norwegian parliament, Stortinget, received a proposal for Norway to join UNWTO in April 2008. As this thesis is written in May 2008, the proposal is still under discussion.

⁷⁸ There have been some systematic adjustments regarding the rules of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children since October 2007. Previously, the children were placed into different asylum centers through transit asylum centers. It is now the full responsibility of the child welfare institutions (Barnevernet) to house these children while they wait for asylum decisions from UDI. This means though UDI still has the responsibility to investigate and decide the case of the child’s application for asylum status, the child institution has full responsibility to make sure that these children are protected and treated as well as other children in Norway. Currently, children under 15 years old are placed in a child institution in Eidsvoll community. The government plans to build more similar child institutions for unaccompanied asylum-seeking children aged between 15 and 18 before 2009. However, as data from UDI show, in 2006, 53 of the 349 (15%) unaccompanied asylum-seeking children were under age 15 (40 boys, 13 girls). This means that the majority of the children are still waiting for the facility and protection of the child institution to be available.

and the police are released, and regardless of the confidentiality of relevant information, the media already had their answers ready regarding why the Chinese children were sent to Norway and why they disappeared. An interesting question to ask the media: on what basis do you make these reports?

On the one hand, the media's interest lies in the odd and incomprehensible Chinese parents, the Chinese children who do not behave according to the journalists' expectations of victims, and the supposed backwardness of Chinese culture. The children are expected to play a 'victim' role, and they are expected to behave 'normally' based on *our* perceptions of how a normal victimized child should behave, so they can be *saved*. The 'victim' behavior becomes the precondition for the media to demonstrate the ability to sympathize. Once the children fall out of the expected 'roles', their innocence becomes questionable to the media.

On the other hand, the reports show less interest in addressing the market for trafficked children in Norway as one of the causes of the fact that these children came here in the first place; instead, they were more interested in blaming the Others' for leaving their own country and arriving in Norway with a 'questionable' motivation. The media seems better at pointing fingers at the Others' problems, than at being reflective and finding the causes of inequality from own side.

Besides this, the data indicate that both the Egalitarian concern of helping and the Orientalism view of We being better than the Other are deeply embedded in the belief of *differences*. Instead of focusing on what unifies Us and the Others in shared experiences, the media focused on structuring and exaggerating the *differences* as barriers to comprehension: the Orientals have been perceived as irrational, depraved, childlike, 'different', while *we* are rational, virtuous, mature, and 'normal' (Said 1978:40). These *differences* are not only about physical material differences that are measurable, but also about socially constructed

differences in the ideas, values and opinions of the Others. In this case, it is the *differences* in equality. The media call these constructed *differences* ‘culture’.

The Others’ ‘culture’ has become a ‘reason’ to explain the ‘incomprehensible’, and a ‘scapegoat’ for the problems as seen from *our* side: it is the Chinese ‘culture’ that makes parents send their children out unaccompanied to a foreign country; it is in the Chinese ‘culture’ that children would like to leave to start an ‘adventure’ in other countries, and it is in the Chinese ‘culture’ that cynical traffickers exploit the desperate situation of the poor to sell people. However, the story goes: Norwegian culture has no place for such a market. “By taking ‘culture’ to be the Truth, the way was paved for power abuse and cultural fundamentalism” (Wikan 1995).

Long before 2005, the UN had been criticizing the Norwegian government for the country’s asylum rules on unaccompanied asylum-seeking children. The criticisms were especially aimed at Norway having ineffective protection mechanisms and policies to better protect the equal rights of the children, in addition to ineffective work on preventing these children disappearing from asylum centers, and subsequently finding them. However, only one report, published after the outbreak of the Chinese children case, mentions this criticism. Aside from this, what started the heated media reports of the Chinese children case was not the disappearance of the children itself which happened in October 2005, but the arrest of the two Chinese criminals in Sweden in November. This points to the questionable nature of what woke the media’s interest in the case.

Given that the case of the Chinese children in November 2005 was neither the first nor the last case of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children disappearing from Norwegian asylum centers⁷⁹, and given that Chinese children are neither a major nor the only group of children who went missing, the discovery and rescue of the missing children in November 2005 could have been an opportunity for

⁷⁹ According to the latest report from the Ministry of Justice, 10 children disappeared in 2005, while in 2006 the number doubled to 22. In 2007 19 disappeared.

the media to begin attracting the attention necessary to urge the police to further investigate the cases of disappearing unaccompanied asylum-seeking children, in particular the 11 cases where the disappearing children were suspected to be potential trafficking victims (Norwegian Ministry of Justice 2008). However, the data in this thesis shows that only two of the 51 cases, including the Chinese children case, have been brought up by the media studied⁸⁰. Perhaps the recent comment from Knut Storberget, the Norwegian Minister of Justice and Police, on the Norwegian police's ignorance and double-standards in finding the disappearing children also fit the media's work⁸¹:

*What I am most unhappy with is that it seems like we have another view on these children than our own, and this is something we cannot allow. The UN Child Convention is valid for the whole world, and if there is any 12-year old, for example, who needs a safe future, then it is exactly these.*⁸²

6.2 Case Study 2: The Estonian Girl Case

On April 1, 2005, the Trondheim city court (Trondheim tingrett) passed its judgment in a case of two Norwegian and one Estonian men involved in the trafficking of a 16 year old Estonian girl into Norway for prostitution. The Estonian (26) and one Norwegian man (42) were accused for recruiting, transporting and exploiting the girl, while the other Norwegian (40) was accused of housing her.

⁸⁰ Since a lot of the data in the thesis is based on manual collection, it is possible that VG and Klassekampen have other reports covering the issue of disappearing asylum-seeking children ending up in child trafficking.

⁸¹ Among the 51 disappearing unaccompanied asylum-seeking children during 2005 and 2007, 37 are still missing (Rapport fra Abeidsgrupp 2008). According to the organization Press-Save the Children Youth, the police pulled the 37 cases out again and started a new round of investigation since the publication of the new government report on unaccompanied asylum-seeking children in April 2008. <http://www.finnbarna.no/?a=224>

⁸² My translation of "Det jeg er mest misfornøyd med er at det synes som om vi har et annet blikk på disse barna enn våre egne, og det kan vi ikke tillate. Barnekonvensjonen til FN, den gjelder over hele verden, og er det noen 12-åringer, for eksempel, som har behov for en sikker fremtid, så er det jo nettopp disse." (P4, "Bedre tiltak for asylbarn", 28. mai 2008 – <http://www.p4.no/story.aspx?id=273746#>)

See also VG's report at <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/artikkel.php?artid=511121>, Dagsavisen at <http://www.dagsavisen.no/innenriks/article351612.ece>, and from rb.no <http://www.rb.no/Innenriks/article3570162.ece>

In court, the prosecution told the judge that when the girl was trafficked to Norway, she was in a vulnerable situation because she was isolated from Norwegian society: she could not speak Norwegian, did not have any freedom to move around, was most of the time kept inside the apartments where she worked as a prostitute, and whenever she came out, she was accompanied by the pimp. She had little or no knowledge at all about where she could seek help. She had to hand in most of the money she earned from prostitution to the pimp every day. On this, the judge made the following comments:

*What is told in the description of the act about their work relation is in and of itself not any worse than what is very common in other businesses. One 'must' do the work in a designated work place. Bus drivers 'must give away' their ticket money. (...) If one chooses to work in a foreign country, one can easily become isolated, especially if one does not master the language. And in many businesses one has to cope with restrictions regarding how the work is done.*⁸³

Trondheim tingrett, 01.04.2005, 05-011620MED-TRON, p. 14

The judge further said that the 16 year old girl chose to be a prostitute because of economic motivations, “completely willingly” (“*tok beslutningen om a prostituere seg i full frivillighet*”) (*ibid.*, p. 11).

The three accused men said that they were not aware of the young age of the girl, and believed her to be over 18 years old. However, several witnesses, including sex-buyers and adult prostitutes, testified that the three men were aware of the young age of the girl, and that it was indeed her very young age that made the girl the most ‘popular’ prostitute. Photos of the girl were shown to the judge, who reacted like this: “(...) *can hardly be said to show a girl who is clearly below the age of 18.*”⁸⁴ (*ibid.*, p. 17)

⁸³ My translation of “Det som er gjengitt i gjerningsbeskrivelsen om deres arbeidsforhold er i og for seg ikke verre enn det som er høyst vanlig i andre bransjer: Man ‘må’ utføre jobben på tilvist arbeidssted. Bussjåfører ‘må gi fra seg’ billettpengene. (...) Har man valgt å arbeide i fremmed land blir man lett isolert, særlig hvis man ikke behersker språket. Og i mange bransjer må man tåle restriksjoner av hensyn til utførelse av jobben.”

⁸⁴ My translation of “(...) neppe kan sies å vise en jente som klart er under 18 år”

The prosecution asked for the Estonian man and the 42 year old Norwegian man to be charged according to the penal code 224, also known as the 'human trafficking act', but the judge charged the three men according to the penal code 203, the pimp act. The 26 year old Estonian man was sentenced to two years in jail. The 42 year old Norwegian man was sentenced to one year and three months. The 40 year old Norwegian man, who had only provided housing, was sentenced to 120 days in jail. The police seized a detailed register of the sex-buyers, but none of the men who were known to have bought sex from the 16 year old girl were charged according to the penal code 203, which explicitly forbids buying sex from a person below the age of 18 years old.

After this first court decision, the case of the 26 year old Estonian and the 42 year old Norwegian man was appealed in the Frostating court of appeals (Frostating lagmannsrett). Meanwhile, several anti-human trafficking and children's rights organizations reacted to the comments made by the judge (Kiil & Smaadahl, 2005). At the same time, another Estonian man (40) was charged with organizing human trafficking. He was arrested in Estonia and turned over to Norway, and his case was to be processed in October 2005 (Frostating lagmannsrett, 20.09.2005, 05-071379AST-FROS).

In September 2005, the 26 year old Estonian man was sentenced to 5 years in prison for organizing human trafficking, and the 42 year old Norwegian was sentenced to 3 years in prison, since evidence showed that he deliberately took economical and social advantage of exploiting the trafficked girl (ibid.).

The Estonian girl case was the first time a child trafficking case was put into the judicial process. It was the first time Norwegians had been sentenced for child trafficking, and the first time penal code 224, the anti-human trafficking article, was used in a child trafficking case.

6.2.1 Media reports

Altogether there were nine reports in VG and Klassekampen featuring the first child trafficking case in Norwegian history. One report, a commentary, was from Klassekampen. Seven of VG's eight reports were event-based news reports about the court cases, and the last one was an investigative journalistic report. VG's reports were centered around two periods, corresponding to the time of the two court cases: five reports from January 31st to April 1st, 2005, and three reports from September 14th to October 31st, 2005. Among the nine reports, only Klassekampen's commentary, published on June 15th, 2005, responded to the comments and decision in the Trondheim city court.

I will not look at all the nine reports in detail, but focus on VG's investigative report. Investigative reports are known to be a useful weapon for the media to uphold justice and enhance its role as a responsible 'watchdog'. The journalist is given time and space to 'dig into' a case, to obtain more first-hand information, and to conduct more in-depth reports (Ettema & Glasser 1998). This provides an opportunity for the media to really demonstrate its own perspective on a case.

The Investigative Report

On March 12th, 2005, VG had an exclusive feature story of the Estonian girl case, "Was rented out to sex-parties" ("Ble leid ut til sex-fester"). The police told VG that they did not call the girl in to testify in the court case in Norway because they had difficulties finding the girl in Estonia, but the journalist wrote that he managed to find the girl in Estonia "without any big problems" ("uten store problemer").

In the interview with the girl, the journalist obtained detailed information regarding the routes where she was trafficked, what she was asked to do in Norway, such as selling her body at sex parties, how much she got paid by the sex-buyers, and how much of that money she could keep for herself. The girl also confirmed that at least the Estonian man (26) knew that she was only 16 years

old. The interview also provides a glimpse at the market for trafficked children in Norway:

According to the girl herself, she was sold to several hundreds of prostitute customers. And she was rented out to private parties several times.

There was one time when 11 women and around 20 men participated [in a private sex party]. I and another Estonian girl had sex with several people. I recognized two of the men and one of the women from TV and newspapers (...)

(...) she had served on average 3.6 men per day. Most customers were over 50 years old.

The reporter used four subtitles: ‘Organized network’ (“Organisert nettverk”), ‘Needed the money’ (“Trenge pengene”), ‘Voluntarily’ (“Frivillig”), and ‘Bought car with the money’ (“Kjøpte bil for pengene”). The subtitles structured the report in four parts: (1) the information of the case sentence at the Trondheim city court, and the criminal background of the Estonian man, (2) the girl’s willingness and awareness of her going to Trondheim to prostitute herself before she left Estonia, (3) the voluntariness of the girl to continue prostituting herself, knowing the majority of the money was kept by the pimp, (4) how she used the money when she was back in Estonia. In the report, the journalist frequently addresses the girl’s poverty, and she was frequently referred to as a prostitute. Under a photo in the article, the caption read: “CHILD-PROSTITUTION IN NORWAY (...) – I am poor, I needed the money, said the girl.”⁸⁵

6.2.2 Discussion

Victims or Prostitutes?

Three of the four subtitles in the report highlighted the perspective of the girl as being a desperate poor girl, a girl who voluntarily chose to be trafficked, and who could spend money from selling her body on a car (‘Needed the money’,

⁸⁵ My translation of “BARNE-PROSTITUSJON I NORGE: (...) – Jeg er fattig, jeg trenge pengene, sier jenta.”

'Voluntary' and 'Bought car with the money'). Under the subtitle "Voluntary" the journalist used direct quotes to demonstrate that the girl did not perceive herself as a victim: "(...) I am poor. The money I got is good money for me. Actually, they helped me. I consider them [the traffickers] as friends."⁸⁶ The journalist further emphasized the girl's poverty. Under the subtitle of 'Bought car with the money', the journalist devoted the last part of the report explaining how the money earned from prostitution helped the girl to a 'better life': "The money from Norway has among other things been used to buy a car. They never had a car before."⁸⁷ Worthy of note is that he referred to the money Norwegian sex-buyers paid to have sex with a 16 year-old as "The money from Norway", which helps the girl afford a car that her families had never had before. Here the exploiters are characterized as 'helpers' who contribute to improving the girl's situation. The above-mentioned data indicates that the journalist did not perceive poverty as a choiceless and powerless situation which increased the vulnerability of the girl. Instead, poverty is exaggerated as an economic motivation. The girl was perceived as a desperate girl who would do anything to earn money, including willingly being trafficked to Norway and turned into a prostitute.

In contrast to this, the journalist never questioned if the girl should be seen as a prostitute or a victim of child trafficking. Instead, throughout the report, the girl was referred as a prostitute. As mentioned in chapters 3 and 5, misinterpreting child trafficking as prostitution is a common mistake, and the Estonian girl case indicates that this is not only a mistake committed by the media, but also by the judicial system in Norway. In the Trondheim city court, the judge failed in three ways: (1) he failed to recognize the girl as a child, (2) he failed to consider the irrelevance of the victims consent in trafficking of children, and (3) he failed to correctly understand the human trafficking act and confused prostitution and

⁸⁶ My translation of "(...) jeg er fattig. Pengene jeg fikk, er gode penger for meg. Egentlig så hjalp de meg. Jeg anser dem som venner."

⁸⁷ My translation of "Pengene fra norge har blant annet gått til å kjøpe bil til familien. Bil har de aldri hatt før."

human trafficking. Professionals working to combat child trafficking in Norway have expressed their concerns regarding widespread incompetence in correctly understanding and applying the laws relevant to combating child trafficking (Vatnedal: interview 22.11.07, Kanavin: interview 06.02.08).

To label victims of child trafficking as ‘prostitutes’ is problematic. This worry was also expressed by Costa, executive director of UNODC: “I agree that these victims are forced into the activities to provide sexual services, but don’t call them prostitutes, or I am afraid we will make a very big error” (Costa 2008). By labeling victims as prostitutes the media creates a social image of the children as ‘prostitute’ first, ‘victim’ second, and possibly ‘children’ last (or not at all). It seems that the media has no awareness of what trafficking victims need the most: recognition of their position as victims so they can be identified, rescued, protected, and then empowered. Mixing child trafficking with legalizing prostitution is to ignore the exploitative nature of trafficking. It is a step back and away from justice. Equality must be based on the proper recognition of rights. Without the proper recognition of the victims’ position and the rights that follow from it, justice and empowerment is only a mirage.

In court, the judge compared the situation the girl’s handing in money at the end of the day with a bus driver’s work. Even after various prostitutes and sex buyers testified that the three criminals were aware of the young age of the trafficked girl, the judge was still not inclined to take her actual age into account. This indicates that the judge did not perceive the victim as a child, and that for him organized prostitution was not considered exploitation, but occupation⁸⁸. Child trafficking thus becomes blurred with the social discussion of prostitution legalization.

⁸⁸ The discussion of legalizing prostitution in Norway started in the 90s and was viewed as a major social movement in the fight for equality. The prostitution liberalists, usually feminists, emphasize the voluntary side of women in prostitution, and ask for legalized prostitution to be a socially recognized and protected career choice.

How a case is judged in court is based on the social values of justice, and how the case is presented in the media reflects such values whilst at the same time directing the values of the public. In the investigative report, though the journalist began the report with presenting the court decision and structuring a picture of the active sexual exploitation of the girl in Norway, the report remains at a superficial, sensational level. The journalist does not further investigate the case of why none of the sex-buyers are punished, nor does he further question the judge's offensive comments made at court. The data indicate that, instead of investigating a child trafficking case on which the judge failed to apply penal code 224, made offensive comments, and ignored the law by failing to punish sex-buyers, the purpose of this investigation report was more about telling a story of a desperate prostitute who willingly chose to be trafficked to Norway, and who by doing so improved her economic situation back home through prostitution. The media chose to follow the judge's decision in perceiving the girl as a prostitute. Both the investigative report and the majority of the other reports about this case kept silent with regards to the judge's offensive comments. Only two reports out of the nine mentioned the judge's comments, and only one of the two held a skeptical attitude towards them. This illustrates how a 'system of truth' (Said 1978: 204) is created: the Estonian girl is viewed as being less credible and less trustworthy, as are the adult prostitutes and sex-buyers who testified. The only 'recognized' source of 'truth' by the media is the judge. Hence, the power holder is also perceived as being the source of 'justice' and 'truth'.

Whose Children's Best?

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Norway ratified the UN Child convention in 2003. Article 2 of the Child Convention states that the rights of children concern all children regardless of characteristics such as race, skin color, gender, language, or religion of the children and the children's parents. The state has the responsibility to make sure that no child is discriminated. Based on the foundation of this Child Convention, Norway has established the Norwegian

Children Act and the Law of the Child Welfare Authority (Barnevernlov), which the Norwegian Ministry of Children and Equality frequently refers to as the basic principles to be adhered to when treating children with different backgrounds.

The laws address the equality of all children, and emphasizes that ‘the best of the child’ (“*barnets beste*”) is the primary principle in evaluating the situation of a child.

Norwegian penal codes 195 and 196 state that anyone who has a sexual relationship with a child under the age of 16 is punishable, and article 203 says that anyone buying sexual services from a person under the age of 18 will be charged. With such clear and strict laws, it is hard to imagine a court would let anyone who buys sex from a 16 year old go free. In the Estonian girl case none of the sex-buyers were prosecuted for buying sexual services from the girl, even if their identities were known to the police. Moreover, the girl was sent back to Estonia unprotected, and the high chance of her being trafficked again was ignored.

One article from Kirkens Nødhjelp told the story of a girl who testified at the court in Norway, but was denied refugee status and sent back to the recruiting country after the trial. The girl and her family lived in fear of revenge from the criminal network (Kirkens Nødhjelp 2005). This indicates a systematic ignorance of the needs of the children, of the dangers of revenge and being trafficked again, as well as possibly being sent back to a home where they had experienced domestic violence and/or sexual abuse. It has been shown that programs that do not take the special and different needs of boys and girls into account usually do more harm than benefit to the children (Campagna & Poffenberger 1988). Lack of knowledge and ability to take the right action leaves our children ‘doubly victimized’ by both the criminals and the society where they hold their last hope.

From December 7th to 9th 2005, VG reported a case of a 67 year old Norwegian man who paid 800,000 kroner to the mother of a 16 year old girl as a contract to marry the girl when she turned 18 years old. The girl had a Norwegian father and

a Thai mother. She was born in Norway, had Norwegian citizenship and grew up in both Norway and Thailand. The case generated a lot of response from the Ministry of Children and Equality as well as the Ministry of Justice and the Police, both condemning the case as child trafficking. The girl had a Norwegian citizenship, but the police evaluated the case according to the law of foreigners in Norway (Utlendingsloven) and did not notify the Child Welfare Authorities (Barnevernet). This case suggests that the police did not perceive the 16 year old Norwegian girl with a Thai mother as a Norwegian child; instead, the girl still was treated as an outsider, a ‘foreigner’⁸⁹.

Surprisingly, evidence also suggests that such a prejudicial ideology is institutional. UDI defines the immigrant population as the populace comprised of those who have neither parents nor grandparents born inside Norway (Definitions of Terms, UDI.no). This definition indicates that even if a child is born inside Norway and holds Norwegian citizenship, he/she could still be considered a non-Norwegian because of the origin of parents and grandparents, suggesting that it takes at least three generations to ‘purify’ or transform an immigrant child into a Norwegian child, or to ‘Norwegianize’ his/her immigrant culture. ‘Norwegian’ is not only a concept of citizenship or status; it is an idea, a kind of kinship, and a heritage of culture (Gullestad 2002). Moreover, Norwegian culture is viewed as an achievement already made by the Norwegians before the discovery of oil, and membership is an innate quality, not something to be achieved by, for example, changing citizenship (Gullestad 2002: 53-54). But such cultural perspectives can polarize social members into Norwegian and non-Norwegian communities, and ‘culture’ is usually used to justify *different, stereotypical* and sometimes *prejudiced* sets of values towards the Other group. In this sense, culture becomes a “new concept of race” (Wikan 1999: 57), used to

⁸⁹ An important research topic would be to ask what makes a child socially perceived as Norwegian. Part of this thesis touches upon this topic, but due to the limited time and space available, the research needs to focus on the media presentation of child trafficking issues. Thus, the question of what makes a child socially perceived as Norwegian presents possibilities to be further explored.

identify, explain and interpret everything members from the other community do, and sometimes “to make ‘them’ less human beings than ‘us’” (ibid.: 58).

Instead of possessing individuality, people from the other cultural community are perceived by the society at large as having fixed and revered symbols based on their ethnic and cultural backgrounds. The power to define, interpret, assign and recognize membership within a socially constructed ‘Norwegian community’ lies in the hands of those who built the country, or the dominant social groups in Norway, namely the ethnic Norwegians (Gullestad 2002). This is illustrated by the child trafficking-case of the Norwegian girl with a Thai mother: even though the girl had a Norwegian citizenship, the Norwegian police still perceived her as being a ‘foreigner’ within the Norwegian community.

To protect every child is not only a human rights-issue, it is also a moral issue about whose children will be given a chance, and whose will be sacrificed to sustain that chance (Lehti 2003: 9). Unfortunately, despite all the discussions of humanity, equality and justice, neither the humiliating and irresponsible treatment of the 16 year old Estonian girl, nor the story of the Norwegian child with a Thai mother has attracted much attention from the media to tackle the racist model in the perceptions of child trafficking. With such treatments of child victims, we must ask: whose children’s best are we talking about?

6.2.3 Summary of the Estonian Girl Case

Reports on the Estonian girl case indicate different ideologies on children from different social groups and cultures. The Estonian girl is perceived as being less a child and more a prostitute. The media did not pay much attention to advocating the protection of the girl’s equal rights when she was not asked to testify against the criminals and instead was sent back to Estonia. Very few reports reacted to the discriminating comments made by the judge, and no report expressed interest in denouncing the fact that none of the sex-buyers was punished.

The boundaries between We and the Other are usually based on the social construction of identities. According to Barth, ethnicity is not only a racial identity, but also a cultural trait. And culture is not something assigned to someone, instead socio-cultural identities are an individual's own prescription (Barth 1998: 11-38). However, the data in this study indicate that the cultural boundary is descriptive rather than prescriptive, and that the power of judgment rests in the hands of the dominant social groups in Norway, represented by the Norwegian authorities.

6.3 Concluding Remarks

The reporting of the two cases of child trafficking demonstrates the symbols associated with children of different identities in relation to the Norwegian society. The symbolic meaning of children with different identities is influenced by the Norwegian egalitarianism and the Orientalism view.

The data indicate that the Other children are perceived as passive symbolic objects of the fixed and consensual 'cultures' defined by us. The Chinese children case shows that trafficked children are seldom given the chance to establish their real identities; instead they are frequently talked about and commented upon, and rhetorics associated with them reflect social stereotypes. When the children get a chance to tell their stories, such as the feature story about the Estonian girl, their information can still be easily manipulated and distorted by the media so that it fits into certain social perceptions held towards the children's identities. The studied reports illustrate not only a power-relation featuring a more materially and culturally advanced We from the opposite Other, but also a wrestling between two influential ideologies in Norway: egalitarianism and Orientalism. The data indicate that three factors contribute to the power relations between We and the Others: economic difference, the Orientalism view of our culture as superior to the Others', and the self-granted image of Norway as a humanitarian power.

Fewer media reports feature the market demand created by individual Norwegians, and more attention is given to emphasizing that the crimes are being committed by the Others. Obvious tactics in these reports include categorizing, labeling the criminals and victims as ‘cynical offenders’, ‘cynical mafia’, ‘prostitutes’, and placing them into categories to separate them from the entire moral community, giving the impression that this is a problem caused by and concerning the Other and not Us. However, there is a very thin line between the Other and Us, because both are socially constructed ideas depending on one’s vantage point.

The media’s reports on the two cases not only feature several images of the Others, but also indicate a kind of self-granted belief of what ‘truth’ is, and who are ‘trust-worthy’. The data in this chapter illustrate what Unni Wikan said: “By taking ‘culture’ to be the Truth, the way was paved for power abuse and cultural fundamentalism” (Wikan 1995). The reports exaggerate what the media believe to be ‘true’ of Our and Their ‘cultures’, and at the same time, the unwanted ‘reality’ was ‘silenced’.

Orientalism is not only an ideology about the Others, but also a self-perception of who we are. “A welfare society with a strong awareness of equality” has long been considered as a distinctive feature of Norwegian identity, at least from a Norwegian viewpoint. The data reflect the awareness of such a ‘truth’, as indicated in the reports on the Chinese children. The possibility of there being a market for trafficked children in Norway is considered ‘unrealistic’. On the other hand, the data show that the media responded with a collective ‘silence’ to the discriminating comments from the judge in the case of the Estonian girl. The unwanted ‘reality’ was oppressed. Silence is also a message and a way to lead public opinion, since mass media involves selecting what to reflect and what to deflect. There are many possible reasons for a collective silence in the media, and the fear of breaking the Norwegian dream – the dream of equality – is a prominent one.

7. Conclusion and Recommendations

7.1 How do the studied media cover child trafficking?

Altogether, I found 120 reports where child trafficking was the main topic⁹⁰ in VG and Klassekampen during the studied period⁹¹. No relevant reports were found before 1996, but since 1996, the number of reports on child trafficking has gradually increased, with a climax in 2005 (45 reports). Despite the gradual increase, the topic of child trafficking remains under-reported when compared to the growth of child trafficking. Child trafficking is reported in news, features, commentaries and editorials. Almost half of the reports are news.

In total, 20 different phrases were used by the studied media to describe child trafficking. This indicates confusion with regards to the definition of child trafficking, and some of the phrases actually completely misinterpret the concept. The lack of a consistent, clear and correct use of phraseology in the discussion of child trafficking leaves chances for confusion and misunderstandings, and in some cases misleads public perceptions, encouraging, for example, people to equate child trafficking with prostitution.

Child trafficking has been reported from various angles, ranging from highlighting government action and decision on combating child trafficking (29%), to a crime committed by exploiters (21%), or a violation of children's rights (19%). 55 reports (46%) focused on concrete child trafficking cases in Norway, while 37 reports (31%) focused on child trafficking in other countries. 66 reports touched upon various forms of exploitation of trafficked children. Among these, sexual exploitation of trafficked children received most attention, whilst begging received the least.

⁹⁰ See beginning of chapter 5 for more information about the selection of the 120 reports.

⁹¹ See chapter 1.3.1 for more information about the period covered by this study.

7.2 What kinds of perception do the reports reflect?

The reports demonstrate a general awareness of and interest in the equality and humanity of all children; meanwhile, they also indicate certain stereotypes related to child trafficking, trafficked victims and exploiters.

Stereotypes of trafficked children based on their origins, ethnicities and cultures frequently surface in the reports. Child trafficking is generally perceived as a problem caused by poverty, and is hence perceived as less relevant for Norway and Norwegian children, probably due to the nation's self-image as a wealthy country with an effective welfare system⁹². The reports also indicate a misunderstanding that prostitution is the only form of exploitation in child trafficking. Economic motivations and extreme cases, including the use of violence, have been exaggerated to the point where they pose as dominant features of exploitation, and exploiters are dramatically labeled as 'cynical traffickers', 'mafia' and 'pedophiles'.

In general, child trafficking has been perceived as a problem caused and practiced by the Others, and relevant to the Other children. On the one hand, *We* in Norway are passive victims who have to deal with 'unwelcome guests' and their problems. On the other hand, *We* are also the humanitarian saviors and guardians of equality. The market demand for trafficked children or the existence of Norwegian criminals and exploiters of children hence become quasi-taboo topics.

⁹² A self-image frequently demonstrated in the rhetorics of Norwegian politicians. One recent example is a speech held on May 21st (less than three weeks ago at the time of writing) by the Minister of Health and Care Services Sylvia Brustad at the Representative Meeting of the Norwegian Medical Association. Here are some quotes from that speech representing very familiar rhetorics of Norwegian welfare: "One of our advantages is that we live in a country with relatively small differences between people – especially if we compare ourselves with other countries. (...) A large majority are well off in Norway today – at least materially. (...) How we treat the weakest among us shows what kind of society we have. We want a society that includes everyone." (My translation of: "En av våre fordeler er at vi lever i et land med forholdsvis små forskjeller mellom folk – særlig når vi sammenlikner oss med andre land. (...) Det store flertallet har det bra i Norge i dag – iallfall materielt sett. (...) Det er hvordan vi behandler de svakeste blant oss som viser hva slags samfunn vi har. Vi vil ha et samfunn som inkluderer alle") (Brustad 2008)

7.3 How to explain the coverage from a socio-cultural approach?

The basic reality of child trafficking is a simple yet potent truth: it is a human relationship. The data in this thesis reveals the power-relations behind the various human relationships in child trafficking.

The media's presentation and interpretation of the human relationships in child trafficking is influenced by more general concerns rooted in Norwegian egalitarianism, a way of thinking partly defined by the notion that 'you shall not think you are better than us'. On the other hand, the data also indicates that the awareness of being more concerned about equality constructs a self-perception that positions Norwegian culture on a level of 'achievement' superior to other cultures. This paradoxical self-granted superiority in the pursuit of equality creates a boundary for 'real equality': 'you shall not think you are better than us, but we can think we are better than you'.

The media reports also reflect the influence of Orientalism on social perceptions of foreign cultures, and indicate a cultural hegemony in the Norwegian society. Poverty and egalitarianism serve as boundaries separating the wealthy, humane and equality-conscious 'We' from the economically poor, equality-ignorant 'other' cultures. At the same time, the dominant white, ethnic Norwegian culture frames the social perceptions of Our children vs. Their children. These boundaries are not only observed through the presentation of the other exploiters and criminals, but also through media-constructed images of the trafficked children as poor and powerless, but sometimes also sneaky, opportunistic, and unwelcome. Through narratives and rhetoric, the media reports reflect that country of origin, ethnicity, and culture can become social boundaries that frame social perceptions of children with different characters, hence becoming conditions of equality. This demonstrates a gap between the rhetoric of equality and actual practices.

None of the reports mentioned ethnic Norwegian children in child trafficking – not even the possibility that Norwegian children could be in danger. This ‘silence’ is not backed up by solid knowledge. While the media has set the spotlight exclusively on refugee children and immigrant children, there is academic evidence to indicate that ethnic Norwegian children are also exploited in child trafficking. But to my knowledge, none of the institutions I have talked to – including the police – have conducted any investigations in the field. The ‘silence’ seems to rest uneasily on the assumption that ethnic Norwegian children are simply better protected.

The report ‘Exchange, Love, and Violation’ describes the situation of ethnic Norwegian children organized, controlled and manipulated by adult ‘boyfriends’ in order to have sex with other adults in exchange for drugs, cigarettes and money (Larsen & Pedersen 2005). According to the UN Palermo protocol, there are three elements which define child trafficking: transportation and/or transfer of a person under 18 years of age, achieving control of the children through abduction, coercion, and/or use of violence, and the benefit of a third party. These cases are de facto child trafficking of Norwegian children in Norway, though Larsen and Pedersen did not identify the cases as such in their report.

What is the point of addressing the risks pertaining to Norwegian children in child trafficking, when the exploitation of them is still revealed, though often characterized as something entirely different and more benign, and the children are well protected? Several points need to be made. *Firstly*, child trafficking is different from other children’s rights violations, and the combat against it starts with correct identification. *Secondly*, by acknowledging exploitation of ethnic Norwegians as being child trafficking, the relevant authorities can step in and intervene at an early stage before the children risk being trafficked outside the country, as the organized criminal network is going global. *Thirdly*, as opposed to victims of other forms of exploitation, child trafficking victims usually need police protection against an organized network and the risk of being re-trafficked. *Fourthly*, trafficking criminals should be punished according to the

trafficking laws, not as pimps or sex-buyers. This may be especially relevant given that the Norwegian law punishes human trafficking more severely than pimping.

Most importantly, the devil known is nicer – or at least easier to deal with – than the devil unknown. When talking about prevention and protection, early intervention is important. Speculation is irrelevant. As Department Leader in UDI Siri Rustad said on preventing refugee children from falling prey to trafficking victims, “we wish that we rather worry too many times than too few times when it comes to exploitation of young asylum-seekers in human trade.” (Stokke 2008).

‘Silence’ is also a kind of public opinion. Many reasons can cause the ‘silence’ in the media. The self-image of Norway as a child-friendly country may be an ideological boundary, making it more difficult for the media to admit that evil violations such as child trafficking also exist in Norway. Meanwhile, some social values and beliefs towards immigrants carry a distinctive tinge of Orientalism and neo-racism, and such values and beliefs become the schemas that set up frames of mind and put on color-tinted lenses when examining child trafficking. One of them is the concern of social taboos, the feeling of being out of sight, out of mind, and seeing no evil.

Child trafficking is conceptualized as a social problem and a threat to the values that we believe in. Virtually all social problems are seen as problematic and controversial to a greater or lesser degree. Each society has hidden hazards, which means that some social problems may seldom, or never, be mentioned publicly because they are considered social taboos, “embedded in a societal web of values and assumptions that denigrates the consequences or deems them acceptable, elevates associated benefits, and idealizes certain notions or beliefs” (Kasperson & Kasperson 2005: 119). In a society reputed for its humanitarian concern and pursuit of equality, children become not only a symbol of the Norwegian ideals. The exploitation of children may also become a taboo and seldom reach the public for fear of breaking the Norwegian dream of equality. This kind of hesitation was also expressed by the journalist I interviewed during

my research. The journalist was concerned about the public's reaction to some sensitive taboo issues, such as sexual exploitation, in child trafficking. She referred to her experiences with the feedback she received from the public on the reports of prostitution (Haug: interview 06.02.08). Cases of trafficking for sexual exploitation still receive relatively more attention from the media than other forms of exploitations. Yet, it remains challenging to write about, and other forms of exploitation, such as cases involving female exploiters or bestiality, may be even more challenging to bring up.

7.4 What can we do to improve the communication of child trafficking in order to better combat this crime?

Child trafficking is a social problem, and to combat it requires collective efforts from the entire society. Currently, there are several governmental and non-governmental organizations working against child trafficking, but the situation may call for a broader team work, including not only the existing organizations, but also people from academia, mass media and even the public. This requires mutual respect, good communication, and a strong will to work towards the shared goal: the children's best.

For the best of the children, better planning and coordination among various sectors working against child trafficking is required. Past experiences indicate that some work was done by many, some by none, and conflicts of interests became factors that discouraged and effectively stopped people who actively tried to take initiative at the grass-root level.

It is also necessary to have a consistent strategy in both the discussion and the practice against child trafficking. Certainly, citizenship, ethnicity, and culture are important factors to consider when addressing the different needs of the victims. But sometimes these factors can also become boundaries that separate *their* children from *our* children, and become hurdles for the realization of the equal treatment and protection of victims.

We need to learn from old mistakes. Before the Estonian girl case, people did not associate child trafficking with Norway at all. Before the Chinese children case, no one talked about Norway as a transit country for child trafficking. And the pedophile case in 2007 showed that Norwegians can also be involved in child trafficking. Are we waiting for another case to wake us up and make us aware that Norwegian children can also be victims of child trafficking?

As journalist Jon Martin Larsen wrote “prevention means to stop something from happening before it actually happens⁹³” (Larsen 2008). The point of addressing the risks ethnic Norwegian children face with regards to child trafficking is not to combat outbreaks of existing cases; it is to build up the ability to predict and to prevent such cases from ever happening. By voicing the violence, we break the taboos and give the truth back to the reality. This thesis shows that the media’s perceptions of child trafficking in Norway have been clouded by many misunderstandings and stereotypes. But it also shows that the attention given to child trafficking is increasing and that we are learning from past mistakes.

Given this, allow me to remind the reader that:

- Child trafficking is not the same as child smuggling
- Child trafficking is far more complex than child prostitution
- The consent of the child is irrelevant in child trafficking
- Child trafficking is not restricted to developing countries. There is a striking increase of children trafficked within and between developed countries, especially in Europe.
- It is wrong to think that all child exploiters are pedophiles

⁹³ Larsen is a journalist in the newspaper Dagsavisen. On April 24th 2008, he wrote: “The expertise says that Norway is too small and transparent for children to ever be used in the sex market here. For many years, the expertise also claimed that men could not be forced into prostitution in Norway, but last year Dagsavisen revealed the first such cases. Prevention means to stop something from happening before it actually happens. I hope that I will never write the case about children forced to sell sex in the streets of Oslo.” (My translation)

- It is wrong to think that all exploiters are male
- As with trafficking criminals and exploiters, trafficked children are not restricted to boundaries such as social status, gender, ethnicity, religious, culture
- Child poverty is one of several important push-factors in child trafficking, but it is not a problem restricted to developing countries: four out of ten Norwegian children live in poverty; (Chen & Corak 2006)
- Black market demand is one of several important pull-factors in child trafficking, including demand for sexual exploitation, cheap labor and adoption. One out of three Norwegians admits to have bought services or goods on the black market (Hansen et.al. 2005)
- Research has found that the chance of incest victims to end up in trafficking is noticeably higher (Campagna & Poffenberger 1988). Statistics from the Health and Social Directorate show that 20% of girls, and 14% of boys in Norway have experienced incest (Landrø 2008)
- Children are vulnerable when they feel neglected and misunderstood: many children trafficked in developed countries are 'run-away' teenagers from middle-class homes (Campagna & Poffenberger 1988).

In my opinion, talking openly about known triggers of child trafficking is necessary, and the Universal Children's day could be an appropriate occasion to bring up this issue. The battle against child trafficking calls for innovative thinking, effective mechanisms and cooperation beyond boundaries. It is important to bring media into cooperation with various institutional efforts against child trafficking. Child trafficking is not a problem relevant only to immigrant children, and prevention and protection must not be restricted to specific groups of children. Research shows that the best method to prevent child trafficking is through educating children. It is necessary to include children in both the discussion of and the prevention of child trafficking. In addition, it is

important that more effort be made in academia to further research on child trafficking inside Norway, how to better allocate social resources to combat the problem, and how to package the information in the most effective way for reaching the public.

Fortunately, some data from this thesis indicates that the government is learning from old mistakes. For instance, more and more reports pay attention to child trafficking. Just three days before the due date of this thesis, UDI made a tool developed by KOM for identifying human trafficking victims available on their website⁹⁴. The Norwegian Ministry of Children and Equality has started pilot project in one Oslo high school, educating youth about child trafficking, and the feedback from students has been positive. It would be even better to educate children in primary school or even kindergarten about how to protect themselves and each other. The way ahead of us is long. To admit that the evil also exists in one's own society requires courage and determination. I would like to borrow Gro Harlem Brundtland's words to make my final point in this thesis:

We need to voice the violence, to hear the stories of all those affected by violence... Spreading the word, breaking down the taboos and exposing the violence that takes place among us is the first step towards effective action to reduce violence in our own societies.

Gro Harlem Brundtland

⁹⁴ <http://www.udi.no/templates/Page.aspx?id=9339>

Bibliography

- Aftenposten (2005, November 26): To Barn Forsvunnet fra Mottak, in *Aftenposten*. [online]. -URL:
<http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/article1165263.ece>
- Aftenposten (2005, November 30): To Litauiske Gutter Forsvunnet fra Mottak, in *Aftenposten* [online]. –URL:
<http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/article1167872.ece>
- Andersson, Mette. (2005): “Urban Multi-Culture in Norway : Identity Formation Among Immigrant Youth”, *Studies in Sociology Vol. 51*. New York: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Archard, David. (2003): “Children” in Hugh LaFollette (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of Practical Ethics* .New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bales, Kevin. (2005): *Understanding Global Slavery*. London: University of California Press.
- Barth, Fredrik (1998), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. Illinois: Waveland Press.
- Bartholet, Elizabeth. (1993): ”International Adoption: Current Status and Future Prospects”. *The Future of Children ADOPTION* vol.3 (1): 89-103.
- Bertrand, D. (2000): “The Autobiographical Method of Investigating the Psychosocial Wellness of Refugees” in F. L. Aherd (ed.): *Psychosocial Wellness of Refugees: Issue of Qualitative and Quantitative Research*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Bhabha Jacqueline. (2005). Trafficking, Smuggling, and Human Rights, in *Migration Information Source* [online]. –URL:
<http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/print.cfm?ID=294>
- Bjerkan, Lisa. Linda, Dyrliid. & Marianne Tveit. (2006): *Handel med Barn. Et Undervisningsopplegg*. Sponsored by Ministry of Children and Equality. Oslo.

Bjørgo (1993a): "Terroristisk Vold Mot Innvandrere og Flykninger i Skandinavia: Mønstre og Motiver" in Bjørgo & Witte (ed.) *Rasistisk Vold i Europa*. Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag.

Bjørgo (1993b): "Medias Rolle i Rasistisk Vold" in Bjørgo & Witte (ed.) *Rasistisk Vold i Europa*. Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag.

Bjørgo & Witte (ed.) (1993) *Rasistisk Vold i Europa*. Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag.

Bruckert, Christine & Colette, Parent. (2002): "Trafficking in Human Beings and Organized Crime: A Literature Review." Working paper, Research and Evaluation, Branch Community, Contract and Aboriginal Policing Services, Directorate Royal, Canadian Mounted Police. –URL: www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca

Brune, Ylva. (1997): *Journalistikens Andre Invandrare och Flyktingar i Nyheterna*. Göteborg: Nordicom-Information.

Burke, Kenneth. (1945): *A Grammar of Motives*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Anholt, Simon (2007): *Anholt Nation Brand Index Q2 2007*. [online].-URL: <http://www.nationbrandindex.com>

Campagna, Daniel S. & Donald L. Poffenberger. (1988): *The Sexual Trafficking in Children: An Investigation of the Child Sex Trade*. Dover, Mass: Auburn House Publishing Company.

Campbell, Christopher. (1995): *Race, Myth and the News*. London: Sage.

Cappella, J. N., & Jamieson, K. H. (1997): *The Spiral of Cynicism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Castles, F. G. (1978): *The Social Democratic Image of Society: A Study of the Achievements and Origins of Scandinavian Social Democracy in Comparative Perspective*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Cederblad, M. (2003): Adoption: But at what Price? –URL: http://www.childtrafficking.com/Docs/cederblad__adoption_but_at_.pdf

CeLRRd (2002): *Analysis of Laws and Policies on Labor Migration and Trafficking*. Center for Legal Research and Resource Development. Nepal. – URL: http://www.childtrafficking.com/Docs/celrrd_2002_laws_policies_m.pdf

Chen, Wen-Hao. & Miles, Corak. (2006): *Child Poverty and Changes in Child Poverty*. Joensuu, Finland. –URL: <http://www.iariw.org/papers/2006/ChenCorak.pdf>

Council of Europe (2008): *Council of Europe Convention on Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings*. Council of Europe. –URL: http://www.coe.int/t/dg2/trafficking/campaign/Docs/Profiles/NORWAYProfile_en.asp

Croll, Elisabeth. (2000): *Endangered Daughters, Discrimination and Development in Asia*. New York: Routledge.

CSEC (2001): “In the Name of Culture and Tradition” Paper presented at World Congress Yokohama Conference.

Danailova-Trainor, Gergana. & Patrick Belser (2006): *Globalization and the Illicit Market for Human Trafficking: An Empirical Analysis of Supply and Demand, Special Action Programme to Combat Forced Labor*. ILO, Geneva.

Davidson, Julia O’Connell. (2005): *Children in the Global Sex Trade*. US,UK: Polity Press.

Deflem, Matieu. (2005): “‘Wild Beasts Without Nationality’: The Uncertain Origins of Interpol, 1898-1910” in Philip Reichel (ed.): *The Handbook of Transnational Crime and Justice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Derks Annuska. (2000): From White Slaves to Trafficking Survivors. Notes on the Trafficking Debate, Working Paper #00-02. Princeton University; The Center for Migration and Development.

Devito, J.A. (1978). *Communicology: An Introduction to the Study of Communication*. New York: Harper & Row.

Doezema, J.(2002): “Who Gets to Choose? Coercion, Consent, and the UN Trafficking Protocol” in R. Masika (ed.) *Gender, Trafficking and Slavery*. Oxford: Oxfam.

Durkheim, Emile. (1934): “The Division of Labor in Society”, in *American Journal of Sociology, University of Chicago*. Vol. 40: 319-328.

ECPAT (2004): *Joint East West Research on Trafficking in Children for Sexual Purposes in Europe: The Sending Countries*. Ed. O’Briain, M., Ane van den Borne, and Theo Noten, Amsterdam. –URL:
<http://www.childcentre.info/projects/trafficking/dbaFile11169.pdf>

Egner, Thorbjørn (1955): *Folk og Røvere i Kardemomme by*. Oslo: Cappelen.

Eide, Elisabeth. (2001): “The Long Distance Runner and Discourses on Europe's Others, Ethnic Minority Representation in the Feature Storytelling” Paper to the 15th Nordic Conference on Media and Communication Research, Reykjavik.

Eide, K. (1992): “The Future of European Education as Seen from the North” *Comparative Education* 28(1): 9-17.

El-Cherkeh, Tanja, Stirbu, Elena, Lazarois, Sebastian & Dragos Radu (2004): “EU-Enlargement, Migration and Trafficking in Women: The Case of South Eastern Europe.” Paper as Part of HWWA-Report 247, Hamburgisches Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv (HWWA),Hamburg Institute of International Economics.

Ellefsen, Birgitte. (2007): *Menneskehandel i Norge. Barnevernets Samarbeid med Politiet i Menneskehandelsaker*.Oslo, Politidirektoratet.

Entman, Robert M. (1993): “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.”, in *Journal of Communication* 43 (4): 51-8.

Frostating lagmannsrett, 20.09.2005, 05-071379AST-FROS

Frønes Ivar.(1998): *Den Norske Barndommen*. Oslo: Cappelen Akademisk Forlag.

-
- Gayle R., Avant & Karen, Patrick Knutsen (1993): "Understanding Cultural Differences: Janteloven and Social Conformity in Norway." in *ETC: A Review of Genreal Semantics*, Vol. 50. Oslo.
- Geelmuyden, Niels Chr. (1993): "*Det Verdiløse Samfunn*" *Kjempers Ødeland*. Oslo: Huitfeldt Forlag, A.S.
- GIFT (2008): *Norway at the UN*. Norwegian Embassy of Austra, 26-03-2008. – URL: <http://www.norwegen.or.at/united-nations-vienna-norway/norwayUN/UN.GIFT.htm>
- Gitlin, Todd. (1980): *The Whole World's Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley, CA, Los Angeles, CA & London, U.K.: University of California Press.
- Gullestad Marianne.(2002): "Invisible Fences: Egalitarianism, Nationalism and Racism." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2002;8 (1):45–63, 2002, also available in digital version:
http://www.samfunnsforskning.no/files/file19063_t_2002_74.pdf
- Gullestad, Marianne. (1997): "Home, Local Community and Nation". *Focaal* 30:1, 39-60.
- Hackett, R.A.(1984): "Decline of a Paradigm: Bias and Selectivity in News Media Studies." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 1-14.
- Hansen, Jon-Inge, Fridtjof Nygaard & Andreas Arnseth (2005, November 29): *Kjøper Svart*, in *VG* : 12.
- Harris, John and Søren Holm. (2003): "Abortion". LaFollette, Hugh (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of Practical Ethics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hay, Denys. (1968): *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea*, 2nd ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

-
- Hegna, K. & W. Pedersen.(2002): Sex for Overlevelse eller Skyggebilder av Kjærelighet. Ungdom under 18 år som Selger Seksuelle Tjenester. NOVA Rapport 5.
- Hellevik, Ottar.(2003): "Economy, Values and Happiness in Norway". *Journal of Happiness Studies, Springer Netherlands*, Issue Volume 4(3) September: 243-283.
- Håbjøgg, Ane. (2005, November 29): Et Hav av Forskjell, in VG: 7.
- Ighanian, Catherine Gonsholt. (2008, March 30): Ricky Martin Møtte Sex-Ofre, in VG [online] -URL: <http://www.vg.no/pub/vgart.hbs?artid=513635>
- ILO (2000): *Convention Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor*, Article 2, ILO, No. 182.
- ILO (2002): "Forced Labour, Child Labour, And Human Trafficking in Europe: An ILO Perspective." Technical paper for the EU/IOM STOP Programme at European Conference on Preventing and Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, Brussels, Belgium, September 18-20.
- ILO (2005): *A Global Alliance Against Forced Labor, Global Report under the Follow-up to the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work*. Geneva.
- IOM (2000): *Trafficking in Migrants: IOM Policies and Responses*. -URL: <http://www.iom.int>
- Jacobson, K. & Landau, L.(2003): *Researching Refugees, Some Methodological and Ethical Considerations in Social Science and Forced Migration*, Geneva: UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Unit.
- Jensen Klaus Bruhn. (1995): *The Social Semiotics of Mass Communication*. London: Sage.
- Johansen, Raymond. (2007): *Democracy and Diversity, International IDEA's Round Table*. June.12th.-URL:

http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/ud/about_mfa/Other-political-staff/State-Secretary-Raymond-Johansen/Speeches-and-articles/2007/Democracy-and-Diversity.html?id=472489

Kanavin, Guri Emilie & Tove Pedersen. (2007): *Verktøy for identifisering av Ofre for Menneskehandel*, Helsekontoret for Asylsøkere, Hvalstad.

Kasperson, Jeanne X., Roger E. Kasperson, Mimi Berberian, Lu Ann Pacenka (2005): *The Social Contours of Risk: Volume 1-2*. Earthscan.

Kirkens Nødhjelp. (2005): "Marerittet: Tirana – Oslo tur/retur". [online].-URL: <http://www.nca.no/article/view/4283>

Klassekampen (2005, December 1): Avhører kinesiske barn, in *Klassekampen*: 4.

Klassekampen.no (2008): Om oss. [online].-URL: http://klassekampen.no/om_oss. (retrieved on 3 April 2008).

Kleppe, Inger Lise. (2004, June 27): Advarer mot Kriminalisering av Kjøp av Sex, in *VG*: 40.

Knoff, Hanna.(2003): *Politics and Law Intertwined: Unaccompanied Minors Seeking Asylum Creating Challenges for Norway*. Master Thesis of Arts in the Theory and Practice of Human Rights, University of Oslo.

Kohli, K.S. Ravi. (2007): *Social Work with Unaccompanied Asylum-seeking Children*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York.

Kringstad, Hans. (2005, March 12): Ble Leid Ut til Sex-Fester, in *VG* [online].-URL: <http://www.vg.no/pub/vgart.hbs?artid=270023>

Kristofersen, Ove. (1992): *Unge Flyktninger i Norge, 50 års Erfaring*. Oslo: Kommuneforlaget AS.

Kuklinski, H.James, Guirk, P.J., Schwieder David, & Robert Rich. (1998): "Just the Facts, Ma'am", *Political Facts and Public Opinion.* Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol 560 (Nov., 1998):143-154.

Landrø, Magnhild. (2008): "Barn Må Få Vokse Opp i Trygghet." *Familien*. No. 5:10-11.

Larsen, Camilla Jordheim.& Willy Pedersen. (2005): Bytte, Kjærlighet, Overgrep, Seksualitet Blant Ungdom i Randsonen. NOVA Rapport 10/05.

Larsen, Jon Martin. (2008, April 24): De Som Ikke Synes, in *Dagavisen* [online]. -URL: <http://www.dagsavisen.no/innenriks/article345335.ece>

Lehti, Martti. (2003): *Trafficking in Women and Children in Europe*. The European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control. Helsinki.

Leira, Halvard (ed.), Axel Borchgrevink, Nina Græger, Arne Melchior, Eli Stamnes, Indra Øverland (2007): *Norske Selvbilder og Norsk Utenrikspolitikk*. NUPI.

Lemke, J.L. (2008): "Analysing Verbal Data: Principles, Methods, and Problems." in K. Tobin & B Fraser, (ed.). *International Handbook of Science Education*. -URL: <http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/education/jlemke/papers/handbook.htm>

Martens, Jonathan, Maciej 'Mac' Pieczkowski & Bernadette van Vuuren-Smyth. (2003): *Seduction, Sale & Slavery: Trafficking in Women & Children For Sexual Exploitation in Southern Africa, 3rd Edition*, IOM, Regional Office for Southern Africa, South Africa.

Martinson, M. Floyd. (1992): *Growing up in Norway, 800 to 1990*. US: Southern Illinois Univesity Press.

Matthews, G. B. (1998). "Socrates's Children" in S. M. Turner and G. B. Matthews (eds.), *The Philosopher's Child: Critical Essays in the Western Tradition*. Rochester, MN: University of Rochester Press.

McQuail, Dennis & Karen Siune. (ed.) (1998): *Media Policy: Convergence, Concentration and Commerce*. London: Sage.

Nevala, S. & K. Aromå (ed.) (2004): *Organized Crime, Trafficking, Drugs: Selected papers presented at the Annual Conference of the European Society of Criminology*. European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, Finland.

NGO Group for the Convention of the Rights of the Child, Subgroup Against the Sexual Exploitation of Children (2005): *Semantics or Substance? Towards A Shared Understanding of Terminology Referring to The Sexual Abuse and Exploitation of Children*. January 2005.

Nielsen, Hilde. (2007): "Til Jordens Ender. Om Hvordan Verden Ble Brakt til Norge og Omvendt på Etnografiske Utstillinger i Misjonsregi." *Norsk Antropologisk Tidsskrift*, Vol. 18 (3-4): 196-214.

Norwegian Ministry of Children and Equality (2007): *Act No. 7 of 8 April 1981 Relating to Children and Parents (The Children Act)*, 06-02-2007. –URL: <http://www.regjeringen.no/en/doc/Laws/Acts/The-Children-Act.html?id=448389>

Norwegian Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs (2008): "Media in Norway". [online].–URL: http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/kkd/dok/veiledninger_brosjyrer/1996/Media-in-Norway.html?id=419207 (retrieved on 11 May 2008).

Norwegian Ministry of Justice. (2008): *Mindreårige som Forsvinner fra Mottak – Forebygging og Opplæring*, Ministry of Justice, April 2008, Oslo.

Norwegian Parliament ("Stortinget") (2008): *Innst. S. nr. 90 (2007-2008): Innstilling fra Justiskomiteen om Samtykke til Ratifikasjon av Europarådets Konvensjon 3. mai 2005 om Tiltak mot Menneskehandel*. [online].-URL: <http://www.stortinget.no/inns/2007/200708-090-001.html> (retrieved on 21 May 2008).

NSD (2008): *Norwegian Social Science Data Services*. [online]. –URL: <http://www.nsd.uib.no/nsd/english/index.html>

Parenti, Michael. (1993): *Inventing Reality. The Politics of News Media*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Pilger, John. (1998): *Hidden Agendas*. London: Vintage.

PRESS (2004): *Enslige Mindreårige Asylsøkere som Forsvinner. Et Lite Hefte om Forsvinninger*.Oslo.

Protection Project (2004):“Global Trafficking in Women: Modern Day Slavery and the Movement to End it” International Women’s Day Address at Bradley University. March 8th, US. –URL: www.protectionproject.org.

Rank, H. (1976): “Teaching about Public Persuasion” in Daniel Dietrich (ed.), *Teaching about Doublespeak*. Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English.

Rawls, John. (1971). *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Reese, Stephen.(2001): *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and our Understanding of the Social World*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Renland, Astrid. (2001): *Trafficking of Children and Minors to Norway for Sexual Exploitation*. ECPAT, Norway/Save the Children Norway.

Rossi, A..(2003): “Trafficking in Human Beings, Especially Women and Children, in Africa.” Innocenti Insight. Florence, September 2003.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. (1762/1979). *Émilie, or On Education*. Introduction, Translation and Notes by A. Bloom. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Ruggiero, Vincenzo. (1997): “Trafficking in Human Beings: Slaves in Contemporary Europe”. *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*. 25: 231-244.

Ryste, Camilla. (2005, September 7): Kynisk Kjendisakjon, in *VG* [online].– URL: <http://www.vg.no/pub/vgart.hbs?artid=107224>

Ryste, Camilla. (2007, April 18): Må Slås Knallhardt Ned På, in VG [online].–
URL: <http://www.vg.no/pub/vgart.hbs?artid=171823>

Saetersdal, Barbro & Monica Dalen (1991): "Norway: Intercountry Adoptions in a Homogeneous Country", in Altstein, Howard & Rita James Simon (eds.): *Intercountry Adoption: A Multinational Perspective*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Said, Edward W. (1979): *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House.

Save the Children Norway (2007): Website Front Page. [online]. http://child-abuse.com/childhouse/redd_barna/#oninternet, 27-08-2007.

SCEP (2006): *Save the Children/Separated Children in Europe Programme*. [online]. www.savethechildren.net/separated_children/publications/reports/ResponsetoWeberReport.pdf. See also more about separated children at www.savethechildren.net/separated_children/publications/reports/TrainingPPT.pdf

SFGSN (1998): *Transational Training Seminar on the Trafficking in Women Network Women's Program of the Soros Foundation and Global Survival Network* (coordinators). Budapest. June 1998.

Simons, Herbert W. (2001): *Persuasion in Society*. California: Sage.

Skybak, Thale. (2005): *Handel med barn i Norge*, Intern rapport. Redd Barna.

Smolin, David M. (2005): *Child Laundering: How the Inter-country Adoption System Legitimizes and Incentivizes the Practices of Buying, Trafficking, Kidnapping, and Stealing Children*. Cumberland Law School, Samford University. –URL: <http://law.bepress.com/expresso/eps/749>

Stalsberg, Linn. (2004, April 26): Frykter Barne-trafficking, in *Klassekampen* [online].–URL: http://www.klassekampen.no/11429/mod_article/item/null

Statistics Norway (2001): *Population, by Age, Immigrant Populations' Country and Type of Household. Numbers and per cent.* [online].–URL:

<http://www.ssb.no/emner/02/01/fobinv/tab-2002-09-09-02-en.html>

Statistics Norway (2006a): *Fewer Adopted from China.* [online].–URL:

http://www.ssb.no/english/subjects/02/02/10/adopsjon_en/

Statistics Norway (2008): *Demographical Picture of Norwegian Children.*

[online]. –URL: http://www.ssb.no/emner/02/barn_og_unge/2008/bef/

Statistics Norway, SSB (2006b): *Færre Aktive i Organisasjonslivet.* [online]. -

URL: <http://www.ssb.no/emner/07/02/10/orgakt/>

Stokke, Olga. (2008, February 6): - Stempler asylbarn, in *Aftenposten.* [online].-

URL: <http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/article2240859.ece>

Svedin, C. G. & G. Pribe. (2004): *Ungdomars Sexualitet-attityder och Erfarenheter. Att Sälja Sex Mot Erstatning/Pengar.* Avdelingen for Barn- och Ungdomspsykiatri OPUS. Institutionen Lund.

Tesser, A., & Leone, C. K. (1977): “Cognitive Schemas and Thought as Determinants of Attitude Changes” *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 13, 340-356.

Trondheim Tingrett (2005): “Hallikdom” from Trondheim Tingrett. Sentenced 01.04.2005, Case number: 05-1162-MED-TRON

Tuchmann Gaye. (1978):*Making News.* New York: Free Press.

Tyldum, G., Marianne, Tveit. & Annette, Brunovskis. (2005): Taking Stock, A Review of the Existing research on Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation. Fafo-report 493, Oslo.

Tyuryukanova, Elena. (2003): *Labour Migration in the Context of Globalization.*

Institute of the Population Social-Economic Problems RAS. Moscow. [online]. –

URL:

http://www.childtrafficking.com/Docs/tyuryukanova_global_migration.pdf

UDI (2008): "Statistikk" [online].-URL: <http://www.udi.no>. (retrieved on 15 February 2008).

UN (1994): *Traffic in Women and Girls*. General Assembly. Resolution 49/166. Adopted at the 94th plenary meeting. December 23rd.

UN (2000): "Trafficking in Women and Girls" Report of the Secretary General, United Nations, Geneva, 2000.

UN (2004): *Status of Ratifications of the Principal International Human Rights Treaties*, Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 06-09-2004. [online]. -URL: <http://www.unhchr.ch/pdf/report.pdf>

UN Palermo Protocol (2001): *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime*. United Nations, Palermo.

UNICEF (2000): *A League Table of Child Poverty in Rich Nations*. UNICEF, Florence. [online]. -URL: <http://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/repcard1e.pdf>

UNICEF (2007): *The State of the World's Children 2007*.

UNICEF (2008): "Convention on the rights of the child." [online].-URL: <http://www.unicef.org/crc/>. (retrieved 11 May 2008).

US Department of State (2005): *Trafficking in Persons Report*. [online]. -URL: <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2005/>

US Department of State (2006): *Trafficking in Persons Report*. [online]. -URL: <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2006/>

US Department of State (2008): *Trafficking in Persons Report*. [online]. -URL: <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2008/>

Van Dijk, Teun. (1991): *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge

Van Dijk, Teun. (1993): *Elite Discourse and Racism*. London: Sage

Vatnedal, Stian. (2007a): HVISK-Prosjektet, Oppsummering for Siste Halvår, 25-09-2007, Oslo. [online]. -URL:

<http://www.reddbarna.no/default.asp?HMFILE=89728>

Veiden, Pål (2008, May 9-15): Østerrike – Norge 1-1, in *Morgenbladet*: 11.

VG (2006, December 19): Seksuelt Barnemisbruk Øker i Sverige, in *VG* [online].

1 –URL:<http://www.vg.no/pub/vgart.hbs?artid=144520>

VG (2007, April 21): Leter Etter Ofrene for Overgrep i Thailand, in *VG* [online].

-URL:<http://www.vg.no/pub/skrivervennlig.hbs?artid=1722237>

VG Nett (2001, July 7): Hjelpearbeider avhørt om barnehandel i Kosovo, in *VG*

[online]. -URL: <http://www.vg.no/pub/vgart.hbs?artid=1516002>

VG Nett (2005, November 27): Kinesere tatt for barne-handel, in *VG* [online]. –

URL: <http://www.vg.no/pub/vgart.hbs?artid=109957>

VG Nett (2008): Verdens Gang [online].-URL:

<http://www.vg.no/vg/norway/vg.html>

Watzlawick, P., Weakland, J. & Fisch, R. (1974): *Change: Principles of Problem Formation and Problem Resolution*. Norton & Company, Inc.

White Peter. (2005): “Death, Disruption and the Moral Order: Narrative Impulse in Mass-Media Hard-News Reporting” in Frances, Christie, J. R. Martin (eds.):

Genre and Institutions: Social Processes in the Workplace and School. London: Wellington House.

White R. Peter.(1998): *Telling Media Tales: The News Story as Rhetorics*.

Department of Linguistic, University of Sydney. –

URL:http://www.journalese.org/1_preface_telling-media-tales.pdf

Wikan, Unni. (1995): *Mot en ny norsk underklasse*. Oslo: Gyldendal

Wikan, Unni. (1999): “Culture: A New Concept of Race.” in *Social Anthropology* 7, 1, 57-64.

Wikan, Unni. (2002): *Generous Betrayal: Politics of Culture in the New Europe*. University of Chicago Press.

Wyness, Michael G. (2000): *Contesting Childhood*. London: Falmer Press.

Zaman Kadafi, Andreas Arnseth, Anne Stine Sæthe, Karin Beate Nøsterud. (2004, March 20): Hvert år blir 4 millioner mennesker solgt på sex-markedet verden over, in *VG*: 34.

Ziolkowski, Eric. (2001): *Evil Children in Religion, Literature and Art*. New York: Palgrave.

Øia, Tormod. (2005): *Innvandrerungdom – Integrasjon og Marginalisering*. NOVA Report, Vol.20/05, c2005. Oslo.

Speech, Interviews & Seminar Notes

Brustad, Sylvia. (2008, May 21): Tale fra statsråd Brustad – Legeforeningens landsstyremøte 2008. [online]. – URL: <http://www.regjeringen.no/nb.html?id=512176> (retrieved on 6 June 2008)

Costa, Antonio Maria. (2008, February 27): Speeches at Seminar “Transnational Organized Crime: The Dark Side of Globalization, The Case of Human Trafficking.”, as part of the Programme Refleks Open Seminar, Organized by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo.

Ellefsen, Birgitte: Senior Consultant (Seniorrådgiver) of Police Directorate & Project leader of KOM. Oslo: Feb. 29. 2008.

Haug, Kristin: Journalist from Klassekampen. Oslo: Feb. 6. 2008.

Kanavin, Guri Emilie ‘Emmy’: Health Director (Helse-søster) at Hvalstad Asylum Receiving Center. Oslo: Feb.6. 2008.

Presto, Thomas : Former President of African Youth in Norway. Oslo: Feb.6. 2008.

Tveit, Marianne: Senior Researcher at FAFO. Oslo: November 27. 2007.

Witoszek, Nina. (2007): Lecture Notes of course SUM 4012: Cross-cultural perspectives of the Environment. SUM 4th floor, Oslo.

Vatnedal, Stian: Project Leader of HVISK, Save the Children Norway. Oslo: November. 22. 2007.

Appendix 1: List of Informants

In the course of my fieldwork I conducted 14 in-depth interviews with 14 informants. The list of informants below is incomplete, due to some of the informants preferred to remain anonymous. I also kept contact with some of these informants through email and telephone, and I use some of the email and telephone contents in the thesis as well.

Aune, Anne Bente, Director of a Private Child Home for the Child Institution (Barnevernet). The rescued Chinese children in one of the two case studies in this thesis lived at this Child Home after they were rescued from Sweden. Dec. 06. 2007.

Costa, Antonio Maria, UNODC, Executive Director. Oslo: Feb. 27. 2008.

Ellefsen, Birgitte, Politidirektoratet, Project Director of KOM. Oslo: Feb. 29. 2008.

Misha, Glenny, British Journalist and Author on Child Trafficking Topic. Oslo: Feb. 27. 2008

Haug, Kristin, Journalist, Klassekampen. Feb. 6th 2008

Kanavin, Guri Emilie ‘Emmy’, Hvalstad Asylum Receiving Center, Health Director (Helse-søster). Kanavin had worked with the Chinese children who disappeared from the asylum center, and she has developed an identification tool based on interviews with more than 700 unaccompanied asylum children. Feb.6th, 2008.

Killengren, Ingelin, National Police Directorate, Police Commissioner. Oslo: Feb. 27. 2008

Langehaug, Ellen Beate, CARE Norway, Programme Coordinator Asia and the Balkans. Oslo: Feb. 27. 2008.

Nielsen, Maya Brenna, ROSA-Help, Information Director. Feb. 4. 2008.

Tveit, Marianne, FAFO, Researcher in the field of Prostitution, Trafficked Women in Norway, and Methodology Development of Human Trafficking

Vatnedal, Stian, Save the Children, Norway. Project Director of HVISK.

Presto, Thomas. Former president of African Youth in Norway. Oslo: Feb.6th 2008

Anonymous Informant:

Informant #1, Oslo: March 7. 2008.

Informant #2, Oslo: March 3. 2008.

Appendix 2: Survey Questionnaire

You are invited to participate in a research project on collecting the public opinions of children and child trafficking in Norway. The project is part of a Master thesis production, conducted by Lucia Liu Yang, from the Senter for Utvikling og Miljø (SUM), University of Oslo. The research will help me understanding how people in Norway perceive immigrant children, Norwegian children, the problem of child trafficking, and the way the phenomenon is presented in media.

All you need to do is to complete this short questionnaire, which should take approximately 15 minutes to complete. Your participation is of course voluntary. Responses will be completely anonymous; your name will not appear anywhere on the survey. If you complete and return the questionnaire, we will take it as your consent to participate to an important study.

Please keep this letter for your record. If you have any question regarding the research, contact

Lucia Liu Yang
Master student
Senter for Utvikling og Miljø (SUM)
Center for Development and the Environment
Email: liu.yang@sum.uio.no
Mobil: 4588 6882

Your questionnaire number: _____

Thank you again for your help.

I. About You

Gender Female/Male

Occupation _____

Year of Birth _____

First Language _____

Do you have children?

- A. Yes B. No

How often do you read VG? (*Choose one answer*)

- A. Everyday
 B. 4-6 times/week
 C. 1-3 times/week
 D. Never

How often do you read Klassekampen? (*Choose one answer*)

- A. Everyday
 B. 4-6 times/week
 C. 1-3 times/week
 D. Never

Do you also read other newspapers? Please specify _____

II. About Children

1. A child is a person under _____ year old.

2. Talking about 'Norwegian children', you refer to children:

(Choose all that apply. If none of the options apply to you, please leave the question blank.)

- A. who are born in Norway regardless of the parents' ethnicity
 B. who have at least one parent being ethnic Norwegian, regardless of where the children are born
 C. who have Norwegian citizenships no matter where they live
 D. who live in Norway no matter what citizenships they have

3. Talking about 'immigrant children in Norway', you refer to children:

(Choose all that apply. If none of the options apply to you, please leave the question blank.)

- A. who have at least one parent being non-ethnic Norwegian, regardless of where the children are born
 B. who live in Norway but do not have Norwegian citizenship
 C. who come to Norway as refugees or asylum seekers
 D. who has either parent or grandparent born abroad
 E. who are not born in Norway, regardless of their citizenship

III. About Child Trafficking4. In your definition of child trafficking, what are the keywords? (*Choose max. 3 answers*)

- A. kidnapping
 B. child prostitution
 C. use of violence
 D. cross-border transfer and transportation of children
 E. control
 F. exploitation
 G. Other (please explain) _____

5. Yes or No? (Please circle your answer)

Have you ever heard of Norwegian children involved in child trafficking? Yes. No

Do you think it is possible that there are Norwegian children involved in child trafficking?
Yes. No.

Do you think the media will report it, if there were Norwegian children involved in child trafficking?
Yes. No.

6. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement.

(Please mark your answer with a cross)

Statement	Completely Agree	Partially Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Partially Disagree	Completely Disagree
I think compared to Norwegian children, immigrant children receive <u>less</u> attention from the Norwegian society regarding the protection of their rights.					
I think compared to immigrant children, Norwegian children are <u>more</u> likely being victims of child trafficking in Norway.					
I think compared to girls, boys are <u>more</u> likely being victims of child trafficking in Norway.					
I think it is appropriate that the media talks about child trafficking on May 17 th , the Norwegian National Day. (Please explain your choice at 6A)					
I think that to celebrate the Norwegian national identities is the most important meaning of barnetoget. (Please explain your choice at 6B)					

6A. Please explain your answer:

6B Please explain your answer:

7. Do you think child trafficking exists in Norway? (Please circle your answers).

A. The phenomenon does not exist
(Please go to Q.7.1)

B. The phenomenon does exist
(Please go to Q. 7.2)

7.1 Because: (max. 3 answers)

- A. Norway is an equal and safe society where kidnapping of children is rare.
 - B. Norway is a rich country and child trafficking is about poverty.
 - C. Norwegian society cannot tolerate such crime
 - D. Norwegian parents are careful and responsible
 - E. Children in Norway are equally protected by the law and the government
 - F. I've never heard of children being trafficked in Norway
 - G. Other (Please explain)
-

7.2 Because: (max. 3 answers)

- A. Children in Norway can be potential victims of child trafficking.
 - B. Norway is a rich country that attracts criminals
 - C. The demand for these children exist in the society
 - D. There are more and more immigrants and refugees
 - E. Children in general in Norway are not equally protected by the law and the government
 - F. I've heard of children being trafficked in Norway
 - G. Other (Please explain)
-

8. In your opinion, when would be the most suitable occasion to bring up the topic of child trafficking for public discussion in Norway? (Please circle your answer, max. 3)

- A. when discussing Norwegian children's rights'
- B. when discussing immigrant children's rights
- C. International Children's Day (June 1st)
- D. Barnetoget, on 17th May, the Norwegian National Day
- E. My suggestion_____

9. Do you think child trafficking is the same as child smuggling?

- A. Yes, they are the same thing.
- B. No. They are different. (Please answer 9A)

9A. To me, the difference between child trafficking and child smuggling is that:
0

10. Do you think child trafficking is the same as child prostitution?

- A. Yes, they are the same.
- B. No. They are different (Please answer 10A)

10A. To me, the difference between child trafficking and child prostitution is that:

11. Of the following stories, which do you conceive as child trafficking?

(Please circle your answer and explain)

- X is 16 years old and from a normal family. He sometimes finds 'clients' who would like to pay him for having a sexual relationship with him.

Yes. No

Explain your answer: _____

- Y is a 16 year-old from China who wants to get a job in Norway because he heard that there are ample job opportunities in Norway. He paid an agent helping him get tickets and fake documents. When he arrives in the country alone, he does what the agent told him: first seek asylum, and when he finds a job on the 'black market', he disappears from the asylum centre.

Yes. No

Explain your answer: _____

- M is a 13 year-old from Russia. One job agent helped M to get the necessary documents by faking his age to 17, and introduced him to work on Norwegian strawberry farms in summer. Half of his salary went to the agent, as fees to keep M's secret.

Yes. No

Explain your answer: _____

- L was 1 year old when her parents sold her to a man due to extreme poverty. Later this man sold L to a couple for adoption. L lived happily ever after.

Yes. No

Explain your answer: _____

- Z is a 17 year old Norwegian girl from a middle-class family. She falls in love with a 25 year old man who introduces her to take nude photos for pornography websites. Sometimes her boyfriend buys her train/plane tickets and sends her to meet the customers. Instead of money, the girl receives drug and cigarettes.

Yes. No

Explain your answer: _____

- W is a 14 year old who sings and begs in the street with his brothers and father. Every day each of them must give kr.150 to a Norwegian who fixes their visa and offers them accommodation, food and bus tickets to travel to other countries to beg.

Yes. No

Explain your answer: _____

12. Talking about exploitations of child trafficking victims, have you ever heard of the following forms of exploitation taking place in Norway? Do you think they actually go on in Norway? And do you think the media would actually report on such exploitations if they existed? (Please mark you answer with a cross)

Forms of Exploitation	Have you heard that it exists in Norway?			Do you think it exists in Norway?			Do you think they media will report it if it exists?		
	Yes	Not sure	No	Yes	Not Sure	No	Yes	Not Sure	No
Adult men having sex with boys									
Adult men having sex with girls									
Adult women having sex with boys									
Adult women having sex with girls									
Bestiality between children and animals									
Child pornography									
Street children begging									
Child thieves									
Remove of organs (organ harvesting)									
Illegal Adoption									
Buying products made by child labour consciously									
Buying products made by child labour unconsciously									
Norwegians going abroad to have sex with children									

Many thanks for taking the time to answer! 😊

Appendix 3: Composition of Survey Sample

Age

Year of Birth	Age Range (years)	Number of Respondents	Percentage
1990-1995	13-18	2	4%
1980-1989	23-28	21	44%
1970-1979	33-38	9	19%
1950-1959	53-58	10	21%
1940-1949	63-68	5	10%
1920-1929	83-88	1	2%

The youngest respondent was 17 years old, while the eldest 81 years old.

Gender: 42% (20) male, 58% (28) female

Occupation (I include students, people on pensions and unemployed in this list also)

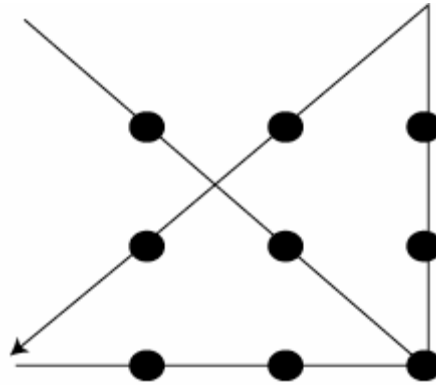
- University students (8)
- Sales (5)
- IT Consultant (4)
- Government Consultant (4)
- Unemployed (3)
- Company manager (3)
- Retired (3)
- High school students (2)
- Politician (2)
- Journalist (2)
- Translator (2)
- Priest (2)
- Prison Officer (2)

- Kindergarten teacher (1)
- Doctor (1)
- Dentist (1)
- Military officer (1)
- Mathematic Professor (1)
- Train Conductor (1)

First Language of respondents (I want to include people with immigrant backgrounds into this survey)

36 respondents have Norwegian as first language, while 12 have other first languages, including English (2), Somalia (5), German (2), Hebrew (1), Russian (1), and Japanese (1).

Appendix 4: Solution to the Nine-Dot Problem



Appendix 5: Tables of wording and origins

Childrens/offenders' region of origins compared to words used in the report						
Words used in the report	South American	African	East-European	Gypsy	Asian	SUM
About the children:						
"frivillig" ("voluntarily"/"willingly")	0	2	9	2	4	17
"sårbar" ("vulnerable")	0	0	2	0	8	10
"fattig" ("poor")	2	3	9	2	10	26
About the offenders:						
"kidnapping"	1	1	2	0	4	8
"vold" ("violence")	0	0	3	0	3	6
"kynisk" ("cynical")	1	1	1	2	6	11
"grotesk" ("grotesque")	1	0	0	0	3	4
"mafia"/"organisert" ("mafia"/"organized")	0	0	4	1	3	8
"slaveri" ("slavery")	0	0	4	0	7	11

Childrens/offenders' region of origins compared to words used in the report (showing wording as a percent of the total number of reports from each origin)						
Wording used in % of reports from origin	South American	African	East-European	Gypsy	Asian	Average
About the children:						
"frivillig" ("voluntarily"/"willingly")	0	28,57	26,47	28,57	8,33	16,83
"sårbar" ("vulnerable")	0	0	5,88	0	16,67	9,9
"fattig" ("poor")	40	42,86	26,47	28,57	20,83	25,74
About the offenders:						
"kidnapping"	20	14,29	5,88	0	8,33	7,92
"vold" ("violence")	0	0	8,82	0	6,25	5,94
"kynisk" ("cynical")	20	14,29	2,94	28,57	12,5	10,89
"grotesk" ("grotesque")	20	0	0	0	6,25	3,96
"mafia"/"organisert" ("mafia"/"organized")	0	0	11,76	14,29	6,25	7,92
"slaveri" ("slavery")	0	0	11,76	0	14,58	10,89
SUM	100	100	100	100	100	100

Childrens/offenders' region of origins compared to words used in the report (comparing the wording of each origin with the average number of reports who use that wording)						
Difference in % of each origin from average wording of all reports	South American	African	East-European	Gypsy	Asian	Average
About the children						
"frivillig" ("voluntarily"/"willingly")	-16,83	11,74	9,64	11,74	-8,5	16,83
"sårbar" ("vulnerable")	-9,9	-9,9	-4,02	-9,9	6,77	7,92
"fattig" ("poor")	14,26	17,11	0,73	2,83	-4,91	7,92
About the offenders						
"kidnapping"	12,08	6,36	-2,04	-7,92	0,41	25,74
"vold" ("violence")	-5,94	-5,94	2,88	-5,94	0,31	5,94
"kynisk" ("cynical")	9,11	3,39	-7,95	17,68	1,61	10,89
"grotesk" ("grotesque")	16,04	-3,96	-3,96	-3,96	2,29	9,9
"mafia"/"organisert" ("mafia"/"organized")	-7,92	-7,92	3,84	6,36	-1,67	3,96
"slaveri" ("slavery")	-10,89	-10,89	0,87	-10,89	3,69	10,89

Appendix 6: VG Front Page, Nov. 29, 2005

Her finner du barnas
**FAVORITT-
JULEGAVER
BILLIGST** ● SIDE
24 og 25

**VARME-
TEPPE
TOK FYR**

Markus (3) reddet
av pappa

VG ● SIDE 4

**Forsvant fra Moss
- politiet frykter:**

**LYN-DIREKTØREN
ETTER-
FORSKES
av politiet**

**TATT
av menneske-
handlere**

BORTE: Wen Long Chen (13)

BORTE: Jianguang Li (15)

Morgan
Andersen

● SPORTE
SIDE 1

1 052960 808472 ● SIDE 6 og 7

Appendix 7: Useful Web Links

Digital Library of Child Trafficking

www.childtrafficking.com

Anti-Slavery International

<http://www.antislavery.org>

Children's Campaign

<http://www.chidrencampaign.org>

Child Wise

<http://www.childwise.net>

ECPAT International

<http://www.ecpat.net>

Focal Point Programme of the NGO Group for the CRC

<http://www.crin.org/NGOGroupforCRC/>

Global March against Child Labour

<http://globalmarch.org/index.html>

Human Rights Watch

<http://www.hrw.org>

International Labour Organization

<http://www.ilo.int>

International Organization for Migration

<http://www.iom.int/>

Inter-Parliamentary Union

<http://www.ipu.org/>

Save the Children

<http://www.savethechildren.org>

UNICEF

<http://www.unicef.org>

UNESCO: Sexual Abuse of Children , Child Pornography and Paedophilia on the Internet

http://www.unesco.org/webworld/child_screen/conf_index.html

UN High Commissions for Human Rights

<http://193.194.138.190/html/intlinst.htm>

World Congress against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

<http://www.csecworldcongress.org>

World Health Organization: Department of Gender, Women and Health

<http://www.who.int/gender/en>

World Vision International

<http://www.wvi.org>