Research Report:
Children and Adolescents Engaged in Street Work in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia: Mobilities, Vulnerabilities and Resiliencies
Title: Children and Adolescents Engaged in Street Work in FYROM: Mobilities, Vulnerabilities and Resiliencies

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RESEARCH REPORT

CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS ENGAGED IN STREET WORK IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA: MOBILITIES, VULNERABILITIES AND RESILIENCIES

Zana Vathi
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1. INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH AND THE MAIN RESEARCH FINDINGS

This report looks at the intersections of child migration, street children and child labour with the aim of identifying issues and possibilities of improving the protection of children who experience migration and mobility – both transnationally and internally – in FYROM. The research presented here aims to expand the knowledge on the ‘categories’ of child migrants, street children and child labour as part of a major initiative – the Mario project ‘Protect Children on the Move’ [http://marioproject.org]. The main objectives of the umbrella research are:

- To identify emerging Central and South East European (C/SEE) children’s migration patterns.
- To offer an in-depth understanding of the vulnerability factors that affect C/SEE migrant children during their migration path and once they have settled in.
- To analyze the adequacy and effectiveness of government responses to the protection needs of C/SEE migrant children.
- To support Mario partners’ advocacy efforts with evidence-based recommendations on the improvement of the transnational protection of C/SEE migrant children.

For the purposes of the Mario project, a ‘child on the move’ shall be understood as including the following categories of children:

- Migrant children (internal or across borders; legal or illegal; accompanied or not)
- Asylum seeking and refugee children
- Trafficked children
- Internally displaced children or children outside a protective environment.

Therefore, the child should already have moved, may also be a returned migrant, is moving or/and is susceptible to impending migration. The child should possess the citizenship or habitual residence in one of the Central and South Eastern European countries. Migration may be either internal or international.

Child migration and mobility across the C/SEE and the Western Balkans is not an unknown phenomenon to organizations working with children (Cazenave 2012; Invernizzi 2011). A report by Open Gate/La Strada (2014) referred to official data from the Institute for Social Affairs and reported that there are 142 children on the streets of the main cities in FYROM. This number consists of 70 males and 72 females, and almost half of these children were found in Skopje (69). An important finding reported is that many children found in these cities originate from other cities and villages, testifying to the complex mobility patterns of street workers in FYROM and further afield in the C/SEE region.

FYROM has been an emigration country for the past few decades (Government of FYROM 2008). However, recent statistics show that migrants from various parts of the world migrating into FYROM are recorded in official statistics. Unaccompanied minors feature prominently among these migrants, not least because of the specific importance and the
closer monitoring of this group from governmental and non-governmental organizations (Whitehead and Hashim 2005). Open Gate/La Strada (2014) reports that the main countries of origin for immigrants in FYROM are Afghanistan (45%); Somalia (10%); Pakistan (8%). Other countries of origin include a diverse group of countries, such as Albania, Mali, Sierra Leone, Bangladesh, etc. Nonetheless, there are other, more ‘hidden’ groups of internal and international migrants and mobile adults and children, which official statistics may overlook. These latter groups, primarily consisting of adults and children of Roma, Egyptian and Ashkali (hereinafter referred to as ‘RAE’) origin, are the focus of this report which touches upon the migration and mobility patterns, street work dynamics and access and experiences of these groups with services in place in FYROM.

The findings on the movements of these groups show that children and caretakers were involved in transnational, internal and urban mobilities within the city (primarily Skopje). Most of these movements were organized in the form of family mobilities for the purpose of street work; however, these groups performed other forms of cross-border, in-country and urban mobilities for the purpose of family visits, medical treatment and trading. Instances of exploitation alongside these movements were picked up from the narratives of children, caretakers and more explicitly, from the narratives of key community members and stakeholders. These instances referred to trafficking for the purpose of begging and possibly sexual exploitation. However, most of the research findings relate to the experience of children and caretakers in terms of street work and the generation of income as part of their survival strategies.

In the majority of the cases, street work was a family project, despite the unequal power relations between parents/caretakers and children, and the instances of exploitations of children for the purpose of street work. To a large extent, street work activities were headed by the parents – mothers in a number of cases, since many families were headed by adult women who did not have a partner. Both caretakers and children were mostly doing ‘typical’ street work such as begging, windscreen cleaning and scavenging. Street work was for the purpose of securing the basic family needs; most of children and caretakers said that they were unable to save anything from their earnings. Both children and caretakers showed great willingness to take up any other type of work that they could be offered, such as different kinds of physical work, domestic and commercial cleaning, or work in manufacturing companies. However, despite high aspirations for occupational mobility, the cases of street workers doing other kinds of work were very limited and such employment did not have consistent patterns.

Indeed, in terms of welfare and wellbeing, a sense of deprivation and helplessness characterised the narratives of the children and caretakers interviewed for this research. Many of them lived in unsuitable accommodation and had various health issues. Children and caretakers live in conditions of precarity of different forms. A number of children and adolescents reported serious issues with domestic abuse, which, in turn, gave rise to high dissatisfaction and mental health problems.

Instances of exploitation of children by their parents for the purpose of street work – either through verbal or physical abuse or through the imposition of narcotic substances on the children – were also reported. This sense of domestic precarity was coupled with issues that children and caretakers experienced on the street. These issues varied from feared confrontation with institutions to issues with gangs and bands and the members of the general public. In these conditions, social support and socialisation is limited due to a general lack of resources and family problems, such as separation of partners and criminal offences committed by male adult members of the families.
Among children and caretakers a different sense and priority of needs was reported. In general, both groups expressed a variety of needs, depending on the extent of poverty and deprivation they were experiencing. However, caretakers were more focused on structural needs such as education and housing, whereas children were more focused on the day-to-day needs they or their family and close friends had. Despite various needs expressed, a good number of caretakers and children said that they have never interacted with, or received help or assistance from state institutions or non-governmental organizations. Those who had interacted with institutions had approached various ones, although a tense relationship was reported between the caretakers and children and state institutions due to sanctions put in place towards street workers and their families. Moreover, it appears that a well-developed framework on child protection is in place; however, there is a split between organizations and institutions that focus on local children and migrant children – both those who migrate internally within FYROM and those who have migrated from other countries. In general, this split reflects the understanding of policy-makers and service providers of the concept of ‘children on the move’ and that of ‘inclusiveness’.

The report ends with a section on policy recommendations which put the emphasis on the work needed at a national level that should focus on preventing marginalisation by analysing the source of vulnerability for certain groups and individuals. This work should take a transformative approach to social protection systems and measures (Sabates-Wheeler and Waite 2003). Specific measures could focus on relieving the effects of long-standing discrimination towards certain groups that are prominent among children and adults on the move that engage in street work, such as the RAE communities.
2. KEY CONCEPTS AND DEBATES¹

**Child migrants**

The experience of children in the context of migration has only recently come to the focus of attention of researchers and policy makers (Dobson 2009), despite children having always been part of human migration and consisting of a high number of migrants worldwide (UN 2013). A pioneering publication on child migration, the report by Whitehead and Hashim (2005) uncovered several inconsistencies and gaps in the way children were considered in migration research and policy-making. This report showed that often children do not appear separately from adults in migration statistics and reliable national data on child migration were exceedingly rare. There was a disparity in the way categories were used in different ways in different countries and statistics and a lack of consensus regarding terms and their operationalization. Most importantly, the lack of clear data complicated assessment of impact of migration on children’s health, as the effects on children are inferred from studies of households as a whole.

Whitehead and Hashim (2005) grouped children involved in migration into three groups: children who migrate autonomously, children who migrate with their families, and children who are left behind. Among these three categories, the first category of the unaccompanied minors has received most of the attention of policy-makers, overshadowing the issues that children who migrate with their families or those whose parents migrate, face. This is also a feature of policy-making on child migration in FYROM (OpenGate/La Strada 2014). Unaccompanied minors have been part of a broader discourse on security and migration, and have been identified as a source of anxiety for the receiving societies (Dobson 2009). Otherwise, children in the context of migration were typically seen as the ‘luggage’ of adults (Orellana et al 2001) and studies that look at children’s vulnerabilities, agency and resilience in the context of family migration are emerging only recently (e.g. Ní Laoire et al 2010; Vathi and Duci 2014).

**Street children**

Challenging the expectation of societies towards children and their conduct, street children have been often stigmatised and have been the target of programmes that aim restoration of the ‘public good’ (Berezina 2003). The general attitude towards street children is captured by Stephens (1995: 12):

‘Notions of street children as non- or anti-social beings, presumably without families or values of their own, have been used to legitimise radical programs to eliminate the menace of street children in their interests of the general public good. [...] Street children are a prime focus of fear and demands for more severe social controls in virtually every major urban centre around the world.’

¹ This report is one of the reports written in the framework of project Mario 2. This section on key concepts, therefore, replicates the counterpart in other reports, particularly Vathi (2014a) on street children in Kosovo.
2. KEY CONCEPTS AND DEBATES

The general definition of street children employed by practitioners is the UNICEF definition, which groups children into three groups: street living children, street working children, and children from street families. Whitehead and Hashim (2005) observed that such children could also be grouped in terms of their migration status. Among street children, some may have experienced international or internal migration and, therefore, may be homeless children. Other children, such as market children, could consist of local children who live with their families and do not qualify as child migrants. These categories are particularly relevant to the data presented in this report, since the majority of children and adolescents interviewed consisted of children who were mobile within or between cities, or children and adolescents who had migrated internally in FYROM.

The discourse on children and home links with societal expectations towards children who are perceived to live their life supervised within the home and family environment (Glauser 1990). Tendencies to move away from home or the protected environment would challenge the predominant ideas on childhood as characterised by fixity and immobility and children as vulnerable, innocent and lacking agency and resilience (James et al 1998).

Child labour

Child labour is generally understood as child work that entails harm and exploitation of the children. As a result, child labour is widely condemned in the Western world, although child labour in non-hazardous conditions in developing countries is increasingly seen as tolerable. According to the UN Convention for the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), Article 32:

‘States Parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child’s education, or to be harmful to the child’s health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.

States Parties shall take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to ensure the implementation of the present article. To this end, and having regard to the relevant provisions of other international instruments, States Parties shall in particular:

- Provide for a minimum age or minimum ages for admission to employment;
- Provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment;
- Provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article.’

As a result of states’ commitments and the activities of various organizations, globally, child labour continues to decline; nonetheless, there are still 215 million children caught in child labour worldwide. According to ILO (2010) trends of child labour in 2004–8 show that the number of children in hazardous work is declining, particularly among those below 15 years of age. However, there are still 115 million children in hazardous work. Among girls there is a significant decrease whereas among boys and older children (age 15 to 17), the trends show some increase. Most child labourers continue to work in agriculture and only one in five working children is in paid employment.

Increasingly, child labour is seen as a multifaceted issue, having both disadvantages and advantages for children and their families (Mackinnon 2003). Concerns on disadvantages of child labour see children’s work as unnatural, interfering with children’s development, and as having the potential to be dangerous or damaging for children. Child labour is
often blamed for interfering with children’s schooling. It has also been recognised that working children may be treated harshly or unfairly. Yet, the advantages of child work are seen in the context of economic and political issues that characterise developing parts of the world. In these contexts, paid work gives an income and contributes to the family economy, while work gives meaning to life and it can be enjoyable, enabling children to learn and acquire skills.

**Child trafficking**

The regulation of child trafficking is part of an elaborate framework on human trafficking. The main international legal documents include The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children – General Assembly resolution 55/25 (entry into force 25 December 2003) and the UNCRC (1989). According to the protocol, Article 3, paragraph (a), human trafficking is:

‘... the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.’

The UNCRC (1989) has dedicated two articles to the trafficking and sexual abuse of children. According to Article 34, paragraph (a):

‘States parties undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. For these purposes, States parties shall in particular take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent:

(a) the inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity;
(b) the exploitative use of children in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practices;
(c) the exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials.

While Article 34 focuses on protection, putting an emphasis on coercion and exploitation, the UNCRC also predicts prevention. According to Article 35:

‘States Parties shall take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent the abduction of, the sale of or traffic in children for any purpose or in any form’.

The regulation of child trafficking is particularly enforced by these legal documents. As it can be seen in paragraph (a) cited above, in the case of adults, trafficking should involve ‘threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person’ (UN 2003). However, in the case of the children, Article 3 paragraph (c) predicts that:
'The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article.’

Beyond vulnerability and protection

A major debate in the field of critical childhood studies has been the need to recognize children’s agency and resilience alongside their vulnerability (James et al 1998; Nì Laoire et al 2010). This is particularly important in the case of ‘unusual categories’ of children such as child migrants, street children, working children and the trafficked children. For example, Nieuwenhuys (1996: 246) maintains that the problematisation of child labour has an ideological basis, which excludes children from the production of value and most kinds of economic activities. This attitude towards children’s work has been at the basis of the modernity project in the West and shows little regard towards contextual issues in other parts of the world and children’s agency.

In particular, child trafficking is considered a severe form of child abuse. At societal levels O’Connell Davidson (2005) argues that there exists a hierarchical understanding of child abuse and exploitation, and trafficking and sexual abuse are considered the worst. Often other cases of child rights violations such as poverty, hunger, diseases and lack of health care are ignored in face of sexual abuse. There exists, thus, a detachment of sexual abuse from other violations due to its symbolic meaning.

The Western bias in the definition of ‘good childhood’ and the implications this has in the way societies and policy-makers view the issue of children who do not comply with this definition is summarised by Wyness (2009: 114):

‘… from a Western or developed vantage point there is still the sense that the outcomes of global poverty, the street child and child labourer, are thought to be “out of place”… Whether we are talking about the “disordered child”, the “street child” or even the “precocious child” the need to attach an adjective to the “child” connoted a problem. Thus “normal children”, these located within the perimeters of home, school and playground, are simply known as “children”.’

Interventions are also expected to consider the context and the broader picture and tackle much broader issues such as underdevelopment, inequality and poverty, which give rise to vulnerability and exploitation, while service providers’ role should include advocacy and lobbying for children’s rights (Roby 2005). Policy makers are also cautioned to anticipate negative consequences of banning child labour and street children. Research has shown that by banning child labour, children lose important sources of income for them and their families. ‘Saving’ children from harm of labour has also meant putting them on the street in other contexts, whilst strict rules for children on the street have taken children to institutions. Often, restrictive measures have given rise to ‘downward spiral’: children taken from the street moving back to the streets as victims of drugs, crime and sexual exploitation (Mackinnon 2003).
3. RESEARCHING CHILDREN ON THE MOVE

3.1. Research aims and sampling

When approaching children on the move and their caretakers, this research followed the principles set out in the MARIO project methodological section (Milne 2013). At the same time, it took an exploratory approach in order to identify the complexity of patterns of children's movement, their life and work on the street, their interaction with adult caretakers and their access to various services in different localities of their mobile livelihoods.

The definition of 'children on the move' employed by the MARIO Project for the purpose of research in South-Eastern Europe includes migration – referring to both international and internal migration – and it has attempted to include children who were not living in a protective environment (be it family or institutional) which triggered movement. This definition determined our sampling, which included children who move within the same city, alongside internal and international migrants (those moving within FYROM and those moving from primarily from Kosovo).

As explained in section 2., children that get engaged in street activities can be migrants – international or internal; other children can be mobile in the urban areas where they work, but live with their families (Whitehead and Hashim 2005). Sampling was also imposed by the logistics of this research. The research team approached caretakers and children who were working on the street without any prejudice in terms of their origin, therefore once the researchers established contact they decided to go ahead with the interview so as to respect the availability of the caretakers and children.

From a methodological point of view, children who had not migrated from other countries were included so as to have a comparative dimension in our data. This approach can also qualify as ‘bracketing’ (Boyatzis 1998) and it is considered beneficial as it enhances the understanding of data resulting from research with the target sample.

3.2. Methods and participant groups

Participatory research approaches were employed and all attempts were made that the overall research and the research team employed child-friendly approaches. For example, notebooks used by the research team were purposefully chosen to be child-friendly. Following Christensen (2004: 165) children in this research were considered as ‘fellow human beings’; therefore, they were treated equally in terms of informed consent, but also in terms of their opinion during and after the interview process.

The Mario Methodological Guideline (Milne 2013) suggests four research methods to be applied in the context of fieldwork with children on the move:
1) desk research  
2) semi-structured interviews with children, adult caretakers and stakeholders  
3) open group discussions with stakeholders and children, and  
4) observation and snapshot interviews with key community members.

A team of researchers\(^2\) worked to interpret and further operationalize the methodological principles outlined above and the concept of children on the move. Consideration was shown towards children's living and working conditions and their vulnerabilities. To account for potential lack of time and trust from the side of the children and caretakers, the research team decided to create observation guidelines and snapshot interview guidelines as well as semi-structured interview schedules, which were subsequently adapted to the particular context of fieldwork.

**Children**

In total, 19 semi-structured interviews were conducted; 6 participants were male and the majority of 13 were female. Fifteen interviews were conducted in Skopje and three others with street children in Tetovo; a visit to Topaana gave rise to another interview. The children interviewed were from 6 up to 14 years old (mean 10 years old). The majority of children interviewed were of RAE origin.

**Adult caretakers**

Seventeen semi-structured interviews with parents or caretakers of children on the move were conducted. Their age varied from 20 to 68 years old; the sample included 14 females and 3 males and the average age was 31.7 years old. The majority were of Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian (RAE) origin. Interviews with caretakers we conducted mostly in Skopje (14), and attempts were made to reach caretakers in other towns of FYROM such as Tetovo (2) and Kumanovo (1). Caretakers included parents of the children, aunties and other relatives, such as adult cousins.

**Snapshot interviews with key community members**

Ten interviews with key community members were conducted. These included a sailor, a policeman, owner of a shop in the city centre, waiters, etc. These interviews generated information on the features of street children and the attitude of the citizens towards these children. They also offered information on the public discourse on street children in the respective cities where this research took place.

**Stakeholders**

Interviews with stakeholders were conceptualised to include both policy makers and service providers. The sample included social workers, journalists, civil servants in ministries, and governmental institutions that deal with trafficking in human beings. Other participants were representatives of civil society organizations and international organizations. A total of 15 interviews were conducted, mostly with stakeholders in Skopje, either face-to-face or via e-mail.

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\(^2\) Claire Milligan, Tamo Wagener, Zana Vathi
A summary of the interviews conducted in FYROM is presented in Table 1. It should be noted that the number of people the research team interacted with is far higher. Notes were taken on snap shot interviews.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Caretakers</th>
<th>Key community</th>
<th>Total (location)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skopje</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetovo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topaana</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumanovo</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(participants)</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1. Research participants (excluding stakeholders)*

### 3.3. Ethics and research procedures

Research for this project observed ethical requirements on research with vulnerable groups and particular ethical requirements for working with children. Prior to fieldwork, all members of research team agreed to and signed the Terre des Hommes child protection policy forms. In particular, principles of anonymity and confidentiality were observed at all times. In order to respect anonymity caretakers and children were given a code, which was formed in the beginning of each interview. Participants were asked to choose a favourite number, colour and celebrity, which would then consist of their code. This method was seen as enabling the creation of a friendly climate at the beginning of the interview, which in turn generated interesting research findings discussed in the coming sections. Taking into account the precarity of these participants’ lives, no audio recordings were made and notes were taken for all interviews.

Fieldwork was conducted in two main cities in FYROM – Skopje and Tetovo – following the mapping results of the Open Gate/La Strada Organization in Skopje, which showed that these cities host the highest number of street children and caretakers in the country. The research team observed and participated in discussions with people in urban spaces that children and caretakers mostly inhabit, such as city squares, traffic lights, market areas, etc.

Street work took place in different times of the day and in different cities and sites. Different sites within the city include venues of different organizations, commercial venues and urban areas that are crucial for cities’ mobility logistics. Some of these sites include shopping malls such as Trgovski Centre (i.e. the Old City Mall), Centre Ramstore, or in other commercial areas such as the Bit Bazaar. Other places include traffic lights areas, railway station, university campus, mosque areas, etc.

The course and the outcomes of fieldwork were also affected by the specific events in FYROM. The riots of July 2014 in Skopje coincided with the fieldwork program for this project, causing a postponement of fieldwork to September. As a result, ethnographic efforts for this project were affected by this event that has implications for urban fieldwork in Skopje in the period planned.
One of the main limitations of this research is the short duration of fieldwork, which took place in the beginning of September 2014 and lasted 7 days. Data deriving from this research should, therefore, be treated with caution. Another barrier that hampered the progress of fieldwork was the linguistic diversity and the need to communicate with the participants through interpreters. The researchers were not knowledgeable of Macedonian or Romani languages; most children reported that they were mostly fluent in these two languages while also mentioning other languages that they had some competence in, for example, Italian. This linguistic diversity, in turn, makes for an interesting finding, which is discussed in the migration section of empirical findings.

However, this research was unable to uncover dynamics of commercial sexual exploitation and trafficking and, in general, children and caretakers were very cautious when talking to the research team. Such sensitive topics require a more lengthy fieldwork so as to ensure that trust is gained and a rapport is created between the researcher and the participants. Nonetheless, we noticed discrepancy between the information given in different stages of interviews and on various questions. Information on such forms of child migration was mostly derived from interviews with stakeholders and key community members, as further explained in the coming sections.
4. MIGRATION AND MOBILITY PATTERNS

4.1. Patterns of transnational movements

The migration and mobility patterns that characterise movements of children and caretakers interviewed for this research comprise transnational movements between FYROM and Kosovo and other European countries, internal movements in FYROM, and urban mobilities in Skopje and other cities such as Tetovo. Most participants were FYROM citizens, but had travelled or migrated to other countries and in a few cases had attempted to settle in different European countries. Indeed, the linguistic diversity among children and caretakers talks about the various patterns of mobilities that children and caretakers have engaged with. Languages such as German, Italian, English and Turkish show that children and caretakers have travelled and worked far and wide in Europe.

Two participants among caretakers were of Kosovan origin, more precisely from Kacanik and Gjilan, and had migrated to FYROM and were trying to regularise there. This finding shows that there are movements across FYROM-Kosovo border and was further backed up by interviews with stakeholders. A police staff said that there are Kosovan families that moved to FYROM in 2001, after the conflict in Kosovo, and they remained in FYROM. Although none of the participants interviewed for this research originated from Albania, some community members said that there are Albanian children who beg in FYROM.

Countries that were mentioned by caretakers as destinations of their transnational mobilities include: Kosovo (Pristina), Serbia (Belgrade), Italy (various cities), Montenegro (Ulcijn). Transnational movements undertaken by caretakers appear to take place for several reasons, including: seeking work opportunities, trading - selling goods produced in FYROM, leisure activities, smuggling goods.

Other inter-country mobilities in which children and caretakers get involved are for medical treatment. An interesting finding is that movements to other countries are also for the purpose of visiting relatives and family members who live there. Therefore, transnational movements in which street workers get involved in are not always for the purposes of street work. Like other ‘mainstream’ families, street workers’ families attempt to experience co-presence by spending time with relatives who are residing in other countries and, this way, to maintain family ties. For example, 5/Green/RomaSinger said that he had travelled with his family to Germany to visit his sister who lives there. These visits often give rise to discussions on relocating to these countries for work purposes.

These data were backed up by the interviews carried out with the young participants. Children’s and adolescents’ interviews showed that families are involved in both transnational and internal movements. For example, a number of children mentioned that they and their families have been travelling to both countries in the region, such as Montenegro, and other countries in the EU, such as Germany and Belgium. The patterns of movements of adult caretakers in different European countries were not investigated in depth, due to restrictions imposed by the research design. However, such movements and instances of smuggling mentioned by the participants raise questions on the impact that
caretakers’ cross-border mobility has for the overall wellbeing, safety and development of the children.

In some cases, children saw travel to other countries as enjoyable when this was part of family mobilities and was free of any instances of abuse. For example, 5/Red/Hello Kitty, an eleven year old girl from Skopje, said that she and her family have travelled to Belgium because her parents are involved in making and trading sculptures. She preferred Belgium because she has a lot of friends there and they do not bully her – hinting this way to issues she experiences in Skopje.

Seasonal movements were also recorded. This was firstly the case of families that engaged in small business and moved around in the region to sell their products. For example, 10/White, a forty three year old caretaker from Skopje, said that during the summer, she and her family travel to Montenegro, mostly Ulcijn, to sell handmade products she and her husband make in Skopje. Key community members interviewed also pointed to seasonal movements of street workers; according to them, there are more street workers over the summer when emigrants return to FYROM for summer holidays, which is seen as an opportunity to earn more money through begging.

Other key community members made reference to trafficking of children for the purpose of begging targeting mostly the touristic sector; a 23 year old sailor said:

‘Someone pushes them [street children] to beg or they may have family problems, a member of the family who is sick. In the Lake of Struga and Ohrid you see many children in the touristic sector, and then they move to the city (Skopje). They stay there some days; they also sleep there. It is possible that someone organizes this, and manages all this.’

However, none of our participants made reference to trafficking or forms of exploitation.

**Box 1. Caretakers on the move across Kosovo-FYROM border**

5/Red is a mother of five who has moved from Gjilan in Kosovo to FYROM for a better life. To maximise the earnings of street work she and her family move around different areas of Skopje. Before moving to FYROM, the family had tried to find work opportunities in Germany, but with not much success. To secure the means of survival she collects cans in different areas such as Karpush and Kisela Voda; as she describes her situation she feels very lonely – ‘like an orphan’, as she puts it – when she works on the street. Her earnings are minimal; she tells how she had to borrow money from the neighbours when she had a health emergency and how she cannot keep in touch with her family in Kosovo since her earnings cannot even cover telephone credits. If any money remains after providing to her family, her highest aspiration is to invest in a family home. Yet, life in FYROM in uncertain since the family does not have residence permits.
4.2. Internal movements

The vast majority of the participants of this research were located in Skopje at the time of the interview. Indeed, many of them travelled to Skopje from other cities because, as 25/White - a 29 year old man told us, ‘the place is bigger and you can earn more money’. However, the opposite was also the case. 5/Blue - a fourteen year old boy from Skopje, mentioned that he and his father often travel to Tetovo for street work. For some children originating from the provincial towns coming to the big city made them happy; mobilities of street work, therefore, are sometimes understood as mobilities of leisure by some children.

The cities/areas of origin of the children and adolescents interviewed for this research included Skopje, Dracevo, Shuto Orizari, Chair Topaana, villige Marino, Tetovo, Gostivar, Kumanovo. When caretakers travelled to different cities for street work, if the distance was small enough to commute they preferred to return to their family home in the evening. This was mostly the case of travel to Skopje from the provincial towns in its proximity. However, some caretakers travelled far and wide in the country in order to find work. Some of them reported that they would be staying away from their families for days while working on the street in other towns. In terms of logistics, the main means of transport was the bus, but a number of children and caretakers mentioned that they walk between different areas, because they could not pay for the bus fare.

Some families have tended to go to different cities in FYROM to try and maximise the earnings from street work; sometimes this is a strategy in the beginning of their street work experience which is followed by more regular patterns of working in one specific city. One participant listed Tetovo, Struga, Ohrid and Mavrovo as cities where they have previously been working before the whole family settled to work in Skopje. However, internal travel may also be performed for leisure; for example, 6/Pink/Dotchi – a 9 year old girl – said that she has only once left Skopje as part of a school excursion.

Aiming a general typology of the movements in which children were engaged in, the sample for this research included:

- Children who mostly moved within the city where they and their family lived
- Children who moved between cities, or had been moving before settling in one place
- Children who had moved around in different countries – both in the region and beyond, in different European countries
- Children whose parents had experiences of migrating to different countries
- Children who had migrated to FYROM from Kosovo

This typology and the overall data of this research concur with findings of other research on street children in FYROM. A report by Open Gate/La Strada (2014) referred to official data from the Institute for Social Affairs and reported that there are 142 children on the streets of the main cities in FYROM. This number consists of 70 males and 72 females, and almost half of these children were found in Skopje (69). An important finding reported is that many children found in these cities originate from other cities and villages, testifying to the complex mobility patterns of street workers in FYROM.
5. WORKING ON THE STREET

5.1. Key patterns of street work

Street work patterns vary between and among caretakers and children, during the week, and according to age and gender. There was a sense of a geographical concentration of street workers in certain parts of the urban areas researched; for example, Suto Orizari was mentioned by a service provider as particularly relevant for professionals working with street children who beg. Hours of street work vary among and between children and caretakers. Caretakers worked less hours than children; child care and dealing with family chores were two important reasons that prevented them to work full time on the street. It should be mentioned that another reason for this difference relates to the fact that children were at the forefront of jobs such as begging, which consisted of the main street work activity for both children and caretakers. As other research has also found (Vathi 2014a) children are perceived as more endearing by the general public; therefore, caretakers expect them to generate more income.

Street work patterns varied during the week and, for some children and adolescents, even during the day. When asked about the preferred time of the day children and adolescents indicated that they mostly like the afternoon and the evening. The reason was that it is then they stopped working, went home and re-united with their families. Indeed, in very broad terms, the daily regimes of children appear to be organized in a similar pattern: play in the morning, work between 10am and 3pm, home in the evening.

For children that attend school – the case for the majority of children and adolescents interviewed for this research – street work is mostly a weekend job; in the case of the adolescent street workers, it is also an after-school job. In general, hours of street work varied from 2–12 hours a day. However, patterns of street work vary during the week and depend on the type of street work conducted, with the weekend being in general the time when children work full time.

There are also differences between children and adolescents in terms of their attitudes towards street work. Some of those in mid-to-late adolescence said that they wished they could find a more suitable job. These narratives show that street work activities have age nuances, and that begging and other activities, such as windscreen cleaning, are not considered suitable by the adolescents, particularly by male participants. These attitudes are indicative of a consciousness on appropriateness of approaches to survival, which appear to have strong age and gender nuances. For example, 3/Red/Meda – a fourteen year old boy from a village in the proximity of Skopje – said that he and his family travel to Skopje to sell things. He felt unhappy with his situation, but mentioned that there is no other option for him.

There are some children among the participants of this study who had tried to take up other kinds of employment, such as working in a manufacturing enterprise that produces clothes. 13/Red/Noisy – a 13 year old boy from Skopje, said that he was selling small items on the street, but he had tried other jobs and aspired to become a car mechanic.
These data show that street workers aspire and attempt to experience occupational mobility, but their efforts are rarely successful.

Street work appears to be a gendered activity. Begging is more common among female caretakers and children; other types of jobs such as collecting metallic items, scavenging for cans, are more common activities for male caretakers and children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic activities</th>
<th>No. of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Begging</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scavenging</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windscreen cleaning</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling items</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(manufacture; cleaning houses)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2. Street work activities carried out by children and adolescents*

Street work is often a family project (see also Invernizzi 2011), although, as explained above, significant power inequalities between parents and children were recorded, which had implications for the patterns of street work and children's wellbeing. While parents are working in a location in the city, children 'occupied' a spot somewhere else doing another type of street work. In the case of street workers in FYROM, many families working on the street were led by mothers since a number of families interviewed were single parent families headed by mothers. In other cases, it is the father who leads the family project, which involves the whole family, or the father and the siblings of various ages while mothers stay home to cater for family needs. The table below shows the types of work caretakers engage in; most caretakers reported that they combine different types of street work. The category 'other' refers to physical work (3) performed by male caretakers, and cleaning jobs performed by female caretakers in family homes (2) and in commercial areas (1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic activities</th>
<th>No. of caretakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Begging</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scavenging</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windscreen cleaning</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling items</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3. Street work carried out by caretakers*

Street work is organized around parts of the cities where various types of mobilities and social and cultural rites are performed. Similarly to the experience of street workers in Kosovo (Vathi 2014a) a number of children were found in the mosque areas. They explained that this was a strategic choice; children and caretakers were capitalising on the religiosity of city residents who were more prone to donating when children begged in the mosque area.
However, there are differences between the street work patterns of children and caretakers in Kosovo (Vathi 2014a) with the counterparts in FYROM and these differences are closely linked to the types of mobilities they engage in and the origin of participants in each of the countries. In Kosovo, a good number of interviewees originated from Albania; their street work patterns in Kosovo had strong temporal dimensions. Caretakers and children reported begging as their main type of street work in Kosovo, while engaging with other types of street work in Albania.

**Box 2. Work aspirations**

At 12 years of age, 13/red/Noisy has already tried different kinds of work. He is one of the few street children who sell small items in the street; as he narrates, his goods include tissues, creams, and bananas. Nonetheless, selling on the street consists of a transitory job for him. He has tried to work in a cloth manufacturing company before and he thinks that he would be better off as a car mechanic. Street work is his part time job; he works between 12.00 and 17.00, otherwise he attends schools. His earnings go for food and he also manages to contribute to things for the family home. Work on the street has taught him how to relate to people and make friends. He and his friends seem to look after each other and help out when working or getting in trouble.

In FYROM, the majority of the participants originated from the capital and different cities of the country; therefore, the patterns of street work were more stable and not necessarily linked to transnational mobilities in the region. As a result, compared to street work patterns in Kosovo (Vathi 2014a), street work in FYROM does not consist heavily of begging. A certain distribution is noticeable among the ‘typical’ street work activities such as begging, windscreen cleaning, scavenging, and more children and caretakers were involved in trading and selling (as compared to only 1 case in Kosovo). For example, an eleven year old girl of Roma origin said that she and her family are involved in producing and selling handmade items.

### 5.2. Savings and management

The earnings from street work that children and adolescents managed to secure varied from 1–2 MKD to 600 MKD a day.\(^3\) A good number of children and adolescents reported that they made 150–400 MKD a day, with an average of approximately 250–300 MKD. Caretakers reported that their earnings varied between 200 MKD and 800 MKD a day.

Most children and adolescents reported that they gave the money to their parents, mostly mothers. The reason for that was because the mother dealt with cooking, food shopping and other planning of basic needs of the family. As mentioned above, there are many single-headed families among street workers, mostly led by mothers. Other children mentioned buying medication and securing funds for their family members’ health needs as the main purpose for which their earnings were used.

An interesting contrast with fieldwork in Kosovo with street children in Pristina and Peja (Vathi 2014a) is that fewer children interviewed in FYROM managed their own earnings, or at least part of them, themselves. Only one participant reported that she managed her earnings, while it was her mother who organized the savings. Another participant

\(^3\) Denar is the currency of Macedonia officially known with the acronym MKd. According to Google exchange, 1 MKd = 0.16 Euro. [Accessed 5 December 2014].
mentioned that she keeps a small part of the saving for her needs, but otherwise the earnings are handed to her parents. A viable explanation for this could be that the age of the street workers matters in these regards. A higher number of participants in Kosovo were teenagers while the average age of children interviewed in FYROM was approximately 10 years old. Adolescent street workers, therefore, are more autonomous in terms of their savings management, which links also to more developed socialisation patterns that this group of children performs.
6. GETTING ON WITH LIFE AND WORK ON THE STREET

6.1. General welfare and wellbeing

Lacking the basic means to survive and feeling unable to provide basic living conditions to their families was a common experience reported by the caretakers and the children. Some children indicated that they do not have a daily regime of eating, as regular meals are not provided in their families. 10/yellow, an eleven year old girl in Skopje, said that the first meal of the day is the one she gets from the day care centre.

In general, a sense of poverty and uncertainty for the future was reported by the caretakers. 5/Pink/Ahmet (female, 25) narrated:

‘I am worried about many things. Children are growing up and we do not have food. I do not have wood to heat the house and I am worried about my brother who is in jail. My mother is sick; police is searching for my 18 year old brother..’

For 1/Brown/EricMaria (female, 23) life was not looking any better:

‘All day I am at the traffic lights with my children. From morning till evening I stay there. I feel very lonely and sad! [I need] good life for my children. They need to eat to grow up; they need clothes. The house where we live is in very bad conditions; it is better to live outside.’

Most caretakers expressed a sense of sadness and sense of abandonment. 2/Red/Maria (female, 36) said:

‘I want to work, but nobody helps me. I have never been happy in my life. I was given social assistance by the state, but I do not think I was offered the support I need. I feel sad!’

Adolescent girls are expected to look after their younger siblings, alongside house chores and street work, which has an impact on their socialisation and overall feelings of happiness. For example, 1/Green – a 10 year old girl from Skopje – said that she is the carer of her younger siblings and was ashamed to say to her friends that she and her family beg. She is mostly happy when she plays with her little nephew and when she learns. However, 10/Red/Aische – a seven year old girl – is obliged to look after her siblings and has to do a great deal of house chores, including hand washing of her siblings’ clothes, upon her mother’s request.

Some children expressed their appreciation of the impact that their families’ involvement in street work and their frequent mobilities had on them. Many of them would not like to be associated with street work, especially the older children interviewed. A few children were also mostly silent when asked about the mobility patterns of their families, because they understood this to be a negative and stigmatised family behaviour.
A number of children and caretakers reported that they do not have a family home. Having an improvised house was a common experience across the board.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of accommodation</th>
<th>No. of children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under a bridge/ no accommodation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary improvised</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renting a flat</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared between 2+ families</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4. Types of accommodation reported by the children*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of accommodation</th>
<th>No. of caretakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under a bridge/no accommodation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary improvised</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renting a flat</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared between 2+ families</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 5. Types of accommodation reported by the caretakers*

Apart from general issues with inappropriate accommodation, safety issues linked to life at home relate to domestic violence reported by some of the participants. One young participant reported that she is regularly tortured by her mother. As a result of this violence she had attempted committing suicide three times in the past. Another participant mentioned that if the earnings were not handed to his parents, this could result in domestic violence towards him.

Safety issues in family homes appears to spill over on to work on the street; indeed, the deployment of children by their parents or caretakers as street workers for the purpose of generating income is an important theme that appears in the data. This finding contrasts with the findings in Kosovo (Vathi 2014a); fieldwork with children and caretakers did not expose explicit references to coercive involvement of children in street work. The finding in FYROM is in line with other reports of governmental and non-governmental institutions in the country (Open Gate/La Strada 2014). Key community members also talked about use of drugs by the caretakers who use these substances to tranquilise the children and exploit them for street work.

6.2. Education and health

In terms of their educational experience, children and adolescents interviewed for this research can be divided into three groups:

1) children who are attending school,
2) children who never went to school, and
3) children who went to school, but dropped out.
6.2. Education and health

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schooling experience</th>
<th>Attending school</th>
<th>Never been to school</th>
<th>Dropped out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Patterns of schooling among street children and adolescents

In general, the sample of children interviewed in FYROM included many more children who were attending school when compared with the sample in Kosovo (Vathi 2014a). It could be argued that this could be linked to the more stable nature and mostly internal movements that children who were interviewed in FYROM are involved in when compared to children interviewed in Kosovo, who were largely involved in transnational mobility. However, when comparing the sample of children who were involved in internal (in-country) mobility only, street children in Kosovo were less likely to be attending school, especially beyond primary school.

Children who dropped out mentioned bullying as the most important reason for quitting school. The issue of dropping out education is multifaceted. Not only this disrupts the actual learning of children; as 5/Red/Hello Kitty told us, it also disrupts socialisation patterns, separating children from their peers who continue education. Children who attended school also reported that a part of their street work earnings were spent to sponsor their studies.

Nonetheless, health issues are an important theme emerging from these participants’ narratives. Health appears as a multifaceted aspect of children’s and adolescents’ and their families’ lives. Health problems of their parents are an important push factor for children to engage in street work. Indeed, the vast majority of children and adolescents interviewed said that their parents suffered from various diseases that made them unable to work.

On the other hand, street work can be the cause of health issues. Health problems that were recorded during the interviews with children and adolescents – either experienced by the children themselves or their family members – include: surgery, injuries, often because of accidents on the street while performing windscreen cleaning, heart problems, kidney infections, blindness, epilepsy, and mental health problems.

Nonetheless, many children did not refer directly to health problems. This omission is linked to a general lack of consciousness on their health conditions; in some cases, it looked as if children accepted their health problems as a normal aspect of their lives. In other cases, health problems were what mostly concerned them in relation to their parents’ and siblings welfare; this was often the reason why they were working on the street. Buying medication was also one of the main purposes for which their earnings were used.

An important dimension that appears in the narratives of children and young people in FYROM is the link between mental health and street work. Some children reported that they had mental health problems, therefore, they could not attend school and this led to their engagement in street work. Some other children reported that their mental health was damaged by the hardship they and their family lived in; domestic violence, as reported above, was one source of mental health problems. The issues with mental health – in some cases as a result of harmful conditions because of internal migration – point to the need to look for mental health issues of migrant children beyond the refugee children and war-affected children (Bronstein and Montgomery 2011; Vathi and Ducic...
Caretakers were more explicit in establishing a direct link between their health problems or their children’s health with their engagement in street work. For example, 25/White – a 29 year old man from Kumanovo, said that his son got paralysis due to high temperature when he was a baby. This casualty led him to begging to secure injections for his son.

It should be emphasised that health issues are an actuality for most of the participants, but there is also an important instrumental element in the way health issues are defined and put in display. An important observation is that the disability of the children is often taken advantage of by the parents. 14/Black (male, 34) said that on Thursday he takes his blind son with him for begging in Tetovo and Skopje.

Overall, poverty and health problems were closely intertwined. As it will be explained in the section on services, a number of caretakers reported that they have health insurance. Nonetheless, health issues remain one of the most pressing problems, and finding solution to health problems of their family members is an important immediate need expressed by the caretakers and the children.

6.3. Safety on the streets

Safety issues in relation to life on the street can be divided into two groups:

1) perceived institutional unsafety;
2) unsafety as a result of interactions with the public.

In the case of perceived institutional unsafety, some children have already been through instances of getting caught by the police while working on the street. The experience of being sent to the police station has created a sense of persistent fear among them. A teenager (5/Blue) also mentioned that he had been hit by the police in the past. Issues with the police were also mentioned by the caretakers. In turn, the police staff interviewed said that their main goal is to find the organizers of a presumed network that organizes and exploits street work; however, they report that no such individuals or organizations have been caught, while 30 families from Skopje and 20 children with families in other cities have been caught and taken to the police station.

Other children referred to fear of being seen by social workers; since this has given rise to withdrawal of social assistance by the state, children feel responsible and try to avoid social workers. Many caretakers were scared of social workers because they had the power to take children away from the families. According to a representative of the Ministry of Interior, the Centre for Social Work (CSW) can file a criminal complaint to the prosecutor’s office accusing parents who take children to work on the street in accordance with Article 201 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of FYROM and the law on the protection of children’s rights.

However, unsafety issues at home and on the street are often very intertwined. 10/Red/Aische – a seven year old girl – experiences domestic violence on a regular basis. She said:
‘I’m afraid of people who use drugs, of police. I want to be caught by the police so that they can put me in foster care’

Another important issue children and caretakers referred to was a general sense of unsafety while working and living on the street. 10/White (female, 43) said that she always has the feeling that somebody is behind her and will catch her so she is constantly scared. This general feeling of paranoia may have to do with the procedures that police follow when inspecting the areas where children and caretakers work. According to stakeholders interviewed, police staff are dressed as civilians and drive unmarked cars so as not to scare the children that may be found working on the street and taken to day care centres. Some members of the public also made reference to trafficking of children and adolescents by people involved in organized crime.

Some of the instances of unsafety are linked to the violence suffered in the past or feared because of the existence of bands and gangs in Skopje. Indeed, some caretakers were very afraid of people who used or traded drugs and could also kidnap the children. For example, 5/Pink/Dotchi – a 9 year old girl said:

‘It’s a large band chasing us. They hit a girl with a knife. I feel good because if I stay in one place I feel sick. I go (to beg) with my mother. No problem with the police, only with big men.’

Some street workers reported that they had had confrontations with the general public and were afraid of them. For example, 20/Black/Meda (female, 20) said that members of the public say bad words to her and take her aside and verbally abuse her by saying ‘go to work; don’t stay here!’. This aspect was confirmed in the interviews with key community members; talking about street children a 34 year old waiter said:

‘Every day they are here. There are many of them. Most of them come from Skopje and Kumanovo. There are also some who come from Albania. They come here and don’t let us work. Most of the time we chase them away.’

25/White – a 29 year old caretaker – said that ‘people say offensive words; sometimes hit us and police gives us fines if they find us begging’. Therefore, in comparison with the narratives of children and caretakers in Kosovo (Vathi 2014a), the public spaces and interaction of street workers with authorities in FYROM resemble more the situation of these groups in large urban areas such as Latin American cities, where street workers are considered anti-social beings and as menace to the public good (Stephens 1995: 12).

Other community members also spoke of confrontations initiated by street children themselves, while street workers spoke about family relatives that were in trouble with the police:

‘They only beg; when you are having a coffee in a street café and you do not have money for them, they start hitting you, bump on you and behave violently.’

Differently from the fieldwork conducted in Kosovo in the summer of 2014 (Vathi 2014a), some girls reported that they were scared of being sexually harassed and get impulsive reactions from members of the public (7/Orange). In general, life on the street appears more dangerous in the case of street children in Skopje when compared to Pristina, perhaps linked to the features of Skopje as a large urban area.
Another aspect that contrasts the experience of these street workers with the data deriving from fieldwork in Kosovo is the addiction and substance abuse observed among children and adolescents in Skopje. The only instances of drug and substance abuse in relation to children and adolescents engaged in street work in Kosovo derived from interviews with community activists. However, street observations in Skopje revealed that some children consume ‘glue’ which is a substance that has very similar effects with other narcotic substances. Instances of ‘glue’ consumption are also recorded with other street work children in other contexts (see Davies 2008 on street children in Northern Kenya).

Open Gate/La Strada (2014) point to the need to pay more attention to illegal immigration in FYROM. They link the (un)safety of street workers to the lack of documentation, which has the potential to lead to trafficking of children and also criminal records. Indeed, as this organization reports, in 2013 the National Referral Mechanism (NRM) identified nine female minors as victims of trafficking. Smuggling was also recorded in the interviews with caretakers. Although explicit incidents were not reported by the participants, smuggling could entail various risks and dangers for caretakers and their families.

6.4. Socialisation, leisure and social support

Because of the material constraints and the limitations that engaging in street work entails for the children and caretakers, socialisation and leisure were limited and often improvised in the conditions of street work. Indeed, some children were explicit in showing contempt towards their life conditions; being on the streets to beg over the weekend was considered a sad and embarrassing experience. For these reasons, the morning was considered as the favourite part of the day for most of the children interviewed. This was the time when children, particularly those in the lower age range played with their friends in the neighbourhood. In general, for children and adolescents, socialisation is more feasible when friends are located in the same neighbourhood. Children and adolescents indicate that friendships are very important to them.

In the conditions of extreme deprivation, one way of supporting each other is sharing food and offering minimal financial support for their basic needs. Other types of socialisation with peers include watching TV together – for those children who had a fixed home. Other children said that they also help with and receive money from their friends when they are in great need. Other instances of help and support involve helping out in school contexts with the lessons and class work.

The peer networks of the children who go to school and get involved in the daily centre are more diverse than in the case of those children who do not have contacts with institutions. In the former case, the social networks include friends from the neighbourhood, friends from school and friends that they make in the day care centres. This finding shows the importance of the time spent in institutional environment for children’s lives at a micro level and the impact on their cognitive development.
6.4. Socialisation, leisure and social support

**Box 3. Adolescence, gender and street work**

7/orange is thirteen years old and lives her life divided across various domains: home, street, school and day care centre. Her life shares many characteristics with that of children like her; she is one of the children of a large family of nine, who live in an area of Skopje where they could improvise a family home. For some families like hers, an improvised family home is an improvement in the accommodation situation since some families are accommodated under bridges in the city. As many children in her situation, she is constrained to work; she mostly begs or cleans windscreen of cars on the street. Yet looking for street work is a struggle for a girl in her teens; her mobility in the city has exposed her to sexual harassment while often moving on foot between places in a big city is a strenuous experience. 7/orange says that when she has not earned money she walks to find work elsewhere in the city. The sense of happiness is also one she shares with many people of her age; going to school, playing with friends, sharing food with them are joyful experiences. She fears, however, that this will not last long; her parents are thinking to marry her off soon.

Peer groups and networks involve children from a similar background, but also other, 'mainstream' children, referred to by street workers as children who have a big house, or as rich.

However, the existence of social support towards or among street children and caretakers should not be taken for granted. Some caretakers said that they are not in touch with their relatives, despite living in the same town; participants who had moved from Kosovo and other remote areas of FYROM said that they lack the financial means to keep in touch with their relatives, because they could not invest in travel and could not pay for the phone calls. 10/White (female, 43) said that her family is not interested in having contacts with her.

There were caretakers among our interviewees who had separated from their partners; indeed, a few female caretakers were single parents. 4/Violet/Ferrai (female, 22) originating from Kosovo narrated:

‘My mother had an affair and went away with the neighbour. My brother and sisters have mental health problems and were left on their own for years. Now it is my father taking care of them’

In turn, 5/Red/ Rihanna – a 26 year old caretaker, said that she lives alone with her five children since her partner was in jail. 5/Pink/Ahmet (female, 25) also said that her brother was in jail, while 1/Brown/Eric Maria (female, 23) was the head of her household because her husband had passed away.

Because of the major life difficulties they were going through, a sense of dehumanisation and marginalisation was common among caretakers, expressed quite well by 38/Red/Toshe Proeski (female, 45) when she was asked how she felt after the interview with the social workers for this research:

‘Satisfied because there was someone to listen to my problems; who treated me like a normal person and not like a marginalised person left aside by the rest of the society’.
7. NEEDS, SERVICES AND POLICY-MAKING

7.1. Needs expressed

The main needs identified by caretakers consist of health and medication, schooling for the children, and adequate housing for the family. Accessing services for these groups in FYROM was less of a problem when compared to the caretakers interviewed in Kosovo, especially those originating from Albania who engaged in transnational movements (Vathi 2014a). Indeed, some caretakers mentioned that they have health insurance, which covers some of their health expenses. Nonetheless, health was a predominant concern for the caretakers and the children. Caretakers identified various personal health needs, and similar needs of their children and other relatives they were looking after.

Since a high number of children were attending school, one of the needs that caretakers talked about is the lack of pedagogical materials or lack of financial means to acquire these. Despite some children having quit school, education of their children was an important concern for the parents while a number of them were living in temporary accommodation or renting which was unaffordable.

All these needs were far more immediate for caretakers and children who had experienced transnational movements. Indeed, an important aspect of these caretakers’ needs concerned legalisation in FYROM (those few caretakers originating from other countries, primarily Kosovo).

An interesting finding is that although in a young age, children are aware and able to articulate their own, their family’s and their friends’ needs. For example, young children are vocal about their immediate needs, such as the need of having more food and snacks (such as Snickers), but they also refer to their lack of adequate accommodation.

Interestingly, the needs expressed by children attending education are more diversified. This aspect shows firstly that street children who manage to attend education are able to recognise different domains of their lives, and do not necessarily see their life through street work and family life only. For example, 5/Blue – a 13 year old girl in Skopje, mentioned that she needs various items for her school work and also special clothes for her physical education class and hygiene packs for daily use. Other children made reference to specific needs they have; for example, 5/Blue – a 14 year old boy in Skopje who was blind, mentioned that he hoped that institutions and organizations could help him by providing a Braille alphabet.

Some children show also consideration of leisure and consumption needs; for example, 15/Pink/Justin – a 10 year old girl from Skopje, said that she would need some toys and a telephone, apart from food and clothes. Children who sold items as a street work activity said they would like to have a bicycle, or a laptop. These differences in the types of needs identified and expressed by the children demonstrate the different levels of poverty and different aspirations for happiness experienced by street workers (see also Jahsini and Tahsini 2012).
7.2. Access to institutional support

Most caretakers had knowledge about services and had approached relevant institutions. However, they had not always been successful. For example, 5/Pink/Ahmet (female, 25) had approached some organizations, but they had only asked for photocopies of her ID and had not offered any help. Because of illiteracy and financial problems it is difficult for some families to prepare all the paper work needed to register for different kinds of assistance. Nonetheless, caretakers were more informed and more prone to approach institutions for help than the caretakers interviewed in Kosovo (Vathi 2014a).

Ten caretakers reported that they are in contact with and are receiving, or have received support in the past, from institutions and charities. The rest of the caretakers (7) said that they have never received support and there is none that can help them. Five caretakers said that they were receiving or have received in the past support from CSW; other families had received support from charities and organizations, such as the Red Cross and The Association for Children Rights (4). For example, 21/Brown (female, 26) said that she and her family are more engaged with The Roma Organization; this organization is close to where they live and this is how she got informed about them and got registered. The most important service that this organization offers is kindergarten for the children for which families do not have to pay.

A few children mentioned that their families’ social assistance from the state was cut when social services had found out that they are engaged in street work despite receiving social assistance. On one occasion a child narrated that her mother tries to save the money of social assistance while the whole family tries to earn the living through street work. Such strategies of families may sound contemptible to policy makers and the wider public; yet, it appears that such savings are contingency savings that these families try to put aside for rainy days.

Nine out of 19 children and adolescents interviewed said that they and their family had never received any support from any governmental or non-governmental organization. The relationship of the caretakers and children with institutions in terms of support is presented in Box 4. below. Some children have made reference to outreach activities that some centres have performed which have benefitted them greatly. For example, the Association for Children Rights appeared as popular among children in Skopje. Some of the services provided include helping them to keep their personal hygiene, helping them with homework, and making provisions for their food and clothes.

Experience with the doctors and health professionals was reported as satisfactory; the main problem in the context of health was the frequency of health problems that children and their family members experienced and the lack of financial resources to cover their various health needs. There were some instances in which some caretakers made reference to instances of differential and unfavourable treatment by health professionals. For example, 25/White said that he has experienced unfavourable treatment from Macedonian health professionals while his experience with Albanian health professionals is more positive. Differential treatment was also a topic referred to by key community members; a 60 year old seller said:

‘Authorities in FYROM focus more on Macedonian people and not on people of other ethnic origins. They help Macedonians to prepare their documents and get assistance, whereas in the case of Albanian and Roma people, they don’t accept their documents and don’t give any further consultation.’
7.3. Awareness of policy makers and service providers

Service providers and policy makers made reference to a developed framework of child protection. A number of institutions appeared as key in the work done with children and families at risk, such as the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, the Institute for Social Affairs, the Ombudsman, the Daily Center in Shuto Orizari, and the CSW. The latter was praised for the work done with children at risk. Among others, the CSW organizes day care centres and manages a 24-hour on-call team who responds to phone calls to the SOS number on cases of child abuse. Nonetheless, the issue of lack of necessary funds and of a specific team to deal with specific groups such as street children was raised by some stakeholders.

There were also concerns about the level of protection expected by the law and the reality of the families and services on the ground. Therefore, the issue of the implementation of the legal provisions in place was raised. Another important point that was referred to in different ways by different stakeholders was the need to decentralise services and to involve the local level institutions and organizations in the actions taken to address the issues that children on the move face. Stakeholders were of the opinion that the move to the local level should include the opening of day centres in smaller towns and even villages and the direct involvement of the local community in the work with these groups.

In general, it appears that a more developed network of institutions and organizations that work with children in general, and those engaged in street work more particularly, appears to be in place in FYROM when compared to Kosovo (Vathi 2014a). Stakeholders made reference to the coalition ‘All for Fair Trials’ which was created by various NGOs to lobby for the right of children to fair trial when they were involved in cases of robbery. The legal framework appears as more sophisticated in FYROM, too; for example, unlike Kosovo, FYROM has a law on children’s rights.

Among some facilities that were available and of relevance to policy-makers that focus on street children were day care centres for children on the street and schooling for school leavers – open also to adults who lacked basic education. The day care centres were part of the action of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy on children on the street. These centres co-operated with the families and aimed to give support in terms of counselling, providing documentation, informing the children on their rights and providing health

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4 For a more complete summary of the legal and policy framework see Appendix 1.
care and medical check ups. A service provider was particularly vocal on the issue of documentation:

‘Usually the families, especially children, have no documentation, and the process of getting adequate documentation is long and rather expensive for these categories of people. If the child is born at home and not in a hospital there is a specific procedure in place that requires witnesses that can confirm the act of birth and the mother’s identity. If the child is born abroad and the mother does not have the needed documentation, a DNA test is obligatory, but these tests are very expensive and these families are not able to pay for them. Very often women go to the hospital with borrowed health cards, and in those cases they have to take a DNA test to prove parenthood, so that a birth certificate can be issued’.

Moreover, despite the variety of services they offer to children, the day care centres run by the government were only focused on local children; as one of the stakeholders said, children who were involved in internal or international migration were not included in the activities of the day care centres. According to specific providers these children were the concern of other organizations. A certain obliviousness on international migration was also mentioned by the representative of the Ministry of Interior who said that internal migration exists, so does migration from other countries into FYROM, but the latter is not usually regarded a topic of interest.

Some non-governmental organizations, such as ‘Sunshine’, focused on internal migrants that engaged in street work, whereas another NGO – ‘Young Lawyers’ – provided legal assistance to asylum seekers. In comparison with the state-sponsored organizations, NGOs were more inclusive in their focus when child migrants were concerned. For example, Women’s Forum in Tetovo includes both families and children coming from FYROM and those coming from Kosovo in their program of vaccination. This organization was also involved in outreach work, which aimed to educate children on the spot when they were found on the street.

Stakeholders reported that the activity and the communication among NGOs is efficient. Some innovative forms of caring for children on the street were also introduced by these organizations, such as foster families as mentioned by representatives of The First Children’s Embassy. The latter was also particular among stakeholders interviewed in their remark that despite many programs and day centre activities, the situation of street children remains precarious since once these centres close at 4pm, children are back on the street or live in very inadequate accommodation. As they put it, these children live ‘at the edge of existence’. Very importantly, this organization was also aware of the need for rehabilitation of children and families that undergo problems and hardship.

One of the main findings is that the understanding of the concept ‘children on the move’ varied among stakeholders, and often it was nuanced according to the type of activity their organization was involved in in terms of children’s issues. In general, there was an assumption that children on the move are those that are in constant movement from one place to another, one city to another looking for existential needs and without a fixed home. This view equates children on the move with street children, which consist of one of the ‘categories’ of children on the move.

There is, thus, a difference in the way that migration studies define children on the move – primarily referring to mobility and migration experiences, with their families or alone, within or across state borders – and the way that children on the move are defined
by service providers, which focuses on the condition of nomadism, disadvantage and exploitation. Theoretically, such approach is compatible with traditional understanding of childhood as a stage of life characterised by immobility and fixity, in need of protection, in time that critical studies of childhood try to shed light on children’s agency and resilience (Jenks 2005). While frequent relocation and conditions of exploitation and vulnerability may indeed be part of the experience of children on the move, an exclusive focus on these may obscure full understanding of children's experiences and aspirations and fail to fully inform policy-making.

7.4. Stakeholders’ views on inclusiveness

Another interesting finding is the interpretation of inclusiveness of the system. Stakeholders mainly referred to the sector to which their activity was closely linked, while showing a lack of understanding of more generic issues with inclusiveness. A service provider working for the CSW said that the system is inclusive because:

‘Children at risk, including children on the move and street children, are taken into the day care centres. We help them get personal documentation and guide and refer them to work agencies, while assisting them to get the needed documentation for health protection’.

Accounts from staff of NGOs were more appreciative of the broader issues that these families and children face; a member of the Women’s Forum in Tetovo said:

‘Society should take better care of this category of kids; it should try and find a job for the parents. The programs in place should be enforced and allocated a bigger budget. And there should be a larger amount of donations for these kids.’
8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. Legal framework and policy-making

The research and interviews with stakeholders showed that policy-making on children on the move is characterised by a fragmented response of institutions towards issues that regard children. While the legal framework does make reference to children through protection of the family, advocacy initiatives could focus on lobbying for children issues to become more central in the government’s agenda in FYROM.

The findings of this research showed that there was inconsistency in the way policy makers view different categories of children on the move as included in the definition of ‘children on the move’ in the Mario Project. Training programmes for policy-making and service-level officials in FYROM on children on the move could introduce them to the complexity of this group and their diverse needs. This would enable the social workers and specialists to consider the complexity and the multi-layered situation of children on the move, especially in the case of children and families on the move in the conditions of street work.

In light of the evidence that the Centre for Social Services does not cover children from other countries (except for unaccompanied minors on guardianship issues), clear policy papers that bind service providers to equal treatment of various categories of children on the move could be designed and launched in the near future. In addition, training of policy makers on inclusive systems and encouraging them to perform their services taking an inclusive approach towards children on the move in FYROM may improve the outcomes of these services for children and caretakers.

As highlighted by many policy-makers and service providers, the fragmentary approach to children issues highlighted two main aspects of social work with children which may require some emphasis:

- The principle of cooperation between different service providers working with children should be emphasised as much as possible due to the complexity of their situation.
- Putting the best interests of the child first and respect for universal human rights among child specialists in the region is crucial for the protection of these children who seem to have been overlooked in the policies that protect children.

A more visionary approach towards children and caretakers’ needs is needed. There is a tendency among stakeholders to view the issues of children and caretakers as limited within the sphere of services in place. However, there are major political, economic and broader societal issues that give rise to marginalisation of these groups.
8. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.2. Services and children’s needs

Interrupting social security support when children are found to work on the street appears to backfire. In general, it appears that there is an incompatibility of the legal provisions and restrictions measures with the situation of the families working on the street. Policies and the programme of social services must reflect on the faults in the system which lead to some groups to be severely marginalised and end up working on the street as the last resort in their attempts to survive.

Considering the fear and mental health issues among caretakers and children working on the streets, **police should focus to reduce crime in the areas where these groups live and work and should have a more friendly approach towards children on the street.** Police staff interviewed point to their aim to catch individuals and organizations that organize and exploit street work. However, there may be no such individuals and, as mentioned above, street work may consist of a desperate family project to provide the minimum means for survival.

The **social work teams may focus on helping families with guidance to access services available and with the preparation of paper work,** since several caretakers and key community members said that they could not access social security support because they could not prepare applications.

**An important issue that has major implications for street children and caretakers is that of documentation. It appears that one reason why these groups lack documentation is, firstly, the very marginal situation of them in terms of health insurance. Another issue is the high costs and the very complicated procedure to apply for and gain documentation. Governmental and non-governmental organizations may want to consider this as a priority since it consists of an expression of and as a factor that causes further marginalisation of these groups. Stakeholders pointed to new legislation that predicts that the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy covers the costs of this procedure, however, more can be done to raise the awareness and to engage children and caretakers in these procedures.**

There exists a difference in the approach towards the situation of children and caretakers working on the streets. The approach of NGOs appears as more compatible with expectations on holistic approach towards children’s needs and development and also the principle of multi-disciplinary working. More communication should take place and an integrated action could be more appropriate of the groups concerned. For example, as highlighted above, **there exist differences between the way governmental and non-governmental organizations work with children on the move; both sectors could enhance the positive outcomes of their work by intensifying the co-operation between them.**

**The understanding of key concepts should be enhanced. This is particularly the case with concepts such as children on the move and inclusiveness. Training different service providers on these concepts should enhance the understanding of the role of social services and social workers.** This role is expected to go beyond direct provisions of services, and should include engagement with policy making and the overall respect for human rights in the framework of service provision.

When it comes to inclusiveness different aspects of the data presented above show that some discrimination of people of ethnic minority origin exists. **Health and social work professionals should be trained in universal human rights and principles of good professional practice** in order for such instances to be avoided in the future.
Decentralisation of services seems important in face of recommendations from service providers. In addition, many caretakers and children pointed to the importance of geographical proximity of organizations since they lacked the financial means to travel to have access to various services. Taking the services to the people concerned is particularly important in the case of these very marginalised groups.

More specifically, the service providers may want to consider the needs of the children and families in terms of educational materials. The precarious situation of these groups makes it paramount that education and school attendance should be encouraged at any cost. Considering the precarious situation of children in the evening, service providers may consider setting up programmes and services that run after the ‘street working hours’.

8.3. Researching and regulating mobility and migration

As mentioned above, internal and international migration is not regarded as an important issue by the policy makers and service providers. In addition, migration into and within FYROM has not received considerable attention among academics. The data presented in this report point to several aspects of migration and its links with various aspects of caretakers and children’s lives, such as health and wellbeing. In general, as the findings presented above show, many families have experiences of transnational movements. It is therefore important for organizations working with these children to have a thorough understanding of the effects of migration on children and families and apply this understanding to the day-to-day work with children and families.

For example, those caretakers who had migrated from Kosovo showed much worse living conditions when compared to other children and caretakers from FYROM. In general, comparing the data from the research conducted in Kosovo with the one in FYROM where most caretakers were Macedonian nationals, we notice that migration largely affects the lives of caretakers.

Additionally, Open Gate/La Strada (2014) point to the need to pay more attention to illegal immigration in FYROM. They link the (un)safety of street workers to the lack of documentation, which has the potential to lead to trafficking of children and also criminal records.

Evidence from this research has shed light on some of the movements in the region; however, more research is needed on migration and mobilities within the Western Balkans. This region has been typically seen as a source of out-migration towards the North Western countries, but very little is known about the flows within the region. As previous research has shown (Vathi 2014b) and as it is evident in this report, there are several movements taking place in the region and related vulnerabilities.

Data also show that the thinking of migration and childhood scholars and service providers working in the field of children on the move should go beyond the dichotomous understanding of childhood and child migration. Usually, there is a clear-cut division between accompanied and unaccompanied minors, and regular and irregular migrants. Most of our participants were accompanied, but this did not ensure that their development and welfare was enhanced by the presence of parents or caretakers. An open-minded approach should be therefore taken by all stakeholders that have the potential to induce positive change in the lives of caretakers and children living and working on the street.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX 1.
LEGAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORK
ON CHILD PROTECTION AND STREET
CHILDREN IN FYROM

Legal Framework

The Constitution

The Constitution and the Labor Relations Act set the minimum working age at 15 for children. Children who are 14 years of age are allowed to work as apprentices or as part of an official educational program. In October 2012, the Minister of Labor and Social Policy, with the consent of the Minister of Health, adopted a Rulebook on the minimum occupational safety and health requirements for workers younger than 18 years of age. The Rulebook covers the general provisions for the protection of workers and prescribes the limit values of exposure to the harmful effects of physical, chemical, and biological agents in the workplace, and the list of harmful factors and working conditions to which young workers should not be exposed.

Law on Child Protection

Prohibits all forms of exploitation, commercial exploitation and abuse of children that violate fundamental human rights and freedoms and the rights of children (Article 9, line .2)

Law on Social Protection

Predicts protection for street children and foresees the establishment of day care centers for street children and children on the street, where children and their families are provided with personal hygiene, nutrition, educational services, counseling, cultural and entertainment and re-creative activities (Article 140, line 1).

Family Law

Prohibits all forms of domestic violence regardless of gender and age. Under domestic violence is prohibited harassment, endangering the safety, physical injury, sexual or other physical or psychological violence that induces a feeling of insecurity, or fear (Article 94b).

The Criminal Code

Bans prostitution and procuring people for prostitution, in addition to forced labor, slavery, and transporting of people into slavery. The Law on the Protection of Children forbids prostitution, including any type of sexual use or abuse of children. In addition,

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5 This appendix is based on a general summary prepared by Open Gate/La Strada (2014).
Article 201 of the Criminal Code states that it is illegal for parents or guardians to coerce children into forced prostitution for their own interest. In January 2008 modifications and amendments to the FYROM’s criminal code took place and an article 418 (d) “Human Trafficking of Minors” was added making a clear distinction between trafficking in children and human trafficking in general. Sanctions are therefore more stringent and trafficking qualification is easier to make as consent of the minor victims is not an element in the definition. In 2014 a new changes in the law were made and begging was included in the act 418a as well as new article 191a Child Prostitution was added.

The Law on Criminal Procedure (LCP)

Additionally, the legal framework in FYROM, with the changes and amendments to the Law on Criminal Procedure (LCP), was harmonized with the provisions of the Palermo Protocol, in relation to the rights of victims of trafficking in persons and more specifically, the right of protection of privacy and identity and the right for compensation of damages. This law prescribes special measures for protection that consist of: guarding the secrecy of the identity, providing personal protection, change of address or place of residence and change of identity. The Law on Criminal Procedure has been changed also in the part that refers to the claim for compensation made by the victims - injured parties as a result of the crime of Trafficking in persons.

The law on Foreigners

The Law on Foreigners that was adopted in 2008 allows for a certain decision-making period, in order for the victims to recuperate, to receive appropriate help and to decide if they are going to cooperate with the Macedonian authorities and testify against the traffickers. According to the law, the period to make a decision for the foreign victims is up to two months, while juvenile victims are offered a decision making period of two months, which can be additionally extended. For domestic victims, this period is 30 days from the day of accommodation at the shelter, as regulated in the standard operative procedures for dealing with victims of trafficking in persons.

List of Laws and Regulations


Other documents

22. Standard operational procedures for treatment of victims of trafficking in human beings


27. Protocol for cooperation among the relevant institutions in case of sexual abuse of children and pedophilia (http://mtsp.gov.mk/WBStorage/Files/protokol_zloupotreba_deca.pdf)
Useful References


g) GRETA – Report concerning the implementation of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings by “the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/trafficking/Docs/Reports/GRETA_2014_12_FGR_MKD_w_cmnts_en.pdf
