Human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Germany. A (international) social work perspective on social problems, interventions and challenges

Masterthesis Lund University/ Graduate School

VT 2013

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Lund, 13th of August 2013
Abstract

The following study exposes the issue of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation from the perspective of (international) social work in Germany. Germany is one of the central countries in Western Europe where human trafficking takes place. Especially girls and women can be identified as victims of this crime and are exploited and discriminated in various ways. Social work as one actor in this field supports identified victims with different approaches. By using the concept of intersectionality and the theoretical assumptions by Staub-Bernasconi (2007) regarding needs and social problems, the knowledge social workers and practitioners have about the situation and social problems of victims will be outlined. Thereby the main research approach of this study reflects a qualitative analysis of already existing literature. Few own interviews with social workers and practitioners in this field, as well as a minimum of quantitative data are added in order to draw conclusions. The findings show that social problems and discrimination against victims of human trafficking occur on different levels, such as the individual as well as structural level. It becomes clear that a certain gender, class, ethnicity and age dimension can be detected with especially young, foreign girls and women with little education becoming victims of this crime. A focus of the study further lies on social work intervention in this field and methods that are used in practice to provide support and care to the victims. Social work thereby has to adopt its methods to the changing requirements in order to successfully respond to (new) global problems. Even though social work has the possibility to intervene on different levels, the counseling centers are also confronted with challenges and limitations in their practical work. Those challenges and limitations and the reasons why they occur will be subject of analysis. This will result in various claims and postulations that, from the perspective of social workers and practitioners, should urgently be implemented in Germany in order to combat the crime of human trafficking and improve the situation of the victims affected by this crime.

Key words: Human trafficking, sexual exploitation, (international) social work, intersectionality, social problems
Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the different counseling centers that helped me by providing information or giving me advice for my thesis. I further would like to thank the social workers and practitioners that took the time for an interview with me! Thanks! I also would like to express my thanks to the organizers of the conference “Combating human trafficking today (2013)” for letting me participate. A big thanks to my supervisor Norma Montesino for your advice and support. “Tack” to all my wonderful classmates in Lund and Malmö for all our discussions, all the fun we had and for the unforgettable time in Sweden! I learned a lot from you!! A special thanks to all my friends and loved ones around the world who always supported me ☺️ Der größte Dank gilt aber meiner Familie, besonders meinen wunderbaren Eltern und meinem weltbesten Bruder! Danke für eure Unterstützung und Liebe!!
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<tr>
<td>AufenthG</td>
<td>Aufenthaltsgesetz (Residence Act)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BKA</td>
<td>Bundeskriminalamt (German Federal Police)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bmfsfj</td>
<td>Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (German Ministry for family, seniors, women and youth)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>FIM e.V.</td>
<td>Frauenrecht ist Menschenrecht (Woman right is human right)</td>
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<td>IFSW</td>
<td>International Federation of Social Workers</td>
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<tr>
<td>KOK</td>
<td>Bundesweiter Koordinierungskreis gegen Frauenhandel und Gewalt an Frauen im Migrationsprozess e.V. (The German nationwide activist coordination group combating trafficking in women and violence against women in the process of migration)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NASW</td>
<td>National Association of Social Workers</td>
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<td>Solwodi</td>
<td>Solidarity with women in distress</td>
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<tr>
<td>StGB</td>
<td>Strafgesetzbuch (German criminal court)</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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1. Introduction

Human trafficking is a problem which occurs in most parts of the world (Okech et. al 2012, p. 488). Regarding to a recent study by the European Commission, 23,632 people have been identified or assumed to be victims of human trafficking in the EU between 2008 and 2010 (European Commission 2013, p.1). One of the results of the study further was that human trafficking in Europe rose by 18% from 2008 to 2010, with the number of traffickers being convicted decreasing in this mentioned period. However, as stated by the EU, this number only “represents the tip of the iceberg” (European Commission 2013, p. 1-2). Women are especially vulnerable to this crime and regarding to the European Commission represent the biggest group of trafficked people (68%). The main purpose of trafficking is for sexual exploitation in the receiving countries (62%). Germany counts as one of the central countries in Western Europe where human trafficking takes place (European Commission 2013, p.2 and FIM e.V. (n.d.)). Nevertheless, Germany also belongs to those countries that still did not implement the EU Anti- Trafficking directive from 2011 in their national legislations (European Commission 2013, p. 1 and EU 2011).

Men and women are not only affected by human trafficking, the conditions of trafficking often carry other social problems, such as violence, rape, psychological trauma or financial exploitation. The issue of human trafficking is further a challenge to the society as a whole as according to Shelley (2010) “the costs of human trafficking are experienced on the individual, community, national, regional, and global level” (Shelley 2010, p. 59). Besides that trafficking violates the human rights, it further involves the “spread of disease, and the destruction of communities”. Additionally human trafficking “undermines democracy, rule of law, and accountability of governments” (Shelley 2010, p. 59/p.66). Not just that human trafficking is a threat to human security and political security, human trafficking “challenges states’ control over their borders and the ability to determine who will reside on

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1 Human security „requires that citizens have security in their daily lives from such constant threats as „massive population movements, infectious disease and long term conditions of oppression and deprivation“(Jan van Dijk, Officer in Charge, Human Security Branch 2004/Shelly 2010).
their territory” (Shelly 2010, p. 59). Human trafficking can on one side result in social problems for the individuals that become victims of the crime as well as become a security threat for the society on the other side. The society should thus have an interest in combating human trafficking on various levels and from different areas of intervention. At the political, juridical, health, educational and social level different measures are elaborated and implemented. Social work is part of the social area and intervenes by supporting identified victims on one side, as well as by doing preventive work with women engaging in sex work on the other side. Additionally educational work in forms of lectures, publications and seminars address other target groups such as teachers, police or the general public.

1.1 Problem formulation

As argued by Alvarez/Alessi (2012) the topic of human trafficking did not gain much attention in academic social work literature, even though it is widely discussed in scientific research in general (Alvarez/Alessi 2012, p. 142). To include the perspective of social workers in the academic discussion regarding human trafficking however is important because of a variety of reasons.

In their everyday practice, social workers are challenged to adopt their methods to new global challenges in order to support victims (Healy 2012, p. 9). Social work deals with the changing dimension of human trafficking and the resulting social problems. Since its beginnings social work has been a profession addressing its help to vulnerable people or minority groups with the aim to improve their lives (see for instance Buchkremer 2009, Hammerschmidt/Tennstedt 2005, Engelke 2002 and 2004). Accordingly, it is the main mandate of social work to support (vulnerable) people in need like victims of human trafficking. As women that became victims of human trafficking often do not have the possibility to leave their situation without support and to claim their human rights, social work is especially asked to engage in this topic and to support women in need.
Methods used by social work allow intervention and problem solving on different levels, such as the individual level as well as the community level. Social workers often serve as a connection between the clients, different conflict parties and authorities, which can be seen as another advantage of the profession. With their methods, social workers can further reach sex buyers as well as the general public, which are also actors in the issue of human trafficking. Prevention as well as individual treatment of social problems are levels where social work is involved in their practical work.

In this study, it will become clear that social workers and practitioners\(^2\) have the insight to the social problems of the victims and the experience how relevant laws affect the clients. Social workers and practitioners know about the real life situation and the needs of the victims and can contribute to outline where discrepancies lie between legal regulations and the needs of the people. As it will be pointed out in the methodological discussion, it is challenging to directly get in contact with victims of human trafficking for the purpose of research. It can hence be stressed that social work is demanded to contribute the knowledge of their practical working experience and the situation of the victims to academia. This knowledge can then be added to discussions regarding for instance the improvement of legal regulations, such as migration laws or victim protection.

As just presented, especially due to the direct contact to the victims as well as the broad working approach which allows intervention on different levels, the knowledge social workers and practitioners have regarding the issue of human trafficking is crucial to consider, also in academia. Therefore social work perspectives with regards to human trafficking in Germany will be considered in the following study.

\(^2\) By using the term practitioners employers of the counseling centers are meant that do not have a specific background in social work, but do the same job like trained social workers.
1.2 Research questions, aim and outline

The aim of the following thesis is to discuss the issue of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation in Germany from the perspective of selected counseling centers that work with identified victims or with women engaging in sex work. The focus lies on the knowledge social workers and practitioners have about the situation and social problems victims of this crime face, as well as the social work methods and interventions used in practice in order to combat such.

From a social work perspective it shall be discussed where discrimination occurs due to certain categories that intersect with each other. In the literature it is often mentioned that a certain gender dimension can be observed as mainly girls and women are affected by human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. However, it can be presumed that not only the category of gender plays a crucial role in this context. Rather it can be assumed that belonging to a certain class, ethnicity or age group are also factors that make women more vulnerable to become victims of human trafficking and to be exploited and discriminated.

Further a focus lies on the social problems that victims are confronted with, due to the unfulfillment of certain needs. It is assumed that social problems lie on different levels and occur due to individual and structural circumstances. It will be elaborated how social problems can be conceptualized and how social work is reacting to them in order to improve the clients’ situation. It shall then be analyzed where and why social work faces various challenges and limitations in its work with victims of human trafficking.

Especially female victims shall be in the focus of discussion, when talking about the target group of this crime in this study. This shall however not deny that boys, men, transgender or transsexuals can also be affected by trafficking (Follmar-Otto/Rabe 2009, p. 20).
With regards to the aim of the study, the research questions will be the following:

*What knowledge do social workers and practitioners have about the issue of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation and the social problems victims face? How can this knowledge be conceptualized by applying the concept of intersectionality and the theoretical assumptions by Staub- Bernasconi (2007)?*

*How are social workers and practitioners working in practice with the issue of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation? How are the concepts of resource analysis, streetwork and case management applied in practice?*

*Where are the challenges and limitations social workers and practitioners identify on an individual and structural level and why do they occur?*

In order to answer such questions the study will contain the following outline. As the first chapter already introduced the relevance of the topic and presented the research questions, the second chapter will define relevant terms and consider already existing research in the field of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. At this point the link to Globalization shall be made and background information regarding the legal principles in Germany will be given. Also the main aim of (international) social work shall be discussed in this chapter.

The theoretical part in the third chapter provides a framework which, from a social work perspective, helps to analyze the situation of trafficked women and the scope of the social problems they are facing. Two main theoretical approaches will be introduced as well as some social work methods. As the first theoretical framework the concept of intersectionality will be presented. This interdisciplinary approach allows to explain the situation of the target group and helps to point out various factors, where discrimination and disadvantages occur against victims of human trafficking. Secondly, some theoretical assumptions by Staub- Bernasconi (2007) regarding the dimensions of social problems shall be given in order to later conceptualize them. Additionally to those two concepts, it will also be touched upon theoretical assumptions by Thiersch (2009) regarding shame as an emotional factor involved in this thematic. Furthermore the resource analysis, street work, and case management are introduced as practical social work methods used in this field.
The forth chapter introduces the research method used in this thesis. The study follows a qualitative research approach and uses data from primary and secondary sources. Few quantitative data will additionally be added. The advantage of this research approach will be pointed out and the challenges of the research, ethical considerations and the limitations of the study will be discussed.

By using the concepts introduced in the third chapter, the fifth chapter shall first analyze the intersection of different categories. The situation of women that became victims of human trafficking stands in focus and the dimensions of the social problems they are facing are discussed from a social work perspective. Examples from selected counseling centers will be mentioned at this point. Subsequently the focus lies on the practice of various social work institutions that work with trafficked women in Germany. It will be considered how social work responds to the social problems trafficked women are facing. Challenges and limitations of social work practice will be mentioned and explained why certain problems occur in practice.

The results of the findings will be discussed in the sixth chapter. It shall further be outlined what, from a social work perspective, the political and societal changes should be in order to combat the crime of human trafficking in Germany.

A conclusion will close the study and critically reflect on the research approach and the choice of theories. An outlook regarding current discussions on human trafficking and forced prostitution in Germany will shortly be given.

2. Background: Definitions, previous research and (international) social work

2.1 Definitions of relevant terms

The definition of human trafficking which is mostly used was developed by the UN in 2000 (Palermo Protocol). Accordingly human trafficking can be defined like the following:
“‘Trafficking in persons’ shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, har-bouring 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’” (UNODC 2004, p.42).

The main elements of the definition are thus that threat or other forms of violence are used in order to have the control over a vulnerable person. The victim is harmed in his/her self-determination and exploitation for various reasons is the consequence of this power relation. Human trafficking can take place within a country as well as cross countries, where the latter is more common (Jones, et al. 2007, p. 112).

Another term which is often used as an equivalent to human trafficking is “modern day slavery” which also refers to “trafficking of human beings into forced labor and prostitution” (O’Sullivan/Fry 2007, p. 43). Human trafficking or modern day slavery shall not be confused with smuggling of migrants. In the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air it is mentioned that thereby the assistance of migrants is meant in order to illegally enter a country3 (UNODC 2004 p.54f). In contrast human trafficking is an act of exploitation of the victims, involving deception and coercion. Smuggling of migrants can also change into human trafficking (Follmer- Otto/ Rabe 2009, p. 17). The line between trafficking, smuggling of migrants, voluntary or involuntary migration can often not be drawn easily

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3 “Smuggling of migrants” shall mean the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident” (UNODC 2004, p. 54f).
(Najafi 2008, p. 25). Especially in the practical work it is hence important to consider the individual reasons for migrating and to look at all factors that are involved in this process.

As pointed out by Gatze (2008) before the international definition of trafficking in human beings was set, many counselling centres in Germany preferred the term “trafficking in women”, which is still used widely. The reason to use this term resulted from the first happenings that the German public was confronted with regarding that issue, which was the phenomenon of “sex tourism” especially in Thailand in the beginning of the 1980s. The topic further became more relevant when so called “imported brides” for instance from Thailand came to Germany. At the same time the thematic of “illegal prostitution” of foreign women became more significant in Germany (Gatzke 2008, p. 12). The focus hence laid on women, which also embrace the majority of trafficked people now. As most counselling centres in Germany that work with the issue of human trafficking focus on female victims, the term still seems appropriate when talking specifically about the needs of this client group.

It can be critically discussed if the term “victim” is appropriate when talking about trafficked people. Just like in most of the literature regarding human trafficking, it will be talked about victims in this study as well. Thereby especially the focus on “interpersonal victimization of concern to developmental victimology”\footnote{“This victimization can be defined as harms that occur to individuals because of other human actors behaving in ways that violate social norms. The human agency and norm violation components give victimizations a special potential for traumatic impact. It is different from other stresses and traumas, such as accidents, illnesses, bereavements, and natural disasters” (Finkelhor 2007, p, 10f).} shall be considered. By talking about victims it shall not mean that trafficked people necessarily lack their own agency. However, as the study will show, there are certain disadvantages for trafficked people which source mainly lies in the exploitation and violence that women have experienced. Hence, the term victim seems appropriate.
Nevertheless, there are various forms of trafficking and people experience the situation differently. Some of those who have been victims themselves turn the side and become perpetrators at another time (Campell et. al 2010, p. 231).

A high number of victims of human trafficking, especially women, are forced to prostitution or other sexual labor. In this case it is often also talked about “sexual slavery or sex trafficking”. One possible definition would be following: “’Sexual slavery’, defined as being forced to engage in prostitution when the victim is unable to escape the situation, whether through the use or threat of force, actual captivity, or threats against the family, or fraud and deception. Sex trafficking involves not only prostitution but also working in so-called gentleman’s clubs, sex dancing, and forced participation in pornography” (O’Sullivan/Fry 2007, p. 44). It would be incorrect to consider all women working in the sex area as forced prostitutes in the sense of them not having agreed on this kind of job. As it is pointed out by the federal police a high number of women agree to work in the sex industry, however do not expect working conditions that are inhumane and can be compared to slavery (BKA 2011 and Prasad 2008, p. 65). Especially in the practical work with sex workers it is hence especially important to consider the individual reasons of women to engage into this working area, instead of generalizing that being a victim of trafficking also means being a victims of forced prostitution and vice versa.

As mentioned, not all victims of human trafficking are forced into sexual labor. There are also other purposes for trafficking. Such can be forced marriage or other labor exploitation, begging, organ transplants or illegal adoption, which shall not be in focus in this study (Headway 2007 p.5, see also Cissek- Evans 2008, Joo-Schauen 2008 and Cyrus et. al. 2010). Furthermore the existence of women that consciously and voluntarily chose to work in the sex industry should not be neglected. However, regarding volunteer prostitution, there exist different assumptions. As it is often written, many women decide to prostitute themselves, because of their precarious social or financial situation. They do not see any other possibility to support their family or find no other chance to earn money in general. Even
though women then decide to engage in sex work, talking about voluntary prostitution would still be the wrong term. Often women that agree on working in the field of prostitution are not aware of the working conditions and only realize that the working field is not what they agreed on or what was promised to them (see for instance Jones, et. al 2007, p. 111). Monika Hartenfels (2013), director of the institution Solwodi mentions “voluntary prostitution is a myth. We can say that after 30 years of working in practice with this issue” (own translation)). Contrasting opinions on this topic can however be found. As considered by Kavemann/Steffan (2013) in the 1980s sex workers claimed for juridical equality with other professions and the recognition of sex work as a normal job was demanded (Kavemann/Steffan 2013). Opinions can differ on the valuation of this topic. From a juridical perspective such a distinction is however crucial (Kavemann/Steffan 2013). For social work it can be stressed that it is important to look at the reasons for engaging in sex work and the consequences of it. Regardless if engaging in sex work is an involuntary or a voluntary choice of the women, social work intervention shall always be orientated on the specific needs of the clients and not morally judge about the circumstances of the women.

Regarding to Staub- Bernasconi (2008) social work is a human rights profession which addresses vulnerable people or vulnerable groups (Staub- Bernasconi 2008, p.13). Social work thereby has a variety of practical methods which allow interventions on different levels depending on the social problems and the needs of the clients (see for instance Galuske 2009, Engelke 2002 and 2004, Knapp 2010). The international definition adopted in 2001 by the IFSW accentuates the main aim and responsibility of social work.

“The social work profession promotes social change, problem solving in human relationships and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance well-being. Utilising theories of human behaviour and social systems, social work intervenes at the points where people interact with their environments. Principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work“(IFSW, 2012).
How this empowerment\(^5\) of vulnerable people within social systems in the case of trafficked women takes place shall be subject of discussion in the empirical part of this study. Also the international dimension of the social work discipline and profession as a response to new global challenges will be discussed in more detail later. First the link to Globalization as one structural reason of human trafficking shall be made and previous research on this issue shall be considered.

2.2 Globalization and human trafficking

The issue of human trafficking is not a new phenomenon, but a problem that already exists in a variety of forms for many years. Already in 1913 Jeremiah W. Jenks and W. Jett Lauck, mention the case of “the Social Evil and the White Slave Traffick” in the United States. They point out that it is often “immigrant girls who have entered factories of various types or have been engaged in such lines of activity that they are kept from the benefits of home influence” (Jenks/ Lauck 1913 p. 64). With “such lines of activity” the authors refer to activities in Night Clubs, which probably includes prostitution. Even though trafficking for the purpose of prostitution is not a new phenomenon, it is often mentioned that the attention to the problem has shifted and has become more. The debate regarding the conceptualizing of the problems connected to it and the emphasis on the issue on an academic as well as public level has increased. Thereby many scholars argue that the impact of Globalization has changed the issue of human trafficking and various structural circumstances support this crime.

Globalization can be defined in various ways. Depending on the focus of interest, the meaning and the evaluation of the outcome of this process can vary. However, as pointed out by Lechner/Boli (2008) two main characteristics are often included in the understanding of Globalization. Accordingly the term can on one hand be

\(^5\) The focus in empowerment lies in supporting the strengths of the client, rather than focusing on the weaknesses. “By building on the strengths and resources of the client, the therapist encourages the client to use his [her] inner skills and resources to deal with personal problems and concerns” (Farley et. al 2009, p. 51).
seen as “the set of processes by which more people become connected in more and different ways across ever greater distances” (Lechner/Boli 2008, p. 4). On the other hand they describe the process of Globalization as a “process by which capitalism expands across the globe as powerful economic actors seek profit in a global market and impose their rules everywhere” (Lechner/Boli 2008, p. 4). Globalization can hence be understood as a process connecting people across borders on a social and cultural level. Further Globalization can be identified as an economic process where the world becomes more and more connected to form one global market, with certain groups benefiting more than others. A critical discussion regarding the definition of Globalization cannot be given at this point. Rather it shall be pointed out that the process of Globalization can also be seen as a structural reason for a rising emerge of human trafficking for the following reasons:

As it is stated by Healy and Link, “Globalization continues to affect people’s well-being from individual to national levels, and it particularly disadvantages some” (Healy/Link 2012, p. 3). Healy/Link (2012) consider the new possibilities and changes due to Globalization as a main reason why many people, especially in “non Western countries” try to go abroad to search for better employment opportunities. By doing this, they often become more vulnerable to fraud. The poor economic situation is often seen as the main reason for migration, but cannot be seen as the only factor.

In their study “human trafficking in Germany, strengthening victim’s human rights,” Follmar- Otto and Rabe (2009) emphasize on various different reasons that lead to human trafficking. Apart from the “economic imbalance between countries of origin and destination, as well as societal inequality within the countries of origin” they argue that the increasing demand for cheap labor in receiving countries leads to human trafficking as well as the situation in the home countries, like traditional gender roles and the violations of human rights (Follmer- Otto/ Rabe 2009, p. 22). This may include the denial of access to “education, training and the labour market” for many women. With respect to Eastern Europe, which is one of the areas with a high number of women becoming victims those “are particularly affected by
infringements of social rights and exposed to domestic violence and violence at the workplace” (Follmer- Otto/ Rabe 2009, p. 22). As argued by Hartenfels (2013) it can be noted that especially women being trafficked and forced to work in the sex industry often have already experienced violence or abandonment in their home countries (Hartenfels 2013). Accordingly, women finding themselves in such situations, where violence is involved are often motivated to seek for possibilities to escape the situation. Migration is often seen as one of such opportunities.

Generally looking at certain so called push and pull factors might help to understand the reasons and motivation for migration and trafficking. Push factors thereby referring to factors that push people out of the country and pull factors that attract them to migrate to the certain receiving countries (Castles/Miller 2009, p. 22) (see appendix 1 for examples). However, this concept of push and pull factors does not include all relevant factors regarding reasons of global migration or trafficking and fails to explain, why people do not migrate, even though they are affected by such factors. It shall be stressed that just because Globalization connects the world more and more and opportunities change to “leave behind” the poor social or economic situation, does not mean that migration is an imagined solution for everybody. Not everybody is willing to take the risk for this step or has the possibility to do so. There are a variety of other reasons for voluntary or involuntary migration, where not all can be contemplated at this point.

Though, the role of emotional factors shall shortly be mentioned. Those might to a high extend influence a person’s decision to migrate. As considered by Jones et al. (2007), “ignorance and naïveté” might be contributing to this attempt to get out of the poor economic or social situation in the home countries (Jones et al. 2007, p. 113). Subsequently, emotional instable people finding themselves in poor economic

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6If the aim were to engage in a theoretical discussion about reasons of migration and trafficking other theories such as migrant network theory or migration system theory should be considered (see for instance Massey et. al 2006 and 2008, Brettell 2008 and Wallerstein 2004).
situations can often be identified as easy victims for perpetrators and are at a higher risk for human trafficking.

The role of transnational organized crime is considered by authors such as Mittelmann (2008), Shelley (2010) and Hough (2008). Thus, changes due to Globalization also let criminal groups take advantage of “technological innovations, especially advances in commercial airline travel, telecommunications, and the use of computers (...)” (Mittelmann 2008, p.236). Regarding to Shelley (2010), especially criminal groups benefit from new forms of communication such as the internet where sex tourism is promoted or women are offered as available for marriage (Shelley 2010, p. 41). Hough (2008) points out that transnational crime is not a new phenomenon. However, after the 1990s it has changed and more attention is given to the consequences of it. He argues that a “global underworld” was able to grow in the post- Cold War era and in the context of economic Globalization which lead to an increase of the crime of human trafficking. (Hough 2008, p. 234). Shelley (2010) also mentions that it is not just the emerging regional conflicts that play a role in trafficking, but also the fact that States “from the Balkan to Vietnam” did not manage to protect their women and children. By living in post conflict areas and not being protected by the governments, women and children became easy victims for transcriminal crime groups and traffickers (Shelley 2010, p. 49). Shelley (2010) further highlights that the Schengen Agreement in Europe eases smuggling and trafficking. She argues that this agreement facilitates traffickers to cross borders and to bring women from one country to another (Shelley 2010, p. 42).

Talking about the initial circumstances of victims of human trafficking, it becomes clear that those women are mainly in situations of instability already before the process of transit. This could refer to economic or social instability and because of failed protections by the governments or violence within the private sphere. Transnational groups or criminal actors in general can benefit from this instability.
As just pointed out, various structural reasons, which can be seen in context of Globalization, play a role when looking at the reasons and outcomes of human trafficking. Furthermore, emotional factors shape the decision making of people and the motivation to migrate. The circumstances might also lead to women being more vulnerable to fraud or false promises and to become victims of trafficking. After having shortly highlighted various reasons that contribute to the increasing emergence of human trafficking within countries and across borders, it shall now be stressed how this issue is discussed in academic research.

2.3 Previous research on human trafficking

The issue of human trafficking is discussed in various social sciences. It is a topic that is relevant for sociological research, in law studies, criminology, political science as well as social anthropology just to mention some examples. It also plays a role for newer disciplines such as Global Studies, where human trafficking is seen as a “pressing human security concern” (Campbell et.al 2010, p. 231). Social work often refers to other disciplines when talking about the issue of human trafficking and as mentioned by Alvarez and Alessi (2012) the discipline did not widely engage in the scholarly discourse of this topic yet (Alvarez/Alessi 2012, p. 142).

From a public policy perspective a thorough in-depths analysis is given by Shelley (2010). In her book, “Human trafficking. A global perspective” she does not just look at various reasons and outcomes of this crime in the world, but as already considered, also embeds her thorough analysis in the context of Globalization. Thus, “the rise and costs of human trafficking” are analyzed as well as “the financial side” of this crime. She thereby provides examples from all over the world.

Human trafficking for the purpose of sexual labor or other purposes is also discussed in an interdisciplinary study published by KOK (2008). In their publication called “trafficking in women in Germany” the focus lies on the problem of trafficking in women, their legal situation and the experience of those women. Further it considers the role of various counseling centers in Germany that work with victims.
The issue of human trafficking is not just outlined theoretically but an empirical part focuses on the practical experiences in the field of human trafficking. Another important study that should also be added is, like already mentioned earlier: “Human Trafficking in Germany. Strengthening Victim’s Human Rights” by Follmar-Otto/ Rabe (2009). Published by the German Institute for Human Rights, the study provides a deep analysis of relevant data and discusses human trafficking as a human rights violation. The perspective rather lies on juridical issues connected to human trafficking, which however plays a crucial role for social work practice and hence needs to be subject of consideration.

From a social work perspective the contributions by Healy and Link (2012) (“Handbook of International Social work”), Okech, et.al 2011 (“Human trafficking: improving victim identification and service provision”) as well as Lyons et.al (2006) (“International perspectives on social work. Global conditions and local practice”) and Lyons (2006) (“Globalization and Social Work: International and Local Implications”) can be named as examples of social work engagement in the academic field discussing global social work issues and human trafficking from a social work perspective. However, the focus in those contributions lies rather on theoretical social work assumptions instead of the practical experience of social workers. From a perspective of the practical work with victims extensive information (in the form of newsletters, flyers and annual reports) is provided by the various counseling centers (see for instance Solwodi, KARO e.V., Ban Ying, Franka, In Via, etc.).

Even though research done by the named social science disciplines on the topic is of high relevance and provides important data, it shall be added that research from a social work perspective should be strongly be encouraged. The practical experience of working with victims might bring in new knowledge on the field by taking into account day to day problems of the victims that are often not considered by other disciplines.
2.4 Relevant legislations

“Human rights also count for women. Nobody would disagree with that, but the practice shows us something different”

(Hartenfels 2013 (own translation))

Talking about human trafficking in Germany and social work intervention, it is crucial to consider the legal frameworks, such as the prostitution law (Prostitutionsgesetz). The prostitution law, which was implemented into practice in January 2002 allows prostitution under certain circumstances. Thereby it refers to men and women that voluntarily engage in this kind of work (Kavemann/Steffan 2013) (own translation). The aim of this law, which included changes in the criminal court and in the tax regulations, was to establish the legal equality for people that voluntarily work as prostitutes. The relationship between women engaging in sex work and the client became legal and the criminal aspect of prostitution was changed, with the will to protect the women. Accordingly, people engaging voluntarily in prostitution by law have a right to receive the payment determined in the contract between the client and the sex worker. Another aim was to include sex workers in the social security system (Kavemann/Steffan 2013) (own translation). Overall the purpose of this law was to decrease exploitive treatment and discrimination against women by allowing certain forms of prostitution and by providing social security. It can be stated that this regulation regarding prostitution in Germany, counts as one of the most liberal ones in Europe (Kavemann/Steffan 2013) (own translation).

Voluntary prostitution is not penalized in Germany, but human trafficking is clearly criminalized. In this connection it can be mentioned that human trafficking is a violation to the human rights and when considering women as victims, specifically to their rights as women (see appendix 2). That the right for protection and humane living and working conditions is refused to the women that become victims of human trafficking will be shown later, when the situation of the women will be subject
of discussion. It is the tasks of the governments to protect the rights of every human being, which also includes women that became victims of human trafficking\textsuperscript{7}.

The German State has regulated the crime of human trafficking in §§ 232 and 233 StGB (Strafgesetzbuch/German Criminal Court). Though the aim is to penalize perpetrators, it is often argued that victims of human trafficking are those who are blamed for their situation. In this context Frings (2006) states: “the phenomenon of human trafficking is particularly problematic because of its links with prostitutions, illegal residence and document forgery, all circumstances for which the victim rather than the perpetrator is to be held responsible” (Frings 2006, p. 67). Even though, regulations exist to penalize perpetrators, this does not mean, that in practice this successfully takes place.

A regulation, which is further important when discussing the issue of human trafficking is § 25 (4a) AufenthG (Aufenthaltsgesetz/Residence Act). In this paragraph the residence due to humanitarian reasons is regulated. The article 4a refers to the fact that victims of human trafficking can get a residence permit, even though they are supposed to go back to their home countries due to their actual residency. One of the requirements for this exception is that the person is involved in the testimony for the criminal proceedings and willing to testify. As accentuated by Kalthegener (2008) victims of human trafficking “represent the most important (personalized) evidence” (Kalthegener 2008, p. 39). However, in practice testifying might often be challenging for victims due to the experienced exploitation as it will be shown later.

At this point, not all relevant laws and regulations regarding human trafficking can be pointed out and also the prostitution law as well as § 25 (4a), as well as a variety of other rules that apply in this thematic should be discussed in more detail. The aim at this point was only to shortly mention the overall principles in order to later

\textsuperscript{7} Article 6 of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against Women from 1979 clearly states: “States Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women” (UN 2000-2009).
highlight, where those regulations become problematic in practice and challenge social work intervention.

2.5 (International) social work aim and definition

“In this globalised and interconnected world, social work cannot help but be international, if it is to continue to address the issues of social injustice, inequality, oppression, exclusion, poverty and human rights abuse” (Ife 2007)

The awareness that social problems also have a global dimension and require social work intervention and cooperation throughout borders existed quite early. Already in 1928 the first International Conference of social work took place where the need for transnational social work engagement was discussed (Healy 2012, p. 9). However, this does not mean that challenges did not change and that the aim of being an international discipline was also included in the theoretical understanding of social work or in the practical approaches.

The importance to engage in social work intervention throughout borders and to see social problems in the context of Globalization is also highlighted by Ife (2007). Thereafter “Social work is moving to embrace internationalism at a time when the nature of ‘the global’ and the emphasis of international discourses are changing, and it is important for social work to engage with the new international discourses, while at the same time maintaining its unswerving commitment to the old and now somewhat unfashionable idea of social justice (…)” (Ife 2007)

In other words it can be argued that there is a need to adapt new global challenges in the practice of social work. The old values of social work of being a profession that stands for supporting the process of solving social problems with the aim to increase the wellbeing of its clients are still of high relevance and shall continuously be followed. There exist a variety of international social work definitions in the
scientific discourse that try to grasp the mandate of social work to be a profession that is able to act within those global conditions and those global challenges.

Cox/Pawar (2006) formulate it like this: “International social work is the promotion of social work education and practice globally and locally, with the purpose of building a truly integrated international profession that reflects social work’s capacity to respond appropriately and effectively, in education and practice terms, to the various global challenges that are having a significant impact on the well-being of large sections of the world’s population. This global and local promotion of social work education and practice is based on an integrated-perspectives approach that synthesizes global, human rights, ecological, and social development perspectives of international situations and responses to them” (Cox/Pawar 2006, p. 20).

To include new global challenges is pointed out as an important task for social work. This means that on one side the “unity of ‘one world’” as well as the “tremendous diversity within that unity” need to be included in social work response to social problems. This diversity mainly refers to be the social and the cultural aspects (Cox/Pawar 2006, p. 27). International social work includes cultural aspects and international changes in its understanding. It can critically be discussed if there is actually a need for a distinct international social work definition and if those factors must be explicitly be mentioned. Social work in general should automatically include such new challenges and address clients, regardless of their culture or the changing of problems due to global development. However, as the global dimension becomes more relevant for social work, the indication to the mandate that such changes need to be included in definitions can still be supported. This does not mean that definitions of social work and international social work stand in contrast to each other, but shall rather be seen as a supplement. The mentioned global challenges are also reflected in code of ethics for social workers, which serves as the main ethical framework for the social work discipline and profession (see appendix 3).

As it will be shown later, with regards to the issue of human trafficking, social work deals with clients that are not only vulnerable or belong to minority groups, but that
often have a different ethnicity or class, that do not speak the same language and have a different educational level and cultural background than the social worker. Practical intervention hence needs to be adopted to those challenges and social workers need to be aware of differences that possibly arise due to different cultural understandings or experiences.

2.5.1 (International) social work in Germany

In Germany 37 organizations and counselling centers that work with the issue of human trafficking are members of KOK. This network organization was founded by social workers in 1987 with the aim to support victims of human trafficking. KOK (...) states the following aim: “The overarching goal of the organizations is to advocate effective, progressive measures to tackle human rights violations against women (...). We want to act as a national and international interface between counseling services, public and private policy and key organizations in this field” (KOK (...))

KOK does not just represent the social and economic interest of the various organizations and counseling centers, but also serves as a network by “mutual exchange of information and experiences, collaborative action and corresponding development programs” (KOK (...)). Many of the organizations that are members of this umbrella organization, have a Christian (Catholic or Protestant) sponsorship, which is common for social work organizations and NGOs in Germany. The churches have always played a big role in the social services in Germany and for instance the annual conference “Jahrestagung Weltkirche und Mission der Deutschen Bischhofskonferenz” 2013 (world church and mission of the German bishop conference) (own translation) was dedicated to the topic of human trafficking. The title was “combating human trafficking today” (own translation).
3. Theoretical framing: Intersectionality, needs and social problems and concepts of practical intervention

3.1 The concept of intersectionality and intersectional discrimination

Talking about human trafficking with the majority of female victims, it becomes clear that a certain gender dimension can be detected, with women being especially vulnerable to this crime. However, using only this category of analysis does not explain how certain inequalities or levels of discrimination occur. Rather, as one tool to understand the situation of trafficked women and to point out certain overlaps of discrimination due to those characteristics, the concept of intersectionality can be used. This concept is an interdisciplinary approach and can also be helpful for social work. Lutz, et al. (2011) highlight the main purpose and use of the concept of intersectionality which was first formulated by Kimberlé Chrenshaw. Accordingly “the intersectionality approach challenges us to look at the different social positioning of women (and men) and to reflect on the different ways in which they participate in the reproduction of these relations. As we do this, intersectionality serves as an instrument that helps us grasp the complex interplay between disadvantage and privilege, a requirement to which objections have sometimes been raised” (Lutz, et al. 2011, p. 8).

The idea of this concept is not to see categories like gender, age, class and ethnicity8 and race as isolated dimensions, but rather to look at their relation to each other and to question on which levels discrimination or disadvantages occur. Other scholars, used this approach as a ground and added other categories. Anna Bredström (2006) for instance enclosed the category of sexuality and Lykke (2005) and Staunæs

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8 It might not be that obvious, where the distinction between ethnicity and race can be found and therefore the following definition shall provide an explanation of the difference of these terms: “‘Ethnicity’ can be used as an academically ‘neutral’ term, which suggests an apparently equal, multicultural juxtaposition of cultures which tolerate and respect each other, whereas the concept of ‘Rasse’ is associated with the history of immanent contempt, hierarchisation, and inequality on both sides of the ‘colour line’, the privileging of white and the disadvantaging of black positions” (Lutz, et. al. 2011, p. 12).
(2003) focus on the reflection of power dimensions and self-positioning of gender roles. Lutz et al. consider the importance of language, which can also be seen as an intersectional dimension (Lutz, et. al, 2011, p. 6).

In other words the concepts of intersectionality and intersectional discrimination are helpful to analyze “where multiple grounds of discrimination operate at the same time” (Ravnbøl 2009, iii). Ravnbøl refers to Crenshaw (1993), when she mentions that this concept tries to distinguish “the meeting point and overlap of the roads of racial, gender, class and other forms of discrimination. These roads are mutually reinforcing and structure the social, economic and political terrains” (Ravnbøl 2009, p. 11). Accordingly intersectional discrimination can take various forms and can for instance be seen as “discriminations within laws and policies or by state authorities (structural intersectionality), and discrimination in political and public forums for participation (political and representational intersectionality)” (Ravnbøl 2009, p.iii). Regarding to Ravnbøl intersectional discrimination can occur intentional or unintentional and can take place on the “external sphere (state and society)” and the “internal sphere” (family and community)” (Ravnbøl 2009, p.iii).

In the field of human trafficking and forced prostitution this intersectional perspective is of high relevance and challenges us to look not just at the gender category. Rather it is important to consider other categories as well and analyze how due to their affiliation disadvantages occur for instance in the legal regulations or on the community level. However, this concept is only partly able to define the social problems that are the outcome of intersectional discrimination. As social problems are the scope of intervention for social work, some theoretical assumptions should be added in order to be able define those more specifically.
3.2 Theoretical assumptions regarding needs and social problems by Staub-Bernasconi (2007)

The theoretical social work approach by Silvia Staub-Bernasconi (2007) provides an understanding of the dimensions of social problems and explains how they are constructed. Her approach includes various theoretical levels (from a metatheoretical level to a level of specific action theory), but the focus at this point shall only lie on her understanding of social problems.

Regarding to Staub-Bernasconi’s (2007) understanding, social work focuses on individuals and society on one hand. On the other hand the main focus of social work are social problems, which can occur on different levels and have different outcomes for the clients. Depending on the paradigmatic understanding social problems can on one side be connected to the self-fulfillment of human beings. Those can be of emotional, normative or cognitive nature (e.g. neurosis, psychosis, depression). Problems can also occur due to difficulties in self-management or stress-management. Accordingly social problems can be considered to be individual issues.

Using the second paradigm, which is defined in more detail in Staub-Bernasconi’s approach, social problems occur due to the failure of socialization as of the learning of norms and obligations towards a family, community, an organization or the state. Due to not fulfilling those norms and obligations, the community reacts with sanctions, exclusion or refuses inclusion. Social problems can hence be seen as the failure to stick to the norms and regulations of the society or group (Staub-Bernasconi 2007, p. 181f).

Another way to conceptualize social problems, uses a third paradigm as a basis for definition. Accordingly, social problems can be explained as problems that occur for the individual that is embedded in a certain social structure or system, considering also the certain culture of such. Social problems arise when the needs for an individual, who is part of a social system are not fulfilled (Obrecht 2005, Staub-Bernasconi 2007, p. 182). This can be due to problems of the individual equipment
(Individuelle Ausstattungsprobleme), a problematic exchange relationship (Problematische Austauschbeziehung), or problematic social or power structures (Problematische Regeln der Sozial- bzw. Machtstruktur) (own translation). Staub- Bernasconi (2007) hereby refers to the assumptions by Obrecht 1999 and 2005 that humans have special needs (Bedürfnisse) in order to maintain their internal structure. Those needs are universal for every human being and can be distinguished into three general classes: biological needs, biopsychological needs and biopsychosocial needs (Staub- Bernasconi 2007, p. 171f (own translation)).

Accordingly, the biological needs in more detail refer to physical integrity, such as the avoidance of soiling, of (hurtful) physical impairment (heat, cold), the avoidance of injuries or the exposure to violence. Further biological needs can be the need for oxygen, water as well as the need to rest and recover. The biopsychological needs for instance include the need to fulfill goals and hopes and to be able to have the control over the own life and circumstances. The biopsychosocial level refers to needs such as emotional care, love, friendship, membership to a certain group, autonomy and social recognition (Staub- Bernasconi 2007, p. 171f and Obrecht 1999, p. 50 (own translation)). Social problems occur, when certain needs on those levels cannot be fulfilled either due to the individual equipment, the exchange relationship in the social interaction, or certain power structures (Staub- Bernasconi 2007, pp. 157-270).

Staub- Bernasconi (2007) especially focuses on the third understanding of the development of social problems which combines the individual and the societal dimension and which refers to the unfulfillment of certain needs as the source of social problems. She further stresses the importance that social problems are embedded in an international system or rather influenced by the process of Globalization, which regarding to her encompasses more than economic aspects. In this respect, social work intervention has to orientate itself at those circumstances and adopted its methods to those challenges (Staub- Bernasconi 2007, pp. 419-469).

In the case of victims of human trafficking Staub- Bernasconi’s theoretical assumptions are of high relevance and looking at the unfulfillment of the needs on different
levels helps to understand the scope of the social problems women affected by trafficking are facing. In general, before starting certain interventions being aware of the dimensions of the social problems and the emergence and extend of such is a crucial step for social workers. Thereby Staub-Bernasconi’s theory provides a thorough technique of analysis. Furthermore, practical tools for social workers are also provided in her approach. Before those will be considered, it shall shortly be touched upon the role of shame which should also be kept in mind when working with victims of human trafficking.

3.3 Theoretical assumptions regarding the role of shame by Thiersch (2009)

Besides the fact that multiple discrimination and social problems can occur on the level of different categories mentioned above, it shall also be mentioned at this point that emotional factors like trauma and shame can play a role in the issue of human trafficking. Trauma as a psychological consequences due to sexual violence is a lot more considered in the literature than the role of shame. However, the role of shame shall not be neglected as it plays a role for the victims and hence for social work practice. Some main reflections regarding this issue shall now be pointed out. It is thereby referred to Hans Thiersch (2009), professor of pedagogy and social work.

He defines shame as something that can be seen as the discrepancy between what I am, do and suffer, with what would be possible and what I and the society expect from me. This discrepancy between societal and own expectations is experienced as something hurtful, irritating and shaming (Thiersch 2009, p. 165 (own translation)). He argues that shame and the experience of stigmatization (cf. Goffman cited in Thiersch 2009, p. 166) has an impact on human beings and their perception on problems and the solving of such. There are various different forms to deal with shame and when expectations cannot be fulfilled. Those differ from person to person and are influenced by gender, ethnicity or social traditions and the social context (Thiersch 2009, p. 167 (own translation)).
When working with people in general, but especially with victims of human trafficking, shame plays a role for social work practice and shall be considered as a fact that might influence the client as well as their cooperation. As Thiersch (2009) points out it is important to consider that seeking for help might mean that the client has to admit and accept his/her need for help. Instead of recognizing that shame might play a role for the client and that this influences the willingness to talk about problems, social workers sometimes consider this behavior as non-willingness to accept help, or as resistance. Trust, recognition and respect are hence as important in the work with victims as time, patience and the ability of the social worker to deal with own experiences of shame (Thiersch 2009, p. 176-180). Like just mentioned, emotional factors can play a role for clients in general and especially for victims of human trafficking. Doing social work in practice and trying to support clients in their problem solving, this shall be kept in mind. Thereby the experience of shame can also repeat itself. On one hand the experience of being forced to sex work might be shameful and on the other hand, talking about this experience to the social workers or to law enforcement might also include to overcome shame.

3.4 Applied social work theories and concepts of practical intervention: Resource analysis, streetwork and case management

As social work is a discipline with its strengths in practical intervention, practical methods are necessary in order to address the clients, especially those clients that are hard to reach such as victims of human trafficking. Depending on the formulation of the social problem, the needs of the client and the organizational context the methods of intervention differ (Staub- Bernasconi 2007, p. 271). Some main assumptions regarding different social work methods will be pointed out in the following.
Resource analysis (Ressourcenerschließung) (own translation)

One of the practical methods Staub-Bernasconi (2007) mentions is the “resource analysis” (Ressourcenerschließung) (own translation). This method is based on the work of pioneers in social work Addams 1907, Salomon 1921, 1926 and Arlt 1921 and 1953 (Staub-Bernasconi 2007, p. 273). It refers to problems regarding the physical equipment (körperliche Ausstattung) (such as illness, disabilities, anorexia that are followed by psychological, social, or cultural negative consequences). It also looks at the socioeconomical equipment (sozioökonomische Ausstattung) (lack of education, unemployment, housing difficulties, homelessness) and the socio-ecological equipment (sozialökologische Ausstattung) (exploitative employment, missing or unacceptable infrastructure in the area of health, physical and psychological security, social and cultural) (Staub-Bernasconi 2007, pp. 271ff) (own translation).

Accordingly, a resource analysis follows the aim to activate the resources of individuals, families, groups or communities and to improve the physical, socioeconomical and socio-ecological equipment. This could include the development, the use or the creation of resources, especially material goods or knowledge regarding rights and obligations. Furthermore part of this method could be to support the client to get access to employment, housing, education, therapies, etc. In order to do so, an evaluation of the specific needs is the first step which is followed by the concrete planning and organization of the intervention. A resource analysis is as a method of social work and can take various forms and focus on different levels. It can include different target groups and take place on the streets and public space, the community and in and for organizations. It can also have an international dimension and include intervention across borders. Further it can take place on a “grassroot level” as well as on a political level or the level of social planning, which refers more to a contribution that takes place in the background (Staub-Bernasconi 2007, pp. 271-301).
This approach can be applied in all different areas of social work practice. For the field of human trafficking it is especially useful as victims often show certain lacks in their physical, socioeconomical as well as social-ecological equipment. To be aware of such different levels can guide social workers in their intervention and in the activation of various resources. A resource analysis is in some form mostly included in other social work methods, such as case management and streetwork, which are two approaches that are used in social work intervention in the field of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The main assumptions of those methods will now be mentioned.

*Streetwork*

Streetwork is a method which is increasingly discussed and used in Germany since the 70ties. Regarding to Galuske (2009) the main characteristic is that the place of the helping process is directly settled within the living world of the client. Streetwork can be seen as an outreaching process, where the social workers do not just work in their institutions but rather go to the direct living environments of the aimed focus group. Such can for instance be street corners, parks, public places, pedestrian streets, playgrounds, bars, discos as well as private places (Galuske 2009, p. 268) (own translation)). In the field of human trafficking for the purpose of forced prostitution such areas can for instance also be brothels, immigration accommodations or train stations. The aim is not just to reach certain groups of clients that might not search for help themselves and go to certain institutions, but also to include the whole area where social problems occur (“problembelastete und probleematische Sozialräume”) (Galuske 2009, p. 269) (own translation).

Shortly it can be pointed out, that streetwork is a method used by social work, which takes place at the clients’ environment. The rules of the target group need to be understood and respected by the social worker, which have to have a good network with other organizations as well a holistic working approach. This involves having knowledge about various issues such as laws, regulations and psychosocial care. The area and places where the problem takes place is also involved in the problem.
solving process (Galuske 2009, p. 268-275) (own translation). As the field of human trafficking and forced prostitution is not an area, which obviously takes place and where victims can easily be identified, addressing the target group by doing street-work can be challenging, which will be discussed in more detail later.

**Case management**

Case management is another method, which is widely used by social workers, dealing with the issue of human trafficking and forced prostitution (see appendix 4). One of the main purposes of this approach is to arrange and coordinate care. A social worker doing case management “establishes helping relationships, assesses complex problems, selects problem-solving interventions, and helps clients to function effectively (…)” (NASW 2013). By doing social work case management, the focus lies on the needs and capacities of the client as well as the position in the system the client finds him or herself. “Client-level intervention” includes a focus on the individual resources, might they be social, financial or institutional. Those resources will be linked to the client’s needs, priorities and settled goals. The “system-level intervention” basically refers to the task of analyzing how the system the client is involved in (such as community network, policies, organization’s structure, etc.) has a positive or negative impact on the client’s well-being. As one aim, it can be mentioned that this system shall be improved that the client can benefit from it. Besides coordinating the care and activating resources also empowerment plays a crucial role in social work intervention. The client’s interest shall always stand in the center of the intervention, which shall be orientated at the capacities and needs of the client and support the client’s self-determination (NASW 2013).

All in all practical social work methods offer a variety of opportunities for intervention on different levels and with different target groups. Streetwork for instance rather serves as a preventive approach whereas case management belongs to the treatment part of social work. The focus can be on the individual as well as the community level. The structures and resources are included in the problem solving process, which is one of the major advantages of social work.
4. Methodology

This chapter exposes the methodological procedure of this study and discusses its strengths and limitations. Information is mainly gained by following a qualitative research approach in the form of analyzing secondary sources. Few own interviews took place and some quantitative data will be added.

4.1 Qualitative data

4.1.1 Qualitative analysis of existing literature

As just mentioned, the main research approach is a qualitative analysis of already existing literature regarding the issue of human trafficking and forced prostitution in Germany. The focus of a qualitative approach lies in the experience of “real life” or the “natural social context” (Mason 1996, p. 4). Mason (1996) further highlights the philosophical position of the ‘interpretivist’ notion as one basic characteristic of qualitative research. It studies how the “social world is interpreted, understood, experienced or produced” (Mason 1996, p. 4). A qualitative approach allows an open access to data collection and the social context plays a crucial role in the interpretation of the material. When doing a study on the thematic of human trafficking this is a crucial aspect, as a variety of social factors contribute to the causes and consequences of this crime. The social situation of the victims and the knowledge of the social workers can only be grasped when including such social facts. In qualitative research various data collection methods are being used like “observational methods, in-depth interviewing, observations, group discussions, narratives, and the analysis of documentary evidences” (Snape/Spencer 2003 p. 3).

As mentioned, the main results of this study will be drawn from secondary sources. Analyzing secondary data helps to highlight various positions of different actors, especially social work, which is the main interest in this study. Especially information that is provided by KOK and the counseling centers Jadwiga, KARO e.V. Solwodi, In Via and Ban Ying is used in this study as it is of high relevance for the
German case. By regular newsletters, flyers and information on the webpages as well as political statements the counseling centers provide an insight to their approaches and experiences. Besides academic research done in this field, this material is of high value as it reflects the perspective of social workers and practitioners working directly with the victims of human trafficking and forced prostitution. Knowledge about practical challenges, methodological procedures and political claims can often be gained from this material.

4.1.2 Interviews and workshop

Supplementary to this information, few own interviews with social workers and practitioners in this field took place. In my research process I contacted ten different institutions in different parts of Germany and asked if social workers that are working in this field are willing to answer some interview questions. Out of those ten organizations only three had the capacities for an interview. The others either declined an interview due to shortage on staff or did not respond at all. However, those that responded, were generally open to my topic and appreciated my interest in their work.

The interview partners were Sr. Irmtrud Schreiner (Solwodi München), an employee of In Via Berlin and two social workers (Christine Ehlers and Sina Klaffer) from the health care center in Hannover, that were present together in the third interview. The first two mentioned interview partners are working in NGO’s supporting victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. However, both interview partners did not have a social work background, but long experience in this working field. Therefore, the information given by those two interview partners will be used, even though they did not have an academic social work background. Ehlers and Klaffer both had a degree in social work and are involved in health related issues regarding sex work in Hannover. The interview questions were semi-structured and left space for an open talk.
Besides the interviews, the researcher had also the chance to participate in a conference organized by the Catholic Church in Germany with the title: “Combating human trafficking today” (own translation). Besides having been able to listen to various lectures and discussions of different actors in the field of human trafficking, I participated in a workshop organized by Monika Hartenfels, president of the organization Solwodi and her colleague Renate Hofmann of Solwodi in Bad Kissingen. Some of the information retrieved in this conference and the knowledge gained in the workshop will be used in this thesis.

As the aim of this study is to look at the issue of human trafficking from a social work perspective, a qualitative approach seems appropriate. This gives the researcher the chance to look in detail into some specific cases and problems social work is confronted with in their practical work. Further, the perspective of social workers and practitioners can be presented and the research questions will be answered with the help of this approach. However, this research design also has its limitations, which will be discussed in detail in point 4.3.

4.2 Quantitative Data

Besides the qualitative data, also some quantitative data will be used. As there is assumed to exist a high number of unknown cases and forms of human trafficking differ, the numbers regarding victims of human trafficking must be regarded with a critical eye. Depending on the methods various studies used, the numbers of victims vary and comparisons for instance between Germany and other countries are often not possible, due to a different data gathering. As already pointed out, for Germany the most reliable numbers regarding identified victims of human trafficking can be retrieved in the annual reports of the federal police (BKA) on trafficking in human beings. However, those only present the known cases of victims of human trafficking and do not consider the cases that do not have contact to a counseling center or the police. The unknown cases are assumed to be much higher. Also numbers that
were published in the latest EU study “EUROSTAT: First EU Statistical Data Report (2013)” seem of high relevance, when interested in a quantitative approach, which is not the main goal of this study.

Though, providing a minimum of quantitative data shall help to understand who is meant, when talking about victims of human trafficking. Thereby the focus shall not lie on the total numbers, but rather on their relation to each other. For instance by providing a minimum of numbers the quantitative difference between male and female victims can be pointed out as well as the age group that has been identified, etc.

4.3 Ethical considerations, strengths and limitations of the study

Tyldum and Brunovskis (2005) discuss the methodological challenges in empirical studies on human trafficking and argue that research in this field is difficult due to various reasons. The main challenge is that the people that are most relevant for such a research (prostitutes, traffickers, victims/survivors, illegal immigrants) belong to a so-called “hidden population”. Hence, the access to the people that would be of interest is highly challenging and gaining relevant and truthful information, that could lead to effective policy making is limited (Tyldum/Brunovsis 2005, p. 18).

Funiok (2009) argues that human trafficking and forced prostitution is emotionally a challenging topic and the access to women for the purpose of research is hardly possible. Regarding to him, ensuring the data protection plays a crucial role in this context, which might not be entirely possible. Interviews might further reiterate their exploitive experience and hence would only be possible in certain stage of a therapy (Funiok 2009, p. 57).

Due to those factors for the purpose of this study interviews did not take place with survivors of human trafficking or other people involved in the issue (such as perpetrators, sex buyers). This could, as just mentioned not be justified for the purpose
of a Master thesis. Furthermore, it would have been hard to actually find people that were willing to talk to me for the purpose of research. In order to get relevant information regarding the view of the women, it would have been appropriate to spend more time in an institution and to build up trust with the women that became victims. However, building up trust with victims of human trafficking, is a challenge that also social workers and practitioners face that work with them day to day and over a longer period. In case building up trust for the purpose of research would even be possible and then leaving the client, when this purpose is fulfilled would not be a justifiable method. In point 1.01 of the NASW it is stated the following: “Social workers’ primary responsibility is to promote the wellbeing of clients. In general, clients’ interests are primary”. It is further mentioned that „Social workers engaged in evaluation or research should carefully consider possible consequences and should follow guidelines developed for the protection of evaluation and research participants. Appropriate institutional review boards should be consulted” (NASW, 2013, 5.0.2d). With respect to the women that are affected by human trafficking as well as to the NASW (2013), interviews with victims did not take place.

Hence, when talking about the situation of trafficked women, the information comes from already existing research and additionally the social workers and practitioners that I was able to talk to. Not having the direct view of the women and other actors, might be seen as a limitation, but as pointed out would not be justifiable and possible within the given frameworks.

The study assumes that certain categories intersect and play a role in the exploitation and discrimination of the women as well as that social problems occur on different levels. However, it does not have a clear hypothesis at the beginning and therefore follows an inductive approach, rather than a deductive one. Induction refers to “facts acquired through observation” that lead to “laws and theories” (Chalmers 1999, p.54). This approach shall allow to formulate certain results in the end of the study. Accordingly, the results shall outline where and why from the perspective of social workers and practitioners social problems and discrimination occur for victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The
results shall further show where challenges and limitations in social work practice in this field can be detected. Apart from that, various claims from a practical social work perspective shall be added.

Considering reliability and validity the following can be underlined. Reliability refers to the data measurement and to the supposition that other researchers would achieve the same conclusions when using the same material (Perri 6/Bellamy 2012, p. 21). Referring to that point, it can be argued, that most likely other researchers would distinguish the same dimensions of social problems and hence the same challenges and limitations as well as postulations. Reliability can hence be claimed, even though the focus of interpretation might still vary between different researchers.

Perri 6/Bellamy (2012) mention various forms regarding the question of validity. Construct validity refers to “the degree to which the measures or codes used to open a concept really capture what we intend to capture” (p. 21). Validity considers the question if the theories and concepts that are used for the analysis are relevant and useful and capture the aim of the study. As the aim of the study is to present the issue of human trafficking from the perspective of social workers, it can be argued that the chosen material is helpful in that way. However, the shortage on interview partners and that only two had a social work background, can be pointed out as a limitation at that point. The actual aim was to get the view of various social workers with regards to their work. Due to the fact that only few had time for an interview a general view of social workers working with the issue of human trafficking cannot be presented. It would have certainly been better to do more interviews and to include more perspectives, also from counseling centers from other cities. That way the working approaches could have been compared better and generalizations of the experience of social workers were possible. It would have further been enriching to talk to staff from the youth service centers (Jugendnotdienst) that take care of underaged victims of human trafficking.
Due to the time limit and the lack of financial resources, I was also not able to contact more organizations and to travel to other places in Germany besides Munich, Berlin, Hannover. Hence those interviews and the information gained at the conference shall serve as additional material, but only represent the view and experience of those specific organizations. The knowledge that I retrieve from the interviews hence has to be considered with a critical eye and generalizations are not possible.

However, the aim is still to conclude the study with some general assumptions, claims and postulations from a social work perspective. In this context it shall be mentioned that, when using information by KOK (n.d.) this does reflect a general perspective as it brings together the opinion and experience of various counseling centers in Germany.

Gringery et. al. (2013) highlight the importance of reflexivity in qualitative research. By this they mean that the researcher should be aware of the “social inputs” that influence the knowledge. It can be argued that the thematic of human trafficking and the violence that victims face easily leads to an emotional reaction towards the topic. This refers to the position of the researcher as well as to the knowledge of the interview partners that work in practice with the issue of human trafficking. It is intended to stay distanced to this topic and to minimize the emotional reaction, however, this might not always be entirely successful. Further, as the researcher is also a social worker, it might decrease neutrality to the topic. Objectivity can hence only partly be claimed, due to the involvement of various social inputs.

Furthermore it shall be pointed out that not all existing material and relevant issues on the topic could be considered in this thesis. Instead of claiming to give an in-depths analysis of all factors that are connected to human trafficking, sexual exploitation and social work, the thesis only serves as a starting point for further and more thorough research.
Besides those critics, however, the research method being used can still be justified within the given frameworks. Qualitative methods allow to consider many important aspects by having an open approach and by including social facts. It is possible to explain how social problems that arise in the field of human trafficking are conceptualized by social work and the practical experience of social workers can be presented with this method. The few quantitative data that is used helps to understand the circumstances of the people that stand behind the numbers. To use exclusively a quantitative approach would not be appropriate as social facts and emotional factors could not be considered then.

5. Empirical part and analysis: Human trafficking and (international) social work in Germany

The analysis of the empirical material will be divided into four steps. In order to look at the knowledge social workers have regarding the situation of victims of human trafficking an intersectional analysis is of use. This will be the first step and shall demonstrate how the categories of gender, ethnicity, age and class intersect. The second step focuses on social work knowledge regarding needs and the social problems of victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation and how those social problems that occur in practice can theoretically be explained. The third step is dedicated to social work interventions and the question how social work reacts to the social problems, victims face. The fourth step will look at the resulting challenges and limitations for social work intervention. It will then be possible to come up with certain results and postulations from a social work perspective which refer to desired changes on a societal and political level.
5.1 Social work knowledge regarding the situation of the victims

5.1.1 Intersectional analysis and levels of discrimination

Using the categories mentioned in the theoretical part, it can be pointed out that discrimination and exploitation occurs on various levels.

**Gender**

By using the category of gender it can be emphasized that women and girls are especially vulnerable to become victims of human trafficking. It is assumed that the high majority of trafficked people for sexual exploitation are women or girls. Regarding the German case, the federal police identified 640 people in 2011, which were victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. In the known cases of identified victims in Germany 94% of such were women (BKA 2011, p. 9 (own translation)). Some reasons why especially women migrate have already been mentioned (for instance limited access to education, health care, war, economic poverty). Women often face female specific human rights violations that make them more vulnerable of becoming victims of human trafficking. On one side it can be observed that the possibilities for education and a self-determined life are often little for women in the origin countries. Those make them more vulnerable to become victims of violence, exploitation and human trafficking. On the other side it can also be pointed out that in the context of Globalization, women face new opportunities to engage in the labor market and to earn money abroad. However, this opportunity often still results in discrimination against women. Regarding to Najafi (2008) those circumstances expose “especially uneducated and illegalized women with extreme working conditions, leading to health disadvantages, and exposes them to the risk of being trafficked, economic and sexual abuse, racial discrimination, and thus human rights violations” (Najafi 2008, p. 26). As it noticeable in this statement, besides those gender specific aspects of human trafficking also class plays a distinctive role in this context.
Class

As it is pointed out by Solwodi (n.d.) “There is often economic poverty, unemployment, a greater preparedness to use force, no perspective and a general uncertainty about the future. Those are circumstances, under which many women consider an emigration as their only chance to support and feed their families” (Solwodi (n.d.)). Coming from a “lower” class often means also having little education. As pointed out by Ehlers (2013), “many women are illiterate or only finished few years of school. For instance Roma women often have little knowledge about their body and how it is functioning, which often results in health problems” (Ehlers 2013). Regarding to Najafi (2008), having little education often makes women more vulnerable to exploitation in the working conditions in general. Not finding jobs in other working areas, due to little education and economic resources, can further be seen as one of the motivating factors to engage into sex work. Najafi (2008) argues that many women plan to engage in sex work only for a limited time period in order to make a lot of money in a short time. As many of those women live a “double life” without their families in the home countries knowing about their work, the risks to fall into involuntary working conditions is a lot greater and exploitation might be the consequence (Najafi 2008, p. 27). Not having financial stability makes women more vulnerable for exploitation and discrimination also by the sex buyers. As it is pointed out by the In Via employee (2013), due to the precarious financial situation of the women, they have such a pressure that prices and conditions for the sexual activity can be negotiated to a minimum. The women have to agree on those terms due to their lack of financial resources (In Via employee 2013) (own translation).

Ethnicity and language

Besides a certain gender and class dimension, also the categories “ethnicity and language” play a role. As mentioned by the federal police (2011), the main origin countries of identified victims in 2011 were Romania, Germany and Bulgaria. 61% of the total number of victims came from Eastern European countries. This can probably be explained by the fact that entry requirements to Germany have been
relieved for members of EU States. Also, as a push factor the tensed economic situation in Eastern Europe can be located (BKA 2011, p. 9 (own translation)). As mentioned by the interview partners of the counseling centers in Munich and Berlin, many women also come from African countries, especially from Nigeria (In Via employee 2013, Schreiner 2013). In Hannover Nigerian women are, according to Ehlers (2013) not the majority. Within this research it cannot be captured, why especially Nigeria is a country of origin and which factors play a role in this context. It is observed by the interview partners, that coming from different countries and not having any knowledge of the German language can often turn into a problem for the women. On one side not knowing German might limit the possibilities to seek help. Further coming from non-European countries might mean that the women do not have a legal permit to stay in Germany. Regarding to the social workers and practitioners that were interviewed, not having a legal permit, or coming with a false passport puts lots of pressure on the women and is often a reason not to seek help (In Via employee 2013, Schreiner 2013). Najafi (2008) argues that the illegal status of the women makes them obedient and is another reason of exploitation. Accordingly “illegal persons do not have any rights, so they are under enormous psychological pressure to remain undiscovered and to fight for their survival and possibly the survival of their children” (Najafi 2008, p. 26).

Besides women having an illegal status, it is observed by the interview partner from In Via (2013) that so called “Passmieten” (“passportrent” (own translation)) is also a common phenomenon. Thereafter passports are used that belong to other people that have a resident or work permit. The interview partner notes that especially in the cases of African women it is often hard for the police to distinguish between the different people as the pictures often look very similar for German police officers that are not that well trained in this area (In Via employee 2013). Having somebody else’s passport does however not lead to more security for the women. Prasad (2008) argues that the situation for women that are illegally in Germany, is especially precarious. On one side they are violating the law themselves by their illegal status or by working illegally. On the other side, they are still victims of exploitation.
themselves, which puts them in an ambiguous position (Prasad 2008, p. 64). A certain notion of discrimination due to the category of ethnicity can hence again be recognized. Connected to the category of ethnicity it shall also be pointed out that women come from a different cultural background and might not be used to the German way of life. Ehlers (2013) mentions the following in this context: “The women, especially those from Romania and Bulgaria, especially when they have a Roma background are not used to our health care system. Or they are not even used to go to a doctor at all. Or when they went to the doctor in Bulgaria they might have had bad experiences” (Ehlers 2013) (own translation).

Not just women coming from Eastern Europe are often not used to the German system or the way of life in Germany. As mentioned by various counseling centers, especially women from Nigeria often come to Germany after having sworn a “Voodoo oath” in their home country (see for instance Jadwiga 2008-2011, Solwodi 2013). Regarding this voodoo oath the In Via employee (2013) mentions the following: “This is a very intimate and personal process, which might involve that personal belongings of the women are taken away. The women believe in this oath which might mean for them that they or their family get sick or die, if they do not undertake what they are expected to do” (In Via employee 2013) (own translation). Accordingly, those women believe in a higher force and it is very hard for them to get rid of the faith in this vow. That those different cultural understandings are a challenge in practical social work, will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.2.

Age

When looking at the data of the BKA, it also can be noted that age plays a distinctive role. In 2011 359 of the identified victims or 56% were under 21 years old. Though this number might be as high as younger victims are easier to identify for authorities than older age groups (BKA 2011, p. 11 (own translation)). The interview partner from In Via (2013) pointed out that their clients were between 12- and 30 years old in the last years. Lately the organization could identify more victims that were younger than 18 years or that just turned 18. According to the interview partner, it
is especially noticeable that a high number of women from Eastern Europe were exactly 18 years old. In Via suspects that this is probably due to the lower risk for the perpetrators to get punished, when the women are 18 instead of under aged (InVia 2013 employee).

The In Via employee (2013) further states that especially when victims of trafficking are very young, they are often more vulnerable and traumatized more easily than older women. Accordingly, the experience of being trafficked and forced to work as a prostitute is often more harmful for girls than for women that are passed the 25 years. She further points out, when the trust is broken in such a young age, it is more difficult to rebuild it again. Additionally there are no appropriate structures that help girls under 18 years that find themselves in this situation (KOK 2013). The In Via employee (2013) states: “The women shelters are just for women above 18. So the girls end up at the “youth emergency service” (Jugendnotdienst (own translation)). However, regarding to the In Via employee (2013), “the problem there is that the girls feel like they are locked in again. The rules are strict and they are not allowed to smoke for instance. But the girls need their freedom and they just have their own pace. It depends on little details if the girls feel comfortable or not. It often takes even more time till they trust somebody and till they feel safe. The social services are often not prepared for the specific needs of such young victims. The consequence is often that the girls run away” (In Via employee 2013) (own translation). Running away in this case also means that the girls might go back to their perpetrators and again work as sex workers. As just considered, it is assumed that the young age often makes women more vulnerable to become victims of human trafficking. The psychological consequences are often greater than for older women, but the helping structures in Germany are still less developed. A certain notion of discrimination due to the category of age can hence be observed.

**Power relations**

The empirical material further shows, that there clearly exists a power relation between the perpetrators and the women becoming victims of human trafficking and
forced prostitution. This occurs when they are forced to sexual labor without wanting it or without agreeing on the terms. It further can mean that women do not have a free choice about their work and only the perpetrator benefits from it (KOK (n.d.)). Often women have to work off the expenditures of their trip to Germany as well as pay for the room and board, which are usually higher than the real costs (Prasad 2008, p. 68). As mentioned by KOK (n.d.) the power relation can thereby involve “using amassed debts as an instrument of threat (i.e. until “broker fees” are paid to the middle-man, the women themselves or indeed their families are brutally threatened) (…)” (KOK (n.d.)).

*Internal sphere*

Regarding the internal sphere, it can further be noted that exploitation or discrimination often occurs within the own family in the home countries who might have supported the trafficking of the woman. Hartenfels (2013) mentions that most women they work with already experienced violence and sexual abuse in their childhood. Accordingly, violence is considered as something normal and therefore women often do not see themselves as victims when they are treated with violence (Hartenfels 2013). Looking at the internal sphere it can be pointed out that violence, discrimination and exploitation often already starts in early childhood and continues when such women succumb their perpetrators.

“Revictimization” often plays a role in this context. This term is used in two different ways. On one hand it highlights the assumption that victims of sexual violence are more likely to again become victims of sexual violence. The second meaning of the term revictimization refers to the circumstance that victims of sexual violence are violated a second time, when they are blamed for the happenings or their credibility is questioned by criminal justice agents or other authorities where the violence is reported to (O’Sullivan/Fry 2007, p. 40). This form of revictimization can happen on the external sphere, for instance when victims have to render their experience of violence and prostitution and hence experience the traumatic process a second time.
External sphere

Discrimination can further be observed on a structural level or the external sphere. On this level the regulations concerning victim protection and procedures in front of court can be mentioned. Elaborating on all relevant laws and their effects on the victims is not possible at this point due to the complexity of this field. Rather it shall shortly be mentioned how practitioners value victim protection in Germany.

The representatives from Solwodi (2013) and In Via (2013) claimed that victim protection for women that are affected by human trafficking in Germany is insufficient. Correspondingly the legal status of the women that are identified as victims of human trafficking and that do not have a valid visa or permit to stay, depends on their willingness to testify (§ 25 (4a) Residence act). Otherwise, in case they are not willing to do so, they are most likely to be sent back to their countries of origin if they do not have any other ground of residency in Germany. In practice it means that women, coming from countries outside the EU, that are identified as victims of human trafficking can receive asylum after § 25 (4a) (Residence act) in case they are willing to testify. Accordingly they do not have to live in a regular asylum accommodation and that they may stay in Germany during the time of the procedure of the legal proceedings of the prosecution of the perpetrators, however not afterwards (Schreiner 2013). With reference to the In Via employee (2013), the testifying process thereby requires very detailed answers of where, how, when, how often, the women had worked, how much money she earned, etc. She points out that this process often results in a problem for the women. On one hand they are already under pressure as their legal status depends on their willingness to testify. Furthermore doing a detailed testimony in front of the police and the court regarding a very intimate and shameful issue which might already lie back a couple of months or even 1-2 years is extremely hard and emotional incriminating for the women. The In Via employee (2013) further highlights that women often have bad experiences with authorities, regarding disrespect and discrimination, which also belongs to the external sphere (In Via employee 2013)
Prasa (2008), discusses this issue in her contribution in KOK (2008) “Trafficking in Women in Germany”. She points out various practical problems that arise due to this regulation and mentions that receiving a residence permit due to this regulation labels victims of human trafficking as such. Correspondingly, this might have negative effects for the women, when they return to their home countries, where prostitution might be prohibited and where they might have to expect criminal prosecution after their return (Prasa 2008, p. 70). From a juridical perspective Kilchling (2008) discusses victimization in the criminal law in Germany. He shows that various changes in victim protection regulations in Germany have already been achieved in favor to the victims, but that they are still not sufficient (Kilchling 2008, p. 51).

Sr. Dr. Lea Ackermann, founder of Solwodi Germany mentioned at the conference “Combating human trafficking today (2013)” the following regarding the external sphere and discrimination due to legal regulations: “The misery and poverty [of women that became victims of human trafficking] has been utilized always and everywhere. And what is our country [Germany] doing? Our country makes a law that allows to exploit those women even more“ (Ackermann, 2013a) (own translation). In addition to this statement, the In Via employee (2013) calls it like this “as long as they [victims of human trafficking] serve the state they can stay” (own translation).

It can be noted, that a variety of different reasons facilitate the vulnerability of women to become victims of human trafficking at the first place and to be exploited and discriminated in the situation in the second place. Belonging to certain categories like gender, ethnicity and language, class and age that intersect with each other, makes women more vulnerable to become victims of this crime and of exploitation and discrimination. However, this does not say that all women that belong to such mentioned groups automatically are exploited or become victims of human trafficking. The intersectional analysis just helps to understand the characteristics of most victims and to partly explain the grounds for the exploitation.
After having pointed out where discrimination or exploitation intersect it shall now be discussed what social workers and practitioners know about social problems victims are facing and how such can be conceptualized.

5.1.2 Defining the social problems

The following section discusses how social workers and practitioners describe the situation and social problems of victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. It will be analyzed how those can theoretically be explained by using especially Staub- Bernasconi’s third understanding of the development of social problems.

That certain biological, biopsychological and biopsychosocial needs are often not fulfilled for victims of human trafficking and hence lead to social problems can be pointed out, when looking at the experience of the counseling centers. In a document by KARO e.V. (2011) a social worker describes the following situation of Mirka, who was “desperate because for years she was threatened, beaten and abused by her partner, who as the same time is her pimp. He further put her on drugs and forced her to work as a prostitute (…) Cleanness, enough food, hygiene, time and space in order to give her son enough love are things that the 29 year old does not know” (KARO, e.V. 2011, p. 18f) (own translation)).

In this example, the social worker refers to a variety of needs that are not fulfilled on an individual level. On a biological level it can be pointed out that the need for food and hygiene is not fulfilled. It can be assumed that this cannot be fulfilled due to the individual competencies such as the lack of socioeconomical equipment. It can further be assumed that due to the violation of her husband (problematic power structure) her biopsychosocial need for respect, recognition and emotional care is unfulfilled. Also owing to the threat, the violence and the experienced abuse, Mirka, has to deal with psychological or social consequences which she cannot compensate with her individual equipment. As it is further pointed out by the social worker,
Mirka does not have the socioeconomical equipment, such as a good salary or education, which would help her to get out of this situation and to fulfill her needs. Besides the problematic power structures and the individual factors that limit her possibilities to fulfill her needs, also failing exchange relationships can be assumed to play a role. Being put on drugs and working as a prostitute further does not comply with social norms given by the society, which can be seen as a discrepancy to her biopsychosocial needs of belonging and receiving recognition. The social problems for Mirka can hence be assumed to lie on the different levels just mentioned.

Another example is mentioned by the counseling center Jadwiga (2008-2011): Accordingly the following situation is described: “(…) After her arrival in Germany, Lisha was forced to work in a brothel. Lisha had to make high benefits every day. If she did not do so, she was threaten, hit and raped. One time she escaped with a sex buyer. The perpetrators threatened Lisha’s family in Africa. They broke one uncle’s arm- so to say as a warning. The family fervently asked Lisha to keep on working that the family does not need to live in fear and threat in Africa. Hence, Lisha returned to the brothel (…)” (Jadwiga 2008-2011) (own translation).

The description of Lisha’s situation by the counseling center can be explained like the following: Her need for self-determination is limited and the biopsychosocial needs for autonomy and social recognition can be assumed not to be fulfilled. The reason for this lies in the problematic exchange relationship but as well in the problematic social and power structures she is involved in. On the other side part of the social problem lies in the fact that she cannot follow the rules what is expected from her in the community she is living and working in. She has to succumb the power-structures and is lacking the control over her own life circumstances, which can be considered to be an unfulfilled need on the biospsychological level. Also the biological needs to avoid violence and physical harm to the body is for instance not ensured in Lisha’s case.

Besides the social problems in those two mentioned examples, health issues can further be pointed out as the source for social problems on the biological, but as well the biopsycological level. Health problems in general and especially sexual
transmitted diseases play a role for the women working in the field of prostitution. Ehlers (2013) states: “Most of the times women wash themselves way too often, because otherwise they cannot deal with it [the sex work] in their heads. However, wrong washing or hygienic behavior might also lead to more health problems” (Ehlers 2013) (own translation). In this case it can be mentioned that trying to compensate one social problem (washing in order to deal with the experience of sex work), it might lead to other social problems and is hence not a successful strategy of dealing with the situation. Being confronted with the unfulfillment of biological needs at the first place might further lead to social problems on the biopsychological or biospsychosocial level or vice versa.

Regarding sexual transmitted diseases that can lead to social problems for the women, the In Via employee (2013) states that even though women often do know about the risks of having sexual intercourse without protection, it still takes place and in some cases leads to health problems for the women. As the interview partner further mentions, the demand for sex without condoms is on a rise. Accordingly, due to the financial pressure the women have to fulfill their socioeconomic equipment, they are often willing to follow that wish, even though they know about the risks. “Sex buyers use this precarious situation and hence get their will. For the women this can mean having to deal with the consequences such as sexual transmitted diseases” (In Via employee 2013) (own translation). Also the counseling center Ban Ying emphasizes on this problem. They state: “For women who are trafficked in the sex industry this can imply that they are not allowed to turn down clients or decline certain sexual practices or that they cannot insist on using condoms. In addition they are forced to comply with the sexual demands of the perpetrators (against their will and free of charge). Their possibilities to earn money - if at all existent - are completely disproportionate to their income” (Ban Ying (n.d.)). It can again be mentioned that in this example on one side the biological needs of physical integrity are not fulfilled and on the other the need for autonomy and self-determination (biopsychological needs).
Another example that can be classified as being a social problem on the biological level and occurs due to the individual equipment, as well as due to the social or power structures is pointed out by Schreiner (2013). She mentions: “many [women] come here and are pregnant. And then they have maybe worked as prostitutes or street prostitutes in Greece, Spain or Italy. When they are pregnant they are, so to say, not of use anymore and are brought to Germany and received here. Then the question is, if they will be sent back to Italy, because they immigrated there for instance. And so for us a variety of problems occur” (Schreiner 2013) (own translation).

As considered in various documents, but as well as by the interview partners from In Via (2013) and Solwodi (2013), not knowing if they will sent back to the home countries or to the countries they entered the European Union is extremely stressful for the women and often leads to anxieties and insecurities (unfulfillment of biopsychological need). Respectively Schreiner (2013) mentions the following:

“The insecurity which those women have, that are in the asylum process is unbelievable and distressing. Very distressing for the women. That they do not know how long they will be here, if they have any chance at all or if there is any chance to get out of it [the asylum process] – it is very, very distressing. When they would know that they for instance get a permit to stay for three years or so and that they have to care for themselves now that they have to learn German and to search for a work. I believe that would help them also to be able to deal with their past and to get over those experiences” (Schreiner 2013) (own translation).

In this statement it becomes especially clear that needs on the biopsychosocial level (belonging to a social system and being guaranteed rights and obligations) cannot be fulfilled due to rules regarding the social and power structures. As stressed by many counseling centers and as already mentioned, the legal regulations and the bureaucratic procedures in the migration process in Germany, from their perspective are not supportive in giving the women stability and fulfilling their needs on the different levels. At this point, only few examples were used to show how the
situation of victims of human trafficking can be and were social problems occur due to the unfulfillment of various needs.

5.1.3 Trauma and Shame

“They [women engaging in sex work] cannot do this work without sooner or later having mental or health problems”

(Hartenfels 2013) (own translation)

Besides the social problems just mentioned, there are also emotional factors that often play a role for the women that became victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Those can also be categorized on the biopsychological level, but shall at this point be specifically highlighted. As Schreiner (2013) mentions in the interview: “There is much connected to that [the problem]. When a woman comes to us, then she of course does not just have the problem that she is or was a victim of human trafficking and forced prostitution. There is the legal status, the diseases, they do not talk German, and some are illiterate. There are so many questions that have to be answered. They are traumatized, they have to do a therapy” (Schreiner 2013) (own translation).

Traumatization is often mentioned by counseling centers as one consequence of the trafficking experience for sexual exploitation. Schreiner (2013) highlights that it is not just the current situation and problems victims have to deal with, but they especially have to try to get over the experiences of the past. She states: “First there is the experience of prostitution. Many are ashamed of talking about it, even though it is not their fault. They were forced to it and they lose their self-esteem. And especially women from Africa are afraid of the “tshootschoo” oath” (Schreiner 2013). The fear that this oath comes true is pointed out by the social workers to be very high and influential. The In Via employee (2013) argues that this oath, which, regarding to her is not understandable from a European perspective, can be that
strong that there is often no chance that women get away from this believe. Accordingly, this oath on one side contributes to the traumatic experience and on the other side limits the dealing with it.

Apart from trauma also shame plays a role. Shame, as defined in the theoretical part of this study, is often connected to the experience what happened to women on one side as well as the shame to talk about it to the social workers that work in the counseling centers. As stressed by the In Via employee (2013), reciting the shameful experience further in front of the police as well as the court is a big struggle for many women. The role of shame is also mentioned by the social workers in the health office in Hannover. They made the observation that women in the prostitution area are often more shameful (for instance when it comes to medical examinations) than other women that consult the health center. Ehlers (2013) points out, that apart from the trust that generally often has vanished, also the relationship to the own body is difficult for the women. This argument is supported by Schreiner (2013) who states: “They [the women] feel such a disgust regarding the whole thing [the prostitution experience]. They cannot even talk about sexuality with any joy or values anymore (…). Shame plays a very big role” (Schreiner 2013) (own translation)

How social work is approaching the mentioned social problems and how practical intervention takes places in the field of human trafficking and forced prostitution, will be subject of discussion in the next section.

5.2 Social work practice

5.2.1 Social work methods and interventions in practice

Having discussed earlier, the new global challenges and the adaption of social work to the resulting social problems, it shall now be in focus how in practice social work intervention in the field of human trafficking and forced prostitution takes place. In this context Lyons et al. (2006) highlight the need for “multi-layered and inter-professional responses to identifying problematic issues or particular needs arising
from the [migration] process”. Social work intervention might have to involve “lo-
cal strategies and interventions related to national frameworks, while others will
require collaboration at cross-national or international levels (…)” (Lyons et. al
2006, p. 126). Various social work strategies shall now be highlighted, that demon-
strate, that such mentioned interventions do take place in a variety of different
forms.

First it shall be stressed, that almost all counseling centers and health centers work-
ing with the issue of human trafficking and (forced) prostitution in Germany have
a broad working approach. Target groups are often not only victims of human traf-
ficking and forced prostitution, but further (migrant) women and often also men
and children. The support is often also addressed to pregnant women or victims of
violence in general. Further forced marriages, integration problems and other diffi-
cult situations that cannot be solved by the clients themselves are subject of inter-
vention for most counseling centers that also work with the issue of human traffick-
ing. Also women engaging voluntarily in prostitution as well as sex buyers often
belong to the target group of the organizations. By having such an open approach
social work is not limited in its intervention and has the access to various parties
involved in the problems. This can be seen as one big advantage as social workers
get the insight to the situation and social problems of the victims of violence in
general, but also an insight to the demand side, such as the sex buyers. At this point,
it shall also be stressed, that social work intervention and the support of the clients
also takes place, regardless of the client’s legal status, which can be highlighted as
a big strength of social work. The counseling center Ban Ying (n.d.) respectively
mentions the following, which has also been emphasized by other counseling cen-
ters:

“In Germany the government makes a clear distinction between a trafficked person
and a witness, i.e. a trafficked person who agrees to testify against the perpetrators
during the trial. We do not make a distinction between witnesses and other traf-
ficked persons who do not want to or cannot testify. Both groups of women are
provided with counselling and psycho-social care” (Ban Ying (n.d.)). Further, as
for instance mentioned by Ehlers (2013), social workers follow an “accepting approach” (akzeptierender Ansatz) (own translation)). By this, it is meant that the situation of the client will be accepted with what he/she tells the social workers and they will not be judged about their behavior (Ehlers 2013).

The social work approaches used in the field of human trafficking are for instance “crisis intervention, psychosocial assistance, assistance to authorities, helps to find appropriate accommodation, accompanies to court proceedings, return counseling services, information and training events, information and counseling for family members” (InVia (n.d) (own translation)). Those actions correspond to the needs and social problems that have previously been mentioned. As pointed out also streetwork and case management are used methods when addressing victims of human trafficking and forced prostitution. Empowerment and the activation of various resources thereby play a crucial role.

Streetwork for instance can have various forms. This means that social workers go, where prostitution takes place and where victims of human trafficking might be. Such areas can be brothels, certain streets, or also private apartments, where it is known that selling sex takes place. Hence, the living and working environments of the target group is the place of intervention. Ehlers (2013) points out that in Hannover, social workers from the counseling centers as well as social workers from the health care institution cooperate with each other when doing streetwork. Besides going to those mentioned places together, they also run a coffee place for the women working in the sex field. This is directly located where street prostitution takes place. The aim of this streetwork approach is to familiarize women with the possibilities of getting help either from the counseling centers or regarding health issues from the health care center (Ehlers 2013). Just as in other cities, working material, such as condoms and lubricant gel are distributed as well as information flyers in different languages. In Hannover, the coffee place serves as room for breaks and talks and counseling with the social workers. Streetwork in private apartments might include, that social workers search for those addresses through the an-
nouncements in the internet or in newspapers. The aim of going to private apartments is also to spread information about the possibilities to receive help, as well as to inform the women about sexual transmitted diseases (Ehlers 2013) (own translation). As there might be language barriers also interpreters are assisting in this process.

Another example of preventive social work intervention is given by KARO e.V. (2010 and 2011). Since 2009, KARO e.V. runs a so called soup kitchen in Cheb/Czech Republic, a border town to Germany. Regarding to KARO e.V. (2011) the target group were first women and children of the prostitution scene, but meanwhile is extended to all people in need. Besides handing out food and clothes to fulfill the biological needs, also information regarding child abuse, drug consume and sexual transmitted diseases are given and assistance is provided (KARO e.V. 2011, p. 14) (own translation).

As mentioned by Ehlers and Klaffer (2013) giving the information needs to be on a very basic level, due to little education and language barriers. The interview partners involved in the research agreed that streetwork is generally well accepted and that women are happy to know about the support of the counseling centers. The streetwork approach is thereby adopted to the requirements of the women, their educational level and their cultural backgrounds. By doing streetwork, also sex buyers can be reached and information (for instance regarding sexual transmitted diseases) can be distributed.

Correspondingly streetwork can serve various purposes. Not just that it enables social workers and practitioners to get in contact to the clients and to distribute information regarding practical assistance or health related information, it also gives them the chance to analyze the structures and the scenes in which sex work is taking place. Karo e.V (2010) highlights that one part of streetwork is also to receive information from the women, regarding for instance violent sex tourists, information about commercialized sexual abuse against children, forced prostitution and trafficking (KARO, e.V. 2010, p. 12) (own translation). KARO e.V. (2009) further
points out that by the streetwork approach it is not just possible to get in contact with new clients, but also to maintain the contact to the clients and to constantly support them (KARO e.V. 2009) (own translation). It can be concluded that one big advantage of the streetwork approach is that clients are reached that most likely would not come to the counseling centers themselves. Additionally the intervention takes place at the working place of the women and is adopted to the educational level and needs of such. By using interpreters the information can be provided in many languages, which is one big advantage (see for instance Caritas (n.d.) and Franka e.V. (n.d.)).

Case management is another method which is used in practice and which is also adopted to the specific needs of the clients. Social work centers assist in the coordination of help and care and the complex needs of the clients stand in focus. As social problems affect the individual level and are imbedded in a system the problem solving approach needs to be on different levels as well. For instance it can mean that social workers make sure the biological needs on an individual level are fulfilled (for instance the need for physical integrity and regeneration (Obrecht 1999: 50/ Staub- Bernasconi 2007, p. 172) (own translation). In practice this might involve that clients can take a shower and do their laundry in the counseling center. They have the possibility to eat and take a rest. If necessary they have the opportunity to recover from their experience in a safe accommodation (KARO, e.V. (n.d)) (own translation).

Besides supporting the women to fulfill their biological needs, also the biopsychological and biopschosocial levels are subject of intervention of social workers. Psychosocial help or assistance to authorities is provided and information about the legal situation and the rights the clients have is involved on these levels. Case management can include the support in solving financial problems or integration issues (see for instance KARO, e.V., Solwodi, Jadwiga). Caritas (n.d.) emphasizes on their “support in everyday life” in providing “information and advice for getting side-
jobs, Harz IV9 and unemployment benefits” as well as “advice on future job perspectives/ placement in a language course” (Caritas (n.d.). Thereby the system, such as the family or community the clients are embedded in plays an important role. Accordingly, social workers help to activate available resources, assist with bureaucratic questions and help to strengthen the client’s support system.

In order to provide thorough help for the clients, the counseling centers are cooperating with each other as well as with other institutions. In case the specific counseling center cannot provide the help itself or the client does not belong to the specific target group of the organization, such can make the contact to other, more specialized facilities. Also other institutions that might be involved in a cooperation can be the police, health centers, or authorities such as the migration board. In practice special contracts often regulate this liaison (In Via employee 2013). As pointed out by the In Via employee (2013), having such cooperations might mean that there are specific opening hours at the migration office just for the counseling centers with staff that is especially trained on the issue of trafficking. The cooperation with the police for instance involves that police enforcements inform the counseling centers, when they recognize victims of human trafficking in their work.

It can be summed up that street work and case management are two approaches used in supporting victims of human trafficking. The help can be adopted to the client’s individual needs. The counseling centers provide necessary resources in order to improve the biological, socioeconomical and socioecological equipment of the clients and to contribute to the fulfillment of their specific needs.

As demanded by various researchers to adopt the interventions to new global challenges and global dimensions of social problems, it can argued that in the field of human trafficking various efforts have been made in order to do so. Accordingly, with the help of interpreters intervention can take place in the native languages of the clients. Also new forms of media are used in social work intervention. Further, social workers and practitioners adopt their methods to the educational level and

9 Social benefits
the cultural background of the women. That this also involves challenges and limitations shall be subject of discussion in a later stage. First the focus shall shortly lie on other ways, how social work adopts their methods to new global challenges.

5.2.2 International social work

With women mostly coming from Eastern European or African countries this also implies for social work, that intervention cannot only take place on a local level but rather must have a transnational or international dimension. In practice international social work can involve cross border streetwork or cooperation with counseling centers in the countries of origin. As mentioned for instance KARO e.V. provides social work in the border region to the Czech Republic in Germany as well as across the border. Both cooperate with each other. A counseling center exists in Germany as well as in the Czech Republic. Streetwork takes place in both countries and support is provided by German as well as Czech social workers. Also the other counseling centers work together with authorities and other counseling centers in the countries of origin. For instance Solwodi runs a special program where women receive assistance in case they want to return to their home countries. Besides financial support, also the assistance by counseling centers in the home countries is part of this program. Women are supported to improve their education and to find a job after their return (Solwodi (n.d.a)).

It can also be mentioned that social work organizations in the sending countries also have various concepts and programs in order to prevent trafficking. As one example the advice center “Malinowka” in Minsk can be mentioned. Different seminars and individual support shall support women and girls to have a better future and not to become victims of human trafficking (Gruschewaja 2013).

Punctually it can be outlined that transnational social work cooperations do take place. However, those seem to be the exception and cannot cover the entire demand in this field. As the world is getting more and more connected and social problems
cannot be categorized as local issues anymore, those international social work co-
opera\tions are a crucial step in dealing with such problems. It is hence especially
important for social work to continue working in this direction, not only on an aca-
demic, but especially on a practical level.

5.2.3 The challenges and limitations of social work intervention

Besides many cases, where social work intervention is successful and is able to help
and assist women in need, social work also faces challenges and limitations in their
everyday practice. In the following some of those shall be subject of discussion and
emphasized why they occur.

The findings show that one major challenge for social work lies in identifying the
victims of human trafficking and getting in contact with them. Human trafficking
is, as already considered, a crime “committed in secret” (Frings 2006, p. 77). The
In Via employee (2013) mentions that victims cannot be easily distinguished. She
states: “We do not recognize the women as victims unless they tell us. However,
this is often not the case” (In Via employee 2013) (own translation). The counseling
center Franka e.V. (n.d.) accentuates on the reasons for this. Accordingly women
are not able to leave the circumstances because they often find themselves in situ-
tions where they are locked in or guarded by the perpetrators. Franka e.V. (n.d.)
further argues that women often do not leave their situation due to fearing various
consequences, such as abuse, arrest by the police or threat of their family members
in the origin countries. (Franka (n.d.) (own translation)). Hence, the access to the
women is challenging as counseling centers depend on the victims telling them that
they are victims of human trafficking, which is often not the case or that other au-
thorities such as the police informs the social work organizations (Schreiner 2013).

At this point the outcome of the prostitution law from 2002 can also be mentioned
as one factor that aggravates the possibilities to identify victims of trafficking. De-
pending on who evaluates the prostitution law, the opinion on the effects differ. As
it is emphasized in a study by the Bmfsfj (n.d.) different effects that the prostitution
law (2002) brought along can be outlined. At one section it is stated that due to this law and the legalization of prostitution police raids and controls are, because of various circumstances, less possible (Bmfsfj (n.d.)) (own translation). There is hence a smaller chance for police to identify victims of human trafficking. Also, due to some of the countries of origin of the women being EU member states, those women are legally in Germany, engaging in legal work. A mandate to look behind the experiences of those women and the circumstances they work and live in, is hence often not given.

Schreiner (2013) observes obstacles in bureaucratic procedures as another challenge of her practical work. For instance, when women need a therapy this might involve a long process of paperwork. She made the experience that that the waiting time is very long, in case a therapy can even be provided. As Schreiner (2013) stresses, it sometimes takes months till a place can be offered (in case it is offered at all), which of course is not in the interest of the women.

Another challenge occurs, when trying to support the women that want or have to return to their home countries. Transnational cooperations with counseling centers abroad punctually do exist, but in practice it can still be hard to offer the support such women need. Schreiner (2013) mentions an example of a women from Africa that entered Europe via Italy and then came to Germany. As she does not have a valid permit to stay in Germany, she is supposed to return to Italy.

Schreiner (2013) states: “Well, can one send a women back to Italy that has three months old or three week old twins, when you know that in Italy the women’s shelters and the receiving centers from Caritas, etc. are totally overcrowded? And when she, again has maybe no other chance than living again on the street? What shall she do with her children? And what, when her old perpetrators find her again there?” (Schreiner 2013) (own translation). As it can be observed in this example, theoretically there exists the contact between the counseling center in Germany and in Italy, but in practice that still might not be of sufficient as help can still not be
provided due to the lack of financial resources, the shortage of staff or overcrowding of the institutions.

That the precarious financial situation of the counseling centers is limiting social work intervention is pointed out by various organizations considered in this research. Hartenfels (2013) indicates: “Everybody tells us, that we are doing a good job, but the financial resources are not offered to us” (own translation). At one side, not only the counseling centers are low on budget and hence also often low on staff, but also in the health care the lack of financial resources can become a problem. As Ehlers (2013) highlights, in Hannover it is possible to offer free HIV/AIDS tests to the sex workers. However, in case a woman does not have a health insurance and is tested positive, the resources are not given that a medical treatment for this client can be provided. Accordingly, in this case, the option for a HIV/AIDS test is not really useful as the women will know the result, but does not get support in the treatment (Ehlers 2013) (own translation). Hence social workers do not have the possibility to support the clients in fulfilling their biological needs for physical integrity due to the lack of financial support.

The In Via employee (2013) further mentions the challenges that occur when underaged women are identified as victims of human trafficking. The experience of In Via shows that a coherent structure of help and support is missing for this age group. Accordingly, those girls have more specific requirements that are not fulfilled in the current child protection services in Germany (In Via employee 2013 and KOK 2013) (own translation)

When approaching the social problems of victims of human trafficking, it becomes clear that sex buyers and perpetrators play a major role. As mentioned by the interview partners certain actions, such as distributing information material, already take place to include sex buyers in the intervention. However, as the interview partners point out, it is challenging to address sex buyers that legally buy sex, but often use and exploit the vulnerable situation of the women. On one side there is hardly any interest of this target group to get information and on the other side the counseling
centers claim that due to shortage on staff, also the capacities are limited to engage in more actions that address sex buyers (see for instance In Via, Karo e.V.).

Besides those structural circumstances that challenge social work intervention also emotional factors like shame, anxiety and trust play a significant role on the individual level that challenge and sometimes limit social work intervention. As pointed out by the practitioners spoken to in this research, it often takes very long time till the women trust and tell their real story. For social work intervention this implies that a lot of time is needed in order to build up this kind of trust and to be able to assist in the problems solving process. However, as observed by the interview partners, due to women often not having a legal immigration status or are not willing to testify, this time is in many cases not given and women are often sent back, before this trust can be established. As emphasized by Klaffer (2013) “Laws often clash with the mandate of social work” (Klaffer 2013) (own translation). This means that even though certain actions might be good for the clients and help them solving their problems, it is not possible as certain laws apply to the situation that limit the possibilities of social work intervention.

Apart from emotional factors also cultural factors such as the voodoo oath might make it impossible for social work to intervene. The In Via employee (2013) mentions that in case women from Nigeria cannot distance themselves from the oath they have sworn, the counseling centers often have no chance to help them. She argues that the only way to support such women is when trust can be established which overcomes the fear of the voodoo oath (In Via employee 2013).

Generally it can be pointed out that besides the difficult access to the actors involved in the problem of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation also the given frameworks such as laws and financial resources challenge and sometimes limit social work intervention. However, regardless of all practical challenges, social work has a variety of concepts that are adopted to those requirements and that support victims of human trafficking and forced prostitution. Much can be done and it can be highlighted that social work as a discipline and profession has taken upon
those challenges and offers a variety of concepts and methods in order to support those women.

6. Results and claims

6.1 Discussion of the results

As the analysis showed, victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation often face a variety of social problems, which source lie in the unfulfillment of various needs on various levels. Besides that, certain characteristics that have been outlined in the intersectional analysis can contribute to the intensification of the social problems. Taking the categories proposed by the concept of intersectionality it can be noted that there is a gender dimension in the issue of human trafficking with women often being victims and men perpetrators. Further a power relation can be detected with men being those who buy the sex and thereby contribute to the exploitation of the women in case those do not engage in this kind of work voluntarily. However, it can be observed that due to prostitution not being prohibited, it is often only the women that get blamed for their work, for instance when it is detected that they do not have a working permit, do not pay their taxes or do not have a legal residence status.

The responsibility of sex buyers that represent the demand side are hardly considered in the public discourse regarding prostitution in Germany. Social workers are generally also able to reach and inform them about relevant issues connected to prostitution (sexual transmitted diseases, the problem of trafficking, etc.). In practice however, due to financial limitations and a lack of interests of the sex buyers this process is still problematic and needs to be improved. It can be criticized that the public discussion in Germany is mostly oriented at criminalizing the women engaging in sex work. That the responsibility to a high extend lies on sex buyers is often not considered and is not reflected in the regulations regarding prostitution in Germany.
Not only can a certain gender dimension be detected, which is often highlighted in the literature regarding human trafficking. Often the young age of the women can also be emphasized as a part of the problem. The younger the girls and women are, the more traumatizing the experience of being trafficked and forced to prostitution can be as the empirical material showed. Even though, underaged women can be identified as victims of human trafficking, the helping structure in Germany is not aligned on the specific needs of this young age group, which can be seen as a major problem and challenge for social work intervention. That such a structure does not exist can be criticized. It can be argued that either new structures that are specialized on the specific needs of young victims need to be developed or that the current structures need to be adopted to the requirements of underaged victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This might involve that financial resources are provided and staff is especially trained on the legal frameworks regarding child trafficking, child abuse, and the specific needs of this age group.

Furthermore, coming from a low class and having little education as well as from families were violence occurs, women affected by trafficking often do not have the knowledge about their rights and their possibilities to get out of the exploitive situation. Often they even consider the experienced abuse as something normal. Social problems often occur due to the experience of the working conditions which lead to the unfulfillment of biological, biopsychological and biopsychosocial needs. Social workers try to compensate this by providing information regarding various rights and by informing the women about possibilities to leave this working field or exploitive situation. However, as mentioned the identification of victims is still challenging and hence sometimes results in a limitation for social work intervention. It is hence especially important to try to reach also those places were victims of human trafficking might be found. Also informing the public about this problem and sensitize sex buyers about the situation some women engaging in prostitution might find themselves can be argued to be an important step. This already takes place but as outlined by some counseling centers themselves needs to be extended (In Via employee 2013).
Due to their ethnicity and culture victims of human trafficking often do not have a legal status and often live in fear to be sent back or that their false passports will be detected. Many of the women do not speak the German language or are familiar with the way of life in Germany. Also cultural links to their home countries might be strong and putting pressure on the women. As already considered such can be that they have sworn an oath, which makes them totally subordinate to their perpetrators or that their family or the economic situation back in the home countries puts pressure on the women to send back money. Contributing to the precarious situation of victims of human trafficking is that, from the perspective of the counseling centers, victim protection in Germany is not as protective for the women affected by trafficking as it should be. It can be stressed, that in order to support women finding themselves in such mentioned circumstances empathy and the knowledge about cultural diversity is a crucial characteristic a social worker should have. Having the knowledge about relevant laws and having a high amount of sensitivity towards cultural differences is hence indispensable for the professionals engaging in this working field. Further professionals should be aware of the source, extend and outcome of social problems that can occur on different levels and due to the unfulfillment of various needs. Such an analysis is a crucial step for social workers that are able to intervene on various levels and act preventive as well as provide treatment. That emotional factors like trauma and shame can limit the cooperation of the women shall always be considered in the intervention.

Human trafficking as a crime in the context of Globalization and with various economic and social factors contributing to the exploitation of women, will probably not be entirely obliterated. However, it can be argued that many aspects that limit social work intervention in practice to support victims of this crime could be improved, if the society and political parties took the issue of human trafficking more seriously and took responsibility over the fact that this crime is happening in Germany. The concrete postulations and the desired changes from the view of the counseling centers shall be subject of discussion in the next part.
6.2 From a social work perspective: required political and societal actions and changes in the thematic of human trafficking

Having discussed the issue of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation and having pointed out, where from a practical experience problems, challenges and limitations occur, it can now be concluded what, from the perspective of social workers and practitioners, the required political and societal changes are in order to improve the possibilities to combat human trafficking in Germany. As already mentioned, in this context the statements by KOK are of high importance as they reflect the opinions of various counseling centers in Germany. Their claims can hence be generalized.

It can be stressed that generally it should be discussed how prostitution and the sex business shall in future be handled in Germany. In the media, Germany is often pointed out as a “paradise for prostitution” (see for instance Sierpinski 2013 and Sagener 2013) (own translation). As highlighted, the liberal prostitution law contributes for sex work to be considered a normal job. From the perspective of Schreiner, Hartenfels and Hofmann (2013) the attitude towards prostitution on a societal and political level needs to change. According to them and other practitioners, buying sex should not be considered as anything normal that is supported by the government. It is argued by various organizations that the prostitution law urgently needs to be adverted and that Germany should ratify the European Guidelines regarding human trafficking (Solwodi 2013, In Via employee 2013).

Regarding to Ackermann (2013), this shall include that the residence permit for women from outside the EU shall not depend on their willingness to testify and that the victim protection in general is improved (Ackermann (2013b)). Also KOK (2013) clearly claims for the secured residence permit for victims of human trafficking, regardless of their cooperation (KOK 2013) (own translation). The improvement of victim protection can for instance be in form of financial support in order to partly compensate the suffering and the work of the women (In Via employee 2013) (own translation). As it is argued by Hartenfels and Hofmann (2013)
as well as other counseling centers, the German state should further provide more financial resources for the counseling centers as well as for the treatment and therapies for victims of human trafficking (Deutsche Bischofskonferenz 2013) (own translation). Regarding the age, the In Via employee (2013), as well as Constabel (2013) from the health care center in Stuttgart stress that a change of the age that allows prostitution shall be in focus. Currently it is allowed to sell sex from the age of 18. However, as highlighted earlier, the younger the women are, the more vulnerable they are. The two mentioned representatives and KOK (2013) therefore argue for an increase of the age allowing the engagement in prostitution to 21 years. Further as a lack in the helping structures for under aged victims of human trafficking could be observed, improvements shall also take place there (In Via 2013). KOK (2013) argues in this context that child protection needs to be improved for children that became victims of human trafficking in Germany.

Kavemann/Stefan (2013) argue that the problem lies in a missing overall concept regarding the dealing with prostitution. Due to the federal structure in Germany the dealing with the prostitution law in Germany varies between the states. With respect to that KOK (2013) claims for such overall regulations that are not different in the federal districts as well as for an extension of the aid system which includes financial support of the counseling centers.

The actors that are asked to take on those demands and requirements are the German government on one side, but the society as a whole on the other side. Also the churches as providers of social services and as a crucial part of the German society are demanded to address the issue of human trafficking. That the Catholic Church is willing to take responsibility for this topic can be seen, when looking at the statements that were announced after the conference “combating human trafficking today” in 2013 (Deutsche Bischofskonferenz 2013) (own translation). Further social work is also challenged to continue with their work, to constantly improve and adopt their concepts to be able to successfully intervene where problems occur and to spread knowledge about the issue. Research done by social scientists in general,
but especially by social workers working with the issue in practice should be encouraged as they have the direct contact to the clients and know best were the women face problems, discrimination and exploitation. However, it is also understandable that, due to little staff and financial capacities a contribution to academic research is often not possible in practice. In the end, it is the society as a whole who is asked to critically reflect upon the own behavior that might be contributing to the exploitation of (migrant) women in Germany.

Conclusion and outlook

In conclusion it can be outlined that the knowledge social workers have regarding the situation and social problems of victims of human trafficking is of high relevance as it reflects the real life situation and social problems that stand behind the numbers when talking about the crime. From a social work perspective various levels of discrimination due to individual or structural reasons can be observed. Those problematic circumstances are the reason of intervention of social work who can contribute to the solving of social problems on various levels. As methods that are thereby used on the preventive and treatment level streetwork and case management can be mentioned as two examples. Both methods allow to support the individual victim, but as well to include the community and the system of the women. Various resources shall thereby be activated. However, as noted the counseling centers providing social assistance are confronted with challenges that often limit their operations. Some of the desired changes on a societal and political level from the perspective of the counseling centers have been highlighted.

At this point again it shall be mentioned that various aspects could not be considered in this study. Many important issues have been left out. A deeper elaboration on the reasons for trafficking within the context of Globalization could have taken place. Further a more thorough discussion on previous research and the international dimensions of social work as well as the legal frameworks could have taken place, which was not possible due to the limitations of space.
Regarding the research methodology, it can generally be pointed out that a qualitative research approach and the additional quantitative data helped to draw various conclusions. However, the shortage on interview partners can again be criticized. Only the view of selected counseling centers could have been discussed in this thesis. It would have been fruitful to look at the experience of more counseling centers, to discuss their different approaches, how successful they are in practice and also consider where they do not agree regarding claims and postulations for instance. In future research regarding human trafficking and social work it shall generally be recommended to include more perspectives, also from social workers and practitioners working in the home countries of the women. To include perspectives of sex workers themselves as well as of other actors such as police, immigration officers, sex buyers and law enforcement would be beneficial in future research.

Regarding the choice of the used theories in this thesis, it can be debated if those were a good choice for the research purpose. The concept of intersectionality does help to understand certain intersections of categories and where discrimination occurs due to such. However, the scope of social problems could not be discussed in detail with this approach. Therefore the parts of the theoretical assumptions were added regarding needs and social problems by Staub-Bernasconi (2007) and regarding shame by Thiersch (2009). Generally this helped to understand the source of the occurring social problems for the women that became victims of trafficking. However, it would have been more fruitful to consider the entire theory by Staub-Bernasconi (2007) and focus more on her theoretical assumptions and not only on her understanding of needs and social problems. Then also metatheoretical as well as objecttheoretical issues could have been considered and discussed how those are important for practical social work intervention within the context of new global challenges. By considering also those levels it could have been highlighted more clearly that social work is not just a profession with a focus on practical intervention, but also a discipline that can contribute its knowledge to the academic discussion by having a clear theoretical and philosophical standpoint. It can be criticized
that this discussion did not take place in this study and that the focus rather lay on practical issues.

Regarding further research, many aspects can be added that can possibly be considered in the future. On one side the discussion of social work responses to new global challenges can be done more thoroughly. Thereby it would be good also to include how social workers evaluate social problems as the outcome of new possibilities due to Globalization, but also how social workers use those possibilities themselves in their work (such as the media to reach clients, travel- opportunities to cooperate transnational, etc.). Also, it would have been interesting to discuss how well the university training prepares social workers to respond to such challenges within the context of Globalization.

As mentioned the juridical aspects with regard to human trafficking and prostitution in Germany could only superficially be considered. Future research would benefit from a more thorough discussion regarding those issues, especially with the focus on the outcome of those regulations for the women in practice.

Another aspect that has not been considered in this study, but that is involved in the context of (female) migration and trafficking is the fact that many of such women that were addressed in this study have children that were left behind in the countries of origin. How those children deal with the situation of their mothers being abroad is another research area, but is closely connected to the thematic of human trafficking (see for instance Robila (2010) and UNICEF (2008)).

Again, even though the focus in this study lay on social work with women that became victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, it shall be stressed that also other labor exploitation is taking place and that also boys, men and transgender people are affected by this crime, which shall not be neglected (see for instance Cyrus, et. al. 2010). Considering this target group and adding the focus on other purposes of trafficking would be fruitful in future research.

Looking at the current development in Germany the following can be pointed out: On a political level it can be highlighted that currently a new legislative proposal is
discussed in order to combat human trafficking (Deutscher Bundestag 2013a). However, the draft has already been criticized by experts in this field as insufficient. Accordingly, it does not guarantee victims a residency permit regardless of their willingness to testify and does not change the age allowing prostitution to 21. Regarding this proposal, representatives from the counseling centers further argue that sex buyers need to be involved in the prosecution process which is not included in this draft (Deutscher Bundestag 2013b). In this discussion it is often referred to the “Swedish model” as a role model. In 1999 Sweden made a clear statement against prostitution by criminalizing the purchase of sex. Waltman (2011) discusses the consequences of this law and points out various obstacles, but also a variety of positive changes due to this law (like the decrease of the purchase of sex and a moral change in the attitude towards buying sex) (Waltman 2011, p. 458f). If such a regulation would be also the right way to go for Germany, after having such liberal regulations with regards to sex labor cannot be discussed at this point.

Overall, it can be assumed that as long as the possibilities, especially for migrant women to engage in other working areas than sex labor in Germany cannot be improved and the push factors in the countries of origin do not change, the problem of human trafficking and forced prostitution will continue to exist. Social work will have to continue to adopt their methods to the changing requirements within the context of Globalization in order to support victims of this crime. It is hence also important to include global issues, also in the university training of social workers in order to provide a wide ranged assistance that is focused on the different needs of the victims of human trafficking. As it is challenging to directly address victims of human trafficking for the purpose of research, it shall be stressed, that the knowledge social work has about their situation and the problems they face shall be added to the academic discussion. Social work knowledge in this field is crucial to consider in order to better understand the situation and circumstances of the women that become victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation.
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Wordcount: 24826
Appendix:

Appendix 1: Push and Pull factors

„Possible Push – Factors

- economic poverty
- unemployment
- low wages
- high inflation
- poverty
- no perspective
- uncertainty, as a result of wars or political changes
- little social security, for example reduction of subsidies
- being responsible for a family

Possible Pull – Factors

- a good social network
- good education and medical care
- liberal legislation
- a high living standard
- a stable political situation (peace)
- highly paid jobs
- ignorance about the consequences when having debts or being unemployment, hostility towards foreigners and problems to get integrated in the new country”

(Solwodi (n.d.b))

Appendix 2: Article 3 of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against women:

„Women are entitled to the equal enjoyment and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field. These rights include, inter alia:

(a) The right to life;

(b) The right to equality;

(c) The right to liberty and security of person;
(d) The right to equal protection under the law;

(e) The right to be free from all forms of discrimination;

(f) The right to the highest standard attainable of physical and mental health;

(g) The right to just and favourable conditions of work;

(h) The right not to be subjected to torture, or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment”.

(Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, 1993)

Appendix 3: “Article 1.05 Code of Ethics: Cultural Competence and Social Diversity

(c) Social workers should obtain education about and seek to understand the nature of social diversity and oppression with respect to race, ethnicity, national origin, color, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, age, marital status, political belief, religion, immigration status, and mental or physical disability”

(NASW 2013a)

Appendix 4: Definition of Case Management by the NASW (2013b)

“Social work case management is a method of providing services whereby a professional social worker assesses the needs of the client and the client’s family, when appropriate, and arranges, coordinates, monitors, evaluates, and advocates for a package of multiple services to meet the specific client’s complex needs. A professional social worker is the primary provider of social work case management. Distinct from other forms of case management, social work case management addresses both the individual client’s biopsychosocial status as well as the state of the social system in which case management operates. Social work case management is both micro and macro in nature: intervention occurs at both the client and system levels. It requires the social worker to develop and maintain a therapeutic relationship with the client, which may include linking the client with systems that provide him or her with needed services, resources, and opportunities. Services provided under the rubric of social work case management practice may be located in a single agency or may be spread across numerous agencies or organizations” (NASW 2013).