Re/integration of trafficked persons: how can our work be more effective

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Issues paper #1

Trafficking Victims Re/integration Programme in Southeast Europe (TVRP)

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Working together for a better society

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Rebecca Surtees
NEXUS Institute to Combat Human Trafficking

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COLOPHON

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FOREWORD

This paper was developed in the context of the King Baudouin Foundation's trafficking assistance programme in South-Eastern Europe, the Trafficking Victims Re/integration Programme (TVRP), which funds NGOs in several countries of the region. In addition to direct funding, the TVRP provides technical assistance and capacity development for partner organisations.

Meaningful re/integration is a complex and costly undertaking. It requires a full and diverse package of services for the individual (and often also the family) to address the root causes of trafficking as well as the physical, mental and social impacts of their exploitation. Obstacles to sustainable recovery and re/integration for trafficking victims are myriad and often specific to the socio-cultural, economic or political situation in the country. Individual programmes must be cognisant of the broader environment in which reintegration takes place in order that they can respond accordingly.

There are different models of re/integration, some which specifically target trafficked persons and some which address trafficking within the framework of exploitative migration or violence. Some programmes are targeted to a specific form of trafficking or profile of victim. And in some programmes age is a key determinant, with specialised services for minors at different ages and stages of development. Central to any model must be a victim and human rights centred philosophy with sustainable re/integration as the measure of success.

This philosophy lies at the core of the Foundation's strategy which aims not only to support different models and approaches to re/integration in different countries but also to analyze the strengths of the various strategies as well as any inhibitors to full re/integration success. This paper is the first of a series that will shed light on good practices in the area of re/integration as well as important lessons learned. With this regard, the Foundation would like to express its gratitude to the author Rebecca Surtees, of the NEXUS Institute, for her insightful perspective on many aspects of re/integration as well as to the TVRP partner organisations in South-Eastern Europe for sharing the lessons from their daily practice.

King Baudouin Foundation
December 2008

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Re/integration is among the more complicated aspects of assistance and protection for trafficking victims. It requires substantial support in the long term to ensure victims are able to become independent but, at the same time, is complicated by the fact that many of the conditions which originally led to trafficking are unresolved. Too little is known about how these tensions can be resolved and re/integration more effectively realised. As such, I would like to begin by thanking the King Baudouin Foundation for commissioning this series of papers on factors associated with the re/integration of trafficking victims, in the context of its TVRP programme. In particular, my thanks to Fabrice de Kerchove, TVRP project manager, who has worked closely with NEXUS Institute on all aspects of its technical assistance, including providing valuable assistance and inputs into the TVRP issues paper series. Thanks also to Michèle Duesberg for her work in organising the TVRP partners meeting in Brussels in 2008, which provided a forum for discussing the range of critical issues faced in re/integration work, and her on-going work on the TVRP.

The experiences and issues explored in this paper are drawn from the day to day re/integration work of KBF's TVRP partner organisations. Their work forms the foundation of the paper and they have similarly contributed inputs into both the initial discussion papers as well as this paper. Thanks to TVRP partner NGOs – Different and Equal (Albania), Tjeter Vision (Albania), Animus (Bulgaria), Nadja Centre (Bulgaria), Open Gate (Macedonia), Adpare (Romania), Young Generation (Romania) and Atina (Serbia). In addition, IOM Belgrade provided helpful information and inputs. I am particularly grateful for their candour in discussing not only "successful" cases but equally the many problems, frustrations and "failures" they have faced in their work. It is this transparency which will contribute to better understanding of how to undertake re/integration efforts. As importantly, I would like to acknowledge the programme beneficiaries whose life experiences are the focus of this paper. It is hoped that by discussing and sharing the issues and obstacles faced in re/integration work, it will be possible to improve services not only amongst TVRP partners but also in the re/integration field more generally.

Finally, my thanks to Stephen Warnath, Executive Director of the NEXUS Institute, for his on-going support and assistance on KBF's TVRP programme, particularly in the drafting and revisions of the issues paper series.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Re/integration refers to the process of recovery and economic and social inclusion following a trafficking experience. This process is not only time consuming and expensive but also intensely complex, impacted by a range of personal factors as well as the broader social, cultural and economic framework.

This paper explores some of the issues and obstacles to re/integration through the lens of re/integration programmes in South-eastern Europe (SEE), issues identified by both service providers and trafficked persons. On the one hand, some are a function of the individual and the social context in which trafficking takes place – including how individual trafficking experience may inhibit the re/integration process, how individuals may suffer "failures" and "setbacks" in re/integration, the impact of the re/integration environment itself (family and community) and the more systemic obstacles to re/integration such as economic opportunities and education. On the other hand, some issues relate to re/integration programmes themselves. Some are practical (for instance, the often high cost of re/integration assistance, the long timeframe for re/integration work and cooperation with state agencies), while others are more conceptual in nature and relate to how programmes are implemented (for instance, the accessibility of re/integration programmes, balancing autonomy and dependency, victim participation and issues of professional and quality care).

The intention of the paper is to better understand these constraints and obstacles to sustainable re/integration, and, as importantly, what could potentially be done to deal with these in effective, appropriate and sensitive ways. This paper is an initial exploration based on re/integration efforts in SEE and a starting point for on-going discussion and future research, analysis and intervention.

SAMENVATTING

Re/integratie verwijst naar het proces van herstel en economische en sociale inclusie na een ervaring met mensenhandel. Dit proces is niet alleen tijdrovend en duur, maar ook uitermate complex, omdat het wordt beïnvloed door een hele reeks persoonlijke factoren en ook door het ruimere maatschappelijke, culturele en economische kader.

Deze paper bestudeert enkele van de problemen en belemmeringen voor re/integratie vanuit het oogpunt van re/integratieprogramma's in Zuidoost-Europa, die zowel dienstverleners als slachtoffers van mensenhandel als problematisch erkennen.

Enerzijds hangen sommige van deze problemen af van de individuele en de maatschappelijke context waarin de mensenhandel plaatsheeft – onder andere hoe de individuele ervaring met mensenhandel het re/integratieproces kan belemmeren, hoe mensen "mislukkingen" en "tegenslagen" bij de re/integratie kunnen ervaren, de impact van de omgeving waarin de re/integratie plaatsheeft (familie en gemeenschap) en meer systeemgebonden belemmeringen voor re/integratie zoals economische kansen en onderwijs.

Anderzijds hebben sommige problemen te maken met de re/integratieprogramma's zelf. Sommige problemen zijn van praktische aard (zoals de vaak hoge kosten van bijstand bij re/integratie, de lange tijd die nodig is voor het re/integratiewerk en de samenwerking met overheidsdiensten). Andere problemen zijn meer conceptueel van aard en houden verband met de manier waarop programma's worden uitgevoerd (bijvoorbeeld de toegankelijkheid van re/integratieprogramma's, het evenwicht tussen autonomie en afhankelijkheid, inspraak van slachtoffers en problemen van professionele of kwaliteitszorg).

De paper wil een beter inzicht bieden in deze beperkingen en belemmeringen voor duurzame re/integratie en – net zo belangrijk – wat er eventueel kan gebeuren om deze problemen op een doeltreffende, passende en verstandige wijze aan te pakken. Deze paper is een eerste verkenning op basis van inspanningen tot re/integratie in Zuidoost-Europa en vormt een uitgangspunt voor de lopende discussie en voor toekomstig onderzoek, analyses en interventies.

SYNTHÈSE

La ré/intégration fait référence au processus de rétablissement et d'inclusion économique et sociale suite à une expérience de traite. Ce processus est non seulement long et coûteux mais aussi extrêmement complexe, car influencé par une série de facteurs personnels ainsi que par le contexte social, culturel et économique plus large.

Ce document explore quelques-uns des problèmes et des obstacles à la ré/intégration à travers le prisme des programmes de ré/intégration en Europe du Sud-Est, problèmes identifiés à la fois par les prestataires de services et par les victimes de la traite.

D'une part, certains problèmes sont liés au contexte individuel et social dans lequel se déroule la traite – la manière dont l'expérience personnelle peut inhiber le processus de ré/intégration, la gestion des "échecs" et des "déboires" en cours de ré/intégration, l'impact de l'environnement (famille et communauté) et les obstacles plus structurels tels que le contexte économique et l'éducation.

D'autre part, plusieurs problèmes ont trait aux programmes de ré/intégration proprement dits. Certains sont d'ordre pratique (le coût élevé de l'aide à la ré/intégration, par exemple, la durée du processus de ré/intégration et de coopération avec les instances publiques), tandis que d'autres sont de nature plus conceptuelle et concernent la manière dont les programmes sont mis en œuvre (par exemple, l'accessibilité des programmes de ré/intégration, l'équilibre entre autonomie et dépendance, la participation des victimes et la qualité des soins).

L'objectif de ce document est de mieux comprendre ces freins et obstacles à une ré/intégration durable et, tout aussi important, d'examiner les moyens de les surmonter avec efficacité, pertinence et doigté. Ce document est une première exploration basée sur les efforts de ré/intégration en ESE ainsi qu'un point de départ pour les discussions en cours actuellement et les recherches, analyses et interventions à venir.

1. INTRODUCTION

Re/integration refers to the process of recovery and economic and social inclusion following a trafficking experience. It is often considered to be a long term but relatively linear process, with trafficked persons passing, step-by-step, through a series of stages which cumulatively result in their recovery and social inclusion. However, experience in practice reveals a different picture. Re/integration is generally not only time consuming and expensive but also intensely complex, impacted by a range of personal factors as well as the broader social, cultural and economic framework. It requires a full and diverse package of services for the individual (and often also the family) to address the root causes of trafficking as well as the physical, psychological and social impacts of their exploitation. As such, there are a range of different (and interrelated) issues and obstacles in the re/integration process. Some are situated in the individual's experience and situation; others are informed by the broader socio-economic context. Equally, efforts to support the re/integration of trafficked persons can be both facilitated and complicated by re/integration programmes and assisting organisations.

This paper explores some of these issues through the lens of re/integration efforts in SEE – issues identified by both service providers and trafficked persons. This paper is an initial exploration of these factors based on re/integration efforts in SEE and a starting point for on-going discussion and future research, analysis and intervention. The intention is, on the one hand, to explore with re/integration organisations in the SEE region some of the problems and possible entry points for change based on empirical data about re/integration efforts. Equally important, however, is to share these experiences more broadly – with practitioners, policy makers and also programme beneficiaries – to initiate a dialogue with those working on and experiencing re/integration efforts.

This paper was drafted by the NEXUS Institute in the framework of the King Baudouin Foundation's Trafficking Victims Re/integration Programme (TVRP), being implemented in five countries in SEE from 2007 to 2009.[1] It is the first in a series of issue-based papers related to re/integration of trafficking victims which are being formulated in the context of the TVRP.[2] The paper

1 Please see appendix 1 for a description of KBF's TVRP in SEE and of the partner organisations which include: Different and Equal (Albania), Tjeter Vision (Albania), Animus (Bulgaria), Nadja Centre (Bulgaria), Open Gate (Macedonia), Adpare (Romania), Young Generation (Romania), Atina (Serbia). Research and technical assistance for the project is undertaken by the NEXUS Institute, a research and policy centre based on Vienna and specialised in anti-trafficking work.

2 Topics for the paper series were identified in discussions between KBF, NEXUS Institute and the eight re/integration NGOs working as part of KBF's TVRP in SE Europe. Discussion papers were drafted by NEXUS Institute in 2007 and discussed at KBF's TVRP partners meeting in Brussels in March 2008. Each paper was then revised with inputs from KBF and TVRP organisations and supplemented by data collection as outlined above. Other papers which will appear in this series are Issues paper #2, Re/integration of trafficked persons – handling difficult cases (2008) and Issues paper #3, Re/integration of trafficked person – developing monitoring and evaluation mechanisms (forthcoming 2009).

is primarily based on the experience of the eight re/integration service provision organisations funded by KBF as part of its Trafficking Victims Re/integration Programme (TVRP). The majority of beneficiaries are women (adults and older minors) trafficked for sexual exploitation and, to a lesser degree, forced labour and begging. There are important distinctions to be made between re/integration efforts for different forms of trafficking, different profiles of beneficiaries and the different environments in which re/integration takes place. As such, some issues are specific to these beneficiaries, programmes and contexts. Nevertheless, beneficiaries, in spite of their common trafficking experiences, have very different characteristics, backgrounds and needs and many of the considerations and constraints have relevance beyond SEE and beyond trafficking in women for sexual exploitation. Moreover, re/integration efforts in SEE are quite diverse, including in terms of programmes methods and models. Some programmes employ a residential shelter model, others mobilize non-residential assistance models, and still others offer both residential and non-residential services. Some organisations provide re/integration assistance dedicated to trafficking victims, while others assist trafficked persons alongside victims of violence. Some offer assistance only within the capital city, others in towns and communities outside of the capital. Their work and experiences have broad relevance. As such, it is hoped that the discussion will resonate both within SEE and further afield.

Data was collected through semi-structured interviews (conducted in person, by telephone and through email correspondence) with staff working in eight re/integration NGOs in SEE. This information is further supplemented by the author's previous research and work on victim assistance and re/integration for the NEXUS Institute[3], including extensive interviewing of trafficked persons and anti-trafficking professionals and service providers. This includes trafficked persons assisted by these re/integration organisations as well as in other assistance programmes. The paper also draws on relevant literature on the subject of re/integration assistance for trafficked persons.

3 These studies have focused on various aspects of assistance and protection for trafficked persons including victim's experience of identification, return and assistance in SEE, why some trafficking victims decline assistance; assistance and protection for trafficked men; an analysis of the shelter model and alternative assistance avenues; intersections between domestic violence and trafficking; methods and models for mixing services for victims of domestic violence and trafficking. Please see: Brunovskis & Surtees 2008 & 2007; Surtees & Somach 2008; Surtees 2008abc&d, 2007, 2006a&b; Warnath 2007.

2. WHAT IS RE/INTEGRATION?

When speaking about the re/integration process for trafficking victims we are referring to the process of recovery and economic and social inclusion following a trafficking experience. This inclusion is multifaceted and must take place in social, cultural and economic arenas. It includes settlement in a safe and secure environment, access to a reasonable standard of living, mental and physical well-being, opportunities for personal, social and economic development and access to social and emotional support. In many cases, re/integration will involve return to the victim's family and/or community of origin. However, it may also involve integration in a new community and even in a new country, depending on the needs and interests of the trafficked person. A central aspect of successful re/integration is that of empowerment, supporting victims to develop skills toward independence and self sufficiency and to be actively involved in their recovery and re/integration.[4]

The term "re/integration" is not without its problems. It implies a return to the individual's community/environment of origin, which may not always be the most advisable solution and might, in reality, work against their social inclusion in the long term. Moreover, the term implies that the individual was integrated in society prior to being trafficked. However, in many cases, trafficked persons have never experienced social integration or inclusion as a result of their social, economic, cultural or marginalisation in their communities/countries of origin. As such, there are reasons why some organisations (including some re/integration organisations working on the TVRP) chose to frame their work in other terms, such as social inclusion and integration.[5]

In the context of this paper (and KBF's TVRP more broadly), we use the term "re/integration". We do this in an effort to capture both the issues of integration and re-integration. We also chose to use this term because it is commonly used in discussing the anti-trafficking assistance framework (and in development and social assistance frameworks generally). However, the articulation of appropriate terminology is an important discussion and one which will continue to be discussed and explored within the TVRP.

4 This definition was originally developed in the framework of KBF's TVRP programme – please see Surtees, R. (2006c) Re/integration programmes in SE Europe–a background paper for the King Baudouin Foundation. Brussels: KBF – and has been adapted with inputs from TVRP partner organisations.

5 For other terms and concepts related to re/integration work, please refer to appendix #2.

3. OBSTACLES TO SUCCESSFUL RE/INTEGRATION

Obstacles to the successful re/integration of trafficking victims are myriad. Some are situated in the individual's experience and situation; others are informed by the broader socio-economic context. Equally, efforts to support the re/integration of trafficked persons can be both facilitated and complicated by personal, social and economic factors as well as the quality and competencies of the re/integration efforts themselves. Our intention in this section is to outline and examine some of these factors and obstacles – how they play out in practice and how they might be seen, understood and, ideally, also resolved with the support of re/integration programmes, policies and professionals.

On the one hand, we will explore factors which are a function of the individual and the social context in which re/integration takes place. These include how individual trafficking experience may inhibit the re/integration process and how individuals may suffer "failures" and "setback" in this process. Also relevant is the impact of the re/integration environment itself (family and community) and the more systemic obstacles to re/integration such as the lack of economic opportunities or education.

On the other hand, we will discuss factors related to re/integration programmes themselves. Some are very practical in nature and relate to the often high cost of re/integration assistance, the long timeframe for re/integration work and the quality of cooperation with state agencies. Other issues are more conceptual in nature – for instance, the psychological as well as physical accessibility of re/integration programmes, factors related to supporting victim autonomy and minimising dependency, victim participation and issues of organisational approaches and perspectives in re/integration work.

4. THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

This section considers issues and obstacles to re/integration which are situated in the individual and social contexts of trafficked persons – for example, how individual trafficking experiences may inhibit re/integration and how individuals may suffer "failures" and "setback" in this process. Also relevant is the impact of the re/integration environment itself (family and community) and the more systemic obstacles to re/integration such as the lack of economic or educational opportunities.

4.1: Managing trafficking experiences and traumas

Trafficking experiences are often deeply traumatic and managing life post-trafficking can be very difficult. Trafficked persons reported a range of negative emotions – feeling stressed, overwhelmed, angry, irritable, sad and/or depression (see Surtees 2007: 145):

> *[…] basically, I was just talking, telling them that it was what I needed. I was furious when talking and no matter how much they told me to relax I was not able to control my anger. I was crying and all. It hurt so much. I tried suicide and was lonely and so on.*
>
> *I would like to say that it is very difficult for the shelter staff to work with all beneficiaries… Each beneficiary has her own character… Some girls try to contact their owners… Many girls find it difficult to begin a new life… Many of them are used to making easy money … It is hard for them to recover physically and psychologically at least in the first period.*
>
> *Girls were nervous, agitated, some of them frightened. Some of them didn't speak at all, others spoke too much.*

Fear was another dominant emotion, often linked to fear of the trafficker (of being found and returned to trafficking, of retribution by the trafficker against themselves or their families). Fear was also, in some cases, borne of their long term victimisation and exploitation: "It was hard at the beginning because I was accustomed to lying. I was afraid to tell the truth out of fear that I would be beaten up. I had been beaten up for so long, almost every day, so I was afraid. But when I realized that nobody wanted anything from me, I calmed down. After one year I was different. I even gained weight here" (Surtees 2007: 138).

Many trafficked persons also grappled with feelings of shame related to their exploitation:

> *Some people laugh and say that you were a whore in the street. But they don't know what it is in your heart and how many nights you didn't sleep, with how many men you were forced to sleep or do other things. Others would*

have maybe turned their back. If you go home everybody points the finger at you and you know how difficult it is to walk with your head high and smile when everybody knows what you did (Surtees 2007: 146).

At first I didn't want to tell them. I was ashamed. I was even ashamed with myself. When I ran away from there, I took the trafficker's documents with me. But I didn't want to go home so I went to my grandmother's place. But she discovered the papers and called my parents. When I spoke to my father, I started crying and he realized that something had happened and I told him everything (Surtees 2007: 146).

For many trafficked persons it was important to be reassured that they were not to blame for what happened to them: "[It helped], the words of [the NGO staff]. She said that what happened to me was not because I wanted it and then I felt that someone faraway cared and thought about me" (Surtees 2007: 146). While negative feelings often abated over time (and, arguably, in response to re/integration assistance), in the short term, it often caused tension and difficulties not only for staff but also other programme beneficiaries (Surtees 2007: 146).

Dealing with these feelings and reactions requires intensive work on the part of service providers, including counselling and psychological assistance. Where assistance was not available, offered or accepted, these tensions and problems play out in the family and community setting where victims' behaviours may be neither understood nor accommodated. Brunovskis & Surtees (2007: 58) found that while families may express relief to have their family member back, there are also ranges of emotions that surface, including distrust or suspicion of the victim. If she is secretive about where she was or what happened to her, this might trigger doubt about what she was doing and how "innocent" she really was. A social worker explained it like this:

So what would I think of my child or my wife if she comes back with a lot of gynaecological problems and she will not tell me what has happened, she is crying all the time or very aggressive, something bad has happened but maybe she did something wrong, she came with a deportation, or without documents, she is not answering the phone or leaves the house for several days and I have to look for her, she is not a good person anymore. This may be why the society sometimes has such a reaction to these women (Brunovskis & Surtees 2007: 58).

This can and often does add another layer of stress and anxiety in the lives of trafficking victims.

Providing beneficiaries with the opportunity to access assistance at a later stage – perhaps months or even years after return – may be important in supporting their re/integration process as some people find over time that they cannot cope on their own. One woman was so traumatised by her brutal experiences abroad that her only thought was to get home, to safety and something she knew. However, when she did get home, she realised that she was not able to move on from what had happened to her on her own. She was not able to talk to her husband about it, not from fear of rejection, she said, but because it was too painful to even begin to describe what had happened. She, therefore, decided to seek out medical and psychological assistance (Brunovskis & Surtees 2007: 55).

4.2: The re/integration environment

In most cases, victims return to the same social and economic situation that they left, which often (at least partly) triggered their initial migration. In some situations, to return home involves re/integration into an environment which may have been socially, emotionally or economically unsatisfactory or unviable. In more extreme situations, the home environment may have been stressful, unhealthy and even dangerous. The difficulties of trafficking often add another layer of stress and further strain the individual's situation. Victims may return traumatized, with physical and psychological injuries. In some cases, they have incurred debt as a result of their migration/trafficking.

The re/integration environment is comprised of different layers – family and community – each of which have their own values and perspectives which inform how re/integration can and does take place.

At the level of the family, there are a range of considerations. On the one hand, there may be behaviours and actions which led to the individual being trafficked. In some cases this may even have involved being trafficked by a family member. Obviously in such cases the family environment is unsafe and unhealthy. It may also be that tensions and problems in the family led, in part, to trafficking – some victims left home to escape problematic family lives, including violence. In some such cases, returns may also be unadvisable. Family involvement may, however, have been more subtle – a product of social pressure or feelings of obligation to help and support the family.

In such cases, determining the advisability of a return to the family is a more complex undertaking. Not only will it be important to assess whether the conditions exist for sustainable re/integration (i.e. economic stability, adequate and safe housing, etc.) but it will also be important to deal with any tensions within the family which may have resulted from trafficking. Some families may be disappointed in the victim's failed migration and failure to return home with money, particularly given the importance of migration as an economic (and even family survival) strategy in SEE. Sometimes the individual's failure to satisfy such expectations are viewed as personal failings or as supporting pre-existing perceptions of individual character flaws. Returning home not having earned money (and possibly having incurred debt) may imply "stupidity" or "incompetence", particularly in the framework of many successful migration stories.

Other families may be ashamed because of her involvement in prostitution (albeit forced). Involvement in prostitution (even when forced) is often sufficient to bring shame upon a family which, in turn, may lead to some families not accepting their daughter home. One woman, after an initial stay at a shelter, increasingly faced problems with her family who were afraid that their own reputation would be tainted by her prostitution. She eventually moved back to a shelter, breaking with her family (Brunovskis & Surtees 2007: 56). As one social worker explained: "Supportive families understand that someone sold their girl. However, this is not so often the case. In other cases, families don't understand at all – although families are usually more understanding than the community" (Brunovskis & Surtees 2007: 126).[6]

Likewise, returning victims may, face a contradictory situation vis a vis their families. On the one hand, they may feel shame for not having succeeded or because of involvement in prostitution. On the other hand, they may be angry with their family for what they have suffered and the role that family and social pressure played in them being exploited.

6 Where individuals are seen as failing in these ways – as failed migrants or as prostitutes – they may be characterized as "socially deviant" by their families and local communities and become the subject of stigma (Brunovskis & Surtees 2007: 123, cf. Surtees 2007).

Importantly, the family is not a homogeneous unit and family members do react differently to an individual's return from trafficking and in the re/integration process. Research in SEE (Surtees 2007: 196) found levels of understanding and receptiveness among different family members:

> *My family told me it was all my fault. They didn't understand me. It was my brother, he blamed me. My mother is old, she didn't understand very well. There were times when I wanted to leave home. I believe it is very important for your family to support you. It is difficult to count on a strange person, because you think that if my parents didn't understand me, then who else can?*
>
> *I have a little nephew and because I was in the street, my sister had forbidden me to see him. Even now when I get along better with my sister, my nephew still does not know me as his aunt.*

In the same study (Surtees 2007: 197) some victims found support within their family environment – sometimes from the family as a whole, sometimes from specific family members:

> *I am sure that my mother was happy to see me and my father too. But, on the other hand, they were trying to avoid any discussion about what went on there or to ask any questions… Yes, I told them everything and they were disappointed and upset, but not with me. They were upset because of what had happened. I didn't expect that they would be so good to me.*
>
> *My brother and sister still love me. My husband always humiliates me, calls me a prostitute. He is always jealous, although he has no reason to be.*
>
> *I planned to stay with my aunt, because she understands things better than my mom. And I explained to [my aunt] why I'd stay with her. [My aunt] would understand if I told her about what happened but my mom would never even look at me again.*

A stable family setting plays a vital role in re/integration (either a family which protects its daughter or a new family unit with husband and wife) and much work is done by re/integration programmes to mediate family conflict and create conditions for a safe and affirming family environment. In some cases, it involves facilitating initial contact with the family; in others cases, it is necessary to initially mediate the contact and support the victim's return to live with the family. As one service provider explained:

> *It is very important for returned victims to find in their families the most important thing – understanding. But from our experience, for many victims this doesn't happen from the beginning. In many cases, victims receive support from their families after a period of time, after they understand the real danger their daughter (or cousin, granddaughter, wife) was in. When the victim receives support from their families, the victim regains self esteem.*

Central in successful mediation is preparation of both the victim and the family, as explained by one re/integration organisation:

> *Both victims and the members of their families are usually angry on each other, accusing each other for serious offences – victims accusing their parents of alcoholism and abuse; of sexual abuse; for dislodging them from home, etc., and parents accusing victims of problematic behaviour, previous to their leaving home which resulted in trafficking. For that reason special attention should be paid during mediation to handling prejudices and accusations, translating them to underlying emotions, and unsatisfied needs, facilitating both sides' mutual understanding and acceptance.*

That being said, in some cases, it is neither possible nor advisable to try to re-establish family relations. One study found that only 43 per cent of assisted trafficking victims re-established contact with their families and were satisfied with the nature of that relationship. By contrast, 21 per cent has re-established the relations but victims suffered stigmatisation and 36 per cent no longer had any contact with family and friend (many had initially tried to re-establish a relationship but this disintegrated) (ICCO 2004: 36). Of the victims in the study who were re-trafficked, most had not restored their relationship with their family (ICCO 2004: 36). While the two factors may not be causally related, the intersection between the issues merits consideration in both research and programme response.

There is also the problem when a trafficking victim does not have a family to return to.[7] Re/integration into a home community without the support and help of a family may be particularly complicated and, in the case of children, the lack of family support means additionally having to explore other care arrangements – extended family or non-kin arrangements. In some cases, victims may have a family but be unable to return because of security reasons – some families are pressured by traffickers in order to draw the girl back into the trafficking network/enterprise or to prevent her testifying.

The community is also an important aspect of the re/integration environment and many communities are not welcoming of trafficked persons. One beneficiary –"Elena"[8]– forced by her boyfriend to work as a prostitute in several EU countries, returned home to her family in a small town after her escape. Returning home was very difficult for her because people in the town knew about her experience and she was judged harshly and treated badly. She wanted to re-establish her old friendships but her friends' parents feared that they would be stigmatized because of their contact with this "prostitute". That "Elena" had been forced into prostitution and therefore was a victim of crime did not matter. This community discrimination meant that she was unable to get married and faced a lot of problems with the commune administration which put obstacles in the way of her assistance.

Another beneficiary –"Alexandra"– faced stigma from persons she had known and been friendly with while trafficked into prostitution. She was treated badly by these former acquaintances who did not feel that she had the "right" to have a "regular" relationship because of her past involvement in the prostitution. They did not accept that she could leave prostitution, resume a normal life and be a "regular girl". In their opinion, she was not "entitled" to this relationship.

The potential for stigma and discrimination in the local environment may, in turn, have a direct impact on the options available to trafficked persons in their home communities – for example, economic options like finding suitable employment or setting up a small business. In a study of re/integration in Cambodia, one beneficiary, who was given funds to set up a business in her home community, failed in her business, in part, because she was not comfortable (as a former trafficking victim) demanding payment:

> *She was not successful… She could not get benefit from her business. She sold cigarettes, [food products] and salt, but many people bought on credit. By the time she had finished all her goods, there were still a lot of people who owed her money, but she didn't dare to ask them for the money (Derks 1998).*

Some factors seem to amplify or exacerbate community stigma. Where victims of trafficking were being assisted, this, at times, amplified the negative reaction and discrimination of community members: "The

7 For further discussion of this point, please see KBF's TVRP issues paper #2: Re/integration of trafficked persons – handling "difficult" cases (2008), which discusses situations in which trafficked persons are unable to return home to their family.

8 N.B.: The names of persons discussed in paper are not their real names. This is done to protect their privacy and confidentiality.

neighbours were quite indignant and why someone comes into the house and walks here and there and installs a stove… maybe we can say it is jealousy, maybe envy. But they thought 'she got everything installed free of charge and why don't we get that'" (Brunovskis & Surtees 2007: 125). This highlights the need for less conspicuous re/integration interventions (which is not identifiable as "anti-trafficking assistance") and also assistance to families or communities as a whole rather than individuals. Some programmes have been specifically designed to mitigate the risk of identification by receiving assistance, with some organisations targeting socially vulnerable groups including, but not limited to, trafficking victims. In smaller towns and communities, this serves as an important form of camouflage. For instance, one organisation working in a very conservative environment where there was little sympathy for trafficking victims, offered their trafficking specific assistance within a broader framework of assistance to unemployed people, offering classes and counselling to trafficking victims alongside others. In this way they successfully approached victims without exposing them as trafficked even in the presence of their families who often knew nothing about the trafficking experience (Brunovskis & Surtees 2007: 125-6).

Stigma may be caused or exacerbated by an individual's membership in an already stigmatized or socially vulnerable group, like an ethnic minority, persons with disabilities, refugees or internally displaced persons (IDPs). Managing this stigma requires empowering beneficiaries to deal with the prejudices they face due to their membership in a discriminated group – something which may be realized through individual counselling and meetings with beneficiaries as well as linking them with organisations working directly on these issues.

There are some factors and conditions which may be helpful in efforts to address stigma and discrimination. Being able to draw on social support – from the victim's family or other healthy interpersonal relationships – can be an important source of stability in the re/integration process as well as a "backstop" in times of crisis. Economic empowerment and financial independence are also important factors. Training offered to women during their recovery and assistance can contribute to re/integration success. Trafficked women may gain respect from relatives and the local environments if they return home with either financial or other forms of resources, such as income generation skills[9] (Bjerkan & Dyrlid 2005; Crawford & Kaufman 208: 912).

At a more basic level, returning home looking healthy and with a "normal" appearance does, at least in part, serve to minimise stigma and discrimination within the local community. One study in SEE found that "deviancy" may be inadvertently signalled by non-normative behaviour manifested in language, appearance, clothing, attitude and actions: "some trafficking victims return with the clothes that she escaped in, her prostitution clothes, and when she returns in these clothes, they reject her" (Brunovskis & Surtees 2007: 124, cf. Derks 1998, Surtees 2007).[10] Where victims behave in socially acceptable ways, this may facilitate their social integration and acceptance. One woman, for example, was assisted in setting up a small tailor shop. Through the business she came into regular contact with people in her community who began to see her differently (as a person trying to support her family rather than a "prostitute" or "trafficking victim").

There is also some evidence to suggest that stigma, blame and discrimination may be time bound. That is, some victims reported how community stigma changed over the weeks, months and years following their return home. One victim who returned to her home community was shunned each time she went to the village

9 It is not always possible for clients to attend the long term courses required to develop professional skill because of the need to earn money for their family in the immediate. Moreover, it is also not always possible for the skills learned to translate into economic opportunity. They may not be able to find a suitable job and/or they may find that their proposed business is not feasible within the local economy.

10 In some programmes efforts are made toward the trafficked persons conformity to social norms – for example, in terms of behaviour and appearance (Bjerkan & Dyrlid 2005: 140, Milijevic 2007: 238). However, it is worth considering to what extent such an approach reflects the biases of assisting organisations including notions of "appropriate" behaviours and who is a "good girl" (Brunovskis & Surtees 2007: 99). Organisations attitudes (and associated interventions and strategies) may mirror those of the local community, which can include stigma, prejudice and discrimination.

shop, treatment that continued for two years before the situation finally normalized (Brunovskis & Surtees 2007: 133, cf. Derks 1998: 43, Surtees 2000: 190-191; Surtees 2007: 199).

Given these complexities, integration in a new community may be an alternative in some cases. At the same time, there are many complicating factors. Persons integrating in a new community will typically lack the support networks – whether from family or community – which facilitate a healthy social and economic life. This means not being able to rely on family and/or social networks for housing, employment and social support. Many trafficking victims faced difficulty finding suitable employment prior to trafficking and this can be even more difficult when looking for work in a new community where they are not known and have no professional or personal contacts. Even if they are able to find work, it is not always possible to support themselves – including finding affordable housing – on the often low salaries paid. This may be particularly relevant for women with dependent children who, given their already weak socio-economic situations, often require the "backstop" support of their family and community. As one organisation explained:

> *Sometimes this [relocating to a new community] is the best solution in order to have a better life, in order to forget the past. We had many victims who changed their local community, and we can affirm that this was the best solution for their future development. At first it is not easy to deal with the new community, but if the victim has the support of [anti-trafficking professionals], this new community can sometimes be much opened than the first one.*

Another consideration is how they may be seen and received in a new community. People may be suspicious of and unwelcoming toward a new person, which will impact their social and economic options.

Where trafficked persons integrate in a new community in a foreign country (as is possible with options for residency in SEE), these integration problems may be further exacerbated by social, linguistic and cultural barriers. How re/integration takes place for foreign nationals is, arguably, even more complicated and less understood.

4.3: Systemic obstacles to re/integration

Re/integration services, while able to address some needs, is insufficient to address the full range of social, political and economic issues that victims face. The social, economic and political landscape in many origin countries involves serious structural problems such as endemic un (or under)employment, high costs of living, lack of professional opportunities, inadequate state assistance and under-developed social services. Re/integration programmes (often small scale, NGO-run and with limited resources cannot address these more systemic obstacles which impede re/integration. For example, many trafficked persons prioritize the need for (full and adequately paid) employment and economic opportunities, which were among the main triggers of their initial migration.

> *[About what services are needed] A well paid job…there are no workplaces in my village… The only thing that worries me is the fact that I don't have a job. I would feel more assured if I could save some money to be able to support my family (Surtees 2007: 187).*

> *Now I am with my family. For me and for them, it is important that I am not anymore with the person who harmed me so much. I help my mother at housework and come from time to time to meet the girls here. However I am not satisfied. Our economic situation is very hard and I need a job to continue to support myself and my family (Surtees 2007: 187).*

Job placement for former victims of trafficking remains difficult. In the five SEE countries where the TVRP is implemented, it is difficult to find formal job placements which include social benefits such as unemployment insurance, health care and so on. Generally, government-run employment offices are not able to provide appropriate job placements and so service providers rely on personal connections. Many trafficked persons have low education, few professional skills and little work experience, making them less desirable in an already competitive job market.

Even beneficiaries who find work often find that salaries are not enough to meet their needs or that the working conditions are poor and problematic (sometimes even exploitative and dangerous). The limited work options force beneficiaries to accept whatever work conditions are given by the employer. Employers do not generally pay insurance for their employees and they dictate the work schedule. Many beneficiaries have lost their jobs when they asked to be paid for their overtime work.[11] Commonly, beneficiaries work in the informal sector where job security is limited, salaries are low and benefits are non-existent:

> *Yes, I worked long hours, from twelve to sixteen hours. I wanted to find something with regular hours but I couldn't find anything (Surtees 2007: 187).*
>
> *Now I am okay, but with some little difficulties. The salary is not enough. I was told to stay in the centre when I asked to go out and live in an apartment, because it is better. But I didn't want to. When we were in the centre, we had very good food, now we can hardly afford it (Surtees 2007: 188).*
>
> *If they can help me with some sort of assistance, either with money or with food. The salary is not enough for food, although I am by myself and I don't pay electricity, water and rent. But I can hardly pass the month. I go to work at six o'clock in the morning and I come back at six o'clock in the afternoon and you know how much the salaries here are (Surtees 2007: 188).*

Others face problems like abuse and sexual harassment. "Lara", for example, found employment as a chef's assistant in a local restaurant but was sexually harassed by her employer and subsequently fired her when she rebuffed his advances.

The overall poor economic conditions in many countries may be a deterrent for some trafficked persons. Surtees (2007: 188) found that life abroad has given some individuals a taste of affluence which they cannot achieve in their home country.

> *I wanted to stay in [the destination] but I also wanted to return to my child… I liked a lot the lifestyle in [the destination country] and I didn't want to leave there.*
>
> *It was simply psychologically difficult for me to accept the differences in the lifestyle here, in a common village, without minimal living conditions, while I was remembering the luxurious living conditions in [the EU]… I thought that if I talked to someone from [the EU] I would somehow be more in touch with civilization.*

Another systemic obstacle is the overall lack of state assistance and social services in countries of origin. Trafficked persons who return home in need of support often encounter a lack of social security, inadequate and substandard medical care, no affordable housing, limited education and training opportunities and so on. This, in turn, not only fails to address their problems but may even serve to amplify their vulnerability to exploitation and even re-trafficking. While re/integration organisations actively lobby on all of these issues,

11 Social enterprises may provide an opportunity to address these employment and economic issues (discussed in section 5.1: Re/integration as a costly process), although this is a largely under-developed component of re/integration work.

there are limits to what can be realistically achieved in the context of systemic economic problems and limited government resources and social sector investment.[12]

4.4: "Setbacks" and "failures"

Even when re/integration is completed or is progressing "satisfactorily", it often involves "set backs" and "failures", some minor, some major. These crises may mean victims return for assistance and support at different times in their post-trafficking life, seeking either crisis intervention or assistance in addressing more deep-rooted problems.[13] Some victims temporarily return to programmes after a period of living independently; after a conflict in their family, economic crisis or tension in their personal relationships. Some victims sought assistance a number of times after "graduating" from the programme. In many cases this assistance provided a safety net, which many lacked within their social environment:

> *I stayed before in this shelter for six months but then I wanted to move with my boyfriend. It was for one year. I had to give a new statement to the police and I met [the director] again and she felt that it was something wrong so she asked me if I wanted to come back and I could come. This impressed me (Surtees 2007: 188-9).*
>
> *[The social worker] told me that the door is open for me always… They told me that I can come back at any time. I accepted that because I didn't want to go to my mother like that [after an argument] (Surtees 2007: 188-9).*
>
> *[My boyfriend's mother] is the owner [of the shop] and she can't accept our relationship. I was working the whole day, since other girls would leave, because of her temper. She was yelling at others, whining all the time. She fired [my boyfriend and me]. We lived together at that time. But we argued because he was very jealous. So I left the apartment and returned to shelter (Surtees 2007: 188-9).*

Trafficked persons may face many unexpected obstacles – social, economic and personal. And because of their vulnerability – due to trafficking as well as, in some cases, preceding trafficking – these crises (whether large or small) may be sufficient to derail their recovery and re/integration. In more extreme cases, trafficked persons may feel they have few options but to resort to activities they did while trafficked, like prostitution: "When I was at home with my parents, we did not have enough to eat and I used to look out on the street and think at the choices that I had. And the street looked like a way to make money" (Surtees 2007: 189).

One common trigger for "setbacks" was related to beneficiaries' relations with male partners – for instance, a partner who was violent and/or blamed them for their trafficking experience. Some trafficked women came back into contact with their pimps and traffickers (with whom they had had relationships) and ended up being re-trafficked. "Alina" was very successful in the re/integration process – after attending a professional course she found a job. However, through her work she once again came into contact with her exploiter who convinced her that he loved her and once again trafficked her.

Another common "setback" was due to disappointment with their social circumstances – friends not reacting in way they would like them to, their families not wanting to re-establish contact with them, not being able to see their children and so on.

12 Partnerships with larger scale development projects which specifically looking at these systemic problems, may be one option. The extent to which trafficking issues can be prevented and redressed within a broader community development framework remains an open question but one worth some consideration.

13 This has also been noted amongst service providers in the United States: "just when you think they are moving forward, something happens with their case or their family or they see something on the news that triggers the trauma experience and sets them back sometimes months in their progress. A lot of times it is one step forward and two or three steps back. You just have to be prepared for setbacks" (Clawson & Dutch 2008: 7).

Economic problems also triggered "setbacks". Beneficiaries were often unable to find work which allowed them to be economically independent; others lost or quit job because of harassment, low wages or poor conditions. These economic problems translate into continued reliance on the re/integration organisation which, on the one hand, must support their job search (seeking out "safe" employment opportunities, preparing them for interviews, support during initial stages of employment which clients often find quite stressful) and, on the other hand, provide financial support until they're economically independent.

Security problems – for example, threats or violence from traffickers against themselves, family and friends – were another crisis point for some victims. "Elba" was assisted in a shelter programme and, as a result of family mediation, was able to re-establish her relationship with her family and return home to live. However, when she returned home, she was harassed by her traffickers and bth she and her family were insecure as a result of these threats and intimidation. As a result, "Elba" returned to the shelter and brought charges against her traffickers.

Other common triggers for "setbacks" were stigma from family and/or community and conflicts in the family or with intimate partners. Where victims faced a non-conducive re/integration environment, "setbacks" were an issue.

Whether these "set-backs" temporarily or permanently derail a beneficiary's re/integration process is a function both of her personal circumstances (her individual or social coping mechanisms) and the support available through re/integration programmes.

Flexibility in programmes – the possibility that victims can return, willingness of organisations to provide support at a later phase, attention to their individual needs, referral for additional services – addresses, at least in part, the fact that re/integration is not smooth, linear or quick. In many cases this additional assistance provides a safety net (arguably against re-trafficking), which many trafficked persons lack in their social environment.

While trafficking victims can rely on support from re/integration programmes in the short term, there is a need to develop and transition to other, arguably more sustainable, support networks. This might include community level support – for instance, from local government social services, local NGOs, religious organisations and communities groups. Trafficked persons require support mechanisms outside of the anti-trafficking assistance framework. Re/integration organisations employ different strategies in this regard including identifying services and opportunities in the clients' community (and explaining how to seek out this assistance). Some organisations facilitate initial contact between clients and different service providers in the clients' home community which clients can then follow-up.

It is also important to build local, personal networks. Victims themselves spoke about the importance of personal relations in recovery from trafficking: "I think that trafficking experience is something that you will never forget. I find very helpful my husband's help and support. If he hadn't supported me, I might have gone mad. It is very important when you have a close person who can understand you and help" (Surtees 2007: 191). Support programmes can play an important role in activating and strengthening supportive relationships within the close surroundings of the beneficiaries, which may involve organisations engaging in family mediation, counselling, community awareness-raising or different forms of assistance to the family (and even community) as a whole.

5: SHORTCOMINGS IN RE/INTEGRATION MODELS

This section explores issues and obstacles to re/integration work which are functions of re/integration programmes themselves. Some are very practical in nature and relate to the often high cost of re/integration programmes, the long timeframe for re/integration work and cooperation with state agencies. Other issues are more conceptual in nature and relate to how programmes are implemented – for instance, the accessibility (physical and psychological) of re/integration programmes, the tension between autonomy and dependency, victim participation and issues of organisational approaches and perspectives in re/integration work.

5.1: Re/integration as a costly process

Given the extent of services required for meaningful and sustainable social inclusion of trafficked persons, it is not surprising that the costs of re/integration programmes are high. That re/integration is a long term process – requiring services over the course of months and years – further contributes to high costs. Re/integration assistance may involve initial crisis intervention (i.e. accommodation, medical care, psychological assistance, financial and humanitarian assistance) as well as longer term support on a wide range of needs such as training, education, housing assistance, job placement, counselling, medical services and family mediation. Services are typically highly individual and depend on a number of factors including the trafficking experience itself, whether it is safe for the victim to return to her family or home community, risks of re-trafficking, what skills she has which could assist in the re/integration, the degree of trauma, existing support within family and community and so on (Surtees 2006c).

Re/integration programmes in SEE differ substantially in terms of the services they offer, which necessarily impacts programme costs. Some programmes are organized in three stages – initial crisis intervention in a shelter, semi-independent living in the medium term and supported independent living in the longer term (with a range of associated costs as different stages). Crisis intervention involves accommodation (in a residential shelter); medical care; food; psychosocial care; clothes; hygienic tools and security. In the medium term, resources are required for communication; transportation; vocational trainings; legal assistance; and educational programmes; while in the long term, when victims are increasingly independent and generally have a job and an income, support is scaled back but nevertheless may involve assistance with accommodation and the associated costs (water, electricity, etc.) and specific services like child care. Staffing requirements for this comprehensive assistance include social workers, teachers, medical staff (nurses, doctors, psychologists and psychiatrists), administrative staff and legal assistants. By contrast, some programmes offer accommodation support only in the initial crisis phase, although this is often because organisations lacks funds for longer term shelter services. Non-residential programmes tend to have lower costs, although there are expenses associated with the professional staffing and

services. The standard package of re/integration assistance and support varies substantially from programme to programme and, by implication, so do the costs. The extent to which different programmes and assistance models may (or may not) be more cost effective remains an open question.

Assessing what constitute "reasonable" costs for re/integration work requires a consideration of the specific context and client base. Different models of care may not be equally appropriate in different contexts and for different clients. For example, persons from settings where social vulnerability is acute and social assistance is generally lacking may require more comprehensive and intensive models of care. Where stigma and victim blaming is more pronounced, re/integration alternatives may be more urgent. Moreover, some models of care may not be appropriate within a specific social and cultural environment – for instance, residential models may be more appropriate in some socio-cultural settings than others. Similarly, the individual needs of trafficked persons differ substantially. Some trafficked persons may need and opt for more intensive and comprehensive assistance models (like a shelter) – for example, when they lack adequate support and assistance at home. Other trafficked persons may prefer lower threshold assistance (like day centres or community based assistance) – for example, when they need to return home to their family and work to support them or do not wish to live away from their families. As such, while it may be possible to identify more cost effective models of care, these may not always be the most effective forms of assistance for the context or client base. This, in turn, may lead to clients declining assistance or failing to realize sustainable re/integration. It is important that trafficked persons situations, needs and requirements are taken into account to ensure that the model of care is appropriate for and accessible to trafficking victims.

Attention is also needed to the local socio-economic realities in terms of what are reasonable expenditures. Some thought is needed to whether costly re/integration programmes (with the wide range of services they afford) raise unrealistic expectations about on-going assistance as well as future opportunity. Where victims receive a package of services which far exceed what is possible in society generally, this may create material and life expectations which cannot be realized (which may, in turn, lead to dependency on the programme and staff or "failed" re/integration). One social worker I met detailed the range of courses and services offered to her clients, many of which she and her husband (both middle class professionals and fully employed) could not offer to their two children. Where a high level of service provision for trafficked persons is at odds with what is available to the general population, this potentially creates a host of complications including resentment on the part of unassisted persons who may be equally (but differently) vulnerable.

A discussion of programme costs also raises the issue of sustainability of re/integration programmes (and organisations) in both the short and longer term. One important issue being explored within the TVRP is what can be done to offset some of the costs of re/integration programmes toward a sustainable model of care in the longer term. Many organisations are exploring ways that some costs can be assumed by the government. In some cases, this involves direct funding from the state. One organisation, for example, received a small sum (5% of their budget) from the local municipality. Other organisations have solicited the donation of public buildings for use as shelters, day centres and offices and government contribution toward staff salaries. In other cases, government support comes in the form of access to state services, like medical care, social assistance, vocational training, rental subsidies and job placement. In some countries, medical services are paid for by the state. In others, vocational training and job opportunities have been provided to some trafficked persons. And some government administrations have supported organisations to register the children of trafficking victims in day care centres. However, a condition for receiving state assistance in most countries is the regularisation of victims' legal status, which can be difficult to achieve and is a time-consuming

and labour intensive process.[14] There is also the matter of quality care and victim sensitivity when accessing government services.

Another cost-saving approach has been strategic partnerships with organisations which provide services and assistance to other vulnerable groups. Common activities allow for cost sharing between organisations.

Social enterprises – a catering business and an Internet café – have been mobilized by one organisation as a means of generating funds.[15] Café staff included programme beneficiaries and earnings were used to pay the depreciation and management expenses, to create a small funding base and to be re-invested on the services managed by the organisation. That being said, this strategy is not uncomplicated and the organisation has faced problems – not least because the state designated the enterprise as a "business" (and taxed it accordingly)[16] and due to competition from other Internet businesses – which led to the café's failure. The catering business, which employs beneficiaries, has been more successful but has not expanded due to limited demand for catering services in the relatively impoverished town where it is based. Functions requiring catering occur only two to three times a month, which means the business is not a sustainable solution for beneficiaries.

5.2: A time consuming and intensive process

It is widely agreed that the re/integration of trafficking victims takes months and even years. This is not surprising given that many trafficked persons come from vulnerable situations (whether personally, socially or economically) and the impact of trafficking is often intense and complex. The time required for re/integration, however, is case specific and influenced by a number of factors, such as the nature of the trafficking experience, the person's background, the trafficked person's family and community conditions upon return, and so on.

In discussing the general timeframe for re/integration work, organisations working under KBF's TVRP have developed a framework which includes three distinct phases – 1) crisis intervention (0-6 months), 2) transition phase (7-12 months) and 3) re/integration/social inclusion (13-36 months). Most trafficked persons require support from between one to two years, after which they are considered "successfully re/integrated".

In some cases, more time (and more intensive support) is needed to respond appropriately and effectively to variations in assistance needs (Surtees 2006c). This may be because the services provided exceed the length of the programme – for example, a three year hairdressing training or a five year university programme. In other cases, the client, in spite of some successes, is still not economically independent. Organisations found that some victims required on-going support even when they have a job, live with their own families, have their own business and so on. Moreover, some cases are more difficult to handle – for example, where clients have

14 For discussion of this point, please see KBF's TVRP issues paper # 2: Re/integration of trafficked persons – handling "difficult" cases (2008).

15 One issue in this type of model is that of economic viability – ensuring that the organisation has the skills and capacity to manage such an endeavour. An equally important issue is how clients (trafficked persons and other vulnerable groups) are engaged in this process. That is, there are ethical issues involved with clients are required to work in social enterprises. However, where engaged voluntarily and remunerated appropriately for their work, such a model can be a valuable tool both toward the economic empowerment and independence of clients and the sustainability of the organisation and its programmes.

16 The organisation, in cooperation with other organisation, is currently lobbying the government to change the law on social enterprises of NGOs.

serious medical conditions, have disabilities, are minors, are unable to return to their family/community and so on.[17] As a result they often require specialized assistance and intervention over longer periods of time.

While assistance takes time, the level of investment and time required to work with each beneficiary generally decreases over time. During the initial stage of crisis intervention, a client may be in daily contact with his/her social worker. However, this generally eases by twelve or 24 months such that a client may be contacting the programme staff only occasionally and the staff monitor the case only on a monthly, quarterly or even biannual basis.

The long term and intensive nature of re/integration work necessarily has an impact on programme staff. As one anti-trafficking service provider in the United States observed: "Informal networks will grow over time but until then these victims are isolated and in most cases only have us [case managers] to depend on for support" (Clawson & Dutch 2008: 2). High levels of stress and burnout amongst re/integration programme staff is not uncommon and, to date, few mechanisms – like burn-out counselling – have been put in place within programmes. Re/integration programmes have a responsibility to support service staff. Beyond the ethics of this approach is the practical consideration that a well-supported and healthy staff is better equipped to support clients through the long process of recovery and re/integration. However, the provision of support mechanisms for staff requires adequate resources, which are generally lacking.

5.3: Complicated procedures and cooperation with state agencies

While responsibility for the re/integration of trafficked persons rests with the national government, in practice, it has typically been NGOs which have undertaken this work. While NGOs have an important role to play in this process – and governments may continue to subcontract the management and operation of such programmes to NGOs – governments must play an increasingly active role in re/integration support. Some government assistance – like medical care, education, humanitarian assistance, financial support, document processing – is typically available to vulnerable persons, including trafficked persons. However, many trafficked persons continue to face problems in accessing even the most basic state services and support.

In some cases, this is a function of inadequate government resources and services:

> *My pension is [approximately 22 Euros] a month… but what does this sum mean for a six-member family? (Surtees 2007: 230).*
>
> *As far as I understand, there are some state assistance programmes for single mothers. But where are they? Where is that assistance? Those who need it don't get it. I think this assistance is used by those who are to provide this assistance. And single mothers receive just a pack of food once a year. And then they themselves must extricate out of their difficulties. They get [approximately six Euros] a month for a child. Is it possible to feed a child having only this sum of money? (Surtees 2007: 230).*

In other cases, there may be an issue of commitment and/or capacity on the part of government staff. Some organisations reported a lack motivation of state social service providers (including lack of interest in taking responsibility for trafficked persons); others found that state workers lacked knowledge of their own mandate in working with trafficking victims and, moreover, lacked the requisite skills. When one organisation called

17 For further discussion of this point, please see KBF's TVRP issues paper # 2, Re/integration of trafficked persons - handling "difficult" cases (2008)

practitioners at the emergency psychiatric unit to assist a suicidal client, they declined to come. Another organisation reported that many of the staff who deal with trafficked persons' needs – for example, in terms of document processing or access the medical insurance – are administrators who generally have a rigid attitude to the rules and often lack compassion toward trafficking victims.

In still other cases, bureaucratic procedures serve as an impediment. Many beneficiaries face problems in accessing identity documents due to complicated bureaucratic procedures. Without owning property it is generally not possible to have a residential address; without an address it is not possible to obtain identity documents and without these documents they are not able access social assistance of any kind or even find work.

> *I am dissatisfied with the assistance of the state organisations. If you don't have your registration, you can not receive any help from either the employment office or social protection organisations. You can not even get your passport. As a result, people who really need help cannot receive it because of the bureaucracy (Surtees 2007: 230).*
>
> *[I receive approximately six Euros] per month. However, I haven't received anything for three months. It's because they mixed up my middle name. And I may receive the allowance only at the place of residence, only there, where they know me (Surtees 2007: 231).*
>
> *Ask my son how tired we were going from one institution to another… Completing all of those papers, bureaucracy procedures… Indifference, especially from the state organisations… their unwillingness to clear up someone's troubles (Surtees 2007: 231).*

In some governments there is lack of internal communication between departments and contacts with other government institutions and services are insufficient and irregular. Many re/integration NGOs found that, when working with the government the flow of information and cooperation was typically one way. That is, government departments expect to receive information and reports but do not feel obliged to share information with other stakeholders involved in the process. This poses particular obstacles for TVRP partners who typically are the lead agency on a case and serve as the engine to move it forward – regardless of whether this involves the provision of medical care, financial support, legal assistance and so on. There needs to be a regular exchange of information, experience and practices between government and NGO partners which, in turn, can serve as a means to facilitate cooperation and collaboration and quality care.

Moreover, in some countries, the specific legal framework surrounding trafficking victims adds a layer of complication. In some countries, until a case is presented to the prosecutor or in court, the trafficked person is not officially considered a trafficking victim. And without this official status as trafficking victims, anti-trafficking assistance (guaranteed under the law) cannot be provided. Even when status is granted, trials can last many years and insufficient support is provided to compensate for lost income or re-victimisation associated with being an injured party. In other countries, obtaining documents (i.e. birth certificate, identity cards, health and social insurance, IDP or refugee status, different social protection benefits) requires a multitude of administrative procedures, a process which can last months and even years, depending on the complexity of the case. In some difficult cases – for example, when a victim does not have any valid document or birth certificate – it can take years.[18]

18 This is a problem for all persons without documents and not specific to victims of trafficking.

Further, there have also been reports of discrimination against trafficked persons by state actors, which exposes them to an additional level of victimization and also raises serious questions about the appropriateness of government service provision for trafficked persons.. One NGO staff related how a medical doctor who was approached about providing medical services was dismissive and insensitive; "I didn't go to medical school to examine prostitutes". Victims related similar experiences: "You can feel that. When that doctor checked me she behaved like she was disgusted to touch me". An additional concern is that the quality of public care may not always be as good as private care (Surtees 2007: 218).

As a consequence, the resources of many re/integration programmes (both financial and human) are overtaxed as they need to be actively involved in dealing with state institutions on behalf of (or alongside) trafficking victims. This is particularly important in the case of socially marginalised persons who generally are not aware of their right to state services or the means by which they can access them. Some organisations have had to intensively pressure state institutions to assist some trafficking victims, including lobbying at high government levels. This is needed even in situations where the law clearly outlines the right of victims of various forms of support and service.

There is a need to develop formal links with government services to provide services which will also require training government workers in how to sensitively and professionally handle such cases and also increase knowledge about what services are available to trafficked persons.[19] Some organisations are already working in this direction – conducting trainings in victim assistance and re/integration support for state social workers and sensitizing local administrators in the needs of trafficked persons. "Kaja" required a good deal of assistance in transferring her registration to a commune in the capital and, moreover, to access social support (as a vulnerable person) for herself and her two children. Success in her case was largely a function of trafficking training that social administrators in capital city received from a re/integration NGO. Other organisations are developing working relationships with state social workers to jointly provide assistance. Still others are working cooperatively with government departments in the development of standards of care for trafficking victims, including how to practice the standards.

As part of this process, there is the need for a clear framework for cooperation. In countries where this is lacking (for example, in Serbia there is no law on the role and responsibilities of NGOs), this further complicates re/integration efforts. There is also the need for clear and transparent funding mechanisms of NGOs by the government. At present this is lacking and some organisations are facing long delays and many bureaucratic procedures when being reimbursed costs. Other organisations have no access to government funding.

That being said, there have been some positive developments. In one case a minor was to be enrolled in night school to complete her primary school education. However, she lacked the appropriate documentation to register. After discussion with the school administration, she was able to register and study. In another instance, a minor victim of sexual exploitation was returned from an EU country and, following a thorough assessment of her needs, was accommodated in a state shelter and received comprehensive social and psychological assistance as did her family to stabilize the home environment. After six months, the girl was returned to her family environment and has since been successfully re/integrated.

19 *Service providers in the United States also have made this point: "As a service provider, I find it confusing trying to figure out what services are available for which clients. Most of my time is spent making calls or running around to agencies. We [service providers] need a road map that helps explain not only what services our clients are eligible for but how we go about accessing these services… I can barely navigate through all of these systems myself, so how can we expect our clients to that this on?" (Clawson & Dutch 2008: 6).*

5.4: Accessibility of re/integration programmes

Re/integration services should be widely available and accessible both to those who accept to stay at a shelter as well as those who prefer to return home to their family and community. Currently much re/integration support is centred around the capital or larger towns and is residentially based. Thus, there is often an obligation to stay, at least initially, in a shelter setting in order to access re/integration assistance and services. Where re/integration services are only available through shelters (in distant towns) there is the risk that trafficked persons will not access this assistance. Some trafficked persons decline assistance because they (and their families) do not want them to stay at a shelter which is often quite distant from the family and home community and which is often off limits to family members for visiting and regular contact. For others, a shelter stay (with the attendant assistance) was considered a luxury which they couldn't afford because of the need for them to work and support their family (Brunovskis & Surtees 2007: 91, cf. Surtees 2008d).

Amongst TVRP organisations, different models of care are offered. While some are trafficking specific, residential programmes in capital cities, others are non-residential programmes, with day centres or individualised services. Still others are located in provincial towns and/or involve outreach work in a wide range of towns and villages. As such, the TVRP programme, with its diversity of models and interventions, potentially provides some insight into how to overcome issues accessibility in re/integration work.

Moreover, TVRP partners have cooperated with a wide range of organisations – government and NGOs – to facilitate re/integration services for clients in home communities. One client who wanted to return to her hometown to live with her family was provided with vocational training, business training and micro-credit through cooperation with one government institution and different NGOs and international organisations. The client also received business counselling and, when the business was opened, the NGO and government institution which had conducted the business training jointly monitored the business and offered assistance in business administration and management.

However, assistance and services are often not readily or adequately available in more rural settings and many organisations report a general lack of motivation and resources on the part of the state to make these services – like social services – more accessible. One trafficking victim came from a very rural setting and, prior to her re/integration, it was essential that the state social worker visit the family and community to assess the advisability of her return. However, because of the poor transportation available to this community, the social workers refused to undertake this assessment.

Even where re/integration services are available outside of cities and in non-residential settings, many beneficiaries face impediments. Clients from rural communities are unable to access services because of the time and costs involved. That is, travelling from a nearby village to the town where day services are offered can take up a lot of time as well as money both in the form of transportation costs and lost income. Lost income is of primary importance for many trafficked persons who have an obligation and need to support dependents and who may even have debts to repay. One woman, for example, had enjoyed the support she was able to get at an organisation but could not continue to access this assistance in the long term. She was living at home and, because of strained relations in the family, her primary goal was to be able to live independently. This, however, meant that she had to work long hours to earn money to pay rent and food costs and, thus, could not benefit from the psychological assistance and support offered by the organisation:

> *It was a very good thing that they came and offered help; it helped me a lot, psychologically. I felt calmer when I came here. Outside, everything felt dark, like people were saying bad things about me. But after a while I stopped coming here because I had to work. (Brunovskis & Surtees 2007: 89-91).*

In addition, families may resist the individual woman travelling back and forth between villages and towns to access assistance, particularly in light of their trafficking experience. Trafficking victims themselves may not feel secure in travelling alone to access services.

In some communities there are neither programmes nor services. One woman, who had returned to live with her family in a small town, faced difficulties because the professional courses in her town were limited and did not provide the formal certification required by employers; job placements were limited and there was no possibility to follow public school part time. The organisation staff met with local government actors involved in anti-trafficking who helped to identify licensed vocational trainings and a job placement. To address her educational needs, she was registered in a part time public school in the capital city, received school books and information though the organisation and was accompanied by her father on the day of the exams. Another beneficiary, from a small town, had to travel weekly to the nearest big town, where she could receive the services she was in need of. Another victim required a termination of her pregnancy for medical reasons (as well as the associated medical care), which required accessing medical services far from her home community, in a private hospital.

As well, many organisations report that, while services can be accessed in the local community, the coordination of assistance and services is seldom assumed by professionals at the local level. This means that assistance is not generally possible without coordination from the re/integration organisation, a dynamic which taxes the resources of the referring organisation. For example, one organisation was contacted by the local social services about a potential victim of trafficking. After meeting with the individual and her family and facilitating her formal identification as a trafficking victim, the organisation assisted the victim in obtaining the necessary documentation to receive social assistance and health insurance. The organisation also contacted the local social services and local municipality for additional assistance and monitored the case from the capital. Much time was required in this case in spite of the local social services being in a better position to facilitate her assistance and access resources.

In the five SEE countries where TVRP organisations work, state social services typically provide inadequate backstop support in the provision of re/integration assistance. However, it is precisely in accessing these community based, country wide government services that it may be possible to address issues of accessibility and support a sustainable model of re/integration. How re/integration organisations can access and mobilize other resources and mechanisms (such as from NGOs, community groups, religious organisations) to allow for a broader reach and impact is another important issue.

Beyond geographical accessibility is the issue of psychological accessibility. Brunovskis & Surtees (2007: 87) found that some victims decline assistance because they are either not able or willing to accept assistance in the form that it is offered. That is, their specific assistance needs (whether with respect to training or victim's specific life situation) are not addressed by the existing programme. The same study also found that the "victim" identity was often unpalatable to some trafficked persons which, in turn, can lead to declining assistance. Other studies have found other barriers – for example, that shelter models may not be appealing or accessible to some victims (Surtees 2008d) and that male victims may not find existing re/integration models appropriate to their needs (Surtees 2007, 2008a&b). It is worth considering the possible barriers that trafficked persons feel or perceive in terms of re/integration programmes and services in order that alternative entry points and interventions can be explored.

5.5: Building autonomy, addressing dependency

Service providers and re/integration services are an important source of support and stability for trafficking victims. They provide not only practical assistance but also emotional and psychological support. As such, the provision of re/integration assistance necessarily involves the risk of creating dependency. In some situations, victims may become dependent on an individual staff member or the assisting organisation; in other cases, on re/integration services. This is particularly likely to be the case where victims lack alternative forms of support. Surtees (2007: 192) found that among some victims' dependency appeared to be pressing.

> *I would like to ask you to send my message to people, because I can't reach them. Especially to [the coordinator of the NGO]. I would like to ask them to help me for some time when I go out of the shelter so I can live alone.*
>
> *I did not like that this assistance has limits. It is impossible to provide me with some housing.*
>
> *It's good that I'm being helped, however, I need to be helped everyday. Sometimes I call the helpline and tell them that I urgently need milk for the baby and they reply to me that it is impossible.*

The generally constrained socio-economic environment in which re/integration work takes place adds an additional layer of complication. Trying to develop and support autonomy in trafficked persons is severely constrained by limited opportunities for independent living, economic empowerment, social inclusion and so on. Conditions of exploitation may also contribute to and exacerbate the risk of dependency. Where trafficked persons have been controlled for long periods, it may be difficult for them to imagine and work toward an autonomous life. One victim of both domestic violence and trafficking talked about being controlled for so long that she found it hard to imagine how she would be able to move on to an autonomous life: "I was missing out on life anyway, always in somebody else's hands. I was what you call his slave. Go there, do this, you can't do this, can't do that, you should do things this or that way. And that's how I lived. Only under orders" (Surtees 2007: 192). Further, experiences of exploitation and violence can lead to regression and beneficiaries will be dependent on someone in the initial crisis stage, a dependency which must be addressed over time, helping the person gradually toward independence.

It is a complicated balance between providing adequate support to trafficked persons and yet minimising the risk of dependency. Service providers must balance the provision of support without giving too much support; being friend and family but only in the short to medium term; providing intensive support initially but decreasing amounts over time; helping victims to solve problems without creating dependency; wanting to solve their problems but knowing that this can undermine their autonomy; and so on (Surtees 2007). There is no perfect formula for balancing the critical tension between autonomy and dependency; it needs to be based on the real needs of each client. That being said, there are some lessons from current re/integration work which can assist in navigating this tension.

Dependency on the staff or organisation can be addressed, in part, by experienced staff who can identify which beneficiaries are pre-disposed to becoming dependent. Equally important is to have standards of care and case supervision which identify and address such issues as they arise. For example, one organisation found that minors without families (those raised by grandparents or in an institution) have a greater tendency to become dependent on staff, particularly when social workers are older women who they see as mother figures. Selecting younger staff to handle the case (or who will not be seen in this way) can be an immediate response, while, in the longer term, staff can consider re/integration services which may address this lack of family network – for example, placement in a foster family or with an extended family member. Similarly, trafficked

persons who have been deprived of affection in their interpersonal relations may be more predisposed to seek out this affection and connection with staff, risking that they become dependent on them. This dynamic can be treated in therapy or through support groups where beneficiaries create new patterns of behaviour and relationships which can meet their emotional needs.

The risk of dependency may be minimised when clients are engaged directly in all decisions about their assistance and protection needs and are aware that the end objective of their assistance is a transition to independence and autonomy: "There isn't anything I particularly disliked. Everybody was doing things while consulting me. They ask me if I want something" (Surtees 2007: 193). Working through problems with victims was important in building autonomy and confidence. Victims themselves described how when they faced problems, staff helped them to work through these problems rather than directing them or acting on their behalf:

> *Once I called the helpline and asked [the social worker] for advice. It was the time when my husband stopped drinking for a short time. My husband insisted on having one more child. I asked [her] 'what shall I do?'. She didn't say 'do this or do that'. She simply asked me if I was ready to bring up and provide for the second child if my husband had another fit of hard drinking. I liked it very much. She made me understand that I needn't hurry, that it was important to feel self-confident before making such decisions (Surtees 2007: 194).*

Dependency on staff may occurs when beneficiaries lack social contacts and, as a consequence, efforts must focus on the development of alternative social contacts and a broader social network. While not an easy process, programmes can identify fora where such social contacts can be fostered – for example, when mothers bring their children to day care or when beneficiaries are working together in a social enterprise or job placement. One client, for example, made frequent phone calls to her social worker, especially during weekends, and made constant demands for personal and emotional interactions. She would often become upset when the staff member did not provide the emotional responses she sought – feeling that the staff member was "angry with her". She also sought to bond with the social worker's children. Central in resolving this was to clarify the roles and relationships of staff and beneficiaries, while, at the same time, encouraging her contact with family and friends. It was not, however, an easy process – such a process can involve bad feelings on the part of the client who, at least initially, may feel "abandoned". It was also complicated in this case because the beneficiary did not have healthy emotional relationships with family or friends and was not able to draw on an existing, healthy social network. This meant that part of her re/integration was fostering healthy relationships and widening her network of social relationships.

Maintaining professional boundaries can be supported by various tools and mechanisms. At an organisational level, this might include an ethical code of conduct for programme staff, staff rules and regulations, job descriptions and job contracts. As one service provider explained: "We maintain a professional attitude – that we are professionals who provides certain types of help, and not a friend, that is, a person that is emotionally involved. Such an attitude implies, for instance, that we do not share information on our private life (which is always of interest to the beneficiaries) and we clearly define boundaries of the assistance that we can provide".

In this vein, systematic supervision of staff anticipates and systematically addresses some of these issues. Some programmes, for example, have regularly scheduled meetings where staff discuss and analyse cases. One organisation had opted for a rotation of staff in case management to help to maintain a professional distance. Moreover, because cases in this organisation are analysed and discussed by a multidisciplinary team, where it appears that a staff member is becoming too involved or a beneficiary is becoming too dependent, this can be identified and addressed within the team. This not only provides the "quality control" mechanism

for cases management (i.e. to ensure that the case managers response and approach is appropriate and effective) but also provides support to programme staff. Secondary trauma counselling for staff of direct assistance programmes can also be important toward understanding the issue of dependency (as well as other issues) and providing tools to help them manage this balance.

In addition to dependency on individuals, there may also be issues of a dependency on services. Through re/integration programmes, victims often have access to services and opportunities which may not have been possible at home. For some, the living standards are higher while being assisted as victims than the situation they came from and/or into which they will be re/integrated. For example, living independently in an apartment is often beyond the economic scope of many people, with salaries generally insufficient to cover rent and living costs. Similarly, re/integration programmes often provide a wide range of services (medical, dental, etc), programmes (educational, training, etc.) and opportunities (employment, recreation, etc.) which were not possible in their home community. This can potentially lead to a dependency on services and support and also, potentially, to unrealistic expectations about living conditions and future opportunities. For example, one client with two children lived first in the organisation's shelter for one year and subsequently in a semi-independent living apartment during which time (a total of almost two years) her requests for assistance – primarily financial support – continued. Initially the situation was very complicated because with two small children it was very difficult for her to follow training and to work and furthermore, initially, her family didn't accept her. After some time, through the intervention of the service provider, the children were registered in a crèche and the mother was registered to receive social assistance from the commune. The mother graduated from vocational training and received a job. She also established contact with her family. Nevertheless, she continued to request financial support for the children for baby diapers, for medical examinations, for paying the crèche, etc. Another beneficiary was assisted for two years, without making substantial steps toward independence. She attended school but lacked motivation to find a job and, when she did get a job, she was unable to keep it.

The evaluation of one re/integration programme in SEE noted the disjuncture between the shelter premises (which are of a high standard) and the housing standards client confront upon re/integration. This raises questions about how the transition is made and how clients will adapt (Moens 2007: 13). This may be particularly an issue in programmes abroad where conditions may have been of a high standard, raising expectations of what is "normal" and decreasing motivation to leave a programme. It may also link up with "setbacks" in the re/integration phase, with beneficiaries seeking to return to the programme.

This also raises questions about what is a reasonable level of assistance and service within the framework of re/integration programmes, with attention to what extent there may be the danger of the "over-provision" of services in certain circumstances, and to what degree that may lead to dependency and difficulties in adjusting to an independent life. One organisation explained that in their experience the provision of shelter and associated services did raise expectations amongst clients that their needs will also be easily met in the real social context. One beneficiary, for example, was enrolled in a hairdressing course with her expressed interest to be a professional hairdresser. However, in the interim, the job coordinator identified a range of jobs which fit with her study schedule and could provide her with the income and savings to facilitate her transition to independent life. However, she continually refused these jobs with a range of different excuses. It became clear that she was experiencing the transition from the shelter to supported living as very difficult which required the intervention of the staff psychologist.

Central in encouraging victim autonomy is focusing on empowerment, giving beneficiaries the tools they need to draw on their own resources in the recovery process. This must be fostered from the beginning of re/

integration work, through victim participation in decision-making about their assistance. Building autonomy is a process which takes place gradually over time. For this reason, many programmes employ a multi-staged approach – often starting with a shelter with intensive staff support, then transitioning to a semi-independent living arrangement where staff regularly monitor the case and finally to an independent living arrangement where assistance is provide as needed. Throughout this process, the role of the social worker is gradually reduced to accommodate the beneficiary's increasing capacities, skills and confidence. Other organisations try to introduce the reality of life from the first stage of accommodation assistance – educating clients about living costs in the apartment, food prices in the market and so on. One of the critical skills aspects of an independent life is having financial independence and the skills to manage these finances.

An important issue is empowering beneficiaries to seek services themselves, service from government sectors and so on. Part and parcel of this is to identify other forms of support for trafficked persons to tap into and to have concrete partnerships with these services and providers in order to transition beneficiaries to the next set of services where needed (including transitioning responsibility for a case to other service providers) or to an independent life.

In the example above – of the mother with two dependent children – the assisting organisation helped her to access different services which could support her transition to independence. This included working with the local municipality to register her children in day care free of charge and accessing services for the children; helping her to find a job; and accessing a state rental subsidy which allowed her salary to cover her rent and living costs.
Another organisation facilitated contact between beneficiaries and relevant state institutions, even accompanying them to the institution in the first instance. This has proven effective because, in many cases, clients are illiterate or do not speak the national language or lack experience with institutions which makes them uncertain of their rights, available services and how to access these services.

Determining whether someone is dependent is not always a direct exercise. That is, the inability to be self sufficient – for example, to find and maintain a job or live independently in an apartment – may be more a function of the socio-economic situation – where jobs are limited and poorly remunerate and apartment rents are prohibitive – than an individual's lack of independence. In such cases it is not about victims being dependent but rather about the systemic obstacles that prevent them from getting the services. That being said, given these systemic obstacles it is important that the individual be supported in realistic ways. An organisation cannot subsidize a beneficiary's rent in the long term nor are there generally housing subsidies available from the government for trafficked persons.

An overall point is that developing autonomy and independence is a process and a life skill that often needs to be taught. And, at least initially, many trafficked persons are ambivalent about their own independence. This puts the onus on service providers to encourage and foster the desire for independence. The nature of some programmes is oriented in this direction. For example, in many semi-independent programmes, social workers do not organize the lives of beneficiaries. Rather, beneficiaries make decisions about how to live their lives – the food they eat, how they spend their time, the jobs they accept, the training or education they need, their social relationships and so on.

5.6: Beneficiary participation

Tied intimately with issues of autonomy is that of client participation and involvement. This is needed on different levels – participation in their own re/integration plan, in monitoring of and inputs into re/integration programmes and in terms of re/integration and assistance policies more broadly. Engaging beneficiaries in these processes is important in ensuring that re/integration assistance is victim-centred and grounded in the lived realities of trafficked persons. Systems of intervention and assistance which are designed, implemented and adjusted in a participatory manner are more effective, efficient and ultimately humanistic. However, victim participation is not always or effectively undertaken in anti-trafficking efforts.

At an individual level, client participation is needed in the design and implementation of each client's re/integration plan, including being involved in all decisions made about their assistance and protection needs. For most organisations, victim/client participation starts with the initial interview when a preliminary re/integration plan is developed with the client. Equally important is that the implementation of the plan is monitored on a regular basis in collaboration with the beneficiary. The manner in which beneficiaries every day life is organized in some programmes reflects this participation. In some programmes, the division of domestic duties and organisation of the living space is done by beneficiaries rather than determined by the professional staff who may provide support in achieving agreement on these issues, but do not make decisions on their behalf. Similarly, the manner in which conflicts are managed in programmes facilitates beneficiaries' participation – for example, using mediation as a tool for conflict transformation focuses responsibility for problem solving on beneficiaries. It is also important to engage victims in the design, implementation and evaluation of re/integration programmes at a national level, in terms of the programmes being offered in the country generally.

At a programme level, TVRP partners use different means of engaging beneficiaries. These involve direct interactions with clients in which their views are solicited – for example, individual discussions between case manager and beneficiary and group meetings between staff and beneficiaries. These formats allow clients to express their views – including what has and has not been satisfactory – and allows for a dynamic exchange of ideas and inputs. However, one potential shortcoming is the extent to which clients feel comfortable expressing negative opinions or criticizing the programme or organisation. This is particularly likely to be the case in situations where clients require on-going assistance and support. A variation is monitoring of re/integration activities and client satisfaction which is organized through an external expert who comes weekly to discuss with the clients issues such as satisfaction form the offered services, interpersonal relations with staff, suggestions concerning the re/integration plan, etc. Where clients trust an external expert, this can be an effective approach, although it is unclear to what extent clients make the distinction between "regular" staff and "external" expert. In other cases, inputs and suggestions are sought through anonymous mediums – for example, client satisfaction forms, anonymous questionnaires, entry and exit forms and anonymous suggestion boxes. These formats allow clients to give their opinions about different services and their suggestions for improvements in a confidential manner which may, to some degree, address concerns about repercussions in terms of future assistance when negative viewpoints are expressed.[20] However, as a static format, they do not necessarily yield the constructive and dynamic inputs which can be garnered from direct interaction with clients.[21]

20 In many assistance programmes there tends to be a culture of gratitude and clients may not feel able to critique the programme, even when it is intended as part of a productive process of improvement and even when encouraged by staff to provide inputs (Brunovskis & Surtees 2007, Surtees 2007).

21 In addition, organisations solicit the views and inputs of clients in other ways – for example, during the preparation of leaflets, posters and other materials, clients are asked to provide inputs and suggestions including alternatives for logos, slogans, displays and so on.

That being said, TVRP partners have had uneven experiences with these various processes and approaches. One organisation, for example, reported that

> *the feed back and the information, gathered in the interviews, are of greatest importance to us and a significant input in adjusting the programmes we offer. In isolated cases we are using questionnaires, but our clients normally do not accept and appreciate them in the day to day practice. Suggestion boxes have been tried with no success, most probably due to some cultural specifics and the clients' mentality.*

Inputs and suggestions are needed not only in the short term (i.e. as an immediate reaction to the programme or assistance) but equally in the long term (i.e. once the client has left the programme and has had time to process their assistance experience). To date, this type of longitudinal evaluation is almost entirely lacking in re/integration programmes (as well as anti-trafficking assistance programmes more generally).

An important and outstanding question is who should be engaged in this monitoring and evaluation process? Whose is best positioned to solicit the views and inputs of clients – for example, social workers, psychologist or psychiatrist, administrative staff or a separate staff/unit responsible for monitoring and evaluation? A strong argument could be made for the establishment of a separate unit within programmes or within national institutions to solicit the views and inputs of beneficiaries and analyse the results, with staff trained in trafficking and how to interact appropriately and sensitively with trafficked persons. How this can most effectively be done, particularly given the financial and human resources constraints, remains an open question.

Inputs from beneficiaries should also be garnered at a national level about programme and policy responses. In Albania, a coalition of anti-trafficking shelters have been working on the development of standards of care at the national level, as part of an initiative of the ministry of social affairs. As part of this process, a group of experts conducted meetings with shelter staff and beneficiaries and consolidated their inputs into the final version of the shelter standards. Focus group discussions were conducted with beneficiaries, adjusting questions and discussion techniques to the education and comprehension levels of beneficiaries. In addition, some individual meetings were organized with beneficiaries to garner individual opinions, not influenced by the group dynamic. Similarly, in Serbia, the organisation involved a former beneficiary (and current peer support person) as their representative to provide inputs into the development of minimum standards for shelters and assisted housing programmes. This beneficiary was selected because of her direct experience of assistance, including having been accommodated in different shelter programmes.

Some organisations involve beneficiaries in professional meetings and trainings in the role of "experts by experience". One TVRP organisation involved one of their beneficiaries as a speaker about a seminar the organisation hosted about re/integration programmes for service providers from abroad and another one as a speaker at a seminar for state social workers. Professionals stressed that the opportunity to hear directly from victims provided a new perspective. Beneficiaries, while anxious about speaking to professionals about their experience, were generally satisfied with their ability to contribute to how assistance would be provided in future. Taking on this role helped beneficiaries to establish their inner locus of control – the conviction that they can influence the social reality – which is essential in improving victims' psychological well-being. Another organisation has supported the establishment of an association of former victims of trafficking (VoTs), with both social and income generation activities. The president of the association, a former victim of trafficking, has participated in two international conferences, speaking about the organisation and its activities.

That being said, while for some this can be a positive, even empowering process, not all beneficiaries are willing to play this role. One TVRP organisation discussed this approach with its clients – in this case as an awareness raising tool with vulnerable youth – but found them to be reluctant and uncomfortable with the idea of discussing their trafficking experience in public. This highlights that, while it may be desirable to elicit participation from beneficiaries, it is not always something beneficiaries themselves will embrace. Similarly, the association of former VoTs, while a potentially valuable model, is not without its problems, not least given the security and stigma issues associated with trafficking.

Facilitation of victims' participation ensures that programmes and policies are created according to clients' needs, interests and opinions. It also facilitates clients taking responsibility for their decisions, gaining social and emotional maturity and developing their self-esteem, all of which are important in the process of psychosocial recovery. It also forms part of a process of accountability on the part of anti-trafficking organisations and institutions, whose role it is to serve and support trafficked persons as clients.

However, there are also some limitations, not the least of which is that the process is very time consuming compared with decision-making by professionals. Participation and decision-making power is also a new model of behaviour for beneficiaries, toward which they are often, at least initially, ambivalent.

5.7: Re/integration philosophies and conflicting values

Each organisation has its own approach and philosophy about re/integration, reflected in the design of their specific programmes. As a result there are, at times, different and sometimes contradictory, approaches to re/integration efforts. These vary not only between countries but also within a country and between different agencies and institutions, whether GO, IO or NGO.

These perspectives may not always mesh with the values or desires of trafficked persons themselves. Beneficiaries may be stigmatized by service providers when they do not behave in ways or make decisions that are valued by the service providers. For example, amongst middle class professionals – who tend to make up the profile of service providers in many countries in SEE – education is highly valued. However, it may not be equally valued by a beneficiary and her decision not to pursue education (or to pursue only limited education and/or training) may not be valued by service providers. Similarly, a decision to marry – when service providers seek to support victim autonomy and independence – may equally be an undervalued decision. It is vital that service professionals do not project their values on to VoTs in ways that create blame, discrimination or stigma. In this vein, Brunovskis & Surtees (2007: 99) found that some organisations seem to hold a clear idea of what their beneficiaries should become in the course of assistance – for example in terms of being a "good girl" – which raises questions about the behaviours which are tolerated from victims within this assistance system.

There is also the question of sensitivity toward and treatment of trafficked persons within the assistance sphere. While stigma and bias is typically faced in the broader community, some trafficked persons also report problems with anti-trafficking personnel as well as institutions and professionals more broadly. Organisations attitudes (and associated interventions and strategies) may mirror those of the local community, which can include stigma, prejudice and discrimination.

> *They took me to their doctor. She asked me, that gynaecologist: "Why you did that?"… Yes, she made comments. So what can I do, I'm not the only one. Thousands of girls went through that. [I felt] hurt a little bit. You don't have to judge somebody who had to go through that. It was not her job. Her job is to do what she had to do, not*

to ask questions… She had to receive us because she was connected to that woman from the shelter and we asked for a check-up. She was polite but she made comments (Surtees 2007: 218).

[My lawyer] was always shouting at me. He told me what I was to tell at the trial. In case I didn't tell him what he wanted to hear he even yelled at me. Once when we were leaving the trial he even told me that I was good at nothing and he was more inclined to believe the trafficker rather than me (Surtees 2007: 219).

When I found out that this girl [in the shelter] was sick, I didn't know what was wrong with her. I asked a woman working there why didn't you say so. I'm fine, I have no diseases and I'm supposed to catch something in here and go to [my country]. I want to have my blood tested again… And then I said I wanted to have all the tests done, and she said you weren't thinking about that when you were sleeping with men… I'm never going to forget it. If a woman works there, she should have a different attitude about that (Surtees 2007: 220).

Some organisations reported that problems with professionals were particularly acute in interactions with already marginalised groups – like ethnic minorities, illiterate or lesbian beneficiaries. In some cases, these professionals and institutions even declined to provide beneficiaries with services guaranteed by the legislative system.

As well, not all beneficiaries (like people in general) are equally "likeable". They may behave in ways that professionals do not like or understand which may, in turn, impact how they view and treat beneficiaries. Victims who do not conform to the ideal victim – cooperative, appreciative, grateful, remorseful – may face bias from anti-trafficking professionals. For example, Brunovskis and Surtees (2007) found, when considering the issue of victims declining assistance, that in some situations service providers seemed to be declining victims. As one psychologist explained: "Everyone wants normal [beneficiaries] with no mental problems and then you can feel good and they will see that you care and they will love you. But it's not life. Sometimes services chose their victims and no one admits to this. And there are not checks internally or externally". Considering how professional perspectives and approaches play into re/integration efforts is an area for further consideration.

6: CONCLUSION

This paper presents preliminary empirical data about the re/integration process for trafficked persons within the SEE context including factors which play a role in re/integration. The findings are, on the one hand, positive in that some of the issues can – with adequate resources, training, skills and commitment – be navigated and accommodated in re/integration programmes. On the other hand, however, other issues – those associated with the victim's personal and social situation – are more difficult to address and require more systemic changes and improvements which are not always easily realized in countries where human trafficking is prolific. More consideration is needed regarding the extent to which failure to address these systemic obstacles impede the prospects of adequately addressing the re/integration issues that can be more directly and effectively addressed.

Re/integration assistance for trafficked persons is profoundly complex – impacted by the victim's individual and social context as well as by re/integration programmes themselves.
Efforts to support the re/integration of trafficked persons can be both facilitated and complicated by personal, social and economic factors as well as the quality and competencies of re/integration programmes and professionals. However, there is an overall lack of empirical data on re/integration efforts for trafficked persons – what constitutes "successful re/integration" and what, in different settings, constitute the contributors and impediments to the recovery and re/integration of trafficked persons. To date, anti-trafficking re/integration work has been under-analysed and under-theorised and systematic evaluations (with meaningful indicators and measures) have been conspicuous in their absence. Far more needs to be known and understood about the re/integration process itself as well as the specific social, economic, political and cultural environments in which re/integration takes place.

Some lessons and experiences can be drawn from other fields where re/integration is pursued – amongst IDPs and refugees, victims of violence, returned migrants and former combatants. In other cases, the peculiarities of human trafficking lend themselves to the need for careful analysis and tailored re/integration responses. This report has highlighted a number of specific issue areas that are ripe for this type of more profound analytical attention to help advance the practical treatment and assistance of trafficking victims in their re/integration.

Improving re/integration work requires efforts from a number of different stakeholders. Certainly organisations working directly on re/integration programmes – whether NGOs, international organisations (IOs) or governments (GOs) – must increasingly monitor and evaluate their work and make the requisite adjustments as well as profile and advocate the needs of their beneficiaries. It is also important that the state – as a funding source, implementing actor

and/or monitoring body – play a more active (and proactive) role in supporting re/integration programmes for trafficked persons. This includes paying close attention to the complexity of re/integration processes. Donors can be very helpful not only in equipping organisations with the financial resources to conduct re/integration work but equally with access to the skills and contacts which can build their capacity. Allowing grantees to "fail" and yet learn from these "failures" can be an equally valuable contribution. Researchers – as independent observers of both trafficking and re/integration assistance – also have a role to play in both analyzing and theorizing the re/integration field. Finally, in different ways, trafficked persons must be engaged in the process of assessing and ultimately improving anti-trafficking re/integration efforts, from both a programmatic and policy perspective.

Perhaps most importantly, anti-trafficking stakeholders must increasingly attend to the lessons (both successful and unsuccessful) that they take from their own work on the issue. An open and candid discussion of what constitute "successes" and "failures" in the re/integration process is vital toward engaging effectively on the issue and, in so doing, identifying potential solutions and ways forward.

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APPENDIX 1:

Organisations working on re/integration through KBF's Trafficking Victims Re/integration Programme (TVRP) in SEE

Within the framework of its project 'Assisting the Victims of Human Trafficking' (AvoT), the King Baudouin Foundation launched the 'Trafficking Victims Re/integration Programme' (TVRP) in order to enhance the scope and capacity of re/integration programmes for trafficking victims in Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Romania and Serbia. The Trafficking Victims Re/integration Programme (TVRP) aims to support programmes that result in sustainable re/integration of victims, build NGO capacity in this sector, encourage cooperation and synergies with government agencies, to identify effect models for re/integration and, very importantly, to promote sustainable re/integration programmes.

Grants totalling half a million euros over three years (between 2006 and 2009) have been awarded to eight NGO's from those countries.

Different and Equal (D&E), Albania

Different & Equal (D&E) is a non for profit organisation offering qualified psychological and social services for the protection and re/integration of the victims of trafficking or those in risk of being trafficked, and contributing to the systems of identification, referral, awareness raising, prevention and assistance toward victims of trafficking and those in risk of being trafficked. The main activities of the organisation include: re/integration assistance for former Albanian victims of trafficking and their children; prevention activities through supporting vulnerable groups, especially vulnerable youth groups; income generating activities for the beneficiaries (VoT) through catering services, handicraft production and distribution; training for NGOs and state institutions. and supporting the National Referral Mechanism. For more details, see www.differentandequal.org or contact Different and Equal (D&E) at: different&equal@icc-al.org

Tjeter Vision (Another Vision), Albania

"Tjeter Vizion" (Another Vision), with its headquarters in Elbasan, offers services for women, children and youth. For nearly six years, Tjeter Vizion have been offering social care services for the vulnerable categories of the population: children, youngsters and women, in the prefecture of Elbasan, through: 1) residential and non-residential centres. Tjeter Vizion is a member of the National Reference Mechanism for the Victims of Trafficking (NRMVT). Tjeter Vizion is also a member of the various coalitions and international networks. Services for trafficking victims are both residentially based and non-residential and are designed for the individual needs of victims toward an independent system of living. For more details, contact Tjeter Vision at: tjetervizion@gmail.com

Animus Association, Bulgaria

Animus Association Foundation was founded in 1994 with the aim of providing space where women and children victims of violence can receive professional help and non-victimizing attitude. Animus has been working against trafficking and in support to victims since 1997. In 1998 Animus Association became part of La Strada International programme for prevention of trafficking in women in Central and Eastern Europe. For the past eight years, Animus has worked against violence and trafficking of women and children in Bulgaria. Its policy centres on the protection of their human rights. The

activities of Animus Association Foundation against trafficking are organized in 3 main areas of work: 1) Rehabilitation Centre, 2) Work in the Community including Lobby and Prevention activities and 3) Training Centre through which the organisation transfers its experience and model of work. For more details, see http://www.animusassociation.org or contact Animus Association at: animus@animusassociation.org

Nadja Centre, Bulgaria

Nadja Centre was established in 1995 to respond to the lack of services for victims of violence, as a project of the Bulgarian Women's Union, with the financial support by Novib, the Netherlands. It is a psychosocial care centre for women and children who are victims of violence and the centre provides a variety of services including a telephone help-line; psychological, medical, legal, and social counselling, psychotherapy; and referral services. The Nadja team has experience in the implementation of projects related to psychological, medical and juridical consultations provided to women and children victims of domestic violence and trafficking and has branches all over Bulgaria – Russe, Sandanski, Turgovishte, Kjustendil. In 2008 Nadja Centre continues implementing projects related to prevention of violence, giving priority to child sexual abuse and re-integration programmes for victims of trafficking, both women and children. For more details, see http://www.centrenadja.hit.bg/index.html or contact Nadja centre at: nadja@cablebg.net

Open Gate, Macedonia

Open Gate – La Strada Macedonia is a non-government, non-profitable organisation registered in September 2000; it works on the prevention and psychological and social support rendered to potential and victims of trafficking in persons. As a part of the Social Assistance long-term program functions Shelter for Victims of Human Trafficking, or the "Residence". This facility offers specialized services to beneficiaries, such as safe haven and accommodation, food, clothing, psycho-social support, medical treatment, legal aid, vocational training, on-job training or help with opening a small business. A team of trained professionals, which includes skilled social workers and psychologists, is available 24 hours-a-day. All clients are enrolled in the Residence program solely on voluntary basis. For more details, see www.lastrada.org.mk or contact Open Gate at: lastrada@on.net.mk

Adpare, Romania

ADPARE is a Romanian NGO working exclusively in the area of trafficking in human beings. The main activity of ADPARE is re/integration assistance for victims of trafficking. ADPARE offer equal services for victims of external and internal trafficking; victims of different kind of exploitation in the trafficking period; women and men. For more details, see http://www.adpare.ro/ or contact ADPARE at info@adpare.ro or contact@adpare.ro

Young Generation, Romania

Association "Generatie Tanara" (Unga Liv) Romania was created in 2001 and legalised by the Justice Department of the Court of Justice from Timisoara in January 2001, nr.146, in the register of the Associations and Foundations. "Generatie Tanara" (Unga Liv) Romania is a non-governmental, democratic, non profit, independent, non-religious

and non-political association which promotes children's rights in Romania according to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the child, adopted by the United Nations on 20 November 1989 and also the Family's Rights according to the internationals Treats and Conventions to which Romania is taking part and also according to the civil legislation of Romania. Other main activities are: prevention and combating of the Trafficking in Human Beings phenomenon; assistance for familial and social re/integration of THB victims; assistance for asylum-seekers, refugees and refugee children. For more details, see www.generatietanara.ro or contact Young Generation at: office@generatietanara.ro

Atina, Serbia

Founded in 2004, NGO ATINA works toward the equality of all members of society in public and private spheres, through identification of and struggle against gender-based marginalization, discrimination and violence and provision of direct assistance and support in re/integration to women and children, victims of trafficking, labour and sexual exploitation. Beneficiaries of ATINA's programmes are women, girls and children, citizens of Republic of Serbia and foreigners holding Temporary Residence Permits, victims of trafficking in human beings and labour and sexual exploitation. Assistance and support in re/integration are provided to beneficiaries within three separate programmes: 1) the transition house (a semi-independent residential programme), 2) the open club (a non-residential programme) and 3) the field support team. The key objective of the ATINA programme is the establishment and improvement of mechanisms for provision of direct assistance and support to victims of trafficking in human beings in order to provide for their psycho-physical recovery, empowerment and thus sustainable re/integration. Each individual programme of assistance and support in re/integration is based on the unconditional respect for beneficiary's human rights, mutual cooperation, respect and tolerance. Individual programmes are planed and defined in agreement with each beneficiary to be able to fully meet their individual needs and help them regain control over their lives. For more details, see www.atina.org.rs or contact ATINA at: atinango@eunet.yu

NEXUS Institute to Combat Human Trafficking, Austria

NEXUS is a Vienna-based multi-disciplinary policy and research centre dedicated to developing more effective counter-trafficking laws, policies and practices. NEXUS has produced a number of trafficking studies, including on victim assistance and re/integration work in SEE and other regions. NEXUS provides technical assistance to KBF as part of the TVRP programme. For more details, see www.nexusinstitute.net or contact Stephen Warnath, Executive Director at swarnath@nexusinstitute.net.

APPENDIX 2:

Working terms and definitions[22]

Anti-trafficking actors: Persons from GOs, NGOs or IOs who are involved in efforts to combat trafficking in persons and who work in one or more of the areas of identification, return and assistance.

Assistance and protection: Measures, programmes and services aimed at the recovery of trafficked persons as outlined in Article 6 of the Palermo Protocol. These may be offered by non-governmental, governmental or international organisations in countries of destination, transit and origin. These might include but are not limited to accommodation/housing, medical care, psychological assistance, education, vocational training, employment, legal assistance and transportation. Assistance may involve one or multiple services.

Minor: Anyone under the age of 18 years.

Empowerment: The process by which trafficked persons are equipped with the skills and ability to lead an autonomous life.

Evaluation: Evaluation attempts to determine, as systematically and objectively as possible, the relevance, effectiveness and impact of activities in the light of the project objectives. That is, it is undertaken upon completion of the project and looks at what we set out to do in the project, what we have accomplished and how we accomplished it.

Indicator: Indicators are the quantitative and qualitative ways of measuring if each step of the programme has been achieved and must answer the questions of efficiency, effectiveness and impact.

Monitoring: Monitoring is the continuous oversight of the implementation of project activities, assessing progress, identifies operational difficulties and recommending actions. Monitoring is aimed at improving the efficiency and effectiveness of a project and ensures that activities are transformed into results/outputs. It is undertaken during the course of the project.

Re/integration: Re/integration refers to the process of recovery and economic and social inclusion following a trafficking experience. This inclusion is multifaceted and must take place in social and economic arenas. It includes settlement in a safe and secure environment, access to a reasonable standard of living, mental and physical well-being, opportunities for personal and economic development and access to social and emotional support. In many cases, re/integration will involve the return to the victim's family and/or community of origin. However, it may also involve integration in a new community and even in a new country, depending on the needs and interests of the victim. A central aspect of successful re/integration is that of empowerment, supporting victims to develop skills toward independence and self sufficiency and to be actively involved in their recovery and re/integration.

22 Many of the definitions and terminologies are taken from the Regional Clearing Point's Second Annual Report on Victims of Trafficking in SEE (see Surtees 2005) and Listening to victims: experiences of identification, return and assistance in SEE (see Surtees 2007).

Recovery: The process by which persons achieve physical and mental well-being.

Service providers: Organisations and individuals that provide one or more of the range of services and assistance provided to trafficking victims. These may include social workers, psychologists, shelter staff, medical personnel or legal professionals from NGOs, IOs and GOs.

Stigma: A mark of disgrace on one's reputation. Stigma occurs when the social environment – whether family or community – disapproves of an individual's behaviour or activities.

Trafficking victim/trafficked person: For many people, the term 'victim' implies powerlessness and constructs identity around the individual's victimisation. At the same time, from a human rights framework, the term 'victim' is important as it designates the violation experienced and the responsibility for redress. It is for this reason that the term 'victim' is used in this report. The term 'trafficked person' is also used because it too acknowledges that person's trafficking experience as central and in need to redress. Both terms designate persons who qualify as victims of trafficking in accordance with Article 3 of the UN trafficking Protocol and/or according to relevant national legislation.

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The King Baudouin Foundation is an independent and pluralistic foundation whose aim is to serve society. Our objective is to make a lasting contribution to justice, democracy and respect for diversity. Each year, the Foundation provides financial support for some 2,000 organizations and individuals committed to building a better society. Our fields of activity for the coming years are poverty, democracy, heritage, philanthropy, health, leadership, local engagement, migration and development. The Foundation was created in 1976, to mark the 25th anniversary of King Baudouin's reign.

We operate with an annual budget of 48 million euros. As well as our own capital and the large donation we receive from the National Lottery, we manage Funds created by private individuals, associations and businesses. The King Baudouin Foundation also receives donations and bequests.

The King Baudouin Foundation's Board of Governors draws up broad lines of action and oversees the transparency of our management. Some 50 colleagues are responsible for implementing our actions. The Foundation operates out of Brussels, but we are active at Belgian, European and international level. In Belgium, we have projects at local, regional and federal level.

We combine various working methods to achieve our objectives. We support third-party projects, launch our own activities, provide a forum for debate and reflection, and foster philanthropy. The results of our projects are disseminated through a range of communication channels. The King Baudouin Foundation works with public services, associations, NGOs, research centres, businesses and other foundations. We have a strategic partnership with the European Policy Centre, a Brussels-based think tank.

Outside Belgium, the Foundation is particularly active in the Balkans in projects that promote EU integration, tackle human trafficking and defend minority rights. In Africa, we focus on projects involved in the fight against AIDS/HIV and in promoting local development. The King Baudouin Foundation is also a benchmark in international philanthropy thanks to, among others, the international Funds that we manage, the King Baudouin Foundation United States, and our role in the Transnational Giving Europe network.

You can find further information about our projects, events and publications on www.kbs-frb.be. An electronic e-mail is also available if you would like to keep up to date with our activities.

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