Looking Through the Window: The Street Level Bureaucrat Response to Victims of Sex Trafficking from New EU Member States

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Author's Declaration

I, the undersigned **Camille Hesterberg** hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language.

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Abstract

Trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation is a global issue. The case of female trafficking victims from Central-East Europe reflects the changing form of this issue alongside an increasingly integrated Europe. This paper focuses on the role of the street level bureaucrat in the fight to combat sex trafficking, with an emphasis on police officers. In order to show this response, I have framed my paper by looking at the puzzle of Hungarian victims who have been trafficked to the Netherlands and are found among window prostitutes within the legal sex industry. The purpose is to show why it is necessary to re-evaluate the way in which these actors are assessing the situation of victims, as this impacts the system's ability to reach new types of victims that are appearing. To do so, I look at secondary sources that analyze major theories around this issue, and I evaluate qualitative data collected from semi-structured interviews with those working in the field. I believe that only by adapting our outlook on the issue of sex trafficking can we truly reach its victims, especially as the faces in the window change to ones our traditional practices would not flag as a victim of human trafficking.

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List of Abbreviations

SLBs – Street level bureaucrats

VoTs – Victims of trafficking

THB – Trafficking in human beings

EU – European Union

CEE – Central-East Europe

TIP - Trafficking in persons report

IOM – International Organization for Migration

Introduction

The flow of Hungarian women into the legal sex industries of the Netherlands and Switzerland are both visible and controversial trends. The migration trends are recognized as the women travel from Hungary, and their increased numbers are being researched within the destination countries. However, the pattern raises questions regarding the presence of coercion and exploitation among these workers: many wonder at the women's decisions not only to leave Hungary, but also to enter into the sex industry. Furthermore, these migration trends represent a freedom of movement for work that is only granted to European states belonging to the Schengen Zone, which becomes controversial if coercion or exploitation are involved.

In this paper, I do not intend to make any assumptions regarding the women who are traveling from Hungary westward, or to look at the victims themselves. Rather, my interest lies in understanding how street level bureaucrats (SLBs), particularly police officers, are understanding and responding to those Hungarian women who are migrating to the Netherlands as victims of trafficking (VoTs). My primary purpose is to outline whether SLBs are adapting their understanding of the victims in reaction to the changing trends of trafficking in human beings (THB). This includes an exploration of how their responses to victims differ, and if new techniques are being employed to address the issue. From this understanding, I aim to determine SLBs' place within the counter-trafficking policy cycle, as the basic expectation remains for SLBs to know who is, and who is not, a victim.

Sex trafficking is a global problem. It is not restricted to the context of Hungarian girls being trafficked within the European Union (EU). In fact, the Hungarian case study of girls moving west is not an extreme case, although it is a significant problem and exemplifies Central-East European (CEE) trends well. The exploitation of these girls is not what western countries

are familiar with regarding victim accounts of exploitation, as it is different from Dutch cases of trafficking, which represent the majority of trafficking cases in the Netherlands. This Hungarian case study is transformative in the sense that the situation has changed drastically since the accession of CEE countries into the EU. The circumstances in which these Hungarian girls are trafficked may lead theorists to explore new understandings of trafficking and the street level bureaucrat response. The objective of this paper is to determine if existing theory is able to explain the case study of how Dutch SLBs should respond to Hungarian VoTs.

The structure of the thesis is as follows: chapter one of my thesis will explain the context of the problem, with a focus on Hungarians working in the Dutch sex industry. Then, I will review relevant theories that will later be applied to the case study. I will explore the theories of the street level bureaucrats, migration, trafficking, and the conceptualization of the victim. The next chapter will look specifically at the case study of the SLB response to Hungarian victims of trafficking, as derived from the interviews I conducted with various actors in the field. Lastly, I will draw conclusions on the expected role of the street-level bureaucrat according to major theory versus the role that is actually assumed according to my direct sources. By the end of the paper, I will have effectively communicated the case of the Dutch SLB response to the Hungarian VoT, thereby putting merit to my argument. I argue that responses of the street level bureaucrat to the new victim of trafficking involve increased collaboration between different key actors, which leads to less distinct roles within the service-providing network.

Methodology

This paper is based on a combination of desktop and fieldwork research. For the theoretical overview, I used mainstream theories as well as official documents to explore key concepts relevant to the case study. My fieldwork consisted of seven semi-structured interviews, six of which took place in the Netherlands. In preparation of my fieldwork, I contacted a member of the local Budapest office of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) who has worked on the topic of trafficking for an extensive period of time. I also contacted the author of a key report regarding Hungarian sex workers in Amsterdam's red light district, who works for a government-funded organization in the Netherlands. Through these initial contacts, a snowball effect occurred in which I came across more organizations and actors. By the end of the preparation period, I had contacted a total of eighteen stakeholders from international, governmental, or nongovernmental organizations who work on the topic of either prostitution or trafficking.

Informants included coordinators and staff of key organizations, most of which were either governmental or government-funded. Of the seven informants, I consider three of them to fall under the category of SLB, although two of them are not in direct contact with VoTs. Additionally, two of the informants were volunteers for a government-funded agency who do come in direct contact with VoTs but who are not considered SLBs because they do not provide public services. The final two informants were both staff at IOM, one at the Budapest office and one in The Hague.

All interviews were conducted in English and took place in face-to-face mediums. I chose to only conduct face-to-face interviews as none of my informants spoke English as a

native language. By meeting them in person, I was able to better place the context of their responses based on body language, voice tone, and other non-verbal indicators.

In my interviews I used open-ended questions, which focused on sex trafficking victims, the Roma minority[1], the role of SLBs, and counter-trafficking policies. I chose to conduct semi-structured interviews, rather than structured or unstructured interviews, to allow for a wider range of potential interviewees. I also felt that having open-ended questions that were altered according to responses to preceding questions was beneficial to identifying new dimensions of the context of my thesis that I may not have considered otherwise. The basis of the questions used for the semi-structured interviews can be found in Appendix 1.

Although these interview responses are not representative of all those working in the field, both in terms of numbers and in regards to the variety of street-level bureaucrats, I was able to meet with a range of stakeholders. I did not focus my search for potential interviewees to the specific topic of sex trafficking. The purpose of asking a variety of informants is that my hypothesis predicts that certain actors are taking on untraditional roles when it comes to combating trafficking. Therefore, I suspected that I would find SLBs or those working with them in atypical spheres.

The combination of methods used allowed for a more thorough understanding of the topic. Additionally, I was able to apply deeply rooted theory to a modern-day framework, which could only happen with good middle ground between literature review and firsthand data collection.

[1] Originally, and as seen in Appendix 1, my research intended to look specifically at the Roma minority and the ways in which members may be more vulnerable, and therefore more prone to exploitation. However, my informants told me that data is not collected regarding minorities in the Netherlands.

Background

Hungarian VoTs with an active presence in the Dutch sex industry provide a multi-faceted puzzle that would require more research than the constraints of this paper allow. This puzzle is multi-faceted in that, among other things, it considers divergence from traditional Western understandings of sex trafficking, it addresses paradoxes between concepts of migration, it questions the perception of the trafficked person as a victim versus a criminal, and it challenges the role of SLBs in counter-trafficking policies. All these facets are identifiable within the growing reality that there are significant numbers of Hungarian women present within the Dutch sex industry, and that human trafficking, sex trafficking in particular, is receiving more attention than it has in decades past. The background section will provide the foundation for the above-mentioned problem, as well as to explain briefly the few found elements of the puzzle most relevant to the research intent presented here.

An Emerging Problem

Within the past decade, the Netherlands has seen a remarkable increase in the number of Hungarian females being trafficked into the country. Since only 2009, Hungary has been specifically mentioned as a significant source country for VoTs arriving to the Netherlands according to the US Department of State Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Reports (US Department of State 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014). Previous to the 2009 TIP report Central-East Europe was mentioned, but not Hungary specifically, as a source region (US Department of State 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006). The presence of Hungarian women in the Netherlands is notable both in the growing number of Hungarian prostitutes working in window districts and the high number of registered Hungarian VoTs (Sarbo 2012). Additionally, increasing media

coverage and political attention has been given both to trafficking in general, and to Hungarians specifically (Bureau of the Dutch National Rapporteur on THB 2009; Sarbo 2012; see article: Nguyen, "Netherlands Leads Way in Battle against Sex Slavery, Trafficking").

The problem of trafficking has only recently been discussed within the European Context, with the 1996 Austrian conference as the headlining event to discuss trafficking in the EU (Konrad and Marques 2012). This conference focused on women and sexual exploitation, a topic that receives more attention than other forms of human trafficking. At that time, most European countries did not have clear and specific legislation in place regarding THB (Konrad and Marques 2012). Now Western Europe is a leading example of counter-trafficking practices worldwide.

The UN Anti-Trafficking Protocol was revealed in 2000 (Konrad and Marques 2012). The first treaty on THB at the European level, proposed by the Council of Europe Convention, was not entered into force until 2008. The recent emergence of discussions regarding THB on a global scale shows that combatting trafficking has only recently been incorporated into national agendas.

The Sex Trafficking Puzzle

The case of sex trafficking of Hungarian women to the Netherlands has created a puzzle, only parts of which can be looked at during this paper. It differs from cases seen of many Dutch VoTs in terms of the type of coercion that is being experienced (Dutch Rapporteur 2015). Most notably, Hungarian women are experiencing situations of social and economic vulnerability (Sarbo 2012). Although these women may fall prey to 'lover boys,' or other forms of emotional manipulation, it has been observed that most Hungarian women understand

the purpose of their movement to the Netherlands. Although these women are aware that they will be entering the Dutch sex industry, they are still considered victims of exploitation if they lack control of their situation, particularly in regards to their finances.

Another dimension of the puzzle is the paradox of migration patterns. Sex trafficking, when taken past national borders, is considered to be an irregular migration flow (Geddes 2005). Likewise, migrants who do not possess legal documents to live and work in another country, or whose documents are forged or false, are also considered irregular migrants. Hungary, as a member of the European Union since 2004, entered the Schengen area in December 2007 (European Union 2015). As an Schengen member, Hungarian nationals are generally unrestricted from moving past Hungary's internal borders with other Schengen members (European Commission 2015). Hungarians, as other EU citizens, are granted the fundamental right to travel to or move to another Schengen country, even for living and working purposes, without special formalities. These opposing forces of irregular migration in the form of trafficking and regular migration in the form of EU membership rights create another side of the Hungarian sex trafficking puzzle.

One of the reasons that I chose to look at Hungarian victims of trafficking specifically within the Netherlands is due to the legality of the Dutch sex industry. Although not all cases of sex trafficking occur in the realm of the legal market in the Netherlands, potential Hungarian victims are still found working in window prostitution in the Netherlands (Sarbo 2012). Even though prostitution is legal, the aspect of the puzzle in which police must differentiate between a criminal and a victim is still relevant to the context of this study. There are many violations of law that could occur within the legal framework of prostitution in the Netherlands; including failing to obtain proper work permits or not paying taxes. If a VoT is found working outside of

legal perimeters, the police face the more difficult task of recognizing the potential victim status, instead of treating the person as a criminal. Furthermore, the interpretation of who is constituted as a victim is highly dependent on how trafficking is defined, for which there is not yet a consensus among EU countries (Konrad and Marques 2012). The concept of the victim will be explored further in the following chapter.

A final dimension of the puzzle is the role of SLBs within the counter-trafficking initiatives. As will be expanded on in the literature review chapter, the theory of SLBs tries to identify their role within the policy cycle. For the purpose of this research, the main attraction is to the role of the police officer, and his ability to perform a law enforcement job simultaneously with victim identification and providing public services in line with a given policy, all while remaining sensitive to the needs of individual. This contradiction is mainly based on the ability of a police officer to concern himself with the collective needs of society and also the demands of the individual. How one caters to the individual and the collective simultaneously is a key component to understanding the role of the SLBs within trafficking initiatives.

The presence of Hungarian victims of sex trafficking in the Netherlands is a multi-dimensional puzzle. More pieces could be added to this puzzle in an attempt to bring a more thorough understanding to the issue. However, for the purpose of this research project, the four paradoxes listed have been chosen as most appropriate to understanding the context of this problem. These themes will be expanded on throughout the remainder of the paper.

Theoretical Overview

This chapter will review the theories most relevant to gaining a strong understanding of the case study. In the first section, I will review the core theory of the SLBs. Then, I will define migration in order to make better sense of the simultaneous occurrence of regular and irregular migration. The third section will better define trafficking within the European context. Lastly, I will lay down the foundation for the conceptualization of the victim.

Street Level Bureaucrats

The concept of SLBs is grounded in core theories most notably associated with Michael Lipsky. The term is used to describe the individuals who citizens interact with when accessing public services, such as police officers or social workers (Lipsky 2010). Typical SLBs "grant citizens access to government programs and provide services within them" (3). SLBs must perform their jobs using discretion but are limited by the conditions their work structure.

Although not all SLBs interact with citizens, the majority will work with citizens directly and are therefore expected to have discretion over which ways a citizen will or will not receive public services (Lipsky 2010). Furthermore, role theorists have developed three sources to determine what role a street level bureaucrat is expected to have. The role of SLBs is derived from the expectations of peers and others in complementary roles, reference groups, and the consensus of the public. These differences matter for the purpose of this research as different expectations for an individual leads him to have different goals. Dutch police officers, in the context of fighting sex trafficking, have a variety of goals including catching the traffickers, rescuing potential victims, penalizing those who have broken any laws, and implementing the relevant policies in place to accomplish these goals.

The expectation of SLBs to play a role in the policy cycle is not mentioned by Lipsky as a primary source of determination regarding the person's role (2010). Nonetheless, their role has implications for policy, as the work environment impacts their routine, which then reflects the outcome of their work. The outcome of a SLB's job is a component of the overall public service agency performance, which constitutes the delivery (implementation) of policy to citizens. Therefore, SLB behaviors will have a large impact on the how citizens experience policy. As Lipsky argues, "the decisions of street-level bureaucrats, the routines they establish, and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures, effectively *become* the public policies they carry out" (2010, *xiii).*

Aside from delivering policy, SLBs also play a role in policy making (Lipsky 2010). As the name street level bureaucrat implies, these individuals are the level of governance closest to individual citizens. While policy elites and officials are creating the rules and regulations, the SLB is using his discretion to develop the policy norms and practices. This is because often times, policy presents a range of rules and regulations that cannot be realistically applied. Therefore, the SLB make decisions that determine which parts of a policy will carry more significance.

The most important aspect of the SLB theory for this research is the ways in which they prioritize the individual or the collective when performing their job (Lipsky 2010). This is the fundamental dilemma of the as they are working with limited resources, including time. According to Lipsky's theory, these resource restraints prohibit the SLB to be attentive to individual cases. Furthermore, these public service providers are expected to be "the bureaucratic ideal of impersonal detachment in decision making" (Lipsky 2010, 9).

The theory goes on to explain that SLBs are stuck between the opposing forces of the demands of their jobs and its associated policies, and the desire to help individuals (Lipsky 2010). This concern for the individual is conflicting with the need to meet agency goals. The SLB faces a continuous challenge to accommodate the individual case. In fact, although the agency provision requires the SLB to collectively address his cases, the nature of the work as a public service provider requires responsiveness to the individual. The policy that the SLB delivers to the citizen is personal, which requires in the moment discretion. When the role of the SLB is as dynamic as the role of the Dutch counter-trafficking SLBs, assuming collective stereotypes for all clients can be harmful to the victim, and even keep from her being properly removed from the situation.

A final point to be made regarding SLBs is that the citizens who interact with them do so involuntarily (Lipsky 2010). These citizens are often among the most vulnerable within a society, and policy implications affect them to a higher degree than average citizens. This concept of the involuntary and vulnerable client will be discussed further in the case study chapter.

Regular versus Irregular Migration

In order to understand the place of THB within the migration theory, it is important to explore the meanings of regular and irregular migration. Irregular migration occurs parallel to the concept of regular migration, so this section will conceptualize irregular migration patterns.

Irregular migration occurs in four ways: when a person enters into the borders of a state secretly, or without detection; using forged documents; by staying after acceptable documents expire, or overstaying; and after a retroactive decision is made regarding a migrant's status

(Geddes 2005). The borders of the state refer to territorial, organizational, or conceptual borders. This distinction of borders as a social process is key to understanding how a human can still be considered trafficked after time spent in the destination country. THB falls under the first category of irregular migration, by entering borders without detection. However, human trafficking can also occur with an individual entering these borders with forged documents provided by their exploiter.

Due to the obscurity of irregular migration, it is hard to quantify the number of occurrences (Geddes 2005). Furthermore when cases of irregular migration are revealed it is not clear whether their discovery is due to an increase in the overall amount of irregular migration, or if it is due to more adequate enforcement concerning migration. This leaves evidence of irregular migration ambiguous. Generally speaking, it is unclear what the scale, extent and effects of irregular migration are. Still, the EU has declared the need to combat irregular migration, and therefore has made the fight against it, including in the form of trafficking, as a EU competency. This has made the differences between national-level and EU-level policies vague.

Within the European context, freedom of movement exists for those countries within the Schengen Area (European Commission 2015). This movement is considered as regular migration, as it is part of a legal and institutionalized EU framework (Europa 1995). This free movement of individuals is considered a fundamental right of all EU citizens (European Commission 2015).

Understanding the definitions of regular and irregular migration are pertinent to realizing the paradox that constitutes trafficking within the internal EU borders, as is the case of Hungarian women being trafficked to the Netherlands.

Trafficking

Defining trafficking is problematic as the chosen definition carries a variety of implications regarding criminality, migration, economic and social context, and more. This is in part why trafficking is such a multidimensional issue (Vijeyarasa 2012). Therefore, this section will only briefly review general definitions to trafficking, especially as defined by the UN, the EU and the Dutch governments.

According to some theorists, trafficking can be defined as simply as the involuntary movement of victims (Vijeyarasa 2012). This definition holds value in its mention of 'involuntary' movement, as this is the differentiation between trafficking and smuggling. Trafficking is exploitative, and therefore the secret act of whoever is mobilizing the victim, whereas smuggling is the secret attempt of the mobilizing individual (Geddes 2005). Trafficking involves fraud, coercion, and physical and psychological abuse.

Europol, the European Union's law enforcement agency, cites THB as being a crime against an individual's human rights in which criminals exploit vulnerable individuals while treating them like commodities traded for financial gain (Europol 2011). The report goes on to clarify that physical and psychological abuse occur in the recruitment phase, which is when the criminal deceives, persuades, or abducts, or others receive, the victim. However, this definition falls short in clarifying who can be considered a victim, and does not offer protection to victims who do not experience physical abuse, or at least not in the recruitment phase. With this limitation of their definition, Europol does not consider a variety of situations of trafficking in which no physical abuse initially occurs. Europol's definition is only significant for this case

study in its mentions of vulnerability and exploitation, although their report does not offer further explanation of these concepts.

Trafficking becomes a multi-level governance issue if the victim is moved past territorial state boundaries. Therefore, I would like to clearly differentiate between three definitions of trafficking that all affect the Dutch context: that of the UN, the EU, and the Dutch government. To start at the macro level, the commonly used, but not uniformly accepted, definition laid out by the UN in article 3, paragraph (a) of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons (United Nations 2004) defines trafficking as:

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

This definition is the same that is used by the European Union, as determined in the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (European Commission 2013). The majority of member states has ratified the Palermo Protocol, where the UN definition is legislated, as well as the Council of Europe Convention, and therefore has adopted this definition into their national legislation.

At the micro level of this case study sits the definition used by the Dutch National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings and Sexual Violence against Children, an appointment that was made after the 1997 recommendation by the European Union under The Hague Declaration (Dutch Rapporteur 2015). The Rapporteur website claims the following definition on trafficking:

> *In Dutch law forcibly recruiting, transporting, moving, accommodating or sheltering another person with the intention of exploiting that other person is punishable as THB. (The intention of) exploitation is at the core of human trafficking. Exploitation occurs in the sex industry, for instance when someone is forced to work as a prostitute.*

Unlike the macro level definitions of trafficking, the Dutch definition brings in the key concept of human rights. According to the manuscript article "A Human Rights Approach to Human Trafficking," the human rights approach prioritizes the rights of the trafficked person (the so-called survivor), and uses the 3 P's model of prevention, protection and prosecution (Fitzpatrick-Choi, n.d). The 3 P's model focuses on prevention to reduce the likelihood of trafficking, protection to assist those who have been trafficked, and prosecution to punish traffickers and to deter others. The model strictly regards trafficked persons as survivors bearing rights, not as criminals. Some strengths of this approach are that it considers the wishes of the trafficked individual, and it allows the trafficked person to self-identify. This approach also signals the need for the trafficked person to have access to paid work, savings, and basic services. It emphasizes empowerment, representation, collective mobilization and integration. Mentioned conditions for enslavement as seen through the human rights approach include poverty (necessary but insufficient) and a lack of personal or structural power. These concepts will be outlined as applicable to the case study in the following chapters.

Before moving on to the next section, I will briefly clarify how sex trafficking differs from other forms of trafficking. To do so, I will employ the definition that is set out in the 2014 Trafficking in Persons Report by the United States government. The report refers to sex trafficking as (US Department of State 2014, 29):

> *When an adult engages in a commercial sex act, such as prostitution, as the result of force, threats of force, fraud, coercion or any combination of such means, that person is a victim of trafficking. Under such circumstances, perpetrators involved in recruiting, harboring, enticing, transporting, providing, obtaining, or maintaining a person for that purpose are guilty of sex trafficking of an adult. Sex trafficking also may occur within debt bondage, as individuals are forced to continue in prostitution through the use of unlawful "debt,"*

> *purportedly incurred through their transportation, recruitment, or even their crude "sale"—which exploiters insist they must pay off before they can be free. An adult's consent to participate in prostitution is not legally determinative: if one is thereafter held in service through psychological manipulation or physical force, he or she is a trafficking victim and should receive benefits outlined in the Palermo Protocol and applicable domestic laws.*

I chose this definition because it begins with a focus on the victim as the subject, rather than the perpetrator, which appropriately leads into the next section regarding the conceptualization of the victim.

Concept of the Victim

In most of the above definitions of trafficking, the focus is on the criminal act involved. To draw the focus away from the perpetrator and back to the impact that being trafficked has, this section will outline the understanding of the victim. Most reports use the term 'victim' to describe an individual who has been subjected to trafficking. The context in which the victim is discussed in reports indicates how she is conceptualized by different organizations. This section will include three frames of the victim concept: self-identification, victims of consent, and criminalization of the victim.

In a report by the European Commission titled "The EU rights of victims of trafficking in human beings," the way in which victim rights shows how self-identification of victims is perceived. Of note is point 1.4 of chapter 1 in which the report states "[assistance] and support can only be provided with the victim's consent on an informed basis" (European Commission 2013, 4). This point, based on Directive 2011/36/EU, article 11, paragraph 5, hints at the need for the victim to self-identify in order to be supported. This is not to say that the Commission only requires self-identification to determine that someone is a victim, as seen from point 1.1 of

chapter 1[2]; however, the report speaks of a person's needed consent to receive services that are provided only to victims. If an individual does not consider herself to be a victim, she may refuse the support, and therefore the bureaucracy may not treat her as a victim.

Throughout the Ninth Report on Trafficking in Human Beings by the National Rapporteur, the word choice when addressing victims as a subject was "(possible) victim" (National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings and Sexual Violence against Children 2013). Unfortunately, the report does not specify the use of the preceding adjective used before victim. However, it is useful to recognize this presentation of the victim from Dutch reports alongside rhetoric of empowering these (possible) victims. From this, readers may reason that Dutch authorities have a particular mechanism for documenting victims. As my informants confirm in the following section, the Dutch system has a registration system of all victims with an organization named CoMensha, whose core values include autonomy of the individual to make her own choices for, and about, herself (CoMensha 2015).

Another key conceptualization of the victim within the trafficking problem is the idea of consent, or knowledge of circumstances. Awareness of, and even agreement to, working conditions is part of the puzzle that differentiates the Hungarian victims from the victims of lover boys. Despite knowledge of what line of work waits for them in the Netherlands, and despite consent to the work, trafficking has still occurred in the Hungarian case. According to the UN's Palermo Protocol, any use of coercion negates the agreement made between the victim and the trafficker, even if the job was agreed upon via legal documents (US Department of State 2014).

[2] Point 1.1 states, based on Directive 2011/36/EU, Article 11, paragraph 2, that "victims are entitled to assistance and support as soon as the competent authorities have reasonable grounds to believe that they might have been trafficked" (European Commission 2013, 4). This statement shows the need for authority recognition of a victim, which means that victim identification is not solely represented by victim self-identification.

The 2014 TIP report lays out a clear and relevant example of circumstances that may seem to be voluntary, but in fact exhibits a form of trafficking (US Department of State 2014, 35):

> *Similarly, a woman who has voluntarily traveled to a country knowing that she would engage in prostitution is also a trafficking victim if, subsequently, her exploiters use any form of coercion to require her to engage in prostitution for their benefit. If a state's laws conform to the Palermo Protocol requirements, a trafficker would not be able to successfully defend a trafficking charge by presenting evidence that a victim previously engaged in prostitution, knew the purpose of travel, or in any other way consented or agreed to work for someone who subsequently used coercion to exploit the victim.*

This excerpt shows that agreement regarding work or work conditions is not justification for an exploiter to benefit from the victim's position in an industry.

The concept of treating a trafficked individual as a victim rather than a criminal will be discussed more thoroughly in the following chapter. I wish to mention here the manner in which official reports discuss the idea of the victim versus the criminal. According to Directive 2011/36/EU, Article 8, and recital 14, the involvement of a victim in criminal activities as a direct result of being trafficked should not be penalized (European Commission 2013, 5). Unfortunately, the EU legislation is only binding if transferred to national law. At this time, the Dutch public prosecution service has only stated its intent to consider the fact that the victim was required to perform criminal acts but has not officially declared it a situation of guaranteed non-prosecution (Dutch Rapporteur 2015, 23).

The concept of the victim will be further developed in the following chapter that reviews the contents of my interviews. Understanding the above-mentioned conceptualizations of the victim is helpful to interpreting the street level bureaucrat response to the victim.

Fieldwork Review

This chapter contains an overview of different concepts as presented by my informants. The accuracy of the information obtained in these interviews is proven through the consistency of responses, along with the ways in which these responses parallel with the information provided in officials documents. This also shows the heightened knowledge among relevant actors in the fight against human trafficking within the Netherlands.

In the first section, I will look at the perceptions of the Hungarian sex trafficking victim. Next, I will review the interaction between the SLB and policy. In the next section, I will provide an overview of the integrated approaches used in the Dutch system, including an exploration of the advantages and disadvantages to collaboration. The final section will look at the way that the Dutch SLB responds to, and creates a relationship with, the victim.

Defining the Hungarian Victim

Within my semi-structured interviews, I included a series of questions regarding Hungarian VoTs. My informants' responses called attention to three main sub-themes, namely the place of trafficking within the social fabric, the economic state of Hungary, and trust issues with police.

The reader must foremost understand that Hungarian VoTs often tend to consent to their migration to the Netherlands, but are still identified as a vulnerable group within window prostitution for exploitation (Sarbo 2012). As discussed in the previous chapter regarding the social understanding of trafficking, my informants confirmed that Hungarian victims differ from others. This is due to some level of consent in their movement to the Netherlands, as it was observed that Hungarians knowingly travel west for sex work. Furthermore, Hungarians differ

from others because they have even less autonomy, or did not previously have control of their lives. As one respondent explained, these girls "are not clearly aware that they are being exploited, or they do not see it as exploitation, even if they feel like something is wrong about it" (Dora 2015).

The economic state of Hungary means that there are many individuals exposed to economic hardship, which makes them more vulnerable to exploitation (Sarbo 2012). Informants have observed that among Hungarian victims, many did not have good enough opportunities in education and employment, thereby making sex work seemingly more appealing as a way to make money. As one respondent made clear: "the biggest problem is money" (Sarbo 2015). This is made obvious by data that shows most Hungarian women come from the more economically devastated areas of Hungary (Sarbo 2012).

A final distinction of Hungarian victims, which was confirmed by multiple informants, was the distrust towards police. There are a variety of rumored stories regarding untrustworthy police officers in Hungary. However, the issue does not stop at police but affects the perception of most SLBs. Due to the lack of trust towards institutions, Dutch SLBs have a difficult time reaching these Hungarian girls (Sarbo 2015). There is a strong need for a neutral party, especially during prostitution controls, where a mediator tends to be present. There is also a distance between the Hungarian victims and the Dutch SLBs because of language issues. One informant explained that legally working in the Netherlands requires Dutch language skills, as field workers do not speak Hungarian (Sarbo 2012). For this reason, there is strong suspicion that these women are dependent on a third party, such as a pimp, though they would not admit this to my informants, especially not if this person is still holding them in a position of dependency.

From my interviews, I learned that SLBs are aware of the large number of Hungarian girls within the Netherlands' sex industry, some by choice but others as exploited VoTs. Therefore, the next section will provide an overview on informant responses regarding the Dutch policies and how these mechanisms may or may not suit the situation of the Hungarian victim.

The Dutch Policy Cycle

Some of my interview questions aimed at learning about Dutch policies to see how aware SLBs are of policies, how they interpret them, and if they influence policy.

Through the interview process, I was able to gain a base understanding of components to Dutch trafficking policies. For example, one informant explained to me the B9 license, which offers provisions for a victim to stay in the Netherlands during the criminal proceedings against a perpetrator (Wittenburg 2015). This differs from the 3-month reflection period that is allotted to each identified victim, according to policy established in The Hague (Bijnen 2015). Also, in some municipalities, operators of sex businesses, such as window operators, are being held accountable that their renters are not VoTs (Sarbo 2015). By holding operators responsible, there has been increased intervention when any signs of abuse are detected. It was noted that this policy would only be successful in a country where sex work is legalized.

Despite the mention that this policy has worked, it is not universal to the Dutch system. This is due to trafficking policy being handled at the national level, whereas sex industry policies are handled at the municipal level (Bijnen 2015). Despite this separation of power, it is still a concern of the informants that people do not distinguish between prostitution and trafficking. Only Amsterdam was noted as clearly separating these two different topics when addressing policy. However, Amsterdam was also mentioned for continuous policy change. Frequently

changing policy is problematic because it creates an information vacuum, especially when implementers such as SLBs cannot keep up with the changes, and also because it makes it more difficult to find the best policy solution, if the policy lasts long enough to see results (Bijnen 2015).

The relationship between SLBs and policy runs deeper than just their knowledge of policy. All of my informants who I categorize as SLBs mentioned that they exert influence over policy making (Bijnen 2015, Wittenburg 2015, Sarbo 2015). Some organizations provide data to help with strategy development, while others are involved in taskforces and teams that discuss the policy issues of trafficking. One informant, a social worker, said that she thinks policy influence is important. Therefore, she tries to "get in between all the important people" (Bijnen 2015). As a result, people now turn to her for advice and to hear what social workers have to say regarding THB.

Also noted was the value in being aware and informed about policy. The consensus was that most low-level SLBs are not well informed of trafficking policies, but they are also not in the hierarchy of SLBs dealing with sex trafficking policies (Sarbo 2015). The focus of SLB work was seen as a bigger hindrance on policy implementation than a lack of awareness of policies (Bijnen 2015). One informant summed up this obstacle by saying: "they are aware but if you are in a situation it is sometimes very hard to adjust to the policy because you want to respond with empathy and beside that we may think you understand the policy but I can imagine it's not making sense in every situation" (Wittenburg 2015). The focus of many SLBs is not on combatting trafficking, only specialized units whose main role is to respond to trafficking keep this as their objective (Bijnen 2015). This applied to the presence of knowledge about counter-trafficking policies in other countries as well; informants were only aware of these policies if

they had educated themselves on them, not because it was required under their job duties (Bijnen 2015, Wittenburg 2015).

Dutch SLBs are intertwined with policy, as should be expected as public service providers. As important as the individual SLB is to the process of policy, another characteristic of the Dutch system is noted as being the strong point of counter-trafficking initiatives: collaboration among a variety of actors.

Counter-Trafficking Collaboration

There is a strong sense of collaboration among key actors and organizations in the fight against THB, which was not only talked about but which I also witnessed through the interconnectedness between my different informants. The National Rapporteur mentions in reports, which my informants confirmed, that to effectively fight THB, all parties should work together (Dutch Rapporteur 2015, Wittenburg 2015). One informant alluded to trafficking being such a large issue, that it requires everyone to work together in order to tackle it (Weeda 2015). Another informant named the amount of collaboration occurring between actors in the Netherlands as a key characteristic to making the Dutch system a positive example for other countries to follow (Sarbo 2015). She added: "Also, the policy and data are very transparent. If a country knows numbers and there is collaboration, there is a chance to make policy better."

Having information accessible to all collaborators is a characteristic of the Dutch collaborative effort. For example, CoMensha, which one of my informants manages, is responsible for maintaining the database of all identified VoTs in the Netherlands (Bijnen 2015, Sarbo 2015). At this time, only police officers are required to report identified victims to CoMensha, but it is the organization's hope that other key SLBs, such as social workers and

lawyers, will also report (Sarbo 2015). CoMensha provides information and services to other SLBs in the field, including acting as a mediator, or a neutral party, between the SLB and the victim. This is especially important while conducting raids, controls, or interrogations involving victims. In general, CoMensha informs and advises all parties working with VoTs.

Within the Dutch system, there is a focus on information sharing. This includes when organizations sit down together to discuss cases, learn from each other, and to make sure that two parties are not taking on the same tasks (van Bulck 2015, Bijnen 2015, Sarbo 2015). What is also unique about the Dutch strategy is that it incorporates others into the team that may not be considered as having normal involvement. This includes volunteer organizations that provide buddy system services for VoTs, such as the organization where two of my informants worked. The informants themselves were volunteers, but still they are involved in discussions with other collaborators (Lettinck 2015). Their participants may only be matched with a buddy volunteer if their aid worker has referred them to the program. This leads into another key element regarding the intricacy of collaboration occurring here.

Collaboration is seen in the basic knowledge that one service provider has regarding other services that victims may need, or want, to access. A SLB working for the Marechaussee, roughly translated as the Royal Dutch military police, informed me that her team keeps in touch with people who can make arrangements for the victims, such as shelter stays (Wittenburg 2015). She encourages her colleagues to be more aware of what the victims could need, so that they can get them in touch with the right contacts. The same goes for the volunteer organization with whom I spoke to, which is essential in the event that a victim consults with the volunteer about needs that the organization is unable to provide (Lettinck 2015). These organizations are

regularly in touch with other service providers to ensure that they know who is involved in collaboration, what role they are playing, and how they can be reached.

The Dutch collaboration reaches past private and public service providers, and also includes informed citizens, journalists and members of government. This is seen from the excursion that CoMensha hosted in which a journalist traveled to Hungary to see the conditions there (Sarbo 2012). The informant said: "if someone doesn't know anything about a topic, they don't think it exists, which is why it is so important to inform people" (Sarbo 2015). Another example is in the buddy system organization. My informant explained to me how they host events for their volunteers on a regular basis where different collaborators present on various topics regarding THB (Weeda 2015). Moreover, campaigns are taking place to make the general public more aware of trafficking (van Bulck 2015). For awareness-raising regarding sex trafficking, one campaign sought to inform buyers of sexual services to look for indicators of abuse and trafficking, and to report if any were found (Wittenburg 2015).

Despite the positive aspects of the collaborative efforts, there are certain disadvantages to this as well. For example, one informant mentioned that there is reorganization occurring within the care system in the Netherlands, which means that some information about SLB roles is being missed (Weeda 2015). Another obstacle in keeping up with everyone involved is that the field of actors and organizations is full (van Bulck 2015). This can create for a confusing effort (Bijnen 2015). Furthermore, each collaborator is bringing with them a different mindset. This can be good in that the victims come from a variety of backgrounds and views, but it means that some collaborators are not logical partners (Bijnen 2015).

Although the network of Dutch collaborators is large and contains many crossovers, there are overlying goals that can keep everyone on the same level. Therefore, it is important to

recognize the response not only of my informants, but also of Dutch SLBs in general, to the victims.

Perception of the Victim

The relationship between the SLB and the victim is complex. To clarify, this section will focus on understanding this relationship. I will include informant responses regarding the roles of SLBs involved in counter-trafficking, along with looking at their goals, and the source of their own concept of the victim. Moreover, I will highlight my findings on keeping victims in the focus, as well as pushes for victim autonomy. By the end of this section, the reader should have a clear understanding of how the Dutch SLB and the Hungarian victim interact.

To start, the informants vocalized that SLB roles are directed by Dutch law (Bijnen 2015, Wittenburg 2015). Therefore, certain SLBs are authorized to work with VoTs, while others are not. The role of the police officer is to provide documentation that recognizes an individual as an identified VoT, and to then report this to CoMensha (Bijnen 2015, van Bulck 2015, Sarbo 2015). Otherwise, there is a hierarchy within the Dutch police system regarding who comes in contact with victims. Although there are street cops who patrol areas where victims might be, such as in the window prostitution districts of different cities, these officers do not even talk with the sex workers (Bijnen 2015). This is the role of a special police unit, with different targets from the street cops. Although there is not always a connection from sex worker to VoT, one informant mentioned that sex workers were often victims, too (Sarbo 2015). Once someone has been identified as a victim, the only SLBs who work with the person are special forces, who are specifically trained to interact with VoTs (Bijnen 2015, Lettinck 2015).

In order to stick to the goal of victim focus, SLBs must understand different signals for identifying potential victims. One informant notes that actors all over, even if not working directly with victims, have been trained on recognizing signs and signals of trafficking (van Bulck 2015). Sometimes, these signals are only a red flag going off in someone's head, or finding something suspicious, almost like a gut instinct (Bijnen 2015, Weeda 2015). One informant, a social worker, emphasized that the signal system has its own flaws (Bijnen 2015). For example, SLBs cannot always detect the signs of trafficking, so it is unrealistic to expect those who do not work on combatting trafficking to know. She states: "[The girls] don't tell the truth because they are afraid, they are forced, they are brainwashed" (Bijnen 2015).

Another informant had made a similar point regarding our expectations of SLBs. He asked whether we can realistically expect relatively low ranking officers to understand the layers of the human mind enough to detect when prostitution is voluntary or not. He said: "Patrol officers are often unaware, insensitive, etc. Obviously not all of them are the same and probably procedures and referral mechanisms should be devised in a way that sex workers and VoTs are referred as soon as possible to adequate care mechanisms instead of expecting very intricate interventions from low level police" (Dora 2015). This leads us into the consideration of SLB biases.

Due to possible biases, CoMensha advises professionals to make the victim the central focus (Sarbo 2015). Failing to keep a victim focus can put VoTs in a more dangerous position. For example, some SLBs flag a potential victim by placing her on a negative work advice. "It doesn't mean there is an investigation on her or her pimp. But she's not allowed to work as a prostitute unless her situation gets better" (Wittenburg 2015). If an actual victim is given a negative work advice, her exploiters will know that she has been identified as a potential victim.

The tendency for SLBs to give these advices is due, in part, to the traditional focus of the police officer as a law enforcement agent, whose focus lies on the criminal, or perpetrator, not the victim. Here, we observe a crossover of roles in which the task that would normally be left to a social worker (determining the status of an individual) is left to the police officer.

There also exist positive examples of role crossovers. An informant working with a victim shelter explained to me the types of beds in the shelter. Among them was a bed for chain partners: "all people we cooperate with in Amsterdam who think they have a victim of trafficking, but who is not officially a victim, can phone us and ask for an offer for this bed for a maximum of 3 nights. And in those 3 nights we talk to the girl and see if we also think she is a victim, and then we connect the girl to the police, and then she can stay in another bed" (Bijnen 2015). This shows that it is not a matter of the social worker taking the role away from the police officer, but as supplementing it. If not for the social worker's ability to use investigative skills, at least in this example, then it would take longer to detect this specific case of trafficking by a police officer, if at all. Therefore, some crossover of SLB roles is necessary to be as effective as possible in combatting trafficking.

This ability for a social worker to better determine the status of a potential victim may be due to issues of trust between victims and some SLBs. One informant, who does work with the police but not directly with victims, mentioned that because of her association with the police, her presence could put these girls into more danger (Wittenburg 2015). This element of danger in encountering the police is also seen in the reluctance of victims and witnesses to testify against perpetrators. The informant reiterated how important it is to build trust with a victim, and to make it a goal to not put her into more danger than she was in already.

In addition to building trust with a victim, SLBs must allow victims to be autonomous. This means that the SLBs do not identify a person as a victim unless she considers herself a victim. To do so, SLBs must put the victim and her needs as the central focus, but without pampering her (Sarbo 2015). The informant states, "the goal is to have victims make a new start, not to stay a victim in their behaviors, and to prevent re-victimization" (Sarbo 2015). The concept of autonomy lies on the thinking that "[the] person [makes] her own choices and decisions" (van Bulck 2015). Another informant added to this "victims never had a chance to make their own decisions so we try to give them back this right. And it is very difficult because a lot of girls are not used to it" (Bijnen 2015). Fostering victim autonomy even stretches to private organizations in place to help victims with return and reintegration. These actors encourage the victim to make her own decisions, and are only responsible for providing her with relevant information (van Bulck 2015). Transparent information allows a victim to make her own decisions wisely, and therefore includes being honest about future possibilities upon return (Sarbo 2015). Part of the hope in transparency and empowerment is so that she can learn that the victim has the ability to say no if she meets her former trafficker, or if she encounters someone new trying to exploit her. Teaching this ability aligns with SLB goals to not allow girls to fall into re-victimization (Bijnen 2015).

With the help of my informants, I was able to better understand what the relationship between the Dutch SLB and the Hungarian victim looks like, although a full picture cannot be painted through the research methods used. Nonetheless, between the secondary sources and my qualitative data collection, I am able to compare and contrast to create my own assessment of the current situation.

Analysis

My research, both through my fieldwork experience and by looking at secondary sources, provided answers to many of my initially unanswered research questions. However, the issue of THB remains complex, no matter what research parameters are put into place. In this final chapter, I will attempt to outline key findings while also recognizing where limitations existed. I will do so in three sectional topics: vulnerability of victims, SLBs focus on the individual and collective, and the concept of collaboration for enhanced policy performance.

Vulnerability of Victims

The major theory highlighted argues that those citizens who are interacting with SLBs are doing so involuntarily and are sensitive to the chosen policy responses due to their levels of vulnerability. Although there is a strong element of vulnerability amongst the Hungarian victims, I did not gain the sense from my informants that they were as strongly impacted by counter-trafficking policy as the theory led on. I propose that levels of vulnerability are represented along a spectrum, and that certain characteristics make a victim more/less vulnerable, rather than the theory that clients of SLBs are more vulnerable than non-clients.

In the case of the Hungarian VoTs, I have found certain characteristics that heavily determine their placement along this spectrum of vulnerability. The disadvantaged socio-economic position of Hungarians, in comparison to west European citizens, is one such characteristic that will influence a victim's level of vulnerability. However, this is a double-

sided coin because this low economic standing is a driving force behind the consent that Hungarians do give for entering into the legal sex industry. There is power in their consent.

Another characteristic of vulnerability is in entering the labor market of a foreign country. As Hungary is a member of the Schengen zone and Hungarian women moving to the Netherlands for sex work are considered regular migrants, there is one less barrier in that there is less legal protocol. However, a challenge to free movement for work is the language barrier, which my research proved is an issue for Hungarian VoTs. Not only do many of these VoTs not speak languages aside from Hungarian; there are very few SLBs who speak Hungarian in the Netherlands. Therefore, these women may grow dependent on others to help them overcome the language barrier. Who this third party is will determine which way along the spectrum the victim moves.

A final example of a characteristic that moves the victim along the vulnerability spectrum is the amount of distrust she has for SLBs and institutions. From my research, I have learned that Hungarians hold a level of distrust towards police officers especially. I also learned that police officers specifically struggle with sensitivity towards victims, due to the nature of their job to seek out criminals. Therefore, the victim's placement on the spectrum will depend not only on how much she trusts a SLB, but also on the individual traits of that specific SLB. If the SLB is likely to give a suspected victim negative work advice, the victim would be more vulnerable for engaging with him. If a SLB seeks to identify victims from a place of protection against exploiters, than he in fact decreases the victim's level of vulnerability.

This spectrum of vulnerability is not limited to the examples stated above. This analysis of vulnerability proves the importance of the individual case, rather than categorizing victims collectively, which is explored further in the following section.

Individual or Collective Focus

As seen from the literature, SLB roles require simultaneous attention to both the interests of the individual and to the general public. Although my informants did not directly address the SLB's balance between the individual and collective, I believe their responses can be used to infer this dimension of the case study. Dutch SLBs have reacted to the issue of large numbers of Hungarian VoTs. This reaction started as a collective response to an over-represented group of people, but the focus then became more individualized. The research that has been done regarding Hungarian women working in window prostitution, along with Hungarian VoT specifically, contains a focus on individualized needs and recognize that these women are often coming from different backgrounds.

THB is a sensitive issue, and not all victims can be categorized as one group, especially within the European context. The Dutch SLBs have a strong sense for the individual. This is seen most heavily in their encouragement to recognize victim autonomy. By empowering the victim from the moment of first contact, the SLB is in fact creating an individualized interaction, regardless of whether the employed mechanisms are used for all victims or not.

There is also a push within the SLB system to remove stereotypes and biases. Creating assumptions regarding an ethnically distinct group due to unbalanced experiences would be a collective response. Although this still occurs within the Dutch system, my informants emphasized the desire to eliminate such responses. As the SLB culture is being pushed to

change from the inside out, it shows that the Dutch are moving towards more individualized responses to VoTs.

Lastly, the observation of increased crossovers in the roles of SLBs show heightened awareness for individual needs. Crossovers are a form of compensation for inadequate agency goals. When the social worker behaves more like an investigative police officer to determine if a women is a VoT, he is filling a gap caused by the distrust that these women have towards police. On the other hand, the police officer showing high levels of sensitivity in his interaction with victims shows that he is taking the place of the social worker when one is not present, to make sure that the victim receives all necessary responses. Stepping outside of their traditional roles shows how the Dutch SLBs are reacting to the individual needs in the moment, rather than allowing the boundaries of their designated role to keep a victim from accessing public services.

Increased numbers of crossovers is an indicator for better collaboration among SLBs. The next section will analyze the importance of collaboration to the counter-trafficking policy goals.

Necessity of Collaboration

Among the conclusions I have drawn from this research, I believe the most valuable is that collaboration among SLBs is essential to combating issues like THB. When we look at international issues such as trafficking, the natural inclination is to fight them with an international policy. Implementing international policies at a lower level disregards the different social, economic, or political environments. Therefore, I have come to understand that collaboration is a more powerful mechanism for policy implementation than

international policy. Collaboration allows policy adjustments to be made so more successful implementation may occur.

The Dutch collaboration breaks from the major SLB theory. These theories only mention the involvement of government agents as being involved in public service provisions. I find that, in the Dutch context, there are other key actors who provide services of victim detection and assistance who do not fit into the definition of a SLB. I do not propose that the theory needs to be modified to include private actors as well, but I think that the theory needs to be expanded to recognize that social policy is more effectively maintained with the help of non-SLBs. Among my informants, the two volunteers are a good example of such actors. These volunteers have an active relationship with both SLBs who combat THB, and also with the VoTs themselves. They are providing an assistance service to the victim in the form of a support network. Additionally, these program participants can seek advice from the volunteers on who to contact to receive other public services. These volunteers are an example of non-SLBs who are stepping into the role of the SLB in response to the needs of VoTs.

Information sharing is a strong characteristic of the Dutch collaboration system. Sex trafficking is not limited to spheres where only SLBs work. VoTs will interact with a variety of SLBs as well as with citizens. By using campaigns to increase public awareness of THB and by maintaining transparent data on the issue, VoTs have a better chance to be detected. This is because there are more individuals who the victim will come in contact with who understand the topic. Also, the open dialogue within the Netherlands means that people, both SLBs and citizens, are not afraid to speak up when they notice signs of potential trafficking. Even though more awareness from more actors creates a surplus of suspicion; I

firmly believe that an information overload is more manageable and more beneficial to the fight against THB than an information vacuum would be.

Due to the variety of victim profiles within the Dutch sex industry on a whole and also among the Hungarian women specifically, a collaborative response is essential to meet the variety of needs. Through information sharing, SLBs will know better how to react to an individual case, even if they are not the SLBs directly interacting with the victim. In conclusion, I believe that the collaboration amongst Dutch SLBs, private actors and the general public make for an effective system for combatting sex trafficking.

Conclusions

The intention of my thesis was to look at the response of Dutch street level bureaucrats compared to increased numbers of Hungarian sex trafficking victims. Due to Hungary's significance as a source country for VoTs to the Netherlands, it is an issue that cannot be ignored. I wanted to explore whether or not SLBs are adapting their understanding of the victim to better help these Hungarian women.

In the first chapter, I provided the reader with an overview of the problem. This included an explanation of the different pieces of the Hungarian sex trafficking victim puzzle, which I addressed in subsequent chapters of the paper. Chapter two consisted of my literature review, where I defined key terms. I looked at the theories of the street level bureaucrat, migration, human trafficking, and the victim, all of which enhanced the reader's understanding of the case study. The next chapter introduced the main findings from my fieldwork, encompassing themes such as the Hungarian VoTs, the Dutch counter-trafficking policy, collaboration among SLBs, and the victim-focused approach. I finished my paper with an analysis that compared my secondary and fieldwork sources. I chose to focus on the topics of vulnerability of Hungarian VoTs, the SLB response to the individual over the collective, and the strength in the Dutch system of collaboration.

My thesis argued that the Dutch actors are in fact changing their response to fit the need of the Hungarian victim, and that they are using increased collaboration and assuming less distinct roles to accomplish their work. From my research, I have found that both these arguments proved true at a surface level. Further insight into the case study would be necessary to create a more detailed research statement. As a result of my research and in contribution to the field of study, I reinforced the basis of the SLB theory to fit within the

present-day context. However, I also found that these traditional theories are not enough to explain the changing SLB response to new groups of VoTs. I believe this is due to the complexity and sensitivity of trafficking.

This research was only a starting point for understanding the SLB response to sex trafficking victims. For further insight, I suggest further research regarding the difference that the legalization of prostitution makes in combating trafficking. I suspect that there will be a new divergence in the traditional SLB theory regarding different characteristics of criminality.

Appendix 1: Interview Questions

PERSONAL

- What is your role within [organization]? What are your duties and responsibilities?
- How long have you worked for [organization]?
- In your position, in which ways does your work deal with sex trafficking?
- In which ways does your work deal with the topic of the Roma minority?
- Does your work put you in direct contact with police officers or social workers? Can you describe your interactions with them?
- In your position, are you aware of the policies of trafficking in other countries? How does this influence/not influence your work?[3]

INFORMATIVE

- What policies does [organization] employ when working with victims of trafficking?
- What policies does [organization] employ when working with minority groups? Which minority groups are targeted in these policies?
- Does [organization] influence country policies in any way? If so, which policies does [organization] focus on influencing, and in what ways?
- From the point of view of your position, what is the current situation of Hungarian Roma girls migrating to the Netherlands for sex work?

[3] This question was only included in the interviews with those working in the Netherlands, as it was intended to learn about the informants' awareness of Hungarian policies.

- Can you describe the awareness that police officers and social workers do/do not have of the policies in place regarding sex trafficking?
- Can you provide me with an overview of how [organization] aids in return and reintegration for victims of sex trafficking to return back to their home communities? Are there any female, Roma specific strategies?

GUIDANCE

- What country's trafficking policies do you recommend I look at for an example of good policy practice?
- What country's trafficking policies do you recommend I look at for an example of bad policy practice?
- What obstacles do you see in policy reaching police officers and social workers? Do you have any suggestions on how to improve their capabilities in implementing sex trafficking policies?

SUGGESTIONS

- Who else do you recommend that I contact to speak to about my topic?
- What documents do you suggest I look into to further my thesis research?

HOUSEKEEPING

- May I use your name, your organization's name, neither or both in my final thesis paper?
- Would you like a copy of the thesis paper upon completion?

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