

# From Victim to Criminal: *Limitations and Social Problems of Reintegration for Trafficked Survivors*

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## **Key:**

ATC: Anti-Trafficking Campaigns  
 BLinN: Bonded Labor in the Netherlands  
 BNRM: National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings  
 CoMensha: Coördinatiecentrum Mensenhandel  
 EMM: Expertisecentrum Mensenhandel en Mensensmokkel  
 EU: European Union  
 GEMS: Girls Educational and Mentoring Services  
 ILO: International Labor Organization  
 IOM: International Organization for Migration  
 JAN: Jonge Angolezen in Nederland  
 NGO: Nongovernmental Organization  
 OSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe  
 PTSD: Post Traumatic Stress Disorder  
 REAN: Return and Emigration of Aliens from the Netherlands.  
 TAMPEP: Transnational AIDS/STD Prevention among Migrant Prostitutes in Europe Project  
 UN: United Nations  
 UNICRI: United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research  
 UNIFEM: United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women  
 UNODC: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime  
 USDS: United States Department of State

## **Abstract:**

Human trafficking is a global phenomenon that affects nearly every country, but research and data concerning the reintegration process of trafficked persons is tremendously limited. In this thesis, I discuss numerous limitations and social problems survivors face after their experiences in exploitation. By identifying gender, social stigma, exploitation and *double standards* as four themes relevant in survivors' basic reintegration process, I primarily analyze communal rejection and its influence during their *successful* reintegration. Conducting eight interviews with nongovernmental and governmental organizations, presenting observational data, and personally interacting with trafficked persons, this thesis notes various factors influencing a survivor's *successful* reintegration. These factors are identified as, but are not limited to: legal factors, economic factors, the emotional status of the trafficked survivor, religion, the family and community, and what I later term, *personal social inclusion*. Furthermore, in Chapter Five, literature from Rutiva Andrijasevic (2007) is used in order to discuss anti-trafficking campaigns and their influence during a survivor's social inclusion. With many campaigns, documentaries and Hollywood movies depicting women as innocent, naïve, and passive agents, I argue that survivors are forced to accept normative representations of trafficked *victims*, which I term *Innocent Victim Paradigm*.

## Chapter One: Introduction

In the spring of 2009, I took a criminology course at the University College Utrecht in the Netherlands and became interested in the topic of human trafficking. In Professor Alexis Aronowitz's *Crime and Context* course, I was intrigued by the sociological and psychological effects of human trafficking and smuggling. This course sparked my interest in human rights violations and, consequently, allowed me to dive deeper into the course material, which I later discovered is vastly limited. This brief introduction informed me that trafficking manifests itself within society both on an international and domestic level. By recognizing this phenomenon as a global occurrence that affects individuals directly and indirectly, I aim to discover the multifaceted levels of coercion and exploitation seen in the many forms of trafficking today. In many cases, trafficking is tremendously difficult to identify and it is nearly impossible to find accurate estimates of how many people are currently affected. Aronowitz claims that this inaccuracy exists "because of its clandestine nature and the hidden economies in which trafficked victims are forced to work; [therefore], accurate statistics on the magnitude of the problem are elusive and available statistics are notoriously unreliable" (Aronowitz 2009: 15). Due to its concealed and manipulative nature, police and local communities underestimate the existence of exploitation in their societies. As a result, Aronowitz argues that the lack of legislation and failure to recognize domestic trafficking influences governments to produce inaccurate statistics of trafficked *victims*<sup>1</sup>. Due to this misidentification, I became interested in properly identifying survivors and how communal rejections alter with differing forms of trafficking.

After completing Professor Aronowitz's course, I encountered a startling documentary displaying stories about objectification, subjugation and modern day slavery in the United States. In this short film, "Very Young Girls," the film producers capture the lives of child prostitutes in America. By filming the lives of several young American girls who escaped their trafficking experience, this documentary informed me that even in a wealthy and hegemonic society, human trafficking still flourishes. However, it was not the horrors that these girls experienced during their trafficking that caught my attention, but rather the societal effects they faced when returning back to their communities. Instead of the American community accepting these girls openly, they encountered "family or community rejection upon return, continued threats or dangers from their traffickers, [and] economic hardships due to their trafficking experiences" (IOM 2010:38). These negative communal reactions often stem from deep-seeded sexism, racism and classism in society. In this thesis, I refer to social stigmatization as the act of characterizing a person or group as disgraceful or shameful through physical and psychological acts of rejection. With dominant discourses influencing communities to fear and stigmatize prostitution, trafficked survivors are generally viewed as naïve, uneducated,

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<sup>1</sup> In later chapters, I argue that labeling trafficked persons appropriately is essential during their *successful* reintegration process. The term 'victim' implies naiveté and helplessness of trafficked individuals. To properly assimilate in society, I argue that empowering survivors is the best method towards a 'successful' reintegration.

pathetic *victims* and can not *successfully*<sup>2</sup> reintegrate into society. Due to the general lack of communal support and respect for women, nations must attempt to empower survivors to reintegrate through educating communities and changing public perception.

My main interest is to discover why certain communities treat survivors as criminals instead of *victims*. Every community reacts to survivors' reintegration differently, but because of social stigmas attached to human trafficking, especially forced prostitution, little communal support is seen or documented. I am motivated to further research trafficked survivors' reintegration into society and determine how various forms of trafficking affect communal acceptance or rejection of the individual. This thesis examines survivors' various social problems and limitations after their trafficking experience, particularly focusing on the role of the communities. I argue that legal limitations, economic hardships, communal stigmatization, and survivors' emotional stabilities are all influencing factors in trafficked individuals' *successful* reintegration; however, depending on the religion, culture and other defining characteristics of the individual's identity, survivors' reintegration processes differ from region to region. For example, in Alexis Aronowitz' *Human Trafficking, Human Misery: The Global Trade in Human Beings*, the author discusses unique and devious tactics of voodoo where traffickers instill fear within their *victims*. Commonly practiced in Nigeria and Ghana, traffickers perform voodoo rituals where girls are "forced to swear an oath, and a piece of (intimate) clothing, a fingernail clipping, or a lock of hair [is taken]... that binds the victims to their traffickers" prior to departure (Aronowitz 2009:60). By taking this unique limitation into account, many non-profit organizations, such as Bonded Labor in the Netherlands (BLinN), focus awareness raising projects and reintegration programs around culturally specific limitations.



<sup>2</sup> I will define and identify 'successful' reintegration more in depth in Chapter 2 of this thesis

When interviewing representatives at BLinN, I noticed a large poster of an African Woman hanging in the lobby<sup>3</sup>. Presented below the photo was text stating: “Voodoo Inverso- With this picture I reverse the voodoo onto my trafficker. I am not afraid anymore.” By focusing on this particular cultural restraint in reintegration, BLinN successfully employs multifarious tactics to combat human trafficking depending on the religion, culture, and so forth of the survivor.

### **What is Human Trafficking?**

Globally considered illegal, the trafficking of individuals is identified as a clear violation of human rights and is described as “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation” (Aronowitz 2009: 1). Human trafficking is not only considered an overt exploitation of humans but has developed into multifaceted forms. These forms of exploitation include sexual exploitation, forced adult and child labor, slavery, domestic servitude, organ trafficking, and much more. Through these acts of coercion and deception for the purpose of exploitation, it is obvious that human trafficking is not just considered physical exploitation, but is observed through subtle forms of mistreatment, such as mail ordered brides, unregulated dating sites, and the phenomenon of *loverboys*<sup>4</sup> (Aronowitz 2009: 1). Cases of human trafficking are sometimes difficult to identify due to many academic researchers’ failures to research various nontraditional classifications of trafficking- what I term *gray area* trafficking. With many researchers solely focusing on common means of human exploitation, such as forced labor and forced sex work, they neglect to identify the subtle, *gray area* forms of trafficking and ultimately fail to research consequences persons experience after their abuse.

Researchers commonly disregard reintegration into previous communities in their research. Due to limited governmental and communal assistance, many trafficked survivors return to their societies unwelcome and rejected by those who were once considered friends, neighbors or even family. For example, in New York, many American girls are annually abducted, wooed, and coerced by pimps to sell their bodies on the streets (Haberman 2008). Instead of being treated as *victims* by police and their communities, these girls are convicted as adult criminals. By allowing these girls to be treated as illegal prostitutes, instead of as survivors of sexual abuse, many communities stigmatize these girls during their processes of reintegration. However, through certain organizations, such as the Girls Educational and Mentoring Services (GEMS), advancements have been made in order to gain more rights for minors involved in prostitution. Committed to the eradication of commercial sexual

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<sup>3</sup> For a full-sized image, refer to the Appendix located at the end of the thesis

<sup>4</sup> The ‘loverboy’ phenomenon is currently a huge problem in the Netherlands. It is a method of trafficking where older men start targeting vulnerable, young Dutch girls and children by making them fall in love with the trafficker. Through this tactic, survivors are emotionally and psychologically attached to their exploiters who make it quite difficult for these individuals to ‘successfully’ reintegrate.

exploitation and domestic trafficking of children, GEMS focuses on reintegration “by changing individual lives, transforming public perception, and revolutionizing the systems and policies that impact commercially sexually exploited youth,” (Haberman 2008). With Legislature unanimously in favor, this non-profit organization helped pass the Safe Harbor of Sexually Exploited Children Act in 2008 which states that New York minors under the age of 15 are no longer treated as criminals but are viewed as *victims* by law during their first prostitution offense. For treatment, they are classified as “persons in need of supervision” and are offered further protection from their pimps, such as shelters and dorms. Although this is only the first step to properly aiding victims of sexual exploitation, the United States is slowly on its way to providing proper services to meet the needs of the exploited youth during their re-assimilation into their previous and new communities (Haberman 2008).

I am uncertain if the complete eradication of global human trafficking is achievable due to the lack of communal support and various limitations survivors face when assimilating. Ultimately facing a variety of psychological and physical consequences, these survivors will undergo many hardships during and after their injurious trafficking experience. By studying trafficked victims’ reintegration, I aim to understand why certain communities choose to reject trafficked victims instead of openly welcoming them back into society.

### **Why is Trafficking Socially Relevant?**

Lacking research and proper identification of trafficked persons, there are no accurate estimates of how many people are globally trafficked each year. Due to the illegal standing of most trafficked survivors, high levels of mobility, lack of identification with *victimhood*, and fear for reprisals, many survivors choose to not register themselves as victims of human trafficking. As a result, nations are unable to collect accurate data. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), there are approximately “12.3 million people in forced labor, bonded labor, forced child labor and sexual servitude at any given time” (USDS 2007:8). Although to some researchers this estimation seems quite high, Kevin Bales, an expert on modern slavery and President of Free the Slaves (an American organization aiming to end global slavery), argues that ILO’s estimation is far too low. Bales maintains that, in actuality, there are over 27 million people living in slavery-like conditions, mostly in cases of bonded labor. Other cases of exploitation mentioned tend “to be concentrated in Southeast Asia, northern and western Africa, and parts of South America... but there are some [individuals living in slavery-like conditions] in almost every country in the world, including the United States, Japan, and many European countries” (Bales 2004: 9). Although human trafficking is globally prevalent, research and literature involving the re-assimilation of trafficked persons are vastly under-researched. With limited literature available about the reintegration process of survivors, little is known of the true experiences survivors face when returning home or establishing themselves in a new community. I argue that due to numerous communities lacking interest and understanding of trafficked persons’ social reintegration processes, many individuals return to society unwelcome and

shunned. Derived from the taboo on sex work and the willingness of persons to include themselves in dangerous and stigmatized occupations, many communities believe that these individuals are properly informed of the risks within the sex industry beforehand and are appropriately chastised after. Furthermore, due to communal reluctance to interact with survivors, I argue that various stereotypes and general assumptions are created against those who defy the main discourse. As a result, communities allocate stigmas to the reintegration of *deviant*<sup>5</sup> survivors.

For this thesis, I focus my research on various regions of the world including the United States, Eastern Europe, the Netherlands, and West/Central Africa in order to understand the general social problems and limitations survivors face when reintegrating. Unlike ILO and Bales' estimations, the United States Department of State's 2007 Trafficking in Persons Report claimed that 4 to 27 million people were trafficked worldwide (USDS 2007: 9). This unspecific approximation is generally due to the under-reporting of *victims*, the clandestine nature of sex work, conflicting definitions, mistaking victims for smuggled migrants, and lack of funding for research and data collection. In order for researchers, nonprofits and governmental organizations to have any improvements on the eradication of trafficking, these institutions must focus their attention and data collection on the integration process of trafficked survivors.

According to the International Organization for Migration's (IOM) *The Causes and Consequences of Re-trafficking*, women, children and young adults appear to be most vulnerable to re-trafficking. When trafficked individuals are at a young age and in a subjugated position, they become much more at risk of re-trafficking, especially if that individual has extensive difficulties at home and a lack of family support. For example, IOM noted a case study of a young trafficked minor who returned to her family after her initial trafficking experience. Unfortunately, at her previous home situation, the young girl had been subjected to long-term abuse, even before her first trafficking experience. As a result, the girl attempted to escape her difficult family situation by risking irregular migration abroad and consequently was trafficked in the sex industry for a second time. Children and "young people maybe even more vulnerable to re-trafficking where family support systems have broken down, in addition to the fact that their young age and dependency on family support is a factor of vulnerability itself" (IOM 2010: 39). As a result, IOM claims that many survivors develop psychological and social difficulties during their abuse, which negatively affect their ability to reintegrate into their former lives and thus render them vulnerable to re-trafficking. In order to combat the social problems resulting from human trafficking, nongovernmental organization (NGO) representatives and nations must first prevent the risk of re-victimization by educating potential survivors of the dangers of migration. They must simultaneously teach individuals and communities about empowerment, which I argue allows communities to recognize limitations and social problems during trafficked individuals' reintegration into society.

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<sup>5</sup> When using 'deviance,' I reference the work of Michel Foucault (Foucault 1975).

### **What are the Social Problems and Limitations in Trafficking?**

Cases of human trafficking can be observed in nearly every country; however research involving trafficked victims' lives after their exploitation is enormously limited in academic research. In order for the reader to fully comprehend the sociological impact society has on the lives of trafficked people, the reader must recognize the exploitative techniques traffickers use to intimidate, psychologically harm and physically damage their targets of trafficking. Due to limited societal and governmental support, many of these victims are forced to reintegrate into their communities without the encouraging communal support. It is uncertain if society can ever be completely rid of human trafficking, but with consistent lack of communal support, victims are unable to fully assimilate back into society and will ultimately face physical and psychological shortcomings due to their traumatic experiences and risk of re-victimization. Naturally, a society is supposed to accept an individual within the community in time of need, but because of the negative social stigmas attached to trafficking, especially sexual exploitation, a severe social disapproval of the individual develops. My thesis explores psychological and social consequences survivors face when returning to previous societies or when reintegrating in their host country. With limited research in the social reintegration process of survivors and the lack of acceptance or support found in many victims' communities, I argue that it is unlikely for survivors to have a socially and psychologically healthy future.

#### ***Gender:***

Gender limitations are observed in nearly all forms of human trafficking. With men more likely to be trafficked for the purpose of labor and women for forced prostitution, a gender bias is established. This gender bias creates numerous limitations when reintegrating for both male and female survivors. Men are not identified as *victims* of trafficking because men "are more often conceived as agents, capable of making decisions to migrate and enter a smuggling contract" (van Liempt 2006: 35). As a result, the failure to identify men as *victims* is due to the assumed absence of male survivors in sexual exploitation and the universal stereotype that trafficking is primarily experienced by women. I similarly argue that this gender bias leads individuals to assume that trafficking is mainly of women for the purpose of prostitution, and therefore that is the profile which authorities have in mind when they look for trafficking. Consequently, male victims tend to face more political limitations, especially involving citizenship and proof of trafficking when denouncing their exploiters in court. In contrast, women face entirely different gender paradigms.

Both Ramon Hinojosa's *Doing Hegemony: Military, Men, and Constructing a Hegemonic Masculinity* and R.W. Connell and James Messerschmidt's *Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept* "explore how men construct a hegemonic oriented masculinity by symbolically constructing masculine hierarchies in which they situate themselves on top" (Hinojosa 2010: 179). In many cases of human trafficking, like those in Nigeria, survivors are able to climb the social hierarchy, sometimes

resulting in those individuals becoming traffickers themselves (Pearson 2003: 8). However, in countries such as Albania, trafficked women are unable to climb the social hierarchy due to society's need to hang on to hegemonic masculinity. Due to the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the nation's return to Kanun<sup>6</sup> law, equality for Albanian women is becoming more out of reach (Kara 2009: 129). With traditional masculinity influencing Albanian trafficking, it is nearly impossible for these women to better their standards of living, which results in difficulties of reintegration after their escape. Hegemonic masculinity is defined by Connell as the "pattern of practice that allows men's dominance over women to continue" (Connell 2005: 832). This "pattern of practice" is witnessed in men's actions to uphold hegemonic masculinity in their trafficking communities; even though hegemonic masculinity is not truly normal behavior of men it is seen as normative in society.

In Alsop et al.'s *Theorizing Gender*, the authors discuss materialist theories of the social construction of gender through their use of Christine Delphy's work. Materialist theorists argue that "structural features of the social world ensure that women and men are fitted into distinct pathways within the society" (Alsop et al. 2003: 65). Claiming that gender categories are socially constructed, these theorists believe that categories produce negative consequences which constrain and form people. Delphy argues that in the model of capitalist society, there are two distinct modes of production: the industrial mode and the family. Within the family, women's modes of production are recognized through domestic service and child birth, "and by virtue of marriage women share a common class position" (Alsop et al. 2003: 71). For my thesis, I reveal why communities choose to reject or accept victims of trafficking when reintegrating. In numerous sex trafficking cases, women turn to marriage in order to properly re-assimilate into society. They attempt to reintegrate by establishing "a new family environment through marriage, which means a new start and offers a certain economic and social protection" (Talens 2003: 58). However, this technique forces women to revert to their weaker position in society where they are still neither economically independent nor empowered. Marriage continues this vicious cycle of male dominance, female dependence, and women's inevitable subjugation and poverty. With social stigma attached to prostitution and the community's need to hold onto traditional beliefs, many women use the ideals of marriage as status boosters their quest for *successful reintegration* after their abuse.

### ***Social Stigmas:***

In Rachel Shigekane's *Rehabilitation and Community Integration of Trafficking Survivors in the United States*, the author uses the case study of Khai to demonstrate the unequal and inferior role many Thai domestic servants face after escaping their exploitation. Khai, a former survivor, was forcefully trafficked into the United States by Supawan Veerapool, the wife of Thailand's ambassador to Sweden. Upon arrival, Khai's passport and other personal effects were confiscated and she was

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<sup>6</sup> An extremely gender-based customary law adopted by Albania after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989

forced “to work as much as twenty hours a day, seven days a week doing domestic and restaurant work” (Shigekane 2007: 130). For nine years, Khai was beaten, intimidated and socially isolated from anyone outside of Veerapool’s control, but eventually was able to escape her exploitation. In 1999, she testified against her traffickers, resulting in Veerapool’s conviction on charges of harboring illegal immigrants and involuntary servitude (Shigekane 2007: 130). Although Veerapool was found guilty and sentenced to eight years in prison, the communal response towards Khai was mostly negative. Demonstrating physical, psychological and social limitations from her experience, Khai was vulnerable and unprepared to support herself independently. With cultural barriers preventing her from seeking assistance, Veerapool’s conviction was viewed by Khai’s community as an act of betrayal. Since Khai defended herself and testified against an individual who was far higher than her on the social hierarchy, her “defensive responses” acted as “direct expressions of [her] defect” (Goffman 1963: 3). As a result, she was accused of being ungrateful to a kind and charitable sponsor who gave her passage to a better standard of living.

In most cases of prostitution, there is a certain level of social stigma attached. Erving Goffman, in *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, identifies the general assumptions and definitions of social stigmas and provides preliminary conceptions necessary in my research involving reintegration and communal rejection or acceptance. With dishonor and shame being the primary characteristics of modern social stigma, Goffman successfully constructs a stigma-theory in order to explain the perceived inferiority within society between the stigmatized and what he terms *normals*. Claiming that suspected inferiority sometimes rationalizes “an animosity based on other differences,” Goffman identifies social class as a specific stigma that affects nearly every individual (Goffman 1963: 3). Stigmatization develops due to the communities’ unwillingness to accept differing social identities. With most normative societies responding negatively towards involuntary and voluntary sex workers, I similarly argue that that social stigma develops from underlying traditions and culture values regarding sexuality, gender and appropriate behaviors. Goffman further argues that people in a community recognize the stigmatized individual’s defects and responses as “retribution for something [she] or [her] family did” (Goffman 1963: 3). Because Khai was a poorer member of society, her reputation and character were easier to discredit than those of Veerapool. I argue that these communities were so frightened and unwilling to disrupt the balance of power in the social hierarchy that they chose to reject Khai from being one of their own and continued to accept Veerapool as an authoritative figure from a high social class. Khai’s community did not truly accept her as an individual and was “not ready to make contact with [her] on equal grounds” (Goffman 1963: 4). As a result, Khai’s process towards a *successful* reintegration was thwarted due to communal rejection. I argue that the stigmatized individual only wants acceptance and equality but due to their *tainted* position in society, they are forced to accept their unequal role and the shame that their community expels upon them.

***Double Standard:***

In Andrijasevic's *Trafficking in Women and the Politics of Mobility in Europe*, the author scrutinizes the representation of trafficking in IOM's counter-trafficking campaigns. She claims that these campaigns were meant to educate and warn the public, policy makers, police officers and "potential women migrants about the dangers of migration and prostitution and empower [trafficked women] to make informed choices concerning work and travel" (Andrijasevic 2004: 14). However, Andrijasevic argues that IOM's use of representations of victimizing female bodies claim that the safest option for women is to avoid conflict all together and remain at home. Consequently, these anti-trafficking campaigns do not empower women to migrate safely, but instead reaffirm traditional representations of womanhood. Communities and governments then adopt a victim-criminal binary when discussing trafficking. The majority of trafficked individuals are voluntary sex workers who are unaware of the abuses that await them, and therefore, it becomes more and more difficult for communities and governments to identify *real victims* of trafficking. Due to the voluntary nature of their sex work, Andrijasevic argues that "European citizenship is being shaped through a constant interaction and conflict between institutional codification of citizenship and migrant women's practices of citizenship" (Andrijasevic 2004: 16). As a result, communities and governments establish stereotypical representations of women, proper femininity, and *appropriate* womanhood, through communal stigmatizations and visual symbols, such as through IOM's campaigns. These persons fall under, what I term, the *Innocent Victim Paradigm* and I argue that women labeled as innocent, naïve *victims* face fewer communal limitations during their reintegration than women who voluntarily participate in sex work.

This double standard exists between voluntary and involuntary prostitution and is only one of the many cases seen in trafficking. Due to the social stigma attached to voluntary prostitution, many communities and governments distinguish victimhood on the basis of the individual's initial intent when entering the sex industry. If a woman has no choice of her own and is physically forced into the industry, she is immediately deemed a *victim* of trafficking by the government. Individuals who know the sexual nature of the work but not of their living conditions are often labeled as criminals. Since they willingly involve themselves in this controversial line of work, many governments decide to not recognize them as trafficked *victims* but as illegal immigrants. As a result, many are denied the same rights as trafficked *victims* and are seen as criminals to the nation.

***Exploitation:***

In *The Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels argue that capitalism is essentially the exploitation of the working class and claims that in order for the Bourgeois to reach maximum profit, they must drastically lower wages and conditions of the working class. Looking at trafficking, I argue that traffickers are similarly trying to maximize their surplus value. By lowering conditions and neglecting basic necessities, traffickers, acting as Marxist Bourgeois, exploit their *victims*, Marxist

Proletariats, in order to increase profit. The majority of trafficking cases include occurrences of debt binding which could potentially be passed on throughout generations. In many cases, trafficked individuals must pay “a percentage of the trip prior to departure [and] then incur a debt for the remainder” (Aronowitz 2008:4). As a result, survivors are forced to remain in an exploitative environment until their debt has been paid off or until they escape, are rescued or die. For example, Aronowitz provides a story of Ramon, a young boy trapped in debt bondage that was incurred by his grandfather. The boy, his father and grandfather were forced to work in a brick kiln to pay off a \$450 loan. Although many Westerners might consider this a small sum, Ramon and his family were forced to work in the brick kiln for 15 years. With the family earning \$.02 per 80 kilogram bag of bricks, the manager of the brick kiln successfully exploited his victims to the full extent. Due to the clandestine and manipulative nature of trafficking, the manager took full advantage of his higher social standing and successfully utilized the subjugated position Ramon and his family had in society by allowing the debt to be paid cross-generationally (Aronowitz 2008: 43). In Alexis Aronowitz’s example, the author provides some insight into exploitation and displays the difficulties survivors face when leaving their trafficking experience. Due to the grandfather initiating the child’s exploitation, I argue that Ramon, like many other survivors, found difficulties in his process towards a *successful* reintegration. Roman was born into trafficking and literally had no control over his destiny and I argue that his trafficking experience is similar to many cases of children born into poverty and must remain impoverished. Ramon’s grandfather’s trafficking situation became his own and caused Ramon difficulties later during his reintegration due to the debt incurred and its expansion across generations.

Many individuals are originally trafficked by acquaintances, friends and even family, and these members of survivors’ communities are sometimes the direct cause of a person’s trafficking experience. With communities pressuring members to migrate and profit abroad, individuals are voluntarily entering the sex industry because it is the quickest, easiest and most efficient method of increasing their income. However, due to the social stigmatization attached to prostitution and sexual exploitation, many communities do not accept these survivors with open arms but instead treat them as criminals, even if their actions are initially guided by communal exploitation and pressure to economically produce. On the other hand, when observing communal acceptance or rejection towards a survivor reintegrating, I argue that there is a *double standard* depending on how *successful* the individual is upon return. For example, numerous trafficked persons are returning to society with nothing to show for their travels abroad and, as a result, many are stigmatized and discarded for their past exploitative behaviors while those who return with some measure of *success* are passively accepted by their communities. Due to communal pressures to better their standards of living, many survivors who do not improve their standards of living face rejection which disrupts their *successful* reintegration into society. Supported by the Marxist theory of the exploitation of the proletariat, I argue that not only traffickers participate in the exploitation of survivors but, in many cases, survivors

initially feel pressure from communities to unsafely migrate, which is ultimately mistreatment and exploitation disguised as a means to improve their livelihoods.

***The Six Factors and Their Importance:***

Based upon the literature, I argue that trafficked persons face numerous social problems and limitations when reintegrating into society and these restrictions can be reduced with state and communal emphasis on empowering survivors. Such examples of social problems include the rejection of individuals by communities due to the sexual nature of the work, the paradigms of ‘guilty’ and ‘innocent’ *victims*, and the continuous need of communities to improve their standards of living by voluntarily exploiting members of society. Limitations of reintegration include the trouble of identifying cases of human trafficking, the difficulty of denouncing traffickers in courts of law, and the governmental views of *victims* as criminals to the nation. By comparing and contrasting other theories of gender, social stigma, double standards, and exploitation, I intend to contextualize research information and hope to gain a deeper understanding of the various effects community plays in the lives of trafficked survivors returning home. Furthermore, I expect that the reasoning behind communal acceptance or rejection is due to traditional views of sexuality and the community’s desire to earn more income.

**Methods:**

In my research, I aim to discover what limitations and social problems trafficked persons face when reintegrating and, more specifically, how influential the role of the community is in a survivor’s *successful reintegration*. To answer my research question, I conducted a series of interviews and participant observations. At first, I thought that the best method to extract pertinent information for my topic would be to primarily contact previous trafficked survivors who eventually returned to their communities. However, due to difficulties in contacting trafficked individuals and my fear of potential retraumatization, I decided that the best research method would be to contact representatives from non-NGOs who directly provide assistance for survivors of human trafficking. In total, I conducted seven interviews with NGOs and one with an intergovernmental organization. Through these interviews, I collected crucial data to support the notion that survivors not only face political and economic limitations when reintegrating but also social problems.

Another method of research I employed was participant observation. At BLinN, they offer a buddy project program which allows individuals to interact with trafficked persons. It permits volunteers to talk to, intermingle with, and befriend survivors with the goal of directing them towards a *successful* reintegration. BLinN’s buddy project empowers previously exploited persons by focusing on future prospects in society. Their method of reintegration strongly appeals to me because it emphasizes the importance of nurturing the individual's needs by focusing on the human behind the trafficked *victim*. By treating the person as an individual instead of a *victim*, this program gives

trafficked survivors an opportunity to rebuild their lives without the guilt and shame of their experiences. For this fieldwork, I met with my buddy on more than one occasion. After each meeting, I wrote down our interactions from memory. Through this project, I personally observed how trafficked persons operate in society and determined that BLinN's buddy project is *successful* in the reintegration of survivors.

My methods of examination are discourse and content analysis. Through these processes, I analyze my thesis' theoretical framework by relating my four themes of reintegration- exploitation, gender, social stigma and double standards- to anti-trafficking campaigns specifically seen in Eastern Europe and West Africa. These campaigns display victimized images of women that contribute to their objectification. By arranging female bodies to fit within stereotypes of traditional femininity, these campaigns perpetuate the familiar typecast that women are passive objects for male desire, which overall, limits their agency. I theorize that the majority of these campaigns existing in low socio-economic areas do not successfully demonstrate the accurate nature of a trafficked survivor's experience nor do they display a positive message of communal acceptance when a trafficked survivor reintegrates. By using discourse analysis, I analyze various written and visual languages utilized in these campaigns and identify specific discourses that can support my hypothesis. These discourses include media constructions of human trafficking, catchy text aimed at grabbing public attention, types of images used in campaigns, unequal gender representation, and the use of first-person accounts of human trafficking. These discourses are then connected to my overall theme of *successful* reintegration processes and further used to discuss the limitations and social problems that trafficked survivors face.

Furthermore, content analysis is used in order to analyze the interviews and study the content of communication seen within these anti-trafficking campaigns. Many of these campaigns re-establish stereotypical ideals of femininity and masculinity of Eastern Europeans. For example, in the late 1990s/early 2000s, IOM released a number of anti-trafficking campaigns throughout Eastern Europe. Each campaign was similarly constructed with three distinctive bodies of text with the first two sections addressing a personal case study of survivors and the last section displaying contact information for those in need of assistance (Andrijasevic 2007: 27-28). Displaying women as passive through the use of text and dialogue, these anti-trafficking campaigns claim that the safest option in order to avoid conflict and exploitation is for these women to remain at home. Consequently, I argue that these anti-trafficking campaigns do not empower women to travel safely but instead re-establish traditional representations of the female body which consequently limits the agency of women when reintegrating.

### **Conclusion:**

My aim in this thesis is to discuss various social problems and limitations trafficked persons face after their exploitation. In Chapter Two, I analyze various problems survivors experience during their

assimilation. Using an array of literature, I introduce gender, social stigma, exploitation and *double standards* as my four themes to identify the limitations and include a basic theoretical framework involving the basic reintegration process of trafficked individuals. Furthermore, in Chapter Three, I present observational data and eight interviews conducted with organizations working close to survivors. Through such research, I mention numerous factors pertinent in a survivor's reintegration. These factors include but are not limited to: *personal social inclusion*, legal factors, economic factors, the emotional status of the trafficked survivor, religion, and the family and community. In Chapter Four, I identify the importance of communities during a trafficked person's *successful* reintegration into society. By analyzing case studies and literature concerning differing nations and cultures, I identify a *successful* reintegration by analyzing themes of exploitation, social stigmas, gender and *double standard* in countries where trafficking and communal stigmatization is prevalent. Finally, in Chapter Five, I use literature from Rutiva Andrijasevic to discuss the effect of anti-trafficking campaigns during a trafficked individual's *successful* reintegration into society. With many counter-trafficking campaigns depicting women as innocent, naïve, and passive agents, I argue that campaigns prompt communities to accept normative representations of trafficked *victims*. As a result, trafficked persons face numerous social problems and limitations due to ludicrous stereotypical representations of survivors which inhibit their process towards a *successful* reintegration.

## **Chapter Two: Human Trafficking, Reintegration and Disregarded Exploitation**

Many governmental officials and researchers in Western Society assume that the abuse trafficked individuals endure during their travels abroad is the survivor's pivotal moment of subjugation and exploitation. However, I argue that after escaping trafficking, many survivors face continued mistreatment and exploitation when assimilating into society. For example, in various cases of child trafficking, parents or close family members organize the child's initial exploitation due to the exploiters promises of education and job training, naiveté of the parents, or blatant parental disregard for their children (Aronowitz 2009: 40). Therefore, children encounter detrimental abuses during their exploitation and cannot *successfully* reintegrate<sup>7</sup> into communities. They suffer abandonment issues, emotional traumas, and communal stigmatization for their involvement in the sex industry or other sectors of exploitation. As a result, I argue that many survivors' experiences impede them from coping with their psychological traumas, which creates more trust issues between survivors and the family and consequently reduces communal support during their process of reintegration. In addition to economical, political, individual, emotional, religious, and communal factors affecting individuals' assimilations<sup>8</sup>, this thesis discusses legal limitations and social problems that survivors face.

During survivors' *successful* reintegration into society, trafficked individuals face a number of social problems and limitations. I provide numerous examples of social problems that survivors face during their reintegration process that include such themes as: communal shame or rejection due to *spoiled* virginity, *dirty* versus innocent *victims* of trafficking, and the communities' *double standards* involving stigmatization and economic gain. In addition, limitations in reintegration include the inaccurate identification of trafficked *victims* by governments and organizations, survivors' inability or unwillingness to denounce their traffickers, and the governmental portrayal of survivors as unwanted migrants and criminals of the nation. For example, in Wendy Chapkis' *Trafficking, Migration, and the Law: Protecting Innocents, Punishing Immigrants*, the author argues that "the law makes strategic use of anxieties over sexuality, gender, and immigration to further curtail migration... by the use of misleading statistics [which] creates moral panic around 'sexual slavery,' through the creation of gendered distinction between 'innocent victims' and 'guilty migrants,' and through the demand that aid to victims be tied to their willingness to assist in the prosecution of traffickers" (Chapkis 2009: 923). Due to the exaggerated data, the discrepancy between innocent and guilty *victims* and the state's persistence on denouncing traffickers in a court of law, Chapkis argues that most nations manipulate public concern surrounding traditional sexuality, the role of men and women, and migration to maintain stereotypical representations of survivors of trafficking. In this chapter, I introduce numerous problems trafficked individuals face during their reintegration through such

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<sup>7</sup> 'Successful' reintegration is explained in detail in the following chapter, Chapter 3.

<sup>8</sup> These factors are further described in Chapter 5

themes as gender, social stigmatization, exploitation and, what I term, *double standards* in order to identify the additional legal and social limitations survivors face. Although research involving trafficked persons after their initial exploitation is tremendously limited, I provide various literatures that support my four main themes and describe the basic reintegration process of trafficked survivors.

### **Gender:**

The trafficking of human beings and their reintegration into society is an extremely gender-based issue. Although numerous governments and communities assume that trafficking is predominantly endured by women, I argue that male survivors not only experience this exploitation but also face additional limitations in legality and being identified as trafficked *victims*. Many communities emphasize economic *success* and maintaining male representation as the family provider. As a result, these depictions pressure trafficked men to refuse governmental assistance due to its symbolism as economic failure. I argue that by accepting reparation services, many trafficked men interpret government assistance as recognition of their failure to migrate abroad, and thus this verifies their status as *victim*. As a result, men return to their communities with limited money and little to show for their travels abroad. They are stigmatized for their participation in labor exploitation which intensifies difficulties in their *successful* reintegration. Women, on the other hand, face entirely different forms of communal stigmatization. Due to the prevalence of women in the sex industry, many females return to their communities and are rejected as economic failures, but also as sexually *soiled* individuals. Numerous communities emphasize the importance of sexual purity, but because so many women are returning to their previous societies as involuntary or voluntary sex workers, these survivors face greater levels of rejection than their male counterparts. As a result, I argue that women must face double stigmatization due to their participation in sexual and labor exploitation as men, generally only experience limitations regarding their failure as a financial provider.

However, in order to fully discuss social stigmas disrupting a survivor's social assimilation process, it is important to note two important theories of gender: the Discursive Theory and the Material Theory. In Alsop et al. (2003), the authors argue that when analyzing gender, communal meanings attached to being male or female in society are emphasized in the language and culture of a community. Identified as discursive theory, Alsop et al. claim that "gender is part of an identity woven from a complex and specific social whole, and requiring very specific and local readings" (Alsop et al. 2003:86). Supporting Foucauldian theory, Alsop et al. argue that to be fully accepted as a subject in a community, individuals are inevitably manipulated and subjected to certain local norms. With gender and sexual differences functioning as aspects of our identity, survivors discipline and form their behaviors and actions around communal norms of femininity and masculinity.

Materialist theorists argue that social relations, work, family and sexuality place men and women under socially constructed gender categories which constrain and form people. Those "who do not take part in the social relations which make us men and women are thereby *not men and women*"

(Alsop et al. 2003: 72). Alsop et al. argue that persons who do not take part in normative gender related behaviors are not recognized as *real* or honorable members of the society. When looking at survivors' reintegration after their trafficking experience, many individuals face stigmatization from their communities due to their participation in controversial and deviant behaviors, such as prostitution. Similar to Marxist theory, Alsop et al. (2003) present Christine Delphy's model of capitalist society which contains "two distinct modes of production: first, an industrial mode which is the arena of capitalist exploitation and, secondly, a family, domestic mode of production where women provide domestic services and where childbearing begins" (Alsop et al. 2003: 71). According to Alsop et al. and Delphy, women from lower socioeconomic communities contribute in production through their development of cheap labor and attainment of a family. With marriage and childbearing as a definite means for women to uphold their womanly duties, I similarly argue that such traditional practices constrain and place individuals into gender categories where members of the community can stigmatize and reject those who refuse to follow normative behaviors.

For example, in some reintegration cases, women attempt to re-assimilate into society by surrendering to communal standards and participate in marriage. Noted in Ganesha Chaulagai's *Trafficking Survivors in Nepal: an Exploratory Study of Trafficked Women's Experiences and Perceptions of their Reintegration*, the author examples a particular case, presented by a representative of Maiti Nepal in Bhairahawa, Ruphandehi, where trafficked survivors are stigmatized and socially rejected due to social values and communal norms. As a result, in countries where marriage is the only method for women to achieve social acceptance and avoid persecution, "some girls are getting married [and] hiding their past information and are now living happily with their family... [but] in some cases, their families know their past life through other people and kick the women out of the house... [Families then] cannot keep their daughters in their home because it would be difficult to arrange marriage to their other sisters and brothers due to the trafficked girls in the family" (Chaulagai 2009: 84). With girls turning to marriage as a method to boost their social status, those who stay silent about their trafficking experience tend to face less social stigmatization during their reintegration. However, due to increased awareness of human trafficking through such means as ATC, many communities are aware of individuals' participation in prostitution and exploitation and these survivors are rejected by their families due to their shame and fear of tarnishing the reputation of other family members. Due to families' and communities' social exclusion, many trafficked persons face continuous problems when *successfully* reintegrating, such as arranging marriages for other siblings, finding future job opportunities and their infectious stigmatization (Chaulagai 2009: 87). In this thesis, I argue that stigmatizations and communal rejection of trafficked individuals during their social inclusion are sometimes based on traditional and cultural values of marriage and gender. For some women, marriage establishes them within a new family environment which offers stable economic and social protection. With most trafficked women originating from poor and subjugated areas of the world, after their trafficking experience, many turn to this method of social acceptance to

increase their standards of living. However, I argue that marriage potentially forces women to regress back to their powerless position in society where they are economically deficient and disempowered. Marriage continues a brutal cycle of male dominance, female dependency, and continuous subjugation of women. With stigmatization attached to voluntary and involuntary sex work and communal desire to maintain traditional beliefs, many women use marriage to climb the social hierarchy and *successfully* reintegrate after their exploitation.

### **Social Stigmatization:**

In this thesis, social stigmatization is referred to as the act of characterizing or labeling a person or group of people as disgraceful or ignominious. With numerous trafficked individuals voluntarily and involuntarily participating in the labor exploitation and the sex industry, many return to their societies stigmatized by members of their communities. In Goffman (1963), the author notes three diverse forms of stigmatization that exist in society: physical deformities, weaknesses of character, and tribal stigmatization (race, nation, religion, etc.); however, when discussing stigmatization, I only focus on the last two forms due to modern social stigmas of trafficked survivors centering around notions of dishonor and shame (Goffman 1963: 2). Through Goffman's stigma theory, the author discusses the process of communal stigmatization between the stigmatized and what he refers to as *normals*, non-stigmatized persons. He claims that communal members assert superiority over others, and that members turn to other *normals* to justify their actions and treatment of the stigmatized. Very often, communities regard their lack of experience in sexual and labor exploitation as sanction to assume a condescending and authoritative position, casting stigmatizations on behaviors considered *deviant*<sup>9</sup> and controversial. Through certain categories and attributes, communities establish normative foundations for how the stigmatized should behave or appear to *normals* (Goffman 1963:2-3). Supporting Goffman's theory, I argue that those who do not follow normative behaviors, such as voluntary and involuntary participation in the sex industry, face communal animosity based on social differences. Therefore, I argue that during many reintegration processes, survivors experience various levels of communal stigmatization depending on the sector of trafficking they participated in and individual, political, economic, legal, physical and psychological conditions of the trafficked persons.

Furthermore, I argue stigmatization is not only based on communal views of dishonor and shame, but can originate from feelings of fear and trepidation. For example, in West Africa, children are willingly trafficked as child soldiers; however, under UN Protocol, all children under the age of 18 are identified as *victims* of trafficking, regardless of their voluntary or involuntary exploitation (United Nations 2000: 2). However, when reintegrating into normative society, many communities find it difficult to socially include these child survivors, generally due to the atrocities committed during their trafficking experience. Through such violent acts as rape and murder, many of these children were forced to take part in vicious human rights violations. Suffering from psychological,

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<sup>9</sup> 'Deviance' is identified and referred to in Chapter 1

physical and emotional traumas, I argue that many children cannot interact with other communal members due to their inability to establish normal social relationships and the community's fear that these survivors will harm other members. In Alexis Aronowitz (2009), the author argues that once trafficked children escape or leave an armed group, their identities have been permanently established by their communities. Previously exploited child soldiers are "often treated as criminals rather than victims of trafficking and the UN Protocol calls for special protection for trafficked victims" (Aronowitz 2009: 109). With such protection programs consisting of occupational training, education, medical and psychological support, the reintegration processes of trafficked children aim to disarm, release and reintegrate these survivors into their home nations. However, I argue that many programs lack the proper social assistance in helping survivors recommence their lives in their communities due to communal stigmatization and societies maintaining the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*.

In her article *Loose Women or Lost Women? The Re-emergence of the Myth of White Slavery in Contemporary Discourses of Trafficking in Women*, Jo Doezema supports Aronowitz' case study with her discussion about cultural myths and traditions and how they construct continuing stereotypical representations of survivors, what I term the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*. She claims that "while the myth of 'trafficking in women' is ostensibly about protecting women, the underlying moral concern is with the control of 'loose' women" (Doezema 1999: 23). Due to the increasing trafficking networks in Europe and the fear of declining traditional values of sexuality, many governments decided to take action to eradicate human trafficking through such methods as anti-trafficking campaigns. Although the majority of trafficked persons knew that their jobs abroad involved sex work but were still exploited, Doezema argues that governmental anti-trafficking policies support survivors as innocent and virginal *victims*, which consequently protects innocent *victims* but punishes *bad* women who voluntarily participated in prostitution. As a result, governmental portrayals of survivors are immersed in the communities during their reintegration, which then establish increased stigmatization and "reflect persisting anxieties about female sexuality and women's autonomy" (Doezema 1999: 23). By depicting trafficked women as innocent virtuous beings, it places both voluntary and involuntary sex-workers under one theoretical umbrella, causing the agency of sex workers to be threatened. Through such propagation, I argue that policies and eradication methods regulate women's sexuality under the semblance of protecting survivors, which ultimately increases communal stigmatization for those who do not fall under the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*<sup>10</sup>.

Depending on the country of reintegration, trafficked individuals face differing forms of communal stigmatization. According to Doezema, currently there is "new 'moral panic' arising in the context of 'boundary crises' involving fears of loss of community identity" (Doezema 1999: 46). Generally, in Western society, immigration and multiculturalism are the main communal concerns whereas third world communities fear a loss of cultural traditions and are threatened by intruding

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<sup>10</sup> 'Innocent Victim Paradigm' was defined in Chapter 1.

western values. As a result, I argue that many communities experience a crisis of identity during trafficked individuals' reintegration because returning survivors are generally much more westernized by their trafficking experiences. In addition, these communities consider the survivors to be unclean and *tainted* and might thus affect the community negatively, altering the community's identity. In order to maintain traditional communal values, societies instill the *Innocent Victim Paradigm* among their members, thereby re-establishing their lost identity.<sup>11</sup> However, in most countries from which trafficked individuals originate from, there is a high demand for migrating abroad and due to their limited options, many individuals voluntarily enter the sex industry but are later sexually, psychologically and physically abused. As a result, these survivors return to their communities as economic failures but are also portrayed by their communities as immoral, sexually fanatical and shamed women. With the initial intentions of improving the communities' and their own livelihoods, many trafficked persons leave their exploitative situations with little monetary or social assistance and face further insecurities and communal stigmatization during their reintegration process. However, if survivors return with a token of economic success, many communities passively reaccept them as a member of society, which I term a *double standard*.

### **Double Standard:**

In this thesis, I argue that communities establish acceptance processes for returning survivors, based on the economic wealth obtained during their travels abroad. Many trafficked persons originate from low socioeconomic countries and rely on monetary support from members of their communities to participate in risky and unsafe migration. Due to communal pressures to economically succeed, a cornucopia of individuals migrate abroad, but end up in exploitative situations where many survivors return to their communities as failures because of their unsuccessful procurement of wealth and their exploitative experiences in trafficking. Those returning with tokens of success are hypocritically accepted and are sometimes viewed as role models for other potential migrants planning to work abroad. I define this phenomenon as a *double standard* and argue that *successful* returning migrants attract more migration within the communities, which consequently pressures many individuals to practice unsafe migration. Supporting Doezema, in Rutvica Andrijasevic's dissertation (2004), the author argues that many trafficked women voluntarily exploit themselves to acquire economic success, achieve social inclusion, and attain social and legal mobility. With the intension of gaining agency, Andrijasevic claims that this power is comprised of "women's desire to improve their social-economic situation, a great capacity to love (family, children, friends, men), a vision for their future, entrepreneurial spirit, relatively high earning capability, intelligence in reading and understanding institutional practices and constraints, smart use of rules and regulations, street-wise approach to finding right and useful contacts, and physical courage and endurance" (Andrijasevic 2004:13). With

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<sup>11</sup> These problems of reintegration and reaffirmation in communal identity are further explained in Chapter 4.

political, economical, individual, emotional, familial and communal factors determining a survivor's agency, the processes of survivors' *successful* reintegration is multifarious and interconnected. However, due to governmental representations of survivors, such as in anti-trafficking campaigns, I argue that many individuals are rejected agency due to the *double standard* and the communities' reaffirmation of trafficked persons' passivity surrounding popular counter-trafficking methods.

Many survivors willingly participate in the trafficking but are unaware of the conditions that await them. As a result, these individuals do not support normative societies' depiction of trafficked *victims* and many are identified as criminals to the nation. Communities and governments find these survivors difficult to identify due to their lack of self-identification as *victims* and their voluntary association with *deviant* and controversial behavior. However, many survivors are returning to their communities with tokens of success and are regarded by their communities as heroes. For example, in West Africa, "the trafficking of children is promoted by historical and cultural patterns of child fosterage, or placing the children outside the home" (Aronowitz 2009: 40). This fosterage of children is due to cultural standards and traditional values for children to travel outside the home to further their job training skills and education. Some children are willingly migrating abroad to gain social values, encounter new experiences, and support their families. Often promised a small memento of success, such as a radio or bicycle, Aronowitz claims that many children return to their communities unaware that they have been exploited and consequently recruit other members to participate in human trafficking. As a result, they are seen as role models to many other young survivors who are willing to exploit themselves for a bit more wealth. However, those who voluntarily exploit themselves and show no economic value in return, experience communal *double standards* for their experiences in exploitation, and also face legal and communal limitations in their destination country.

In Jo Doezema (1999), the author notes a case of a trafficking ring where a carefully planned police raid in Toronto, Canada, freed 22 Thai and Malaysian survivors trafficked into the sex industry. At first, media "droolingly described [the women] as 'sex slaves,' conjuring up a vision of exotic but helpless beauties" (Doezema 1999: 36). Due to popular media's depiction of the women, the general Canadian community viewed the survivors as *victims* abducted from low socioeconomic areas and forced to work in prostitution. Supporting the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*, the communities held onto stereotypical representations of trafficked persons, causing stigmatization and other limitations throughout their reintegration process. However, a few days later, news reports concluded that these women came to Canada voluntarily to work in prostitution. Almost immediately after discovering their *guiltiness*, their communities and Canadian government labeled these survivors as "hardened delinquents, illegal immigrants, tawdry, dismissible... selling their bodies of their own free will" (Doezema 1999: 36). Even though these survivors were originally depicted as weak and naïve *victims* of trafficking, there was a sudden shift of opinion towards communal rejection and many of these women could not properly assimilate into society. This shift is due to the controversy of prostitution and the increasing necessity for more economic wealth in low socioeconomic communities.

With social stigmatization attached to voluntary sex work, I argue that many governments and communities differentiate victimhood on the basis of survivors' original intentions when entering the sex industry. If individuals have no choice or are forced into prostitution, governments identify them as *victims* of trafficking because they embody stereotypical representations of survivors under the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*. Persons aware of the sexual nature of their future employment are labeled as criminals, unwanted migrants and illegal aliens, even if they face similar abuse as involuntary prostitutes. As a result, I argue that many voluntary sex workers are denied the equal rights of social, economic and legal support due to traditional concepts of gender and governmental and communal depictions of these women as *dirty* prostitutes. Due to the *double standard* involving communities' economical aspirations and the cultural stigmatization towards sex work and exploitation, many trafficked survivors cannot socially assimilate after their trafficking experience.

### **Exploitation:**

In the late 1940s, following World War II, the United Nations released a Declaration of Human Rights that demanded the abolition of global slavery. Stating that all human beings are entitled to freedom, this declaration reaffirms the importance of human rights and promotes equality to all, regardless of race, sex, religion, language or color of skin (United Nations 2010). However, even though slavery was now prohibited, many differing forms of exploitation developed and spread worldwide. With numerous men, women and children annually trafficked into labor and the sex industry, it is clear that slavery and human exploitation are not yet eradicated. In this thesis, I discuss capitalist exploitation and its influence on a survivor's reintegration, through Marxist ideology.

In Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1848), the authors discuss the class struggle between modern capitalists, who own the means of production, and modern wage laborers, who lack the means of production and are forced to sell their labor in order to provide for their communities and/or themselves (Marx 1848: 1). In capitalist society, Marx and Engels argue that the capitalist class, also referred to as the Bourgeoisie, always dominates and exploits the working class, the Proletariats, to increase profit and strengthen control over the means of production. With exploitation as the core of capitalism, through their labor, Proletariats produce surplus values which the Bourgeoisie extract from the working class and then profit from it. By supplying proletariats with just enough of the necessities to survive and reproduce, Marx and Engels argue that the basis of capitalism is the exploitation of lower socioeconomic individuals in order to produce more wealth for the Bourgeoisie (Marx 1848: 1-2). Similarly, I argue that capitalist exploitation is commonly seen in many cases of survivors reintegrating after their trafficking experience.

When analyzing trafficking from an economic prospect, the process of exploitation is observed through Marxist ideology. With Marx and Engels claiming that the Bourgeoisie's main objective is to obtain as much capital as possible, I argue that trafficked individuals' communities operate quite similarly by stigmatizing those survivors who could not achieve economic gain for

neither themselves nor their communities. In Alexis Aronowitz (2009), the author notes that 40 to 49 percent of young Central and West African girls are sold for early and arranged marriages but due to the economic liability of the bride's family to produce a dowry, many survivors are pressured by their families and communities to migrate abroad in search of wealth (Aronowitz 2009: 38). In many cases of exploitation, members of the community are selfishly trafficked by friends, family members and acquaintances for economic gain. Although many of these young girls enter the sex industry under the pressures of the community, most survivors face rejection when reintegrating due to the social stigmas attached to sexual exploitation and prostitution. Instead of accepting these subjugated and abused survivors with open arms, many trafficked individuals are treated as criminals; however, if they return with an indication of success, communities ignore their *deviant* behavior and passively reaccept them into society. Most trafficked individuals originate from low socioeconomic areas and voluntarily migrate abroad in search of economic gain, but due to the manipulation and exploitation that takes place within trafficking, nearly all survivors lose any wealth acquired abroad and return to their communities as failures. As a result, I argue that due to the societal desire to better their standards of living, communities and families exploit individuals and reject those returning empty-handed while those with tokens of success are accepted. However, both stigmatized and non-stigmatized survivors face difficulties in their reintegration process due to their lack of agency, their communal obligation to produce income, and the stereotypical representations of a trafficked *victim*.

In Chapter Five, I discuss the influence of anti-trafficking campaigns (ATC) during trafficked individuals' reintegration. Although many campaigns released in survivors' origin countries generally display women as weak, innocent *victims*, these counter trafficking techniques intend to warn at risk communities of the dangers of migrating abroad and of their potential entry into prostitution. ATC "implies that the safest option is to remain home, instead of empowering women to migrate safely" (Andrijasevic 2007: 31). Women are discouraged from unofficial labor migration and are informed that the best way to avoid trafficking is to stay at home. As a result, ATC place cultural representations of femininity upon trafficked survivors, which strengthens the communities' traditions of the family and increases communal exploitation. These campaigns aim to educate women to make the right choices concerning migration, but I argue that many ATC impair survivors' re-assimilation by strengthening the *Innocent Victim Paradigm* and increasing communal stigmatization of survivors too naïve to listen to the warning of the campaigns. In Marx and Engels (1848), the authors claim that due to the bourgeois façade of the family, "all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor" (Marx 1848: 2). With communities, the bourgeois, influencing appropriate familial relations, many low income families cannot support themselves or their children, causing numerous subjugated individuals to resort to means of labor. Supported by Marx and Engels' theory of exploitation of the proletariat, I argue that both traffickers and the communities subjugate and manipulate trafficked individuals. With traffickers abusing survivors during the trafficking experience and communities continuing the

exploitation during their social inclusion process, trafficked individuals face numerous limitations and social problems when *successfully* reintegrating.

**Conclusion:**

Based upon the literature provided, I supply various theories of gender, social stigmatization, *double standards* and exploitation to display a deeper understanding of communal influence on the *successful* reintegration of a trafficked individual. In Chapter Two, we can observe human trafficking as a gendered issue, the limitations and social problems survivors face during reintegration, and the various disregarded forms of exploitation, such as communal economic exploitation. With stigmatization and communal acceptance based on communities' desires to improve their livelihoods and traditional views of sexuality and gender, I argue that many survivors face many hardships when returning to their previous societies. In Chaulagai (2009), the author notes a case study of a survivor, who suffered from HIV/AIDS and Hepatitis B, who was stoned viciously by villagers when drinking water from the local stone tap, and had her left hand paralyzed. Therefore, the communal stigmatization far exceeded social exclusion and passive aggression. As a result, that particular community experienced increased "cases of re-trafficking, when survivors could not bear hate and hurts by their family members as well as community" (Chaulagai 2009: 84). With re-trafficking threatening survivors' *successful* reintegration, many communities and family members confine trafficked women in socially constructed gender categories and further stigmatize those who fall outside social norms. With sexually exploited women stereotypically viewed as passive, *dirty*, and lacking agency, many of them lack crucial communal support during their social re-assimilation into society. However, I argue these stereotypical representations of femininity, innocence and naiveté are further reproduced and maintained by ATC. I argue that through the use of disempowering ATC, trafficked individuals are not accurately portrayed which strengthens the *innocent victim paradigm* and displays negative messages to communities when survivors attempt to *successfully* reintegrate. However, ATC and their support for the *Innocent Victim Paradigm* are further explained in Chapter Five of this thesis.

## **Chapter Three: Defining a Successful Reintegration**

Human trafficking is an ever-encompassing phenomenon that affects nearly every nation; however, each culture encounters different experiences when reintegrating. By conducting eight interviews with representatives from intergovernmental institutions and NGOs, I attempt to reveal cultural differences within trafficking and identify what factors are present in a trafficked person's *successful* or *failed* reintegration. By interviewing differing institutions that assist survivors, I recognize various viewpoints of approaches to the reintegration of trafficked persons. Many individuals consider economic stability and self sufficiency to be of the upmost importance in determining a *successful* reintegration; however, according to BLinN representative Vanessa Scholtens, *success* cannot be so easily defined. Citing a case of a Nigerian and a Kenyan client, Scholtens notes that although both women received money and governmental assistance after their exploitation, they did not face the same experiences when reintegrating. The Kenyan's situation upon return was better in most other African countries, so she began a dairy farm. By returning to her community with a business plan and some money, the Kenyan reestablished herself within society through her economic success. In contrast, the Nigerian client faced greater hardships. Previously working in the Netherlands as a prostitute, this girl returned to her home country in hopes of securing social inclusion into her community. With a bit of money and assistance from various organizations, the Nigerian attempted to reintegrate, but due to pressures to provide for one another within her community, she was unable to. Her friends and neighbors assumed that her trip to Europe was a *success* and expected her to support them financially. After awhile, the community became far too needy and the Nigerian, who luckily had a Dutch passport and could return to the Netherlands if needed, chose to leave Africa (Scholtens). Every Nigerian in the community wanted some of her economic *success* and as a result the trafficked survivor could not properly reintegrate. Even though to some, the girl was considered *successful* in economic terms, she was still unable to integrate into her community. In order for trafficked survivors to experience a *successful* reintegration, I argue that the individuals need to personally feel that they are socially included. Furthermore, such factors as religion, economics, legal assistance, family support, and the survivor's emotional stability also influence an individual's proper or *improper* reintegration of an individual.

### **What is a Successful Reintegration?**

In this thesis, I define reintegration as the act or desire of a group or individual to become a psychologically, socially, and emotionally unified whole. Currently, there are many debates about the correct terminology for trafficked persons and their experiences after exploitation. Some refer to this transition period as rehabilitation, while others call it social inclusion. However, I refer to the personal or communal re-inclusion of a group or individual into society as a *successful* reintegration. Focusing on such aspects as politics, religion and community, many trafficked survivors yearn for equality and

recognition within their society but due to their economic, legal and social restrictions, many are unable to *successfully* reintegrate. This process is referred to as a *failed* reintegration. For Chapter Three, I provide six factors that contribute to a *successful* reintegration on the basis of eight interviews and approximately sixteen hours of participant observation. These factors include the individual's perception of his/her level of acceptance (which I term *personal social inclusion*), economic factors, legal factors, the emotional status of survivors, religion, and the family and community.

Properly identifying survivors as *successfully* or *unsuccessfully* reintegrated is not an easy task. In many trafficking cases, clear examples of *criminals* and *victims* are difficult to identify. According to La Strada Representative Marieke van Doorninck, individuals working close to survivors often notice that when a person is trafficked into a “new situation, they become traffickers... People want to get higher in the network and this is the way to do it in a criminal organization” (van Doorninck). When applying my definitions of reintegration to this situation, many Western thinkers might believe that these individuals represent clear examples of *failed* reintegration. However, I argue that some survivors, particularly those re-trafficked or who became the traffickers themselves, might potentially reintegrate *unsuccessfully* into mainstream society, but *successfully* reintegrate into the trafficking network. For example, common tactics used by traffickers are psychological abuse and dismantling group cohesiveness of other trafficked survivors through such methods of isolation and encouraging competition between the girls. According to BLinN representative Hanka Mongard, “a trafficker would have a group of women and one is the girlfriend of the trafficker [who] has a little bit more rights [than the other girls]. He sits at home when she controls the women. She writes down the number of clients so he could get his money. He does a lot in the beginning but later, she does everything because she has more rights and it's a survival strategy” (Mongard). Comparable to the *loverboy* phenomenon in the Netherlands, these female survivors do not fit under the *innocent victim paradigm*<sup>12</sup> and many are not properly identified by their governments as *victims* of trafficking. *Loverboys* establish long and personal relationships with these young girls that produce difficulties for the State and police in identifying survivors as *victims* of trafficking. Because of the voluntariness of the trafficking experience, many traffickers are given reduced convictions due to the lack of evidence. With various trafficked women later becoming the traffickers themselves, it is difficult for governments and police officers to determine and properly identify the abusers and the *true* victims.

During the interview with Mongard, she displayed sympathy for trafficked survivors who later become the traffickers themselves. An example of *gray area*<sup>13</sup> trafficking, Mongard compares this distressing phenomenon to the experiences of individuals in concentration camps during World War II. In concentration camps such as Auschwitz, there were many prisoners suffering terrible inhumanities. However, as part of a Nazi tactic, certain prisoners were responsible for controlling

<sup>12</sup> ‘Innocent Victim Paradigm’ was explained in detail in Chapter 1: Introduction.

<sup>13</sup> ‘Gray area’ was defined in Chapter 1: Introduction

other prisoners. These individuals “wanted more privileges so they became *kapo* to control the others. For the Polish culture, the term *kapo* is very well known because in order for these people to prove that they are very good is to be very cruel to the other people. They were much worse than the Nazis because they wanted to show that they were doing a good job because this was the way for their survival” (Mongard). One can see the same situation in prostitution. Now, many Polish women are unable to find any job opportunities in Poland, so they have no choice but to work abusive and exploitive jobs. These women are controlled by a group of young Polish women who attain better positioning within the trafficking network by outwardly displaying their power with cruelty. In addition to the enormous exploitation and terrible conditions, these survivors suffer greatly from the mistreatment of these women. However, even when organizations and governments rescue these individuals from trafficking situations, it is very difficult to identify who was involved in the exploitation. On the other hand, proper reintegration requires many different characteristics in order to be considered *successful*. With a combination of communal acceptance, less legal restrictions and economic assistance, survivors have more opportunities to *successfully* integrate into society.

### **The Recipients:**

Over the course of seven months, I conducted eight interviews with various organizations that assist survivors during their reintegration process. All the recipients are female and share similar ideas of survivors amalgamating, which allowed me to analyze factors necessary in a *successful* reintegration. According to BLinN representative Mongard, registration and laws involving illegal migration and human trafficking are becoming far too strict and detrimental for the social inclusion of many trafficked persons. For example, if an individual is a sex worker in the Netherlands, she/he is required to be registered; however, by forcing registration, power is shifted away from the sex worker to the client. As a result, “the women are pushed down because the client can say... ‘You are not registered but if you give me some business without [me paying] then I will forget about this.’ And this is in a country where there is legalization of prostitution. [Sex workers] want to make their position better and they want to turn [prostitution] into a normal occupation; a normal profession” (Mongard). Legal restrictions control and propel trafficked survivors further into their exploitative lifestyle. Due to the legal procedure involving trafficked persons, numerous individuals are forced to choose between denouncing their traffickers in order to receive a residency permit or immediately returning to their countries of origin. For many survivors in the Netherlands, I argue that they refuse governmental assistance because of the social stigma attached to sex work, their unwillingness to denounce their exploiters, and their reluctance to forever be labeled as *victims* of trafficking.

Originally born in Poland and currently the cultural mediator at BLinN for Eastern Europeans, Mongard has worked with La Strada Poland for over 20 years where she was personally involved in its creation. Also, Mongard worked at the Stichting Tegen Vrouwenhandel and, for 17 years, at the Transnational AIDS/STD Prevention among Migrant Prostitutes in Europe Project

(TAMPEP). At TAMPEP, her work with survivors focused on empowerment, the rights for the sex workers and AIDS prevention; however, since joining BLinN two and a half years ago, she is now less involved with the rights of the sex workers and instead interacts most with trafficked persons. Mongard notes many differences between her past occupations and her current position at BLinN. For example, at BLinN, clients are referred to as *victims* of trafficking as TAMPEP identifies these individuals as women or men affected by trafficking. The controversy over the correct identification of trafficked persons is a huge debate within nonprofit and governmental organizations and I argue that improper and inconsistent labeling of a trafficked survivor can negatively affect an individual's social inclusion.

Further arguing the importance of legality in a survivor's *successful* reintegration, I conducted an additional interview at La Strada International where the personnel are responsible for strategic planning, lobbying, and policy work for survivors of trafficking. A member of the global alliance, La Strada is an organization that provides assistance for trafficked persons originating from Belarus, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Macedonia, Moldova, Poland, Ukraine, and the Netherlands. With offices in all nine of these locations, La Strada supports survivors of trafficking with legislation; however, "every organization, every partner has their own way of working. [The La Strada offices] have a few principles, values and working methods that they share. Although they understand [that] there are differences on how to approach trafficking, they expect that they won't have members who have a difference of opinion on certain values and principles such as migration and prostitution" (van Doorninck). Each La Strada location contains particularly unique methods of assisting survivors but they all provide direct assistance, lobbying and campaigns.

In an interview with Marieke van Doorninck, she argues that a proper reintegration is an extremely personal process and is not fully achieved until that individual has regained full control over his/her life again. However, to regain control, other factors such as legislation, need to be considered. Legal support is very important for a *successful* reintegration. It makes sure that "you are supported well if you go into the process against a trafficker for compensation of damages. Compensation can be of extreme importance because you will get money compensated from the traffickers themselves; then there is this kind of feeling of justice; a restoration of justice. Also, it can give you some starting money to start in a new economical way" (van Doorninck). This legal restoration of justice allows trafficked individuals to directly punish their abusers in a court of law as well as receive governmental financial support during their integration into society. By accumulating money, having a business plan, and receiving guidance from the host country, a trafficked person will have more opportunities and chances at a successful reintegration.

In an interview with Vanessa Scholtens, a representative of BLinN since it began eight years ago, she could not provide an accurate description of a trafficked survivor's *successful* reintegration. Since she studied psychology and education, Scholtens' background is in working with asylum seekers, refugees and minors, but with the assistance of BLinN, a nonprofit organization who finds

survivors through local organizations, she currently offers training in communication skills and assertiveness for previously trafficked persons. Supporting van Doorninck, Scholtens claims that the economic standing of a trafficked individual is a very important factor in reintegration. I similarly argue that for some trafficked persons assisted economic factors are important; however, the amount of money an individual accumulates does not always determine a *successful* reintegration. For example, Scholtens previously worked at Jonge Angolezen in Nederland (JAN), an organization comprised of successful young Angolans who came from good families and were educated in Angola. Many of these individuals returned to their home country, but were granted a return to the Netherlands if their livelihoods in Angola turned out to be too complicated. Some experienced difficulties in reintegration because nearly everyone in their communities expected them to stay abroad if they found wealth and not return to an impoverished nation (Scholtens). Misunderstood by their communities, those who reintegrated in Angola were stigmatized and construed as failures, even though many had money and a higher socioeconomic status than the rest of the community. As a result, the young Angolans did not fall under the stereotypical image of a subjugated and defeated trafficked *victim*, but instead verified that *successful* reintegration does not solely rely on survivors' legal or economic standings, but on how they utilize their wealth and experience communal rejection.

Defining and identifying an individual's *successful* reintegration is immensely complicated. Interviewing Toos Beentjes from Casa Migrante, an organization that provides social workers, psychologists and housing for Latin American migrants, it is clear that *successful* reintegration is not purely defined from an economical point of view. Studying theology in the Netherlands, Beentjes lived in Latin America for nearly nine years, mostly in Chili where she mastered the Spanish language. After interacting with Latin American women, Beentjes began working at Casa Migrante where she currently assists in the reintegration of migrants by supplying social services and educating persons about the Dutch and the European Union's (EU) immigration laws. According to Beentjes, "often [the] way of reintegration might not be the objective of the official organization... A successful reintegration has to deal with the person feeling at home and [having] a network of contacts" (Beentjes). Generally, reintegration is comprised of more than the economic standings of individuals. Organizations working close to migrants and survivors need to constantly readjust their methods and recognize all factors accountable in a person's *successful* reintegration. Beentjes argues that many Latin American survivors feel connected and part of Dutch society, but they always experience nostalgia when someone is talking about their country of origin. Those individuals have "something in themselves that says 'I'm Spanish,' but from the way of living, the way of doing, behaving, they are more Dutch than they ever realized" (Beentjes). Some are able to integrate back into their previous communities whereas others find residence in their host countries. Regrettably, for many survivors

who constantly struggle with feelings of detachment from society, which I term *personal social inclusion*<sup>14</sup>, there is little chance for *successful* reintegration.

In an interview with Ebru Berberoglu from Pretty Woman, a nonprofit organization that focuses directly on Dutch trafficked survivors, she argues that a proper reintegration is an individualistic and personal process but there are various factors influencing an individual's inclusion in society. Similar to Beentje, Berberoglu claims that a *successful* reintegration is when previously trafficked persons have “perspective on the future; that they can get an education, their diploma; that they can get a job and that they are not useless.... And that in combination with their psychological well-being” (Berberoglu). By focusing on the emotional stability of the survivor and the individualistic factors, reintegration of a trafficked person is attainable; however, for this to be achieved, the host country needs to provide more guidance, mentorship and financial support.

With a background in cultural and social education, Berberoglu had an array of experience working with the youth. For four years, she assisted the younger generation by providing counseling, mainly for girls trafficked in *loverboy* situations. Berberoglu, with six other workers at Pretty Woman, helps Dutch trafficked survivors in the Utrecht province and claims that the organization is “not supposed to help other trafficking victims; only the Dutch. [Pretty Woman] gets about 150 girls here every year and about 25 of them are victims of trafficking” (Berberoglu). As a result, Berberoglu supports many difficult-to-identify survivors of trafficking by educating them on how to have a healthy relationship after their exploitation. By providing a cozy environment, Pretty Woman allows “the girl who comes here to feel at ease and comfortable. [She] feels like this is a safe place to tell her story” (Berberoglu). Advocating trafficking prevention through education, this organization focuses on the assistance of girls but also helps some boys by attending school functions and giving presentations about safe sex and respecting your sexual partner. This gender specification is crucial for many survivors because nearly every girl attending Pretty Woman did not voluntarily participate in prostitution and many were *victims*<sup>15</sup> of *loverboys* and male violence. To create a safe and non-traumatizing atmosphere for these girls, it is essential that their interactions with other males be controlled and supervised by representatives.

Similar to Berberoglu, Alexis Aronowitz, a professor at the University College Utrecht, emphasizes the importance of the emotional state of the survivor when reintegrating into society. An American living in the Netherlands since 1994, Aronowitz is responsible for most of my initial interests in human rights violations of trafficked persons. Aronowitz has an extensive background in criminology and criminal justice, but her expertise with trafficking began when she worked with UNICRI<sup>16</sup> in Italy. This line of work attracted her because “it was not just a crime and security issue but also a human rights issue [and she] feels very strongly about human rights” (Aronowitz). After her

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<sup>14</sup> ‘*personal social inclusion*’ will be further defined later in the chapter.

<sup>15</sup> I use the term ‘victim’ very hesitantly within my master’s thesis. I believe that the term ‘victim’ is degrading for the trafficked survivor and impedes an individual’s journey to a ‘successful’ reintegration.

<sup>16</sup> United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research.

brief employment at UNICRI, she worked as a consultant for UNODC<sup>17</sup>, UNIFEM<sup>18</sup>, IOM, and OSCE<sup>19</sup> and conducted various research and field work in West Africa (Nigeria, Togo and Benin), The Philippines, The Czech Republic, and Albania. In 2009, Aronowitz reached a quintessential point in her career, when she published her first book entitled *Human Trafficking, Human Misery: The Global Trade in Human Beings*.

Although her book provides first-hand accounts of trafficked persons' narratives, Aronowitz argues that she rarely speaks to trafficked persons directly because she would rather carry out her awareness raising in different ways. Aronowitz suggests that she "is just not cut out to work with victims... [She] doesn't want to become desensitized... You can write about someone getting beaten and burned but when you meet them and start talking about [their experiences], it's much more difficult" (Aronowitz). Various governments and nonprofit organizations claim the best method of assistance is to provide personnel who work closely with trafficked persons and who can speak with survivors on personal levels about their exploitative experiences. However, due to the horrific nature of trafficking and the personnel's constant exposure to human rights violations, the personal interaction between survivor and social worker can impair an employee's ability to assist trafficked persons. In some cases, the social worker cannot handle the emotional baggage attached to this line of work, which consequently and negatively affects a survivor's *successful* reintegration. Furthermore, Aronowitz notes that she "had the opportunity in the past to speak to victims, but [she did not] feel that it was necessary. [She was] a little concerned with re-traumatizing them" (Aronowitz). By speaking to representatives closely associated with trafficked persons instead of the survivors themselves, Aronowitz argues that the chances of re-traumatizing individuals are less likely because the information and data is collected through third parties. As a result, I further argue that the possible desensitization of persons closely associated with survivors and the potential re-traumatizing of the trafficked persons can negatively affect a trafficked survivor's assimilation into society. Focusing on the psychological states of survivors, Aronowitz argues that the emotional stability of a trafficked person is an important factor during a survivor's *successful* reintegration.

In addition to trafficked individuals' psychological statuses, religion is a necessary factor in assimilation. According to IOM representative Adrienne de Vries, in many communities, *success* is based upon individual wealth and their contributions to society. However, in most impoverished nations, reintegration for survivors into their home country is not occurring. Particularly in West Africa, "communities tend to migrate... With a lot of Nigerian victims [coerced] by the trafficker with voodoo practices, [survivors] fear to return home and they are completely brainwashed because they are afraid something might happen to them" (de Vries). Many Nigerian trafficked persons face not only the physical abuse of their exploiters but also an internal battle of faith. With devious subjugated

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<sup>17</sup> United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.

<sup>18</sup> United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.

<sup>19</sup> Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

tactics differing from culture to culture, these ritually specific limitations need to be acknowledged by nonprofits and other organizations who work closely with the survivors in order to find the proper reintegration program for a survivor.

Although de Vries considers reintegration a personal and emotional process, she admits that IOM does not interact with trafficked survivors on a personal level very often; however, she was able to share a number of specific limitations that survivors face during their assimilation into society. Under IOM's Return and Emigration of Aliens from the Netherlands project (REAN), de Vries is responsible for the voluntary return of migrants to their countries of origin, most commonly to Africa, the Middle East and Asia. Originally, the project assisted asylum seekers denied refuge, but due to the increasing number of identified trafficked persons identified, REAN now assists approximately 30 trafficked survivors a year. As a departure and repatriation service, REAN supports the voluntary return of irregular migrants into the Netherlands and provides clients with a ticket home and a maximum of 500 Euros. However, because IOM is an intergovernmental organization, REAN only supports voluntary returns of survivors already identified by the police as *victims* of trafficking who do not have the means to return to their home countries. Through REAN, IOM raises awareness of illegal migration and informs the public that illegal migration has its challenges. However, trafficked survivors still face numerous limitations and social problems when reintegrating (de Vries).

The survivor's emotional reintegration and *personal social inclusion* are sometimes influenced by family and communal stigmatization. In an interview with Ria van Neerbos from Coördinatiecentrum Mensenhandel (CoMensha), the respondent argues that reintegration consists of an individual seeing "the possibilities and opportunities to live their lives as they see fit. As they want to live it; to be able to feel that you can materialize your dreams and that you can freely make your choices; not being hindered by people who are keeping you but also not being hindered by rules and regulations that may perhaps not allow you to stay" (van Neerbos). Further emphasizing the *personal social inclusion* factor of reintegration, van Neerbos claims that re-assimilation into society is an individualistic process. I argue that for a *successful* reintegration to transpire, the survivor cannot be hindered by legislation, their families, or their communities.

However, similar to de Vries, van Neerbos does not often interact personally with many trafficked individuals. An intermediate organization in Amersfoort, CoMensha is more technical in their assistance and keeps track of data involving trafficked persons within the Netherlands. CoMensha "lacks direct contact with victims of trafficking, but they try to make sure that the right situation is being created and the right conditions are met" (van Neerbos). For those who are in need of immediate and personal assistance, van Neerbos claims that if contacted, it is her responsibility as a representative of CoMensha to supply survivors simply with information that is beneficial to their situation (van Neerbos). Closely working together with BLinN and La Strada, CoMensha is a registration office that can organize shelters and find social assistance when necessary. Once an individual is identified as a trafficked *victim*, they are reported and recorded at CoMensha where they

“see their names, their nationalities, their ages [and other] information about their specific situation” (van Neerbos). In close contact with the Ministry of Justice and other official circles, CoMensha does not directly involve itself with trafficked survivors’ emotional, physical and psychological integration, but instead focuses on data collection which can give them leverage in politics.

Despite the fact that CoMensha focuses mostly on data collection, van Neerbos provided some information about the general reintegration of a survivor. Unfortunately for some trafficked persons, social inclusion is difficult to achieve due to the stigmas and rejection from their communities. Van Neerbos claims that for some, particularly African women, the “group, the family or the town is very important [and this is] another perception of how your social surroundings also indicate what is a good life for you. There are limitations for everyone, but at the least [have] the strength and the courage to be able to live with that” (van Neerbos). Emphasizing the importance of family and the town, van Neerbos argues that certain survivors determine a *successful* reintegration as communal acceptance. However, many African trafficked women who participated in sex work are not perceived as equal partners when assimilating into their communities. As a result, I argue that survivors are further stigmatized and are not given the emotional support needed in reintegration.

In addition to conducting eight interviews, I took part in participant observation through BLinN’s buddy project. As a one year commitment, volunteers interact, socialize and make friends with previous survivors of trafficking. With the aim of directing survivors towards a *successful* reintegration, the buddy project empowers trafficked persons to focus on their future endeavors within society. I met Danielle<sup>20</sup> when she was sixteen years old, approximately nine months after she was trafficked to the Netherlands. The time in between her arrival in Europe and her escape from trafficking was short lived and luckily she experienced little exploitation or sexual violence. Originally from Cameroon, her native language is French but since her arrival in Amsterdam, she currently goes to school for Dutch, English and math. Like most trafficked survivors, Danielle experienced some problems in her quest to *successfully* reintegrate into society. Although she has a social and friendly personality, she was hesitant to talk about her past in Africa when I inquired about her family. In Cameroon, Danielle has a mother, a father, and two older half brothers, but when I asked her if she missed her family, she stated “no... the only thing I miss about Cameroon is the weather [because] Amsterdam is too cold. Cameroon is always hot and nice” (Danielle). Sensing that she was uncomfortable with the topic of family, I took her reaction as a sign of deflection and changed the topic to make the atmosphere more copacetic. The topic of family was still a sore subject and Danielle, taking the closed-off, antisocial approach to reintegration, was unwilling to share her previous exploitation. Through the buddy program, Danielle is slowly rebuilding her life without the guilt or stigmatization of her experience. With BLinN supplying a budget of 25 Euros a month, my buddy and I meet once every other week for a fun activity. Through this project, I examine and

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<sup>20</sup>The name of my BLinN Buddy was changed for privacy reasons. I will refer to her as Danielle.

analyze how a trafficked survivor operates in society and conclude that BLinN's buddy project is *successful* in reintegrating trafficked persons into the Netherlands.

**The Necessary Factors in a Survivor's *Successful* Reintegration:**

The assimilation of trafficked persons is vastly individualistic process and for survivors to achieve a *successful* reintegration, the following factors need to be considered: *personal social inclusion*, legal factors, economic factors, emotional status of the trafficked survivor, religion, and the family and community. Although the six factors comply with the general assimilation process of trafficked persons, depending on the survivor and the region, not every factor has equal importance in a *successful* reintegration. For example, based upon data collected from eight interviews, religion is an extremely important factor in Eastern European and West/Central African assimilation while Western European and Asian trafficked persons stress the importance of *personal social inclusion* and their emotional factors in reintegration. However, despite the unique and distinctive characteristics of survivors and the home nations, when reintegrating, each survivor is confronted with numerous but culturally specific factors. Using the six factors provided, I argue that for survivors to *successfully* reintegrate, they will experience all six factors but at differing magnitudes.

***Personal Social Inclusion:***

In order to experience a *successful* reintegration, trafficked survivors must personally recognize themselves as accepted by their friends, families, and communities, an act which I term *personal social inclusion*. So far, this chapter has focused on the plight of Dutch, African and Eastern European individuals trafficked to the West; however, there are a large number of Asian, particularly Chinese, trafficked persons residing in the Netherlands. According to the National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings (BNRM), approximately 115 nationalities were reported to CoMensha in the last ten years with the top five nationalities being, in descending order, Dutch, Nigerian, Bulgarian, Romanian, and Chinese (BNRM 2010: 94). As the fifth most popular nationality trafficked to the Netherlands, Chinese survivors tend to focus on factors of reintegration centering on *personal social inclusion*. Indicated by CoMensha representative van Neerbos, in general, Chinese survivors find it difficult to talk "about what has happened, even though quite a number of them also have children from their forced sexual activities. They tend to put a lid on and forget all about it. So then if you want to assist a person emotionally, mentally, socially it is quite difficult" (van Neerbos). Taking anti-social approaches towards re-assimilation, many Chinese survivors are unwilling to share their trafficking experiences due to the shame attached to exploitation, especially those involved in prostitution. For these individuals, *successful* reintegration within their home societies is impossible if the community knows that they worked as a prostitute. Due to traditional beliefs about femininity and sexuality in many communities, I argue that survivors previously in prostitution lack proper social support which hinders their *personal social inclusion* and interferes in their *successful* reintegration.

Survivors, abused in agriculture and domestic servitude, also face stigmatization and other difficulties when reintegrating. Due to traditional Chinese views of familial responsibility and respect, some trafficked individuals assume that when assimilating, their communities will not understand why they were in that situation in the first place. With little public support of sex worker's rights due to the country's underdeveloped economic and legal systems, China's lack of progression is reflected through the communal rejection of survivors. As a result, many Chinese survivors choose an unsociable method of reintegration and are unwilling to return to their countries of origin because of the lack of opportunities for lower socioeconomic individuals. According to van Neerbos, "Chinese victims of trafficking do not want to go back to their countries of origins because nothing has changed and sometimes they cannot [return to their communities] because they do not have the papers or their country does not recognize them" (van Neerbos). For some, it is impossible to return to their home countries, but when given the choice, Chinese survivors rarely decide to return home because of the inevitable poverty and destitution that awaits them. As a result, *successful* reintegration is difficult to achieve in home nations and Chinese survivors who decide to return to their previous communities, as well as individuals staying in the host countries, usually choose an anti-social method of reintegration. Furthermore, due to their closed-off approach to reintegration, I argue that many survivors find it much harder to *successfully* reintegrate due to their refusal to accept their status as an official *victim*.

Very often, Chinese survivors are not identified as trafficked *victims* usually because most survivors do not see themselves as, nor claim to be, *victims* of trafficking. According to the BNRM, only ten percent of all trafficked individuals are identified by CoMensha (BNRM 2010: 157). Due to the State's underreporting of trafficked persons and the individual's lack of self-identification as a *victim*, nations are unable to collect accurate data involving trafficked survivors' reintegration after their exploitation. While many survivors blame themselves for their exploitive experiences and refuse to refer to themselves as *victims*, many individuals working in close relation to survivors provide trafficked persons assistance in *personal social inclusion*. They aid trafficked persons by focusing on individuals' unfamiliarity with the local language, their controversial legal standing, their lack of profession and their immediate need of educational programs and psychological help during their process of a *successful* reintegration.

### ***Legal Factors:***

The majority of respondents conclude that a *successful* reintegration is a personal process, but it is clear that legal regulations and the police are imperative to a survivor's assimilation. With the recent opening of EU borders, strict immigration laws and aggressively rising trafficking networks, many low socioeconomic individuals are willingly participating in risky migration to better their standards of living (Andrijasevic 2004: 13). La Strada representative van Doorninck argues that certain migration policies, such as Eastern Europe's, are too strict and "if you have less restrictive migration policies, people will be less vulnerable to trafficking" (van Doorninck). By adding several restrictions

in migration, individuals are turning to dangerous and illegal methods of travel which forces these subjugated individuals into a more desperate state. Agreeing with van Doorninck, I argue that these legal restrictions push certain individuals into the hands of traffickers and create numerous limitations that survivors face when reintegrating into their communities of origin or host countries.

By Dutch law, when trafficked persons are identified, the police are obliged to register them with CoMensha as Dutch *victims* of trafficking. With special police forces that primarily focus on trafficked survivors, organizations like Expertisecentrum Mensenhandel en Mensensmokkel (EMM) “are experts in human trafficking and smuggling and give training to police officials. [The Netherlands] has special zeden politie [which are] supposed to do the intake once a presumed victim of trafficking wants to press charges or just wants to identify him or herself to the police” (de Vries). Although these organizations have special police forces that focus on assisting trafficked individuals, many respondents exhibited uneasiness when speaking about the process of survivors denouncing their exploiters. Once identified by the Dutch police, trafficked individuals are identified as *victims* under the B-9 procedure and are given three months to decide if they would like to press charges against the trafficker. If they decide not to, they are refused a residence permit and must return home. Currently, methods of eradicating trafficking in the Netherlands focus around arresting and convicting the persons at fault in order to save the *victims* (Chapkis 2003: 932). In essence, I argue that the police in the Netherlands are more concerned about denouncing traffickers and restoring justice than aiding survivors. Although many NGOs and social workers believe that the denial of a residency permit is a huge step down for the trafficked person, IOM representative de Vries claims that in the REAN program, trafficked survivors who voluntarily return to their home countries are relatively less vulnerable than survivors who are allowed or decide to stay in the Netherlands (de Vries).

In most host countries, there are numerous trafficked persons arriving as illegal migrants. With a large percentage of survivors and illegal migrants denied residency or asylum, many try to survive as illegal citizens, but encounter social difficulties before and after their trafficking experience. Although many are regarded as illegal migrants, survivors are given the option to denounce their traffickers and legally remain in the Netherlands until the completion of the trial. To some officials, the opportunity to denounce traffickers is beneficial for trafficked individuals, but I argue that this process has negative consequences as well. In denouncing exploiters, police need to know specific information involving the trafficking case: identification of the abusers, the trafficking location, the intentions when migrating, etc. However, many survivors cannot assist the police because they do not even know what country they were in during their exploitation, which develops increasing insecurities for survivors. Furthermore, I argue that indicting traffickers potentially limits reintegration since exploiters commonly attempt to induce fear within informers by threatening survivors and/or their families. For many, their families, “in their country of origin or in their home place, [are] being threatened and children are being brutalized or harassed by the traffickers. They find ways to punish your situation if not you, then your social surroundings, family, children, and dog

sometimes” (de Vries). Traffickers obtain leverage over the survivors and thus it is usually quite difficult for trafficked individuals to leave the trafficking lifestyle. Fearing for their loved ones and their own personal safety, many survivors are too scared to press charges against their exploiters. However, fear is not the only motive for refusing prosecution. When trafficked persons denounce their traffickers, usually those individuals are at risk of permanently being labeled as a trafficked *victim*. Although identified by law as *victims* of trafficking, many survivors do not consider themselves as being exploited and do not “want to be a victim of trafficking from now until eternity. There is a life after being a victim as well” (van Neerbos). Due to the Dutch regulations involving the identification of *victims*, many survivors choose to reject governmental assistance because they do not want to fall under the *innocent victim paradigm*. However, denouncing traffickers is not always required for survivors to gain assistance. In Italy and Austria, if individuals claim that they are *victims* of trafficking, they are given a residency permit to stay; however, in the Netherlands and many other countries, permits are handed out cautiously because many fear that if all who claim victimhood are given residency then there will be an inevitable pull effect for migrants (van Doorninck).

In countries where prostitution is not as socially accepted, reintegration for trafficked voluntarily sex workers is far more challenging. For example, in Nigeria, prostitution is prohibited, but there are many voluntarily sex workers still active within the country (Aronowitz). If prostitution is illegal and thus individuals are illegally prostituting themselves in a country, these persons cannot report the crime to police when they are abused or robbed. By reporting the offense, survivors admit that they are involved in prostitution and due to their illegal statuses many trafficked persons are hesitant to interact with police officials. Due to prostitution illegality in nations, many trafficked survivors do not want to return home. According to Aronowitz, if a nation legalizes prostitution, then women “can work in it and report their victimization... [Allowing women to work in the sex industry but making] the purchase of sex illegal, you protect the women and you punish the men. You punish the buyers” (Aronowitz). By illegalizing prostitution, trafficking is driven underground, creating more difficulties in controlling this phenomenon. Similar to Aronowitz, I argue that although it appears prostitution is decreasing in many host countries, it does not mean that there is actually less prostitution, just that there is less visible sex work.

### ***Economic Factors:***

In reintegration, many factors influence the assimilation of trafficked persons into society, but for many individuals a *successful* reintegration depends on the communities and returning survivors’ financial status. From 2004 to 2007, a number of lower socioeconomic countries entered the European Union (EU) which presented many Eastern European nationals with access to higher paid jobs abroad (Andrijasevic 2004: 217). Due to limited visa restrictions, de Vries and van Doorninck argue that it is less problematic for Eastern European citizens to work abroad now that they have access within the EU. De Vries claims that increased job opportunities in Western Europe influence many individuals to

accept illegal and dangerous migration as a risk willing to take in increasing their socioeconomic standing (de Vries). Due to the lack of research involving survivor reintegration, it is unclear if the entrance of certain countries into the EU has caused a high influx of Eastern European citizens trafficked to Western Europe. However, van Doorninck claims La Strada witnesses an “increase of vulnerable people coming who can be exploited. Bulgarian and Romanian women in the sex industry have been here for a longer time than 2007 or 2008”, when they entered the EU (van Doorninck). Arguing that there have always been high numbers of Eastern Europeans trafficked to the Netherlands, van Doorninck claims expanding the EU does not necessarily mean that there is an influx of trafficked persons, especially when countries like Serbia and Albania are not yet members but have always had strong trafficking networks. Therefore, I argue that due to the economic limitations, the lack of development in countries of origin, the limited research conducted and the opening of EU borders, most Eastern European survivors find it easier to migrate abroad. This limitation increases the chances of trafficking to occur, stresses importance on financial wealth, and decreases the likelihood of a *successful* reintegration for survivors.

According to Aronowitz, many Eastern European survivors are returning to their home countries after their exploitation, but lack the proper assistance, such as shelter services and proper reintegration projects. Due to the notorious lack of job opportunities in countries of origin and the popularity of the Netherlands as a destination country for trafficking, organizations such as BLinN have recognized an economic factor that is necessary in a *successful* reintegration. According to Mongard, currently there are over 200,000 Polish citizens working in the Netherlands and although the Poles survived communism and the revolution, these workers often take a passive and victimized role within their exploitation. They do not dare “to ask for their rights, [because] they think they will be fired from their jobs. They are not very assertive and they are being used by all these kinds of employees who take advantage of the knowledge; some people never dare to protest” (Mongard). A common method of exploiting Eastern European trafficked persons is through intimidation. Due to their limited skills, lack of self-confidence and their submissive stance in trafficking, many Poles accept their subjugation, and therefore, they are easily dispensable and replaceable to traffickers. As a result, I argue that survivors continue these passive actions during their *successful* reintegration.

Mongard argues that most Eastern European survivors do not wish to return to their previous communities due to their undeveloped society. Although many western thinkers commonly rationalize that the fortune gained from migration is not worth the risk, many lower socioeconomic trafficked persons determine that wealth found abroad is more accessible than what they can earn back home (Mongard). Depending on the region and socioeconomic status of the nation of origin, survivors face differing economic limitations when reintegrating. For example, contrasting Eastern European to African survivors, many Eastern European countries are already part of the EU and they do not spend nearly as much on expenses when traveling in and out of Western Europe. African survivors tend to have more economical limitations when entering or leaving the EU. African countries, such as

Nigeria, are generally more economically subjugated than Eastern European nations. In numerous African countries, the standard of living has yet to improve, so few survivors wish to return to their country of origin. Their conditions in the Netherlands are far better than in their home nation because they are given better opportunities abroad and many trafficked individuals will do anything to leave their impoverished state. According to BLinN representative Scholtens, for many trafficked survivors, “being illegal in Holland is easier than being legal in an African country... no doctor can refuse you... no hospital can refuse you. There is always a shelter where there is a bed for the night” (Scholtens). Although life as a trafficked survivor is tremendously stressful when reintegrating into the host country, in the country of origin, some survivors do not even have the means to obtain basic necessities, such as food and shelter. This limitation influences many survivors to risk or willingly involve themselves in trafficking situations in order to improve their livelihoods. For some, when leaving their exploitative state, they are lucky enough to return with trinkets of wealth and are acknowledged by their communities as *successful*. Aronowitz argues that when freeing survivors, some trafficked persons are rescued by the “police and deported before they can not even go back to their apartments and pick up their clothes and their belongings. If they can go back with just a few belongings, they would feel like their time was not completely wasted” (Aronowitz). To many, *success* is identified by the economic factors of reintegration. By returning to their societies with small tokens of *success*, these individuals are passively accepted into their communities and are regarded as heroes as opposed to trafficked *victims*. As a result, I argue that exploited survivors are not recognized as *victims* of trafficking but are *victims* of poverty, low economic standings, and communal *double standards*, which are further analyzed in Chapter Four.

### ***Emotional Status:***

The limitation of the emotional factors of reintegration focuses particularly on survivors trafficked into the sex industry. Although there are numerous exploited individuals in other sectors of trafficking who experience psychological difficulties in assimilation, the survivors’ likelihoods of a *successful* reintegration are easier to analyze when they have been sexually and emotionally abused (Zimmerman 2006: 16). Due to the lack of research involving survivor re-assimilation into sectors other than sex work and the eight interviews conducted, this thesis is forced to analyze the emotional statuses of survivors predominantly trafficked into forced prostitution. For example, in the Netherlands, young *loverboy* survivors face an array of psychological problems during their reintegration. According to Berberoglu, many survivors suffer from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) due to their past exploitive experiences, but many are experiencing continuing emotional traumas caused by these older men, *loverboys*, who establish long-lasting relationships with the young girls. For some, the relationship between abuser and survivor begins early on and there are no signs of exploitation, until the survivors turn 18 and are legal to register as prostitute. Due to the *loverboy*’s secretive manipulation, I argue that the survivor’s emotional dependence on her abuser and her controversial

standing as an involuntary *victim* of trafficking, many survivors are unable to identify themselves as trafficked and they experience various legal and emotional limitations in their *successful* reintegration.

According to Berberoglu, every girl attending Pretty Woman has escaped her exploitative state but many still have contact with their abuser, *loverboy* or pimp. Although most have denounced their traffickers in court, some have not, in fear of repercussions and due to their emotional connection to their exploiters. In the Netherlands, many trafficking cases are not reported to the police due to assertive Dutch laws. In order to prosecute an individual for trafficking, the survivor is required to bring an array of evidence to indict their abuser even though it is unlikely that exploiters will receive a long jail sentence on the basis of human trafficking. Berberoglu notes that there are “victims who had a whole process of half a year and then the loverboy goes free because someone didn’t fill in a form or something... or they go away to jail for one year and the victims feel that their whole life is destroyed” (Berberoglu). The emotional status of survivors is a pertinent factor in a *successful* reintegration, but many governments and organizations only focus on the legal aspects of re-assimilation. With that, I argue that Dutch law favors punishing the criminals over protecting *victims*, which results in many survivors’ social exclusion. In extreme trafficking cases, Berberoglu notes that some “pimps make their victims pregnant, so they have an extra connection or extra manipulation. They emotionally connected or bonded to their pimps” (Berberoglu). Due to extreme psychological and physical abuses, many *loverboy* survivors cannot properly reintegrate because of their emotional connection to their pimps as well as the shame and lack of understanding within their communities. In identifying factors in a *successful* reintegration, the emotional statuses of survivors are of the utmost importance; however, religious beliefs might interfere with their process of assimilation

### **Religion:**

Religion plays important roles in individuals’ *successful* reintegration. According to van Neerbos, some survivors believe that their trafficked situation was a terrible experience, but “now perhaps in Allah or god’s wishes something good will come out of it” (van Neerbos). Turning to religion, survivors expect quick and efficient reintegration into society; however, I argue that, due to traditional religious factors and common beliefs that prostitution is morally offensive, many trafficked persons are unable to *successfully* reintegrate into their previous communities. According to BLinN representative Mongard, many Polish girls are finding difficulties in reintegrating, not only because of the country’s communistic past also because of the Roman Catholic Church’s significant role in present Polish society. Many Eastern European trafficked victims previously worked as prostitutes in their home communities and voluntarily participated in sex work abroad. However, due to the social stigmas attached to sex work and the fact that the girl is coming “from a society where she is considered a piece of shit, she then thinks that she has less rights because she is [morally] bad” (Mongard). The Church acts as a system of power and control, which influences social relations within society. As a result, the Church’s influence on morality and sexual purity strengthen communal

stigmatization of voluntary sex workers and influences individuals to personally accept their subjugated role in society (Alsop et al. 2002: 67). Many of these women look for sex work outside their countries of origin where they potentially face more exploitation and can become further socially excluded from their communities. When analyzing an individual's *successful* reintegration, persons working close to survivors need to focus on the trafficked individual's religiosity and on the role of religion in their communities.

In an interview with de Vries, she notes Scharlaken Koord, a nongovernmental organization in Amsterdam's Red Light District that takes religious approaches to socially include trafficked women. Convincing prostitutes to leave the sex industry, this organization argues that permanently leaving prostitution is the most effective method for survivors to reintegrate (de Vries). However, particularly in Islam and Christianity, individuals' participation in sex work is seen as a mortal sin and cannot be forgiven in the eyes of God. Due to various underdeveloped Eastern European social systems, reintegration for survivors into home nations is very difficult, as opposed to the reintegration into the Netherlands which is far easier. According to Mongard, in Eastern Europe, "it is normal for someone to be seen as less equal whereas, in Holland, it's much less. They won't be proud that you are a prostitute but this different behavior is much quicker accepted. Women who come [to the Netherlands] feel already much worse because they are whores" (Mongard). Due to traditional beliefs of sexuality and religious influences, many women cannot properly assimilate and I argue that these trafficked survivors originating from religious nations face communal rejection and personal feelings of worthlessness due to the social stigmas attached to exploitation and sexual degradation.

### ***Family and Community:***

For many survivors, familial and communal social supports are important factors in a *successful* reintegration. However, for numerous trafficked persons, they are unwilling to restart relations with their families because the relatives are responsible for the survivors' initial trafficking experiences. Both de Vries and Aronowitz claim that abduction and children labor are frequently seen in numerous countries and there are case studies of African "child victims whose parents have given them away to someone because [the trafficker] had promised the parents that he would provide the children with job training" (Aronowitz). Many survivors trafficked by close relatives who are usually from low socioeconomic statuses, are unaware of the future exploitation and rationalize that the opportunity to work abroad is more favorable than remaining in an impoverished state. Due to the traffickers' exploitive tactics and the naiveté of parents, many children experience detrimental abuse and cannot *successfully* reintegrate into their home countries. I argue that the abandonment as a child and the emotional traumas created by the trafficking impede many from coping with their psychological traumas, thus creating more trust issues between survivors and their families.

However, for most survivors, the familial factor of their *successful* reintegration is hindered by communal social stigmas involving the individual's experience in the sex industry. According to

van Doorninck, many trafficked persons are uncertain if they can return to their previous lives because “if you have worked in the sex industry, your family would never [accept it and you would] not be able to recognize that you can have normal relations with your family anymore” (van Doorninck). Due to frequent subjugation of survivors participating in prostitution, many trafficked individuals assume rejection is inevitable if they return to their communities and they internalize the presumed stigmatization. Familial and communal social supports are crucial in a trafficked person’s reintegration, especially if that society remains underdeveloped and advocates for traditional views of sexuality (Agustin 2002: 112-113). For example, according to Scholtens, a Nigerian woman without male relatives has minimal chances at a *successful* reintegration in her home country because she must “have family relationships with a male or [she] can’t do anything. [She is] nothing” (van Neerbos). As a result, individuals are stigmatized and rejected by their communities, which increases the likelihood of re-trafficking and decreases survivors’ chances at a *successful* reintegration. I argue that family and social support are crucial for certain individuals, but to be *successful*, reintegration programs need to also focus on legal, medical, psychological, and economic assistance.

### **Conclusion:**

In Chapter Three, we have seen six factors pertinent into a trafficked individual’s *successful* reintegration. In order to properly identify reintegration, researchers need an appropriate and valid definition. For this thesis, I define *successful* reintegration as the act of a group or person becoming a psychologically, socially, and emotionally unified whole. Although many governments and nonprofit organizations stress the importance of economic stability and legality, in re-assimilation, religion, *personal social inclusion*, family support, and the survivor’s emotional stability also influence an individual’s proper or improper reintegration. However, I argue that in some cases of trafficking, *success* is difficult to measure. By analyzing *kapos* in concentration camps, you can observe how this phenomenon is similarly represented in modern-day human trafficking. Particularly focusing on individuals re-trafficked or who became the traffickers themselves, I argue that these survivors are considered *unsuccessfully* reintegrated in mainstream society, but *successfully* reintegrated within the trafficking network. *Success* is difficult to measure, depending upon whose position you are in.

In western thinking, re-trafficking and intermingling within the trafficking network are considered forms of *failed* reintegration; however, if *success* is determined by economic stability, then many survivors intertwined in the exploitative world have *succeeded* economically by moving up the social hierarchy and receiving more responsibilities. Survivors’ alternatives after their trafficking experiences are limited and many individuals who originate from impoverished countries will do anything to avoid continued poverty. For example, according to Scholtens, “shelters in Nigeria or Cameroon are just not enough... and organizations in the origin countries provide assistance in a non-European way” (Scholtens). Due to the lack of opportunities in the origin nation, many survivors face numerous limitations when reintegrating into their previous or host communities. I argue that

trafficked persons returning to their poor nations are considered in western ideology to have secured a *failed* reintegration. Those who remain in the host country are forced to follow reintegration processes as indicated by the nation, which is another example of a *failed* reintegration.

In addition, the chapter discusses the lack of a *true* identification of current trafficked persons. This is a huge debate in nonprofit and governmental organizations, and thus I argue that improper and incompatible labeling of trafficked survivors potentially affects an individual's *successful* reintegration. Many, such as the Chinese, it is difficult to reintegrate because of their refusal to identify themselves as *victims* of trafficking. Due to the traditional beliefs of gender, sexuality and femininity in certain, but many, communities, I argue that survivors previously trafficked into sex work lack proper social support, which hinders *personal social inclusion* and interferes with their *successful* reintegration. Furthermore, these survivors should not be defined as trafficked *victims* but instead as *victims* of poverty and low economic standings. However, as previously discussed, economics and profit are not the only factors pertinent in social inclusion. Using traditional religious factors and the common belief that sex work is a mortal offense, I claim that survivors cannot properly reintegrate into society due to the communal social stigmas that arises This stigmatization creates difficulties for trafficked individuals coping with their psychological problems and potentially develops trust issues between survivors and their families and communities. Familial and social supports are crucial in an individual's reintegration, but for it to be *successful*, communal acceptance is of the utmost importance. In Chapter Four, I demonstrate the importance of sexual liberation and acceptance of survivors in communities and how these aspects are essential in a *successful* reintegration. In the next chapter, I analyze a *successful* reintegration by examining themes of exploitation, stigma, gender and double standard within various cultures and communities.

## **Chapter Four: The Importance of Community in a Survivor's Successful Reintegration**

The *successful* reintegration of trafficked survivors is influenced by economics, politics, family, religion, and personal feelings of social inclusion; however, many individuals working close to survivors neglect to take into account how a community influences the *success* of trafficked persons' social inclusion. For some communities, there is a question of morality concerning prostitution. With normative society frowning upon girls involved in sex work, Alexis Aronowitz argues that stigmatization is potentially the reason for why so many trafficked persons refuse governmental assistance upon returning home (Aronowitz). Numerous survivors returning to their previous communities reject important reparation services that provide monetary support. Crucial to a survivor's *successful* reintegration, these services include basic assistance during an individual's reintegration process, but by accepting them, survivors consent to their statuses as *victims* of trafficking. Experiencing feelings of shame and disappointment, many trafficked individuals refuse to accept their victimized role by turning down governmental help. In the hope of salvaging what is left of their reputations, these trafficked persons tend to risk continued poverty to avoid further stigmatization within society, even if their involvement in prostitution was involuntary. However, many survivors return to their communities without any tokens of success. By not accepting support, they reject their last chances of economic gain before returning empty-handed to society. As a result, their previous communities view these individuals as failures due to their inability to further enrich the community. On the other hand, survivors who remain in the host countries and accept governmental assistance also face various communal limitations when integrating. Previously mentioned in Chapter Three, I conducted participant observations through BLinN's buddy project. Through the buddy project, I observed some difficulties Danielle faced when integrating into Dutch society. By supplying money, education, and sociality, this reintegration program allows trafficked individuals the opportunity to socialize with volunteers by going to cafes, museums or participating in other desirable activities. This program, although basic, assists survivors in *successfully* reintegrating into the Netherlands.

Like many African survivors in the Netherlands, my trafficked buddy Danielle received legal aid and a permit to remain in the country; however, she experienced many limitations that affected her progression towards a *successful* reintegration. When first meeting Danielle, she struck me as a very quiet, solitary, but friendly young girl who was extremely hesitant to share any personal information about herself, especially involving previous encounters with exploitation. After about three or four meetings, Danielle and I established a basic level of trust and she revealed a specific communal limitation which affected her present social inclusion. A week before, she had a confrontation with another trafficked girl from Surinam. Previously, both girls fought with one another, but it was not

until the Surinamese girl referred to Danielle in an insulting manner that their arguments escalated and she was forced to leave the home for trafficked minors in the Netherlands. The girl identified Danielle as a *kankerafrican*<sup>21</sup> and ultimately Danielle lost control of her emotions and threw hot chicken soup at the girl. As a result, social workers at the organization called the police and four officers soon arrived and escorted Danielle off the premises. The social workers, close in contact with Danielle, were shocked by her actions because she was usually very quiet and kept to herself. Danielle explained that nothing like this had happened before and that she was very embarrassed of about what had transpired; however, she stated that the social workers' methods were too severe, inappropriate, and embarrassing.

Danielle admitted that her actions were misguided but maintained her disapproval of the organization, since they contacted the police. In this example of a survivor integrating into society, I agree that the police were unnecessary in solving this dispute. Although Danielle's actions were foolish, I do not consider the social workers' response as helpful towards trafficked individuals and argue that their use of the police caused further complications in Danielle's *successful* reintegration into society. After Danielle left the group home, she returned to Meisa, the first organization she resided in after her rescue from trafficking. Usually, survivors are not allowed to go back to Meisa because this association is an initial recovery home; however, Danielle was an exception because she was loved by the staff and well-known at this organization. At Meisa, the residents are given rigid curfews and are forced to surrender their cell phones when returning home<sup>22</sup>, thus the organization works very authoritatively with minors. I asked Danielle if Meisa was helpful in her integration into Dutch society and she explained that this home is helpful for survivors' first steps towards integration but is not the appropriate environment for her. Danielle has been in the Netherlands for almost a year and has established a basic social group of friends and acquaintances, but due to the strict nature of Meisa, she cannot interact with her friends when she is at home, which I consider a major social problem in her *successful* reintegration.

Communal rejection does not only occur within mainstream society, but can also happen within the reintegration programs themselves. I argue that many survivors are returning to society stigmatized and lacking in the social support that is necessary in their *successful* reintegration. *Success* is difficult to measure due to the various individualistic factors involved in proper reintegration. By observing communal stigmatization and the phenomenon of *double standards*<sup>23</sup>, I argue that exploitation for communal gain continues during a survivor's assimilation into society. In this chapter,

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<sup>21</sup> 'Kanker Africaan' is a derogatory word in the Dutch language, where it is common to use diseases as insults. It is loosely translated as 'cancerous African.' Later Danielle would inform me that she did not understand how another trafficked individual, whose ancestry also originated from Africa, could be so hypocritical and call an African woman something so derogatory.

<sup>22</sup> At Meisa, girls are forced to surrender cell phones before entering the building in order to cut contact with their 'loverboys.'

<sup>23</sup> 'Double Standard' will be further defined and exemplified later in this chapter.

I analyze the collected data from the perspective of communal acceptance and rejection and further demonstrate how a *successful* reintegration is influenced by the actions of the community.

### **A *Successful* Integration: Communal Acceptance versus Communal Rejection**

*Success* is tremendously difficult to measure in a trafficked person's reintegration into society. With many young survivors returning to their previous communities with psychological and emotional limitations, several additionally lack proper social support, which I argue is critical in a trafficked individual's *successful* reintegration. In normative society, trafficked women who voluntarily worked in the sex industry are greatly stigmatized by their communities; however, even those involuntarily abducted and abused face similar, if not worse, experiences of rejection. For example, according to BLinN representative Hanka Mongard, in many cases of trafficked African women, they "are raped and are excluded from their families" because they were sexually assaulted (Mongard). After their period of sexual abuse, most of these trafficked women returned to their home nation to start anew but many experienced rejection by their families and communities. This constitutes a huge gender limitation for women, as many of these rape victims are returning to their communities in need of social inclusion. To properly guide these survivors towards a *successful* reintegration, Pretty Woman representative Ebru Berberoglu argues that "parents have a big role [in social inclusion and] lots of parents do not talk about sexuality with their children. They think it's strange or they did not do it with their parents" (Berberoglu). Reintegration begins at home and many survivors struggle in communal assimilation due to the traditional views of exploitation, gender, and sexuality. Due to their lack of knowledge concerning different examples of modern exploitation, such as *loverboys*, many trafficked persons' families and communities struggle to understand how trafficking and manipulation work. According to Berberoglu, "girls who don't have any family or are rejected by their families tend to go back to prostitution again because their future is very negative" (Berberoglu). Due to their lack of a supportive social circle, many survivors forfeit their chances at a proper reintegration and return to prostitution and, in some extreme cases, return to their traffickers. However, each survivor encounters different experiences with assimilation. Although most return to their communities shunned and stigmatized, numerous individuals have more supportive communities. In an interview with Berberoglu, she claims that the majority of parents who visit Pretty Woman are eager to support their children with open arms, but do not know the proper approach. Even if the girl has close relationships with her parents, many families cannot understand how she participated in sex work in the first place. Since they do not comprehend how powerful, exploitative and controlling the trafficking industry is, I argue that parents and communities' naiveté creates conflict in survivors' *successful* reintegration.

To solve these limitations of assimilation, many survivors tend to develop religious methods of social inclusion by re-accepting their own faith and cultural rituals. According to Berberoglu, numerous trafficked individuals return to their communities in hopes of attending church again, but

due to the stigmatization of prostitution, many are unable to *successfully* reintegrate. Survivors are further socially excluded from the community and their personal faith because of the rumors spread throughout the community, concerning their participation in sexual exploitation (Berberoglu). On the other hand, many trafficked individuals choose to take a separate approach to social inclusion. In many Moroccan, Turkish and other Islamic backgrounds, survivors “separate themselves from the family because they know they did something which will never be forgiven. They have to stay virgins until they get married. They live in secrecy and also with their emotions. And an important part [of their lives] is secretive to their parents, sisters and brothers. So they don’t have that [social] connection because they choose for it” (Berberoglu). Due to the shame associated with sex work, many of these girls refuse to open up to their communities because of the assumed communal rejection that would come from the individual sharing her story. As a result, these survivors are forced to cope in solitary with their problems and lack the social support that is pertinent in a trafficked person’s *successful* reintegration.

In various communities, trafficked survivors are involuntarily viewed and identified as *victims* of trafficking. With normative society quickly judging survivors and not understanding the multifarious factors involved in trafficking, I argue that for many communities it is easier to reject survivors than to re-accept them into society. According to Mongard, for “prostitutes and sex workers who freed themselves from the position of dependency, everybody expects that she went home or that she changed her job. No! She stayed and she worked but for herself, [got] money that she earned and she doesn’t want to give that away” (Mongard). Stressing the importance of sex workers’ rights and the fallacy of the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*<sup>24</sup>, Mongard argues that communities assume that survivors returning are subjugated, defeated and poor victims. However, I argue that most survivors are not *victims* of trafficking but *victims* of communal stigmatization and economic limitations.

According to Goffman (1963), the categorization and social hierarchy of individuals are frequently discernible in society. He argues that during an individual’s social inclusion, initial appearances and interactions with other members “enable us to anticipate their categories and attributes” which leads to unraveling of, what Goffman terms, their *social identities*<sup>25</sup> (Goffman 1963:2). Through these categories and attributes, people in survivors’ communities create normative basis of how individuals should act or appear to *normals*, or non-stigmatized persons. Supporting Goffman, I argue that those who do not follow normative behaviors experience communal animosity based on social differences. Survivors, reintegrating after their abuse, experience feelings of inferiority towards members in the society. Very often, communities consider that their lack of sexual and labor exploitation permits them to an authoritative and all-knowing position, casting

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<sup>24</sup> The ‘Innocent victim paradigm’ was explained in depth in Chapter 1: Introduction.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Social identity’ was explained in detail in Chapter 2.

stigmatizations upon those considered unusual and *deviant*<sup>26</sup> in normative society. As a result, many survivors are denied pertinent social support during their process of reintegration.

Due to inevitable communal stigmatization, I expected most of my interview respondents to share case studies of previously trafficked individuals who were unwilling to publicly announce their exploitation and experiences, especially if they were involved in the sex industry. According to Mongard, many survivors fear that by talking openly about their abuse, their actions and character become public and their “faces can be used in any context” (Mongard). Scared that popular media and their communities would judge them for participating in prostitution, many survivors become societal outsiders and fear that the stigmatization could potentially spread to their loved ones. Even in the Netherlands, where prostitution is legal, I argue that there is still communal rejection due to the communal discourse concerning prostitution and sex workers. Stigmatization is difficult to overcome due to longstanding cultural beliefs about sexuality and communal efforts to continue the ignominy. As a result, communities reject survivors’ assimilation which disrupts a survivor’s course towards a *successful* reintegration. According to Mongard, communal stigmatization is rooted deep down and many subjugated women are warned of consequences if they participate, willingly or not, in sex work. With the normative society shunning individuals involved in this *deviant* behavior, many survivors are socially rejected, which creates limitations in a trafficked persons’ re-assimilation into society.

However, the actions and *successes* of trafficked individuals potentially influence communal stigmatization and rejection. I argue that many governments and organizations face limitations due to the survivors’ desire of to end their poverty and subjugation as quickly as possible. Currently, a quick and simple method of extracting money is through sex work; however, due to politics and common beliefs that prostitution is immoral, many survivors are stigmatized by their families, friends and communities for their participation in this controversial line of work. Instead of focusing on trafficking as a global problem, Mongard claims that many communities accept the normative discourse which concludes that exploitation only took place because the individual “is a poor victim and she didn’t know [any better]. Oh poor, poor thing... They want to close their eyes for the real problem” (Mongard). Survivors trapped in society’s standard discourse are described as innocent *victims* who were snatched involuntarily from their homes and forced to work in prostitution. However, in most cases of trafficking, the survivors knew that they would be involved in the sex industry but did not know of the conditions that awaited them. Some are lucky and buy their freedom or escape their exploitation, but for those who return to their countries of origin as a *success*, they face numerous communal social problems. For example, many Eastern European women return to their communities with some money and are communally accepted. According to Mongard, this “can create a domino effect and can introduce more people into trafficking. For [survivors], five Euros in a return package is successful and if they remain to do so and send money back then they are successful.

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<sup>26</sup> ‘Deviant’ is referred to and identified in Chapter 1.

[Soon] the other brother will come, then the other sister will come, then the whole village will come because five Euros is a lot. It's successful. They don't realize that's nothing" in Western Europe (Mongard). Due to the communal pressures of economic *success*, individuals strive to improve their socioeconomic standing within society. By witnessing other returning migrants and their previous accomplishments in working abroad, many individuals are willing to sacrifice their freedoms and risk exploitation. I argue that very often migration attracts more migration, and if you remain in the host country, you are seen as a hero or a provider in the community; however, economics and wealth are not the front runners in deciding how to identify a *successful* reintegration and how to recognize a *failed* one.

For some survivors, in order to experience a *successful* reintegration, they need to migrate, send money home, suffer some exploitation, escape, and then live their lives in the destination country. In Chapter Three, I noted an association that BLinN representative Vanessa Scholtens worked closely with called JAN. At this organization, there are many young, somewhat economically secure boys forced to return to Angola. Interacting with many trafficked individuals who in Westernized terms would be considered very successful boys, Scholtens claims that "they come from very good families in Angola and had some education. But even for them, it is hard to reintegrate because everyone there thinks they have money or [that] they are failures; even for those with good families and money" (Scholtens). Many communities do not understand why an individual from their society would ever come back to poverty. Those who return are expected to provide money and necessities for their communities; however, if they refuse to assist or do not have the means, they are quickly rejected and identified by society as *failed* migrants, which I identify as a *double standard*. I argue that during a *successful* reintegration, women face additional shame and rejection due to communities questioning and scrutinizing their morality, self-respect, gender role and sexuality.

### **The Matter of Gender:**

Gender plays a crucial role in a survivor's *successful* reintegration. Although most individuals migrating abroad are women, both male and female trafficked persons experience various limitations during their social inclusion. Scholtens claims that when BLinN first started ten years ago, popular media and researchers portrayed human trafficking comprised solely of women, and were only identified as "prostitution with exploitation; not other forms" (Scholtens). Currently, there is little research involving the reintegration process of individuals after their trafficking experience, but within the limited data, there is an even greater lack of information concerning the assimilation of male survivors into society, which I argue is due to the communities' refusal to reject the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*. In normative society, it is assumed that men face other forms of exploitation besides sexual abuse. Most commonly trafficked into labor exploitation, they experience different limitations than women in their *successful* reintegration. Scholtens argues that "with prostitution, you [encounter] trauma of your body being violated and that's different if you are, [for example], picking

mushrooms” (Scholtens). When integrating, many men return to their communities as economic *failures* but due to their lack of sexual exploitation during their trafficking experience, these men do not witness, what Scholtens terms, ‘trauma of their bodies.’ In contrast, I argue that trafficked women face economical *failure* but also the soiling of their sexual innocence and purity in the eyes of the communities.

According to most of the interview respondents, male survivors generally do not see themselves as trafficked *victims*. Even if they are denied status or have been legally identified as *victims* of trafficking, many do not and cannot properly categorize their experiences as exploitative. Although the organization does not work directly with survivors, CoMensha representative Ria van Neerbos notes that generally men find it difficult to talk about their subjugation and avoid coping with their trafficking experiences during their integration into society. She further claims that men face further limitations when their “social surroundings come to know about [their abuses], especially for African men where it is very important to be successful... If they have been exploited and have nothing to show for it, materialistically speaking, for them, it is very different” (van Neerbos). In many African societies, men function as the main, if not only, source of income. With individuals relying on the economic development of men in their communities, pressure for males to *succeed* financially abroad increases and many of them turn to risky, low paid and exploitative work. As a result, numerous trafficked males return to their communities empty-handed and disillusioned. No longer strong and independent role models, these trafficked men find difficulties in their social inclusion due to the communal importance of pride and the traditional beliefs of masculinity. Therefore, I argue that many trafficked men generally cope with traumas in a solitary fashion and tend to focus more on future perspectives instead of dwelling on past issues. With women generally participating more in support groups, there are various differences in men and women’s *successful* assimilation into society; however, depending on the specific community, some women experience increased gender problems when reintegrating into chauvinistic societies.

Common belief dictates that proper reintegration can only occur within mainstream society; however, in this thesis I argue that *success* is not so easy to define and is observed within the trafficking network. Mentioned in Chapter Three, I argued that women who become the traffickers themselves can potentially reintegrate *unsuccessfully* in normative society, but *successfully* reintegrate within the human trafficking network. However, this phenomenon of climbing the trafficking social hierarchy is only achievable for women in particular communities. According to Aronowitz:

Nigerian traffickers “allow women to work their way up in the criminal networks. They are recruited as trafficked victims and then after two years, once they pay off their debt, they can then recruit their own girls and work as madams. This is not true for many other nationalities. The Balkans’ organized crime groups that traffick Albanian, Romanian, Bulgarian women don’t let them buy their freedom... they set the bar so high that it’s almost impossible for these girls to pay off their debt. They are recruited and after they maybe made enough money, these men [begin] to rotate victims. They need fresh faces. They

don't want the same girl working in a brothel. They will sell her off to someone else so she incurs a whole new debt. So she never gets out of this role of a trafficked victim unless she either gets sick or if she's lucky to escape or if some customer falls in love with her and buys her freedom" (Aronowitz)

Aronowitz argues that West African trafficking organizations are generally less strict about socially including women in the network. After repaying a high debt acquired during their passage into the destination country, many African women successfully advance in hierarchical rankings and establish their own smaller trafficking network with other trafficked girls. They find *success* in reintegration by continuing a cycle of exploitation of future survivors. Instead of displaying sympathy towards those now experiencing what these women previously endured, I argue that these women fully integrate themselves within the trafficking lifestyle creating more complications in mainstream reintegration, while also improving their social inclusion within the trafficking network. However, advancing in the trafficking hierarchy only transpires in particular countries and communities.

Previously argued by Aronowitz, organized crime groups in the Balkans tend to traffick Eastern European women who are forced to accept expensive debts that are rarely paid off. Never allowing these women to voluntarily leave their exploitation, the crime groups rotate them within the trafficking network, creating new ownerships and debts that guarantee their extended stay in trafficking. I argue that this gender discrimination is due to cultural gender roles and nations' changing politics. For example, in Albania, women lack agency and are increasingly dependent on their husbands and male family members for basic survival. With the fall of communism in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, Albania was desperately in need of a new system of government. Instead of continuing communism's advancements in gender equality, the country decided to revert back to traditional Kanun law, an extremely gender-biased customary law that is common in poor rural areas (Kara 2009: 130). Stressing the importance of marriage, personal honor, and pride, this law regards men as the dominant force in society while women are only given the roles of wife and mother. According to Siddhartha Kara's *Sex Trafficking: Inside the Business of Modern Slavery*, the author notes that under Kanun law a "wife's duties to her husband are numerous, including to 'submit to his domination' and 'to fulfill her conjugal duties,' whereas a husband's only duties to his wife are to 'provide clothing and shoes' and to preserve her honor" (Kara 2009: 129). With Albanian women's lives revolving around pleasing their husbands and preserving their honor, women are subjugated and are regarded as unequal persons within Albanian society. As a result, I argue that due to these gender inequalities supported by their communities, many Albanian women face the same discrimination and stigmatization within the trafficking network, which causes more difficulties within their *successful* reintegration. With subjugation awaiting these women in mainstream reintegration and in trafficking organizations, many cannot improve their standards of living due to the reoccurring debts, continuous exploitation, and the traditional values of gender and sexuality that their communities support.

In R.W. Connell and James Messerschmidt's *Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept*, the authors similarly argue that men construct hegemonic masculinity through the use of

social hierarchies, where men place themselves on top. Connell et al. define hegemonic masculinity as the “pattern of practice that allows men’s dominance over women to continue” (Connell 2005: 832). I argue that this “pattern of practice” is observed in men’s actions within the communities or trafficking network since male members of society and male traffickers exert control over the women.

Connecting Connell et al.’s arguments with Aronowitz’s case study, many Nigerian trafficked survivors can advance within the social hierarchy, sometimes resulting in those individuals becoming traffickers themselves (Aronowitz). However, in such countries as Albania, trafficked women are unable to climb the social hierarchy due to society’s need to hang on to the ideas of hegemonic masculinity. With traditional gender roles and hegemonic masculinity influencing social assimilation, I argue it is nearly impossible for these women to better their standards of living, which negatively affects their mainstream reintegration, their advances in the trafficking social hierarchy, and ultimately their *successful* reintegration.

Human trafficking is an extremely gender-biased phenomenon where women have always been in the subjugated position. With trafficking only regarded as a female issue, many respondents note that if there were increased recognition for other forms or sectors of exploitation, more *gray area*<sup>27</sup> trafficked individuals could be assisted during their reintegration process. According to Mongard, if the trafficking of men were more prominent, then globally, governments “would do something with good laws or some [other] solution, but it is with women and that’s always such a problem. [Even in Europe], for many years they didn’t recognize men as trafficked because it was trafficking women; so it was a problem for the women. It only took some years that they said [that] this is a human rights issue” (Mongard). Gender inequality is a common theme in many trafficked individuals’ *successful* reintegration and for governments to properly assist survivors in their social inclusion specific cultural and gender limitations need consideration. However, for many trafficked persons, gender differences become irrelevant if they return to their communities as economically and socially *successful*, which I refer to as a *double standard* of the communal acceptance of trafficking.

### **The Double Standard of Trafficking:**

In this thesis, I define *double standard* as the unfair application of differing sets of principles for similar situations, and identify it in an instance where certain concepts are considered acceptable for one group of people, but unacceptable for another. In numerous cases of survivors reintegrating, there is a morally unfair and biased communal response towards prostitution, even if the survivors entered the sex industry involuntarily. However, according to van Neerbos, usually “the community doesn’t care if you were exploited sexually as a woman, as long as you paid up; as long as there was a bit [of money or aid] that you can send to your country of origin for them to build a brick house, or access the sewage and the water system” (van Neerbos). With their communities taking a selfish and hypocritical role in the survivors’ reintegration, many trafficked individuals only find communal

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<sup>27</sup> ‘gray area’ trafficking was defined in Chapter 1: Introduction

acceptance with economic *success*. In this thesis, I argue that in nearly every example of trafficking, there is a double standard. When looking at the various sectors of exploitation, differences of communal acceptance depend on the type of trafficking one experienced. For individuals trafficked into labor, mostly men in agriculture and harbor exploitation, many communities recognize them as uneducated and naïve individuals who stupidly exploited themselves. Persons trafficked into the sex industry face this limitation also, but because their abuse involved dishonoring their bodies, they encounter increased communal stigmatization. According to van Neerbos, the majority of cases CoMensha observed are women exploited in the sex industry, but now with the broadening of the definition of human trafficking, the organization is also finding people also exploited in other labor situations. Van Neerbos further argues that there is a big difference between the trafficking sectors “although sometimes [CoMensha finds] women getting exploited other than in the sex industry. If men are exploited in agriculture, for example, you don’t hear that there is anything sexual going on, but for a lot of the women, it is both it seems” (van Neerbos). The majority of survivors in industries other than sexual exploitation are not being recognized as *victims* of trafficking, even though, according to law, they are. The lack of proper identification is due to stereotypical representations, noted as the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*, which governments, organizations, and communities use for labeling survivors.

According to La Strada representative Marieke van Doorninck, when we see an individual in prostitution, it is reassuring to believe that their participation might not be voluntary. With police officials and governments considering voluntary prostitution as a grounds for denying individuals the status of trafficked *victim*, van Doorninck argues that you can be identified as a survivor “even if you worked voluntarily in construction or you worked voluntarily in the sex industry and [were] trafficked” (van Doorninck). Although there are many differences in the level of exploitation in the other sectors of trafficking, individuals forced into labor and subjugated in the sex industry should be regarded by the state as *victims* of trafficking. As a result, survivors are denied or refuse governmental assistance and other repatriation services, causing many social problems and limitations during their societal reintegration. However, in recent years, various organizations identified this limitation, but many neglected to recognize prostitution as a valid line of work, which forces governments to decline trafficked survivors based on their willingness to enter the sex industry.

According to Aronowitz, women integrating into society after exploitation face a “double whammy because not only have they returned with no money but many of them worked in prostitution and if that’s a crime within their own country, then they really are ostracized. For men to be exploited in labor, that is not a crime in their country” (Aronowitz). As a result, I argue that men generally do not experience as much communal humiliation, ostracism or stigmatization as their female counterparts, due to the illegality and immorality of prostitution in the nation, but men are burdened by a recognition that they completely failed in acquiring wealth abroad. Many men and women returning to their communities empty handed, physically weak, and psychologically

traumatized experience similar limitations in social assimilation, but communities tend to fixate on females' sexual impurities and males' failures to provide their families and communities economically. Consequently, I argue that women tend to face further stigmatization and problems *successfully* reintegrating due to the morality issue surrounding sex work and the *double standard* if these individuals return to society as economic *successes*.

There is a double standard for trafficked individuals in regards to communal acceptance or rejection. According to Aronowitz, returning survivors are socially ostracized by their communities, but “on the other hand, if they bring a lot of money in then it’s sort of passively accepted. So they criticize it and really condemn these girls for working in prostitution but on the other hand they profit from it. So they have a very twisted relationship with this whole issue of trafficking” (Aronowitz). Many victims are returning to their communities as economic failures. As a result, they are unwelcome and eventually shunned from society. However, if survivors return with some indication of success, the community will overlook their unacceptable actions and re-accept them into society. Due to the societal pressures to succeed, many trafficked persons are condemned by their communities when they return empty handed, but are quickly commended when that particular community profits from the individual’s former trafficking experience. As witnessed in Marx’s theory of the exploitation of the working class, researchers can identify that not only traffickers subjugate and manipulate persons, but the survivor’s community does as well. For example, during my interview with BLinN representative Vanessa Scholtens, she noted a previous case of a Nigerian client who returned to Africa after her trafficking experience. When returning to Nigeria, Vanessa’s client faced many hardships when reintegrating. Due to her experiences abroad, the Nigerian’s community continually wanted money from her and expected that her migration to Europe was profitable. According to Scholtens, the Nigerian community does not “really care she work[ed] in prostitution. If they get money then it is okay and that drove [the Nigerian girl] crazy” (Scholtens). Although she received some assistance from IOM and other organizations working with survivors, she did not nearly earn enough to support her village. Due to pressures to provide for an entire community, the Nigerian could not *successfully* reintegrate into West Africa and returned to the Netherlands. Strengthening the *double standard* argument, Scholtens’ case study supports my claim that traffickers are not the sole participants in human exploitation but communities take part as well. Through the *double standard* of communal acceptance, I argue that survivors are less stigmatized if they return to society with money, a business plan, and a way to provide for their communities.

### **Conclusion:**

In this thesis, I identify *success* as a resulting factor of an event or plan that turned out as the individual and/or society intended. With society influencing members of the community to economically profit abroad, these communities act in their best interest for financial stability. In Chapter Four, we saw that various survivors returning without the intended *success* are acknowledged

by their home communities as failures and are further stigmatized for participating in labor exploitation or the sex industry, which was originally influenced by a vicious cycle of economic pressures. Alternatively, I argue that if trafficked individuals return with a token of financial *success*, they are passively accepted due to communal self-interests witnessed in, what I term, the *double standard* of trafficking. As a result, survivors in lower socioeconomic societies desire or are pressured to improve their standards of living, but often are entangled in human trafficking, from which they usually escape, but with no money and limited resources. Furthermore, I argue that survivors who escape their trafficking experience without any source of economic gain usually refuse to voluntarily return to their origin country home because of the inevitable stigmatization and shame that awaits them. Due to numerous trafficked individuals' participation in labor and sexual exploitation, many cannot acquire anything economically valuable for their families or communities and, if given the choice, stay in the destination countries until they are financially *successful*. However, reintegration into host nations presents numerous limitations for survivors as well. According to Casa Migrante representative Toos Beentjes, reintegration into the Netherlands is complicated for many trafficked persons because in Dutch society "migrants don't feel as welcomed as before [due to the] unwillingness of Dutch people to be open to migrants" (Beentjes). Claiming integration only works if both parties participate in reintegration, I similarly argue that many Dutch communities and other Western countries generally recognize survivors as either unwanted aliens or *victims* of trafficking, which strengthens, what I term, the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*. In Chapter Five, I analyze the negative and positive influences of anti-trafficking campaigns in a trafficked individual's *successful* reintegration and claim that many of the campaigns only represent survivors who fall under the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*. As a result, campaigns educate communities about the dangers of migrating abroad, which simultaneously ostracizes those who are too foolish to listen and do not remain at home.

## **Chapter Five: Anti-Trafficking Campaigns and the *Innocent Victim Paradigm***

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, IOM released a number of anti-trafficking campaigns (ATC) in many Eastern European areas where the trafficking of women was increasingly prominent. Employing posters, billboards, leaflets, flyers, and many other methods, these campaigns intend to raise “awareness about trafficking in women by addressing both the general audience as well as selected target groups such as potential victims of trafficking, policy makers, law enforcement officers and relevant public officials” (Andrijasevic 2007: 25). By using victimizing images of female bodies, these campaigns aim to warn normative society and potential female migrants of the dangers of migration and sex work and are further used to educate women to make sound choices concerning migration and working abroad. However, I argue that although these campaigns aim to spread awareness about the increased trafficking of Eastern European women, many ATC disrupt survivors’ *successful* reintegration into society by strengthening the *innocent victim paradigm*<sup>28</sup> and increasing communal stigmatization due to survivors’ naiveté. To strengthen my argument, I analyze data collected from all eight interviews, investigate Western European anti-trafficking campaigns and contrast those ATC with images displayed in Rutvica Andrijasevic’s article *Beautiful Dead Bodies: Gender, Migration and Representation in Anti-Trafficking Campaigns*.

Throughout the interviews conducted, there were differing opinions of the effectiveness of ATC in lower-socioeconomic communities. Many respondents lacked concern and knowledge about the influence of campaigns in society, while others simply stated that if ATC help one individual then they should be deemed *successful*. However, according to La Strada representative Marieke van Doorninck, “there is no reason not to have a campaign, but you have to be very careful also on the downsides of the campaign. If it prevents one girl [from] being trafficked but it stigmatized 600 sex workers, then it’s different. La Strada is try[ing] to always have empowering campaigns and it’s good to warn people but you also have to understand that there are people with very little choices in their lives and willing to take risks” (Doorninck). In many of these released campaigns displayed traumatic and depressing images of subjugated females in dire need of help. Presenting little female empowerment and agency, the women are depicted as poor, innocent victims who are helpless and incapable of leaving their exploitative lifestyle. As a result, by establishing a clear distinction between victim and criminal, these ATC generally support normative society’s stereotypical representations of trafficked women (Andrijasevic 2007: 26).

Through IOM’s counter-trafficking, I argue that large audiences are warned of the dangers of exploitation and traveling abroad, but these campaigns neglect to inform the population of the many

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<sup>28</sup> The ‘Innocent victim paradigm’ was explained in depth in Chapter 1: Introduction

trafficked individuals who had limited options for improving their livelihoods. As a result, ATC do not clearly depict the reality of trafficked individuals' encounters and experiences during their exploitation as reality. Similar to Doorninck, CoMensha representative Ria van Neerbos displays her admiration for the approach of Eastern European organizations and campaigns, but does admit that although ATC are recognized by low socioeconomic communities, individuals are still risking exploitation by believing they are too intelligent and clever to experience human trafficking. It is difficult to stimulate people not to do something and "with campaigns, you want to stick to reality as much as possible. You want to appeal to people and it is also true that in Western Europe there is very specific ideas of success and femininity and how you look when you are a successful woman" (van Neerbos). Van Neerbos argues that for ATC to succeed, they need to display authenticity and an image that appropriately depicts survivors' motives for migration and experiences they endured. With La Strada and BLinN emphasizing the importance of empowering women in ATC, I present anti-trafficking campaigns from both organizations, showing that ATC are not all supporting the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*, but that some are emphasizing the importance of empowerment in survivors' *successful* reintegration.

### **IOM's Anti-Trafficking Campaigns and their Influence on Survivors' *Successful* Reintegration**

In this chapter, I frequently acknowledge Andrijasevic's depiction of survivors in ATC to support my claims that campaigns influence survivors' *successful* reintegration. According to Andrijasevic, ATC are supposed to empower women to make informed choices concerning work and traveling abroad, but instead they negatively create a specific representation of trafficking organized around the dichotomy of victims and criminals. She claims that victimizing images paradoxically contribute to "the objectification of women as they capture women's bodies within stereotypical representations of femininity and hence, demarcate the limits within which women can be imagined as active agents" (Andrijasevic 2007: 26). As a result, many ATC encourage women to stay at home and reinforce the stereotype that female bodies are passive objects of male domination. I argue that this representation of women is accepted and recognized by some communities as truth, which increases communal stigmatization and thus establishes difficulties in their *successful* reintegration.

According to IOM representative Adrienne de Vries, IOM is an intergovernmental organization that works on ATC and other projects on behalf of governments. These "projects are developed by national missions or based on the wishes of the European commissions, for instance. They write their call for proposals, so they give already a clear idea of what kind of projects they want different countries in the European Union to carry out. We have, of course, our own ideas and general mandates. It very much depends on the country and the needs" (de Vries). With IOM acting as an intermediary for governments and the general population, their ATC revolve around those particular nations' wants and requirements. However, I argue that though these campaigns stress the needs of the country, most ATC in origin countries solely depict young, beautiful, but troubled looking girls in

subjugated positions when there are numerous individuals trafficked for other forms of exploitation. Portraying these girls as *pure victims*, IOM's campaigns manipulate dramatic imagery and bold text to draw viewers into the moment, creating a depressing and disheartening atmosphere. Drawing on two controversial ATC released by IOM, I argue that these campaigns strengthen the *Innocent Victim Paradigm* and consequently prevent a trafficked survivor from *successfully* reintegrating.

### **1998 IOM Czech Republic Anti-Trafficking Campaign:**

Using an image from Andrijasevic (2007), IOM released this ATC throughout the Czech Republic in 1998. Presenting a black and white image of a young, beautiful and scantily clad girl, the campaign establishes a dramatic but eerie setting as she appears to be running away from the camera.<sup>29</sup>



**Přijmeme  
atraktivní dívku do 25 let  
na práci v zahraničí.  
Veškeré formality s odjezdem  
vyřídí naše agentura.  
Podrobnosti na telefonu 0600/000 000**

**Cesta zpátky  
tak snadná být nemusí**

Anna: Studovala jsem, a protože jsem potřebovala peníze, tancovala jsem po večerech na diskotékách a v barech. Hezké oblečení a čas od času sundaná podprsenka na barovém pultu dokázala s chlapy udělat divy. Potom jsem chtěla jít dále a prázdninách tancovala za hranicemi. Kontakty jsem měla dost. Vyrážela jsem s tanečnicemi to ale nikdy nemělo nit společného. Sebral mi doklady a pod drogami mě donutil dít prostitutku. Když jsem nechtěla, nedal mi najít. Pak už jsem musela. Škola už asi nikdy nedokončím.

Chci, aby se takhle nedopadlo, a k tomu staří hrozně málo. Znáš správné telefonní číslo, kde ti poradí, co si máš před odjezdem zařídit, aby ses mohla šťastně vrátit.

**La Strada – infolinka  
02-57 31 31 32 (Po-Pá 10<sup>h</sup>-18<sup>h</sup>)  
www.iom.cz**

  
**IOM International Organization for Migration  
IOM Mezinárodní organizace pro migraci**  
Informační kampaň je podporována vládou  
Spojených států amerických.

**Ministerstvo  
školství, mládeže  
a tělovýchovný čes.**  

According to Andrijasevic, the campaign's use of color and elongation creates a disturbing effect that something terrible is happening behind that curtain. Displaying a sense of immobility and entrapment with the dark setting and figure of the half-naked girl, Andrijasevic argues that the "narrow, dark and

<sup>29</sup> For a full-sized image, refer to the Appendix located at the end of the thesis

squalid environment she's about to enter is not the space that invites viewers to follow her or the space one would like to be in" (Andrijasevic 2007: 30). As a result, viewers subconsciously sympathize with the female figure, creating a non-empowering attitude towards trafficked women. I argue that stereotypical portrayals of trafficked persons in counter-trafficking further subjugate survivors during their assimilation. Furthermore, the text provided in the ATC also affects communal response towards survivors reintegrating into their former communities. With bold phrases stating 'the return home won't be easy,' 'are you sure you know what's waiting for you?' and 'blind faith open its eyes too late,' it addresses the survivor's desire to migrate and work abroad, her contact with an individual to arrange travel and work, the deception that awaited her upon arrival, and finally her coercion into prostitution (Andrijasevic 2007: 27). Warning individuals of the dangers of migration, this ATC advises women to migrate safely, and with bold text and dramatic imagery, the ATC confine themes of trafficking into the realm of forced prostitution. As a result, other sectors of trafficking are not recognized in many ATC, which strengthens stereotypes of survivors' passivity and innocence.

According to Andrijasevic, many ATC reaffirm stereotypical constructions of Eastern European femininity and masculinity through their depictions of women, and by indicating that victimizing images and the eroticization of women's bodies go hand in hand. She argues that ATC confirm stereotypes about Eastern European women by displaying femininity as passive and by claiming that the safest option to avoid conflict, danger and exploitation is for women to stay at home. However, with many Eastern European persons having limited options to better their standards of living, many are willing to jeopardize their safety to improve their livelihoods. According to Alexis Aronowitz, "there's a lot of awareness raising going on there. So these women know what they are getting into. They know if they are promised a job abroad that they will probably be working in prostitution. So they know what's going on" (Aronowitz). With the community informed about potential exploitation, many girls voluntarily involve themselves in prostitution, hoping that when arriving in the destination country, they can easily escape and live life independently. Consequently, ATC do not empower women to migrate safely but instead reaffirm traditional representations of womanhood. Those "who stipulated the contract with the third parties for sex work, are not included nor addressed by this campaign" (Andrijasevic 2007: 31). Many survivors were aware of their future involvement in sex work, but they did not know the extent of their conditions. However, although voluntary prostitution is prevalent in most trafficking cases, many individuals are not represented in IOM's campaigns. Furthermore, due to the increased awareness continuing in prominent trafficking areas, members of the community know that if these girls go to Europe and return home, then they have been working in prostitution. Those who decide to go against IOM's suggestions are seen as naïve and stupid and they return to their communities shunned. As a result, I argue that many organizations and governments take the wrong approach to ATC and very often, communities stigmatize survivors for foolish and naïve attempts to improve their socioeconomic statuses.

### 2002 IOM Baltic States Anti-Trafficking Campaign

In 2002, IOM released an ATC series in the Baltic States displaying a scantily clad female figure hanging from hooks and representing a marionette doll.



Utilizing images from Andrijasevic (2007), the woman is not in control of her life and the hooks and ropes represent her pervasive danger. By using props and not visibly displaying the subject's face, these campaigns make the relationship between viewers and trafficked persons increasingly impersonal and they over-dramatize the experience survivors face during their exploitation.<sup>30</sup>

According to Andrijasevic, two members of IOM's Head of Mass Information stated that in the ATC:

“Nakedness was meant to show the helplessness and vulnerability of trafficked women. The hooks are visual metaphors used to convey an essential aspect of trafficking, namely the manipulation and exploitation... Some never live to tell their stories because they are killed or take their own lives in desperation... Most trafficked women find themselves treated as slaves with no control of their lives whatsoever. This is the idea we wanted to convey” (Andrijasevic 2007: 35-37).

With their actions and desires displayed as nonthreatening and controlled, the woman is depersonalized to her audience and used as a visual warning to potential female migrants. Through governmental constructions of women as *victims*, IOM's visual metaphors of the doll convey abuse, exploitation and lack of freedom commonly associated with trafficking. The combination of a lifeless body, covered face, dramatic text, and hooks and cords, associates the figure with a puppet that causes communities to further recognize them as such and stigmatize survivors for participation in

<sup>30</sup> For a full-sized image, refer to the Appendix located at the end of the thesis

exploitation. Communities assume that the helpless, abused and subjugated ATC depiction of a trafficked individual is accurately representative of normative society. As a result, I argue that ATC support the *Innocent Victim Paradigm* which negatively affects survivors' *successful* reintegration.

When returning to nations of origin, many survivors contradict the stereotypical representations of a *victim* that ATC have instilled in their communities. While many women are aware of their future involvement in the sex industry, many are unaware of the living conditions that await them. As a result, their previous communities further stigmatize them upon return because the survivors should know better due to the prominence of ATC awareness in the country. The women know the dangers of sex work and many are regarded by their communities as *getting what they deserve*, albeit next to domestic work, "sex work is the most common job venue and source of income for undocumented migrant women in the European Union" (Andrijasevic 2007: 31). Due to voluntary involvement in prostitution, many sex workers are discriminated against and unidentified as *victims* by both governments and communities. Although many voluntary prostitutes face similar experiences of exploitation as individuals under the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*, these willing sex workers are represented as promiscuous whores, which limits the survivor's progress in *successfully* reintegrating.

In addition, communities are not the only active subject disrupting survivors' *successful* reintegration. With many governments not recognizing individuals who voluntarily entered the sex industry as potential trafficked *victims*, these *gray area*<sup>31</sup> survivors are equally viewed by normative society as delinquents, illegal immigrants, and individuals immorally selling their bodies. As a result, many are regarded as criminals and are denied the same rights as legal trafficked *victims*, which I argue negatively affects survivors' social assimilation. When voluntary sex workers end up on the *victim* side of trafficking, many communities re-establish their identities by accepting the myth of trafficking in women. In Jo Doezma (1999), the author argues that "the real concern for public and policy-makers is not with protecting women in the sex industry, but with preventing *innocent* women from becoming prostitutes, and keeping *dirty* foreign prostitutes from infecting the nation" (Doezema 2000: 36-37). Due to the difficulty of identifying individuals as *victims* of trafficking, Doezema argues that many communities consider saving innocent *victims* of trafficking as acceptable, but voluntary sex workers do not deserve communal respect for their rights as workers, as women, and as migrants. These sex workers are not seen as active agents within their home or host communities because of their participation in such *risky* behavior. With trafficked sex workers' experiences in exploitation believed to be the certain outcome women will face when migrating and willingly contributing to the sex industry, these campaigns organize themselves around female passivity, and stereotypical domestic and criminal representations of eastern European societies. They constrict eastern European women and men from successful reintegration due to the stigmas associated with sex work. As a result, I argue that ATC in trafficked survivors' origin nations tend to not display other

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<sup>31</sup> 'Gray area' was defined in Chapter 1: Introduction

forms of trafficking besides sexual exploitation and they usually present survivors' experiences dramatically and fictitiously, which leads communal members to deem themselves smart and clever enough to escape their abuse.

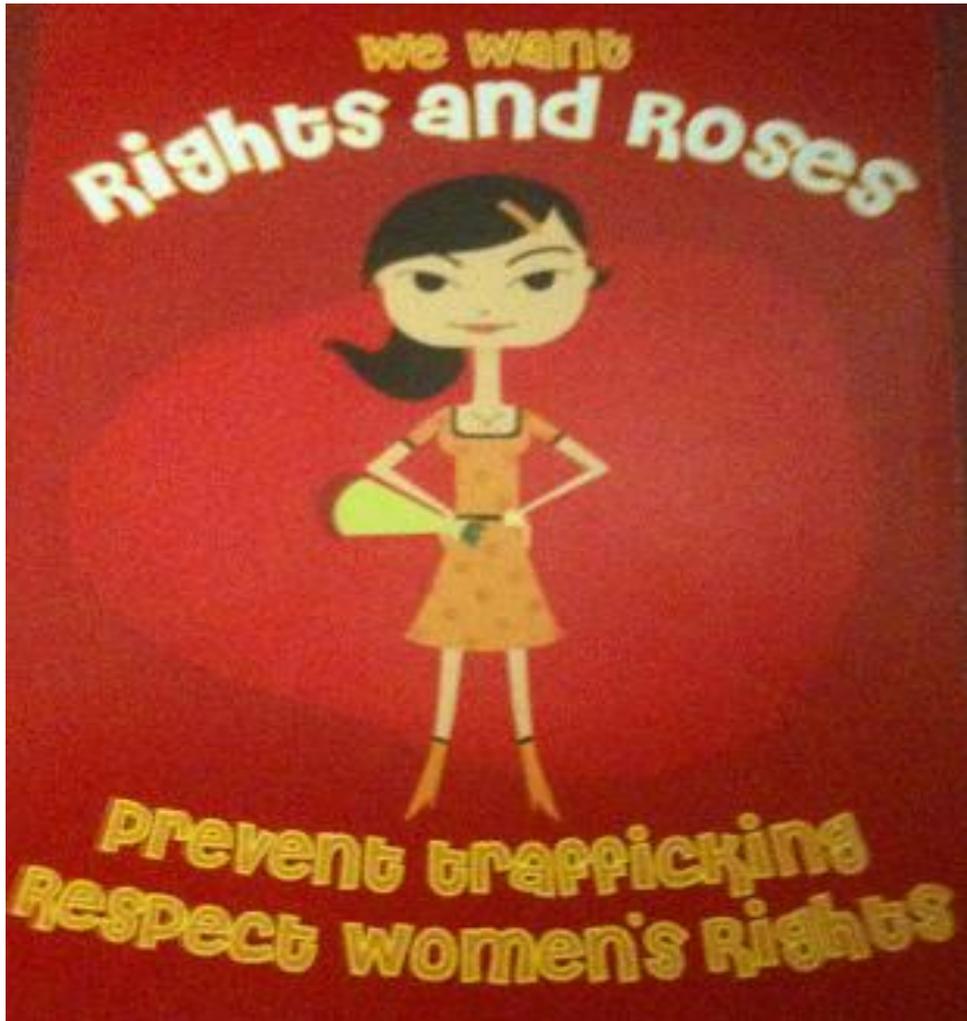
### **Anti-Trafficking Campaigns in the Netherlands:**

During frequent trips to organizations specializing in assisting survivors, I encountered a number of ATC found in the Netherlands. Initially assuming that most, if not all, counter-trafficking campaigns represented women as innocent, naïve and subjugated women trapped in sex trafficking, I was pleasantly surprised that organizations such as BLinN and La Strada focus on empowering methods for spreading awareness. In Chapter One, I discussed an African-based campaign expressing voodoo as a cultural restraint for many survivors reintegrating into society<sup>32</sup>. The text under the image states “voodoo inverso: with this picture I reverse the voodoo onto my trafficker. I am not afraid anymore.” With an image of a strong, powerful African woman, the *Innocent Victim Paradigm* is no longer supported. I argue that viewers recognize the woman as an active and dominant individual and through this ATC, trafficked survivors gain agency and use this woman as a subconscious role model towards a *successful* reintegration. By focusing on particular cultural restraints, BLinN successfully employs multifarious tactics to combat human trafficking through their methods of empowerment.

I met van Doorninck at the La Strada International in Amsterdam and analyzed the organization's ATC methods in normative society. Claiming that the organization's campaigns are designed to help citizens find ways to migrate safely, van Doorninck states that one of La Strada's principles for prevention activities “shall never warn people not to migrate. We would make sure that even if they choose to take risks in order to improve their lives that they know what to do if those risks become too much or if they don't feel comfortable with the risks anymore. We see that some of the anti-trafficking campaigns are nearly anti-migration and we would never support campaigns like that” (van Doorninck). Stressing the importance of empowerment and independence, van Doorninck claims individuals in subjugated lifestyles will always migrate abroad to improve their standards of living. Instead of representing survivors from the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*, La Strada ATC focus on empowering migrants to make informed decisions about migrating abroad, pertinent in survivors' independent processes of successful reintegration. Below is a postcard van Doorninck presented, which veered away from the disempowering depiction of needy women<sup>33</sup>. Opposing the stereotypical representations of trafficked individuals by displaying a strong and independent figure as its centerfold, I argue that this empowering depiction of a survivor as a dominant force dissembles the stereotypical rendering of female passivity, ultimately increasing the likelihood of a survivor's *successful* re-assimilation.

<sup>32</sup> For image of BLinN's anti-trafficking campaigns involving Nigerians and Voodoo, refer to the first page of Chapter 1.

<sup>33</sup> For a full-sized image, refer to the Appendix located at the end of the thesis



Unlike BLinN's ATC that target African survivors, La Strada's small red and yellow leaflet is not culturally based, but instead targets the general public. Aimed to educate young women, orphans, children, the unemployed and other at risk groups, this campaign presents a smiling, confident and racially ambiguous figure surrounded by empty red space and text stating: "We want rights and roses! Prevent trafficking! Respect Women's Rights!" Wearing a nice dress and holding roses in her hand, the figure captivates the viewer with her authoritative stance and confident expression. It is clear that she is the dominant figure in the campaigns and therefore, the individual in control of her own life.

According to Kathy Davis and Helma Lutz's *Traveling Theorists: on Biographical Border Crossing and Feminist Imagination*, the authors identify women as *strangers* who are rejected by communal institutions and values of patriarchal society. With normative society viewing women as marginalized and inferior, Davis and Lutz claim that biographical experiences of migration, which I argue are seen in many ATC, enable survivors "to develop ways of thinking about the experience of being uprooted in ways, which [lend] an element of empowerment... to events which might otherwise be marked by powerlessness, coercion and lack of choice" (Davis 2002: 40). Migration empowers women, but due to the personally horrific images and stories in ATC where survivors were once powerless, weak and immobilized, Davis and Lutz argue that inaccurate and victimizing portrayals of

migration and exploitation can negatively influence survivors' *successful* reintegration into society experience. In addition, I argue that gender, race, class and other factors of identity contribute to social inequality and communal stigmatization, which is systematically reproduced in various modern ATC. Racial structures, unequal social processes, and unrepresentative members of society are shaped by gender, class, race, and many other factors but "exile can generate a critical consciousness... which absorbs all migrants under one theoretical umbrella, regardless of the historically specific conditions under which their migration have occurred" (Davis 2002: 42). In Chapter Five, I claim that many ATC, generally in origin nations, act similarly towards the general public. They place all trafficked victims under one theoretical umbrella, claiming that they are innocent, naïve girls whose best chance of avoiding trafficking is to just remain at home. However, with organizations like BLinN and La Strada focusing on empowering trafficked individuals through ATC, I argue this representation of survivors is generating increasing communal acceptance, which is crucial into survivors' *successful* reintegration.

### **Conclusion:**

In Chapter Five, I discussed examples of ATC that focus on potentially trafficked individuals in Eastern Europe, Africa and the general population. Although they are created to spread awareness of the increased trafficking of persons, I argue that most ATC strengthen the *Innocent Victim Paradigm* which results in communal rejection and stigmatization of a survivor *successfully* reintegrating into society. Representing women as stereotypically passive and weak, the campaigns warn at-risk communities of the dangers of exploitation and migration abroad, but ATC often neglect to inform the population of the many trafficked individuals who had limited options in improving their livelihoods. As a result, many ATC do not truthfully depict trafficked individuals' encounters and experiences during their exploitation. However, with BLinN and La Strada focusing on empowerment in their ATC, survivors are given agency, which disassembles stereotypical representations of female bodies and presents them with more opportunities to *successfully* reintegrate.

On the other hand, the *success* of counter-trafficking programs is always difficult to measure and very often organizations take incorrect approaches to ATC. By representing female bodies as innocent and subjugated, the ATC display an authority over women and establish a collectively accepted social hierarchy, where exploited women are located at the bottom because communities often regard them as poor and stupid *victims*. With fellow unexploited neighbors presuming a higher social stance, these ATC irritatingly display a *successful* reintegration as easily achievable as long as you do not migrate or enter the sex industry; however, without addressing the root causes of trafficking and migration abroad, trafficking will continue to exist and survivors will continuously face communal rejection and stigmatization during their social assimilation into society.

## Chapter Six: Conclusion

In this master's thesis, I identify various social problems and limitations trafficked persons experience during their process of a *successful* reintegration. With vast amounts of survivors returning with little societal and governmental support, I argue that individuals encounter increasing difficulties when assimilating into their previous or newly-accommodated communities. They face physical, psychological and emotional traumas that stem from their trafficking experience, and thus influence a survivor's incapability to personally connect with other members in his or her communities. Due to the inhospitable nature of certain communities and the social stigmatization attached to trafficking, particularly their participation in the sex industry, many survivors are at high risk from re-victimization. On the other hand, this continued victimization is not just seen in cases of re-trafficking, but can also be observed in acts of communal exploitation. In numerous incidents of human exploitation, survivors are initially trafficked by family, friends and other members of their communities. Due to the pressures to economically succeed, these individuals voluntarily enter prostitution, but because of the negative reputation associated with sex work, numerous societies reject trafficked persons during their reintegration process even though the community originally influenced the survivors' migratory actions. However, when analyzing communal stigmatization, I argue that depending on how *successful* the trafficked individuals are upon return, there are, what I term, *double standards* during survivors' reintegration processes. For example, previously mentioned in this thesis, many trafficked men return to their societies subjugated, traumatized and without tokens of *success*. Due to the traditional gender customs of males being financial supporters of the household, these men return to their communities as economical *failures* and are communally rejected and stigmatized. However, those arriving with money, appliances or other measures of *success* are passively accepted in society because of the communal pressures to increase their standards of living. Supported in Marxist theory, I argue that in most cases of communal stigmatization of trafficked persons, members of the community use the survivors' experiences in labor and sexual exploitation as scapegoats for the society's underlying frustrations of not profiting financially from their travels abroad. Exploitation is not solely practiced by the traffickers, but communities take a crucial role in their fate and influence the *success* of survivors' reintegration into society.

From the provided literature, participant observations, and interviews, I comprise a number of social problems and limitations trafficked individuals encounter during their re-assimilation process. These social problems include, but are not limited to, the social stigmatizations by communities, the paradigms between 'innocent' and 'guilty' survivors of trafficking, and the communal desire to improve their members' livelihoods. In addition, I identify several limitations of reintegration as the misidentifications of trafficking cases, the risks in denouncing traffickers, and the governmental depictions of survivors as criminals to the nation. Through these social problems and limitations, survivors encounter increasing difficulties during their *successful* reintegration. According to

Mongard, a *successful* reintegration “depends on the person in question. Once she becomes no longer a victim and considers her reintegration to be successful herself. But it’s very subjective because of the trauma or because of the experience of already having worked in the sex industry, [she still] might decide to keep on working in the sex industry” (Mongard). The return of a migrant and trafficked person can be considered sustainable when social, economic, and psychological processes are identified in someone’s reintegration. For this thesis, I reveal numerous factors pertinent in survivors’ social inclusion. These factors are noted in previous thesis chapters and include *personal social inclusion*, legal factors, economic factors, emotional status of the trafficked survivor, religion, and the family and community. As a result, these factors control and influence the *success* of trafficked people’s reintegration process and are further influenced by issues of gender, social stigmas, exploitation, and the *double standard* of communal acceptance.

### **Gender, Social Stigmas, Double Standard and Exploitation: Their Influence in Reintegration**

In this thesis, I used four specific themes to support of my basic theoretical framework. The first theme was gender which is examined in nearly all sectors of trafficking and exploitation. I argue that there is a large misidentification of men as trafficked *victims* due to the stereotype that human trafficking comprises solely of women forced into the sex industry. As a result, communities and certain governments assume that the stereotype is factual, and thus assemble a profile which authorities and communities use to identify *true victims* of trafficking. In addition, I argue that men tend to face great legal limitations when reintegrating into society, involving problems with citizenship and proving that they were actually involved in trafficking; however women face double communal stigmatization due their participation in labor exploitation, but also in the *soiling* of their sexuality. As a result, I reveal why communities choose to reject survivors during their reintegration.

When observing the trafficking of individuals into the sex industry, generally, social stigmatization is attached to survivors reintegrating into their previous or new communities. With shame and humiliation being the underlying forces of modern-day stigma, I use Goffman’s theory of the stigmatized individual to analyze the social problems and limitations survivor’s face during their *successful* reintegration. There is an apparent inferiority in society between the stigmatized and *normals*. With numerous communities unwillingly accepting survivors due to their differing social identities, I argue that societal stigma develops from deep-seeded cultural values regarding sexuality, gender and *success*. Usually observed during their processes of *successful* reintegration, stigmatized individuals want communal acceptance, but because of their *tainted* position, individuals are forced to accept their unequal role that communities uphold. However, not all survivors face stigmatization and communal rejection. I argue that this is potentially due to the *double standard* of trafficking.

According to my research, communities and governments find difficulties identifying *victims* due to the high influx of trafficked voluntary sex workers. Due to common belief, survivors are stereotypically represented as careless, unintelligent and weak girls abducted from their homes.

Establishing the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*, I argue that communities encourage women to follow these subjugated and disempowering roles which ultimately, force those who do not follow the stereotypes to face further limitations during their *successful* reintegration. Due to the stigmatization involving voluntary sex work, many communities and governments identify individuals as trafficked *victims* on the basis of his or her initial intentions when entering prostitution. Due to this controversy, many voluntary sex workers are not recognized by their governments as *victims* of trafficking, even if they faced similar exploitation as their involuntary counterparts. As a result, this *double standard* affects many survivors during their process of social assimilation.

Exploitation is the fourth and final theme used in my master's thesis. In previous chapters, I used Marxist theory of exploitation of the working class in connection with communal exploitation. Claiming that society similarly exploits other members, I argue that communities pressure individuals to migrate abroad for their own financial gain. However, because of the popularity of voluntary prostitution and the stigmas attached to sex work and exploitation, numerous societies treat these survivors as criminals of the nation, instead of rightfully as *victims* of the state. As a result, these inhospitable communal reactions cause increasing difficulties during trafficked individuals' re-assimilations into society. In order to assist trafficked individuals properly during their *successful* reintegration, governments, communities and organizations must eradicate stereotypical interpretations of human exploitation and *victims* of trafficking.

### **Solutions to Assist Survivors during their *Successful* Reintegration:**

Unfortunately, research involving the reintegration process of trafficked survivors is tremendously limited in academia. With many governments and communities expressing tremendously closed minded approaches to the social inclusion of survivors in normative society, I argue that in order to properly assist trafficked individuals, the best solution for a *successful* reintegration is through methods of empowerment. Employed in such organizations as La Strada and BLinN, these empowerment programs allow woman to no longer live in the shadows of naïve, stupid, and innocent representations of an abducted trafficked *victim*, forced to work in the sex industry. With numerous trafficked survivors voluntarily entering prostitution, many do not fall under the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*. Consequently, those not living up to the stereotypical depictions of trafficked survivors are not identified by their communities or governments as *victims* of trafficking. In Chapter Five, I note the influence of anti-trafficking campaigns during the reintegration processes of trafficked persons. Through such campaigns, women are stereotypically depicted as weak, passive and subjugated persons, and thus I argue that such counter-trafficking methods sway communities to uphold traditional and normative representatives of trafficked *victims*. As a result, survivors face an abundance of social problems and limitations due to stereotypical representations of women; however, victimization is not only recognized within anti-trafficking campaigns, but is seen in documentaries, Hollywood films, and various commercials. Through other means such as empowerment, education

and social work, organization refuse to support the commonly accepted *Innocent Victim Paradigm* and aim to educate the population of what trafficking really entails and how they can receive the proper assistance during their process of reintegration.

However, using empowering methods of awareness is only the first step towards proper assistance for trafficked survivors during their assimilation process. I argue that in order for women to experience a *successful* reintegration, they first must be freed from cultural, mythical and traditional gender constraints. Women “must no longer be used as the canvas upon which societies’ fears and anxieties are projected; be defined no longer as innocent, sexless, ‘non-adults’ or as the oppressed sex of backward countries; but as agents endowed with the ability to think, to act and to resist” (Doezema 1999: 47). Every country faces specific limitations when eradicating trafficking within their borders. For example, in the Netherlands, nonprofit and governmental organizations are desperately searching for solutions to the *loverboy* phenomenon sweeping across Western Europe where past survivors are still emotionally connected to their pimps or *boyfriends*. In order to combat these problems and *successfully* reintegrate into society, I argue that survivors and potential trafficked individuals need to create and apply sexual boundaries when attempting to have a healthy, non-exploitative relationship after their trafficking experience. Such organizations as Pretty Woman, are already participating in such awareness spreading methods. With Pretty Woman representatives tolerantly and intimately focusing on what defines a relationship, how to practice safe sex, what you want from a relationship, and when it is okay to say no (Berberoglu). Governments need to make their laws and regulations more supportive for sex workers. Not everyone in the sex industry is a trafficked *victim*; despite popular belief. By educating the general population about the reasons individuals involve themselves in risky situations, perhaps communities will not be as keen to reject, what Goffman terms, *stigmatized individuals*. If *normals* continue upholding traditional representations of victimized women, communities will continue emphasizing their differences through ostracizing, socially excluding and stigmatizing survivors through physical and psychological acts of rejection.

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## Appendix:

*Image #1:* Below is a poster of an ATC displayed at BLinN. Focusing on the reintegration process of many young, mostly African, girls confined in voodoo practices, the text underneath the photo reads: *Voodoo inverso- with this picture I reverse the voodoo onto my trafficker. I am not afraid anymore.* I mention this ATC in Chapter One and Chapter Five of my thesis.



**Image #2:** Exemplified in Chapter Five of this thesis, this is an anti-trafficking campaign IOM released in 1998. Displaying a young, half-naked girl in black and white, this campaign establishes drama and eeriness as she runs behind the dark curtain. This campaign was found in Andrijasevic (2007).



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atraktivní dívku do 25 let  
na práci v zahraničí.  
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## Cesta zpátky tak snadná být nemusí

Anna: Studovala jsem, a protože jsem potřebovala peníze, tancovala jsem po večerech na diskotékách a v barech. Hezké oblečení a čas od času sundaná podprsenka na barovém pultu dokázala s chlapý udělat divy. Potom jsem chtěla jít dělat o prázdninách tanečnicí za hranice. Kontaktů jsem měla dost. Vyrazila jsem s tanečnicí to ale nikdy neměla na společného. Sebrali mi doklady a pod drogama mě donutili dělat prostitutku. Když jsem nechtěla, nedali mi najít. Pak už jsem musela. Skoču už asi nikdy nedokloním.

Chci, aby se takhle nedopadlo, a k tomu stále hrozně málo. Znát správné telefonní číslo, kde ti poradí, co si máš před odjezdem zařídit, aby ses mohla šťastně vrátit.

**La Strada – infolinka  
02-57 31 31 32 (Po-Pá 10<sup>00</sup>-18<sup>00</sup>)  
[www.iom.cz](http://www.iom.cz)**



**IOM International Organization for Migration  
IOM Mezinárodní organizace pro migraci**

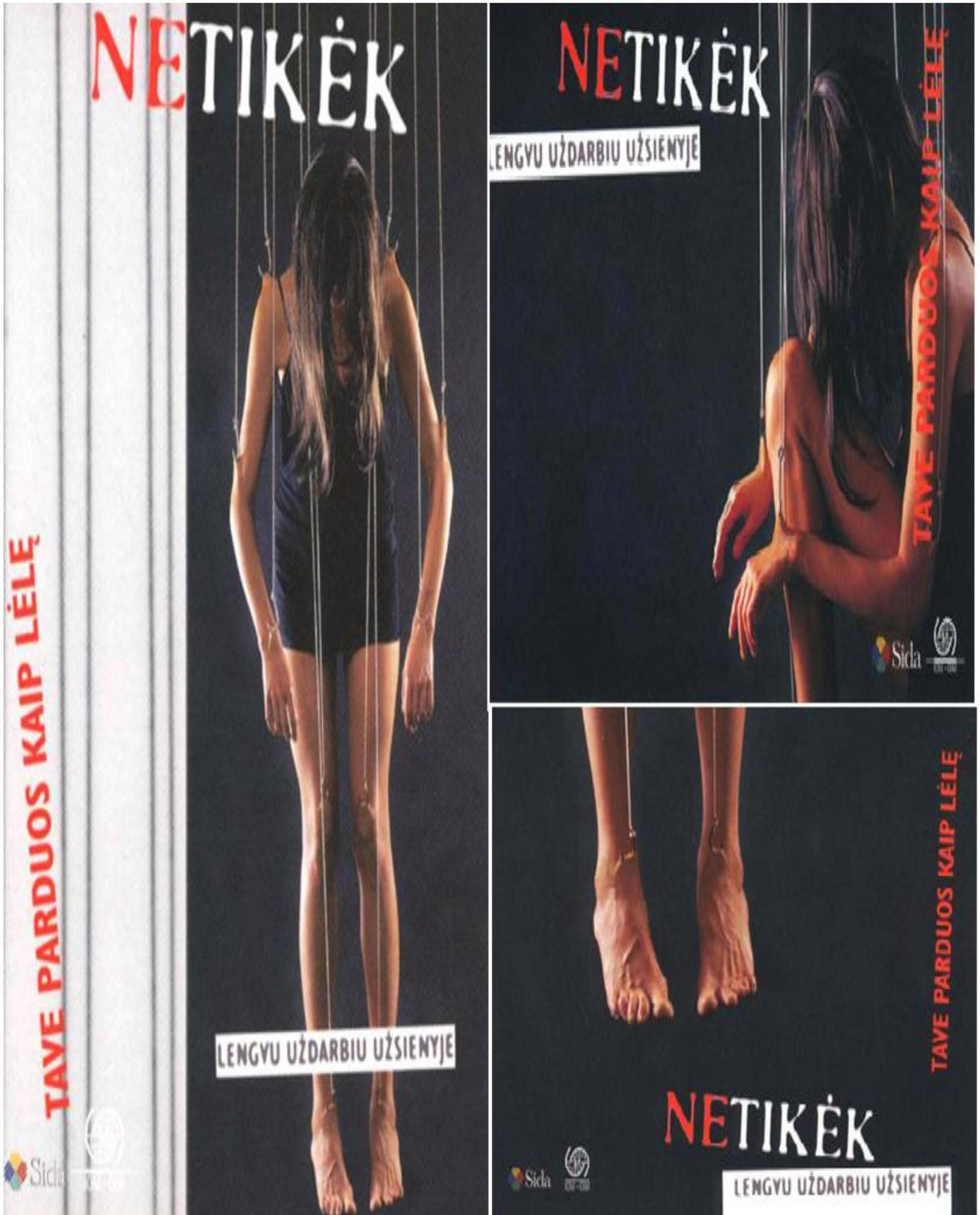
Informační kampaň je podpořována vládou  
Spojených států amerických.

Ministerstvo  
vnitřní, migrace  
a tělovýchovný ČR





*Image #3:* Seen in Chapter Five of this thesis, IOM released a series of ATC in the Baltic States in 2002. Displaying these women as nearly naked women hanging from hooks and cords, these females represent dolls. I found this campaign in Andrijasevic (2007) as well.



**Image #4:** In Chapter Five, I mention an anti-trafficking leaflet that was given to me by La Strada International representative Marieke van Doorninck. Instead of representing survivors from the *Innocent Victim Paradigm*, La Strada's ATC focus on empowering migrants. The counter-trafficking campaign states: *We want rights and roses. Prevent human trafficking. Respect Women's Rights.*

