Introduction

Human trafficking is a generic term that the international society has labeled for different forms of exploitation such as prostitution and begging (Skilbrei, 2010). In the last few years, media, politicians, authorities, and organizations have increased focus and attention to combating human trafficking. The Soria Moria statement has shown the pathway for combating human trafficking (Plan of Action 2006 – 2009, 1). This article aims to contribute to increased knowledge about and improved understanding of factors that influence and form the basis for exercising the professional role of the social worker when doing an identification of victims of human trafficking within the framework of asylum receptions. Central research issues that shed light on the key problem are:

• What are social workers doing in order to reveal human trafficking within the framework of asylum receptions?
• How does the social worker explain his / her actions?

Key words: human trafficking, asylum receptions, victims, social workers identification.

Definition of terms. Unaccompanied Underage Asylum Applicants (“Enslige mindreårige asylsøkere” – EMA) are children and young people under 18 years of age arriving in Norway to seek asylum without being accompanied by parents or others that exercise parental responsibility for them. They constitute a particularly vulnerable group, having different needs and rights than adult asylum applicants. The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) has custody for those who are between 15 and 18 years of age while the child care services has responsibility for those who

1 Straipsnis parengtas SISSEL FREDHEIM atlikto kokybinio tyrimo: «With a tear in the eye corner» A qualitative study of how social workers in asylum receptions act, understand and develop their professional roles in the identification of possible victims in human trafficking, pagrindu.
are under 15 years of age (UDI 1). There is no easy and straightforward definition of the term "human trafficking" in which human trafficking more often is referred to as the slavery of our time. According to the Palermo protocol article 3, "human trafficking" is characterized as a person who takes control over another person by means of different forms of violence, threats, force, misleads or abuse in a vulnerable situation (The Palermo Protocol). This control is being exploited in a manner that the person must participate in prostitution, forced labor, remove their organs, or perform war duties in a foreign countries (Plan of Action, 2005–2009, 5). On a worldwide basis, the UN has estimated that several million people are being victimized every year. Figures obtained from the Coordination unit for victims in human trafficking (now termed KOM), shows that in 2009 there were 69 underage asylum applicants that were possible victims in "human trafficking" in Norway. Human trafficking is assumed to be the world’s second largest illegal economy after the arms and weapons industry. The Ministry of Justice has taken the initiative to prepare multidisciplinary guidance material, which may assist the public and voluntary service systems to identify the victims. A list of indicators, of signals to look for, has been prepared by KOM, which also has conducted a number of training programs. KOM has also trained several supervisors to identify victims of human trafficking (Plan of Action 2004–2009, 10; Plan of Action 2011–2014, 19).

The profession of “social work” should exercise both management and control while, at the same time, show solidarity with fellow humans. In this manner, the subject area will be placed in tension between social guidance and the arena you meet the client. The most important social institutions are in the concrete ecosystem. In Circular letter 2011 – 007 from The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration, the letter discusses the responsibility of immigration management to facilitate, identify, and provide follow-up for possible victims in human trafficking. The Circular RS 2011 – 006 shows that all receptions have an independent obligation to facilitate the identification of possible victims of human trafficking. A separate mandate has been prepared to map the frames and the routines for multidisciplinary cooperation related to identification, assistance and protection at centralized, regional and local levels, as well as implement the measures for an improved coordination of these structures (Plan of Action 2011–2014, 15). The authorities shall ensure that persons, which in their work may come in contact with possible victims, have the knowledge to perform proper identification. A number of public authorities, including the police, customs, health services and the social services, child care services, immigration authorities, and Labor inspection, have a general responsibility for their employees
to gain the skills necessary in identifying and working with victims of human trafficking, and hence be able to contribute in the broader identification of victims. A number of educational measures have been conducted under the auspices of (KOM) and different agencies and organizations over the last few years. KOM has developed several supervisors for the identification of victims of human trafficking. Since the informants’ own perceptions and interpretations, the qualitative interview was almost an obvious choice, more specific an explorative type of interview - investigative and largely thematically controlled. The semi-structured interview was chosen rather than a more structured or open form of interview. The informants were selected, based on the following criteria:

- the informants have had experience with identification of human trafficking
- they have had at least two years of experience from the work place
- they had formal competence in social topics.

The social workers’ actions, understanding and development of roles in the practical field – an analysis. The participants were preoccupied with telling about their own practices. Three from this reception referred to indicators and routines being adapted from the distinctiveness at the reception. As one of the informants expressed: “We have made external indicators local out of what our challenges are,” but “the information we provide right at the beginning of a conversation is completely standardized.” The informants expressed that external templates from a centralized location was of great help in the identification work, at the same time as they were adapted to the methodical identification work after their local challenges. As one of the informants expressed: “All of those who work here at the reception shall know what to look for, and what to report about, to those who have been assigned the task.” As for the question regarding competence at the transit reception, all the informants expressed that they received comprehensive offers to take courses/education. They clearly perceived themselves as a team, and the following statement is descriptive for “the spirit” that prevailed at the reception: “We are a team, all the time we receive supplies to and from each other, and courses and seminars, we get supplied with a lot – this is something differently than sitting at a reception and be the EMA – person alone.”

At the ordinary reception, focus was, to a larger extent, directed towards cooperation and cooperative arenas between the different bodies, such as guardian, nurse, child care, youth psychiatry and school. As being expressed: “When we implement measures, we have to communicate with each other. It is health, midwife, hospital, and possibly foster parents. Everybody must get on the track.” There was only one of the informants who described a written routine: “We have a log that we write in.”

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routines were mainly related to supporting the individual underage asylum applicant in everyday life. “We are those who shall be there and assist in getting regular routines in place … cooking, homework, activities … and provide them with care.” The following statements describe an approach that was prevalent in the material: “Everybody has a duty at the asylum receptions and other places, and they ensure that children get the assistance they need, it being human trafficking or whatever else.” To show respect, openness, confidence, and care are values that require ethical wisdom and a conscious, professional relation to own convictions and values. One of the informants described that: “As tactics we here have that we distinguish between that being an active search for possible victims and that being a passive search for possible victims.”

**Passive search** was described as a method where you “accidently” understand that we are talking about possible victims in human trafficking. That is, when they cannot fail to see that it is a possible victim. As expressed in the wording from one of the informants: “When it screams at you, and you no longer can shut your eyes for that, you have to kind of grab it, to put it somewhat bluntly.” **Active search** was explained as a prescription or a method for a more systematic approach to what you are “looking” for. As described by the informant, “the objective at the reception is that everybody shall know what they are looking for, and what to report on. Starting point will be from an indicator list, being adapted to the needs and challenges at the reception”. That which has been described as “to promote identification of possible victims” in human trafficking, was exactly the attitude in “active search”: “That which promotes, is the attitude we have in the active search (…) we have employed a human trafficking team that makes in the possession of expert knowledge. We ensure that not everybody is going to have the responsibility, but that there is someone who has the responsibility. And, that it is being organized as expert knowledge in a team. It promotes. We have also implemented cooperation with many of the larger cities in Norway, an operative team consisting of different bodies. It is a little bit like KOM at a local level, if you understand.”

The balance between the general and the specific can be a challenge for social workers. As for a sensitive issue, such as human trafficking, it appeared that working in daily with identification can be perceived as challenging: “Human trafficking is a bit like being a little reluctant to grab it.” The ordinary reception appeared to have a more passive strategy based on observation through being together and participation in “everyday activities.” As one of the informants expressed, “We miss receiving the information we need….” It can be questioned whether the passive strategy also is a result of a perception of powerlessness. It was with pain that one of the informants described lack of sufficient advance information: “So they are sitting there, under-
stand me correctly, on the high horse, yes, I get so provoked, it is absolutely so terrible. “They have documents; they must for sure have a lot of documents from the psychiatry, health, and supporting guardians, ‘you name it,’ from different bodies that have written the publications, but this has not been considered.”. It can be questioned whether the perception of not being confident in such situations, to a larger extent than for other professional groups, hit social workers. To recite one of the informants: “Will…here at the reception there is a will, but how much will to find at the other side of the table, I do not know.” It has been stated that the primary loyalty shall therefore be towards those who are to be the most exposed. As one of the informants said: “I do not start with hitting the youngsters in the head with such a frightening expression as human trafficking. I specify exploitation and the different forms this may take place in.” There is a lot of knowledge in how to be specific about exploitation, and there are a lot of skills in the ability of reaching the innermost of a possible victim. One of the informants expressed: “It is with pain we experience them so closely … it is absolutely horrible … we are in relationships all the time, hope that all the years at the reception became a break from suppression and humiliation, and that she can see that good people wishing her well do exist.”

Two information phases has been described in the material, which are important for identification work. The first phase is the information provided by the employees to the underage asylum applicants. The second phase is the information provided by the minors to the employees. As one of the informants described: “Someone may need a talk because a social worker is concerned for this youth about something, and then we start with this and give them information about human trafficking.” One other informant talked about her experience and meeting with many unaccompanied minors, how it contributed to what she eventually saw as patterns resembling each other. The informant said that she converted these stories to examples of what human trafficking can be, and used them actively in meeting with possible victims. As she said in her own words: “It can be descriptions that have been uncovered during the asylum interview, e.g. description of the itinerary, how they got in contact with the smuggler, description of the smugglers. It can be the contact, telephone contact, many mobile calls, frequent visits, frequent travels to nearest town, movements around the resident, pregnancy, illness – all of these may provide an indication of something is going on. We identify during conversations, in observations, we make notes, and we log everything and use this actively further.” The informant converts the stories from EMS to examples that may serve as a tool in the identification process.
Many of the informants had a very different approach to the contents in the information provided to the individual EMAs. One of the informants said that she did not, in spite of observations which raised suspicion to human trafficking, leave information about human trafficking: “I will do nothing about it because I want to meet the youngsters as the persons they are.” Most of the informants expressed that they in the conversations had a direct and explicit approach to issues concerned with human trafficking. This is emphasized by the following statement from one of the informants of the ordinary reception: “I do not need to know what they have been through in order to give them care, the stories will come after a while.” All the informants emphasized the significance of observation as a method in the identification of possible victims. Several of the informants mentioned that a basic starting point for identification work was to observe asylum applicants in their daily surroundings at the reception: “Yes, I can start with the last case that has been identified. We saw that stayed away. She preferred not to go to the canteen, she then had to be followed by someone from the staff. Even when she was accompanied by the other girls, this was not sufficiently safe for her since there were too many boys in the canteen. She was very uncomfortable and unsafe in meeting boys and men.” Another informant described the following: “It can be the contact, telephone contact, many mobile calls, frequent visits; frequent travels to nearest town, movements around the resident, pregnancy, illness – all of these will provide an indication of that something is going on.”

The reality and the necessity of both observing and informing at the same time are clear in the material. One of the receptions, the transit reception, had prepared separate, locally adapted indicators for observation: “We have a starting point from the observation criteria. Points to observe are, inter alia, whether the person concerned has many mobile phones or it appears that he or she is controlled by someone from outside.” At the ordinary reception, it would seem that the method was up to the individual employee at the reception. From this reception, there were no features in common from the material, with respect to those things to be emphasized in the observation, or which criteria should be applied. One of the informants at the ordinary reception described it this way: “What I mostly use the information to is to observe (...) I leave the information in order to meet the youngsters as the persons they are.” Another one said: “The surroundings has a in task in observing and be good at reporting when they are concerned about something, independently of what this is.” Since both asylum receptions had their own human trafficking teams, they also had information regarding the observations from social workers. Also, the observation time at the transit reception was much shorter than at the ordinary reception, which demands for efficiency in
the identification work. As one of the informants put it: "The principle of efficiency for us is based on that we have to check out newcomers much quicker, maybe be more active to search out, we depend on information from the environment because we do not have time to find out ourselves." Relationship is a key element in social work. Some of the informants expressed how emotionally stressful it was to be "near" the stories of those minors that were possible victims of human trafficking. As one informant expressed: "The relation often build up as we start with providing assistance." Another considered "that she maybe appeared as being a clear and safe mother figure."

A key issue in the material from the ordinary reception can be said to be how understanding may seem to be a continuous negotiation between the more "bureaucratic" routines, plans of action, definitions and guidance provided by the authorities versus the life stories that reception employees meet every day through EMAs: This "negotiation" is expressed in statements such as: "We are standing in the middle of a crossing, we see them, we have first-hand information, we know about them, we see them with pain and we experience them closely, we hear the stories."

To questions about what they actually did and which routines they had at the reception with respect to identification, it was one of the informants that expressed that "my most important task is to provide care, to create confidence and safety." If the key perspective is relation, any routine action will then be directed towards building up relations through confidence and safety. As expressed by one of the informants: "It is all about relationships, a lot of time, to be honest, and to dare talking about things," "something good and close in the further life." On direct questioning about whether it is the relation to reception employees that makes them perceive helping minors, one of the informants responded: "Yes, all the time. What I think many times, is that I hope in the two years she had here at the reception, she had a break in her life." Social workers have an expectation of themselves to provide help to those who need it in difficult situations. The informants say that this may well be associated with specific experiences and happenings. As one of them said: "It is all about feelings of something … you see the newcomers here, they do not have the feeling as the 'old ones.' who have done this for many years…"

At the ordinary reception, there was a larger focus on silent knowledge. To the question of whether they were searching for possible victims in human trafficking, one of the informants responded: "No, we are not searching, but we have it here (pointing at the head)... the radar." Polanyi (2001: 4) has through "the silent dimension" explained this term, and describes this knowledge as the silent knowledge. As it was expressed: "I recognize it, I have a feeling. It is about experience, it is about … I just know it." One
of the informants used silent knowledge as a starting point for action. “Yes, it is touch sensitivity,” which made her take the minors for a discussion in order to know her better and find out how “to make the girl talk.” It was essential in the material that the informants used their silent knowledge: “There is so much that is felt in the air … I have worked here for so many years … I have it with me.” Another person expressed it as follows: “I always find out the tone I have to use in order to reach out.” Several of the informants expressed some skepticism in the description of other departments’ understanding: “Their sensing apparatus doesn’t understand … they do not have the experience, the understanding or the interest.” One of them expressed it in the following manner: “It is the therapeutic approach that makes us getting hold of it … it is not only the tools we use, but the conversation and the presence.” This was again subdivided into three categories: the exerciser of authority, the educator and the therapist. As one of the informants said: “we are reporting to UDI … we have a relatively good cooperation with them. I like the management here, they are bringing things further.”

Additionally, the reception had an active cooperation with the field in Europe, in addition to the police and other departments that assisted in the different phases of the identification. As one expressed: “The relationship often builds up as we start to provide assistance.” Another one considered that she may have appeared as being a clear and safe mother figure. The following describes the assumption all the informants had to the relationships and the building of relationships: “It is the relationships that make us getting it.” Another informant from the same reception says: “And it is here my sister says she …, but we are somewhat conscious on that we are not mummy, we are not daddy …, but we are a person of care - giving, and I thinks it must be so good to say the word mummy, just to say the word.”

KOM has prepared separate indicators for observations and discussions in the identification work, but as one of the informants emphasized: “If you don’t see, you won’t find.” The brochure material from KOM was described as “a kind of ideas’ bank … They get the thoughts started and become supervisors, oases that we can collect from.” It was generally emphasized that communication between the administrative levels, the cooperating departments and receptions had to be better. As several expressed: “There is no automatization in that in that the interviewers call the reception and report about a concern, this is in itself very objectionable.”

The perception of inadequate communication between the administrative levels could contribute in the development of a practice influenced by private practicing at the ordinary reception for unaccompanied minors. As one of the informants said: “There is no cooperation, so we have to invent the gunpowder and start all over.
again each time. I then think this is too stupid for the girl ) it would be much better for her if someone had made a call and told little bit, since the girl then would not have to walk around and have the feeling that no one knows, it is much better to know that somebody knows.” The informants expressed further that lack of follow-up from the authorities could make it difficult to take a professional identification role. As one of the informants said: “Yes, there is something that isn’t working …, since you get so tied up in relation to the systems, what is the point.” This has something to do with maintaining the expectations of the role they have in identification. Possible strategies that are developed with the individual person could be to oversee from the understanding of that “something is happening after all.” This may lead to the perception of powerlessness in exercising the professional role. The other reception experienced a large distance to “the system,” and did not have the perception of being included or “heard.” As some expressed: “There are no logics in anything. It makes no sense at all, our observations do not agree with the considerations done by UDI.” Or, to say it like another informant from the same reception: “It shouldn’t be so bureaucratic … the UDI system is so rigid.”

All the informants at the transit reception expressed that they had a constructive cooperation with UDI. The following statement makes it clear that the employees at the transit reception had a kind of trust in the system: “Yes, KOM gave further report to the Department of Justice of what the problem is. We have also had people visiting, representatives from the governmental group of Labor Party, and we have come up with some challenges. We have contacts with some people in Bufdir as for providing some experience in the field.” As for the ordinary asylum reception for unaccompanied minors, as mentioned previously, the informants felt some kind of powerlessness. It was representative of all the interviews that there was a perception of not being heard. As one of the informants expressed: “They are unapproachable. I am thinking about, when UNE is reported that: listen, this is a human being that is subject to human trafficking.” At the same reception, there were generally such statements as: “It doesn’t make sense at all, that is all our observations, it doesn’t agree with the evaluations being done by UDI.” Further, the following statement provides a description of a situation where the reception employee has a perception of not being heard: “It came out on a hearing, new circular letter that they are preparing, but at that time our response to the circular letter was that wanted an automatic routine of that the actual interviewer makes contact with the receptions, regardless of which reception it is … that those who have the responsibility for the care receives the most important information, but it is not like this … now we do not know how the circular letter will look like then.”
As it appears from this citation, there is an implicit attitude around “they” and “we.” This is enhanced in statements from other informants at the same reception: “What we in the environment perceive very often is that they do not tell us about things coming up in transit, health or towards the coordinators. We are those who are supposed to assist in getting procedures in place, with teaching, cooking ... do more of the everyday positive things” ... “since that girl had obtained a residence permit, who has the responsibility, then UDI calls, no, they do not have the responsibility, since she had obtained the residence permit, it was midi, since she was going to be settled, no, imdi, had no responsibility, the child care service had no responsibility, the police had no responsibility, we had no responsibility.”

As from other interviews, with respect to what kind of changes are required in the system, an informant said: “When it comes to that of discovering, you have to make sure that there is expert knowledge around .... There has to be expert knowledge at the child welfare service, there has to be expert knowledge at the police, and there has to be special guardians ..., not all guardians can take these cases, since it will then be unprofessional. Then there will ... have to be changes in the expert knowledge.” Further, the informants point out that “what is needed is, inter alia, a different legislation if there is going to be an actual right that the minors can choose for themselves whether they are going to have assistance or not, then it has to be an actual right, not only a theoretical right on the paper, such that it can be possible to implement in practice ... there are some system changes that are required independently of whom to be responsible for the residents”.

Roles are developed in negotiations between that which is developed by social workers as experience based knowledge and the guidance form authorities, meaning the requirements that are formally set forth for exercising the profession. From several sources it was emphasized that: “We always get a relationship with those we work with.”

The following statement provides a description of the attitude that seemed to characterize the plurality of informants: “The conversation was as support conversation ... I focus on strong selections, to strengthen that being strong. I treat them as a survivor, not as looser.” It was only one of the informants that clearly expressed that she had a mission – a mandate, and said the following: “I do not need to know why they are sorry, it is insignificant in relation to the work I am going to do.” This informant was associated to the transit reception, and had been represented in different councils and committees on several occasions. This informant had further participated in cooperation projects abroad. As one of the informants said: “Occasionally, I have gone earlier to work because I’ve been told that there is one that I absolutely must talk to.” Or, someone else said, and that represents a general attitude amongst the informants:
“For me it is not important how large a figure you get for the statistics, but how many I will be able to assist in a good way (...) for me, it is what I can offer to a possible victim that is the important thing.”

Social workers must be capable of combining both the emotional commitment and the feelings of responsibility related to compassionate service as the instrumental skills and respect for the rights associated with the administrative rationality if they are to act with “professional flair.” As one of the informants put it: “We request cooperation with the police when we need an evaluation of safety, but their sensing system is not the human trafficking like … they do not have the experience, the interest, the understanding.”. It is clearly expressed that the informant has no confidence in that the police, as another professional group, should be capable of “seeing” that which the informant describes as the “human trafficking like. As expressed: “in her deep she is very uncomfortable and unsafe …[and] is hardly able to eat. Such signs are sufficient. We actually need very little to think that she will receive preventive information.”

In practice a professional practitioner must be capable of administering a task in a proper and competent manner, at the same time as the person concerned meets the client with openness, care and properly ethical interest in his or her particular personality and specific situation. As one of them said: “When we provide preventive information and attend the different exploitation forms, it is then often very easy to see how they react emotionally, and then we go into depth about exactly this kind of exploitation …, but we never break down without building up.” As being apparent, the reception employees take a significant responsibility in the care and responsibility for “building up” the individual. This was generally accurate for both receptions. This is very close to what the Document for Professional Ethics (2002) has described as empowerment. Empowerment implies “that user / client receives assistance in mobilizing and make use of own resources, so that they can perceive the mastering and have influence and control of their own lives. The key issues are dignity and respect.” At the same time, the material makes it clear that most of them integrate the care and administrative rationalities, but where the care rationality is the dominating one. At the transit reception, the following statement is characteristic for the approach from the reception employee: “It is not something coincidently individual or personal what we are saying, of course we adapt the situation to just the person sitting there, but that is an agreed setting.”
Conclusion

External routine descriptions and indicators are important in the identification work. At the same time, it is necessary that the routines are made local in that they are adapted to the needs of the individual reception.

Social Workers can perceive themselves as a true team with competence having confidence and purpose for the tasks they have been set to solve. With the capability and will from management to allocate resources for the identification work and the follow up, social workers can be successful at performing these tasks.

The active method is related to the more peculiar and specific, where you explicitly form a set of indicators to identify possible victims. It seems that the balance between the general and the specific can be a challenge for social workers. There seems to be a connection to the professional role that the individual has been socialized into through their education.

The informants at the ordinary reception were concerned with having a caring function for the minors and were to a larger extent preoccupied with the relation to the minors as a method in the identification of possible victims in human trafficking.

At the ordinary reception, focus was directed more towards cooperation and co-operative arenas between such different departments as guardian, nurse, child care, youth psychiatry and school. Routine descriptions were basically related to everyday activities and that of providing care.

All the informants were well familiar with their areas of responsibility, and started from the guidance provided centrally and locally when they described their formal roles as a member of the human trafficking team, but on the other hand, almost all experienced that it was difficult to interact and dialogue with other cooperating departments.

The process of identifying of possible victims in human trafficking is a key issue at the political level, and represents a relatively new subject area in the practical field. The study visualizes that many people find an “adjustment of professional contents” demanding with respect to the responsibility areas and tasks that the individual social worker was set to take care of.

The identification process for social workers is not something they carry out on assignment from the authorities, as some isolated excercise, but which has been influenced by their own experiences, the context they are placed in at the reception and the perception they have of being heard and be taken seriously.
Socialinių darbuotojų profesionalūs vaidmenys identifikuojant prekybos žmonėmis aukas: Norvegijos atvejo analizė

ir tinkamo profesionalo parinkimas. Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad socialiniam darbuotojui užtenka profesionalumo, tačiau pats aukų identifikavimo procesas yra per ilgas ir pakankamai sudėtingas, todėl individualizavimo principo dažnai nesilaikoma, ypač dirbant su nepilnamečiais.

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Sissel Fredheim – Oslo jaunimo globos namų valdybos pirmininkė (http://www.companybook-networking.com/sissel-fredheim-holding-as), „Atsigręžk į vaikus“ valdybos narė (www.atsigrežk.org)


Giedrė Kvieskienė – Lietuvos edukologijos universiteto Socialinės komunikacijos instituto profesorė, „Atsigręžk į vaikus“ valdybos pirmininkė (www.atsigrežk.org); el. paštas giedre.kvieskiene@leu.lt

Giedrė Kvieskienė – Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences, Social Communication Institute, professor, „Atsigręžk į vaikus“ Chairwomen (www.atsigrežk.org); adress Studentų St. 39, Room 324, LT-08106 Vilnius, Lithuania; e-mail giedre.kvieskiene@leu.lt