

**CHALLENGING
THE AD HOC NORWEGIAN APPROACH
TO ELIMINATE TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN**
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Norwegian Approach to Eliminate
Trafficking in Women

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: FOREWORD

The aim of this project is to tell the stories of women who have been subjected to human trafficking, to illuminate the challenges the society face concerning these women and to propose further recommendations for meeting their needs.

Through interviews, twelve women from different countries tell their story of being trafficked into Norway. They tell about their families, childhood and youth and how they ended up in a shelter in Norway. The women are now out of prostitution and in contact with the ROSA- project, which coordinates protection and assistance to women who are subjected to human trafficking.

We want to thank the women who have shared their experiences throughout this project. Without them the project would not be possible. Thanks to Cand. polit. Rachel Eapen Paul and Cand. polit. Lene Nilsen, for making this valuable report and last, but not least we thank Helse og Rehabilitering for the funding of this project.

Oslo, April 2009

Tove Smaadahl

Tove Smaadahl
Daglig leder

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1. INTRODUCTION

The violation of women's right to freedom from violence that trafficking in women to Norway represents, is an affront to the women's inherent human dignity.

Trafficking in women both violates and impairs or nullifies the enjoyment of human rights in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field, such as for example:

- the right to life,
- the right to liberty and security of person
- the right to equality
- the right to equal protection under the law
- the right to be free from all forms of discrimination
- the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health,
- the right to just and favourable conditions of work
- the right to not be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment

(UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, Article 3)

1.1 OBJECTIVES

The objective of this project is to propose recommendations for meeting the needs of women who have been trafficked.

Women survivors of trafficking are often marginalised as a group. The project has therefore prioritized giving them a forum to voice their experiences and opinions. The recommendations are mainly based on the information given by the women, complemented by the knowledge and experience gained by people working with providing assistance and protection for the women.

This report attempts to give a picture of the women's situation and needs in the different phases of trafficking. Some of the questions that this report attempts to address:

- What are the women's needs for medical, psychological and legal support?
- What social services do the women need for establishing themselves and for their integration into Norwegian society?
- How may the re-victimisation of the women be prevented?

(Issues around gender based persecution as grounds for residence is not being dealt with in this study).

1.2 METHOD

This report is based on information gained through long interviews with 12 women who have been trafficked into Norway. The women have all received support from the ROSA project. The women are from 10 countries from around the world. Their stories are also presented in narrative form anonymously on KILDEN's website: <http://portretter.no>

An interview guide was formulated, and used as a basis for the interviews (see Appendix). However, as the women were speaking of very sensitive issues, and of their experiences of exploitation, abuse, rape and torture, the interviewers often found it necessary to allow the women to speak freely and follow their own train of thought. The women were ensured confidentiality. All the names used for the women are fictitious. All names of countries and places have been changed. The interviews were conducted by Unni Rustad (who was present at all the interviews with the 12 women), and Rachel Eapen Paul who was present at 5 of them. All the interviews were recorded and typed out by Unni Rustad. The women agreed that the interviews could be taped. There was interpretation only when the women asked for it, in order to preserve as well as possible, the women's confidentiality. (Many of them fear gossip among people from their home countries).

Further, extra interviews were held with: 1) the two counsellors at the ROSA project - Unni Kiil and Maya Brenna Nielsen, 2) the head of the KOM-project at the Directorate of Police Birgitte Ellefsen, 3) a victim's advocate and 4) shelter workers assisting the women. Unni Rustad also followed a court case on trafficking. The project has had a reference group, consisting of: Solveig Dahl, Nina Kristiansen, Ragnhild Hennem, Maria Grønroos and Maya Brenna Nielsen. This group has met three times during the course of the project.

1.3 DISPOSITION

First, the report gives a summary of the findings and the recommendations (chapter 2). Then it presents an overview of some of the initiatives in Norway for working against trafficking, including national law, policies and measures, as well as commitments to international agreements (chapter 3). Following this is a description of the women's experience in the different phases related to trafficking: recruitment, their life in prostitution, the way out of prostitution, and the establishment of a new life. This chapter also suggests recommendations on how to deal with the challenges that have been identified (chapter 4). The report ends with some concluding remarks (chapter 5).

2. SUMMARY

The main conclusion from this study is that there is an urgent need for greater efforts in Norway to streamline, professionalize and improve the work directed at providing protection and assistance to the victims.

Coordinated efforts are also needed for preventing the buying of sex, and for prosecuting the perpetrators in Norway. The aim must be to give the women access to more predictable and permanent protection and assistance. The support victims of trafficking in Norway receive today need to be improved.

This summary focuses on the key issues that have been dealt with in this report: protection and assistance to the victims, prosecution of the perpetrators and prevention, with recommendations for each aspect.

2.1 PROTECTION AND ASSISTANCE

The women in this study describe several positive factors in meeting with the Norwegian help system. The ROSA-project, the shelter workers, the workers at Nadheim and Pro-senteret, and the competent persons within some of the service provision and governmental agencies such as the KOM-project, the police and the immigration authorities are often mentioned as very positive contributors in ensuring coordinated assistance and protection for the victims. However, the stories reveal also that the support provided in a number of cases is uncoordinated and unpredictable. Mentioning this, it is important to keep in mind that every woman receiving help will be assisted by 2-3 helpers and meet 3-10 officials. The women's experiences show that the help too many times depend on the service provider's level of competence and attitudes to the women as victims of trafficking in prostitution. The Government needs also to take into account that women need special support in the processes of establishing a new life. In some cases, women have been received by the support system in a manner that they have experienced as immensely degrading and humiliating. Greater focus needs to be placed on the ethical standards being maintained in the help and treatment services.

2.1.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

- More systematic and permanent responses to the needs of survivors of trafficking for protection and assistance ought to be provided, and systems and procedures to guarantee an equal standard for the help provided should be prioritised.
- The handbook withholding all existing rights victims of trafficking are entitled to, edited by the KOM-project, ought to be distributed nationwide to all helpers involved in assisting victims of trafficking.
- Victims' formal rights ought to be strengthened, giving them equal and easy access to health services, social services and extended time for legal counselling

- The processes related to acquiring temporary residence permits, as reflection period ought to be improved as the process today is to slow
- The victims application for a residence permit should be considered irrespective of whether they press charges or not
- Possibilities for income generating activities ought to be improved
- A more coordinated approach on how to get more women safely out of trafficking ought to be developed
- Measures for the empowerment of victims of trafficking ought to be implemented at a wider range
- A survivor's guide for women victims of trafficking ought to be developed
- A pool of interpreters ought to be compiled and more financially accessible
- The work of the ROSA-project ought to be strengthened by providing more human resources
- A common location for the different entities working with trafficking ought to be debated

2.2 PROSECUTION

Women are extremely vulnerable during the prosecution process. This is a factor that the authorities need to pay attention to. According to the women, the decision to witness is a difficult one to make, due to several reasons: it is a question of security, health, trust, and knowledge. In Norway it is not possible to give an anonymous testimony in court, but to ease the strain it is possible for the judge to make the defendants leave the room while she gives her testimony. Hence, this do not happen automatically and will depend on each judges consideration, therefore she will also have to prepare to meet her traffickers face to face in the courtroom. In addition she will have to prepare for many hours in court; and months spent waiting in the shelter. Attitudes they might meet from officials and professionals is sometimes a problem. Some also experience to be put under strain by the non verbal attitudes from the members of the jury. As the jury system is today, 10 "ordinary people" pass sentence. Their conception of a woman victim of trafficking exploited in prostitution as a "victim" and a trustworthy witness, as well as the juries' predominant opinions about prostitution, abortion and women's rights in general may affect the women's testimony negatively.

2.2.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

- More legal information and preparation to be given to victims so that they can have a better basis for making the decision as to whether to report the crime



3. INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS AND NATIONAL POLICIES AND MEASURES

This chapter presents an overview over some of the measures, including international commitments, national laws and policies that have been undertaken in Norway for eliminating trafficking.

- The jury system should be changed in human trafficking cases. The jury should only be seated by experts selected according to their knowledge and expertise in the field of human trafficking, violence and migration
 - Adequate protection and support for the women to be ensured during and after the court proceedings
 - The right to initial free legal advice to be increased from 3 to 10 hours
 - Witness support to victims of trafficking as well as psychological support to be provided
 - Witness protection to be strengthened
 - Only the qualified interpreters must be ensured
 - Data and identity of all women victims of trafficking to be better protected
 - Alternative methods for testimonies to be used if possible (e.g. video)
 - Discriminatory attitudes, humiliation and harassment of the victims in court to be addressed and stopped
 - A minimum economic compensation to be guaranteed to victims of trafficking for the violence they have been subject to regardless of the outcome of a trial
 - Residence permits to be ensured for identified victims of trafficking, independently of a given testimony in a trafficking case or not
- through development projects aimed at empowering women
- Empowering women to prevent re-trafficking thru various educations in Norway. In example: nail design and make up school, learning to write and read, Norwegian classes, and other skills depending on the women and their wishes. Our experience is that educational activities have several positive effects. The women feel better about them selves, and they feel stronger and more mentally at ease. In cases of repatriation education and learning a skill easy to practice in their home country, is of great importance to empowering women and so forth prevent re-trafficking.

2.3 PREVENTION

The interviews with the women provide valuable insight into their situation, including their recruitment into prostitution. Their stories show that the most decisive factor behind their exploitation is the global demand for sexual services, in combination with the women's unequal status in their societies, communities and their homes. The other is the lack of education and work possibilities to make them financially independent. War and conflict situations increase women's and girls' vulnerability to trafficking. The women's stories reveal severe and systematic mental, physical, and sexual violence perpetrated by traffickers, pimps and buyers.

2.3.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

- Integrated measures to eliminate trafficking for sexual exploitation need to be taken
- A strong enforcement of the law criminalizing the purchase of sex in Norway ought to be prioritised
- Educational tools on gender, power and sexuality need to be developed
- Advocacy work internationally ought to be conducted for encouraging more countries to criminalize the buying of sex
- Women's and girl's vulnerability to being trafficked in the countries of origin ought to be reduced, including

3.1 INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS

Norway has undertaken several international commitments for addressing trafficking. The UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women requires that all states parties "shall take all appropriate measures... to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of the prostitution of women" (UN General Assembly 1979, article 6).

On 15 November 2000, the General Assembly adopted several instruments against transnational organized crime, including the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (in short: The Palermo-protocol). In article 3 trafficking in persons is defined as follows:

"Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation"

According to the Palermo-protocol article 3 the consent of the victim of human trafficking is of no relevance in determining whether the person has been trafficked. The article states:

"The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation... shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth... have been used..."

The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (2000, article 3).

This definition provides a common understanding of trafficking in human beings for all State parties. Norway has also signed a Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (ratified 2008).

The purposes of this Convention are:

- a) to prevent and combat trafficking in human beings, while guaranteeing gender equality;
- b) to protect the human rights of the victims of trafficking, design a comprehensive framework for the protection and assistance of victims and witnesses, while guaranteeing gender equality, as well as to ensure effective investigation and prosecution;

c) to promote international cooperation on action against trafficking in human beings.

2. In order to ensure effective implementation of its provisions by the Parties, this Convention sets up a specific monitoring mechanism. This Convention shall apply to all forms of trafficking in human beings, whether national or transnational, whether or not connected with organised crime.

GRETA is a group of experts on action against trafficking in human beings that shall monitor the implementation of this convention by the parties (St.prp.nr.2.2007-2008).

3.2 NATIONAL POLICIES

Since 2003, Norway has developed three national plans of action to Combat Human Trafficking. The last plan of action, The Norwegian Government's Plan of Action to Combat Human Trafficking 2006-2009 Stop Human Trafficking, contains 37 measures. The measures seek to limit recruitment and demand, to ensure appropriate assistance and protection for victims, to ensure a greater degree of exposure and prosecution of human traffickers, to ensure more knowledge and stronger inter-disciplinary cooperation, and to strengthen the international framework and international cooperation.

3.3 THE NORWEGIAN LAW

The Norwegian parliament has adopted several laws for combating human trafficking. Section 224 of the Penal Code prohibits trafficking in persons. The penalty for contravention of section 224 of the Penal Code is imprisonment for up to 5 years. In severe cases up to 10 years of imprisonment may be used. The persons involved in human trafficking will often have contravened several provisions in the Penal Code¹, for example pimping (section 202), rape (section 192) and violence (section 228 and 229).

The Government has taken a number of steps in order to limit the demand for prostitution and hence the demand for women who have been trafficked. In 2002 Norway introduced ethical guidelines for state employees prohibiting the purchase of sexual services. In 2005 the Government launched a three-year information campaign. The goal was to stop men from buying sex (The Norwegian Government's Plan of Action to Combat Human Trafficking 2006-2009, page 8). In 2008 a new law, prohibiting the purchase of sex, was passed in the Parliament, and has come into force on the 1st of January 2009.

¹ The people involved in human trafficking will often have contravened several provisions in the Penal Code, such as section 60 (participation in organised crime activity), section 61 (repeated crime), section 202 (prohibition of procurement), section 222 (coercion), section 203 (purchase of sexual service from persons under the age of 18), section 223 (deprivation of liberty) and section 225 (slavery), section 227 (threats), section 228 et seq. (physical abuse), section 192 et seq. (sexual crime) and section 47 of the Immigration Act.



4. THE EXPERIENCES OF THE SURVIVORS

This chapter presents a description of 12 women's recruitment into trafficking (4.1), life in prostitution (4.2), the way out (4.3), and the establishment of a new life (4.4), based on their stories.

Victims of trafficking in Norway are entitled to some rights and services. For example, victims of trafficking who have been granted the six-month 'time for reflection', known as "reflection period", have a right to a temporary residence and work permit (rundskriv nr. AI-10/06). Victims also have a right to practical assistance, counseling, basic health care, legal assistance and safe places to stay.

prosecuted as a result of the work of this group (En aktiv helhetlig justispolitikk, Justispolitisk status July 2008, page 16).

In the next chapter (chapter 4) the experiences of the women victims of trafficking in Norway, who have been interviewed, are presented together with information about their rights.

3.4 OTHER MEASURES

The Directorate of Immigration (UDI) has a responsibility both to provide the necessary information to victims of trafficking as well as to ensure that all potential victims of trafficking are identified and protected. (Rundskriv nr. AI-10/06, 15. May 2008 and the Annual Report of the Directorate of Immigration 2007, page 23).

A National Coordination unit for the assistance and protection of victims of human trafficking (the KOM project), is placed in The National Police Directorate, and assists the support services by providing methods for identifying victims and for planning and mobilising assistance and protection services for the victims. The unit also contributes to the development of information and human resources in the work against human trafficking (The Norwegian Government's Plan of Action 2006-2009, page 22).

The ROSA project was established in 2005 as a result of an initiative by the Secretariat of the Shelter Movement in Norway. ROSA is a Norwegian acronym that stands for: Re-establishment, Organizing safe places to stay, Safety, and Assistance. The project is a measure in the government's plan of action against trafficking and is being carried out by the Secretariat of the Shelter Movement and financed by the Ministry of Justice and Police. It provides support, assistance, counseling and safe places to stay for victims of trafficking.

Norway is also a member of the Nordic Baltic regional inter-agency network, which includes public agencies and NGOs from all Nordic and Baltic countries who work with, support and protect women victims of trafficking. The Network meets regularly to develop and share experiences and expertise, to develop common standards and guidelines for victim support, and to identify and agree on regional priorities.

In January 2007, the Oslo Police established a special unit called STOP to combat human trafficking. Several cases of human trafficking have been detected and

4.1 THE RECRUITMENT

4.1.1 From the women's stories

Gender inequality and women's generally lower / inferior status in their communities and in their families seems to make them more susceptible to human trafficking for sexual exploitation. This becomes clear through most of the women's stories. Most of them say that they have experienced gender discrimination and / or have been subject to sexualized violence in one or several forms in their families (immediate or larger families), before they were recruited into the sex industry, or trafficked for prostitution.

Many of the women say that their brothers (as sons in the family), were more privileged than themselves. From the women's stories one can see that their upbringing has required them to conform to gender stereotypical norms – norms that require girls to be gentle, caring, humble, and adjusting to the needs of their families. And, as a consequence, most of the women had less education and less income generating possibilities than their brothers. Some of the women talk about violent fathers, and about the beating and abuse they have been subject to in their homes and in their families. To quote one of them,

Anne:

"My father, he left us, me and my mother, he moved across the road. But he used to come home every evening and beat us all up - he abused us through all those years."

In addition, many of them say that their sexuality and choice of marriage / sexual partner were controlled by their families. Two of the women were also sexually abused by their fathers.

Women's vulnerability to recruitment into prostitution is gendered and women's sexuality is exploited in and by their families.

Some of the women were recruited into prostitution and /or trafficking by members of their families - their own fathers, uncles, brothers, boyfriends and / or husbands. Men's more dominant / superior and privileged status in the family seems to allow them to exploit the women in the family in order to access money or other privileges. Boys (sons) in the family do not seem to be subject to this kind of exploitation.

Hanna says:

"When I was with my father, I did prostitution to bring money to the home. My brothers, they knew, and they also ask me if I can give them money to buy cigarettes, s o..."

The experience of being deceived betrayed and exploited by their fathers, uncles, boyfriends or husbands, and friends – people whom they have trusted - is clearly extremely painful and hard to bear, and harder and more painful, the longer time the abuse has gone on for.

The women's restricted freedom, their lack of independence, and their lack of power and influence over their own lives within their families (to varying degrees), also seems to make them extremely vulnerable to exploitation by unknown recruiters. The women describe the traffickers as very manipulative. They say that the traffickers know how to talk and coerce them into the industry. Most of the traffickers used the vulnerability of the women and girls in the recruitment process, offering them the prospect of a better life in some way or another - more freedom, economic opportunities, income, and better conditions for loved ones at home. In other words, the women were not told about the real conditions they would be experiencing.

Eva said:

"One day three men came to the village. They said they needed girls to become top models. We thought that we would become famous. He promised my grandmother that she would go to hospital for proper treatment. It was a way for me to help my grandmother, I thought."

The main recruiters in the women's stories were men, although in one of the stories, there is a female procurer, although she too seems to have been controlled by male traffickers.

In addition to gender inequality, societal structural breakdowns and the absence of rule of law in situations of regime change or war and conflict have also contributed to the women's vulnerability to exploitation in the sex industry.

Mona says:

"The war was the reason. If it had not been for the war, this would not have happened. Because of the war I have no family, no mother, no father and I do not know where my sisters and brothers are."



The stories reveal that male demand around the world for sexual access to women and for the purchasing of women's bodies provides a rationale and *raison d'être* for the sex industry - trafficking for prostitution has thus become a lucrative and income generating activity for the sex-industry.

It also becomes clear through the women's stories, that women are being trafficked from poorer countries to richer ones where men have a stable purchasing power, or to places where richer men travel to. This underlines that human trafficking is a transnational crime. According to UNIFEM, 127 countries have been documented as countries of origin, and 137 as countries of destination. The main countries of origin are reported to be in Central and South-Eastern Europe, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and Asia, followed by West Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. The most commonly reported countries of destination are in Western Europe, Asia and Northern America (UNIFEM, Facts and Figures on VAW, Trafficking in Women and Girls).

Norway is an attractive market for human trafficking for prostitution "because it is a rich country with strong purchasing power" (National Action Plan 2006-2009: page 7). In addition to Norway's strong purchasing power, the fact that very few cases of human trafficking have been prosecuted in the country, contribute to making Norway a "safe" and attractive market for human traffickers. Esohe Aghatise, expert from Nigeria on trafficking, pointed this out in her paper on Trafficking and Prostitution 2008.

Hanna, one of the women interviewed, says: *"I ended up as a sex slave in Norway because he (the trafficker) said it was good business in Norway selling sex"*

Even though the means of recruitment vary, the women's stories have in common that the recruiters first lured them by offering good jobs and a better future for themselves and their loved ones. Once the traffickers have got a hold on the women they change their tactics into using physical force and sexual violence. Most of the women have experienced rape, physical violence and threats during the initial phase of the trafficking process. The purpose of the rape and violence seems to be to break the women down, to instil fear in them and to groom and prepare them for their coming life in prostitution. Monica's and Eva's stories illustrate this. After being sold

by her boyfriend to two traffickers, Monica was kept in a room together with both of them who "prepared" her for life in prostitution:

The first months, I always stay with both of them - in one room. They had sex with me. And they pressure, always they pressure, and after one month, in the night time, they send some men. And after one month, I feel now, this is my life, and I don't do anything to protest. The first time I tried to run out, and they cut my wrist (shows me) with a razor blade.

Eva says:

"It was when we reached... it began when we were on the bus to... We travelled and travelled. I remember thinking that this was very stupid. Then I cannot remember what happened. I just remember seeing that my underwear was full of blood and I was hurting all over my body. That was the first time..."

One of the women – Nadia – was trafficked to Norway on a ship. The trafficker raped Nadia and the other girls on the ship. She says:

"He told us, if we shout or if we refuse, he is going to throw us into the water."

After being lured in and violated by the traffickers, the women end up in prostitution, and finally trafficked for sexual slavery in Norway.

Measures for the prevention of trafficking in women need to be addressed both by addressing the male demand for prostituted sex, as well as by addressing the vulnerability of women and girls. Factors that increase male demand ought to be identified and measures implemented to reduce demand (such as campaigns for changing attitudes towards the buying of sex). Measures need to be introduced that strengthen women's positions in their families and in their local communities (such as promoting education and economic independence). In addition, as has been pointed out earlier in Chapter

4.1.1 we need to bear in mind that structural and societal breakdown / regime change, war and conflict situations increase women's and girls' vulnerability to trafficking.

4.1.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The stories of the women in this study strongly confirm that trafficking for sexual exploitation is a gendered phenomenon. The globally pervasive male demand for women in prostitution ensures traffickers success and clear economic profit in trafficking and sexually exploiting women and girls. It gives the traffickers good grounds for

continuing with these gravely serious criminal activities. The risks for them to be caught, prosecuted and punished seem to be small, in contrast to the immense economic profits that are possible in trafficking women and girls, providing traffickers good reason to exploit women and girls for economic purposes. Seen in this light, the new law prohibiting the buying of sexual services in Norway (2008 in force 2009) is an important tool in the attempt to eliminate the demand for trafficked women exploited in prostitution. The law could have a normative function and might, in time, influence male attitudes (as well as society's as a whole), toward buying sex - thus reducing the demand.

However, the law in itself would probably not be sufficient to stop men from buying sex, or to eliminate prostitution or trafficking. Other effective prevention and protection measures are also necessary. The existing non-legal preventive measures, such as the campaign stop human trafficking and the internet page <http://sexhandel.no> seem to be inadequate complementary measures. The signals sent by the web page (both regarding the text and pictures) are contradictory to and do not correspond to those sent by the new law forbidding the purchase of sexual services. The efforts by the Norwegian government to prevent human trafficking, both nationally and internationally, should focus on removing the demand for trafficked women by focusing more systematically on eliminating the demand for prostitution in general, rather than focusing only on women who have been visibly or obviously trafficked.

The following measures for eliminating the demand for prostitution / prostituted sex ought to be implemented: Nationally,

- A strong enforcement of the new law criminalizing the purchase of sex ought to be prioritised
- Educational tools on gender, power and sexuality ought to be developed
- A help-line for men who wish to stop buying sex could be established

Internationally, Norwegian prevention efforts should focus on reducing women's and girls' vulnerability, by implementing the following measures:

- Development cooperation projects aimed at supporting and strengthening women's organizations working against violence against women, including trafficking and the sexual exploitation of women
- Development cooperation projects aimed at

strengthening women's and girls' negotiating powers in families

- Development cooperation projects aimed at empowering women socially, economically and politically
- Development cooperation projects on disseminating information about trafficking

4.2 LIFE IN PROSTITUTION

4.2.1 From the women's stories

All the women interviewed in this study have been trafficked to Norway for prostitution and most of them were also trafficked inside their country of origin and into other countries before they arrived in Norway. The women describe life in prostitution as being violent as well as isolating. They have experienced in prostitution, a profound deception and betrayal. They describe their experiences as dehumanising. They feel used, abused and commodified. Many referred to being used as toys, objects of pleasure or playthings of the traffickers and the customers. Life in prostitution also made most of the women feel powerless in relation to the family they left behind, and alienated from them. Many left their homes in order to help out their mothers, grandmothers and / or children.

Mona's story illustrates the pain in prostitution, and how she experienced being in prostitution as torture.

"It is very difficult for a girl to have sex with 2 or 3 persons every day; the whole life was like torture. I tried to stop but I could not."

Some of the women told us that they were in debt bondage to the traffickers. The traffickers told the women that they had had huge expenses in transporting them to Norway, and that the women had therefore to pay them (the traffickers), in order to make up for these expenses. Nadia said that a woman who was supposed to help her get to Norway said to her that she had to pay her 75 000 Euro:

So I asked her 'what is 75 000 Euro?' She said that is what it cost to bring me here, and that I am going to work to pay it up. I cried and said I'm not going to the street. She said ok, some people are not going to the street, they are working at home. I said 'what work'? She said 'men are going to come home and meet you'. She said she would call and let me know by phone. And she gave me this phone. So they didn't tell me anything, they didn't tell me that where they took me to was for life, and that if I want to leave or refuse to do anything bad, they would harm me".



All of the women talk about the physical, sexual and psychological abuse and violence perpetrated by the traffickers, the pimps and the buyers, though there are variations in the severity and frequency. Many of the women have experienced physical abuse such as physical attacks, torture (cigarette burns), physical deprivation (denied sleep, food), physical restraints (tied with ropes, chains) and confinement, forced or coerced to use drugs and alcohol. Anne said that she was regularly badly beaten up by her traffickers and that there came a point where she was willing to do anything in order to avoid the beatings.

Eva talks about how the traffickers and customers used her as a toy, and hurt her for fun: *"All of them used me as a 'whore'. They not only beat me but they played with me and did things to hurt me, like they stumped their cigarettes on my arm. I have many marks on my body that I can get help to heal, but the marks on my heart no one can heal."* She also said that the traffickers never addressed her by her name; that they just called her *"fucking bitch"* all the time and that they never spoke to her in a decent manner.

Vera says that in some ways it was a good thing that she did not know Norwegian because at that time she did not understand what the men were saying to her, and that it helped her protect herself from them. She felt that like this, the men did not get to "touch" her. She says: *"Yes, you don't feel so bad. You don't know what he is saying to you and what he is saying about you. In my home country, I understand what they are saying to me and that is very hurtful"*

Being in prostitution has been physically harmful for the women. Many of them talk about having been subject to sexual violence, vaginal, oral or anal rape, gang rape, unprotected sex, unwanted pregnancy, forced abortion, sexual humiliation, and /or forced nakedness.

Anne told us: *"We arrived at a place in the middle of the forest. We were told to undress and wash ourselves because we were so dirty. We got a bowl of water and then we had to go outside naked. It was cold – it was in the autumn. When we got inside we were told to give the men oral sex. We were so afraid we didn't dare to protest. Then we were forced to have sex with each other. We were instructed to pretend that we enjoyed it. Then one man raped us, and then the others did it, one after the other. One man just wanted oral sex because he said that we*

were so dirty. The scene continued and continued. I don't know for how long it lasted. Then one of the men took me from behind. I screamed. It was so painful. Then one of the men said 'now you are real, that's the way it is'. Then the first one threw himself over me and forced me to give him oral sex again. But then I ran out and vomited. I don't remember what happened after that, but they finally let us alone."

Keeping the women in isolation seems also to be a method that the traffickers use for controlling the women. Some of the women report about how they were kept isolated from each other by their traffickers, and not allowed to speak to each other. They also say that they were often drugged by their traffickers.

Eva says: *"It was forbidden to speak to each other when we were at work. We had to serve, and talk with the customers. We were not allowed to speak with the other girls".* From the women's stories one sees that they lose self respect, and confidence and trust in themselves as well as in others.

Laila reflects about how unpleasant life was when she was in prostitution:

"It was no good. It was not a good life. You have to have sex with all sorts of men. Some of them are smelling bad. Also, you have to let them do what they want. Sometimes they call you whatever they like. They have the right, because you are on the street. You understand?"

She continues along the same lines: *"I cannot respect myself. My body, it is not made to sell. You understand me? It is not right that I have to share my body with anybody –it is not right that anybody can have sex with me."*

Nadia also reflects in a similar manner: *"Different men coming to me, maybe 4, 5, 6, 10 – everyday. It condemns the body."*

Vera says: *"You feel used, like an object. They are paying for your body. You get paid for giving them your body for their use. Nobody is interested in you as a person".*

Monica says: *"I feel I am just a thing. I have only a body. I don't feel my heart. And when I was pregnant, one day I remember thinking that it is OK that I have an abortion and lose my baby, because if I have a girl, then this will happen to her too. They (the traffickers) will sell her too."* The women have been subject to psychological abuse such as receiving death threats to themselves or their

families. And they are under the complete control of the traffickers and pimps. Setare's story illustrates what she was subject to in prostitution (most of the women had similar stories to tell):

"When you're there, you're in shock. You don't feel and you don't see, and it is not you that person this is happening to. Because I think the body of the people when you're getting into situations like that, it is blocked, you know. It is blocked, like you're looking at yourself from outside, you just don't feel it, you know after I stopped, I look at myself like somebody else, I don't remember, I haven't been that person."

Interviewer: So when you tell us the story, it is like you're talking about somebody else?

It is like that, yes. Your body is blocked, and your mind is blocked, it is somebody else. When I talk, I feel it is somebody else. The first man who came was a very scary man. I don't know where he was from. He had a big turban, and very long beard. He was a very big and long man, and when we were there, I had to have sex with him, and she (the pimp) was there to watch everything. Then that man was on top of me, he tried to kill me or I don't know, he was on top of me and didn't want to stand up, but I don't have air, I was gasping for air, I did not know what is happening, maybe he tried to kill me, I cannot scream, I could not move or...Then she take something and try to hit the man to make him stand up. He was really scary."

Interviewer: Were you in his house?

No. In that small apartment. Then she took the money after every customer, and I have to go every night to the street. It doesn't matter if you're sick, if you have your period, if it is cold, you have to be in the street. From the evening till the next morning. And it was very cold that year I came, minus 30, really crazy, and I have to do that for almost two months. Then she said it is time to go back to my home country. She controlled me every minute I was here. Nobody of the girls could talk to me, and if some customer called me, she took my phone and said you cannot call this number any more, and changed my number. And she controlled me, when I have to eat, sleep, what kind of clothes to wear - absolutely everything."

Laila said that she was very depressed and unhappy the whole time she was in prostitution. She says that she has never met a woman who says that she is happy to be a

prostitute. To quote her:

"Nobody is happy to be in prostitution. I have never met anyone. All the women are always crying. What kind of life is it if you have to prostitute yourself before you can feed yourself?"

Along similar lines, Mona said:

"I tried many drugs in order to forget. I know that if I am not at work one day, if I should die, nobody is going to come and look for me. Many times when I was having sex with a customer, I would begin to cry. How can a girl manage to sleep with 3 to 4 men every day, every night? I did not live a life."

The women seem to take on themselves the shame around the fact that men buy sex from them. Setare says that being in prostitution has affected her very badly and made her feel very different from other ordinary people: *"It affects everything. You will never forget it. You can never feel like a normal person. You will not find your place. You will never feel comfortable. Like me in Norway, when I am in a room with 10 mothers, all of them with children, I feel different, and when I am with the girls on the street, I feel different too. Everywhere I am I feel, it is not my place. You never forget. Prostitution took away something very important from me. And when I am somewhere, when I walk on the street, and I see some of my customers, and then I remember what I am, and from where I come from. It is many things like that - how can I explain? You feel different, like the world is not yours."*

These stories show us how trafficked women feel used and abused and how they have been tortured both physically and psychologically. All of the women in this study were afraid of breaking out, and the way out was difficult, but they somehow found the way.

4.2.2 Recommendations

The main aim ought to be to help women out of prostitution. Nevertheless women who stay in prostitution ought to be provided with the health and social services that they need. See chapter 4.4 for further recommendations.

4.3 THE WAY OUT

4.3.1 From the women's stories

The way out of trafficking was for most of the women full of obstacles. For many of the women, breaking contact with the traffickers and/or the pimps has been an extremely dangerous step to take. First of all the women are strongly guarded by the pimps and the traffickers



themselves or people working for them. Secondly, many of the women are “kept in their place” by threats. Most of the women have been living under constant and serious threats to their own lives and to that of their families. Many of the women have been so terrorised by the violence that have been subjected to, that they have not seen escape as an option. Others have felt completely unable to escape due to the physical conditions that they were trapped in.

In addition, the women are vulnerable as “migrants” in a new country, and are unable to find help. Many of the women have not had anyone they could trust. For some of them, the only persons they knew were their traffickers, the very persons who have been abusing them. Not knowing the language is also a huge obstacle in finding the way out. And the possibility of finding information about their rights is slight. None of the women spoke Norwegian when they were first trapped in the situation and needed help. Furthermore, the traffickers and pimps had taken the women’s identity papers by the time they met with the authorities. So most of the women had either fake passports or had no passport at all. In most of the cases where the traffickers had arranged for the travel documents, the women never saw their papers, and thus never knew their legal status in Norway.

To quote Mona:
“He knew that I had no papers. He said to me ‘I can kill you, and no one will know, no one knows who you are, no one will come looking for you.’”

As mentioned earlier, women who have been trafficked have been abused and mistreated by the traffickers in the “grooming” process where they have been “prepared” for a life in prostitution. They lose confidence in themselves, and are taught to be fearful of the police or any other authorities. The pimps and traffickers also threaten the women by saying that they will deliver the women to the police, and that they as traffickers work in collaboration with the police. The women are then understandably fearful of the police and afraid of asking for help from them. They do not see the police as an agency that would help them. Mona’s story also illustrates how the women are afraid of the police and other authorities in their home countries. She says when we asked her about getting help to get out:
“He threatened me that he would take me to the police and that I would be put in prison. And in that country where I come from, if you are put in prison, nobody comes and asks after you. I did not know that I could get

help from the police. He said to me that if I go out, the police will catch me. So I was afraid to go out at all. I stayed in the house, and he brought men to me.”

Anne also illustrates this:
“I do not trust anyone - although I would like to, but it is not easy. I don’t dare any more to like people. I don’t dare to trust people. I don’t dare to get to know people anymore.”

Despite these immense difficulties and obstacles, all of the women interviewed had managed to get out of the exploitative situations they have been in. But their ways to a safe place took different paths.

Monica told us:
“The traffickers left me in a taxi. There was a crowd there. I had a bag and I took it, and I ran out, and just held one man’s hand. And I told him please help me, I am helpless... and he took me to the police station.”

Many of the women escaped from their traffickers by their own efforts. Common for all of them, is that they escaped at a moment when the traffickers were not paying attention. They all escaped with the help of good “helpers”: One woman was helped by a man on the street, one by a former customer, another by a person at a café and a taxi driver, one by a girl from the same country living in Norway, and another by a man she met. Some of the women got out of the situation by being arrested by the police (at an airport arriving in Norway or on their way to customers). All of them were examined by the police and were sent to prison or asylum centres. Two of the women were sent by their traffickers to the police to get asylum, in order that they could sell themselves in prostitution legally, as legal residents of Norway. These two women got out of prostitution when they got to the authorities. For both these women, their traffickers were their boyfriends or husbands. The men made up stories and forced the women to tell these stories to the immigration authorities or the police by threatening and frightening them.

Nina says:
“My husband had written a story I should tell the police. He and his friend said that I should not say anything when they were not there... they wanted me to seek asylum”.
While trying to escape from the traffickers, the women have mixed experiences with the Norwegian police or immigration authorities. Sometimes the same women have met with varying treatment from the police,

depending on whom they happened to meet with. Laila said that when she first was taken in by the police, she was afraid and confused. She said she knew that on a tourist visa, she was not allowed to work. The police had locked her up for 3 days in a room without windows. But later on, she met police people who had been nice to her. By then she had decided to take the ‘time for reflection’. They told her that she could cooperate with the police and help them, but that she did not have to do so. They had spoken kindly to her. And the policeman who took down her story had been very kind and polite, she said. Thus the women speak about varying experiences. Some of the women talk about nice policemen and policewomen who have treated them with respect, have understood their difficult security situation, and have understood their need for assistance from ROSA or other social services. These persons were police who have had experience working with cases of trafficking. Other women describe the lack of understanding of their precarious situation and of the particular needs of survivors of trafficking, at their first meeting with the authorities. Some of the women say that the authorities were unwilling to help when they tried to get help, to get away from the traffickers. Hanna’s story illustrates this:

“The police, they don’t do anything. They don’t help me – till now. In Norway, very bad things happened to me. No one helped me, and the police, they put the case away. I have been speaking with the police for two days together with my lawyer and interpreter. And after, they said that they will send my case to the KRIPOS (The national unit for fighting organized and other serious crime) but they did not send anything. They did not look for the man, nothing.”

Instead of being helped, many of the victims were charged with criminal offences themselves, such as having illegal residence, or taking part in other criminal activities. This reinforces further in the minds of the women what they have already been told by the traffickers – that they (the women) will be taken by the Police and put in jail or punished. It reinforces in their minds that they are the ones doing the criminal activity. Laila was arrested by the police because she was staying illegally in Norway. She was put into prison, and not informed of the system or what was going to happen to her, and describes her fears like this:
“The days in prison were the worst days of my life. They locked us up at night; it was a room with no windows. We were there for three days. I was very frightened.”

All of the women express great relief on finally having managed to escape from the traffickers, and on having found a safe place to stay. They express joy and relief on meeting the ROSA counsellors or workers at the shelters. Monica tells us that after she came in contact with ROSA she was sent to a shelter where she was happy and felt safe:
“And when I came here, yes!! And now I am so thankful to ROSA because they sent me here, so nice. And this city also is so nice.”

4.3.2 Recommendations

The Norwegian government ought to develop a more systematic and proactive approach for getting more women out of the hands of traffickers and the global sex industry. Further, such measures ought to focus clearly on the safety of the women. The following measures could be implemented:

- More effective cooperation between the different government agencies (for e.g. the co-operation between the police, ROSA, UDI and the welfare agencies) ought to be established. A main body/instance responsible for getting more victims out of trafficking should be appointed.
- Existing manuals for the identification of victims of trafficking should be available for more frontline staff. A successful identification process is crucial for ensuring that women victims get the assistance and support they are entitled to.
- Women in prostitution found residing irregularly (without papers or residence / work permits) should be treated as possible victims of trafficking and therefore exempted from criminal and administrative charges, until proven otherwise.
- More information about victims of trafficking and their rights should be published in different languages.

4.4 ESTABLISHING A NEW LIFE

Common for all the women, are their dreams and hopes for healing and starting a new life free from violence. They want to enjoy freedom and build a better life for themselves and their families. And they want to live ‘normal’ lives, learn the language and get a job. The women in this study have expressed their needs and this has been categorised under the following: Coordination of protection and assistance (4.4.1.), Safe housing and immediate practical and social support (4.4.2.), Temporary and permanent residence permits (4.4.3), Cooperating with the authorities (4.4.4.) Access to health services (4.4.5), Legal advice (4.4.6), Income generating opportunities (4.4.7), Alternative housing (4.4.8).



4.4.1 Coordination of protection and assistance

On having left prostitution, the women need to find ways by which they can establish themselves in Norwegian society. However, their situation is highly insecure, as they often do not know how and in what manner they need to and can proceed. They need support in dealing with the authorities as well as the non-governmental agencies that are supposed to give them protection and assistance. There are a number of instances and professionals who are supposed to help the women, but the women lack the necessary knowledge of the Norwegian service provision system, and need assistance accessing them. They also would greatly benefit if the different agencies provide support in a more coordinated manner.

The ROSA project helps the women who have left prostitution in dealing with many of these instances through the many phases of establishing a better life for themselves. When talking about the ROSA-project, all of the women express their appreciation and gratitude to the counsellors working there. They describe ROSA as a centre with immense expertise on the rights of victims of trafficking, and on how the system, including service provision in Norway, functions. Furthermore, the women feel that they can trust the persons working at ROSA. The women say that they are satisfied with ROSA's efforts in putting them in contact with competent legal advisers, and in guiding them to safe places to stay.

Monica says about coming to ROSA:

"When I was in mottak, I was crying all the time. I was afraid. I did not know what will happen to me. I did not know anything about this place. And when she (the counselor from ROSA), came to meet me, I felt so happy. Oh my God, the woman came to me, she held my hand and told me 'we work in ROSA and we will help you', and from that time I feel so much better. I do not feel afraid anymore."

Several of the women also mention the KOM-project in the Police Directorate. The leader of the KOM was mentioned by several of the women as a helpful person. Further, the women are satisfied with those in the police system who have knowledge of and expertise in dealing with the issue of trafficking in human beings.

In order to strengthen the women's position, protection and assistance need to be coordinated well. One recommendation is to strengthen the ROSA-project, because they provide the crucial services and support that victims of trafficking so desperately need. This is seen both in this study and in the evaluation of ROSA (Dyrlid and Berg, 2008). However, their lack of resources

undermines the projects' efforts in coordinating the support to victims of trafficking.

A working group with a mandate to professionalize, to streamline and improve both the short term and long term protection and assistance have been established in Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim and in Kristiansand. These groups are called TOT-teams, and members are representatives from the crisis centre, police, health service and social office. They are responsible to give the person identified as victim of trafficking in their area her or his rights.

The KOM-project is also perceived as a successful project by the women and ought to be strengthened. The KOM-project will be evaluated within the end of 2009. KOM-project's mandate is to oversee that national standards are being implemented and that identified victims of trafficking are given rights they are entitled to.

Measures need to be put in place for ensuring that there is a harmonisation in the support from the responsible actors in all districts. It is especially important that the police districts are equally good in providing protection to the women, and know of special permits such as the 'reflection period'. Police are in many cases the ones that meet the possible victim first. Lack of competence and understanding on the part of the 'helping' agencies can have very unfortunate consequences for the women.

4.4.2 Safe housing and immediate practical and social support

Having escaped from prostitution and from the traffickers, the women express a very urgent and immediate need to get to a safe place. The shelters offer such safe places to stay, and provide the women with the space and the time that they so dearly need in order to calm down and begin to plan their future.

In addition to security, the shelters are supposed to be the main provider of the practical assistance that the women need for the possibility to establish a new life: supporting the women in accessing proper health care, legal assistance, social services (food, clothing, money for activities, employment training, etc.).

As mentioned earlier, the violence the women have experienced has tremendous negative consequences in their lives, such as reducing their ability to trust people again and reducing their self confidence. The workers/ helpers at the shelters are therefore also very important supporters and advocates for the women². Most of the women are very satisfied with the shelters and the support they are provided with there.

Monica told us:

"It is a good place. Everyone is nice to me. I have... it is like I have my family... giving me hope that it is going to be better for me."

However, two of the women in this study talk about the racism and racist attitudes among some of those working at the shelters they were staying at. One woman was rejected by a shelter because of her ethnic origin.

Hanna talks about the racist abuse she was subject to by a shelter worker:

"When I tried to talk about some of my needs, she answered me 'you have nothing where you come from, and still you come to Norway and you are complaining and not happy'."

In order to secure the women immediate practical and social support, a common house/ office for the different entities working with trafficking should be established. A common localization would be more user friendly for the victims. They could thus avoid having to go from place to place in order to get the help they need. A common localisation could also be useful for the helping agencies. The work that these agencies do is not easy and often hard on the personnel. At a common localisation, they could work together as a team, learn from each other and support each other.

To secure that the women's stories are heard by the police and other officials, a pool of skilled interpreters should be compiled.

4.4.3 Temporary and permanent residence permits
Victims who have been trafficked can apply for what is referred to as the 'reflection period'. This period gives the person time to reflect and decide whether they wish to cooperate with the police. In Norway anyone can identify a possible victim of trafficking, and the person exploited can also identify him or her self as a victim. However in most cases it is a helping organization, immigration authorities or police that identify person's victims of trafficking.

Most of the women in this study have received the 'reflection period'. The threshold for being granted a 'reflection period' is low. This means that the person must be willing to accept the assistance and support being offered and be willing to cut contact with the environment she or he used to be in.

To apply for a reflection period the person has to meet in person at the local police station and fill in the application form and give fingerprints. A short summary

of her situation must follow the application that is sent to the UDI (immigration authorities). The summary can be told by the person self or written down by her helper or her lawyer. If she lives in a shelter with ROSA, ROSA will add to the application a written confirmation that she is registered in the project. The local police only prepare the case for the UDI. The Immigration Directorate (UDI), together with the police is required to prioritize these cases and coordinate the procedures regarding the granting of the 'reflection period' (rundskriv nr. AI-10/06, 15. mai 2008).

The 6 months work and residence permit can be extended for one year at the time, if the police needs the victim for conducting the criminal proceedings. The intention is to facilitate the conviction of the traffickers. However, this requires the victim to report the persons behind the trafficking / her traffickers. Applying for the extension of the residence permit therefore is a big decision for the women to make.

If she chooses not to report her traffickers and her 6 months temporary permit has expired, the survivor has two choices left. She can apply for asylum according to the general rules, or she can return to her home country. Most of the women in this study have applied for asylum after the 6 months reflection period. Return to home countries is often not seen as an option for the women and in many cases it might also be dangerous. In addition, women survivors of trafficking, prostitution or sexual assault, can when they return be stigmatised, and face rejection by partners, husbands, families, workplaces and/or communities.

The women need help and support during this long processing time, the outcome of which is uncertain (see 4.4.5 – legal advice). The UDI provides special accommodation for persons who are identified as victims of human trafficking in the asylum system (National Plan of Action 2006-2009, page 11).

It becomes clear from what the women report, that a secure legal status allowing them to work is crucial for them. As Laila says:

"It is good for European people to know why some girls are in prostitution. They should know how many girls do not want to be here, but that the person who has helped them come here brought them here. And in most cases they cannot look for other jobs. And even the girls who have finished their payment to the men who brought them here, since they have no permit to work, they just continue in prostitution. So many girls really want to stop when they finish the payment, just as I wanted to. But



they don't have work permits, and they have to eat." Although the rules say that victims of trafficking shall be helped by official agencies in the process of seeking asylum, some of the women in this study reported great difficulties in accessing help. One woman told us: "The police women at the first station did not open the door for me. I begged her because I was so scared and told her it was an emergency. I cannot open the door she answered and told me to go to another police station without helping me any further. When I got to the other station I said to the police man that this (trafficking) have happened to me, and that I want to speak to the police. The policeman asked if I had a visa and passport. I said no. You have to go to a place for immigration, he said, without explaining to me where that was. I said that I don't know where that is. Then he gave me a map. Then I went to a place for people asking for asylum. The permanent policeman there told me that I had to wait until tomorrow because it was late at night. He allowed me to sleep there. Oh, my God, it was like I had been in prison for one year and someone opened the door".

Hanna had a similar story – she was sent to an asylum reception centre: "The police sent me there because I don't have a passport and I don't have anything. He told me that the police in Norway don't have the right to help me – I have to have a visa he said. And now since I had nothing, I was sent to this office. " Many of the women do not have knowledge of the institutions, services and processes in Norway. They are not familiar with the concepts such as social service, welfare, etc. Such institutions do not exist in their home countries. For example, Anne, when she was asked if she has applied for asylum answered that at first she had no knowledge of what it meant. She said: "Yes, I did apply - I filled out forms without knowing what I was doing. I did not know what asylum was". The women also report threats to their physical security in the asylum centres. Hanna told us: "They sent me to this place, where I have more stress, because they have too many people. And I also see a man from the country of my trafficker, and they have open door, and they don't have any control, nothing. Anybody can come in and out" Nadia, who had sought asylum, talks about other girls from the street, whom she has met at church who talked to her about their mistrust of the asylum system. She says about them:

"But they do not want not seek asylum. They tell me that

sitting here is not going to help me. They told me that I would just get sent back to my country. They said that I should just get out of asylum, and go back to the streets with them and look for money. They told me that I will not get help. If they send me back, I have nothing."

Monica who stayed at an asylum centre in Norway together with her small baby talks about how unhappy she was there:

"I am crying so much, so much when I was staying in mottak. I was afraid. I did not know what will happen to me. I knew nothing about this place. So when the counsellor from ROSA came to meet me and said that they would help me, I felt so happy"

Pressures related to asylum and residency status have enormous consequences on the women's mental health. A further huge concern for the women is the legal status of their children living in the home country. If the woman does not fulfil the conditions for asylum, there is the consideration for being granted residence permits on humanitarian grounds.

UD, The Ministry of foreign Affairs has entered into an agreement with the International Organisation of Migration (IOM) to ensure safe repatriation and resettlement in the country of origin. Repatriation has not been relevant for the women in this study, however it is important that if and when women are repatriated that the process is conducted in a safe and caring manner.

Further, from the interviews with the women it has become clear that good and well trained interpreters are extremely important for them to be able to tell their stories to the Norwegian directorate of immigration. The uncertain situation for women victims of trafficking caused by long and troublesome processing time for residence permits is a challenge for the immigration authorities. The following measures should be implemented by the Government of Norway in order to improve the processes related to the application and granting of residence permits: In line with the Committee for Development – Utviklingsutvalget's proposal (September 2008), victims of trafficking ought to be granted residence permits without it being obligatory for them to cooperate with the Police, or register a complaint against the traffickers, or take part in a court case.

The time taken for case-processing should be reduced, as this process is very time-consuming today.

In order to identify victims of trafficking, officials working for The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI) should be given training in how to identify. The asylum reception centres and the services available ought to be improved. Officials working in the reception centres should also be given training in how to identify a possible victim of trafficking. There should be reception centres for women only to improve the safety of single women.

4.4.4 Cooperating with the authorities

Most of the women in this study agreed to cooperate in the legal proceedings involved in the prosecution of the traffickers. A strong motivation for them for participating in this program and cooperating with the police is the expectation of seeing the perpetrators punished. Another incentive for the women for taking part in the prosecution process is the possibility that allows them a safe stay in Norway more than the first 6 months that were the 'reflection period'. However, the women also have talked about several reasons for not cooperating with the authorities. Firstly, many fear reprisals against them and or their family members by the traffickers. For some of the women it is much too dangerous to witness in a court case against their traffickers.

Mona said: "The police come to ask me if I want to be against this woman (her trafficker), but I said no, because where I come from, she can pay the police commissioner and everybody."

For some of the women, receiving witness protection was an alternative. If there is a danger that a witness may be subject to threats or reprisals, the police is responsible for preventing this. The police must also ensure that the victims are not threatened by the traffickers into either remaining silent or into giving false testimony. For some of the women, the question of witnessing also involves conflicting emotions – they have to testify against a trafficker who was also a boyfriend or husband. Lack of trust in the authorities is another barrier for their cooperation. Most of the women explain that they do not tell the true story of their lives right away to the Norwegian authorities. Sometimes they feel ashamed about their stories because of the stigma connected to women in prostitution. Furthermore, they often have had very bad experiences with the authorities in their home countries. Many of the women talk about police and judges who are not trustworthy. They have come across

them as customers or as corrupt enforcers of the law, and have seen them linked to criminal organisations. In addition, some of the women have been indoctrinated by their traffickers to be afraid of the police. Many of the women are reluctant to give personal information to the authorities, because they are afraid that it will cause them more harm. Furthermore, it is often very hard to tell stories about sexual violence in the presence of others.

Another reason for women not co-operating with the authorities is the lack of victim-sensitive procedures in the court system. From the stories of the women choosing to cooperate with the authorities, we have heard about the discriminatory attitudes, humiliation and harassment taking place during the court cases. They describe the defence lawyers of the traffickers as especially aggressive. The women say that they feel that these lawyers are out to discredit them or blame them for the circumstances in which the alleged crime occurred. Negative attitudes towards women who have been trafficked and women who have been in prostitution, are a serious barrier in the legal system, and a serious barrier for the women's access to their rights.

Anne says the following about her experience in the Norwegian court room: "My first court case – I don't remember much of it. But I remember the judge. She was a tough lady, and did not let anybody put me down. And also in that case I refused to meet the men who had done this to me. The next case in the Lagmansrett, I agreed to meet the men. But I was terrified. I dreamt that they would come to the courtroom and kill me. It was horrible to be there and see them and to know that they were there watching me. But then, what was really horrible was what the defence lawyers did and how they behaved. I remember one episode: I had been to hospital to take x-rays of my body, to see if I had had any serious internal injuries, as I had pains all over my body after the violence. At the hospital they also took pictures of me – of all the scars I had on my body from what the men had done to me. When these pictures were taken, I had only my bra and panty on. I was also smiling stupidly because I was embarrassed, you know. Anyhow, when I sat in court, the defence lawyer came with these pictures. At first I did not understand what he was doing. He gave everybody in the jury a picture, and he said to them 'See, she's smiling. She likes being taken pictures of when she is naked. I was very upset by that."

Then she continues: "They (the lawyers) also phoned my mother in my home



country, and asked her if she knew that I was a prostitute and that that man had bought me. Mamma just put the phone down. She did not know that I was a prostitute. That was terrible that she had to be told in that way. What was the point in telling my mother? They did that only to hurt me. My mother told me that he had called her and said to her that he was my lawyer, and that I was a prostitute here in Norway. They also called one of my employers in my home country and said to her also that I was a prostitute. I do not understand why they did that. I think it was to discredit me and to make the court think that I was in prostitution voluntarily."

Setare says of her experience in the courtroom and what the defence lawyer did:

"And he watched the judge, you know, smiling, and said but how did you do it? Three girls and three customers, but just two beds? Then...and he stopped there, you know, smiling. And I just smiled, too. Then he became more serious, and I think he wanted me to feel shame, he wanted to make me feel down. Like when he smiled and watched the judge and said oh, three girls, three men and two beds. He wanted me to feel down."

Developing trust often takes time and several conversations and encounters. The ROSA is also an extremely important service in helping the women in understanding their rights in Norway, and in putting them in contact with legal advisers or lawyers who in turn can help the women in being better prepared for their meeting with the police and immigration authorities. In the long run, ROSA also contributes to building more trust in the victims of trafficking for the Norwegian system and authorities. This is an important aspect to consider as, as mentioned earlier, the women have often had negative experiences with the authorities in their home countries or other transit countries, and hence lost their trust in them and their services. As a result they do not trust the authorities in Norway either. And this needs to be built up again, to enable the women to find their way into the Norwegian system and services. Since ROSA is a non-governmental body, the women have more trust in the staff there, than in the authorities, such as the police. ROSA therefore could be the important link creating the trust needed between the victims and the authorities, for effective and good communication between the two. In this manner, ROSA also ensures that the police and prosecution authorities do not cause more harm to the victims.

Laila said:

"I explained everything for ROSA. They told me to tell

everything to the police or the UDI. And I did."

In order to encourage and support the women to cooperate with the authorities the use of anonymous testimony and special forms of judicial examination should also be considered.

The availability of state-sponsored victim protection measures available to women willing to provide criminal evidence in trafficking cases should be debated.

The security situation surrounding a victim after she has given evidence in court must always be re-evaluated. Revealing information that might harm the victims in the country of origin should be prohibited. Women's right to privacy should be ensured by prohibiting immigration and police officials in destination countries from revealing to officials in countries of origin that a woman had been trafficked, unless the woman requests otherwise. The stories in this study reveal that the women are especially vulnerable during the course of the criminal process. As seen earlier, some of the women interviewed have been re-victimized and harmed by the discriminatory attitudes, humiliation and harassment that they have been subject to, in the court room.

The following measures ought to be implemented in order to protect women from discrimination, stigmatisation and harassment in and during court and criminal proceedings:

- Judges ought to be given training in the treatment of victims of trafficking, in order to raise their and the court's competence in dealing with these cases
- The jury system in Norway needs to be changed from 10 ordinary people to a human trafficking expert jury.
- The competence of defense lawyers should be improved.
- Ethical guidelines ought to be developed for court officials on how to treat victims of trafficking

4.4.5 Access to health services

A typical health care need expressed by many of the women is that for psychological support. The physical, psychological and emotional abuse and torture that the women have been subject to, has serious health consequences for them. They suffer from severe trauma, stress, depression, anxiety, or eating disorders, to give some examples. Some of them have developed health problems related to alcohol and drug abuse. Most of the women need attention paid to their mental well being. They have the need for healing, before they can manage to start building up a new life. They want urgently to put the violence and degradation that they have been subject to behind them, and to learn how to live with and after the terrible experiences that they have been through. And

they need urgently to talk about their experiences. Setare said it like this:

"Normally I have closed that inside me and I don't think about it for ten years. And sometimes I try to find what... sometime I feel like I miss...something, like something is not normal. I have some problem and some pain inside me, but I have closed all that so inside me that I don't find it myself, and I just take something from my life now, like I have to do that, and I think that is what I have to do."

Many of the women talked about having great trouble sleeping. Nadia, who often stayed awake at night said: "Often when I am sleeping, I feel something is on top of me, pressing me down, and I cannot breathe. So at times at night I am afraid to sleep."

Anne said that it was somehow possible to manage to bear the physical pain, but to bear the psychological hurt was impossible.

Hanna told us about the time consuming process of getting hold of a psychologist:

"And the psykolog, I don't find psykolog. I have been waiting one year, and I got psykolog last week."

The need for physical health care is also urgent for many of the women. They have been subject to severe physical abuse, sexual assault and systematic rape. This kind of abuse can have serious physical health consequences such as: acute or chronic physical injuries (bruises, broken bones, black eyes, concussions, scarring), physical disabilities (nerve, muscle or bone damage, dental problems), poor nutrition, fatigue, drug addiction etc. The sexual violence they have been subject to may lead to health consequences such as: acute or chronic pain during sex, tearing and other damage to the vaginal tract, negative outcomes of unsafe abortion, inability to negotiate sexual encounters, HIV/AIDS, and STDs and related complications like, chlamydia, gonorrhoea, herpes, human papilloma virus, and syphilis. Many of the women are not aware of the enormous health risks they have been exposed to in trafficking, for example the possibility of having been infected by HIV/AIDS. (The women say that many of the customers had refused to use condoms).

Thus there is a serious and immediate need for the women to receive ordinary health checks and psychological assistance on arriving at the shelters.

Access to the Norwegian health care system is based on the women's residence status. If one has a permit to stay – a residence permit – one has access to the health system. Women who are identified as victims of trafficking will in most cases get a temporary permit to stay that grants them basic health care. All of the women in this study had been granted the 'reflection period', and thereby had a residence status that gave them access to the health system. The helpers in ROSA and the PRO-centre, report cases where suspected victims of trafficking have been denied access to the health system because they have stayed in Norway on a tourist visa, or stayed here illegally. A person staying in the country on a tourist visa has no access to the regular health system unless she or he has travel insurance.

Assumed victims of trafficking who become pregnant as a result of prostitution have been denied abortion if they cannot pay for it. In some cases the help projects ROSA and PRO-centre have paid for these health services from their resources. As we see it, access to the health system is crucial for the women, and assumed victims of trafficking should be ensured necessary health care. We therefore propose that health care personnel are given basic training in identifying victims of human trafficking, and that victim and assumed victims are guaranteed access to the health care system.

It is a tedious process for the victims of trafficking to get integrated into the General Practitioner scheme (GP scheme). According to this scheme, all inhabitants of Norway have the right to be granted a general practitioner (GP) as their regular doctor, who is then obliged to prioritise the persons on his / her patient list. The two counsellors in the ROSA project say that it takes too long to get the women into the GP scheme. This is often because the women do not, during this time, have a social security number. Therefore they have to wait to be given a temporary number called a D-number. The counsellors know of a case when it took over 6 months for the woman to get her own GP and by that time, she was past her 'reflection period'.

The same applies to the women's needs for psychological support - they have to have their D- number before they can have an appointment with a psychologist. This is a problem for many women, as they would like to get immediate therapeutic help in order to overcome mentally, the terrible assaults and torture they have been subject to, so that they can move on with their lives.



For this reason this report recommends that victims of human trafficking are prioritised in the social/ welfare system. In cases where there are indications that women have been trafficked, immediate access to all necessary health and health-related services ought to be secured. Victims of trafficking should be allowed to stay in Norway until adequate treatment has been received.

All relevant rights to health-services should be collected in a victim survival guide.

4.4.6 Legal advice

The women interviewed in this report told us about the urgent need for legal services. Most of the women talk about a feeling of legal insecurity. They are anxious about what will become of them. They do not know their legal status, nor are they aware of their rights in the country.

A woman who is assumed to be a victim of human trafficking has a right to three hours of free advice from a lawyer in order to decide whether she will report the crime or not. This legal aid is provided without need assessment and retention – and regardless of whether the woman chooses to report a crime or not. The women have the right to a lawyer of their choice.

The number of hours of free legal advice that the victims are entitled to are often insufficient. So many aspects of their legal status have to be dealt with, such as considering the possibility 'reflection period', preparing for prosecution (if they wish to do so), and applying for asylum or stay and work permits. The 3 hours of free legal advice that victims receive today are much too short.

The counsellors at ROSA say that many of the women coming to them have not had contact with a lawyer as yet, and from among those who have been given lawyers, many are not satisfied with them, and wish to get new lawyers appointed.

As Anne said:

"I had confidence in the lawyer at first. Now I don't know. He is not calling me or telling me anything." Lack of knowledge of trafficking and immigration laws among lawyers have serious negative consequences for the women. For this reason, ROSA has identified competent lawyers, and they maintain regular contact

in specific cases with the lawyers concerned. The counsellors at ROSA say that there are a number of engaged, dedicated and competent lawyers who, for idealistic reasons put in many hours of work without pay in helping the victims.

It is also important to note that the women often relate to the lawyer as a social worker or a friend, and do not quite understand the lawyer's role. Misunderstandings occur because after they have given their lawyers trust and told them everything, the lawyer leaves the shelter. Initially the lawyers give a lot of time to listen, but after their story is written down the lawyers don't come visit or call as often. Due to paperwork and bureaucracy preparing a case takes time and often the lawyers have a minimum of 15 other clients to serve. It is in this waiting period that many of the women feel let down by the lawyer.

In Norway, victims of sexual and violent crimes who have incurred personal injury are entitled to compensation from the state. (By personal injury is meant mental or physical injury). Human trafficking is a type of crime that gives the victim the right to compensation. The victim's legal counsellor will assist the victim in seeking compensation.

In order to secure victims of trafficking competent legal help a pool of competent lawyers should be compiled and made accessible to asylum reception centres and any other government agencies who would be recommending lawyers to the women.

The right to free legal aid ought to be broadened, both by extending the reasons for having a right to free legal advice and by increasing the right to free legal advice from 3 to 10 hours.

4.4.7 Income generating opportunities

All of the women ask for assistance in gaining economic independence. They need training and education possibilities as well as assistance in getting employment.

Anne says:

"If I can stay in the country, I want to learn the language very well, and look for something to study and then start working".

What would you like to do?

I would like to work in a kindergarten, because I like

children. But I can also work in the homes of old people and help them"

Setare explained how difficult it was to get out of prostitution, and to remain out of it. She said that she did not get money from the social office /welfare for 3 months. According to her, "the struggle never stops". She had waited 3 months with no support from the welfare office. And during that time she has considered going back into prostitution several times because she needed to live, and feed her baby.

"I have had no income for 3 months. I need money to take care of my son. The apartment is 20 000 kroner for 3 months. I got from friends – there one thousand, here two thousand... And you need so much – you have to wash, take a shower, you need pampers, you need shower things for the baby – many things, and Norway is not cheap. If you don't have these things, you think, 'what should I do?' If you go to 'social', they want papers, papers, papers. And they say it is not possible today, come tomorrow, come in two weeks, come next month. But they don't ask if I have some money so that I can get through those 2 weeks, so that I can eat and get pampers for my baby. They don't ask you about what you need. They just want papers. And then you just start thinking 'what should I do?' I have come to the street in Norway because I had no money to take care of my child. 'Should I go again to the street because I need to take care of my child? What should I do?"

We therefore propose that victims of human trafficking are prioritised at the NAV (the official employment office). They should also be given free language education, as knowledge of the language is an important determining factor for their integration into Norwegian society.

4.4.8 Alternative housing

The shelters are supposed to provide a temporary safe place (3-6 months) to stay for women who have been subject to human trafficking and domestic violence. Due to the often long and time consuming processes that women who have been trafficked need to go through (applying for permits etc), they need housing for 2-3 years, before they can establish themselves on their own. A shelter is housing especially built for protection in an emergency phase, and for the first 6 months a shelter can be considered as a proper place to live. To live in an emergency housing for more than 6 months becomes problematic for the women, as they watch other women

exposed for domestic violence moving in and out again and get to move on with their lives while they have to remain waiting in insecurity. This is why a long stay at a shelter not is a good solution. This report therefore proposes a system for providing alternative housing all over the country after the first 6 months in shelters.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS



The unpredictability of their situation surfaces as a huge problem for the women. Setare, reflecting on the help and support she received in Norway talked about the hindrances she met with while trying to access help.

. Her thoughts can give some idea and guidelines as to how to strengthen the support services for women and girls who have been trafficked into Norway:

"It is the unpredictability and lack of surety about whether we will get help. And what kind of help, and what kind of support do we have a right to, is also a big problem. I cannot plan ahead. We are unable to make any long term plans. It is a tremendous struggle from month to month, about getting hold of money, and about everything else. It is very difficult to plan. The 6 months we get at first, is a very short time. And then what will happen afterwards?"

A number of gaps and challenges in the service provision and legal system in Norway surface from the interviews with the women:

The women who need help can easily be placed at a shelter, through the ROSA project. But a major problem that arises is that the women do not have rights to any economic support from day one. They are not guaranteed social support or welfare money, until they have been granted the 'reflection period'. And this process can easily take from 1 to 2 months.

ROSA therefore provides money so they can buy food and clothes and other necessities. In some social offices women and men identified as victims of trafficking are given life support money from the day they have applied for a reflection period. In these cases the persons come to the social office with a helper and a receipt from the police that show that they have applied.

Further, each municipality /district administration in Norway has responsibility for the women who are granted a reflection period living in their areas, and there seems to be varying levels of understanding and knowledge of the rights of victims of trafficking among them. In some districts, knowledge of victims' rights is sadly lacking. And this lack of knowledge and information results in hindering the victims from accessing their rights. In some cases, the women have had to struggle hard to access social support and welfare money they are entitled to.

Whether they are in the process of applying for the 'reflection period', extending it, or applying for asylum, the women need to stay at a shelter for a long time. The shelters are normally places for short term stay, but the

women in the ROSA project have to stay a long time due to the lack of any other alternative housing possibilities available to them. Not all victims of trafficking are able to stay at the shelters, for many reasons. For example, some women have physical or psychological health problems or addictions (as a result of the exploitation and abuse they have been subject to in prostitution), that they are unable to abide by the rules and regulations of the shelters. Some of the women who do not manage to live at the shelters find themselves back on the street again, with nowhere else to go to. Some move in to an apartment provided by the municipality and spend a lot of time alone. Some who have applied for asylum choose to live in a reception center.

Another issue that surfaces and needs consideration is the question of the children of the victims and their rights. Many of the victims have children here in Norway as well as in their home countries that they support and send money to. (In some cases, it is in order to support and feed their children that the women have left their home countries in the first place). An immediate measure that could be initiated in order to address this concern, is the granting of an initial first time package of support for victims of trafficking.

The women also need easy access to Norwegian language training. Even if they are granted a work permit during their 'reflection period', it is very unlikely that they will be able to find employment when they have no knowledge of the Norwegian language, or have no previous work experience. The women should therefore be given the right to Norwegian courses from the first day of their 'reflection period' (as is presently the case with asylum seekers).

The work permit that the women are granted during the 'reflection period', does not in reality give them access to economic resources. Today, for all practical purposes, the work permit does not give women access to economic independence (which is critically important for their empowerment and survival out of prostitution). For example, if they should get a part time 10% position somewhere, the salary they receive will be subtracted from the social support / welfare money that they are entitled to. This means that even if they have a job, or find employment somewhere, they do not get more money in their hands than if they did not work at all. This again means that in order to have more money in their hands, they need to find a fulltime job which pays

them more than what the social support money amounts to (which is highly unrealistic at this stage). They thus find themselves in a very difficult situation. Earlier, when they were in prostitution, some of them might have been able to put aside a little money to send home, while today, when they have got out of prostitution, they have just enough money (the social support money) to access basic necessities, if at all. They have no realistic possibility to join the labor market and earn money independently.

Another problem is that women who do not have valid identification documents can not open a bank account, and since salaries in Norway are paid to bank accounts and not in cash this is a hindrance to accept work if offered.

The stories of the women victims of trafficking to Norway that form the basis of this report, document a need for an increased focus on victim protection and assistance – the approach to all anti-trafficking work must be victim centered. The needs of the women must not only be addressed in the processes of getting more women out of trafficking and in supporting the start of a new life, but also in the processes involved in police cooperation and during prosecution. With each measure that is developed in order to eliminate trafficking, an assessment analysis of how it will impact the victim needs to be carried out. This is in line with one of the main conclusions in the report 'Working Together' from the Nordic Baltic network (2008), and it ought to be applied by all involved actors in the work against trafficking, and for all relevant phases in the lives of the women who have been trafficked – from when they have been identified as victims of trafficking to when they seek legal residence status. It is also essential that women's organisations that have firsthand experience with working with victims of sexual exploitation and abuse receive the resources needed in order to influence policy development in the field. The stories of the women also expose the need for treating trafficking in women for sexual exploitation separately in the areas of policy development and service provision. Although violence against women in all its forms have similarities and are an expression of women's unequal and lower status in patriarchal systems, as well as the unequal power relations between men and women in our societies, and though trafficking in women and the sexual exploitation of women and girls in the sex industry does form a part of the continuum of the different forms of violence that women are subject to in their lives, the vulnerability of women victims of trafficking is

extreme. The extreme vulnerability of this group of women requires specialized and specific care and carefully thought out and sensitive measures that will empower the victims and 'do no harm' to them, and will not contribute to their re-victimization.

A further consideration is that the lack of gender equality compounded by other forms and mechanisms of oppression, such as racism in society in general, can cause added harm to the women who have already experienced some of the worst forms of violence a human being can be subjected to. Therefore, a sensitivity to and an acute awareness of the extremely vulnerable situation of women victims of trafficking, finding themselves at the intersection of different forms of oppressions in our society, must form a very present backdrop for all policy development and service provision around this issue - if the measures that are implemented should work effectively.

Male victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation to Norway although few in number, should be entitled to and receive the same protection and support services as those provided to women victims. However, a gender neutral approach is not recommended. A gender analysis/assessment is needed to ensure that the implemented measures have a positive impact on victims of trafficking, both women and men. One needs to ensure that measures implemented for male victims are not at the expense of those that are being implemented for women victims. If policy makers are not conscious of this, economic resources could get channelled away from services for women, in order to provide services for male victims. Instead, help and support should be made available for both.

Finally, Norway has established good cooperation between the different agencies providing support and services to victims of trafficking. And there is general acknowledgement of the importance of the role of the NGOs in creating trust in the victims and for linking them to the relevant government agencies and their services. But despite this, the ROSA project is lacking in economic resources, leading to a lack of human resources. There is an urgent need to consider strengthening this project. A final note: From among the 12 women who have been interviewed for this report, 3 had permits to stay in Norway when they were interviewed; 2 have since received permits to stay; 5 have their applications still in process; and 2 have left the country.

: APPENDIX, INTERVIEW GUIDE

I. BACKGROUND

- country
- age
- parents background
- how many siblings
- religion
- education
- school system in home country
- political and economic system
- What kind of family – extended etc.
- What was your community like?
- How was your childhood, friends, care, self confidence
- What kind of relationship did you have with your parents?
- father
- mother
- brothers and sisters
- What do you remember as good in your childhood?
- What do you remember as unpleasant?
- Life as a young person, what was it like?
- How and where did boys and girls meet?
- What was your community's attitude to sexuality?
- What was the situation of women in your community?

II. WAY TO NORWAY AND LIFE IN NORWAY

- What made you leave your home/ hometown?
- What were your plans and expectations when you left home?
- What ideas did you have of the West before you left your hometown?
- Did you come to Norway direct?
- Through countries? Which? How?
- What happened in the various countries?
- Who did you meet? Any help services?
- What happened?
- When and how did you realize that you were recruited into prostitution?
- How long were you in prostitution? And where?
- Did you meet other women in the same situation?
- How would you describe that period?
- How were the transactions arranged?
- What were the general conditions, for example, where

did you stay, where did you receive customers, did you feel safe, did you have free time, and did you make any friends?

- How much of the money were you able to keep?
- What did you do with the money?
- What did you tell your family? Do you have contact with your family back home?
- When did you leave prostitution and why?
- Did you speak with the other women of the situation of women in prostitution?
- How was it to be a black woman in prostitution? What kind of attitudes did you meet?
- Were you treated differently as a foreigner?
- Do you think black women have different experiences than the white women?

III. CUSTOMERS

- Who were they?
- How and where did you meet them?
- How did you find customers?
- Was there anything surprising in seeing who they were?
- How did they treat you?
- Did you ever experience violence?

IV. SUPPORT SERVICES IN NORWAY

- What made you seek help?
- Which services
- How did you come to ROSA?
- What kind of help did you get

V. DREAMS AND AMBITIONS

- What did you dream of as a child?
- (Do you think this dream is possible)?
- (How is this dream alive in you now)?
- How do you feel about this dream now?
- How do you see your future now?
- How are you different / your situation different now?
- What do you think of the West now?
- What is the one big positive change in your life now?

How did you find this interview?

