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Every Mind (of a VoT) is a Universe

A field-based study on assisting victims of human trafficking
beyond the template

Report from a Minor Field Study, April-June 2013

Author: Carolina Sandberg

Supervisor: Eva Schömer

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis was to identify the implications of the normative premises which are present in the NGO AgainstHTR-S, which works with assistance of victims of human trafficking for sexual purposes. This in order to outline how and why the NGO has the potential to adapt its “Attention Model” to the needs of the individual. In conjunction with a field work in Costa Rica, empirical data was gathered through ten interviews with staff members and victims of trafficking, and through a participatory observation. The data was analyzed by using the Norm Model of Hydén and Wickenberg, and Habermas concepts surrounding the lifeworld and system. Through the study, it became visible that a central aspect for adapting the Attention Model was the bond between the staff members and the victims of trafficking. This could result in the NGO becoming a normative arena defining the victim outside of legal frameworks. Furthermore, it appears that the increasingly significant role of NGOs as advocates for public opinion can result in that this interaction at a micro-level also has the potential to incite to a more victim-oriented attention at macro-level.

Keywords: victim, human trafficking, NGO, norms, public opinion

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This work is dedicated to all the victims of human trafficking – to those I have met, to those I will meet in the future and to those I will never meet.

I am closing this chapter but I am not closing the book.

//Carolina Sandberg

Tambien deseo dedicar este trabajo a aquellas personas que se dedican a la lucha contra la trata. Ex-colegas, nunca podré expresar mi agradecimiento por haber podido participar en esto con ustedes. Les agradezco su paciencia y una vez más: los admiro por su dedicación. Muchos saludos a los chicos y a las chicas.

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Abbreviations

- AgainstHTR-S: Against Human Trafficking for Sexual Purposes. Name used for the NGO subject of the field study in this thesis.
- IOM: International Organization of Migration
- MFS: Minor Field Study
- NGO: Non-governmental Organization
- PVoT: Potential Victim(s) of trafficking. This denomination is used in the NGO AgainstHTR-S for referring to individuals who work in the sex sector, but who have not been victims of trafficking.
- UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
- VoT: Victim(s) of Trafficking

1. Introduction

On the first day at AgainstHTR-S, I was asked if I wanted to participate in a night patrol to speak to transvestites in the streets and have a cup of coffee. I was also asked if I wanted to participate in a razzia in three brothels together with police forces, to expose cases of human trafficking for sexual purposes. I said yes.

This was the initial phase of the field study which was concluded in AgainstHTR-S in Costa Rica, a non-governmental organization working with attention of victims of human trafficking (hereafter: VoT). The motivation behind this study was to explore a field which, according to critics, strongly relies on myths and “magic numbers”, resulting in that certain aspects – and victims – become more visible than others (Brunovski & Surtees, 2010, p. 7; Tyldum et al., 2005). One of these myths is the construction of the “prototypical trafficking victim” which commonly is a woman held under slave-like conditions (Tyldum et al., 2005, p. 51). Although the human trafficking discourse has been active in the international agenda for several decades, current legislations are ineffective and largely rely on assumptions of both victims and offenders (Tyldum et al. 2005). Moreover, critics claim that legislation regarding human trafficking fails to assume a victim-oriented approach, as prosecution rates have become the main indicator to measure the struggle against organized crime (Dijk, 2011; Rijken & Römken, 2011, p. 91-92). This might lead to a failure to provide protection and assistance for victims of trafficking, as these initiatives may remain as a subordinated interest within criminal legal systems (Rijken & Römken, 2011, p. 83, 91). Consequently, the concerned individuals risk continuing becoming victims of serious infringements of fundamental human rights as their own needs risk remaining in the shadow (Rijken & Römken, 2011).

The title “Every mind of a (VoT) is a universe” is a quote from one of the informants of this study, and refers to my intention to highlight that victims of trafficking cannot be portrayed as a homogenous group. Therefore, this thesis seeks to further research on how VoT attention can be adapted according to the needs of the individual - regardless if she or he fits into the stereotype. According to the “Handbook on Direct Assistance of Victims of Human Trafficking” of the IOM (2007, p. 81), a reintegration assessment is necessary for creating a reintegration plan for each victim. This assessment should include both an evaluation of the conditions of the individual, and a situational evaluation focusing on the environment surrounding the VoT (IOM, 2007, p. 81). And although it is unrealistic to state that any organization can be able to meet all the needs of a VoT (IOM, 2007), a normative approach can be useful for a better understanding of VoT assistance in general. The method for approaching this area includes a participatory observation and interviews with staff members of the NGO AgainstHTR-S and VoT. By exploring the normative premises in the “Attention Model” of AgainstHTR-S, it is possible to better understand the mechanisms which construct the form of attention in this particular context at a micro and macro-level. Subsequently, this approach can help understand the role which NGOs can play for leading to a more individual-based understanding of the VoT in a globalized world.

After presenting the aim, research questions and restrictions of the study, the background chapter allows the reader to visualize the conditions of the place where the field study was concluded. This includes a short introduction to the Costa Rican context, the concerned NGO and its “Attention Model”. Moreover, a presentation of the four VoT-informants which participated in interviews is included in order to compensate their relatively limited presence in this thesis. The chapter of methodology explains the process for approaching the field and conducting the participatory

observation and the interviews at AgainstHTR-S. Subsequently, the theoretical framework consists of, firstly, the Norm Model of Hydén and Wickenberg as an analytical tool, and secondly, Habermas' concepts of the lifeworld and system. On the one hand, the use of the Norm Model serves to explain the construction of the Attention Model of AgainstHTR-S by considering social and structural norms. On the other hand, Habermas' concepts further illustrate how and why the normative structure of the model of AgainstHTR-S can serve to promote a more victim-oriented approach within a discourse where the needs of the individual remain subordinated.

1.1 Aim

The aim of this study is to analyze the normative mechanisms which allow the NGO AgainstHTR-S to incite individually adapted attention to victims of human trafficking for sexual purposes. One of the main reasons for adopting this approach of the field is that the profile of VoT is highly heterogeneous (Rijken & Römkens, 2011, p. 94; Tyldum et al. 2005). This has frequently been understated in human trafficking research as limited cases have become representative of the phenomenon, as was exemplified with the image of the "prototypical victim" (Tyldum et al. 2005, p. 51-53). A particular discourse and normative structure is present in the "Attention Model" of AgainstHTR-S, forming the specific working methods of the organization. Hence, the Norm Model of Hydén and Wickenberg serves as an instrument to explore which normative premises are important for establishing the Attention Model in this particular context. In practice, the norms which influence the work with VoT are flexible and highly connected to the interaction between individuals. By using Habermas' concepts about the system and the lifeworld, it is possible to distinguish the implications of this interaction. Furthermore, Habermas' concept of public spheres and the development of modern society help to highlight the role of NGOs as advocates for VoT attention in a global arena.

1.2 Research questions

- What normative structures influence the implementation of the Attention Model of AgainstHTR-S at both a micro- and macro level?
- How can an NGO like AgainstHTR-S serve as a mediator between the lifeworld and system-based understanding of the VoT?

1.3 Problems and Restrictions

The subject of human trafficking for sexual purposes, which is the type of trafficking covered in this study, is commonly linked to the discourse of prostitution (Tyldum et al., 2005, p. 16). Nonetheless, discussions regarding the perspectives of differing human trafficking and prostitution discourses will be avoided. The focal point is the normative understanding of a model which can be adapted to different cases of human trafficking for sexual purposes. Thus, it is not relevant in respect to the aim of the study to discuss these perspectives. Instead, human trafficking and prostitution will be discussed through the NGO AgainstHTR-S and its "Attention Model". The term "norm" implies here a behavioural guideline which can be linked to structures and/or social interaction (Hydén, 2002). Also the concepts surrounding Habermas' lifeworld and system are employed by using this norm perspective.

While AgainstHTR-S also works with, for instance, prevention of human trafficking, it is their Attention Model which stands as the departing point for this research. The analysis includes a bottom-up perspective as the Attention Model is explained through the perspective of the actors of the NGO shaping it. Not all of the staff members work with direct attention of victims of human

trafficking. Hence, the interviews in this study include those staff members who actively work with the attention, as well as the founder of the NGO. Four interviews with VoT are also included. The participatory observation concerns the Attention Model as a whole, even if the main target group of the organization is potential victims of human trafficking (hereafter pVoT). PvoT is the denomination of AgainstHTR-S for referring to individuals involved in sexual commerce voluntarily. As will be further explained in the chapter of methodology, knowledge of the working language (Spanish) and of local cultural norms was an important tool – and perhaps a necessary condition - for accessing the empirical data in this study. However, the access to this data was highly dependent on the staff members, and the perspectives of the VoT could not be included as much as envisioned. As is further discussed in methodology, all names in the thesis, including that of the concerned organization, are confidential. The word “victim” is used to refer to a victim of crime and does not intend to assign a special role to the individual.

2. Background: Picturing the Field

It is important to allow the reader to be introduced to the context which set the base for the thesis. The NGO AgainstHTR-S, where the field study was concluded, is based in Costa Rica. This country has several particularities which are worth taking into account for understanding aspects behind this particular Attention Model. For instance, it is one of the few countries in the world without a military, which becomes an interesting characteristic as it is located in an area where military coups have marked the last century (Hillman & D'Agostino, 2011). The country was ranked as number 69 in the UNDP Human Development Index Report in 2011¹, ahead of several Latin American and East European countries such as Colombia, Brazil and Bosnia (UNDP, 2011, p. 127-130). In Latin America, Costa Rica stands out as a state of social and economic stability – but also for a dualism which proves that this is not a general reality. According to a national survey from 2010, 21 % of the population of the country is considered poor, with a monthly income of less than 170 USD (Government Offices of Sweden, 2012, p. 1, 2-4). Globally, Costa Rica has gained attention for its ecologic initiatives - but likewise for its extensive sex tourism.

Prostitution is legal in Costa Rica - in contrast, it is a criminal offense to promote or facilitate prostitution, or to buy sex from a minor (Government Offices of Sweden 2010, p. 10). Human trafficking has become a rising problem and from being considered a transit and destination country for trafficking, Costa Rica is at present also considered a country of origin (U.S. Department of State 2013). Forced labour and trafficking for sexual purposes are the two most recurrent types of trafficking in this country which serves as a hub for migrations flows, particularly between South and North America (U.S. Department of State, 2004, 2012). The majority of foreign victims of human trafficking identified in Costa Rica are from Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic, but internal trafficking remains extensive (Government Offices of Sweden, 2010, p. 10). The state is taking initiatives to counteract this crime, but the national legal system is judged to be ineffective and corruption widespread (Government Offices of Sweden, 2012, p. 4). Currently, the attention of victims relies mainly on non-governmental organizations (U.S. Department of State, 2012, p. 129).

2.1 The NGO: AgainstHTR-S

One of these non-governmental organizations is AgainstHTR-S, a Christian NGO with experience within the fields of sexual commerce and human trafficking for sexual purposes. The organization currently counts 15 staff members and although there is a board, a CEO and a project manager, its organization structure is horizontal. AgainstHTR-S is open during weekdays and around 100 persons assist the organization weekly. At present, it has no shelter – but this is one of the future prospects of the NGO. Within the organization, trafficking is referred to as a form of modern slavery and a violation of human rights - and the agency and empowerment of the individual is the base of its so called “Attention Model”. AgainstHTR-S has obtained a particular position with its experience, namely as a form of lobbyist towards the state. That is, it has gained a status as an expert within the field of sexual commerce, but most of all concerning human trafficking and VoT attention (Interview 6: Soledad, 2013). This attention, however, is only provided to victims and potential victims of human trafficking for sexual purposes. The definition of human trafficking which is mainly used in AgainstHTR-S is that of the Palermo Protocol of the United Nations article 3a, defining it as:

¹ The UN Human Development Index (HDI) is intended to account for data regarding, for example, gender equality, education level and life expectancy (UNDP 2011).

“The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of 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” (United Nations, 2000).

The organization regularly cooperates with public and private actors for various initiatives, and the UN definition is not at all times the only definition which is taken into consideration.

2.2 The Attention Model of AgainstHTR-S

With a total duration of two years, the Attention Model seeks to empower the individual who is/has been in sexual commerce (pVoT) or who has been a victim of human trafficking (VoT) for sexual purposes. This empowerment process is also meant to involve the family of the individual.

Goals of Attention Model ²	Methods for Achievement of Goals
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Restitution of (human) rights of the individual. ➤ Holistic empowerment of the individual through psychological, social, and spiritual attention. ➤ Medical and legal support. ➤ Reintegration to society of the individual through, for example: the possibility to become self-employed, or become suitable candidates for new jobs by the acquirement of new skills. ➤ Creation of a “Life Project”: a plan for a future free from sexual violence. ➤ Empowerment of the individual to confront and overcome their specific problems and issues. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Initial interview to map situation of VoT. ➤ Individual attention sessions. ➤ Group attention: socio-educative modules (16 months). Themes: self-esteem, violence, spirituality, health, family and life project. ➤ Vocational training and counselling, based on skills, interests and priorities of the individual (3 months). Regular courses: catering, beauty salon, English, cooking, sewing, computing. External courses (scholarships) when courses are not suitable as of skills and interests. ➤ Raising education level among beneficiaries in cooperation with national institutions. ➤ Establishment of a « life-project ». ➤ Follow-up.

The life-project is a central element in the Attention Model as the long-term goal with this two-year program is to empower the individual according to his/her needs. This empowerment occurs, according to the Attention Model, through knowledge and support which offers tools for the individual to gain independence and be more prepared to reintegrate to society (AgainstHTR-S brochure, 2012; Field notes, 2013).

2.3 The Victims of Trafficking in this Study

The trafficking discourse contains stereotypes which present this crime in general terms – counteracting both anti-trafficking initiatives and the support of the victims (Rijken & Römken, 2011; Tyldum et al., 2005). The participation of four victims of human trafficking for sexual purposes as interview informants in this study allows a better understanding of how the Attention Model is perceived by the population it is directed at. However, it is important to not consider these

² AgainstHTR-S brochure

informants as representative for victims of human trafficking as a whole, nor for the target group of the organization. Conducting interviews with victims of human trafficking receiving assistance already creates a bias, as not all individuals have access to attention (Brunovski & Surtees, 2010, p. 8-9). This background information, however, reflects the broad definition of “VoT” in the organization AgainstHTR-S:

	Victoria	Valentina	Viviana	Valeria
Recruitment age	12-13 years	+ 20 years	13 years	13 years
Free mobility (in general)	Yes. Occasionally held against her will, violence	Yes, but “obligations” due to debt-bondage.	No	No
Received money	Yes	No (debt-bondage)	No, basics for subsistence	No, basics for subsistence
Drug consumption	Yes - start as of trafficking experience	No	Yes, start as of trafficking experience	Yes, start as of trafficking experience
Threats after Trafficking Experience	No – sudden network disintegration. Entered sex sector	No. No network (two individuals from quarter)	No – sudden network disintegration	No – left as an adult. Entered sex sector
Concluded Attention Program at AgainstHTR-S	Yes	In progress	Yes	No, wants to retake process
Other remarks	Worked as a recruiter for network	Experience while residing in own home. Threats towards children		

The four VoT participating in the study – Victoria, Valentina, Viviana and Valeria - were subject to internal trafficking, that is trafficking within the Costa Rican borders. Through the background information provided by staff, and the interviews with these informants, it also appeared that the nuclear families of these VoT were characterized by a low level of stability (Interview 7-10, 2013; Interview notes, 2013). Their schooling level was primary level education, and although this is not the case for all victims of human trafficking attending AgainstHTR-S, it is more common for participants in the NGO to have basic education than higher level education. Threats were recurrent at different points of the trafficking experience, and a common cause for the VoT to not engage in judicial trials. For instance, of the 36 VoT currently attending AgainstHTR-S, only five had pressed charges (Field notes, 2013, p. 164).

Victoria represents an interesting case as she had worked as a recruiter for the network which trafficked her (Interview notes, 2013). The Costa Rican government does not penalize identified VoT for criminal acts committed while the individual was subjected to human trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2013, p. 141). For AgainstHTR-S, Victoria was considered a VoT as she had been trafficked at a young age and engaged in sex work after the network was dissolved (Field notes, 2013, p. 143). When asked about the changes she had perceived in her life since she started to attend AgainstHTR-S, Victoria mentioned:

"I thank God for having let me quit prostitution...young. And now I have a child which did not see me as I was before, thank God. Now he sees a new mother, a mother full of love. Because before, as how I was back then, I would probably have sold him, I would have dismembered him and sold him elsewhere. Of course I would have done that. But he sees a mother full of love, full of God, that wants to give him the best example" (Interview 9: Victoria, 2013, p. 4)

Within AgainstHTR-S, Victoria was a recurring example when relating how the will of the individual is central for a change (Interview notes, 2013; Interview 2-3, 5, 2013). Hence, it is interesting to view the different perceptions of a victim of human trafficking in differing contexts, and how these are not necessary aligned to the ruling discourses. One central element in the discourse of AgainstHTR-S is that, potentially, anyone could be a VoT and anyone could be a trafficker, regardless of their socio-economic conditions (Field notes, 2013).

3. Methodology

The study relies on two distinct qualitative data collection methods: a participatory observation and interviews. Additionally, documents and reports of the organization AgainstHTR-S were used. Due to the extensive amount of material collected during the field work and the sensitive nature of approaching human trafficking, the methodological process is described comprehensively. Particularly as the approach of individuals who have been victims of this crime requires cautiousness to avoid revictimization and harm (IOM, 2007).

3.1 Participatory Observation: Approaching the Arena

The participatory observation was carried out in conjunction with a MFS-scholarship from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency which entitled me to travel to Costa Rica to perform fieldwork. In June 2012, I searched for non-governmental organizations in Latin America working with victims of human trafficking. After studying the subject of human trafficking during high level courses from different universities, I saw a need to adopt a study which focused on the needs of the victims of this crime, based on how normative structures can be analyzed and adapted for meeting these needs. Parallel to the field work, literature focusing on victimology and assistance of victims of human trafficking was selected. The material was accessed in Lund University libraries and the online database of the same university LUBsearch. Additionally, reports from divergent international organizations were used. Material problematizing the discourses of prostitution and human trafficking are not central in this research, but being familiar with these discourses contributed to the understanding of AgainstHTR-S and their work methods.

After receiving a positive response from the NGO AgainstHTR-S, we made a mutual agreement in order to obtain permission to do fieldwork in the organization during nine weeks. In addition to the knowledge acquired by attending university courses on the subject, preparations included concluding courses within the fields of gender and international migration, and further reading on the subject of human trafficking and about the Costa Rican case. Notes including my personal foremeanings and expectancies related to the fieldwork were elaborated, as no researcher enters a field as a *tabula rasa* (Fangen, 2005, p. 49-51). These notes also included a reflection on how my own profile could influence my understanding of the field. This to be more aware of my personal bias related to characteristics such as gender, class and ethnicity (Fangen, 2005, p. 26, 53-54). Age, religion and perceptions of gender were also important in my case, the two latter being strongly influenced by my Swedish background.

The reason why I searched for an NGO addressing this theme in Latin America specifically is based on my background being Swedish and Mexican. As I grew up in Mexico City and Spanish is my mother tongue, the distance between the researcher and the informants was lesser. Latin American countries share a social, political and developmental history – even if each country inevitably has specific features (Hillman & D’Agostino, 2011, p. 15). Firstly, this allowed the understanding of many local perspectives, such as the use of religion as a motivational instrument within the organization. Secondly, the mother tongue of the staff members and the victims of human trafficking is also Spanish (VoT from non-Spanish speaking countries have occasionally attended AgainstHTR-S). This minimized risks of being dependent on an interpreter, which could involve overlooking useful data (Fangen, 2005, p. 26), although my own translations from Spanish to English could also imply an alteration of the empirical data. Thirdly, Mexico appears as an important influence in Costa Rica. Not only because Mexican culture is present in Costa Rican everyday life, through television shows, food

and music (Field notes, 2013) - but also because Mexico has become a symbol of extreme violence through media (Dijk, 2011, p. 112). References to the brutal crimes in Mexico were recurrently used as an extreme contrast to Costa Rica (Field notes, 2013, p. 15; Interview 5: Soledad, 2013). These facts became crucial for the contact with the staff members, who as gatekeepers ultimately influenced the information which was accessible for this study (Fangen, 2005, p. 73-74).

My duties within the organization included mainly office work with staff members. For instance, this meant that the contact with the victims of trafficking was more limited than previously expected. Equally, it meant that the bond with the staff members and their capacity to control my role in the organization formed this study to a high extent. This led to an approach which was divergent from what was initially planned – which was to allow the victims of this crime to be the central actors in this study. Nonetheless, there was an opportunity to attend courses and activities for victims and potential victims of human trafficking. Staff members invited me to participate in diverse activities which included: night patrols, police razzias in brothels together with governmental institutions (national and international), conferences with government representatives, individual interview sessions with VoT and pVoT, socio-educative courses, activities for youths considered to be pVoT, vocational counselling sessions, trafficking prevention presentations in elementary schools, childcare, staff meetings and fund-raising events. All of these activities allowed perceiving the relation of the organization to VoT and pVoT at different stages, including how individuals who did not attend AgainstHTR-S were addressed, and how the NGO was presented in differing situations.

The field notes, which covered all of these activities, were elaborated on a daily basis after leaving the NGO. When having the possibility, keywords were written down. Notes could be taken openly only during my attendance in the socio-educative courses, as I was presented as a researcher and was not expected to actively participate in the classes. The field notes were divided into Observational Notes (ON), Theoretical Notes (TN) and Methodological Notes (MN) according to the categorization of Schatzman and Strauss (Fangen, 2005, p. 99-102). Accordingly, each set of field notes were divided into what had been observed (ON), personal reflections regarding the observed (TN), and methodological reflections (MN) (Fangen, 2005, p. 99-102). In total, the field notes covered observations of a total of 39 separate days of participation in AgainstHTR-S. By following the advice of Fangen (2005, p. 78), the general questions which were answered in each set of notes were: “What happened?”, “Who did you meet?”, “How did they act?”, “What surprised you?”, and “What was different from what you had expected?”.

My Latin and European background reduced the factor of ethnocentrism, but increased the risk of going native in the field arena. The relatively easy access to the field due to the bond established with the staff members was a methodological theme covered in the field notes. According to Fangen (2005, p. 31), the ideal of a participatory observation is to participate “naturally” in the social interaction with the actors in the field arena, without necessarily following their behaviour. For increasing the distance towards the staff members, which were the individuals which I interacted with constantly, I actively confirmed my role as an “outsider” occasionally. This was done by: declining invitations to participate in religious rituals such as holding a prayer before the start of the working day, following the dress code to a limited extent and wearing the NGO uniform once per week only, speaking about my research and about my countries of origin, and having an irregular working schedule (Field Notes, 2013, p. 69, 78). These active initiatives of differentiation were not necessary with the VoT and pVoT as these individuals perceived me as one of the staff members.

3.2 Interviews with Victims of Human Trafficking (VoT) and Staff Members

Between week seven and nine of my field work, interviews were implemented. These were semi-structured in order to allow the informant to speak more about their perceptions of the pre-established themes. Previously, test interviews were carried out with two criminology students of Lund University and a university student from another field. These allowed me to receive feedback on the base structure of the interview guides. The tests were also useful for practicing the techniques suggested by Ryen (2004, p. 47-55) for fomenting the flow of a conversation by, for example, the use of pauses to clarify that the informant has the word, and avoiding leading questions. The first interview group consisted of four VoT and the second of six staff members of AgainstHTR-C. For the first group, my intention was to collect data regarding how the VoT perceive the Attention Model of the organization. The questions were adapted to the informants, as also was suggested by staff members, by having more casual language. No questions regarding their trafficking experience were included due to ethical considerations - and the aim of the study not being focused on this experience. However, as background information of the VoT was important for a better understanding of their situation, staff members were consulted regarding this issue. This information also served as a guide for avoiding asking sensitive questions to the VoT during the interview. For the second group, the staff members, my intention was to collect more information regarding how the Attention Model was constructed and employed. But also to compare how the organization worked in practice, how this work was presented to "outsiders" and how it was presented in an interview. This as the form in which the working objectives are presented can vary according to the audience for who it is directed (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997, p. 166). I did not use the uniform of the NGO in the interviews to create a differentiation from the staff members, and avoided using formal clothing.

As I was working inductively and had already collected a significant amount of empirical data through the participatory observation, the questions of the interviews were adapted to the aim of the thesis by centering on the Attention Model and its "life project" concept (long-term empowerment). The selection of informants was the following: the group of staff members included only those individuals working directly with victims of human trafficking in AgainstHTR-S, plus the founder of the organization. The latter currently focuses on administrative tasks, but her participation was relevant to notice the development of the work methods of the organization throughout the years. In contrast, the VoT were selected and contacted by my main gatekeeper after discussing possible candidates with other staff members, as I had none or limited contact with them prior to the interview. The interview guide was shown to the staff members beforehand, but it was not modified. The interviews were recorded with a tape recorder, and transcribed. Additional notes were taken during the interviews according to the recommendations of Ryen (2004, p. 69), and these were equally organized in OA, TA and MA. All informants are women, as there are no male victims of trafficking in AgainstHTR-S at the moment. Also, the only male among the regular staff team, works with prevention lectures in elementary schools. Hence, he was not selected as one of the informants. The interview guides and the informed consent form, translated and original, can be found in Appendix 1-3. Although the guide for staff is comprehensive, the questions varied according to the subjects encountered during the conversation.

It is worth to further highlight that others chose the informants from the VoT group. These individuals might have been strategically chosen for presenting a particular image of the organization. Brunovski & Surtees (2012, p. 12-13) mention a similar situation when conducting interviews with victims of human trafficking and "anti-trafficking service providers" in Albania, Serbia

and Moldova – citing the approach of the respondents by referrals of the “service providers” among their ethical and methodological challenges. The informants in this form of research cannot be seen as representative for all the victims of human trafficking and their needs (Brunovski & Surtees, 2012, p. 13). Additionally, while the interviews with VoT were solely directed by me, a staff member was present at all times during these interviews – a situation which may influence the responses of the informant. For example, it might be more difficult for a VoT to give feedback related to AgainstHTR-S and its Attention Model in the presence of a staff member. It might also be complicated for a VoT who has been in the NGO to decline to participate in an interview (Brunovski & Surtees, 2010, p. 20). However, it was the staff members who knew the VoT and knew who was more stable and less likely to relapse. The risk of revictimization was discussed between the staff members before choosing possible informants. Furthermore, the IOM Handbook on Direct Assistance of Victims of Human Trafficking (2007, p. 308-313) states that the basic ethical principles in caring for and interviewing trafficked persons include: do not harm; ensure safety, security and comfort; ensure privacy, ensure confidentiality and provide information. In the interview checklist of the same handbook, it is recommended that persons conducting interviews with VoT are accompanied by a qualified support person if this is considered appropriate (IOM, 2007, p. 328). This support was in fact needed during one of the interviews with a VoT. Hence, the presence of staff members during the interviews with VoT appears as necessary for ensuring an ethical and safe approach to individuals who have been victims of human trafficking.

3.3 Ethical Considerations

In addition to the ethical considerations to avoid the revictimization of the VoT during the interviews, ethical aspects had to be constantly revised. My role as a researcher and observer was openly presented to the NGO and the staff members, from the beginning of the fieldwork (Fangen, 2005, p. 68). The participation of the informants was reassured by involving them in the shaping of the study (Fangen, 2005, p. 70-71; Ryen, 2004, p. 74, 156), an example being receiving the authorization of the NGO supervisor to implement the interviews after explaining my purposes. An informed consent form was distributed to all interview informants. It covered the aim of the study, the use of a tape-recorder, confidentiality of information, risks attached to participation, possibility to not respond to a question and the possibility of the informant to interrupt the interview (Ryen, 2004, p. 75-77; Appendix 3). The informed consent form was presented to the VoT orally before the interview due to it risking to establish a symbol of power imbalance between the informant and researcher because of its formal nature. This was also a means for reassuring the informant about the interview process, as it could clearly be stated that the interview was strictly confidential and limited to the study. The VoT were also informed about the possibility to contact a staff member of AgainstHTR-S after the interview if they had further questions or wished to end their participation in the study. After the interview, all informants received a copy of the informed consent form.

Information was handled carefully throughout the study. This involved the back-up of information in an external HDD, changing notebooks for observations and writing most of the information related to AgainstHTR-S and the work against human trafficking in Costa Rica in Swedish. Risk assessments and careful handling of data were necessary to minimize the risk of “outsiders” accessing sensitive information (IOM, 2007, p. 7-10). Other considerations taken during the research included the use of confidential names (Fangen, 2005, p. 210-211), with names starting with “S” representing staff members and names starting with “V” representing victims of human trafficking. The real name of the concerned NGO is also confidential, which simultaneously imposes a limitation in presenting

references of the used documents and reports of the organization. The reliability of this study is also difficult to measure as the empirical data is based on a qualitative method (Fangen, 2005, p. 272), being dependent of the social interaction between the actors who currently work or attend AgainstHTR-S. This causes a dilemma between ethical and research principles, which according to Fangen (2005, p. 212) can be justifiable if the need of confidentiality outweighs the controllability principle. However, the use of terms of the NGO and the use of quotes is a form to compensate this circumstance.

All empirical data was reviewed two weeks after the termination of the fieldwork for objectivity reasons. The process and the results of the study were audited by staff members of AgainstHTR-S on several occasions. This as a member check reassured the involvement of the central actors in this research also after the field study - and a final copy will be sent to the organization. Undoubtedly, it is the perspective of staff members which is more present in this study, due to the daily basis interaction with this group. However, it is the VoT and their attention which are central.

4. Theoretical Framework

The empirical material acquired during the field study at the non-governmental organization AgainstHTR-S will initially be analyzed through Hydén and Wickenberg's Norm Model. This tool will be used to evaluate the elements which influence the methods used in the organization to assist victims of human trafficking for sexual purposes, creating a specific normative structure. Examining this structure is useful for exploring the mechanisms behind this particular form of assistance and outlining how it functions to attain the aims of the Attention Model. Furthermore, the Norm Model considers the influence of characteristics related to the individual and to external structures, with the individual having the final decision if a norm is applied or not (Hydén, 2002). This means that the agency and perspective of the VoT can also be included. After exploring the normative premises through the Norm Model for answering the first research question, the characteristics of the working strategy of the organization will be further analyzed with Habermas' differentiation between the lifeworld and system. This allows responding to the second research question which seeks to outline why and how the characteristics of the individual can become more central when a VoT is assisted through a "channel", like this NGO, co-existing between Habermas' two worlds.

4.1 Hydén & Wickenbergs Norm Model

The Norm Model of Hydén and Wickenberg is a tool - and not a theory per se - to analyze the relation between a norm and an action, with "norm" representing a behavioural guideline (Hydén, 2002). Its main three components are: Will (W), Knowledge (K) and System Conditions (SC) – as specified in the image below. The Will and Knowledge components are linked to the actors, which define the individual or group implementing the norm, while the System Conditions are linked to the possibilities to fulfill a norm (Hydén, 2002, p. 288-289). Hence, it allows the understanding of an action through different perspectives of the norm which is analyzed, as it includes aspects at both a micro- and macro level. How these components are described and interrelated varies according to the study where the Norm Model is applied (Hydén, 2002, p. 290, 315).

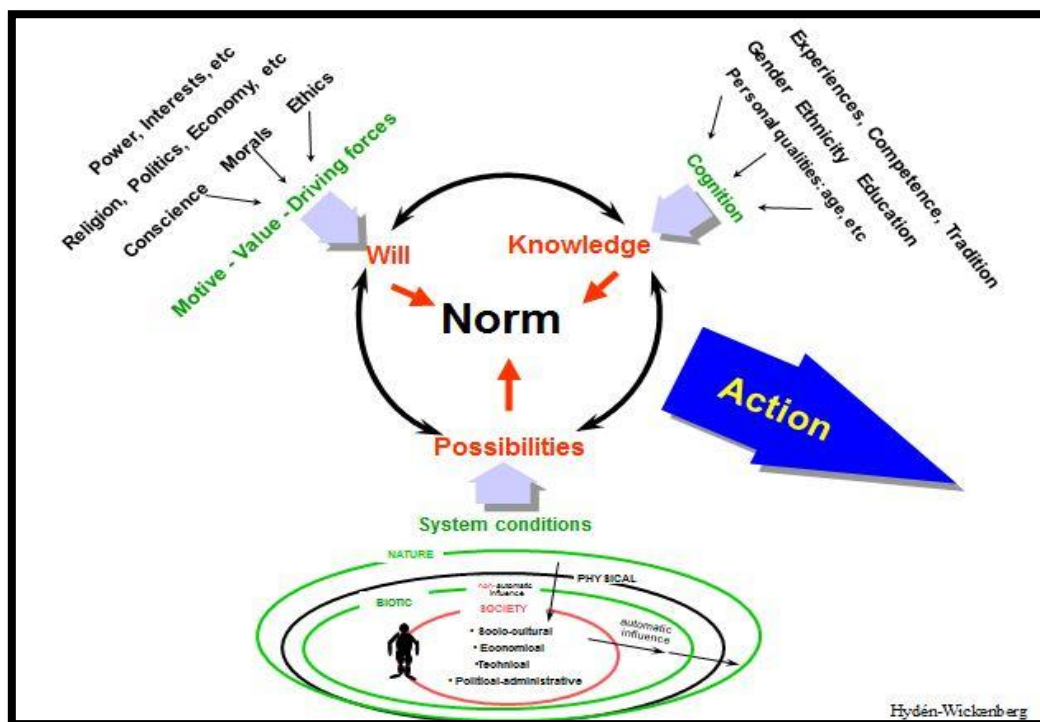


Image 1: Hydén & Wickenberg's Norm Model (Hydén & Wickenberg, 2008, p. 48)

In this study, the main actors defining the Will and Knowledge component are the staff members and the VoT, while the System Conditions are related to influences which are not related to the agency of these actors. The Will component (W) corresponds to the motives, values and/or driving forces guiding the individual towards the implementation of the norm – that is, to the construction of the Attention Model. This “willingness” to follow a norm can be based on moral values, interests and religious ideologies, among others (Hydén, 2002, p. 285). Consequently, it is relevant to analyze how the staff members and VoT motivate themselves to attend an organization like AgainstHTR-S. The second component, Knowledge (K), is related to the perceptions of the individual, which can be linked to elements such as gender, education, ethnicity and power. The Knowledge component (K) can be subdivided in primary and secondary socialization. Primary socialization is the knowledge acquired in daily life, influencing the self-perception of the individual. Examples include the behaviours learnt through family upbringing. In contrast, secondary socialization is linked to the development of professional skills (Hydén, 2002, p. 285). An example is following “work ethics”. The K-component influences the construction of the Attention Model, as the perceptions and cognition of the actors are likely to be embedded in the work methods of the NGO.

The third component, the System Conditions (SC), defines if a norm is possible in a context. In this thesis, it defines the influence from structural circumstances affecting the Attention Model – that is, factors which do not depart directly from the staff or the VoT. The SC are subdivided into the socio-cultural, the economical, the political-administrative and the technical system. The socio-cultural system comprises the norms which generally create harmony and consensus between individuals (Hydén, 2002, p. 115-116). It is created through social interaction and characterized by behaviour internalization (Hydén, 2002, p. 18). An example for a SC of this type is the themes considered as taboo according to the place or situation. The political-administrative system is the authority steering the organization of a society. It is also responsible for norm production processes by transforming norms into legal norms, as the judicial system is comprised in the political-administrative system (Hydén, 2002, p. 116, 127-128). An example of a condition in this system is the creation of legal frameworks concerning human trafficking. The economical system, strongly linked to the political-administrative system, is entwined with the market and how economical resources are distributed. It is goal-oriented, and aims to achieve economic optimality and stability through strategic and structural norms. Examples include the establishment of a (global) trade market (Hydén, 2002, p. 116, 127-128). The technical system relates to pre-established conditions and will not be used here as these are not relevant for this study.

As no forms of approaching human trafficking can be considered to be “universally” apt (Nelken, 2010, p. 501), the Norm Model can be useful to identify underlying aspects which can explain how a model can be functional within its settings. Among the four System Conditions (SC) identified in Hydén and Wickenberg’s Norm Model, it is only the socio-cultural system which departs directly from social interaction and is created by the actors of the concerned norm. Conversely, the position of the actor is subjugated in the remaining three system conditions (Hydén 2002, p. 112, 291). Nonetheless, the relation between the W, K and SC components can explain the ground of this Attention Model.

4.2 Habermas: System and Lifeworld

The reason why Habermas was chosen relies on that this theorist seeks to explain the historical development of society by combining a micro- and macro perspective. Hence, similar to the Norm Model, one can consider the influence of the individual and of structures for defining an action. Habermas' concepts of lifeworld and system can help to demonstrate why and how an NGO like AgainstHTR-S is able to provide individualized attention to a VoT. Accordingly, this can help explain why certain characteristics of the individual are significant within AgainstHTR-S (here: lifeworld) but not for the state (here: system). As Habermas' theories are complex and contain a lot of elements, only certain terms will be applied in this thesis. These concepts are more aligned to respond to the second research question, regarding the role of AgainstHTR-S as a mediator between the understanding of the VoT in the lifeworld and the system.

For Habermas, society and social life can be understood through the differentiation of the system and lifeworld (Andersen, 2007, p. 283). The *system*, consisting of the *political-administrative* and the *economic system*, is characterized by its use of *steering media* for attaining (strategic) rational goals based on functionality and efficiency (Andersen, 2007, p. 283). This media consist of *power* and *money* respectively, and are used for transactions which require a minimum of consensus and communication. Power creates authority hierarchies within the political-administrative system and money coordinates the mechanisms within the economic market (Andersen, 2007, p. 283). This steering media can serve to explain mechanisms behind the perception of human trafficking for the state. Conversely, the *lifeworld* is created through the social interaction between individuals, with *communication* as its main component (Andersen, 2007, p. 284). Habermas identifies two types of actions within the lifeworld – which here are used to describe the actions of the subjects in AgainstHTR-S. *Communicative action* is an action oriented towards understanding, ultimately relying on a mutual agreement of what constitutes a valid perception of social facts - defining what is seen as rationally acceptable (Andersen, 2007, p. 294-295). In contrast, *strategic actions* intend to achieve egoistic motives. Through the latter type of actions, communication is rather used as a means for achieving an individual goal and not to reach an understanding.

On the one hand, Habermas recognizes the agency of the individual and its initiatives for interacting between the lifeworld and system. On the other hand, he believes that the individual cannot completely avoid the influence of the existing frameworks of society (Carlsson, 2002, p. 83). Nonetheless, an entire focus on system(s) cannot, according to Habermas, explain the existence of, for instance, culture, society and personality (Carlsson, 2002, p. 86). Communication is therefore a means for the individual to transform subjective understanding, values and emotions (Hydén, 2002, p. 100). This can illustrate the importance of the interaction and understanding between staff and VoT, as the attention considers aspects of the individual which are not relevant within the frames of the system. Nonetheless, there is a growing tendency for the system to inflict in areas of the lifeworld (Habermas, 2009, p. 118-119). This phenomenon is referred to as *the colonization of the lifeworld* (by the system). This implies that individuals become subjects of an increasing monetarisation and/or bureaucratisation - which decreases their freedom and restricts their moral practical values (Carlsson, 2002, p. 81, 83; Hydén, 2002, p. 78-79). For example, the state might raise the level of control in the lifeworld by, for example, implementing crime prevention strategies. Also, the increased control of the private life by the system can be exemplified by the use of schools which remove several important functions which were previously linked to the family. However, the system can never fully colonize the lifeworld as the system and its steering media cannot entirely absorb the

individual. Therefore, the agency of individuals is central for, for example, controlling which system-values enter an arena like AgainstHTR-S.

Conversely, a lifeworld organization like AgainstHTR-S can also become a base to transfer ideas towards the system, acting as a *public sphere*. Habermas means that public spheres are necessary in a democracy in order to reassure the participation of the lifeworld in the system – and to legitimate the actions of the latter (Carlsson, 2002). These are channels which function as forums between the lifeworld and system, created when the communication between individuals results in a mutual understanding and forming *public opinion* (Andersen, 2007, p. 290-291; Carlsson, 2002, p. 78-80). This can form specific discourses where social interaction results in communities where individuals are given the same status and where there is a constant negotiation of (a mutual) rational argument (Andersen, 2007, p. 290-291). Through criticism, this “mutual understanding” leads to a situation where the participants shape the meaning of social action, creating moral justification and leading to public debate (Carlsson, 2002, p. 80-81).

4.3 Connections between the Norm Model and Habermas

As explained, the Norm Model will firstly be used for outlining the normative structure of the NGO AgainstHTR-S by describing the components Will (W), Knowledge (K) and System Conditions (S). Subsequently, Habermas’ concepts will be used for presenting how the NGO acts as a form of lifeworld-based organization, and a public sphere towards the system. These particularities can in the long-term serve to adapt its Attention Model to the VoT and incite to a more victim-oriented approach. Habermas’ understanding of society in system and lifeworld is interlinked with Hydén and Wickenberg’s Norm Model in several aspects (Hydén, 2002). For instance, the understanding of norms within the perspective used in the Norm Model, reflects the idea of a system and a lifeworld (Hydén, 2002, p. 74). But unlike Habermas, Hydén (2002, p. 78) does not recognize the system as a “norm-free” structure and claims that its normative structures rather create (implicit) rules of the game. In other words, for Habermas “norms” define behavioural expectations resulting from social interaction, and for Hydén “norms” can be both social and structural (Hydén, 2002, p. 79-80). It is Hydén’s definition of norm which is used in this study, even when using Habermas’ concepts. Accordingly, the lifeworld and system are seen as two competing normative worlds.

Yet, the division between these worlds does not imply a mechanical division between the public and the private sphere, as these are interconnected (Hydén, 2002, p. 80-81). For instance, the socio-cultural system in the Norm Model is more linked to the logic of Habermas’ lifeworld, as it emerges through social interaction (Hydén, 2002, p. 112). The connection between the Norm Model and Habermas is also visible in the K-component, which helps explain the meaning of the agency of the actors at AgainstHTR-S. Primary socialization is more centered to the “rules of the game” of the lifeworld (here: AgainstHTR-S), through communicative action (Hydén, 2002, p. 286). Conversely, secondary socialization is more attached to the logic of the system (here: state), and strategic action (Hydén, 2002, p. 286).

5. Normative Structures of the “Attention Model”

The data, gathered through a participatory observation and ten interviews, was firstly examined and subdivided into five categories in order to identify normative influences through the perspective of different actors in AgainstHTR-S. The five categories were the following:

- 1) Influences Attention Model according to Staff
- 2) Influences Attention Model according to VoT
- 3) Influences Attention Model according to pVoT
- 4) Influences help of VoT:s according to other (eg. visitors, government representatives, professionals such as doctors, nurses).
- 5) Other info

The first two categories are directly related to the two groups which are considered the main actors in this study: staff members and VoT. The third category relates to the persons who are considered “potential victims of human trafficking”, comprising the largest group of individuals who are offered attention through the organization AgainstHTR-S. Hence, their influence cannot be ignored in order to understand the mechanisms of the Attention Model and how “their” model is further adapted to victims of human trafficking. Category four relates to the work and influence of “external actors” in the Attention Model. This can be exemplified by the volunteer efforts of professional groups creating an input of skills, visions and possibilities into the organization. One example is a doctor who attended AgainstHTR-S to perform Papanicolau tests free of charge, in order to discover cases of cervical cancer among the target group of the organization. Yet another example of the influence of “external actors” is the training sessions of the NGO staff made in accordance with governmental institutions for a better understanding of human trafficking based on the subsequent efforts to impulse inter-organizational cooperation in Costa Rica. The fifth and last category comprises other interesting information among the data, particularly interesting quotes and methodological notes. These categories allowed the differentiation of the perspectives of the different actors. The influence of pVoT and “external actors” provided an extra tool for identifying other normative processes co-existing in the structures of the organization AgainstHTR-S. In addition, the access to organizational documents was a supplementary element for the understanding of the NGO. The method triangulation facilitated the creation of categories mapping the internal and external normative premises of the Attention Model. This can in turn be interlinked to the individual and situational risk assessments encouraged by the IOM (2007, p. 81), as the focus of the Norm Model relies on both individual and structural conditions.

The main questions to address according to the Norm Model comprise: What do we want to achieve? (W), What do we know about it? (K), and: Is it possible to do so? (SC) (Hydén & Wickenberg, 2008, p. 57). Departing from these questions, the data was analyzed according to the three components of Hydén and Wickenberg’s Norm Model: Will (W), Knowledge (K) and System Conditions (SC). Simultaneously, one could question if an analytical tool developed in Scandinavia can help describe the normative mechanisms in a different cultural context, as within a Costa Rican NGO. The Norm Model has been used by researchers for exploring normative premises within Scandinavia, but also in, for example, China, within the European Union and other international organizations (Hydén & Wickenberg, 2008, p. 24-26). Additionally, its adaptability allows the researcher to adopt a top-down or a bottom-up perspective. It is the latter perspective which is employed in this thesis as the focus relies on the individual. This allowed that the normative premises presented in Image 2

were created in conformity with the individuals participating in this study, through several member checks after the termination of the field study. The model presented below is actor-centered, as the norm is analyzed according to what defines the norm (Hydén, 2002, p. 289). In relation to the broad perceptions which can be chosen when using the Norm Model, it is necessary to note that the following categories are to be considered as modifiable. An advantage from this characteristic of the Norm Model is that it can be adapted according to the context where it is implemented, for example to the place and organization where one seeks to provide assistance to victims of human trafficking. Additionally, these categories were made to explain how the norms are constructed in the organization AgainstHTR-S specifically.

The Norm Model for addressing the first research question: “What normative structures influence the implementation of the Attention Model of AgainstHTR-S at a micro- and macro level?”, is the following:

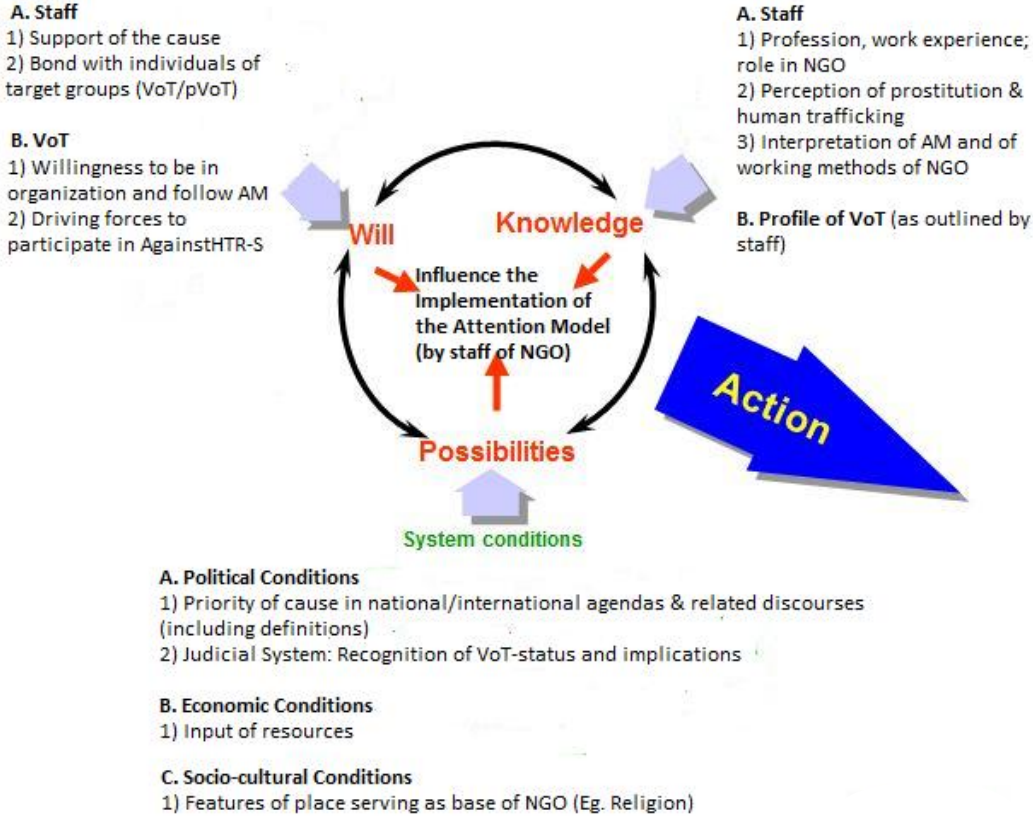


Image 2: The Norm Model at AgainstHTR-S

This model does not cover conditions which incite to the existence of trafficking but is rather understood through the dynamics within the NGO AgainstHTR-S, allowing insight to how an organization of this type can be constructed according to prevalent normative schemes. The components W and K are linked to the individuals creating the norm leading to a specific action (Hydén, 2002), here the VoT and the staff members. Due to the relatively limited access to be in contact with the victims of trafficking, the K-component of this group is instead defined through the staff members and the aspects of the life of a VoT which are taken into consideration for adapting

the attention to an individual. Additionally, the system conditions represent normative forces from outside of the organization. In the long term, these three components may result in a “suitable life project”, a positive vision of the future, together with the VoT.

To difference the use of the Norm Model from Habermas’ theoretical concepts, this chapter describes the implications of the attention methods at AgainstHTR-S in relation to Hydén and Wickenberg’s Norm Model, while Habermas’ concepts are embedded in Chapter 6. The use of quotes is meant to better serve present the perspective of the actors in the study: names starting with “V” represent a VoT, and with “S” a staff member. Names with “P” are used to a limited extent, referring to potential victims of trafficking (pVoT).

5.1 W: Why participate as an Actor in the Attention Model?

In order to answer the question “What do we want to achieve?”, it is implicit to analyze what lies behind the participation of both the staff and the VoT in AgainstHTR-S and what lies behind their adaptation to the goals of the Attention Model. For staff members, a driving force appears to be the identification with the cause which the organization works for. In this case being the fight against human trafficking and sexual violence:

“You seek all those spaces, or the opportunities you get for speaking about the subject (of human trafficking), for exposing what is happening in the country, but also for not remaining quiet about what is happening or what is done wrong. And also for making the victims get noticed, you know? That is why we are here. And indeed, there is a problem, because if the crime exists in our country it is because it is not being handled correctly” – Sonia (Interview 6, 2013, p. 9)

“The staff working here has to have a lot of love. Not only for the cause, but also for the individual of the cause” – Victoria (Interview 9, 2013, p. 9)

This was a recurrent theme in interviews and also during the participatory observation. During presentations held for government representatives and in educational institutions, the staff pointed out that anyone could be a victim of human trafficking regardless of their economic situation (Field Notes, 2013, p. 120-121, 150, 165). Regularly, this was illustrated with examples of professionals with higher education being trafficked after accepting false work opportunities, or with examples of young women being trafficked or sold by neighbours or family members. But discussions about the lack of awareness of people regarding human trafficking were as common during lunch room talks. Interestingly, Victoria spoke about the “added service” as a central element for the Attention Model:

“There is the service and the added service, right? The service is the one you get from many because they have a professional title. And nothing more, you know, I assist you and that’s it. No. But the added service is the one that follows-up a process, that is with you, that calls you .So...that every and each of them in the staff has a compromise with the role they have in their work, regardless if it’s a social worker, psychologist, or else. Furthermore, the receptionist is for me one of the most important ones” - Victoria (Interview 9, 2013, p. 8)

This is partly linked to the second category for staff presented in the Will component, namely the empathic bond of staff with VoT and/or pVoT. This “added service” can be related to Sonander (2008) and the W-component in her own Norm Model when speaking about the driving forces influencing professionals working with children who had been victims of a crime. Sonander (2008, p. 160-166) namely discusses motivation during hard working conditions as one of her categories.

Among these reasons for motivation could be the bond with other people, and the feeling of doing good (Sonander, 2008, p. 160-166). Similarly, the W-component could explain why the staff members of AgainstHTR-S pursue their work, even when complaining about stressful work conditions, experiencing threats or listening to stories about harsh conditions (Field notes, 2013). Thus, supporting the cause of AgainstHTR-S and bonding with other people can be a form to explain the motivation of the staff to continue to work towards the goals of the Attention Model.

On the one hand, the staff members actively seek to create a bond with a VoT as the creation of a bond of empathy makes it easier for the staff to identify the needs of the individual, particularly because they may speak more of their life story. One of the staff members, Samantha, referred to this as a “click” (Interview 1: 2013). On the other hand, many employees were also engaged in happenings in the private life of one or several VoT or pVoT. For example, a young woman who gave birth received presents for the baby (clothes and other items) from one of the staff members. Also, a woman who was hospitalized during a long period due to a serious illness received regular calls from a staff member, who visited her in the hospital outside of the regular working hours, and gave her basic items when possible (Field notes, 2013, p. 74-75). Several employees also expressed fear of what would happen with certain individuals if they quit their work. This bond appears therefore to often be both personal and professional, and was sometimes problematized by staff as it could create a situation of dependency. Namely because one of the aims of the Attention Model is for the VoT to become more independent:

“C: For what sort of issues can they call you?”

S: Hmm. They really call us for everything. But we do try to, as they spend more time here, that they become more independent. So, if it’s a health issue...or security issue, we accept the call and we speak to them the time that is necessary. But if it is something like “The neighbour told me this and that” like not that important, then we tell them: “No, we better speak about that during an appointment”” – Samantha (Interview 1, 2013, p. 2)

Conversely, one should pose the question: Why does a victim of human trafficking visit an organization like AgainstHTR-S and concludes their program? As expressed explicitly by both staff and VoT, it is their own will to attend the organization which will ultimately reflect the impact of the Attention Model.

“The will you always have to get for yourself. You are the one that needs to say: “No, now this is enough” and move on. Even more if you have children” - Viviana (Interview 10, 2013, p. 8)

“It is also to do your part. Because if you don’t do your part then no, it doesn’t do anything for you. But I tried to do my part” - Valeria (Interview 8, 2013, p. 3)

“I think that for establishing a life project you preferably have to believe...start, well wanting to change, right. So: “I want an attitude of change”. Because if I don’t want to change, the NGO won’t do me anything” – Silvana (Interview 3, 2013, p. 3)

“We support them in their life project. But the ones shaping the project is them /---/ They have to search for the life project. Accompanied by us, of course, but they are the ones choosing /--/ If we think that we will resolve their lives then we are totally wrong” – Sara (Interview 4, 2013, p. 2, 4)

The will to attend the organization and adapt to its working methods seems crucial for employing the Attention Model. According to informants of both groups this is strongly related to the capacity and effort of the individual to change lifestyle. In this matter, resilience is a central factor mentioned by several informants of the group of staff referring to it as the capacity of the individual to endure hardships (Interview 3-5, 2013). There are several driving forces which are connected to this will and capacity of resilience to be in the NGO. Evidently, these vary according to each individual. Therefore, the VoT-informants were asked about the changes they have seen in their lives since they started to attend AgainstHTR-S. Examples of motivation reasons stated during the interviews include: family (children, partner), spiritual help, God, the possibility to acquire new skills and information about different themes, being aware of their legal rights, the bond with staff, the desire to change their lifestyle, the wish to graduate from elementary school, the sense of peace and feeling at home in the NGO, the possibility to acquire work experience, to raise the level of self-esteem, to receive psychological help, to receive food and help with housing (Interview 7-10, 2013):

“When I graduated, I felt... Imagine that...just for you to imagine, you receive a diploma right? My husband took it and framed it and he attached it to the wall (laugh). It was not only an achievement for me, but for my husband, my family. Look, because closing the bottle is easy. But the drugs, and the really hard thing is to change attitudes, you know” – Victoria (Interview 9, 2013, p. 11)

“They gave me work for...like, supplies for selling, because I sell vegetables. They have given me (vegetables) for reselling. I have been without anything anything anything and they give me food. They have given me milk for the baby, and diapers too” – Valentina (Interview 7, 2013, p. 3)

“What happens is that what I want right now is to learn...how to sew. That is what I want to learn. To see if I can manage, as they say, to move forward. To make stuff for me to sell” - Valentina (Interview 7, 2013, p. 3)

“I was a minor, I couldn't work. And she... here in AgainstHTR-S they also give economic support, with a system of points. So one received, if you had a certain amount of points they would give you a ration of food. And they helped me a lot because I didn't work, I couldn't work. Moreover, I wasn't qualified in absolutely anything” – Victoria (Interview 9, 2013, p. 2)

However, as Hydén (2002, p. 285) points out, driving forces for a norm can be related to conscience, moral, ethics, religion, politics – but also to motives based on individualistic goals. This can be compared to Habermas' strategic actions. In this context, such a motive means that the goal of participating in the NGO is mainly to access personal benefits which are awarded to VoT and pVoT through the organization. Staff members expressed on several occasions their concern for this type of motives. It is with the so called “initial interview” that the staff determines if an individual is entitled or not, to enter the organization. This implies that the individual is classified as either a VoT or a pVoT and then accepted to participate in the NGO - regardless of the driving forces behind this application. However, none of the economic benefits which can be awarded to the target group, such as transport tickets and “points” which can be exchanged for basic food, are accessible during the first one and a half month in the NGO. After three months, if a VoT or a pVoT is thought to be involved in the sex sector, a staff member “confronts” the person and verifies what the individual is doing for a lifestyle change. Consequently, the VoT or pVoT might be asked to voluntarily leave the organization and return when his/her goals are more aligned with the aims of AgainstHTR-S. This creates a form of shield towards admitting persons who do not seek to adjust to the final (non-

economic) aims of the Attention Model. This kind of motives could in fact apply to any actor which is involved in the normative processes of the organization.

The driving forces covered in the interviews are only to be seen as examples. Regardless, the motivation of a VoT to attend the NGO will shape the form of attention and may ultimately determine if the aims of the Attention Model are achieved. Again, the relationship with the other main group of this study becomes relevant. The bond with staff members is a theme which is mentioned by all VoT informants, as staff members are referred to “as family”, as support or as role models. As mentioned earlier, this bond creates a connection of empathy between staff and VoT and involves consequences for the Attention Model:

“I come here and I have like a serious problem and, what I need is that someone listens to me. And they do. You come here with a problem and anybody, it can be Samira or Soledad or anyone of them, they give you attention. Anyone. And they listen to you. Look, sometimes they even cry with you, really” – Valentina (Interview 7, 2013, p. 4).

“I came here, I came here in really bad shape really, in really bad shape. And Soledad gave me a hug that I thought I got my life back...not even your own family is as nice as them” – Valentina (Interview 7, 2013, p.4)

“Actually I felt very well. I always brought my son, what is important is that they take care of your children. So...I was like one of them (the staff), I came here every day. I never missed out” – Viviana (Interview 10, 2013, p. 5)

An outcome of this bond can be, for example, that the VoT attends the organization more than “normal”. Victoria, Viviana and Valentina spoke about their assistance to the organization outside from their scheduled individual or group attention. This is allowed by the organization, and participants who have concluded their two-year attention program can, for example, continue to attend courses such as computing and sewing after the completion of their process in AgainstHTR-S. The consequences of this bond will be further discussed with the use of Habermas’ concepts of strategic and communicative action within the lifeworld. As ideally, this bond can result in social interaction based on mutual understanding, helping to provide attention according to the needs of the VoT.

5.2 K: What do we know about Human Trafficking and the Needs of the VoT?

As with the W-component, the K-component is also attached to the actor of a normative process. Although any member of the staff inevitably is influenced by primary socialization, the central aspects in the construction of the Attention Model are related to their secondary socialization – that is their professional life. Their profession, together with their work experience within the field or other fields, shapes what is considered as “best practice” for an individual. Simultaneously, professionals with the same profession can have different duties in AgainstHTR-S. Of the four psychologists working in the organization, one works with prevention of human trafficking through presentations to risk groups, another one works mainly with administrative work, and the remaining two persons work with attention. Of the two psychologists working with attention, one only works with pVoT and the other one mainly with VoT. Thus, this role marks who and what the staff members encounter through their duties.

The K-component, in turn, will be affected by the perception of the cause of the staff and of the issues it encompasses: human trafficking and prostitution. According to Gubrium & Holstein (1997, p. 165), the way of perceiving something is linked to what a person seeks to accomplish. This creates a so called “*interpretative agenda*”, guiding how objects and actions are seen to be perceived as meaningful (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997, p. 165). This means that what individuals perceive as “the truth” becomes truth through social practices (Sjöberg, 2008, p. 24). As described in the presentation of AgainstHTR-S, the discourse which is present in this organization is that of modern slavery, but not undermining the agency of the individual and that one might choose to work with sex work voluntarily. However, this choice is subsequently motivated through factors of vulnerability, which for the staff makes it understandable that individuals choose to work within the sex sector. Examples of these factors are: low education level, domestic violence, sexual abuse, poverty and lack of affection. This discourse was emphasized during the participatory observation, the interviews, and in documents:

“We have to remember that there is a situation of vulnerability which is similar for the one in sexual commerce as for the one who only was a victim of human trafficking. There is a situation of vulnerability that has to do with economic, politic and social aspects. So if you, if one manages to empower this person...hm... that he/she can first recognize its value as a person and recognize that there are opportunities within the systems for reintegrating and move forward with their lives” – Silvia (Interview 4, p. 6-7)

“Let’s say prostitution in a voluntary form – being understood that it was a decision, even if there were a thousand reasons, let’s say, which could justify that that decision was taken. But they were not forced” - Soledad (Interview 5, 2013, p. 1)

“Human trafficking is a form of modern slavery. If it has happened to you or you know anyone that has been tricked with a job offer or another type of offer, taken through false promises or threats to another place, or forced into prostitution. Report it!” (AgainstHTR-S Pamphlet, 2012)

During a presentation on human trafficking addressed to university students, human trafficking was presented as a form of slavery, as a serious infringement towards human rights and as a crime. “White slavery” was also covered, as the trade of European women to Arabic countries (Field notes, 2013, p. 92). Sonia, the speaker, mentioned that the term “white slavery” was usual in Costa Rica but that staff of AgainstHTR-S tried to inform that this term was not very appropriate, as it only focuses on “white” and “woman”. This was, according to the staff, linked to a general lack of awareness regarding human trafficking:

“They go with the flow and many see the trafficking situation as a bad experience. They think that next time that they end up in the same situation they will be more careful. Many do not know what human trafficking is, they don’t know it exists /---/ Many react by all of a sudden saying: “Oh, white slavery”” – Sonia, when speaking about the distribution of AgainstHTR-S pamphlets in the borders of the country, containing warnings for trafficking (Fieldnotes 2013, p. 92)

“So you cannot do more, like, you can... make people aware, make them see... that there is a danger, but when the person is centered in “I don’t have an opportunity in my country, I HAVE to go at any stake”, I can’t do much more. They (traffickers) will have them over and over, maybe here” – Sara, on discovering a boat with trafficked persons from South America, and on how people are re-trafficked (Interview 2: Sara, 2013, p. 12)

These types of stories were commonly related to a lack of knowledge about trafficking within the discourse of the organization, but also to the precarious situation of people and their aspiration to migrate. Simultaneously, this proves that not all individuals who are considered as VoT define themselves as such (Brunovski & Surtees, 2012, p. 10). During the participatory observation, recurrently used terms in the organization were written down in a separate document. These were: situation of vulnerability, program/process of restoration (referring to the Attention Model), sexual commerce (a term more used than « prostitution »), modern slavery, risk of revictimization, VoT, “voluntary” prostitution, change of lifestyle, decent life, (social) support network and labour market reintegration. The “change of lifestyle” element, which was also cited as one of the driving forces for the VoT to be in AgainstHTR-S in the W-component, is interesting. It can refer to a change of attitudes and behaviours in the individual, but also to a change of habits of consumption in relation to income. Peer pressure and the “American Dream” were, according to staff members, two obstacles to achieve this change (Field notes, 2013, p. 136, Interview 2-4, 2013). While this mainly was related to pVoT, it also concerned the understanding of the VoT in the NGO, as several of them had been involved in sex work prior to and/or after the trafficking experience. The lifestyle change was a recurrent theme during the observation and the interviews. For the VoT, particularly when asked about the changes they had perceived in their lives since they started to attend AgainstHTR-S. For the staff, particularly when asked about important factors for a VoT to create a long-lasting “life project”:

“It was hard for me because when I entered AgainstHTR-S. I was still working at night. So, holy... getting up early was very hard for me (...) And I am being honest when I say that I didn't feel like coming here because... I was maybe hangover... or stayed up late, so that is how I came to AgainstHTR-S in the beginning. But as time passed I started to leave all that behind” – Valeria (Interview 8, 2013, p. 3)

““There will be some days when we won't have anything to eat. And if we want to eat it has to be beans and eggs”. So, it is to accept that. “This Christmas we won't have new clothes, and not for that I will go prostitute myself. I will stay. When there is money we'll go (buy clothes)” /---/. So, that change of lifestyle is something hard. But if I have a clear goal that I want to leave prostitution, not relapse, I will do what is possible to adapt. Because it is not only the family... it is not only the victim (of trafficking) or the potential victim who changes. It is THE family, which changes” – Silvana (Interview 3, 2013, p. 5)

These changes are linked to the will and the driving forces of the individual, but also to secondary socialization as the change of habits is a form for adjusting to a new setting. Furthermore, beyond the organizational discourse and the influence of the professional background of each actor, there is also another important element guiding the actors towards the understanding of human trafficking and the needs of a VoT. This is how the Attention Model and the working methods of AgainstHTR-S are interpreted and implemented by each of the staff members. It is through the organization tools and its implementation by staff that the VoT is understood. The model is subsequently adapted to the diverging cases through the social interaction between the two concerned groups: staff and VoT. This is facilitated through the structure of the NGO, which is horizontal. When asked on how the NGO has changed, Silvia explained:

“As the organization is relatively new, the organization is enriched a lot by the work of each professional. Each professional coming to the organization has the opportunity to innovate, and say: “Look, this would be better if it was done this way”. And each of them has like the space to

develop as a professional and start to implement things. Implement their ideas which will enrich the (Attention) model because it is a model which is growing, which is still being consolidated" (Interview 4: Silvia, 2013, p. 2-3).

While there is a CEO and a project coordinator, individual initiatives or inter-professional cooperation were usual. It was also possible to observe this flexibility in the daily routines of AgainstHTR-S through the participatory observation. For example, Silvana related how she had started as a volunteer and later convinced the responsible persons of AgainstHTR-S that there was a need for vocational counselling. This to coordinate which courses a VoT or pVoT attended to, according to the skills, interests and life priorities of each individual. Another example of this flexibility was how the extent "of spirituality" in a class varied depending on the professional in charge, even when religion is one central pillar of AgainstHTR-S and its Model. In summary, the K-component creates expectatives of behaviour within the Attention Model and its discourse(s), or interpretative agendas. These, in turn, form the attention given to each individual. Several informants of the staff group were asked about what elements of the life of the VoT were important to take into consideration when creating a "life project", a future plan, in accordance to the Attention Model. These elements serve as a base for Image 3 (6.1), where Habermas concepts are used to understand how the profile and needs of the VoT are outlined by the interaction between the VoT and the staff members. For example, if the VoT is non-Costa Rican and is not given a VoT-status by the state, this implies that the organization can provide attention solely through its own resources and capabilities. Therefore it is necessary to consider aspects which may be influenced by external forces.

5.3 SC: What possibilities are there to adapt the Attention Model?

There are situations outside of the organization which shape the Attention Model, beyond the will and knowledge of the actors. The political-administrative system has an extensive impact through several mechanisms, one being the priority of the cause in national and international agendas. That is: how much support the cause of human trafficking has at a macro level, and what type of discourses receive this support (Brunovski & Surtees, 2010, p. 11). Although there are many actors in the international arena which affect the perception of human trafficking, it is particularly the United Nations and the U.S. Department of State which influence the work of AgainstHTR-S.

At present, it is the UN definition of human trafficking in the Palermo Protocol which is used more extensively world-wide, and it is considered to be an important step towards a "universal" consensus on the definition of human trafficking (Tyldum et al. 2005, p. 12-13). This definition, which is the one used by AgainstHTR-S, takes no specific position concerning if prostitution should be seen as work or violence (Tyldum et al. 2005, p. 12-15). In contrast, The U.S. Department of State is more aligned to the modern slavery discourse, as it defines trafficking for sexual purposes similar to forced prostitution (Tyldum et al. 2005: 10-12, 14). The U.S. Department of State influences AgainstHTR-S by being the main financial supporter and auditor of the human trafficking project of the organization, but it equally affects the work against human trafficking of the Costa Rican state.

According to Gallagher (2010, p. 487), the perception of human trafficking as an international issue is strongly linked to the role of the U.S. as a force to encourage and enforce compliance in the matter, as well as the connection between organized crime and trafficking. In the yearly "Trafficking in Persons Report" of the U.S. Department of State, each country is placed in a four-tier classification indicating its compliance towards the global standards of the fight against human trafficking. This tier placement determines the foreign aid budgets of the United States, and the tax levels applied to

foreign imports and investments (Nelken, 2010, p. 488). The effect of international organizations has been visible in practice in Costa Rica. For example, a new law criminalizing not only transnational human trafficking but also trafficking within the national borders, was adopted in 2009 after recommendations of the U.S. Department of State and the United Nations (U.S. Department of State 2004, 2012). As of 2013, Costa Rica is categorized as a Tier 2 country, meaning that the government still not fully complies with the minimum standards for victim protection (U.S. Department of State, 2013, p. 139). The current human trafficking law of Costa Rica, adopted in 2013, establishes more victim protection measures and longer prison sentences for traffickers. Nonetheless, recommendations still impose criticism on the unsatisfactory results of the country regarding the amount of prosecutions and the failure to establish, for instance, a shelter for victims of human trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2013, p. 139-140).

In a globalized context it appears that the influence of the political-administrative system can be dual, as the line dividing domestic and international politics has become less pronounced (Habermas, 2009, p. 109-111). For instance, the inability of a state to demonstrate that initiatives are being taken to fight human trafficking can have several consequences. On the one hand, it might lead to the questioning of the capabilities of the state to adapt to global standards of criminal justice, which can have effects on the participation of the concerned state in political networks (Nelken, 2010; Gallagher, 2010, p. 489). On the other hand, it might lead to lower economic support from international actors (Nelken, 2010, 488). This pressure does not necessarily have positive implications for counteracting human trafficking and protecting the victims of this crime. In Moldova, for example, questionable trafficking cases are believed to make up statistics in order to justify how the anti-trafficking money received from the U.S. is employed (Nelken, 2010, p. 486). Nelken (2010, p. 486) warns therefore of a “race to gain credit for combating the traffic or to avoid stigma by denying that the problem exists”. In turn, this affects organizations like AgainstHTR-S. Firstly, because the struggle of the Costa Rican state to comply with these recommendations affects what is prioritized in the human trafficking discourse nationally. This is likely to influence how much support non-governmental organizations within this cause receive (Brunovski & Surtees, 2010, p. 11; Tzvetkova, 2002, p. 60-62). The establishment of a shelter for VoT is, for instance, one of the main future prospects of AgainstHTR-S at present. Secondly, the international agenda also influences how trafficking, and a victim of human trafficking is defined at a national level to a certain extent, as was exemplified with how Costa Rica now criminalizes internal trafficking. For the staff at AgainstHTR-S, it equally involved a choice between several definitions according to their own concept of trafficking. Soledad mentioned:

“We stick a lot to the definition of (the Protocol of) Palermo. Because it is quite wide and like, quite clear. The Penal Code of Costa Rica still has some things that I cannot truly understand. For example, a discussion in the last reunion of the ERT (Emergency Response Team) was about the transfer, hm, of the victim as a requirement for it to be considered as human trafficking”
- Soledad (Interview: 5, 2013, p. 10)

Nonetheless, NGO-assistance for VoT is reliant on national criminal and migration laws (Tzvetkova, 2002, p. 64). Within the Costa Rican Emergency Response Team, comprised by several national institutions, it is decided who is considered a VoT by the state (U.S. Department of State 2013, p. 140). The recognition of this VoT-status in the political-administrative system has implications for

how the Attention Model works. It defines what help will be given to the VoT by government institutions (Gallagher, 2010, p. 315-316) - and what needs have to be covered by AgainstHTR-S:

“When they come directly to AgainstHTR-S well obviously, eh, what we do here is the same: the initial interview, we see what benefits they need, and depending on the case we bring the case to the ERT, which is the Emergency Response Team. Eh, they determine if it is accredited or not (as a trafficking case) and that also facilitates for us that there is an opening towards other, other services at a national level. Actually you can... the (foreign) VoT can apply for a migration category for being classified as VoT, because then more benefits are given” - Sonia (Interview 6, 2013, p. 5)

In other words, the access to national VoT-support platforms will have an influence on the resources which are available for each victim – also of those attending AgainstHTR-S. However, receiving an official VoT-status is not a condition for attending AgainstHTR-S, as it is sufficient that a case is labeled as human trafficking within the organization. Sonander (2008, p. 201) noted in her study of professionals working with children who have been victims of crime, that the effect of the judiciary is limited to the extent that this is used by the actors. Similarly, the effect of this VoT-status and the national definition of human trafficking can be said to be limited, as these definitions are not employed by the staff of AgainstHTR-S for receiving a VoT in the organization. Nonetheless, it has several implications for the attention of the individual. The fight against human trafficking, which affects the interests of the individual but also the political-administrative and economical systems, could explain the interest for supporting victims of human trafficking and why organizations like AgainstHTR-S are financed by external actors. A fact that simultaneously affects the implementation of the Attention Model: as an NGO, AgainstHTR-S is dependent of an input of resources from international and national actors, which can involve monetary or human resources (Tzvetkova, 2002):

“To the moment we have 38 identified victims (of trafficking); of them a few have been accredited as victims by the CONATT³. But as I tell you, like, this project ends and... we don't know any of us will remain or will assume the psychological support to them. Or what is going to happen with all the forms of attention that have been given, if we will continue to maintain the attention or if a governmental institution will enter to collaborate” – Sonia (Interview 6, 2013, p. 4-5)

At a micro level, this can involve that staff members have to leave their work due to a lack of economic resources. According to the staff of AgainstHTR-S, this creates a risk of revictimization of the VoT due to them needing to retell their story and “start from the beginning” with a new employee (Field notes, 2013, p. 18, 43; Interview 1, 6, 2013). Correspondingly, Victoria mentioned the permanence of the staff members as one of the most important factors in the attention process for having a sense of stability when attending AgainstHTR-S (Interview 9, 2013, p. 4). But the particularity of NGOs as dependent of resources can have several consequences. Again, the Moldovan case is remarkable: due to a lack of national funds, most anti-trafficking initiatives in this country are guided by NGOs (Abiala, 2006). However, these initiatives are said to be limited and evaluators have pointed out that the NGOs have become a kind of industry in Moldova, due to the high grants which can be received by international actors (Abiala, 2006, p. 99-100). This demonstrates the strong link between the political-administrative and economic system as explained by Hydén (2002). In the case of AgainstHTR-S, it is the political-administrative system that defines human trafficking and who is given an official VoT status. Simultaneously this creates mechanisms

³ National Counter-Trafficking Coalition of Costa Rica (national governmental organizations)

which involve an input of resources for combating human trafficking (Gallagher, 2010; Tzvetkova, 2002). This can again be linked to Gubrium & Holsteins (1997, p. 165) « interpretative agendas » and how the understanding of a phenomenon will « formulate the meaningfulness of objects and actions ». However, there are also resource inputs which are independent of national and international organizations which can affect if and how the needs of a VoT can be met within Against HTR-S. Examples include private donors (individuals and organizations) and initiatives taken by individuals. These are not necessarily linked to the system conditions, but allow new possibilities within the Attention Model.

Lastly, the socio-cultural system is also important to consider in the sense that it defines the behaviours and types of attention perceived as acceptable or understandable in the place where the organization is established. In this case, one needs to take into account how “normal” is defined in a local context (Brunovski & Surtees, 2010, p. 20-21; Hydén, 2002). Religion and gender serve as two examples for identifying the effects of the socio-cultural system. For instance, the “spiritual help” described in the Attention Model is connected with Christianity, and while the organization welcomes people with other beliefs, religion permeates AgainstHTR-S as a whole. Although the presence of religion appears to have weakened in the region, “the religious landscape in Latin America has hardly disappeared or faded into the margins of societies” (Stewart-Gambino, 2011, p. 356). Hence, the use of religious practices within the Attention Model is a practice which is accepted by the social actors in AgainstHTR-S, serving as an element for social cohesion. Another example of a condition linked to the socio-cultural system is the perception of gender:

“C: Yes. And how did the courses included in the Attention Model originate?”

S: Oh, I don’t know (laugh)

S: When I entered they were done... I don’t know. I think that has to do a lot with the fact of gender. Because yes, always for the women it is the course of cooking, course of sewing, because they are women (ironic tone) so that is what we will teach them for...hm...It is also the fact of the educational level of the girls” – Silvia (Interview 4, 2013, p. 3)

“Afterwards, I participated in a (socio-educative) group for transvestites (...). Two men were in the group, Pepe and Pedro. I presented myself for Pedro when I walked down the stairs and I asked him for this name. He said with a smile “They call me Pedro, but I don’t like it”” (Field notes, 2013, p. 153)

“In AgainstHTR-S they were aware that the Lutheran church works against human trafficking and prostitution but it seems like they don’t cooperate as they have differing perceptions of sexuality. Samira named that they recognized “a third sex” (e.g. transvestites). Susana didn’t seem to care much about it” (Field notes, 2013, p. 56)

The local perception of gender can allow the understanding of why transvestites attending AgainstHTR-S were addressed by their male names, even when several of them expressed unwillingness towards this. Albeit normative changes regarding the perception of gender roles in Latin America, these still remain rather traditional and machismo is widespread (Tiano, 2011, p. 309-311). In addition, the socio-cultural system has normative effects especially linked to traditions and habits (Hydén, 2002, p. 18, 76). This was reflected in the courses, themes and discussions in the modules of the socio-educative groups:

“She (nurse) said that sex was a taboo which made the appearance of sexual myths quite common. Paulina said that she had told her grandmother that they spoke about sexuality in (the socio-educative) class and that she had turned red and would not comment on it. Petra said that she could not manage to speak about sex” – during socio-educative class about sexual myths, with pVoT (Field notes, 2013, 125)

To conclude, in this case it is the political-administrative, economic and socio-cultural systems which affect the Attention Model to a certain extent – limiting it or giving new possibilities. If possibilities are awarded from the system, however, it is necessary for the actors to be able to access them. For example, staff informants expressed how AgainstHTR-S could be offered scholarships through national education organizations which could at times not be used by the target group due to their education level not being sufficient for acceding to these resources (Interview 5-6, 2013). Additionally, the influence of the AgainstHTR-S towards the system conditions cannot be neglected. NGOs have become increasingly influential as a form to transfer public opinion upwards (Tzvetkova, 2002, p. 60-61). Therefore, the role of AgainstHTR-S as a lobbyist within the field of human trafficking creates a pressure towards the state - all the more as it cooperates with influential international bodies such as the International Organization for Migration, the International Labour Organization and the U.S. Department of State (AgainstHTR-S Project Report, 2008). As mentioned, the U.S. Department of State (2013) cites the inexistence of a shelter for VoT as one of the recommendations for Costa Rica. Likewise, “the urgent need of a shelter” is a recurrent theme in AgainstHTR-S (Field notes, 2013; Interview 2, 6). This creates a pressure on the state, from international and public voices. Hence, the NGO is seen as a form of Habermas’ public sphere, creating a channel between the lifeworld and the system. None of the systems in the Norm Model of Hydén & Wickenberg, besides the technical, is invariable. It is therefore pertinent to take into consideration that there is a constant negotiation of ideas which may result in the formation of new norms and actions.

6. The NGO as a Mediator between the Lifeworld and System

The Norm Model has allowed identifying the structures behind the Attention Model of AgainstHTR-S, departing from individual and structural influences. It also illustrates the importance of the involved (social) actors and how they ultimately decide how and if a norm is formed (Hydén 2002). This approach, together with Habermas' concepts, helps to further highlight the role of NGOs regarding VoT assistance. This chapter is subdivided in three parts and intends to answer the second research question: "How can an NGO like AgainstHTR-S serve as a mediator between the lifeworld and system-based understanding of the VoT?" Firstly, Habermas' *system* and *lifeworld* will be used to understand differing perceptions of the VoT, mainly as the goal-oriented system logic is not compatible with the understanding resulting from the interaction between individuals in the lifeworld. The concepts of *strategic action* and *communicative action* help define this discrepancy. Secondly, the NGO will be presented as a normative filter between the understanding of the VoT in the system and the lifeworld, illustrating the agency of the individuals in this process. Lastly, the terms *public sphere* can illustrate the growing role of organizations like AgainstHTR-S in prompting a more victim-oriented understanding of the VoT in the (globalized) system.

6.1 Micro: The Lifeworld understanding of the VoT -The AgainstHTR-S Case

The flexibility of the model and the adaptability to divergent cases was an interesting subject which was covered throughout the field study. Was the Attention Model as holistic and comprehensive in practice? Soledad explained during an interview:

"The resources, human and material, which AgainstHTR-S counts with will be mirrored in the Attention Model. But I think it is quite comprehensive. Actually, hm, it tries to cover all possible edges, right. More than other organizations, because even when the victim (of trafficking) has a specific necessity, the other institutions say "We can't, we can't, that is not within our lineaments". Here we can, because we have quite vast lineaments (...) What is written on paper is not written on stone (...) You can take decisions in the moment, you can suddenly change something and that's it" (Interview 5: Soledad, 2013, p. 16)

As illustrated in the quote above, and as could be observed during the participatory observation, one of the tools for this adaptability is that the NGO has a less rigid structure when compared to governmental organizations. It has a base which is more aligned towards the lifeworld than to the system. Habermas' concepts of lifeworld and system depart from that the logics of the system and its steering media cannot serve to explain certain aspects of society, such as culture and personality (Carlsson, 2002, p. 86). In the case of AgainstHTR-S, it is not only the structure, but the aims of its Attention Model and the agency of the individuals, which marks a significant difference in how the VoT is perceived in comparison with system institutions.

The NGO does have several aspects which are more linked towards system logic. As presented through the K-component in the Norm Model, the role of the staff members as professionals has a strong influence in how the work methods of the organization are employed. The importance of this role, attached to secondary socialization (and a system-oriented logic), is also visible in several of the main goals of the Attention Model. For example, one of these goals is to reintegrate the individual to society by obtaining a new job. Several informants, both VoT and staff, spoke about a "relearning" process of attitudes, norms and habits (Interview 3-6; 8-10, 2013), in an attempt to be more "apt" for society. This "re-learning" or "change of lifestyle" is adapted to several norms which are central for the system, such as work ethics. But even if the staff impulse the VoT towards strategic actions, the

attention is mainly based on communicative action and the common perception of trafficking (and prostitution) as a human rights infringement. In turn, the rather horizontal organization of the NGO allows a close contact between the social actors in this arena, allowing more individual-based evaluations:

“Every mind is a universe, with different perceptions and stories” – Samira (Field notes, 2013, p. 53)

“The situations can be very different depending on what was the experience of the victim before, during and after the situation of trafficking. It is very complex. Each victim is different. It is a special case. Each victim has to be seen, let’s say, in a personalized form. Even if they had very similar conditions...hm...before the trafficking situation and after, even during and everything (...). There is no magic recipe” – Soledad (Interview 5, 2013, p. 5).

It is the social interaction between the staff members and the VoT which ultimately shapes how the Attention Model of AgainstHTR-S is adapted to the individual. As explained in the previous chapter, the bond between the main actors is a relevant factor for motivating the assistance and efforts of staff and VoT to remain in AgainstHTR-S. By the interviews it also appeared that the staff members were associated to this lifeworld understanding by VoT, partly by being referred to as “like family” – but also by differentiating them from “system (government) actors” (Interview 7-10, 2013). Additionally, the “click” allows the mapping of the needs of the VoT through a constant negotiation between the actors to define the attention frameworks. The result of this social interaction may change the perception of human trafficking and/or result in new ideas of how to act for achieving the goals of the Attention Model. This can be related to Habermas’ concept of communicative action, as individuals seek to interact with each other for reaching an understanding (Andersen, 2007, p. 294-295). In other words, the attention is formed through a social process where the staff member and the VoT reach a mutual agreement on the needs of the individual and how these can be attained. This requires that the staff members and the VoT have similar perceptions of human trafficking and VoT attention. That is, that this mutual understanding is reached within the “interpretative agenda” of the NGO. Additionally, the VoT has to have a certain will to adapt to the Attention Model and its structure.

Although the Attention Model of AgainstHTR-S is flexible, there are indeed elements related to the VoT which are more regularly taken into consideration for an adaptation. The process of “identification of elements” starts before the VoT enters AgainstHTR-S, as the perception of prostitution and human trafficking within the organization creates certain expectations. For example, that the victim probably has an unstable social network. Additionally, an adaptation occurs successively through the different sessions in the NGO and the dialogues between the staff and the VoT. The empirical data collected during the field study, together with documents of the organization, allowed the mapping of elements of the VoT considered at different stages for shaping a “life project” in AgainstHTR-S. These characteristics are the following:

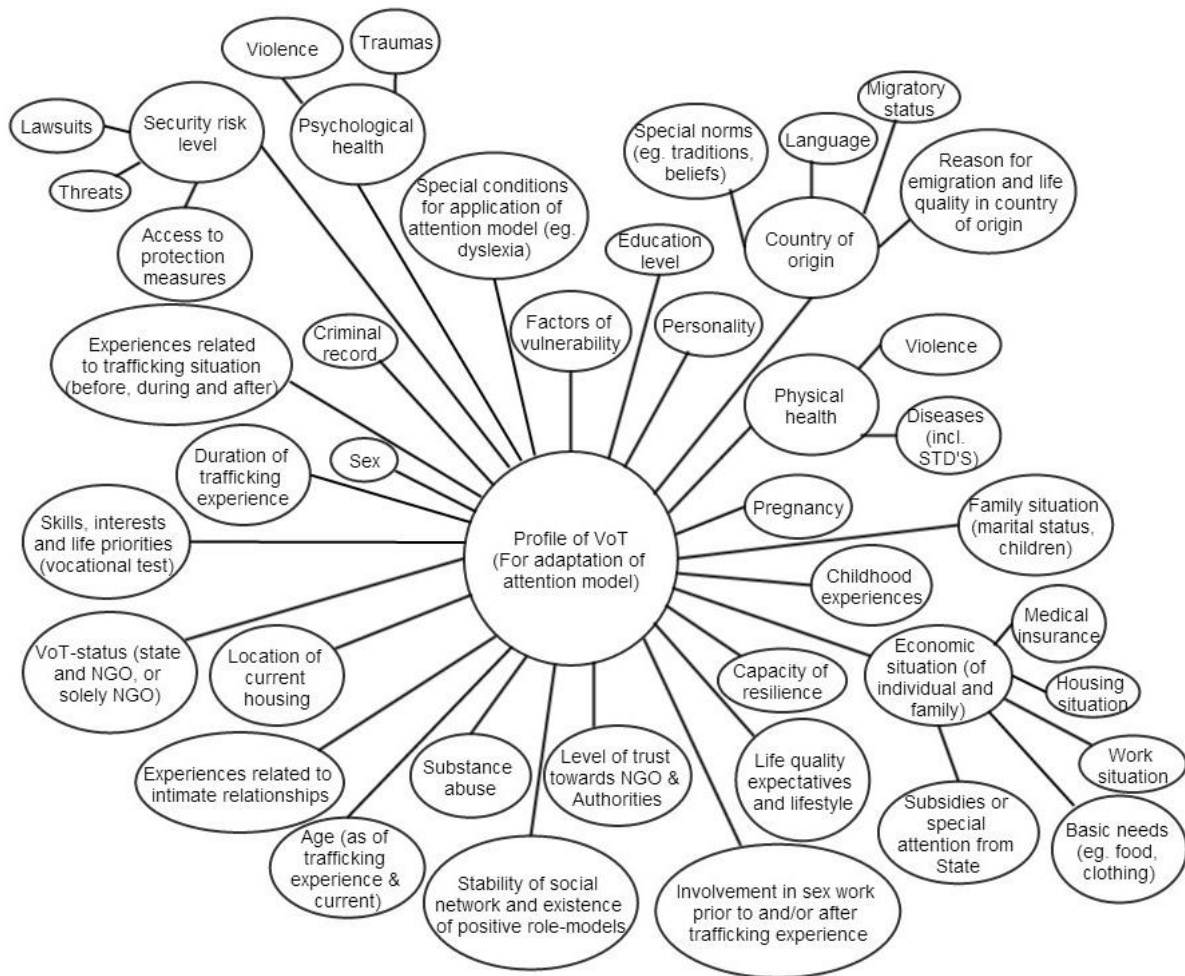


Image 3: Characteristics of the Individual considered when forming the Attention Model

In relation to Habermas, this diagram allows to illustrate the divergent understanding of the needs of a VoT within the lifeworld and within the system. In the system, the available means of attention are linked to if an individual receives an official VoT-status (Rijken & Römken, 2011, p. 92-94). And even if this is not the case of Costa Rica, it is also normally dependent of if a VoT decides or not to be a witness in a trafficking trial (Rijken & Römken, 2011, p. 92; U.S. Department of State, 2013). That is, if the VoT accepts the “rules of the system”, and its strategic goals. Instead, the attention at AgainstHTR-S is constructed successively through social interaction. As explained through the Norm Model, the understanding of the VoT within AgainstHTR-S relies both on normative premises at a micro- and macro level. A central factor at a micro-level is the agency of each individual who is currently involved in the shaping of the Attention Model, and if they are more inclined towards communicative or strategic action. During the observation, it was visible that there were social mechanisms to counteract strategic action among the beneficiaries, such as not providing economic benefits to the VoT or pVoT during the initial phase of their involvement in AgainstHTR-S. But although the possibility to access these benefits could motivate this participation, it appeared that the bond with staff could be a form of driving force towards communicative action. In other words, social interaction could result in a shared goal to achieve the aims of the Attention Model. However, it is necessary to consider the positive and negative aspects of this bond as it can, at times, hinder reintegration and recovery (Brunovski & Surtees, 2010, p. 26-27). Especially as this could lead

to a circumstance of dependency between the actors, counteracting the aim to empower the individual (Field notes, 2013, Interview: Samantha, 2013).

In the system, legislations are constructed to present all individuals as equal (Habermas, 1998, p. 83) - creating a risk for picturing the needs of a VoT as homogenous (Rijken & Römken, 2011, p. 94). A lifeworld understanding can include aspects outside of legal frameworks, as personality and life quality expectations. Each of the elements in “Image 3” may or may not influence how the Attention Model of AgainstHTR-S is adapted to the individual. For example, if a VoT is pregnant, this might imply that a staff member accompanies the VoT to the hospital. If the stability of the social network of a person is believed to be low, the Attention Model will include finding a positive role-model for the VoT. When a VoT presents an eagerness to study a course which is not available at AgainstHTR-S, then the staff members need to seek for possible alternatives outside of the organization. Many of these characteristics rely on the direct communication between the staff members and the VoT, and their construction of what characteristics can create a “need” of attention. Other characteristics, like the element “Sex” (woman, man) serves as an example of the influence of both the socio-cultural system and the discourse within AgainstHTR-S. As specified, this diagram was made according to the elements considered within the Attention Model of AgainstHTR-S. However, if it concerned VoT assistance in a context with less traditional gender roles, one could suppose that this category would instead be “gender”. Equally, one could expect that “Language” within the element of “Country of Origin” would be more prominent in a place where the majority of the VoT do not speak the language which is used where the attention is provided. Hence, as the Norm Model, this diagram is dependent on the context where it is used, the concerned individual and the underlying normative premises. Therefore, departing from that the needs of each VoT are different, each of the elements in the chart are to be considered as changeable.

To conclude, if one considers that the majority of the actors within a social arena like AgainstHTR-S are more inclined towards communicative action than strategic action, then this may imply that the definition and perception of a VoT can be broader. This allows a more socially negotiable definition which can be modified within the frameworks of what is perceived as rational by the staff and the VoT. This could explain why an individual like Victoria, who became a recruiter for the network which earlier had trafficked her, could gain the label of role model within AgainstHTR-S after her completion of the program (Field notes, 2013; Interview notes, 2013; Interview 2-3, 5, 2013). Also, this form of meeting the needs of the VoT is less dependent of the steering media, power and money, from Habermas political-administrative and economic system.

6.2 Meso: The NGO as a Normative Filter between the Lifeworld and System

This matter leads to the question of how an NGO like AgainstHTR-S has the potential to become a normative filter between Habermas’ lifeworld and system. When asked about their opinion regarding the standard 30-day recovery and reflection period for VoT stipulated by the Council of Europe⁴ (Appendix 2), Samantha and Sara remarked:

“They are not really looking at the person, it is like one more element for the investigation. One more element for the trial” (Interview 1: Samantha, 2013, p. 7)

⁴ Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (2005)

“Let’s say that in the best of cases, “justice” was achieved and they condemn the person who exploited her...and where is the human being after?” (Interview 2: Sara, 2013, p. 3)

This question was not used for speaking about these regulations per se, but for including a subject which is not normally discussed within the organization or in their presentations for representatives of public and private institutions. These reactions could be linked to the goals of AgainstHTR-S being more linked to the lifeworld than to the system, as aspects like the prosecution of offenders are subjugated by the creation of a “life project” for a VoT. As the norms behind the Attention Model are formed from a bottom-up perspective, from the actors, the influence of the system only limits the attention and definition of the VoT within AgainstHTR-S to a certain extent. In a normative study of professionals working with victims of crime, Sonander (2008, p. 30-31) identified a self-proclaimed flexibility of the actors to adapt their working methods. Policy implementation could therefore result in actor-based values becoming more visible than system-based values as the actors could, for example, choose not to follow legal regulations in their duties (Sonander, 2008). Although a difference in the professionals included in the study of Sonander is that the actors were employed by governmental institutions (and hence agencies for system values), it brings forward how system conditions do not necessarily define the work within an organization. This again, proves Habermas’ point that the individual cannot be fully absorbed by the system and the secondary socialization which incites to strategic actions (Carlsson, 2002, p. 83; Hydén, 2002, p. 83).

According to Sonander (2008, p. 32), this discretion allowed the professionals to choose the sanctions and benefits awarded to a victim, sometimes outside of the guidelines of the state. Also in the case of AgainstHTR-S, this actor-based discretion made it possible to receive individuals who had not received an official VoT-status by the state. This reflects that system-based regulations do not control the interaction within all social arenas (Habermas, 1998, p. 151-152). In a casual conversation with a staff member, it was expressed that the interviews with VoT carried out by the NGO were more centered to the background and the life story of the person, while governmental organizations focused more on the actual trafficking situation (Field notes, 2013, p. 117). This can be linked to how certain aspects in the lifeworld are not relevant when translated to the logic of the system and its steering media. At times, this could lead to situations where a VoT would not be recognized as such by the state, but by AgainstHTR-S only (Field notes, 2013, p. 119; Interview 1-6, 2013). Hence, it was sufficient that the VoT-status was recognized within the organization and among its (social) members. One central particularity in the role of AgainstHTR-S is therefore that it is lifeworld-centered but system-dependent, acting as a form of filter. The system conditions which are associated with the values of AgainstHTR-S will permeate its Attention Model. However, a strong connection to the lifeworld makes it less likely that the logic of the political-administrative or economic system is followed unanimously, as the Attention Model is formed from a bottom-up perspective departing from the will and knowledge of the actors. This can be seen as a form to hinder the colonization of the lifeworld by the system, that is, to hinder the system from inflicting in the organization. By using Hydén & Wickenberg’s Norm Model, the role of AgainstHTR-S as a normative filter between these two normative worlds can be illustrated as follows:

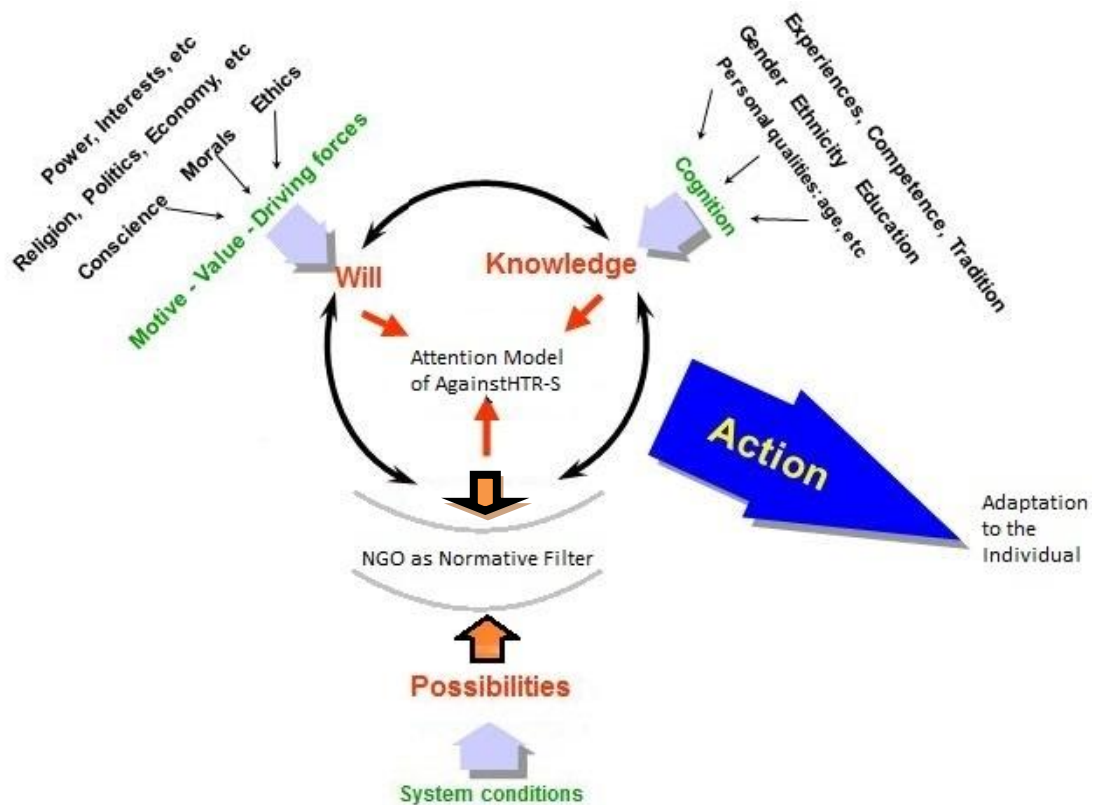


Image 3: The NGO as a Normative Filter between the lifeworld and system-based understanding of the VoT

The discretion of staff makes of this NGO a form of arena between the lifeworld and the system. This can explain why system values which are not consistent with the communicative based-understanding of VoT attention can in certain cases be “filtered”, particularly when these do not imply a definitive consequence based on criminal or migration laws, such as the deportation of a VoT (Field notes, 2013, Interview 5: Soledad, 2013). The legal frameworks linked to the system do not generally mean that the Attention Model cannot be implemented, even when the individual has not received an official VoT-status. Nonetheless, AgainstHTR-S is dependent of the system as it is system-based organizations which provide the majority of the economic resources entering the organization. Likewise, the system transfers national and international political frameworks to the NGO to inform which factors are relevant in a case of trafficking (according to the system logic). The effects of values embedded in the Palermo Protocol, the U.S. Department of State and the Costa Rican law, among others, can therefore not be neglected. It is the staff members of AgainstHTR-S who interact between these two worlds who normally decide what lifeworld ideas are transmitted to the system and vice versa. Conversely, an understanding discrepancy could imply that a VoT receives less or no economic support, attention and/or protection from system agencies – imposing challenges for the NGO due to its limited human and economic resources (Tzvetkova, 2002, p. 60-61). In this case, legal frameworks have an effect on how the attention of a VoT is balanced between the system and the lifeworld:

“But the victim says: “I won’t make an accusation; I won’t make an accusation because I am really scared”. And there is really a latent (security) risk. So, the system can protect the victim temporally. But temporally. If the VoT doesn’t make an accusation, the system says: “Well. Sorry, we cannot do more for you because these are the rules of the game”” – Soledad (Interview 5, 2013, p.13)

During a conference at AgainstHTR-S, a state representative expressed his fear for “objectifying the VoT” parallel to the objective to attain penal consequences for the offender (Field notes, 2013, p. 12, 15). The quote above serves as an example that the choice of the individual to not adapt to system-based criteria can result in consequences in the lifeworld. In Costa Rica, it is not necessary for an “official” VoT to participate in the prosecution of offenders for being assisted. On the other hand, it is necessary for the individual to engage in a trial for being entitled protection from the state (U.S. Department of State, 2013, p. 140). The decision of an individual to engage or not in a trial will therefore ultimately influence the Attention Model, as a security risk can affect, for example, the attendance and psychological attention of the VoT. Nonetheless, the discretion of staff allows the steering media of the system to penetrate – or to colonize - the organization to a higher or lesser extent.

Due to this circumstance, AgainstHTR-S is considered to be a form of channel, affecting the understanding of the VoT between the system and the lifeworld. The organization departs from a lifeworld understanding as the rational argument embedded in its Attention Model mainly departs from the communicative interaction between staff members and VoT. Therefore, it acts as a normative filter in order to evade the colonization of its moral values. The combination of the frameworks of Habermas and the Norm Model allows highlighting the importance of the understanding of the victim through communicative action. In addition, this approach helps to distinguish that the system and the lifeworld are interlinked to a certain extent in all types of situations occurring in society (Hydén, 2002, p. 80-81). Because while the system can affect the lifeworld, the opposite is also possible. Channels such as AgainstHTR-S can have a normative power which can incite to a more victim-oriented approach of human trafficking within the system. Even more as the role of public spheres has, according to Habermas, remained in global society (Andersen, 2007, p. 292) – and NGOs have become increasingly visible as advocates for public opinion (Tzvetkova, 2002, p. 60-62).

6.3 Macro: The NGO as a Public Sphere for the VoT in a Globalized Arena

As mentioned, AgainstHTR-S has obtained a role of a lobbyist in Costa Rica regarding the question of human trafficking, with a particular expertise in the field of human trafficking for sexual purposes. If we consider this NGO as a form of *public sphere*, resulting from the formation of a discourse based on mutual understanding between VoT and staff, this lobbyism could be viewed in the light of a forum between the lifeworld and the system. Namely because the staff members transfer the information of the mutual understanding constructed at a micro-level, to professionals who work within system institutions. This creates a lifeworld channel towards forums like the “Emergency Response Team”, comprised by governmental organizations, which determines if an individual receives an official VoT-status (U.S. Department of State, 2013). This may result in that new system values are created and affect the lifeworld. However, Habermas concept of public spheres implies that its members share a similar status (Andersen, 2007, p. 290-291). Thus, one could challenge if this idea applies in the case of AgainstHTR-S as it is mainly the staff members who transmit arguments concerning the definition of trafficking and the needs of a VoT to the system. Victoria related about her experience of presentations with state representatives:

“It is another type of public. Really...everything. If they are here, the girls from AgainstHTR-S, I speak like if I was at home. But when it is that type (of public), you have to choose your words /--/ What you say, they can even judge you for that, you know?” (Interview 9: Victoria, 2013, p. 12)

The notion of primary and secondary socialization can help to understand this situation. Staff members have generally been more subjected to secondary socialization and might therefore be more suitable mediators to translate the arguments created in the lifeworld to the language and mechanisms of the system. That is, to transform rational arguments into communicative power (Habermas, 1998, p. 330). Nonetheless, VoT are also asked to participate in presentations in order to relate their stories to public and private audiences. The status within the public sphere can therefore be equalized according to the (social) situation. For instance, this can be compared to how a spokesperson might be chosen to represent an organization and act as the advocate for the mutual argument of a group. These types of channels between the lifeworld and system are necessary in a discourse where the needs of the victim have been constantly subjugated by the interests of the state (Rijken & Römken, 2011). Not only because this can lead to a better understanding of the VoT, but also because a victim-oriented approach of trafficking can facilitate the achievement of system-based goals (Dijk, 2011; Rijken & Römken, 2011).

If we move from the formation of communicative arguments towards a macro-level, it becomes more visible how an NGO like AgainstHTR-S can advocate for a more victim-oriented approach within the system. Lobbyism has become a regular form for transmitting public opinion today, and NGOs have become significant actors in the shaping of national and international politics (Gallagher, 2010, p. 488-489; Jordan, 2002, p. 29-30). The role of non-governmental organizations as promoters of norms in modern society (Gallagher, 2010), can be linked to the development of new public spheres in a globalized world. These norms can in turn have an impact in the support the NGO receives and it can generate new possibilities within its Attention Model. Interestingly, Habermas has analyzed the trends of globalization and transnational activities and define these as the next step of modern society (Andersen, 2007, p. 292). Accordingly, public spheres remain necessary, now at a transnational level (Habermas, 2009, p. 117-120). Habermas means that the logic of the global arena is regularly linked the strategic rationality of the system, and creates new pressures on the formerly domestic-centered legal systems and on the lifeworld (Habermas, 2009). This could explain why prosecutions have become the central indicator of the fight against trafficking, before the interests of the VoT (Gallagher, 2010, p. 489; Rijken & Römken, 2011).

The remaining divide between the criminal justice and the human rights approach of trafficking (Gallagher, 2010, p. 489) can be related to the differing understanding of the VoT within the lifeworld and system. However, in between these rather incompatible perspectives, lobbyism has appeared as an important voice for promoting awareness, shaping attitudes and producing trafficking-related norms (Gallagher, 2010, p. 489, 491-492). This could also explain why, parallel to the fight against crime, the movement for the rights for victims of crimes has become increasingly noticeable – also in policy-making (Dijk, 2011, p. 107; Grundvall et al. 2012). This can be seen as a withdrawal of the colonization of the lifeworld by the system in the matter of victim assistance, as a consequence of public opinion. As for AgainstHTR-S, this “retreat” is visible through its cooperation with the national authorities, and its increasing independency when collaborating with international actors:

“The International Labour Organization applied for the project (...), and requested for AgainstHTR-S to implement the project. The human trafficking project was different. AgainstHTR-S said: “Look, there is this situation (of trafficking), we want to do something about it (---) but even when we were given the project they said “The project cannot be given to an NGO, it has to be administered by an international organization”” – Silvia (Interview 4, 2013, p. 5)

“The ones in charge of the project (of trafficking) were the other very big organizations, right. Also in 2006 it was with the IOM. Either way, little by little we have been gaining that respect and we have a more favorable position, let’s say, for getting financial support for doing the projects by ourselves. And here we are. We have two projects we have done independently were we are 100 % in charge of the work” – Soledad (Interview 5, 2013, p. 7, 8)

Habermas means that “there can be no public sphere without a public” (1998, p. 364). The interest to protect the victim, including the VoT, currently departs both from a bottom-up and top-down perspective (Grundvall et al. 2012, p. 352-354, Rijken & Römken, 2011). Within the system, for example, victims of trafficking have an important function to undertake trials against offenders (Rijken & Römken, 2011, p. 83). Additionally, several international conventions on protection and attention of victims of trafficking have been drafted (Rijken & Römken, 2011, p. 84-87). This type of approaches, however, are regarded as insufficient by critics, as the well-being of the individuals still remains as a secondary aspect of these regulations (Jordan, 2002, p. 29-30). In turn, this means that the needs of the VoT continue to be seen through generalized and strategy-oriented terms (Rijken & Römken, 2011, p. 90-94). In an ideal context, however, the use of channels like AgainstHTR-S which can transmit knowledge based on the communicative interaction might help diminish the imbalance between system and lifeworld understanding of the VoT.

Nonetheless, it is important that these forms of national and international public spheres which can influence VoT attention are not viewed uncritically. Firstly, because no one can claim to have a universal “trafficking best practice” as the conditions vary depending on the area (Nelken, 2010, p. 513). And as shown by the Norm Model, they also differ according to the underlying norms which construct an “Attention Model” in a particular context. Secondly, the extent to which an NGO acts as an agent of the lifeworld or the system can vary. For Habermas (2009, p. 134-136), the increasing colonization is diminishing the critical function of public spheres in modern society, as these have become receptors of commercial interests. This means that there are NGOs which might be more inclined towards strategic action than to communicative action, meaning that the needs of the victims are not necessarily prioritized. This was one of the experiences of Brunovski & Surtees (2010, p. 15-16) while concluding research in this area, as several NGOs rather infantilized and disempowered the VoT. Thirdly, the trafficking experience is perceived differently by each individual, and this might not be necessarily aligned to the trafficking discourse within a context (Tyldum et al., 2005, p. 51-52). For example, not everyone perceives themselves as victims (Rijken & Römken, 2011, p. 80-83), as was exemplified by Sara and Sonia when speaking about migrants “going with the flow”. Hence, it is important to consider the decision of the VoT to accept or decline attention (Brunovski & Surtees, 2010, p. 29). According to Habermas, the system risks a legitimacy crisis if it makes the individual an object for its mechanisms and does not adapt to the normative forces within the lifeworld (Carlsson, 2002, p. 83). A lifeworld understanding can therefore increase the sense of legitimacy towards the system and have several positive effects at a micro and macro level. For instance, Dijk (2011, p. 110) cites the lack of trust of victims towards the criminal justice system as a main impediment for the prosecution of offenders. Therefore, it can appear adequate for the system to take into account the need for a more customized VoT-attention on its national and international agenda. It appears that organizations like AgainstHTR-S which are centered in the lifeworld and depart from communicative action can have a central role as a public sphere for creating a more victim-oriented approach of human trafficking.

7. Conclusion

Each victim of human trafficking has specific needs which cannot be met within generalized frameworks. Thus, it is necessary to be able to provide attention to individuals with different backgrounds, experiences, personalities and prospects. The attention provided by non-governmental organizations can be a useful tool to learn more about VoT assistance. NGOs have knowledge that can be transmitted upwards as to highlight the importance of attention which – in an ideal context - departs from the needs of the VoT. The NGO AgainstHTR-S serves as an example to illustrate a form of assistance which has mechanisms allowing an adaptability of its “Attention Model” to divergent cases. This adaptability is highly linked to the interaction between staff members and VoT, proving that outlining the needs of victims of human trafficking requires their involvement in the attention process. The will of the individual is central as not everyone may want or need the assistance which is available. Hence, in a field permeated by stereotypes, the voice of the VoT should not remain unnoticed if the final goal of this assistance is to empower the individual.

The normative approach in this thesis leads to the question: What lessons can be learnt from other so called “attention models”? As explained through the Norm Model of Hydén and Wickenberg, the Attention Model of AgainstHTR-S depends on particular norms which make this attention suitable for certain VoT, in a certain context. Hence, it appears relevant to further research on the normative premises existing behind other types of VoT-assistance in order to compare these with the working methods of AgainstHTR-S. This could be useful for creating an adapted “Attention Model” in other places, according to the characteristics which appear more relevant where it is employed. For example, an Attention Model in a country like Sweden would probably require the use of translators if the majority of VoT come from other countries. In contrast, this is not normally necessary in a country like Costa Rica where most of the VoT speak Spanish. Above all, it is necessary to view each victim of trafficking as a special case which does not fit into a pre-established template. A more humane attention is not only a means to encourage the well-being of the VoT, but also a means to reassure their participation to counteract human trafficking. Not only by collaborating in the prosecution of offenders, but also for acquiring more knowledge about the needs and experiences of the individual.

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Organization Documents (AgainstHTR-S)

- AgainstHTR-S brochure, 2012
- AgainstHTR-S pamphlet, 2012
- AgainstHTR-S Project Report, 2008

Own Material

- Fieldnotes (2013) p. 1-177
- Interview 1: Samantha (2013)
- Interview 2: Sara (2013)
- Interview 3: Silvana (2013)
- Interview 4: Silvia (2013)
- Interview 5: Soledad (2013)
- Interview 6: Sonia (2013)
- Interview 7: Valentina (2013)
- Interview 8: Valeria (2013)
- Interview 9: Victoria (2013)
- Interview 10: Viviana (2013)
- Interview Notes (2013), p. 1-25

Appendix

1. Interview Guide VoT

Translation

(Presentation of researcher and about interview procedure - including the use of safe recorder and confidentiality)

- How long time were you or have you been in AgainstHTR-S ?
- In which activities have you/did you participate?
- Which courses did you prefer? (Why?)
- What (part of the Attention Model) has been more useful in your daily life? (Examples)
- Which changes have you seen in your life since you started to attend AgainstHTR-S?
- Which part of the attention at AgainstHTR-S has particularly been useful for you?
- If you were the director of AgainstHTR-S what would you change in the form of attention?
- And what would you add to the Attention Model?
- Questions (of informant)

Original

Entrevista Vdt

- Presentarme y sobre la entrevista (incluyendo que se va a grabar la entrevista, confidencial)
- Cuanto tiempo estuviste o has estado en AgainstHTR-S ?
- En que actividades participaste?
- Que curso te gusto más ? (Porque ?)
- Y que te ha servido más en la vida cotidiana ? (Ejemplos)
- Que cambios has visto en tu vida desde que acudiste a AgainstHTR-S?
- Que parte de la ayuda en AgainstHTR-S te ha servido especialmente a ti?
- Si fueras la directora de la AgainstHTR-S que cambiarías en la forma de obtener ayuda ?
- Y que incorporarías al programa de atención ?
- Preguntas

2. Interview Guide Staff

Translation

(Sign informed consent form and clarify that the main focus is on VoT and not pVoT)

(Choice of questions depending on role of informant and flow of conversation)

General

- Why did you start working in AgainstHTR-S?
- How would you describe the target group of AgainstHTR-S?

About AgainstHTR-S

- What is the process for defining someone as a VoT in AgainstHTR-S?
(Differences between assisting a person in sexual commerce and VoT)
- For you, what is a life project?
- What elements of the individual are, according to your own opinion, important to take into consideration for creating a life project for a VoT which can be efficient in the long-term?
(Allow informant to write these down, pause recording two-three minutes. Ask to motivate)
- You (AgainstHTR-S) have worked with this issue for 15 years. Could you give me examples of (working) methods that have been perceived as positive and not that positive by the VoT?
- From your own experience, how has the Attention Model changed?

Human Trafficking, International

- How do you work when you get in contact with a VoT from another country which is identified in Costa Rica?
- (Read for informant): 30 days of reflection. According to the Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (2005) of the **Council of Europe**, a person which is victim of human trafficking has to be given a minimum of 30 days for resting and recovering. This for separating the VoT from the trafficking environment and so that he/she can recover enough to decide if he/she will participate in a trial. Normally, after this period, it is a condition that the VoT presents charges and becomes a witness in order to get permission to reside in a country temporarily. What is your opinion about this situation?

Closing

- How has your perception of human trafficking changed since you started (to work) here?
- And the last question: If you could decide how one would work with VoT in the future, what would you do?

Extra

- Could you tell me more about the human trafficking situation in Costa Rica?
- Do you consider that Costa Rica has a special case regarding human trafficking?
- Which are the strongest sides of AgainstHTR-S? And the ones which could improve?

Original

Entrevista Staff

General

- Como es que empezaste en la AgainstHTR-S?
- Como describirías a la población de la AgainstHTR-S?

Sobre AGainstHTR-S

- Cuál es el proceso para definir a alguien como Vdt en AgainstHTR-S?
- Diferencias entre asistir a una persona que ha estado en comercio sexual y Vdt
- Para ti, que es un proyecto de vida ?
- Que elementos de un individuo son importantes de considerar, según tu opinión, al crear un proyecto de vida para una Vdt que sea eficiente a largo plazo ? (Escribir. Pausa 2-3 min.)
- Ustedes han trabajado con esta cuestión por 15 años. Me podrías dar ejemplos de métodos que se han percibido como positivos y no tan positivos por Vdt :s ?
- Según tu experiencia como ha cambiado el Modelo de atención ?

Trata, internacional

- Como trabajan cuando entran en contacto con una Vdt de otro país que es identificada en Costa Rica ?
- LEER : 30 días de reflexión. Según la Convención de Acción contra la Trata de Personas (2005) del Consejo de Europa, la persona que sea víctima de trata tiene derecho a un mínimo de 30 días para descansar y recuperarse. Esto para que la persona sea alejada del entorno de los tratantes y pueda recuperarse lo suficiente como para decidir si puede y quiere participar en un juicio. Después de este periodo, normalmente es una condición que la víctima sea testigo tras una denuncia para poder residir en un país temporalmente. PREGUNTA : Que opinas de esta situación?

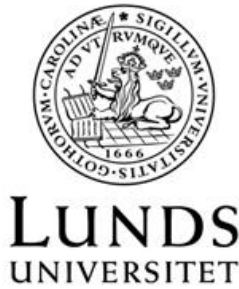
Cerrar

- Como ha cambiado tu percepción de la trata desde que empezaste aquí?
- Y la última pregunta: Si tu pudieras decidir como se trabajara con víctimas de trata en el futuro, que quisieras hacer ?

Extra

- Me puedes contar sobre la situación de trata en Costa Rica ?
- Consideras que Costa Rica tiene una posición especial en cuanto a la trata de personas ?
- Cuales son los elementos más fuertes de la AgainstHTR-S? Y los que podrían mejorar?

3. Informed Consent Form



Informed Consent Form

(For being informant in research)

Project Code: MFS-Attention to victims of human trafficking with sexual purposes.

Name of Main Researcher: Carolina Sandberg

Name of Participant: _____

E-mail: _____

- A. **PURPOSE OF PROJECT:** To understand more about the methods of assistance of VoT through the organization AgainstHTR-S, according to the experiences of the professionals of the organization and to the individuals which have received attention. One of the aims of this study is to identify how the Attention Model works in practices for, in the long-term, investigate how a similar model could be employed in a European context. Human trafficking exists in Europe but we lack initiatives ensuring the human rights of the victims of this crime.

With an interview, with a duration of approximately 45 to 60 minutes, the aim is to obtain information through the experts of this theme. The interview will be used for a thesis project which will be presented in August 2013.

- B. **WHAT IS THE PROCEDURE?:** The procedure consists in the participation of an interview which will be registered with a tape recorder. The interview focuses on the Attention Model of AgainstHTR-S and the methods of assistance of victims of human trafficking for sexual purposes. All the information will remain confidential and is for the exclusive use of the investigator of this project (Carolina Sandberg) and the elaboration of the thesis. In the project which will be presented at Lund University, the real names or other information which reveals the identity of a person will not be used. Information considered as sensitive will not be published. In case of having any questions about the use of the information resulting from this study, the researcher will contact you personally for clarifying the interpretation of the information.
- C. **RISKS:**
- a) The participation in this study might imply a certain risk or inconvenience for you due to:
 1. The theme of the interview is sensitive (human trafficking, sexual exploitation) and can cause a sensation of incommodity or nuisance. In that case, you have the right to make clear that you want to terminate the interview.

2. It is not within the aim of the study to retake any situation which may cause you physical or psychological consequences. The aim of the researcher is to hear your opinion, but you have the right to avoid retaking themes which cause you any inconvenience.
 3. Your opinion and your experience will be used for academic research. AS mentioned previously, names and sensitive data will not be included in the publication of the thesis in order to reassure the confidentiality of the participants.
- D. **BENEFITS:** As a result of your participation in this study, you will not receive any direct benefit. However, your participation will facilitate the comprehension surround human trafficking and the assistance of persons who have been victims (of this crime). In the long term, this knowledge can beneficiate other individuals in this situation in the future, and guide professionals in other corners of the world when covering the field of human trafficking and sexual exploitation.
- E. Prior you giving the authorization to conclude this interview, you must have spoken with Carolina Sandberg and she has to have answered to all your questions satisfactorily. If you would like to receive more information later on, you can receive it by contacting Carolina Sandberg by phone or e-mail.
- F. You will receive a copy of this form for your personal use.
- G. Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to refuse to participate or to discontinue your participation at any moment.
- H. Your participation in this study is confidential. However, the results could be published in an academic report or be used for other academic purposes, but (at all times) anonymously.

CONSENT

I have read or someone has read, all information described in this formed, prior to signing. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and this have been answered adequately. Hence, I agree to participant as a research subject in this study.

Name and signature of Subject	Date
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Name and signature of Researcher requiring informed consent	Date
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FÓRMULA DE CONSENTIMIENTO INFORMADO
(Para ser sujeto de investigación)

Código (o número) de proyecto: MFS- Atención a víctimas de trata con fines sexuales

Nombre del Investigador Principal: Carolina Sandberg

Nombre del participante: _____

E-mail: _____

A. PROPÓSITO DEL PROYECTO: Aprender sobre métodos de asistencia a víctimas de la trata por medio de AgainstHTR-S según las experiencias de los profesionales de la organización y de las personas que han recibido apoyo. Uno de los fines del estudio es ver cómo funciona el Modelo de Atención en práctica para a largo plazo investigar cómo se puede implementar un modelo similar en un contexto europeo. La trata existe en Europa pero hacen falta iniciativas que resguarden los derechos humanos de la víctima de tal crimen.

Por medio de una entrevista, con una duración de aproximadamente 45 a 60 minutos, el fin es obtener información por medio de expertos del tema. Dicha entrevista será utilizada para la realización de una tesis que será presentada en agosto del 2013.

B. ¿QUÉ SE HARÁ?: El proceso consiste en la participación en una entrevista que será registrada con una grabadora de audio. La entrevista tiene un enfoque sobre el Modelo de Atención de la AgainstHTR-S y sobre métodos de asistencia a víctimas de la trata con fines de explotación sexual. Toda la información será confidencial y de uso exclusivo para el investigador del proyecto (Carolina Sandberg) y la redacción de la tesis. En el proyecto que será presentado a la Universidad de Lund no serán presentados nombres propios u otros datos que revelen la identidad de las personas que participan en dicho estudio. Información considerada como sensible no será publicada. En caso de dudas sobre la interpretación de información que surja del estudio, el investigador lo/la contactará personalmente para clarificar la interpretación de la información.

C. RIESGOS:

- a. La participación en este estudio puede significar cierto riesgo o molestia para usted por lo siguiente:

1. El tema de la entrevista es sensible (trata de personas, explotación sexual) y puede resultar en un sentimiento de incomodidad o molestia. En dicho caso Usted está en su derecho de aclarar que desea terminar la entrevista.
2. No es el fin del estudio retomar temas que le causen molestias físicas u emocionales. El fin del investigador es escuchar su opinión pero Usted está en su derecho de evitar retomar temas que le causen inconveniencias.
3. Su opinión y su experiencia será utilizado para un estudio académico. Como se menciona anteriormente, nombres y datos sensibles no serán incluidos en la publicación de la tesis para garantizar la confidencialidad de los participantes.

D. BENEFICIOS: Como resultado de su participación en este estudio, no obtendrá ningún beneficio directo. Sin embargo, su participación facilitará la comprensión sobre la trata de personas y la asistencia a personas que han sido víctimas de la misma. A largo plazo, este conocimiento puede beneficiar a otras personas en esta situación en un futuro e instruir a profesionales en otras partes del mundo que abordan el tema de la trata y la explotación sexual.

E. Antes de dar su autorización para este estudio usted debe haber hablado con Carolina Sandberg y ella debe haber contestado satisfactoriamente todas sus preguntas. Si quisiera más información más adelante, puede obtenerla contactando a Carolina Sandberg por teléfono o por e-mail.

F. Recibirá una copia de esta fórmula firmada para su uso personal.

G. Su participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Tiene el derecho de negarse a participar o a discontinuar su participación en cualquier momento.

H. Su participación en este estudio es confidencial, los resultados podrían aparecer en una publicación científica o ser divulgados en una reunión científica pero de una manera anónima.

CONSENTIMIENTO

He leído o se me ha leído, toda la información descrita en esta fórmula, antes de firmarla. Se me ha brindado la oportunidad de hacer preguntas y éstas han sido contestadas en forma adecuada. Por lo tanto, accedo a participar como sujeto de investigación en este estudio

Nombre y firma del sujeto

fecha

Nombre y firma del Investigador que solicita el consentimiento

fecha