Orphan Trafficking

Erika Fraser and Erin Stern

Query: Please conduct a review of the available evidence on orphan trafficking[i] and how this is increasing the risks of children to exploitation and abuse in care institutions. Please include any evidence on:

- The scale, nature and drivers of orphan trafficking including countries and regions of high prevalence. If possible, include the level of community awareness on this issue.
- How orphan trafficking is increasing the risks of child exploitation and abuse and the gendered dynamics of this (i.e, child labour, CSEA, CEFM marriage)
- How profits are generated from trafficking children into institutions, beyond money generated from volunteering and tourism and evidence on where that majority of the money comes from (i.e tourists, volunteers, charity donations)
- Does the situation of trafficking children into institutions differ between state-owned and privately-owned institutions, and what extent are governments involved and aware?
- What is the strength of the evidence and where are the gaps?
- Effective prevention and response models from both a political and programmatic perspective and any barriers that have been encountered in trying to address the issue?

[i] The recruitment of children into residential care institutions for the purpose of profit and exploitation.

1. Overview

Orphan trafficking is a form of human trafficking in which children are transferred or recruited into an orphanage or residential care institution for the purpose of exploitation and profit.[1] This report is based on a rapid review of the evidence on orphan trafficking and how it increases the risks of exploitation and abuse. Key findings include:

An estimated 5.4 million children live in institutional care worldwide,[2] and over 80% of these children have at least one living parent, meaning that millions of children are being unnecessarily separated from their families. South Asia has the highest estimated number of institutionalised children (1.13 million)[3] and was identified in a global review as the region where the most children were trafficked in and out of institutions.[4] Countries with high levels of orphan trafficking are often linked to orphanage tourism, volunteering or international adoption markets, with documented cases in Cambodia, Nepal, Uganda, Ghana, Haiti, amongst others.

Orphan trafficking typically involves four interconnected stages: recruitment, manipulation of admission procedures, formalisation of orphanhood, and exploitation.[5] 'Child finders' often target vulnerable parents and families and recruit their children through false promises. Once labelled as orphans, children may have their identities changed, making reunification with any living family members difficult. In orphanages, they can be exploited for fundraising, volunteer programmes, and tourism, or trafficked further, including for illicit adoption.[6]

There are multiple, intersecting risk factors and drivers at the individual, household, community, and structural level. Structural drivers include poverty and economic inequality, weak child protection laws and enforcement, inadequate oversight of orphanages, limited community awareness, discrimination against marginalised communities, disease outbreaks, armed conflict, violence and humanitarian crises. External factors include foreign funding, orphanage tourism and volunteering, and the demand for international adoption.

Orphan trafficking increases the risks of child exploitation and abuse. Children in institutional care face high risks of violence, abuse, and neglect by staff, volunteers and visitors,[7] and trafficked orphans are even more susceptible to such abuse. The closed nature of institutions, lack of transparency, and dependency of children makes residential care facilities high-risk environments for harm of children.[8] Orphanage tourism has been linked to child sexual exploitation (CSE), with offenders gaining access to vulnerable children through volunteer placements in residential care settings.[9] There is a higher likelihood of children trafficked to an orphanage under false circumstances of being trafficked further into different scenarios, including sexual exploitation.[10] Orphanages that traffic children to help raise funds are more likely to have environmental challenges including inadequate or poorly trained staff and limited resources, which increases the risk of neglect of children and insufficient interaction with caregivers.[11]

In terms of gender dynamics, there does not seem to be an overrepresentation of girls versus boys among orphanage trafficking victims,[12] **compared to sex trafficking where there are more female than male victims,**[13] **although more research on this is warranted.** Once trafficked into orphanages, girls may be at particular risk of sexual exploitation and abuse.[14] One study however noted that 50.3% of 1,053 children under 10 years of age at baseline or follow up in institutional care across five countries reported physical or sexual abuse with no significant differences by gender.[15] Heterosexual prostitution remains the largest and most profitable form of CSE, which girls are primarily trafficked for.[16] For example, one study found that girls in Moldova who grew up in institutions were 10 times more likely to be trafficked for sexual exploitation than their peers raised in families.[17] However, an increasing number of boys are also trafficked for the purposes of CSE and child sexual abuse material (CSAM).

Data on revenue streams remain patchy, but it is clear that orphan trafficking is a lucrative business. For instance, up to $70 million is sent every year to approximately 750 orphanages in Haiti - only 15% of which are officially registered with the government. Additional untracked contributions add another $30 million. Mission trips, orphanage tourism, and volunteering sustain the system, with over 160 groups organising trips to Haiti each year. Participants pay $500–$3,000 and often bring cash and supplies worth thousands per trip.[18]

As well as legitimate fundraising, those involved in orphan trafficking also profit from illicit activities. Research in Cambodia[19] identified several ways that people profit, including through the misappropriation of funds, nepotism, and real estate exploitation. There is also some evidence that orphanages are incentivised to operate an 'inverse business model, where investing less can equate to profiting more' with children kept in poor conditions to attract more donations and gifts.[20] There are also reports of links to serious and organised crime, through child trafficking rings, sexual exploitation, and money laundering, although the scale of this is not well documented.

It is likely that orphan trafficking is more prevalent in privately-owned institutions, than state-owned institutions, although there is little data on the differences. Privately-run and unregistered orphanages often evade regulation, making them more susceptible to trafficking and exploitation. While state-run orphanages are generally subject to government monitoring, corruption and weak enforcement in some countries still allow trafficking to persist. Religious institutions, particularly those operated by faith-based organisations or missionaries, can also be a concern as they may be registered under ministries overseeing religious affairs, creating jurisdictional challenges for monitoring.[21]

There is increasing global awareness of orphan trafficking as an issue of concern, with some countries taking significant steps to address the issue. Sending countries like Australia have recognised their role in fueling the industry, incorporating orphan trafficking into its Modern Slavery Act and restricting funding for charities involved in orphanage tourism.[22] Sweden and the U.S. have also acknowledged the link between voluntourism and orphan

trafficking. Hosting countries, such as Nepal, have imposed moratoriums on new childcare institutions to prevent exploitation. International efforts are growing, with the 2023 Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) resolution on orphanage trafficking[23] urging all 181 members to take comprehensive actions and marking a key step toward a coordinated global response.

Effective prevention and response models: While there is evidence and transferable learnings on prevention and response models for children at risk of or already living in orphanages,[24] there is limited evidence specific to what works to prevent and respond to orphan trafficking. Yet, a diversity of programmatic and policy recommendations to address orphan trafficking have been made from experts, treaties and protocols. These include recommendations to address key drivers of orphan trafficking, detect and prosecute orphan trafficking, the need to criminalise orphan trafficking, raising awareness of the harms of orphan trafficking and orphanage tourism, empowering and involving children who have been trafficked into orphanages.

Overall, the evidence remains at an early stage, with limited empirical research of interventions to prevent and respond to orphan trafficking and a range of research gaps. This limits current understanding of how to identify and protect those at risk of orphan trafficking, assist those who have been trafficked, ensure more prosecutions, and curb demand of this crime. Some key evidence gaps include:

- **Scale of orphan trafficking** in different countries, with challenges estimating prevalence due to inconsistent reporting, unregulated institutions, and the hidden nature.
- **Levels of public and government awareness** about the risks of orphan trafficking and orphanages and how to change social norms and perceptions about institutionalised care models in both host and sending countries, including at-risk parents and families.
- **Detailed analysis of revenue streams, profit and links to serious, organised crime** including child trafficking rings and links to money laundering.
- **How orphan trafficking (compared to other forms of child trafficking)** increases the risks of child exploitation and abuse, and the gendered dynamics of this.
- **Characteristics of at-risk parents/families, facilitators, and traffickers,** and the impacts of orphan trafficking on victims and family members.
- **Efficacy of counter-trafficking initiatives and legislation, programmes and policies to prevent and respond to orphan trafficking**, services needed to protect and support victims, and the success of deinstitutionalisation programmes.
- **How to adapt evidence on prevention and response models for children at risk of entering or living in institutionalised care** to models that specifically prevent and respond to orphan trafficking.

2. Scale, nature and drivers of orphan trafficking

What is orphan trafficking? Orphan trafficking is a form of human trafficking in which children are transferred or recruited into an orphanage or residential care institution for the purpose of

exploitation and profit.[25] Researchers who have studied the process, most notably Dr. Kate van Doore,[26] have made the legal argument that orphan trafficking is a form of child trafficking under international law, as it involves both the 'acts' (of transferring or recruiting the child to an orphanage) and 'purposes of exploitation' (which might involve sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, or another form of exploitation such as being used as a profit-making commodity for voluntourism and foreign sponsorship) that meet the definition of child trafficking under the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons ('UN Trafficking Protocol').[27]

It is often linked to a process known as paper orphaning, which refers to the 'process of movement of the child from the family, the creation of fraudulent documentation, often including death certificates of parents and new identity registration documents, and placement in an orphanage.'[28] In many cases, children with living parent(s) are falsely registered as orphans to attract donations and foreign volunteers, perpetuating a cycle of abuse.

This emerging form of child trafficking is growing in international recognition,[29] but research on orphanage trafficking is still a 'relatively novel area'.[30] This section examines the scale, nature, and drivers of orphan trafficking, highlighting the role of systemic vulnerabilities, poverty, corruption, and demand for child labour, adoption, and voluntourism.

2.1 Scale of orphan trafficking

The scale of orphan trafficking is difficult to quantify due to the lack of comprehensive data, inconsistences in reporting, and the hidden nature of the exploitation, often within unregulated institutions. Measuring the scale of orphanage trafficking is further complicated by the challenge of ascertaining whether it has met the 'acts' and 'purposes of exploitation'.[31] Estimates of orphan trafficking are therefore often based on the number of children in institutional care, and the recognition that approximately over 80% of these children have at least one living parent who could be raising them if they had adequate support to do so.[32]

Approximately 5.4 million children live in institutional care worldwide, according to a 2020 study[33] published in The Lancet, which conducted a systematic review of peer-reviewed research, surveys and unpublished literature, covering data from 136 counties between 2001 and 2018. The study notes that estimates vary significantly, ranging from 3 to over 9 million, depending on the methodology used, but that the median estimate is 5.4 million.

Based on the estimates that 5.4 million children live in institutional care, with around 80% having at least one living parent, approximately **4.32 million children around the world could potentially go home to family members.** Even using the lowest estimate of 3 million, at least 2.4 million institutionalised children have a family member who could care for them. However, these figures likely underestimate the true scale of the issue as they are primarily based on data from registered institutions.[34] In some countries, registered facilities represent less than half of all residential care settings, meaning the number of children in out-of-home care may be significantly higher.[35]

2.2 Countries and regions of high prevalence

Obtaining precise data on the prevalence of orphan trafficking by country is challenging due to the clandestine nature and inconsistencies in reporting. The Lancet study observes that **South Asia has the largest estimated number of children living in institutions** (1.13 million), followed by Europe and Central Asia (1.01 million), East Asia and Pacific (0.78 million), Sub-Saharan Africa (0.65 million), Middle East and North Africa (0.30 million), Latin America and the Caribbean (0.23 million), and North America (0.09 million).[36]

In 2021, Lumos highlighted 'hot spots' where children were being trafficked into institutions and out of institutions (see Annex 1), based on a global thematic review of the links between the institutionalisation of children and human trafficking.[37] Similar to the Lancet Review, **South Asia was identified as a region with a high prevalence of orphan trafficking**.

Countries with high levels of orphan trafficking tend to be well known for voluntourism and/or have a history of sending children out of the country for international adoptions.[38] Orphan trafficking has been documented in several countries, most notably **Cambodia, Guatemala, Ghana, Haiti, Indonesia, Kenya, Nepal, Thailand, and Uganda,** and is likely to exist in many more.[39] However, there is limited data on the scale of orphan trafficking in individual countries.

2.2 Nature of orphan trafficking

Research has identified four interconnected stages in orphanage trafficking:[40]

1) **Recruitment:** Vulnerable parents and families are actively targeted by 'child finders' seeking to procure children, often through deception and false promises about better care and opportunities.[41]
2) **Manipulation of admission procedures**: Systems meant to regulate the placement of children into orphanages are exploited, with fraudulent documents (e.g. falsified death certificates) being created to strip parents of legal guardianship.[42]
3) **Formalisation of orphanhood:** Children are wrongly labelled as orphans, sometimes receiving new identity documents that erase links to their biological families, making reunification difficult or impossible.[43] In countries where officials are routinely bribed, they may lack the motivation to distinguish between accurate and inaccurate papers.[44]
4) **Exploitation and retention:** Once placed in orphanages, children are kept there for continued exploitation, often being used to attract donations through child sponsorship programmes, emotional fundraising campaigns, orphanage volunteering, and children being forced to perform songs and dances for tourists when they visit.[45]

The relationship between child trafficking and orphanages is two-fold.[46] Orphanages may be the destination point, whereby the child is recruited and placed in an orphanage for the purpose of exploitation, or a transit point in the trafficking process before the child reaches the

final destination of exploitation.[47] Most studies of orphan trafficking focus on 'the subset of children living in orphanages who were transferred or recruited from their home communities under false pretenses and for whom the orphanage is an *end-user* in their exploitation, a process known as orphan trafficking'.[48] Other types of child trafficking related to orphanages, but not covered by most definitions of orphan trafficking, include trafficking for illicit adoption and the trafficking of children from institutions into other forms of exploitation.[49]

2.3 Drivers of orphan trafficking

Multiple, often intersecting, drivers of orphan trafficking operate at different levels from the individual to household, family, community and society levels. A global thematic review identified several factors that increase children's vulnerability to institutionalisation and to human trafficking,[50] which are summarised below:

- **Individual factors** that place a particular child at risk of orphan trafficking, such as gender, disability, migration status, and involvement in the criminal justice system.
- **Household and family factors** within a child's family or household that place them at increased risk, such as experiences of abuse or neglect, household poverty, inadequate and inequitable access to education, and parental migration for labour.
- **Community factors** which place children at increased risk, such as location in a volunteerism area, areas of high migration where families lack identity documents and are not registered with local authorities, and a political or humanitarian crisis.
- **Structural factors** that exist as result of institutional, cultural, economic or social norms, at national, regional or global levels.

These structural factors, often referred to as drivers, contribute to a system where children are more vulnerable to orphan trafficking. Some of these drivers are **systemic** issues, such as inequitable development, weak enforcement of child protection laws and policies, and inadequate oversight of privatised child welfare services. Others are **external factors**, such as foreign funding and orphanage volunteering and tourism, which play a significant role by creating financial incentives for the recruitment, trafficking, and exploitation of children in institutional care.[51] **Evidence on these drivers is briefly outlined below**.

Poverty and economic inequality have been identified as important drivers of child trafficking and CSE.[52] Parents wanting a better education for their children appears to be a significant risk factor for orphan trafficking.[53] Traffickers and orphanage operators typically recruit children from vulnerable families, with few options to meet children's basic needs or access education.[54] For instance, a study by UNICEF and Terre Des Hommes in Nepal details the case of 1000 children being transported from districts of Humla and Jumla to orphanages in Kathmandu.[55] The agents recruiting the children from families convinced parents that their children would receive a better education in Kathmandu, with the understanding that their children would

return home on holidays and families would be allowed to visit. However, children were never admitted to school; their names were often changed and they were lost to searching families. Similarly, a study in Cambodia suggested that while an array of other socio-economic factors such as remarriage, single parenting, large families and alcoholism contribute to the likelihood of placing a child in care, the single largest contributing factor for placement in residential care is education.[56] A study in Haiti exposes a pattern where children are recruited to orphanages through purchase, coercion or deception, whereby parents are promised their children will have a better life and an education.[57]

Armed conflict, violence and humanitarian crises: The establishment of orphanages as a child protection response in post-disaster and conflict settings has led to a rise in institutionalisation, despite evidence of its harm to children's development. Over the past three decades, orphanages have proliferated, driven by humanitarian crises and increased private funding.[58] For example, in the wake of the 2004 tsunami in Indonesia, over 200 orphanages were established in Aceh, housing more than 16,000 children. However, an assessment by Save the Children one year after the tsunami found that more than 85% of the children in these institutions had at least one living parent, with only 10% being true orphans. Despite this, the majority remained in care, with only 8 cases in progress for family reunification.[59]

Disease outbreaks can significantly increase the vulnerability of children to orphan trafficking, as was seen during the West African Ebola crisis. During this time, reports emerged of a rise in the number of institutions, sometimes referred to as 'Ebola orphanages'.[60] In Liberia, for example, five orphanages opened in Lofa County, where none existed before the epidemic. There were concerns that even a brief stay in an orphanage was encouraging an 'institutional mentality'. This was observed in both Sierra Leone and Liberia, where some children became reluctant to return home after just 21 days in care, often due to ongoing instability, a lack of resources or uncertainty about their family's situation. Many of these orphanages were poorly regulated, turning into hubs for trafficking, where children were vulnerable to forced labor, street begging, and sexual exploitation.

Community awareness and social norms about institutional care and sending children away for educational opportunities likely play an important role in driving orphan trafficking, although there is limited data about levels of community awareness of orphan trafficking. In many societies, orphanages are seen as the best option for vulnerable children, even when they have living parents. Traffickers exploit these misconceptions, persuading struggling parents to give up their children while donors continue to fund orphanages without realising the harm they cause. For example, in Haiti, parents facing poverty or illness often use a practice commonly known as *restavek*, where children are sent away to act as domestic servants in the houses of host families, driven by a belief that this will provide them with a better future.[61] This belief, reinforced by social norms, media portrayals, and charitable appeals, also extends to institutional care. Mistaken beliefs about the value of orphanages can also influence the willingness of volunteers to engage in orphanage volunteering and tourism, believing they are helping, when their

involvement can inadvertently fuel the demand for orphanages and incentivise the recruitment of children.

Weak laws, policies, and enforcement mechanisms create an enabling environment for opportunistic orphan trafficking as well as organised criminal activity. Many governments fail to adequately regulate and monitor orphanages, relying heavily on private providers such as non-governmental and charitable organisations to manage and fund alternative care.[62] This lack of oversight and accountability allows orphanage operators to act with impunity, facilitating the exploitation and trafficking of children.[63] For example, in Ghana, the Department of Social Welfare has struggled to prevent unlicensed orphanages from operating, and there are limited laws and policies to ensure proper monitoring. This oversight gap is exploited by the illegal adoption sector, where unlicensed institutions facilitate the sale of children to unregulated adoption agencies.[64]

Discrimination against marginalised communities can lead to these groups being disproportionately vulnerable to orphan trafficking. In Australia, for example, First Nations (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander) children have faced historic trauma due to policies like the forcible removal of children during the 'Stolen Generations.' In 2022, First Nations children were 11.8 times more likely to be in out-of-home care than non-Indigenous children.[65] In Hungary, children from Roma communities are disproportionately placed in orphanages, often as a temporary intervention which ends up being a permanent placement.[66]

Demand for adoption among childless families, often from high-income countries, also drives trafficking of children in and out of orphanages.[67] This is particularly evident in countries where private and international adoptions are common, for example in China, where it is estimated that more than 200,000 children are sold for the purposes of international adoptions per year.[68]

Profits made from volunteering, visitor fees and donations: The popularity of orphanage volunteering and tourism has seen a rise in orphanages built in tourist hotspots to fulfil demand and capitalise on the financial potential.[69] In Cambodia, for example, there was a 75 per cent increase in the number of residential care institutions in a five-year period, despite no correlating increase in the number of children losing both parents.[70] In Uganda, the number of children in orphanages increased from just over one thousand in the late 1990s to 55,000 in 2018, despite large decreases in the number of orphans.[71] Studies linked this increase with an influx in foreign funding, including orphanage voluntourism and mission trips, with an estimated 80% of Ugandan orphanages relying on these donations.[72]

Foreign funding: Foreign funding can be a significant driver of orphan trafficking, particularly when donations are directed toward orphanages and residential care institutions without sufficient oversight.[73] Around the world, faith-based organisations, individuals, and other donors often provide substantial financial, technical, and in-kind support to children's institutions, driven by the desire to alleviate poverty and support vulnerable children. In Haiti, for example, over US$70 million is donated annually to orphanages, mostly from Christian donors in North

America.[74] While these donations are often well-intentioned, they frequently reflect short-term thinking and a lack of understanding about the potential negative impacts (see Section 3). Faith-based funding is also typically 'less bound by reporting requirements'.[75] In some cases, foreign funding supports an outdated and harmful model of care of children, inadvertently contributing to orphan trafficking. This was seen in Nepal after the 2015 earthquake, when institutions attracted substantial foreign donations to support 'earthquake orphans,' despite only 176 children being fully orphaned. These donations perpetuated the existence of institutions instead of prioritising long-term family-based solutions for the children.[76]

3. Links to child exploitation and abuse trafficking

3.1 How orphan trafficking is increasing the risks of child exploitation and abuse

Orphanage trafficking is associated with various forms of exploitation including sexual exploitation, child labour, and servitude.[77] Many orphanages and care homes in the Global South rely on donations and international volunteers, and children can sometimes be used to attract funding.[78] This might involve using children for performances or promotional activities on behalf of institutions.[79] There is also documentation of children being kept malnourished or in sub-standard and detrimental conditions to stimulate tourism, volunteering and donations to orphanages.[80] Children who are trafficked into poor quality and under-resourced facilities may be forced to engage in criminal activities such as begging, stealing, and sexual exploitation.[81] A substantial number of orphanages in the Global South are unregistered,[82] including without any official system to record children entering or leaving orphanages.[83] Unlawfully operating orphanages constitutes a high-risk environment for orphanage trafficking and the exploitation of children as they can operate without scrutiny.[84]

Lumos documented several case studies of patterns of abuse across orphanages in Haiti. One orphanage, which housed 31 children (18 boys and 13 girls) intentionally malnourished the children to motivate visiting volunteers to donate more, or adoptive parents to increase their 'childcare donation' while waiting for their adoption to be finalised. Children consistently suffered from diseases such as scabies, giardia, diarrhea, intestinal worms, and malnutrition. All interaction between caregivers and children was in a group setting, with no individual attention or stimulation. The daytime caregiver-to-child ratio was 1:10 for infants, with even fewer carers for older children and at night-time. The caregiver turnover rate was extremely high since anyone who questioned the director on the practices in the institution was dismissed.

As with other child trafficking victims, trafficked and paper orphans are not a heterogeneous group, including their experiences once trafficked into institutional care.[85] Conditions and standards of care for children can vary substantially across orphanages, [86] although even well-run orphanages typically result in poorer outcomes for children than family-based care.[87] In addition, children trafficked into orphanages, especially in the Global South, face

a high risk of violence, abuse and neglect[88] by staff, officials, volunteers and visitors.[89] Children living in care institutions are prone to experience physical,[90] sexual, and emotional abuse,[91] peer violence,[92] neglect and exploitation.[93] One study in Armenia showed that children in orphanages and institutions are six times more likely to be victims of violence than their peers raised in families.[94] Documented forms of abuse and exploitation of children in orphanages include torture, beatings, isolation, restraints, harassment, humiliation,[95] medical experimentation[96]and being subjected to excessive chores that interfere with their education and well-being.[97] The closed nature of institutions, lack of transparency, and dependency of children makes residential care facilities high-risk environments for harm.[98] The 'open door policy' of some orphanages contributes to children's vulnerability to child sex offenders, where tourists can visit as they please and remove children for excursions.[99] For example, the Dutch police found that many Dutch nationals convicted for child abuse abroad were involved in orphanages.[100] In 13 of 85 possible Sexual Exploitation of Children in Travel and Tourism (SECTT) cases examined, the relation between the victim and perpetrator was established through humanitarian work. Suspects worked at or managed an orphanage, school or rescue organisation, and in one case, as a missionary.

Children residing in institutional care are at risk of being trafficked for sexual exploitation or forced labour[101] especially in contexts with weak or absent child protection mechanisms.[102] There is a higher likelihood of children who were trafficked to an orphanage under false circumstances of being trafficked further into different scenarios, including sexual exploitation, bonded labour, slavery or organ harvesting.[103] In some cases, orphanages are complicit or directly involved in the trafficking of children within their care.[104] Orphanages that traffic children to help raise funds are more likely to have environmental challenges including inadequate or poorly trained staff and limited resources, which increases the risk of neglect of children and insufficient interaction with caregivers.[105] For instance, a study of orphanages in Cambodia found that child-to-staff ratios in some cases were as high as 81:1.[106]

A common characteristic among trafficked children that increases their vulnerability to exploitation and abuse is they tend not to be easily identified by authorities. This is due to a variety of reasons including fear of reporting, not having the words or experiential knowledge to explain their experiences in ways that are recognised as trafficking,[107] lack of robust child protection policies and inadequate complaint mechanisms.[108] In particular, paper orphans provided with false documentation cannot be easily identified by the public and investigators.[109]

3.2 Gendered dynamics of exploitation and abuse

Social norms and cultural traditions that perpetuate gender based social inequalities, stereotypical attitudes, and discrimination toward girls and women heightens the vulnerability of girls to child trafficking including CSE. [110] **However, there does not seem to be an**

overrepresentation of girls versus boys among orphanage trafficking victims,[111] **compared to sex trafficking where there are more female than male victims.**[112]

Once trafficked into orphanages, girls may be at particular risk of sexual exploitation and abuse.[113] One study however noted that 50.3% of 1,053 children under 10 years of age at baseline or follow up in institutional care across five countries reported physical or sexual abuse with no significant differences by gender.[114] Heterosexual prostitution remains the largest and most profitable form of CSE, which girls are primarily trafficked for.[115] Girls in Moldova who grew up in institutions, for example, were found to be 10 times more likely to be trafficked for sexual exploitation than their peers raised in families.[116] However, an increasing number of boys are also trafficked for the purposes of CSAM and CSE. [117]

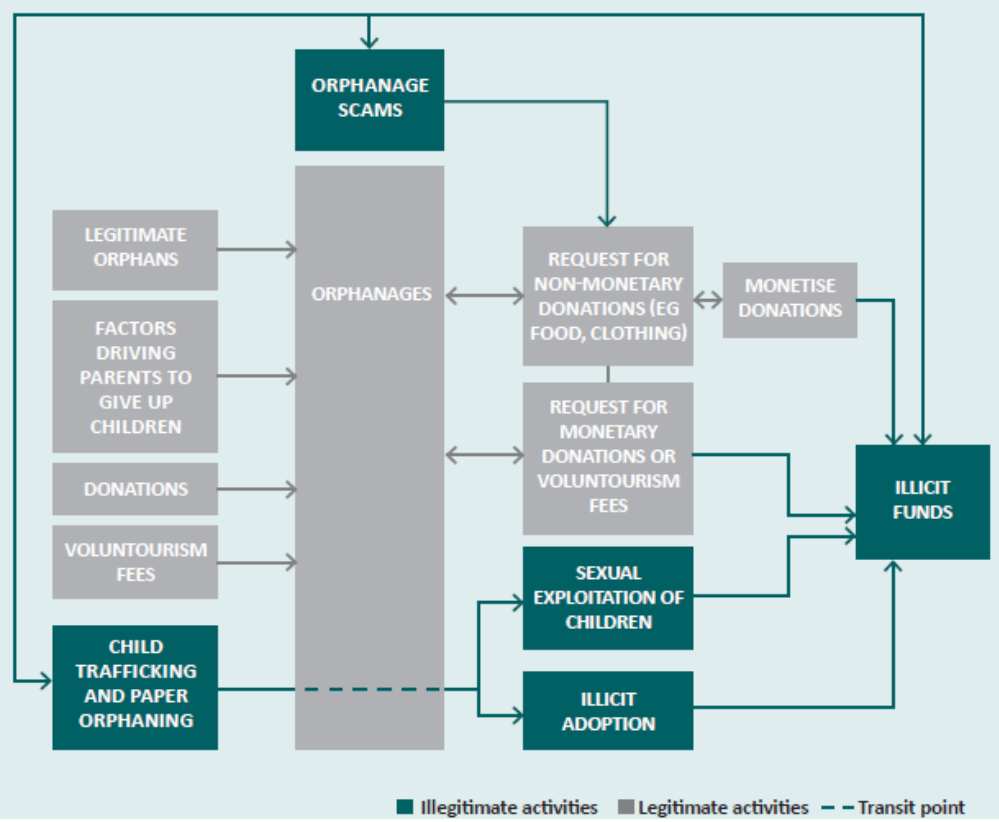
Female orphanhood is considered to be an early risk factor for early marriage and early childbearing, although empirical analyses documenting this link are limited and inconclusive.[118] A Nigerian human rights group recently launched a petition to stop plans by religious leaders and a state lawmaker to push 100 orphaned girls and young women into a mass marriage ceremony, many of whom are believed to be under the legal age of 18. Yet, a study that analysed Demographic and Health Survey data from 10 sub-Saharan African countries found little association between orphanhood and early marriage or teen pregnancy for girls aged 15 to 17.[119] The authors note that orphanhood status alone may not be a sufficient mechanism for these outcomes in many countries. Disaggregating by orphan type (including whether orphans reside in institutions or are paper orphans), schooling, and poverty levels would be more robust in identifying young women at risk of these outcomes.

4. Profiting from orphan trafficking

4.1 Where does the money come from?

Orphan trafficking generates profits through a mix of legitimate fundraising and illegitimate activities. In legitimate cases, children enter orphanages due to genuine circumstances. Some are true orphans, while others are placed in care because their families cannot provide for them due to economic hardship or other social factors. These institutions rely on donations from individuals, charities, and organisations, as well as fees collected from voluntourism. In a properly functioning system, these funds go towards providing shelter, education, healthcare, and other basic needs for the children. However, illegitimate profit-making activities can also take place within orphanages, whereby orphan trafficking is used to increase the number of children and secure more donations. In some cases, these children are then funnelled into illicit adoption markets, where they are sold to unsuspecting families for large sums of money. Figure 1 maps some of the processes by which orphanages are used for legitimate and illegitimate operations, based on a review of the links between orphanages and child trafficking, illicit adoption, and orphanage scams in South-East Asia.[120]

Figure 1. Processes by which orphanages are used for legitimate and illegitimate activities[121]



There is limited evidence on revenue streams of orphanages, although most studies highlight the following 'legitimate' streams of revenue, which are often interconnected:

- **Charity donations, particularly from faith-based organisations and individuals**, play a significant role in the proliferation of orphanages, and associated orphan trafficking. In Kenya, for example, faith-based organisations provided, on average, 14.4% of the income for 168 children's residential facilities.[122] Although churches, mosques, and religiously affiliated charities contribute substantial resources (financial, technical, and in-kind), the sector's lack of stringent reporting requirements can enable orphan trafficking. A 2021 study found that U.S. Christians donate an estimated $3.3 billion annually to residential care facilities. Almost three-quarters of this went directly to a single orphanage, missionary, volunteer or orphan, rather than through a children's charity or organisation,[123] increasing the possibility for corruption and unintentionally sustaining orphan trafficking.
- **Donations and fees from orphanage tourism and volunteering** can inadvertently fuel orphan trafficking by stimulating demand for orphanages and orphaned children. Orphanage tourism is a lucrative industry, generating profits through a range of activities, from brief tourist visits with performances to structured volunteer programs involving renovations,

sports, and tutoring. Longer-term volunteer placements, where individuals assist with childcare and sometimes stay onsite for months, also contribute to revenue streams. Skilled professionals may receive compensation for extended stays of 1–2 years, while unskilled volunteers, such as gap year participants, often pay fees for short-term placements of 1–6 months.[124] In 2014, Better Care Network highlighted the rise of orphanage tourism in Cambodia, Nepal, Thailand, Indonesia, Kenya, Ghana, and Guatemala, with operators establishing orphanages as profit-driven businesses after observing the large number of visitors willing to donate time, money, and resources.[125]

One of the most detailed explorations of funding streams is research conducted by Lumos into the orphanage model in Haiti (see box below), where there are reports of children being separated from parents to be placed in orphanages and adopted illegally, or used to attract donations from faith-based and private donors.[126] Well-intended donors and volunteers, mostly from the United States, send up to $100 million annually, fuelling orphanages run for profit.[127]

Case Study: Profiting from the Orphanage Model in Haiti

An estimated 30,000 children live in approximately 750 mostly privately-run and financed orphanages in Haiti. Only 15% of these are officially registered with the government. The Government of Haiti estimates that around 80% of 'orphans' have at least one living parent, and almost all have other family members.

Research by Lumos[128] found that Haiti's orphanage system has become a profitable industry sustained by faith-based funding, voluntourism, and private donations. Key findings include:

- An estimated US$70 million annually supporting 280 Haitian orphanages, with over 90% coming from U.S. Protestant or Catholic organisations. Amounts ranged extensively by funder – from a minimum of $1,000 annually in donations to $34 million annually from one funder.
- Additional funds from private individuals, in-kind assistance, and cash contributions that are not tracked through programmatic budgets and financial reports. Other innovative fundraising methods include crowdfunding for mission trip participants and volunteers to go to Haitian orphanages. The exact figure is unknown, but it could add up to US$30 million.

Mission trips, orphanage tourism and volunteering play a key role in maintaining this system. Over 160 organisations, including orphanages, faith-based groups, and travel agencies, arrange trips to Haiti, charging participants between $500 and $3,000 per visit. Volunteers are often required to bring cash donations and supplies, sometimes amounting to thousands of dollars per trip. While well-intentioned, these visits create a cycle of attachment and abandonment for vulnerable children and expose them to unregulated interactions with strangers.[129]

4.2 How are profits generated from trafficking children into institutions?

The profits from orphanage trafficking benefit a range of individuals involved in the process. Research from Cambodia[130] found that orphanage directors and founders play a central

role in orchestrating and benefiting from trafficking, while recruiters (often staff members or their relatives) gain financial compensation, material goods, or job security for procuring children. Village leaders, either knowingly or unknowingly, facilitate children's admission to orphanages, sometimes in exchange for bribes or financial rewards. One social worker observed how some village leaders receive financial compensation for sharing lists of children that the recruiters can draw from. In Haiti, there is some evidence of orphanage directors paying 'child-finders' to recruit children for the orphanage. In some cases, families are paid to give their children away, while in others they are given false promises of better opportunities.[131]

To maintain the profit from institutionalisation, orphanage directors will often not release children even when requested to do so by parents.[132] There have been cases of parents locating their children at an orphanage and directors requiring the costs of their child's institutionalisation to be reimbursed. In one case in Nepal, an orphanage director created a system of bonded labour for a mother who believed her two children were in school but searched and located them at his orphanage.[133] Instead of releasing the children to her, the director insisted the mother pay him a total of 144,000 rupees for two years of 'care' at the orphanage, at the cost of 6000 rupees per month.

In some cases, the profits generated through orphanages feed into professional crime rings. These networks often operate under the guise of legitimacy, presenting seemingly complete documentation to authorities and donors. There is little information about how these child trafficking rings operate, although the United States Department of State (2018) has observed that the practice operates in many countries, including Nepal, Cambodia and Haiti.[134]

Detecting orphanage trafficking crimes can be particularly challenging because it is hard to differentiate between orphanages running genuine charitable operations and those engaged in profit-driven trafficking. Research with criminal justice professionals in Cambodia observed that the lines were blurred: "*It's difficult to distinguish between what is and isn't a crime when it comes to profiting. When it comes to sexual exploitation, it's clearer, but with profit as the purpose, it's difficult to distinguish and differentiate. Sometimes the orphanage directors recruit children under the guise of helping them, but in reality, they receive funds for personal gain.*"[135]

Some researchers have pointed to an 'inverse business model, where investing less can equate to profiting more'.[136] Several studies have noted that there is evidence that some orphanages keep children in poor conditions and intentionally malnourish them to attract more donations and gifts.[137]

'Orphanage scams' are another means of generating illicit profits. The lack of financial regulation in some countries facilitates laundering money in and out of orphanages. Some institutions exaggerate or fabricate the number of children they care for to solicit more funding. Others request non-monetary donations such as food, toys and clothing, only to resell these goods at local markets for cash.[138] In extreme cases, fake orphanages exist only on paper, as 'charity scams' designed to facilitate money laundering or embezzlement.[139] For example, a New

York woman was jailed for defrauding victims of $180,000 for a non-existent African orphanage. Despite suspicions of fraud, she continued funnelling the funds into foreign accounts, acting as a money mule for scammers. She was charged with wire fraud in 2023 for her role in the scheme.[140]

Illicit funds generated through these activities often sustain a cycle of orphan trafficking. The money gained from fraudulent donations, voluntourism fees, illegal adoptions, and exploitation can be used to support further trafficking operations, ensuring a continuous supply of children into the system. Researchers have observed how profits feed into a broader '*orphan industrial complex*',[141] which extends to intercountry adoption and even child trafficking. In Uganda, a study found that social workers reported being pressured to facilitate international adoptions rather than support family reunification, mirroring patterns seen in Guatemala and Ethiopia, where adoption markets have overridden local care solutions.[142]

An example of how orphan trafficking can operate as a corrupt and highly profitable business model in Cambodia is shown in the box below. By maintaining poor conditions, misusing funds, manipulating land sales, and neglecting child welfare, directors turn vulnerable children into commodities, prioritising financial gain over their care and protection.

Case study: Profits from orphan trafficking in Cambodia

Research by Nhep et al. (2024)[143] reveals some of the key indicators of orphan trafficking and how orphanages generate illicit profits. The study was based on 27 interviews with criminal justice professionals, civil society investigators, and child protection social workers in Cambodia.

Deceptive fundraising tactics, volunteering and tourism. Many institutions exaggerate the number of children in their care and fabricate tragic stories to attract international donors. Interviewees described how children are coached on how to behave for tourists (e.g. rubbing mud on their faces). One investigator explained how "*a lot of these were kids from families living in the surrounding community, who had been brought in for the tourists to come.*" Orphanages strategically position themselves in tourist areas, charging fees for visits, performances, and outings with children. Online fundraising campaigns further exploit misleading images and narratives to solicit donations.

Misappropriation of funds, donations and assets is another common practice. Interviewees observed that a key indicator of this is orphanage directors who have relatively lavish lifestyles compared to children's living conditions.

Maintaining poor standards of care to increase profits was used as a deliberate fundraising One investigator observed, "*Almost 100% of the poor standards were employed to maintain the façade rather than the directors not wanting to spend money on the children's care. In the orphanages we investigated, standards were intentionally kept low to evoke sympathy and get money…It was just a money-making scheme and how do you make money, you make everyone look terrible.*"

Lax child safeguarding policies can further highlight the profit motive. Overcrowded sleeping conditions and poor supervision increase risks of abuse, while some operators deliberately avoid implementing child protection measures to cut costs. Some facilities even encourage children to engage with tourists physically, reinforcing emotional connections that drive donations.

Nepotism within these institutions can allow family members to maintain control over financial records and prevent exposure. One social worker observed, "*The staff were all the relatives of the director. It was a family business they had set up to traffic and profit from children … from the director, to caregivers, to the cooks, cleaners, admin, accountants - they were all relatives. So, it was very easy for them to run this trafficking operation and keep it silent, because it was all in-house, and under their network and control.*"

Real estate exploitation is another way for orphanage operators to profit. Some directors repeatedly relocate facilities, profiting from land sales while using children as unpaid labour to clear land and construct temporary shelters. The lack of financial transparency makes it difficult to track these transactions, allowing the cycle of exploitation to continue undetected.

4.3 How does the situation differ between state-owned and privately-owned institutions?

There is limited evidence on how orphan trafficking into institutions differs between different types of orphanages, although it is likely higher in privately-owned than state-owned institutions due to differences in oversight, regulation, and financial incentives. State orphanages are generally subject to government policies and monitoring, which can reduce the likelihood of large-scale orphan trafficking. However, corruption, lack of resources, and weak enforcement in some countries allows orphan trafficking to persist even within government-run facilities.

The manipulation of gatekeeping procedures plays a significant role in orphan trafficking, **particularly in privately-owned and unregistered facilities**. Research in Cambodia[144] found that irregularities in the registration status of orphanages and admission documentation (e.g. incomplete or missing intake forms, unclear reasons for placement, or a lack of parental information) are key indicators of orphan trafficking. Unregistered facilities can allow personal networks and patron-client relationships to evade regulation, increasing the risk of exploitation.[145]

Registered orphanages are not immune to trafficking, as some exploit their official status to avoid scrutiny. Religious institutions appear to be a particular concern, as they are often registered under ministries overseeing religious affairs rather than those responsible for residential care, creating jurisdictional challenges in monitoring and intervention.[146] In Haiti, where many orphanages are run by Catholic sisters and Haitian pastors linked to American churches, and missionaries, regulation of faith-based orphanages is often weak or nonexistent. There have even been cases of orphanages led by self-proclaimed 'Pastors' who have not been officially ordained and use 'fake' religious affiliation to gain trust and funding.[147]

Small, privately-run orphanages with irregular funding streams are likely at greatest risk of orphan trafficking, compared to state-owned institutions or larger privately-owned institutions with more stable financing. Research in Haiti by Lumos found that roughly two-thirds of orphanages lacked publicly available information about their funders, suggesting they operated with limited and unreliable financial backing. Without steady funding, researchers noted that these facilities may struggle to provide for children's basic needs, leading operators to actively recruit more 'orphans' to secure donations.[148]

4.4 To what extent are governments involved and aware?

Government awareness of orphan trafficking varies widely, although there is a growing recognition of the issue. Activities vary according to whether a government is a "sending country" (one that supplies funding, volunteers, and tourists) or a "hosting country" (one where children are at risk of orphan trafficking). While there is little evidence that governments actively participate in orphan trafficking, some anecdotal reports suggest that corrupt officials may have ignored or enabled the problem.[149]

Some sending countries have recognised orphanage trafficking as a serious issue and are taking measures to reduce their role in fueling the industry, including taking steps to prevent their citizens from inadvertently supporting exploitative orphanages. Australia has gone further than most by becoming the first government globally to include orphan trafficking under its Modern Slavery Act[150] and regulate charities' engagement with orphanage tourism and volunteering, restricting access to government funding for charities involved in the practice.[151] It has also issued travel advisories warning citizens about the risks of volunteering in orphanages abroad. Sweden has acknowledged the issue, linking orphanage tourism and trafficking in its 2016–2018 Action Plan to protect children from human trafficking, exploitation and sexual abuse, highlighting that public awareness campaigns should be enacted to articulate the link between exploitation and trafficking with orphanage tourism. The U.S. Department of State highlighted the link between voluntourism and child recruitment and trafficking into orphanages in its Trafficking in Persons Report 2018, which included a special interest topic on "Child Institutionalization and Human Trafficking."[152]

There has also been a growing awareness in hosting countries, some of which have instituted moratoriums on new childcare institutions, including in emergency response contexts.[153] For example, the Government of Nepal issued a moratorium preventing the registration and establishment of new residential care institutions for children in the wake of the 2015 earthquake.[154] Further information is provided in Section 5 on how sending and hosting governments and other actors have supported prevention of and response to orphan trafficking.

Government efforts to combat orphan trafficking are becoming increasingly coordinated on a global scale, moving beyond fragmented initiatives toward a unified approach to addressing the root causes of this form of exploitation. A significant milestone was reached in

October 2023 when the 147th Assembly of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) adopted a resolution on Orphanage trafficking: The role of parliaments in reducing harm. This resolution was the result of international collaboration, including Australia's leadership in advocating for a unified parliamentary response.[155] Building on this progress, an IPU seminar is scheduled for March 2025[156] that aims to further equip legislators with strategies to prevent orphan trafficking through effective policy and legislative action.

5. Effective prevention and response models

As orphan trafficking is an emerging and neglected issue, there is limited empirical evidence of what works to both prevent and respond to orphan trafficking. There are, however, a diversity of programmatic and policy recommendations from experts, treaties and resolutions to address this issue. Numerous barriers to implement these recommendations exist including limited awareness of orphan trafficking by the public, funders, and services providers and the sheer scale of foreign funding and tourism initiatives that sustain institutional models of care. Yet, there is promisingly increasing global political will, coordinated efforts and campaigns to address this issue, while many sending countries are in the process of engaging in efforts for deinstitutionalisation and to reform existing childcare systems.[157]

Address Drivers of Orphan Trafficking

To prevent orphan trafficking, experts and treaty bodies recommend better regulation of foreign funding of orphanages and voluntourism, including to end volunteer placements involving orphanage tourism.[158] Rendering orphanage tourism unlawful could reduce the incentive for children to be trafficked into orphanages for profit,[159] and is a proposed action in the 2023 IPU resolution. UNICEF have recommended that donors of orphanages carefully monitor to ensure they are not indirectly fueling the displacement or unnecessary institutionalisation of children and use their leverage to persuade institutions to invest in the reintegration of children in orphanages with family-based care.[160] **Additional strategies to address the drivers of orphan trafficking involve regulating orphanages and conducting background checks on potential volunteers to orphanages**.

Carefully transitioning children out of orphanages and efforts towards deinstitutionalisation could help reduce the incentive for orphan trafficking.[161] Prioritising family-based care and strengthening deinstitutionalisation are actions included in the 2023 IPU resolution. Evidence suggests that scaling-up family-based alternative care projects, such as foster care and reintegration, building livelihoods projects and educational systems can help keep children with their families,[162] especially in high-risk communities prone to child trafficking.[163] Comprehensive social protection systems in countries can help ensure that when families are in need due to poverty or other vulnerabilities, their only alternative is not residential care.[164] Funding from donors is required to properly and safely ensure children can

be moved out of orphanages, which includes funding for tracing families and reuniting children and developing alternative care options, such as family support services, emergency foster care and adoption.[165] Deinstutionalisation can be cost effective: Save the Children conducted a cost analysis in East and Central Africa and found that the costs of caring for children in institutions were 10 times the cost of supporting a child in their family.[166]

Hope and Homes for Children has been working in Rwanda for the past two decades to pursue the goal of deinstitutionalisation of children. In 2002, they began by selecting families most in need and built houses for children and families that were homeless, helped them access education and healthcare and improve their income and family relationships. In 2005, they developed 'community hubs' – centres to provide services families need most**,** including childhood development to parenting skills workshops. In 2010, they partnered with the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion to launch a survey of children's institutions across the country, and in 2012, the Rwandan administration approved a national strategy for childcare reform. As a result of this policy, three quarters of orphanages have closed and over 91% of children have been reintegrated with their families.

Detection and Prosecution of Orphan Trafficking

Effective prosecution is essential for combating all forms of human trafficking, including orphanage trafficking, and detection is the first step in this process.[167] It is important to sensitise mandated child protection authorities to indicators of orphan trafficking and to use inspectorate systems to detect and identify victims.[168] The lack of knowledge of orphan trafficking means it can be overlooked or mischaracterised, and reports by victims, families or advocates dismissed.[169]

Evidence suggests that trained child protection authorities responsible for inspecting orphanages and social workers responsible for case management can more adequately detect indicators of orphanage trafficking.[170] An empirically validated, trauma, and risk-informed screening tool for orphanage trafficking that can be integrated into inspectorate tools, victim identification procedures and case management workflows could assist in this process. Indicators of orphanage trafficking identified through a study in Cambodia provide a step towards the development of such a tool.[171] Indicators identified in this study ranged from advertisements promoting visits to the facility, well-forged documentation, and lack of cooperation from directors and staff during reintegration periods.

Training of law enforcement and criminal justice professionals with responsibilities over investigations, charging, and prosecution on indicators of orphan trafficking can enhance their capacities to recognise and respond to suspected cases.[172] To date, there have been few prosecutions of people who establish orphanages to traffic children, which can be partially explained by a lack of sufficient capacities in the police force and judiciary.[173] Awareness raising and sensitisation activities more broadly with child protection and anti-trafficking personnel can

also help to improve knowledge of orphanage trafficking and indicators.[174] Multi-disciplinary trainings may improve awareness and cross sector collaboration to improve rates of detection, reporting, investigation, prosecution, referral, and remedy for victims of orphan trafficking.[175]

Developing national independent inspection systems of orphanages and a system for tracking children in residential care can facilitate detection of trafficked orphans.[176] Routine investigations of residential care facilities can help to regulate and register childcare institutions to ensure they operate within the law and meet minimum standards for the care and protection of children.[177] Without proper regulation or inspection, crimes, including orphan trafficking, can go unchecked. Independent research can also help detect trafficked orphans and inform childcare reform strategies. For example, in 2012, a national survey was conducted across all 33 registered institutions for children in Rwanda to gather comprehensive quantitative and qualitative data about all children residing in institutional care, as well as data about the institutions and staff. Findings from this survey informed the government's implementation of the National Strategy for Child Care Reform, which aims to transform Rwanda's child protection system into a family based and family strengthening system.

Criminalisation of Orphan Trafficking

There is a growing recognition that orphanage trafficking should be criminalised and recognised as a type of child trafficking.[178] The movement of a child from their family to an orphanage under false circumstances should also be classed as child trafficking under international law, which would allow for paper orphans to access more appropriate and specific remedies. [179] Some child protection experts argue that orphan trafficking should be recognised as a form of modern slavery, as was done by the Australian government in 2018 under their Modern Slavery Act. [180] Such formal recognition by governments and international law can assist in raising awareness of orphan trafficking and in implementing programmes and policies to combat it. [181] It is important to distinguish between orphan trafficking or modern slavery, orphanage tourism and/or institutionalisation of children, as a lack of clarity risks inappropriate mechanisms being implemented to address each of these interrelated issues.[182]

The Law on the Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation (TSE Law) in Cambodia (2008) established new offenses and provided a clear legal framework to prosecute orphanage trafficking crimes. According to this law, orphanage trafficking comprises unlawful removal of a child from parental powers or guardianship for the purpose of exploitation, profit, or adoption. The potential for orphanage trafficking to be prosecuted under the law is aided by including *profit making* as a specific purpose in trafficking offences, which captures and criminalises the main driver of trafficking of children into orphanages. Offenders involved in all stages of orphanage trafficking, including the recruitment, transport, transfer, receipt or harboring of a child, can be prosecuted under a range of offenses prescribed in this law.

Awareness-raising of Harms of Orphan Trafficking and Orphanage Tourism

Orphan trafficking is a relatively new issue, and awareness of the nature of the crime and its indicators is inconsistent and limited.[183] **While orphanage tourism is still popular, particularly among young student travellers, several awareness campaigns have aimed to educate potential volunteers and visitors on the harms associated with the practice.**[184] Campaigns such as the 'Children are not Tourist Attractions' by Friends International, the 'Love you Give' campaign by the Better Care Network, and #HelpingNotHelping by Lumos have contributed to raising awareness of the potential harms of orphanage tourism. The Australian Government's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade also launched the Smart Volunteering campaign to prevent Australians from inadvertently contributing to child exploitation through orphanage tourism. The campaign discourages Australians from engaging in any form of short-term, unskilled volunteering in orphanages.[185]

In addition to raising awareness of the dangers of orphanage trafficking, several campaigns promote the value of family and community based alternative care. Raising such awareness with parents and communities can help limit the scope for deception and procurement of children. For instance, the Cambodian Children's Trust—established by Australian Tara Winkler—advocates for family preservation and reintegration and, where this cannot be achieved, family-based alternative care.[186] The UK government recently launched a global campaign focusing on the right of every child to grow up in a family environment, which includes a global alliance to advocate for sustainable forms of children's social care globally. Partners that have committed to this alliance include UNICEF, the UN Special Representative on Violence against Children, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Moldova, Paraguay, the Philippines and Rwanda. The ReThink Orphanages Network (formerly Better Volunteering, Better Care) was established as a global cross-sector coalition to prevent family separation and the unnecessary institutionalisation of children by shifting how countries engage with overseas aid and development, particularly through orphanage tourism. The Faith to Action Initiative provides resources and tools for donors from faith-based communities who wish to make a change from funding orphanages to funding family-based care.[187]

Empower and Involve Children

The acquisition of life skills, including cognitive, emotional, interpersonal, and social skills has been identified as a tool to prevent child trafficking,[188]although there is limited evidence of how these life skills can prevent orphan trafficking in particular. Other research has found that educating girls, especially through secondary and higher levels, can serve as a protective factor against GBV and prevent the risk of child trafficking.[189] Since parents wanting a better education for their children can be a risk factor for orphan trafficking, investing in education could be an important prevention initiative.

Children who have been trafficked are often not provided with opportunities to participate in order to inform child-friendly and appropriate anti-trafficking policies and

programmes.[190] This is a significant gap, as children and parents who have experienced orphan trafficking could be a valuable resource for those implementing prevention interventions and provide insights into how children are recruited and trafficked to orphanages. A qualitative study in Cambodia identified concerns of non-routine interviews with children (interviews not conducted as a part of reintegration casework or inspections), which could alert perpetrators to suspicion and give them an opportunity to respond by threatening, coercing or further harming children to prevent disclosure. It is therefore recommended that non-routine interviewing of children to gather information about orphan trafficking is deferred until children have left or been removed from a care setting, or any suspected perpetrator has been removed.[191]

Annex 1

Figure 1. Documented Global Occurrence of Trafficking into Institutions.[192] Country-level evidence from after 2000, including cases of exploitation of children residing in institutions and reports of increased vulnerability to human trafficking (broken down by most relevant evidence category)

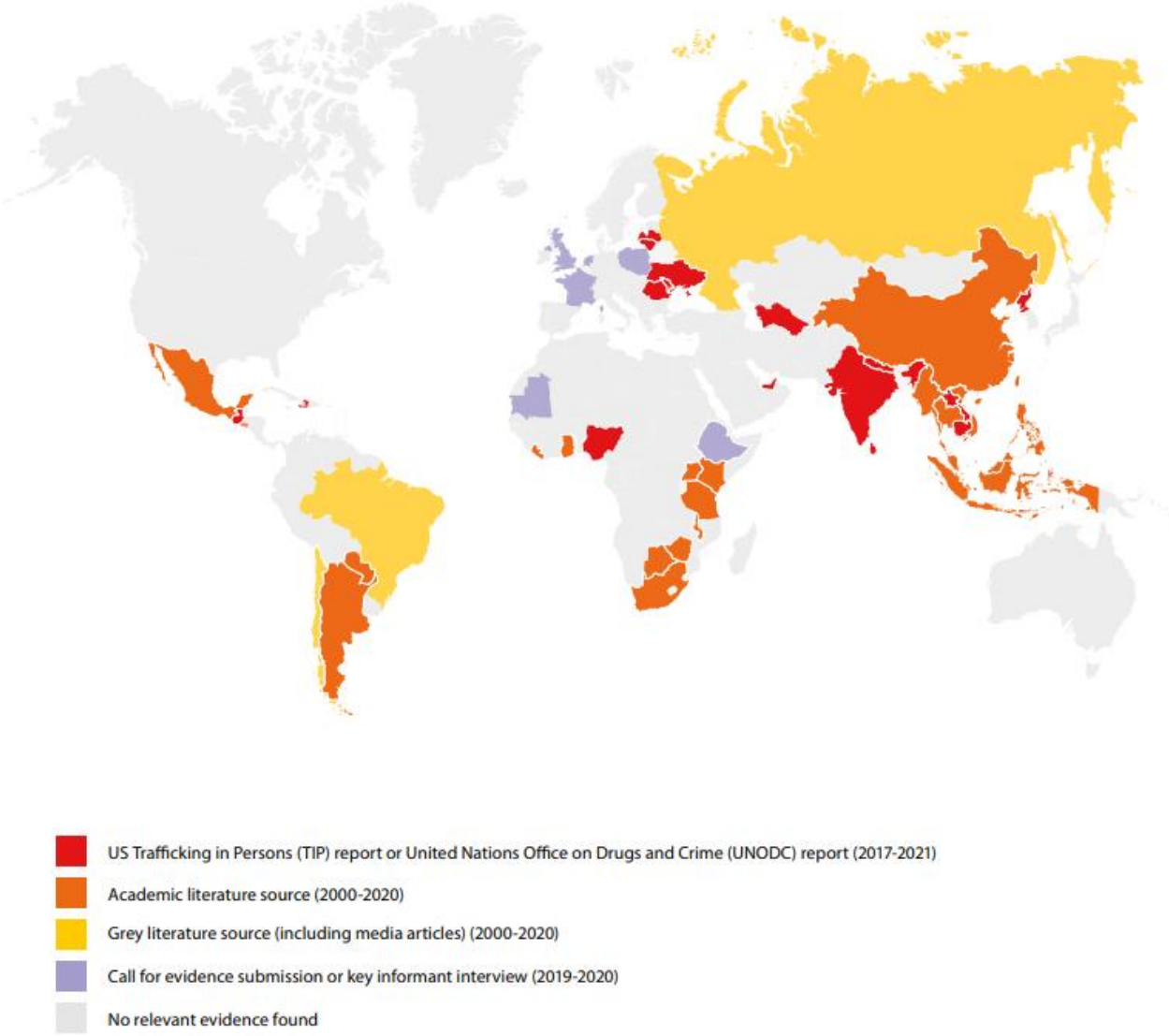
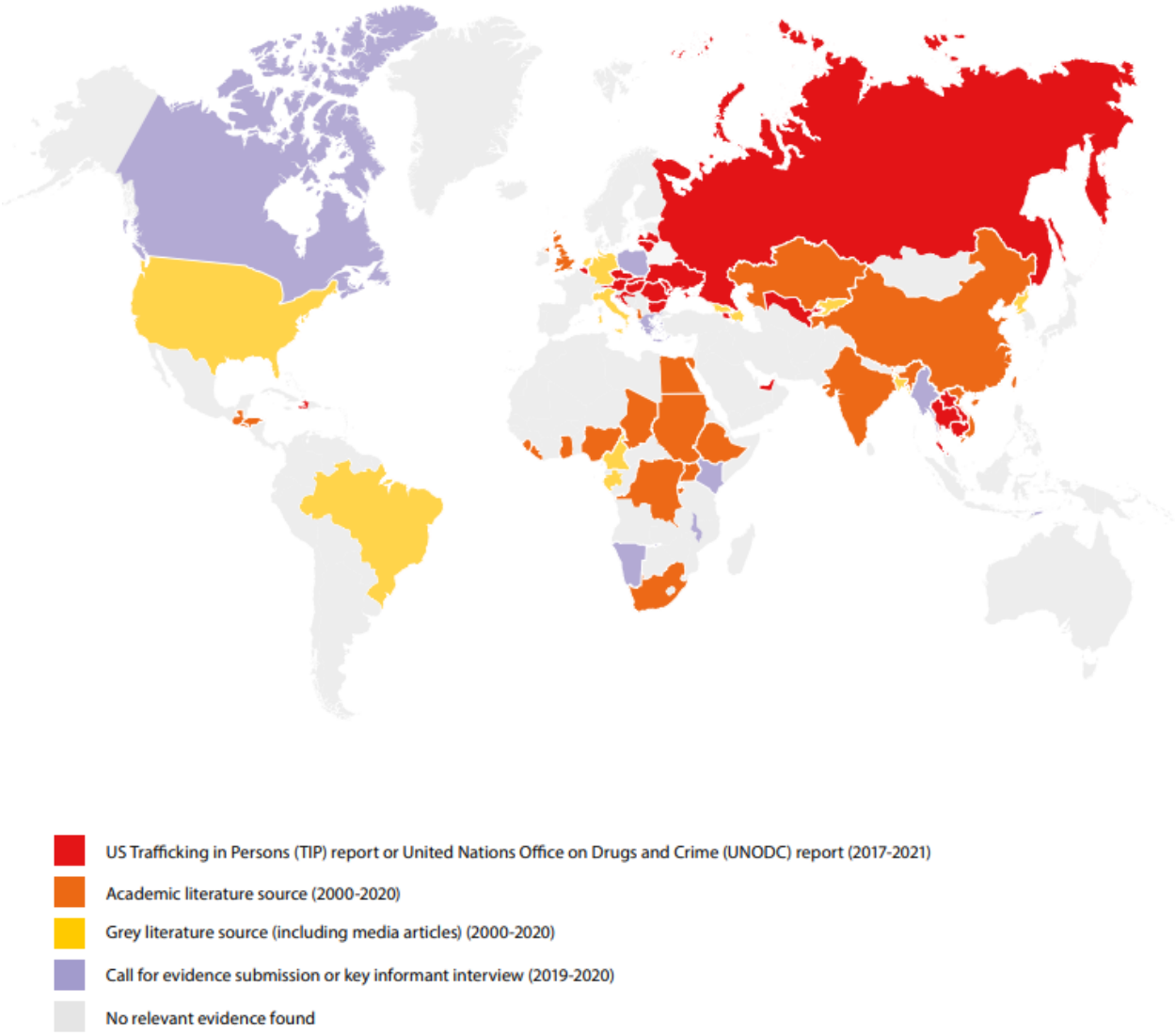


Figure 2. Documented Global Occurrence of Trafficking out of Institutions.[193] Country-level evidence from after 2000, including reports of increased vulnerability of children to trafficking and exploitation outside institutions (broken down by most relevant evidence category)



Endnotes

[1] Bales, K., Hedwards B and Silverman B. (2018). *Modern Slavery Research: the UK Picture*, Report, Office of the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner and the University of Nottingham's Rights Lab, 9.
[2] Desmond C, Watt K, Saha A, Huang J, Lu C. (2020). "Prevalence and number of children living in institutional care: global, regional, and country estimates." *Lancet Child Adolescent Health*, 4(5):370-377. doi: 10.1016/S2352-4642(20)30022-5. Epub 2020 Mar 6. PMID: 32151317.
[3] Desmond C, Watt K, Saha A, Huang J, Lu C. (2020) *Ibid.*
[4] LUMOS (2021). *Cycles Of Exploitation: The Links Between Children's Institutions and Human Trafficking*. https://www.wearelumos.org/resources/cycles-of-exploitation/
[5] van Doore K. (2016). "Paper orphans: Exploring child trafficking for the purpose of orphanages", *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 24 (2): 378-407; van Doore, K. (2022) *Orphanage Trafficking in International Law*, Cambridge University Press; Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). "Detecting orphanage trafficking and exploitation", *Child Abuse & Neglect*, Vol 152
[6] Ibid.
[7] Rethink Orphanages. (n.d). *Facts And Figures About Orphanage Tourism*. Available at: https://rethinkorphanages.org/problem-orphanages/facts-and-figures-about-orphanage-tourism; Blakemore T, Herbert J, Arney F, Parkinson S. (2017). "The impacts of institutional child sexual abuse: A rapid review of the evidence." *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 74: 35-48; Canosa A, van Doore K. (2022). 'Orphanage Tourism' in D. Buhalis (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Tourism Management and Marketing,* Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing; LUMOS. (2017). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children.*
[8] van Ijzendoorn M, Bakermans-Kranenburg R, Duschinsky N, Goldman P, Gunnar M, Skinner G. (2020). "Institutionalisation and deinstitutionalisation of children: A systematic and integrative review of evidence regarding effects on development", *The Lancet Psychiatry,* 7: 703-720; Hermenau K, Kaltenbach E, Mkinga G, Hecker T. (2015) "'Improving care quality and preventing maltreatment in institutional care – a feasibility study with caregivers." *Frontiers in Psychology.*
[9] ECPAT (2021). *Offenders on the move: Global study on sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism.* https://ecpat.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Global-Report-Offenders-on-the-Move.pdf
[10] Van Doore K. (2016). "Paper orphans: Exploring child trafficking for the purpose of orphanages." *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 24(2): 378.407.
[11] Van IJzendoorn, M. H., Palacios J., Sonuga-Barke, E. J., Gunnar, M. R., Vorria, P., McCall, R. B., … Juffer, F. (2011). Children in institutional care: Delayed development and resilience. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 76: 8–30.
[12] Brubacher, S., Van Doore, K., Powell, M. (2021). "Responding to orphanage trafficking from an information gathering perspective. "*Child Abuse & Neglect,* 120: 10522.
[13] Rafferty Y. (2013). Child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation: A review of promising prevention policies and programs. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 83*(4), 559–575.
[14] LUMOS. (2017). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children.*
[15] Gray C, Pence L, Ostermann B, Whetten J, O'Donnell R, Thielman K, Whetten K. (2015). "Gender (in) differences in prevalence and incidence of traumatic experiences among orphaned and separated children living in five low- and middle-income countries." *Global Mental Health,* 2: e3.
[16] Rafferty Y. (2007). "Children for sale: Child trafficking in Southeast Asia." *Child Abuse Review,* 16: 401-422.
[17] IOM. (2007). *Protecting Vulnerable Children in Moldova*. Switzerland.
[18] Lumos. (2017). *Funding Haitian Orphanages at the Cost of Children's Rights.*
[19] Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). "Detecting orphanage trafficking and exploitation", *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 152.
[20] Page 85 of Lumos Foundation (2021). *Cycles of Exploitation*.
[21] Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). "Detecting orphanage trafficking and exploitation." *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 152.

[22] Senator Reynolds (2022). 'Orphanage trafficking', Statements by Senators in Parliament of Australia, 26 October 2022.
[23] https://www.ipu.org/file/17872/download
[24] UNICEF. (2024). *TransMonEE Analytical Series: Pathways to better protection-Taking stock of the situation of children in alternative care in Europe and Central Asia.* Geneva. https://www.unicef.org/eca/media/33251/file/Pathways%20to%20better%20protection.pdf
[25] Bales K, Hedwards B, Silverman B. (2018). 'Modern Slavery Research: the UK Picture', Report, Office of the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner and the University of Nottingham's Rights Lab, 9.
[26] van Doore, K. (2022). *Orphanage Trafficking in International Law*. Cambridge University Press
[27] Van Doore K. (2016). "Paper orphans: Exploring child trafficking for the purpose of orphanages." *The International Journal of Children's Rights,* 24(2): 378.407; Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). "Detecting orphanage trafficking and exploitation", *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 152; Brubacher, S, Van Doore, K, Powell, M. (2021). "Responding to orphanage trafficking from an information gathering perspective."Child Abuse & Neglect, 120: 105222
[28] LUMOS (2021). Cycles Of Exploitation: The Links Between Children's Institutions and Human Trafficking. https://www.wearelumos.org/resources/cycles-of-exploitation/
[29] Brubacher, S, Van Doore, K, Powell, M. (2021). "Responding to orphanage trafficking from an information gathering perspective." *Child Abuse & Neglect,* 120: 105222; Bales et al. (2018) *Ibid.*
[30] Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). "Detecting orphanage trafficking and exploitation", *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 152.
[31] Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). "Detecting orphanage trafficking and exploitation", *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 152.
[32] Brubacher, S, Van Doore, K, Powell, M. (2021). Responding to orphanage trafficking from an information gathering perspective. *Child Abuse & Neglect,* 120: 105222.
[33] Desmond C, Watt K, Saha A, Huang J, Lu C. (2020). "Prevalence and number of children living in institutional care: global, regional, and country estimates." *Lancet Child Adolescent Health*, 4(5):370-377.
[34] Brubacher, S, Van Doore, K, Powell, M. (2021). "Responding to orphanage trafficking from an information gathering perspective." *Child Abuse & Neglect,* 120: 105222.
[35] Brubacher, S et al. (2021) *Ibid* based on UNICEF. (2018). *A statistical profile of child protection in Cambodia*; Rotabi K, Roby J, Bunkers K. (2017). "Altruistic exploitation: orphan tourism and global social work." *British Journal of Social Work*, 47(3): 648–665; Parwon S. (2006). *Orphanage assessment report: Liberia.*
[36] Desmond C, Watt K, Saha A, Huang J, Lu C. (2020). "Prevalence and number of children living in institutional care: global, regional, and country estimates." *Lancet Child Adolescent Health*: 4(5):370-377.
[37] LUMOS (2021). *Cycles Of Exploitation: The Links Between Children's Institutions and Human Trafficking.* https://www.wearelumos.org/resources/cycles-of-exploitation/
[38] Cheney K, Sinervo, A. (eds). (2019). *Disadvantaged Childhoods and Humanitarian Intervention. Palgrave Studies on Children and Development*
[39] van Doore, K. (2022). *Orphanage Trafficking in International Law*. Cambridge University Press; LUMOS. (2017). Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children.
[40] van Doore K. (2016). "Paper orphans: Exploring child trafficking for the purpose of orphanages", *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 24 (2): 378-407; van Doore, K. (2022) *Orphanage Trafficking in International Law*, Cambridge University Press; Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). "Detecting orphanage trafficking and exploitation", *Child Abuse & Neglect*, Vol 152.
[41] van Doore K, Nhep R. (2019). "Orphanage trafficking, modern slavery and the Australian response", *Griffith Journal of Law and Human Dignity*, 7 (2); Van Doore K. (2016). Paper orphans: Exploring child trafficking for the purpose of orphanages. *The International Journal of Children's Rights,* 24(2): 378.407.
[42] Rotabi K, Roby J, McCreery Bunkers K. (2016). "Altruistic exploitation: Orphan tourism and global social work", *The British Journal of Social Work*, 47 (3): 648-665.
[43] van Doore K. (2016). "Paper orphans: Exploring child trafficking for the purpose of orphanages", *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 24 (2): 378-407.

[44] Smolin, D. M. (2006). 'Child laundering: How the intercountry adoption system legitimizes and incentivizes the practices of buying, trafficking, kidnaping, and stealing children'. *Wayne Law Review*, 52, 113–200.
[45] Cheney, K., Sinervo, A. (eds) *Disadvantaged Childhoods and Humanitarian Intervention. Palgrave Studies on Children and Development;* Guiney T. (2017). "Orphanage Tourism: The Need for Protection and Policy," In: Freeman, C., Tranter, P., Skelton, T. (eds) *Risk, Protection, Provision and Policy. Geographies of Children and Young People*, 12. Springer, Singapore; Bales K, Hedwards B, Silverman B. (2018). *Modern slavery research,* The UK picture In Office of the Independent Anti-Slavery Commissioner and the University of Nottingham's Rights.
[46] Lyneham, S, Facchini, L. (2019). "Benevolent harm: Orphanages, voluntourism, and child sexual exploitation in South-East Asia." *Australian Institute of Criminology Trends & Issues,* 574.
[47] Lyneham, S, Facchini, L. (2019). "Benevolent harm: Orphanages, voluntourism, and child sexual exploitation in South-East Asia." *Australian Institute of Criminology Trends & Issues,* 574.
[48] Brubacher, S, Van Doore, K, Powell, M. (2021). "Responding to orphanage trafficking from an information gathering perspective." *Child Abuse & Neglect,* 120: 105222.
[49] Nhep R. (2024). "*The role of clientialism in facilitating orphanage trafficking."* Human Trafficking.
[50] LUMOS (2021). *Cycles Of Exploitation: The Links Between Children's Institutions and Human Trafficking.* https://www.wearelumos.org/resources/cycles-of-exploitation/
[51] Van Doore, K., Nhep, R. (2023). "Orphanage Trafficking and the Sustainable Development Goals." *International Perspective,* 10(1): 76-84
[52] Raffety, Y. (2013). "Child Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation: A Review of Promising Prevention Policies and Programs." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* 8(4): 559.575.
[53] van Doore K. (2016). "Paper orphans: Exploring child trafficking for the purpose of orphanages." *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 24 (2): 378-407.
[54] van Doore K, Nhep R. (2021). "Providing protection or enabling exploitation: Orphanages and modern slavery in post-disaster contexts." *Journal of Modern Slavery,* 6(3): 46–61.
[55] UNICEF & Terre Des Hommes. (2008). *Adopting the Rights of the Child: A Study on Intercountry Adoption and its Influence on Child Protection in Nepal.*
[56] UNICEF. (2011). *With the Best Intentions: A Study of Attitudes Towards Residential Care in Cambodia.*
[57] LUMOS. (2017). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children.*
[58] van Doore K, Knep R. (2021). "Providing Protection or Enabling Exploitation? Orphanages and Modern Slavery in Post-Disaster Contexts." *Journal of Modern Slavery,* 6(3): 46-61.
[59] Save the Children (2006). *Indonesian 'orphans' on the increase as Tsunami pushes parents in to poverty and children into institutions.*
[60] UNICEF. (2016). *Care and Protection of Children in the West African Ebola Virus Disease Epidemic.* https://resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/node/10319/pdf/final-ebola-lessons-learned-dec-2016.pdf
[61] LUMOS. (2024). *Safeguarding Children and Young People from Institution-related Trafficking and Exploitation: A Resource for Professionals.*
[62] Brubacher, S, Van Doore, K, Powell, M. (2021). "Responding to orphanage trafficking from an information gathering perspective." *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 120: 105222.
[63] Chaitkin, S., Cantwell, N., Gale, C., et al. (2017). *Towards the right care for children: Orientations for reforming alternative care systems–Africa, Asia, Latin America. European Union.*
[64] LUMOS. (2021). *Cycles Of Exploitation: The Links Between Children's Institutions and Human Trafficking.*
[65] Australian Government (2024) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Performance Framework Summary report, March 2024
[66] LUMOS. (2019). [Call for evidence submission from RENATE Europe in the Netherlands]. Unpublished data: on file with Lumos.
[67] van Doore K. (2016). "Paper orphans: Exploring child trafficking for the purpose of orphanages." *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 24 (2): 378-407.
[68] Zheng T. (2018). *Human Trafficking in China. Journal of Historical Archelogy and Anthropological Sciences.*
[69] LUMOS. (2021). *Cycles of Exploitation*. Available from: https://lumos.contentfiles.net/media/documents/document/2021/12/LUMOS_Cycles_of_exploitation.pdf.

[70] Cambodia Ministry of Social Affairs (2017). Veterans and Youth Rehabilitation. *Mapping of Residential Care Facilities in the Capital and 24 Provinces of the Kingdom of Cambodia.* Available from: https://www.unicef.org/cambodia/media/1331/file/Residential%20care%20facilities%20in%20Cambodia%20Report%20English.pdf.
[71] Better Care Network. (2018). *How orphanages in Uganda profit from children's misery.* Available from: https://bettercarenetwork.org/sites/default/files/How%20orphanages%20in%20Uganda%20profit%20from%20children%27s%20misery%20Nianias.pdf.
[72] Cheney K. (2014). *'Addicted to Orphans': The Orphan Industrial Complex and Donor Influence in Uganda's Child Protection System.* Galway: Children, Young People and Development Symposium, National University of Ireland. Cited in van Doore K, Nhep R (2023). "Orphanage tourism and orphanage volunteering: implications for children." *Front. Sustain. Tour.* 2:1177091.
[73] LUMOS. (2021). *Cycles of Exploitation.*
[74] LUMOS. (2017). *Funding Haitian Orphanages at the Cost of Children's Rights.*
[75] Page 81 of Lumos Foundation 2021, *Cycles of Exploitation*
[76] LUMOS. (2021). *Cycles of Exploitation*
[77] Lyneham S, Facchini L. (2019). "Benevolent harm: Orphanages, Voluntourism and child sexual exploitation in South-East Asia," *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 574: 76-88; Sherr L, Roberts K, Gandhi N. (2017). "Child violence experiences in institutionalised/orphanage care." *Psychology, Health & Medicine*, 22: 31-57; van Doore K. (2016). "Paper orphans: Exploring child trafficking for the purpose of orphanages", *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 24 (2): 378-407; ReThink Orphanages Australia & ACFID Australia. (2019). *Working with children in residential care: Implications of the ACNC external conduct standards for Australian charities*.
[78] Van Doore K, Nhep R. (2023). "Orphanage Trafficking and the Sustainable Development Goals." *International Perpsective,* 10(1): 76-84.
[79] van Doore K, Martin F, McKeon A. (2016). Better Volunteering Better Care.
[80] Lyneham S, Facchini L. (2019). "Benevolent harm: Orphanages, Voluntourism and child sexual exploitation in South-East Asia," *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 574: 76-88.
[81] Lyneham S, Facchini L. (2019). "Benevolent harm: Orphanages, Voluntourism and child sexual exploitation in South-East Asia," *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 574: 76-88.
[82] Lyneham S, Facchini L. (2019). "Benevolent harm: Orphanages, Voluntourism and child sexual exploitation in South-East Asia," *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 574: 76-88.
[83] LUMOS. (2017). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children.*
[84] UNICEF. (2011). *With the Best Intentions: A Study of Attitudes Towards Residential Care in Cambodia.*
[85] Brubacher S, Van Doore K, Powell M. (2021). "Responding to orphanage trafficking from an information gathering perspective." *Child Abuse & Neglect,* 120: 105222.
[86] Brubacher S, Van Doore K, Powell M. (2021). "Responding to orphanage trafficking from an information gathering perspective." *Child Abuse & Neglect,* 120: 105222; McLaren H, Qonita N. (2020). "Indonesia's orphanage trade: Islamic philanthropy's good intentions, some not so good outcomes." *Religions:* 11(1); Milligan I. (2016). *Alternative child care and deinstitutionalisation. A case study of Uganda.;* Gale C, Khatiwada M. (2016). Alternative *child care and deinstitutionalisation: a case study of Nepal.*
[87] LUMOS. (2017). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children.*
[88] Rethink Orphanages. (n.d). Facts And Figures About Orphanage Tourism. Available at: https://rethinkorphanages.org/problem-orphanages/facts-and-figures-about-orphanage-tourism
[89] Blakemore T, Herbert J, Arney F, Parkinson S. (2017). "The impacts of institutional child sexual abuse: A rapid review of the evidence." *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 74: 35-48; Canosa A, van Doore K. (2022). 'Orphanage Tourism' in D. Buhalis (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Tourism Management and Marketing,* Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar Publishing; LUMOS. (2017). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children.*
[90] Harr R. (2011). *Violence against children in state-run residential institutions in Kazakhstan: An assessment.* Astana: UNICEF.

[91] van Doore K. (2016). "Paper orphans: Exploring child trafficking for the purpose of orphanages", *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 24 (2): 378-407; Better Care Network. (2017) Violence Against Children and Care in Africa: A Discussion Paper. New York.
[92] Sekol I. (2016). "Bullying in adolescent residential care: The influence of the physical and social residential care environment," *Child & Youth Care Forum, 45*(3), 409–431.
[93] UNICEF & Terre Des Hommes. (2008). *Adopting the Rights of the Child: A Study on Intercountry Adoption and its Influence on Child Protection in Nepal.*
[94] Child Rights International Network. (2013). *Armenia: Child Abuse Violence Still Common in Orphanages, Boarding Schools.*
[95] United Nations General Assembly (2006). Report of the independent expert for the United Nations study on violence against children.
[96] Van Doore K, Nhep R. (2023). "Orphanage Trafficking and the Sustainable Development Goals." *International Perspective,* 10(1): 76-84.
[97] van Doore, K. (2016). The International Journal of Children's Rights, 24(2): 378-407.
[98] van Ijzendoorn M, Bakermans-Kranenburg R, Duschinsky N, Goldman P, Gunnar M, Skinner G. (2020). "Institutionalisation and deinstitutionalisation of children: A systematic and integrative review of evidence regarding effects on development", *The Lancet Psychiatry,* 7: 703-720; Hermenau K, Kaltenbach E, Mkinga G, Hecker T (2015) "'Improving care quality and preventing maltreatment in institutional care – a feasibility study with caregivers." *Frontiers in Psychology;* Hawke A, Raphael A. (2016). "Offenders on the move. Global study on sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism 2016." *ECPAT*
[99] Lyneham S, Facchini L. (2019). "Benevolent harm: Orphanages, Voluntourism and child sexual exploitation in South-East Asia," *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 574: 76-88.
[100] Hawke A, Raphael A. (2016). "Offenders on the move. Global study on sexual exploitation of children in travel and tourism 2016." *ECPAT.*
[101] van IJzendoorn M, Bakermans-Kranenburg M, Duschinsky R, Fox N, Goldman P, Gunnar M, Johnson D, Sonuga-Barke E (2020). "Institutionalisation and deinstitutionalisation of children: A systematic and integrative review of evidence regarding effects on development." *The Lancet Psychiatry*, 7(8), 703–720; LUMOS. (2020). Cracks in the system: Child trafficking in the context of institutional care in Europe.
[102] Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons. (2019). *Trafficking in Persons Report.* United States Department of State.
[103] Van Doore K. (2016). "Paper orphans: Exploring child trafficking for the purpose of orphanages." *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 24(2): 378.407.
[104] LUMOS. (2020). *Cracks in the system: Child trafficking in the context of institutional care in Europe.* Available from: https://www.wearelumos.org/resources/cracks-
[105] Van IJzendoorn M, Palacios J, Sonuga-Barke E, Gunnar M, Vorria P, McCall R. … Juffer F. (2011). "Children in institutional care: Delayed development and resilience." *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 76: 8–30.
[106] Boyle R. (2009). *My heart is here: Alterative care and reintegration of child trafficking victims and other vulnerable children.* IOM.
[107] Raffety Y. (2013). "Child Trafficking and Commercial Sexual Exploitation: A Review of Promising Prevention Policies and Programs." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 8(4): 559.575; West A. (2017). "Child trafficking and child welfare." *Journal of Human Trafficking,* 3(2): 125–135.
[108] Van Doore K, Nhep R. (2023). "Orphanage trafficking and the Sustainable Development Goals." *International Perspective*: 10(1): 76-84.
[109] Van Doore K. (2016). "Paper orphans: Exploring child trafficking for the purpose of orphanages." *The International Journal of Children's Rights,* 24(2): 378.407.
[110] Rafferty Y. (2013). Child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation: A review of promising prevention policies and programs. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 83*(4): 559–575.
[111] Brubacher, S., Van Doore, K., Powell, M. (2021). "Responding to orphanage trafficking from an information gathering perspective." *Child Abuse & Neglect,* 120: 10522.

[112] Rafferty Y. (2013). Child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation: A review of promising prevention policies and programs. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* 83(4): 559–575.
[113] LUMOS. (2017). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children.*
[114] Gray C, Pence L, Ostermann B, Whetten J, O'Donnell R, Thielman K, Whetten K. (2015). "Gender (in) differences in prevalence and incidence of traumatic experiences among orphaned and separated children living in five low- and middle-income countries." *Global Mental Health,* 2: e3.
[115] Rafferty Y. (2007). "Children for sale: Child trafficking in Southeast Asia." *Child Abuse Review,* 16: 401-422.
[116] IOM. (2007). *Protecting Vulnerable Children in Moldova.* Switzerland.
[117] IOM. (2007). *Data and Research on Human Trafficking: A Global Survey*. Switzerland.
[118] Beegle K, De Weerdt J, Dercon S. (2006). "Orphanhood and the long-run impact on children." *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 88(5): 1,266–1,272; Palermo T, Peterman A. (2009). "Are female orphans at risk for early marriage, early sexual debut, and teen pregnancy? Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa." *Studies of Family Planning*, 40(2):101-12
[119] Palermo T, Peterman A. (2009). "Are female orphans at risk for early marriage, early sexual debut, and teen pregnancy? Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa." *Studies of Family Planning*, 40(2):101-12
[120] Lyneham S, Facchini L. (2019). "Benevolent harm: Orphanages, Voluntourism and child sexual exploitation in South-East Asia," *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 574: 76-88
[121] Lyneham S, Facchini L. (2019). "Benevolent harm: Orphanages, Voluntourism and child sexual exploitation in South-East Asia," *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 574: 76-88.
[122] Changing The Way We Care. (forthcoming). *Funding Analysis of Children's Institutions in Kenya*. Unpublished document: on file with Lumos. Cited in Lumos Foundation 2021, *Cycles of Exploitation*.
[123] Barna Group. (2021). *Residential care: US Christian giving and missions*. https://www.faithtoaction.org/wp-content/uploads/F2A_Residential-Care_Report_Final_v.4.pdf
[124] van Doore K, Nhep R. (2023). "Orphanage tourism and orphanage volunteering: implications for children." *Front. Sustain. Tour.* 2:1177091.
[125] Better Care Network. (2014). *Collected viewpoints on international volunteering in residential care centers: an overview.* In Better Volunteering, Better Care. Ed, B.C. Network. Better Care Network.
[126] LUMOS. (2017). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children.*
[127] LUMOS. (2017). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children.*
[128] LUMOS. (2017). *Funding Haitian Orphanages at the Cost of Children's Rights.*
[129] LUMOS. (2017). *Funding Haitian Orphanages at the Cost of Children's Rights.*
[130] Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). "Detecting orphanage trafficking and exploitation," *Child Abuse & Neglect*: 152.
[131] LUMOS. (2016). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children*.
[132] Forget me Not Australia. *Voluntourism and Child Trafficking into Orphanages.*
[133] Pun A. (2015). *Post-quake Emergency Rescue of Ten Children Trafficked into Illegal Children's Homes in Kathmandu and Lamjung Districts.* Forget Me Not Australia.
[134] US Department of State. (2018). *US Department of State Trafficking in Persons Report, 2018.*
[135] Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). "Detecting orphanage trafficking and exploitation", *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 152.
[136] Page 85 of Lumos Foundation 2021, *Cycles of Exploitation*.
[137] LUMOS. (2021). *Cycles of Exploitation*.
[138] LUMOS. (2021). *Cycles of Exploitation*.
[139] Australian Competition and Consumer Commission (ACCC) 2016. *Targeting scams: Report of the ACCC on scams activity 2015*. Canberra: ACCC. Cited in Lyneham S, Facchini L. (2019) *Ibid.*
[140] Rascius B. (2023) 'Donations to 'African orphanage' were really going to a New York woman, officials say', *Miami Herald,* January 24, 2023.
[141] Cheney K, Rotabi K. (2014). "Addicted to Orphans: How the Global Orphan Industrial Complex Jeopardizes Local Child Protection Systems." In: Harker C, Hörschelmann K, Skelton, T. (eds) *Conflict, Violence and Peace. Geographies of Children and Young People*, 11. Springer, Singapore.

[142] Cheney, K.E., Rotabi, K.S. (2014). *Ibid.*
[143] Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). "Detecting orphanage trafficking and exploitation", *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 152.
[144] Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). *Ibid.*
[145] Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). *Ibid.*
[146] Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). *Ibid.*
[147] LUMOS. (2016). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children*
[148] LUMOS. (2017). *Funding Haitian Orphanages at the Cost of Children's Rights*
[149] Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). "Detecting orphanage trafficking and exploitation", *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 152
[150] Commonwealth Government of Australia. (2019). *Modern Slavery Act 2018: Guidance for reporting entities.* https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/criminal-justice/files/modernslavery-reporting-entities.pdf
[151] van Doore K. (2020). "Please stop Australians coming here': Orphanage tourism, childrights and the Australian response." *Court of Conscience, 14: 49–52.*
[152] United States Department of State. (2018). *Child institutionalisation and human trafficking fact sheet.* https://www.state.gov/child-institutionalization-and-human-trafficking/
[153] Van Doore K, Nhep R. (2023). "Orphanage Trafficking and the Sustainable Development Goals." *International Perspective*, 10(1): 76-84.
[154] van Doore K, Nhep R. (2021). "Providing protection or enabling exploitation: Orphanages and modern slavery in post-disaster contexts." *Journal of Modern Slavery*, 6(3): 46–61.
[155] Senator Reynolds (2022) 'Orphanage trafficking', Statements by Senators in Parliament of Australia, 26 October 2022. https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Hansard/Hansard_Display?bid=chamber/hansards/26117/&sid=0065
[156] Inter-Parliamentary Union. (2025). *Legislative Strategies to End Orphanage Trafficking,* 6 March 2025 https://www.ipu.org/event/legislative-strategies-end-orphanage-trafficking
[157] Van Doore K, Nhep R. (2023). "Orphanage Trafficking and the Sustainable Development Goals," *International Perpsective,* 10(1): 76-84.
[158] United Nations General Assembly (2023). *Sale, sexual exploitation and sexual abuse of children.*; United Nations General Assembly (2022). *Report of the committee on the rights of the child.*
[159] UNICEF. (2011). *With the Best Intentions: A Study of Attitudes Towards Residential Care in Cambodia.*
[160] LUMOS. (2017). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children.*
[161] Van Doore K, Nhep R. (2023). "Orphanage Trafficking and the Sustainable Development Goals." *International Perspective*, 10(1): 76-84.
[162] Punkas M, Feit K. (2014). "Orphanage voluntourism in Nepal and its links to displacement and unnecessary institutionalisation of children." *Institutionalised Children Explorations and Beyond,* 1(2): 179-192.
[163] Rafferty Y. (2013). "Child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation: A review of promising prevention policies and programs." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* 83(4): 559–575.
[164] UNICEF. (2011). *With the Best Intentions: A Study of Attitudes Towards Residential Care in Cambodia.*
[165] LUMOS. (2017). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children.*
[166] Swales, D (2006). *Applying the Standards: Improving quality Childcare Provision in East and Central Africa.* Save the Children: UK.
[167] Gallagher A. (2010). *The international law of human trafficking.* Cambridge University Press.
[168] Nhep R, van Doore, K. (2023). "Implementing the legal framework for the prosecution of orphanage trafficking: *A Cambodia case study.*; Rafferty Y. (2013). "Child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation: A review of promising prevention policies and programs," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* 83(4), 559–575.
[169] Van Doore K, Nhep R. (2023). "Orphanage trafficking and the Sustainable Development Goals", *International Perspective*, 10(1): 76-84.
[170] Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). "Detecting orphanage trafficking and exploitation", *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 152.

[171] Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). "Detecting orphanage trafficking and exploitation", *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 152.
[172] Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). *Ibid.*
[173] LUMOS. (2017). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children.*
[174] UNICEF. (2011). *With the Best Intentions: A Study of Attitudes Towards Residential Care in Cambodia.*
[175] Awerbuch A, Gunaratne N, Jain J, Caralis P. (2020). "Raising awareness of human trafficking in key professional fields via a multidisciplinary educational approach." *International journal of human rights in healthcare*, 13(2): 159-169; Rafferty Y. (2013). "Child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation: A review of promising prevention policies and programs." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* 83(4), 559–575.
[176] LUMOS. (2017). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children.*
[177] UNICEF. (2011). *With the Best Intentions: A Study of Attitudes Towards Residential Care in Cambodia*.; Lyneham S, Facchini L. (2019). "Benevolent harm: Orphanages, Voluntourism and child sexual exploitation in South-East Asia," *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 574: 76-88.
[178] Van Doore K, Nhep R. (2023). "Orphanage trafficking and the Sustainable Development Goals*." International Perspective*, 10(1): 76-84.
[179] van Doore K. (2016). "Paper orphans: Exploring child trafficking for the purpose of orphanages."*The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 24 (2): 378-407.
[180] van Doore K, Nhep R. (2019). "Orphanage trafficking, modern slavery and the Australian response." *Griffith Journal of Law and Human Dignity*, 7 (2).
[181] van Doore K, Nhep R. (2019). "Orphanage trafficking, modern slavery and the Australian response."*Griffith Journal of Law and Human Dignity*, 7 (2).
[182] van Doore K, Nhep R. (2019). "Orphanage trafficking, modern slavery and the Australian response."*Griffith Journal of Law and Human Dignity*, 7 (2); UNICEF. (2011). *With the Best Intentions: A Study of Attitudes Towards Residential Care in Cambodia.*
[183] UNICEF. (2011). *With the Best Intentions: A Study of Attitudes Towards Residential Care in Cambodia.*
[184] Canosa A, van Doore K. (2022). "Orphanage Tourism," in *D. Buhalis (ed.), Encyclopedia of Tourism Management and Marketing.* Edward Elgar Publishing.
[185] Lyneham S, Facchini L. (2019). "Benevolent harm: Orphanages, Voluntourism and child sexual exploitation in South-East Asia," *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, 574: 76-88.
[186] UNICEF. (2011). *With the Best Intentions: A Study of Attitudes Towards Residential Care in Cambodia.*
[187] LUMOS. (2017). *Orphanage Entrepreneurs: The Trafficking of Haiti's Invisible Children.*
[188] Rafferty Y. (2013). "Child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation: A review of promising prevention policies and programs," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* 83(4), 559–575.
[189] Rafferty Y. (2013). Child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation: A review of promising prevention policies and programs. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* 83(4), 559–575.
[190] Rafferty Y. (2013). Child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation: A review of promising prevention policies and programs. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* 83(4), 559–575.
[191] Nhep R, Deck S, van Doore K, Powell, M. (2024). "Detecting orphanage trafficking and exploitation", *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 152.
[192] LUMOS. (2021). *Cycles Of Exploitation: The Links Between Children's Institutions and Human Trafficking.* https://www.wearelumos.org/resources/cycles-of-exploitation/
[193] LUMOS (2021). *Ibid.*