

THE PERCEPTIONS OF A CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATION TOWARDS ANTI-
TRAFFICKING POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN THE EUROPEAN UNION: A CASE STUDY

BY

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a case study consisting of nine semi-structured interviews of volunteers of a civil society organization (CSO) engaged in anti-trafficking work in Athens, Greece in order to examine the volunteers' perceptions of how the organization's work relates to anti-trafficking policy development at the European Union (EU) level. The results indicated that volunteers were strongly committed to the work of their organization and half of the participants believed their work could influence EU anti-trafficking policy. Yet overall, engaging EU policy makers remained a secondary issue, as achieving the mission and vision of the organization was the primary concern. This case study is a first step in better understanding the EU-CSO anti-trafficking policy development relationship and offers valuable and practical insights for EU officials and policy makers, as well as the leadership of the CSO.

“No man has a right to be idle”

William Wilberforce

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ABBREVIATIONS

ATO – Anti-Trafficking Organization

COM – Council of Ministers

CSO – Civil Society Organization

DIRECTIVE – Justice and Home Affairs Directive on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims

EC – European Commission

EESC – European Economic and Social Committee

EP – European Parliament

ETHB – European Union Strategy towards the Eradication of Trafficking in Human Beings 2012–2016

EU – European Union

JHA – Justice and Home Affairs

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Reality of Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is a global, multifaceted issue, with the International Labor Organization (based on data gathered from 2002-2011) estimating that worldwide, there are 20.9 million victims of human trafficking (International Labor Organization, 2012). Specifically regarding the European Union (EU), recently published data shows that from 2008-2010 “23,632 people were identified or presumed victims of trafficking” (“Trafficking in Human Beings: More Victims”, 2013, p. 2). In 2010 alone, the EU “reported a total number of 9,528 identified and presumed victims”, which Europol attributes to the efforts of organized crime, which has “well established illegal labour and sex markets in all MS [member states] and especially in destination countries in Central and Western Europe” (“Trafficking in Human Beings”, 2013, p. 30; “EU serious”, 2013, p. 24).

1.2 The EU, Anti-Trafficking Policy, and Civil Society

In an effort to address this widespread injustice, the EU has developed an anti-trafficking strategy consisting mainly of two key policies. The first is the European Commission’s (EC) “European Union Strategy towards the Eradication of Trafficking in Human Beings 2012–2016” (ETHB) and the second is Justice and Home Affairs’s (JHA) “Directive on preventing and

combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims” (Directive) (“Communication”, 2012; “Directive”, 2011).¹ In both policies, the EU references a variety of actors which it intends to involve in its fight against human trafficking, with one example being civil society, including civil society organizations (CSOs). In particular, the ETHB reflects the EU’s clear intentions to work alongside civil society and even notes that CSOs “should” be included in the process of policy development (“Communication”, 2012, p. 5).

The EU’s policy rhetoric has been complemented by the comments of Cecilia Malmström, the current EU Commissioner for Home Affairs. At a recent event, she stated:

“The role of civil society is key in preventing trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims. Professionals and volunteers working on anti-trafficking issues, and directly with victims, can learn a lot from each other and can help us define concrete policies to fight this hideous crime. The Platform [EU Civil Society Platform] will ensure that they receive the necessary support, from the EU and from each other, and that their knowledge is spread across Europe. We also hope to benefit from their knowledge in developing further EU policies”. (“Commission Launches”, 2013, p. 1)

Her reference to the “EU Civil Society Platform” is just one example of the EC’s effort to better connect with civil society. As stated in the invitation, the primary purpose of the Platform is to “serve as a forum for civil society to engage at the EU level and exchange experiences in order to enhance coordination and cooperation amongst key actors” (“Launch”, 2013, p. 3). The EC sees the Platform as an opportunity for civil society “to engage in a constructive dialogue”, encourage “the creation of partnerships and synergies”, “inform the implementation of the EU Strategy”, and enlighten the EC “on the main challenges that civil society organisations face on the ground” (“Launch”, 2013, p. 3).

Yet, in spite of the EU’s efforts to better engage civil society, its interest in pursuing cooperation with civil society has been described as being primarily politically motivated. For

¹ From this point on, the phrase “anti-trafficking strategy” will be referring to these two documents collectively, unless the documents are referenced specifically by their respective titles.

example, it has been suggested that the EU has sought to strengthen its ties to civil society in order to help it address governance concerns, such as the democratic deficit, in addition to strengthening its overall political legitimacy (Kohler-Koch, 2012). In general, how the EU's relationship with civil society, particularly how the EU perceives civil society and its role in EU affairs, remains an on-going discussion.

1.3 Exploring the Perceptions of CSOs

While the discussion concerning the EU's relationship with civil society continues to unfold, little attention has been directed towards understanding how CSOs, as members of civil society, perceive the EU. More specifically and related to the issue of human trafficking, the idea of how CSOs view their work in relationship to EU anti-trafficking policy development remains one of many under explored topics. Furthermore, this idea is particularly relevant and worthy of greater study, since CSOs are recognized as key actors in the current EU anti-trafficking strategy and therefore, a better understanding of their perception could yield interesting and practical insights for EU policy makers and officials.

1.4 The Research Question and Methodology

The primary research question of this study is: How do volunteers of a CSO engaged in anti-trafficking work, operating in the EU, perceive their work as it relates to the development of EU anti-trafficking policy? In order to explore this question, the following two questions were posed in open-ended interviews: 1) Do you (as a volunteer) think the work of your organization could influence policy? 2) If you answered "yes", which group of officials, those working at the

supranational (EU) or the national level (Greek government), do you think your work would benefit most?

This research project utilized a qualitative research methodology and a single case study research design with the unit of the case study being a small CSO engaged in anti-trafficking work in Athens, Greece. Qualitative data was collected from interviews with nine participants, who were all long-term volunteers of the CSO. Each participant agreed to be interviewed and was asked to share his/her perceptions regarding the work of the CSO as it relates to anti-trafficking policy.

1.5. Definition of Civil Society and Clarifying Comments

In the specific context of this thesis, the use of the term “civil society” is based on the EC’s definition, which is the following:

“Civil society includes the following: trade unions and employers’ organisations (“social partners”); nongovernmental organisations; professional associations; charities; grass-roots organisations; organisations that involve citizens in local and municipal life with a particular contribution from churches and religious communities” (“European governance”, 2001, p. 14).

Additionally, many of the participants used the term “NGO” (non-governmental organization) instead of “CSO” in the interviews, so the term “NGO” is sometimes used when reporting data, but these terms should be considered synonymous.

In addition, it is essential to understand that this thesis is not seeking to uncover new information regarding human trafficking, but has only chosen to examine one CSO engaged in anti-trafficking work. In an effort to insert limits on the topic of EU policy development and CSOs, it was necessary to narrow the scope of the research question to anti-trafficking policy,

thus leading to the selection of a CSO engaged in anti-trafficking work. Secondly, this research question is not focused on better understanding the nature of policy development at the EU level. In other words, the specific processes and procedures involved in anti-trafficking policy development are not under examination, but instead investigation here focuses on how employees of CSOs perceive their work in relationship to the development of EU anti-trafficking policy.

1.6 Thesis Outline

Thus far, this paper has introduced the question under examination, shared the research question, and clarified key terms. Chapter Two will provide a review of the relevant literature, including a brief historical overview of the EU's relationship with civil society. Chapter Three will introduce the methodology, which will be followed by a presentation of the results, analysis, and discussion in Chapter Four. Chapter Five will offer concluding remarks and summarize the implications of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This literature review will include a review of academic literature related to civil society and its relationship to the EU, as well as relevant organizational theory. The literature regarding the EU's relationship with civil society, particularly how the EU perceives civil society, encompasses both academic sources and EU issued documents. The academic literature has focused on two areas, mainly the different definitions and roles proposed for civil society and issues related to EU governance. In regards to EU issued documents, this overview will focus on the EU's perceptions of civil society as reflected in the EU's anti-trafficking strategy. Finally, two organizational theories, specifically the neo-institutional and resource dependence theories, have been included as they provide a theoretical framework informing on the relationship between an organization and its environment.

This chapter will begin by providing a broad historical overview concerning the EU's relationship with civil society in order to recognize some of the key historical events. Then, the discussion concerning the variety of definitions which have been put forward for civil society will be reviewed. Thirdly, several issues related to EU governance and civil society will be reviewed. Fourthly, this chapter will review the EU's current anti-trafficking strategy, in order to examine the EU's rhetoric towards CSOs engaged in anti-trafficking work. This will be followed by a review of two organizational theories and will close by summarizing the insights from the literature.

2.2 Background: Historical Context

Although civil society has become a regularly discussed topic, it actually emerged “relatively late on the EU scene” (Kendall & Anheier, 1999, p. 283). At the time of the Treaty of Rome (1957) “the third sector remained excluded from the list of EEC/EC [European Economic Community/European Community] competencies, and it was not until the mid-1980s that the third sector per se received first mentions in official documents” (Kendall & Anheier, 1999, p. 283). However, the Treaty of Rome did establish the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC), which was designed to “act as opinion-former and adviser to the other European institutions” (Kendall, Will, & Brandsen, 2009, p. 346-347). Even though its initial impact was quite limited, the EESC would later assert itself as a key spokesman for civil society (Kendall, Will, & Brandsen, 2009).

During the 1970s and 1980s the EC had started recognizing the presence and importance of civil society, evidenced by the EC’s decision to begin funding “European social groups” (Salgado & Parthenay, 2013, p. 156). Yet, it was the Fontaine Report that really helped to further solidify civil society’s role in EU affairs (Kendall & Anheier, 1999). Released in 1987 and written by the French politician Nicole Fontaine, this “report enthusiastically endorsed an important, though largely unspecified, role for the ‘nonprofit’ sector in helping to create the new Europe” (Kendall & Anheier, 1999, p. 283).

Until this point, civil society had remained somewhat in the background; however, this changed with the acceptance and implementation of the Maastricht Treaty (1992). In general, the Maastricht Treaty is recognized for its “far-reaching” nature, such as its creation of the Economic and Monetary Union, the Common Foreign and Security Policy, and even changing

the name from the “European Community” to the EU (Staab, 2011, p. 21). Additionally, this treaty carried strong overtones of the EU’s objective to be the ‘ever closer union’ and for the first time referenced the idea of EU “citizenship values” (Bradbury, 2009, p. 17; Staab, 2011, p. 21). In other words, the Maastricht Treaty introduced significant changes, many of which “would cut deep into people’s lives” (Kohler-Koch, 2012, p. 810).

One key result of the Maastricht Treaty was that it “completely elevated new policy fields to the European level, away from the exclusive authority of the member states” (Staab, 2011, p. 21). This meant that the EU could now speak into policy areas which were of a much broader and more “general interest”, such as environmental and educational policy (Kohler-Koch, 2012, p. 810). While this treaty did “call for co-operation between the European Community and [social welfare] charitable associations and foundations”, many CSOs also saw this as an opportunity to move to Brussels and begin engaging the EU and interested EU citizens in their respective causes (Kendall & Anheier, 1999, p. 287; Kohler-Koch, 2012).

Yet, in spite of the Maastricht Treaty and civil society’s increased presence in Brussels, the EU found itself in the following situation:

“At the same time it [EU] faces low confidence among its citizens, who accuse it of inefficiency, point to democratic deficits and call for greater responsiveness to grassroots opinion. European integration needs the commitment and support of ordinary people more urgently than ever before, and at present it does not seem to have enough of either”. (“Opinion of ESC”, 1999, p. 2)

The EESC made this assessment in their “opinion report” entitled “The role and contribution of civil society organizations in the building of Europe” released in September of 1999 (“Opinion of ESC”, 1999).

Overall, this report very practically assisted civil society, in that it not only introduced definitions of terms which often had been used interchangeably due to their very vague

meanings, but also because it highlighted the importance of EU citizens being able to voice their opinions through grassroots organizations. Regarding new definitions, the EESC offered the following definition for civil service organizations, “as *the sum of all organizational structures whose members have objectives and responsibilities that are of general interest and who also act as mediators between the public authorities and citizens*” (“Opinion of ESC”, 1999, p. 7).

Additionally, the EESC gave examples of several “civil society organization players”, such as CSOs, community based organizations, and even religious institutions (“Opinion of ESC”, 1999, p. 8).

The EESC’s report turned out to be a precursor to the EC’s well-known White Paper entitled “European Governance” issued on July 25, 2001 (“European governance”, 2001). In this report, the EC admitted that it was trapped in a paradox of EU citizens wanting more from their EU leaders, while at the same time harboring feelings of distrust towards EU institutions (“European governance”, 2001). The EC used this report to suggest the following:

“...opening up the policy-making process to get more people and organizations involved in shaping and delivering EU policy. It promotes greater openness, accountability and responsibility for all those involved. This should help people to see how Member States, by acting together within the Union, are able to tackle their concerns more effectively”. (“European governance”, 2001, p. 3)

Regarding civil society and building on the EESC’s report, the EC’s White Paper asserted that civil society needed to be drawn into EU political processes, as it represents the opinions of EU citizens (“European Governance”, 2001).² The EC echoed the EESC’s report by affirming the valuable role which civil society plays in society, as well as at the international level (“European governance”, 2001). Civil society was seen as an essential partner, as it could provide “a chance to get citizens more actively involved in achieving the Union’s objectives and to offer them a

² Theoretically, civil society should be “representing” or the “representative” of the views of EU citizens, however of course, whether or not or how much this happens is a separate topic.

structured channel for feedback, criticism and protest” (“European governance”, 2001, p. 15). Finally, the EC hoped civil society would become active in helping “improve European governance”, as no institution or entity can do this alone (“European governance”, 2001, p. 9).

2.3 Review of Academic Literature

2.3.1 The Debatable Definition

Despite the EC’s attempt to define “civil society”, such as in the White Paper (2001), the term remains “a buzzword” with “a vast array of organisations claim[ing] to represent Europe’s civil society” (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 11). The plethora of definitions offered for civil society has resulted in different functions being attached to it, thus leading to further discussion and confusion over the role of civil society in broader EU society.

Kohler-Koch and Quittkat (2009) carried out research “among colleagues from academia who have published on civil society” in order to better understand how academics classify “which associations rightly belong to this category”, or in other words which organizations belong to civil society (p. 11). For the first part of this study, the participants were asked to classify “38 EU-level associations” each recognized by the EC as a part of civil society (or as a “civil society organization”) and of course each entity “claim[ed] in one way or another to represent civil society” (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 12). As evident from the table below, the participants were asked to identify each organization as being either a “Business interest association”, “Trade union”, “Professional organisation”, or a “General interest group” (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 13).

Table 1
Classification of associations as civil society organisations (CSO) in %.

Do associations qualify as CSO?	General interest associations (GIA)	Trade unions (TU)	Professional organisations (PO)	Business interest associations (BIA)
Yes	84.53	56.33	47.75	41.20
No	3.47	29.00	31.50	35.70
Do not know	12.00	14.67	20.75	23.10

(Table taken from Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 13)

The results showed that most academics were the most comfortable labeling “general interest associations” as belonging to civil society, while the groups falling into the remaining three categories were classified as “civil service organizations” to varying degrees (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 13).

For the second part of this study, which is also the most relevant to this thesis, each participant was asked to select one of “four different definitions” of civil society which were taken “from the literature” which “comes closest to each survey participant’s understanding of civil society” (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 11). It is essential to include and briefly comment on each proposed definition, as each definition implies a different function for civil society and/or CSOs.

The first definition views civil society as fulfilling the function of “representation” and “reflects a governance approach and makes full sense in a concept of representative democracy” (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 14-15).

<p>Definition 1</p> <p>‘Civil society includes all those voluntary and non-profit organisations which play an important role in giving voice to the concerns of citizens and in delivering services that meet people’s needs. Civil society includes the following: trade unions, employers’ and producers’ organisations; non-governmental organisations representing general interests such as environment, human rights, social welfare, health and culture; professional associations and grass-root organisations.’</p>	<p><i>Representation</i></p>
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(Table taken from Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 14)

Yet, perhaps most importantly, this definition has its roots in the EC's White Paper (2001) (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009).

The second definition suggests that civil society take on the function of “public discourse” and associates “civil society to the concept of deliberative democracy” (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 15).

<p>Definition 2</p> <p>‘Civil society is composed of those more or less spontaneously emergent associations, organizations, and movements that distil and transmit societal problems to the public sphere and are enhancing problem-solving discourses on questions of general interest.’</p>	<p><i>Public discourse</i></p>
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(Table taken from Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 14)

The notable figure behind this definition is Jurgen Habermas, who advocates that “civil society provides the societal infrastructure for the well-functioning of the public sphere”, which is where “deliberations” can be discussed which in turn leads to “new themes and issues for governance and generate good reasons for appropriate decision-making” (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 15; Habermas, 1996).

Different from the second definition, the third definition only attributes an “inevitably diffuse and inefficient” political role to civil society and instead focuses on the sociological processes at work (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 15, but cited in Cohen & Arato, 1992, p. x).

<p>Definition 3</p> <p>‘Civil society defines a sphere of social interaction between economy, state and the intimate sphere, the sphere of associations, social movements, and forms of public communication. Modern civil society is created through forms of self-constitution and self-mobilization. It serves to stabilize social differentiation and self-government.’</p>	<p><i>Self-constitution</i></p>
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(Table taken from Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 14)

Additionally, this definition directs special attention the “closeness to the lifeworld and the ‘self-creative dimension’” of civil society (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 15, but cited in Cohen & Arato, 1992, p. x).

The last definition identifies the primary function of civil society to be that of providing “public well-being” and overall takes a much more “communitarian position” (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 15). This definition has its roots in the work of the Polish sociologist Andrzej Sicinski, but the definition is being quoted from “the tradition of Barber (1984) and Taylor (1985)” (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 15).

<p>Definition 4</p> <p>‘Civil society epitomises such values as solidarity, horizontal social and institutional bonds, as well as civic activity which – one should add – implies responsibility and commitment to the well-being of the larger community.’</p>	<p><i>Public well-being</i></p>
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(Table taken from Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 14)

Different from the first definition, this definition views “associations” as “an arena for civic participation” and not as “agents of representation” (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 16).

The data related to the four definitions did not reveal any strong tendencies (as evident from the table below), however several patterns became apparent when the first set of data (classifying the CSOs) was correlated with the second set (four definitions) (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009).

The four definitions of civil society: descriptive statistics.

	Descriptive statistics				
	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Deviation
(1) Representation	97	1	7	4.88	1.938
(2) Public discourse	97	1	7	4.89	1.790
(3) Self-constitution	97	1	7	5.23	1.468
(4) Public well-being	97	1	7	4.21	1.920

(Table taken from Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 16)

In short, this study revealed “two independent underlying conceptions of civil society” (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 21).

“The first conception sees civil society as composed of civil society organisations articulating and representing the interests of a constituency and is articulated in definition 1. It is an encompassing conception of civil society including all different kinds of associations in terms of membership and purpose” (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 21).

Conversely,

“The second conception of civil society is expressed in the three other definitions offered in the survey. Albeit slightly different, the deliberative democracy definition, the self-constitution definition, and the communitarian definition represent an understanding that locates civil society in the sphere of social interaction” (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 21).

While the debate concerning the definition and function of civil society is ongoing, this study revealed that the EU’s definition of civil society, as put forward in the EC’s White Paper (2001), is the most broad and inclusive definition (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009). According to Kohler-Koch & Quittkat (2009), the EU has done this quite intentionally and with clear purpose in mind:

“Not by chance it is a conception propagated by the EU institutions in the context of the new governance approach. With the publication of the White Paper on European Governance the Commission established openness and participation as core principles of ‘good European governance’ drawing on the contemporary governance debate in the social sciences.[6] Governance builds on the cooperation of public and private actors and calls for the inclusion of ‘stakeholders’ for more efficient and effective policy-making. Hence, in the following years the Commission developed a strategy for the wider involvement of ‘civil society’ both in consultations on EU policies and in the debate on the future of Europe” (p. 17-18, but footnote [6] is cited in Rhodes, 1996, p. 652).

In conclusion, it appears that the EU has taken on a “governance approach” in order to “invite all those organisations which play an important role in giving voice to the concerns of citizens”, which “pays tribute to...the democratic ideal of representation” (Kohler-Koch & Quittkat, 2009, p. 18).

2.3.2 EU Governance Concerns: Democratic Deficit and Legitimacy

This all-encompassing and highly inclusive definition of civil society, in addition to the “positive normative connotations” often associated with civil society, has led the EU to pursue cooperation with civil society as a means to addressing the democratic deficit and to strengthen its overall political legitimacy (Kohler-Koch, 2012, p. 812).³ Both surfaced in the years following the Maastricht Treaty (1992) and have been thought to be a result of the push for deeper integration (Dunkerley & Fudge, 2004). It is important to remember that the Maastricht Treaty almost failed to be accepted by the member states, with both France and Denmark requiring referendums (Kohler-Koch, 2012). The EU was forced to fight “growing EU-critical attitudes of political parties (Conti and Memoli 2012) and a slowly spreading Eurosceptic discourse in the mass media (de Wilde and Trenz 2012)” (Kohler-Koch, 2012, p. 811, but cited in Conti & Memoli, 2012 and de Wilde and Trenz, 2012). In summary, this “alarming indifference” and “outright rejection of further integration” led the EU to seek out greater engagement with civil society as a means to addressing its democratic deficit (Kohler-Koch, 2012, p. 811).

In addition to “European institutions” viewing civil society as a “beacon of hope for reducing the democratic deficit by advancing participatory democracy”, it was also thought that civil society could address the EU’s lack of political legitimacy (Kohler-Koch, 2012, p. 809). Also at the time of the EC’s release of the White Paper (2001) there “was a deep scepticism that elections and party politics are any longer appropriate mechanisms to legitimise public authority

³ Also in the literature, the issue of whether the EU actually does possess a democratic deficit is discussed, however since this is not the focus of this paper, it is not included as a topic of inquiry here. Instead, this paper has included this particular set of studies in order to present the literature depicting the EU’s relationship with civil society.

and that they will ever bring democratic legitimacy to the multi-level system of European governance (Lebessis & Paterson, 2000)”, however civil society was put forward “as a remedy to the legitimacy crisis of the modern state (Jobert & Kohler-Koch, 2008)” (Kohler-Koch, 2009, p. 48, but cited in Lebessis & Paterson, 2000 and Jobert & Kohler-Koch, 2008). Clearly these two governance issues are related, meaning that if enhanced civil society participation in “governance” succeeded in eliminating the democratic deficit, then ideally the EU’s political legitimacy would be strengthened (Kohler-Koch, 2012, p. 809).

2.4 EU’s Anti-Trafficking Policy Rhetoric towards CSOs

Turning to EU issued documents, both the ETHB and the Directive are foundational policies in the EU’s anti-trafficking strategy. In examining them, the purpose is not to merely count the EU’s references to civil society or CSOs, but to recognize the context in which these references occur and therefore, to understand better the EU’s actions and motives. The ETHB, in particular, is a primary example of the strong, welcoming rhetoric of the EC regarding its desire to usher civil society (especially CSOs) into its overall anti-trafficking strategy. The EC is very clear, that

“With this Strategy, the European Commission seeks to focus on concrete measures that will support the transposition and implementation of Directive 2011/36/EU, bring added value and complement the work done by governments, international organisations and civil society in the EU and third countries.” (“Communication”, 2012, p. 5)

The phrase “civil society” or “civil society organizations” is used collectively eleven times in the ETHB, however one of these occurrences includes the use of the term “civil society” in the title of an “action” and the second occurrence is the mention of “civil society” in the appendix of action steps (“Communication”, 2012). With the exception of these two instances,

the remaining nine occurrences of these two terms are summarized in the table found in Appendix C, which shows the context in which the term is mentioned, in addition to providing a summary of the main action or characteristic proposed by the EU (“Communication”, 2012).

If the EC’s rhetoric is assumed to be sincere, then it is clear that the EC is quite open and interested in engaging civil society. The EC expresses an interest in not only engaging civil society at the EU level, but also requests that member states work with civil society.

Additionally, it appears that the EC acknowledges the unique nature of the work of CSOs (and broader civil society), evidenced by its (the EU’s) commitment to complementing their current work, as well as the fact that the EU consulted CSOs in the process of developing the ETHB (“Communication”, 2012, p. 5). Finally, specifically regarding policy development, it is important to note that the EC expresses its intentions to have “the involvement of a more diverse group of actors than before in policy-making”, which includes CSOs (“Communication”, 2012, p. 5).

A slightly shorter document, the Directive only mentions CSOs three times, as displayed in Appendix D (“Directive”, 2011). This table demonstrates the European Parliament’s (EP) and Council of Minister’s (COM) view of civil society, in that member states should be working in close cooperation and collaboration with CSOs (“Directive”, 2011).

In summary, both the ETHB and the Directive support the further inclusion of civil society into the EU’s anti-trafficking strategy. In particular, the rhetoric of the ETHB clearly demonstrates the EC’s recognition of civil society as a pivotal actor. The EC understands that the work of CSOs could greatly inform EU policy makers and therefore, it is seeking to better engage civil society in the policy making process, in addition to establishing an open and consistent dialogue with civil society overall.

2.5 Organizational Theory

Thus far, the literature regarding the EU as well as EU anti-trafficking policies (ETHB and the Directive) has shed light on the topic of how the EU perceives civil society. Yet, since this thesis is seeking to better understand how a CSO views its work in connection with macro level activity, which in this case is anti-trafficking policy development in an EU context, it is valuable to review organizational theories which seek to explain different aspects of organizational macro activity. Therefore, neo-institutional and resource dependence theories are included in this literature review, as well as the research of Schmid et al. (2008), which demonstrates the practical application of these theories. Although the research of Schmid et al. (2008) was based in Israel and focused on “non-profit human service organizations for children, elderly people, women, and people with disabilities”, their findings and theoretical framework, help to shed light on the macro activity and behavior of organizations (Schmid et al., 2008, p. 581).

Similar to human growth and development theories, which debate the role and influence of an environment on a person’s development, there is an ongoing discussion regarding organizations and “the extent to which behavior is externally controlled and constrained” (Pfeffer, 1982, p. 178). Two theories which are a part of this discussion are the neo-institutional and resource dependence theories. The “neo-institutional theory assumes that the structure of certain groups of organizations, such as social welfare organizations, voluntary nonprofit organizations, and community organizations, is determined not by the service technologies or organizational strategies they adopt but rather by rules and procedures emanating from the

institutional environment” (Schmid et al., 2008, p. 583, but cited in Meyer & Rowan, 1977, 1983). Furthermore, this theory continues by suggesting that “organizations...adjust themselves to the norms, values, standards, and expectations prevailing in their task environment to gain the legitimacy and resources” (Schmid et al., 2008, p. 583).

The “resource dependence theory suggests that organizational behavior becomes externally influenced because the focal organization must attend to the demands of those in its environment that provide resources necessary and important for its continued survival” (Pfeffer, 1982, p. 193). In other words, a CSO’s lack of financial self-sufficiency can lead it to seek assistance from external sources, which can result in the CSO “becom[ing] interdependent with those elements of the environment with which they transact” (Pfeffer, 1982, p. 192-193). For those in leadership, this often means “attempt[ing] to manage their external dependencies, both to ensure the survival of the organization and to acquire, if possible, more autonomy and freedom from external constraint” (Pfeffer, 1982, p. 193).

An example demonstrating the use of this theoretical framework is found in the work of Schmid et al. (2008). This study examined the “advocacy and political activity in four different types of nonprofit human service organizations” located in Israel (Schmid et al., 2008, p. 581). They complemented this theoretical framework by also testing for other variables, such as the “organization’s size, age, and the strategies for political activity” (Schmid et. al, 2008, p. 584). Their findings indicated that “the organizations allocated a limited number of staff positions for that purpose [political activity], and most of the workers engaged in provision of resources” (Schmid et. al, 2008, p. 595). Also, a “lack of appropriate resources restrains the organization’s ability to initiate political activity”, however at the same time the decision to accept external funds from “local authorities” limits the nature of the political activity the organization can

engage in (Schmid et al., 2008, p. 595). Lastly, the data indicated “that the executive directors and boards lack awareness and understanding regarding the importance of political activity” (Schmid et al., 2008, p. 596).

2.6 Conclusion

In summary, the academic literature regarding the EU and civil society, an examination of EU anti-trafficking policies, and a review of relevant organizational theories helps to provide a framework for understanding how volunteers of a CSO perceive their work in relationship to the EU’s anti-trafficking policy development process. It seems that the EU’s pursuit of civil society has been politically motivated, however at the same time, an examination of the EU’s anti-trafficking strategy, in particular the ETHB and the Directive, reveal the EU’s inviting and welcoming rhetoric towards CSOs.

The EU appears to have recognized the value of CSOs’ work and has already sought to incorporate their expertise into their current strategy (“Communication”, 2012). Yet, organizational theory suggests that in regards to macro activity, CSOs are guided by their institutional environment and their need for financial resources (Schmid et al., 2008). However, in general, there is a significant gap in the literature regarding how volunteers of CSOs perceive their work as it relates to policy development. Therefore, this case study hopes to be a first step in addressing this gap by presenting the perceptions of nine volunteers of a CSO engaged in anti-trafficking work in Greece.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This research project used a qualitative research methodology to “consider the multiple ‘realities’ experienced by the participants themselves—the ‘insider’ perspectives” (Suter, 2012, p. 344). Such a methodology allowed the researcher to delve into the “rich detail[s], meaningful social and historical contexts and experiences” of the participants in order to better understand their perceptions held towards the EU and anti-trafficking policy development (Suter, 2012, p. 344). More specifically, this research project utilized a single case study research design, which “allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events” (Yin, 2009, p. 4). Also, in addition to providing significant descriptive data, this method seeks to offer new or further explanations on the topic under examination (Yin, 2009).

3.2 Unit of the Case Study

The unit being examined is a CSO, which assists women who are either currently or at some time have been involved in prostitution. Due to the sensitive nature of the organization’s work, the researcher received permission from the organizations’ leadership to carry out this research project with the clear understanding that the name of the organization would be kept confidential and not included in the final written product. Therefore, the researcher has assigned a pseudonym, ATO, “anti-trafficking organization”.

In order to provide the context for this project, the mission, vision, and goals of the ATO have been included, yet the specific wording of this information has been slightly altered in order to not reveal any identifying information.⁴ Operating out of Athens, Greece since 2000, the ATO is an officially registered, faith-based CSO, whose vision is to bring rest to those working in prostitution, regardless of how they entered this line of work. In other words, the ATO desires to bring new life to those who have entered prostitution willingly and to those who have been trafficked against their will. The ATO boasts a diverse staff representing several countries, as well as professions, such as social work, business, and education. Additionally, the ATO has a wide range of foreign language speakers, meaning that the ATO is often able to speak with a client in her native language, with Romanian and Russian being commonly used languages.

The ATO has three primary goals directing their work, with the first two being micro and client-focused, while the third goal has a macro focus. The first goal is to offer support (practical and psychological) to those engaged in prostitution, which can be provided by the organization itself or as a “gateway” to other CSOs offering other services. The second goal provides options for those interested in leaving this line of work. For example, the ATO will conduct job searches with clients and help prepare them for the job interview process. The last goal focuses on the ATO’s role and participation in the much larger regional fight against human trafficking, including both labor and sexual exploitation.

The ATO is guided by several principles and values, all of which seek to protect, assist, and maintain the dignity of the client. For example, the ATO does not restrict their services to those who have been illegally trafficked, but will also assist those who have intentionally entered prostitution. Yet, the ATO maintains the position that both human trafficking (of all kinds) and

⁴ This was done to prevent using any of this information to locate the ATO’s website and connect it with this project, however all the information regarding mission, vision, goals, and values have been drawn from the ATO’s website.

prostitution damage and hurt human lives and, therefore, the ATO seeks to fight against this injustice. Also, while the ATO is a faith-based CSO, it does not discriminate or turn away those who do not ascribe to its beliefs or worldview. In summary, the ATO is a faith-based, Greek CSO with an international staff seeking holistically to assist those engaged in prostitution, while also participating in the broader fight against human trafficking.

3.3 Study Participants

As a part of this case study, semi-structured interviews were carried out with a total of nine participants, who were all volunteers of the organization. Originally, this case study had intended to engage only full-time, regular employees of the organization, yet, due to the organizational structure of the ATO, the researcher discovered that all the participants were officially recognized as volunteers by the ATO’s leadership. Furthermore, during the data gathering process, several volunteers indicated in their responses that they were not “employees”, but were volunteers. As a result of this, the term employee used in the research question was replaced with the term volunteer during the data analysis process. The following table represents the important demographic data regarding the participants:

Total Number of Participants	9
Gender	2 Males, 7 Females
Countries of Origin Represented	United Kingdom (2), Greece (2), Africa (1) ⁵ , United States (1), Moldova (1), Cyprus (2)

“Table 1”

⁵ This participant did not specify a country, but identified with being from Africa.

Also, it is important to note that of the nine participants, four held positions of leadership within the organization. In addition, these four participants aided the researcher by recommending the remaining five participants. In other words, the researcher did not arrive with a fixed list of participants prior to beginning this study, but instead the number of participants was determined after meeting with these four leadership holding volunteers. Yet, all nine participants have volunteered for the ATO for more than a year, are seen as long-term volunteers, and are in good standing with the ATO.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Throughout the process of carrying out this research, it has been essential to assure the confidentiality of both the participants and the identifying information of the ATO. Additionally, as the sample size consists of only nine participants, it was equally necessary to maintain the complete confidentiality of their responses. It was especially important for the participants themselves to be unable to connect the responses with the correct participant. Therefore, no demographic information has been linked to any of the responses and instead all demographic information has been presented collectively. The numbers assigned to each participant are known only to the researcher, so therefore the order in which the findings are presented are also unknown to the participants. Also, responses were not further divided by whether the interview occurred “face to face” or through email, because this further narrowing of the sample would have jeopardized the confidentiality of the responses.

Finally, in accordance with University of Illinois policy and in order to assure that the necessary ethical guidelines were followed, permission to conduct this research project in Athens, Greece was received from the Institutional Review Board (IRB). All the steps described

to assure the confidentiality of the ATO and its volunteers were included in the IRB application. Additionally, all the necessary procedures related to conducting research outside the United States were adhered to.

3.5 Data Collection

Of the nine interviews, six were carried out “face to face” and took place in Athens from May 8 – 29, 2013. Due to the schedules and previous commitments of the three remaining participants, permission was received from these participants to conduct the interview through email. Yet, regardless of whether the interview occurred “face to face” or through email, each interview included two prepared, open-ended questions, which allowed the interviewee to respond as he/she felt led. The researcher did not redirect or prompt the participants in any way, so as to protect the authenticity of the responses, with the exception of the participants specifically asking to be reminded of the interview questions.

Participants who were native Modern Greek speakers had the option to carry out the interview in Modern Greek through the use of a translator, however this option was declined in all cases (these participants felt their English language ability was beyond adequate). This resulted in every interview being conducted in English, which was somewhat unexpected, but at the same time, allowed the researcher to be free from debriefing each interview with a translator. None of the “face to face” interviews lasted more than one hour and all interviews were carried out at the office of the ATO with the exception of one interview which occurred in the apartment of the participant being interviewed.

The remaining three interviews were conducted via email, due to the geographic location of these volunteers. Each volunteer was emailed the exact two research questions utilized in the

“face to face” interviews and was instructed to answer as he/she felt led. These emails were sent during June (2013) with one response being received in June, one in the beginning of July, and the last response in the middle of July. After receiving each response, the researcher used member-checking as a means to offer the participant the opportunity to make any changes to his/her statement.

Although none of the interviews were audio or visually recorded, the researcher did take copious notes during each “face to face” interview. Then, just as with the email interviews, the researcher used member-checking in order to confirm the accuracy of the researcher’s notes and allow the participant the opportunity to make any corrections to the data. This process entailed writing a summary statement of the participant’s response, which included direct quotations, and then sending this statement via email to each participant. Of the nine total participants, only four made corrections to the prepared statement, two were satisfied with the statement, and three did not respond.

3.6 Data Analysis

Typical of qualitative research, the analysis of the data began during the interview process, as the researcher had already begun to recognize patterns in the data (Patton, 2002). In line with inductive analysis, the “patterns, themes, and categories” were discerned by the researcher from the data acquired from the interviews, as well as the data acquired through the member-checking process (Patton, 2002, p. 453). For the thematic analysis, the researcher identified descriptors used by the participants regarding the ATO’s work, as well as any examples used to support his/her position. Additionally, the terms used to describe the EU and the Greek government were noted. A comparison was made of all responses in order to

recognize similar and dissimilar themes. The themes uncovered helped to organize the data and provided a foundation from which conclusions could be drawn. Throughout the entire process of analysis and interpretation, the researcher remained aware of the “attributes” associated with a “good interpretation”, mainly “completeness”, “fairness”, “empirical accuracy”, “value-added”, and “credibility” (see section 3.7) (Yin, 2011, p. 207).

3.7 Research Validity

The social science literature is clear that while qualitative research presents some unique challenges due to the nature of the data being collected and analyzed, it is still essential that the researcher undertake steps to assure the “trustworthiness” of the data and demonstrate adequate rigor (Suter, 2012, p. 362; Barusch, Gringeri, & George, 2011). Therefore, in an effort to show rigor in this research project, the researcher employed the use of three strategies, mainly that of “member-checking”, “thick description”, and providing an “audit trail” (Barusch, Gringeri, & George, 2011, p. 12-13). The use of “member-checking” is somewhat debatable in regards to its ability to demonstrate the credibility of a research project, however this method gave the participants the chance to clarify their thoughts which were recorded by the researcher (Barusch, Gringeri, & George, 2011, p. 13). Secondly, a thick description of the context of this study has been provided in order to provide greater transferability (Barusch, Gringeri, & George, 2011, p. 13).⁶

Finally, an audit trail has been provided in order to increase the confirmability of this research project (Barusch, Gringeri, & George, 2011, p. 11). A methodical description of the

⁶ The term “thick description” can be defined as: “rendering a deeply detailed account of one’s work so that readers can judge the work’s potential for application to other times, places, people, and contexts” (Barusch, Gringeri, & George, 2011, p. 13)

process used by the researcher has been included, beginning with a description of the site and unit under examination, relevant participant demographic information, inclusion of the data acquired from both the interviews and member-checking, and the process of analysis used by the researcher.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS, ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION

4.1 Findings: First Question Data

The results from the first interview question showed an almost even divide between the nine participants. In brief, five participants believed that the work of the ATO could potentially influence EU-anti trafficking policy, while the remaining four wavered between “no” and “doubtful”. The following table summarizes the participants’ responses to this first question:

“Table 2”

Interview Question #1: Do employees of a non-governmental organization engaged in anti-trafficking work think their work could influence policy?	
Participant #1	No/Doubtful
Participant #2	Doubtful
Participant #3	Yes
Participant #4	Yes
Participant #5	Doubtful
Participant #6	Yes
Participant #7	Yes
Participant #8	Yes
Participant #9	No, with one exception
Totals	

“Yes”	“No/Doubtful”
5/9	4/9

“Table 2 (cont.)”

4.1.1 Responses that Support CSO Influence on Policy

The third participant was confident that the ATO’s work could influence policy, and therefore was quite open and interested in the ATO pursuing a relationship with EU and Greek government policy makers. This “confidence” was rooted in different aspects of the ATO’s work, such as their focus on doing “outreach”, which according to the participant is a “very rare” activity compared with other CSOs engaged in anti-trafficking work in Greece. Additionally, this commitment to outreach has led the ATO being asked to report statistical data related to human trafficking, because other groups “will not go out and get it”. Also, the participant did not see the ATO’s faith-based status as a barrier to influencing policy or carrying out daily activities with clients, and instead commented that the ATO and its volunteers “work[s] hard using our [their] means” in order to assist those requesting assistance. According to this participant, the ATO offers girls the opportunity to make that “first-step”, which “is very important”. In short, this participant believed the ATO’s work could influence policy because of the confidence he/she had in the nature and quality of the ATO’s work.

Similar to the third participant, the fourth participant also attached value to the ATO’s work, seeing it as “important”, and therefore believed it could influence policy. The participant emphasized the importance of the ATO’s work by providing several examples of their work, such as: “trying to help them [girls/women] integrate into society”, trying to help these young women support themselves by providing different classes, and overall spending time “in the

streets” interacting with the women. Towards the end of the interview, he/she stressed this last point again stating “we go to them...we go to their working place”, which allows the ATO to see “things they can't see when sitting in an office making laws”. In summary, this participant exhibited a great sense of pride in the ATO’s client-focused work, thought the ATO’s work could influence policy, and remained open to a relationship with the EU.

In line with these two participants, the sixth participant understood the ATO’s work to be “important” and “valuable”, and as a result found their work to be capable of influencing policy. This participant recognized that the ATO has existed for thirteen years “and the type of work we [the ATO] do—having first contact with these people could be of a good help because it comes from these people who have been abused and trafficked”. The participant continued that “these people could be the drive” and therefore the ATO’s work could actually connect real people and situations to real policies. In short, this participant was open to the EU and believed the ATO’s work could influence policy, which he/she supported by highlighting the importance and client-focused work of the ATO.

The seventh participant also expressed a favorable opinion towards the work of the ATO and believed it could influence policy. Yet, somewhat differently from the previous three responses, this participant paid more attention to the individual’s role and work, in that he/she believed his/her specific work would “be able to influence policy”. Also, broadly speaking, the participant did not see the ATO’s faith-based status as a hindrance or a reason to exclude the ATO’s work from being able to influence policy, since “Jesus called us” to engage real life issues, such as human trafficking. Finally, while this participant did see a potential connection between the ATO’s work and policy, he/she did admit that his/her work was more “behind the

scenes” and that overall, the organization “rarely get[s] the chance to interact with those policy makers, [but] maybe one day in the future” this could happen.

In his/her response, the eighth participant included the ATO as just one part of a much broader CSO response to the issue of trafficking. In this participant’s opinion, “work done by [ngo’s] on the issue of trafficking can influence policy by drawing attention to and advocating for the survivors”. Yet, this optimism came with a condition, primarily that “it depends on a lot of factors, like who supports the org[anization] and how much political power they have”. More specific to the ATO, he/she continued that “In the past [the ATO] has been approached by [the] State Dept and other foreign offices investigating this issue [trafficking]” and that this came about because [the ATO] knows the issue from in person experience, not only research”. Therefore, while the participant did recognize the potential for the ATO’s work to influence policy, he/she included some conditions.

4.1.2 Responses that Doubt CSO Influence on Policy

The first participant believed there was a great distance between the EU and the ATO in regards to their respective responses to the issues facing women in prostitution, or in other words, the EU is high above and somewhat disconnected, while the ATO is “in the streets” serving their clients. In addition, he/she doubted that even an EU official who witnessed the ATO working with clients would allow what he/she had seen in the streets to influence directly the development of new or existing policies. Also, this participant felt that most CSOs choose to pursue a relationship with the EU in order to secure EU funds, and therefore are not as interested in influencing policies, but instead are seeking financial security. In short, he/she made a clear

distinction between the ATO and the EU (“we” and “they”), repeatedly stressed his/her commitment to being in the streets to assist the clients, and was not convinced that the ATO’s work could influence EU policy.

The second participant began by stating a general opinion, mainly that it is excellent that there are people who want to work at the policy making level, but regarding the ATO, he/she was doubtful that the ATO’s work could influence policy. He/she felt that the ATO was well-equipped to put a human face on the issue of human trafficking, since their work takes them to the streets, which can be very important and helpful. Yet, according to this participant, it was unlikely that even the ATO’s ability to attach a “human face” would influence EU policy. The participant repeated that if the ATO’s work was able to influence policy, this would of course be welcomed, however he/she doubted the reality of this happening. In summary, he/she valued the work of the ATO and the development of policy, but thought it unlikely that the ATO’s work would be capable of influencing EU policy.

The fifth participant believed the work of the ATO was important, but doubted it would be able to influence anti-trafficking policy at any level. He/she began with a reminder that the “primary interest [of the ATO] is not to fight trafficking...our primary interest [is] the girls...to save them”. In other words, the ATO only “gets involved in trafficking” when they are approached by a girl/woman who happens to have been trafficked and she “ask[s] for help to come out”. With the focus of the ATO clearly in mind, the participant expressed doubt as to whether the EU or the Greek government would be able to help them and whether it would even be worth pursuing a relationship with them. For example, he/she could attend EU meetings (specifically designed to engage CSOs engaged in anti-trafficking work), but it was debatable as to whether these meetings would directly relate to the current and primary concerns of the ATO.

The participant continued that some concerns are “jobs for these girls, or a business for these girls...help build a business out of sewing classes...help us have a rehabilitation center”, and if the ATO asked the EU to help them, “they will say no”. Continuing in this line of thought, the participant stated, “I doubt....even if that politician [Greek politician] is my very best friend...he would appreciate the ministry [work] and he would say hey guys you are doing a great job, but we cannot help you”.

Additionally, the participant admitted that both the Greek government and the EU utilize specific policies and procedures in order to organize their programs and projects, which cause both entities to operate in a way that “doesn't match with our way of functioning with the girls”. Therefore, in light of all this, the participant admitted to pondering this question [first interview question] and had often asked, “What is the point?” in regards to pursuing a relationship with the EU or the Greek government. In summary, this participant viewed the work of the ATO as important and was very committed to upholding the mission of the ATO, but was not convinced that it would be able to influence policy at the EU or the Greek government levels.

The ninth participant was much more concise in his/her response, but also believed the ATO's work would not influence anti-trafficking policy at the EU or Greek government levels. The participant shared that “the work of [the ATO] is very focused on street work...It's a very ‘frontline’ type of work without any concerns for influencing government policies or EU policies and this is not on the volunteers' radar”. In other words, the ATO's work does not and would not influence policy primarily because this is not the focus of the ATO. The ATO has a micro focus, while policy development usually interests CSOs engaged in macro level activity. However, this participant did include one interesting exception: “If the work of [the ATO] is studied from outside, say a journalist, then it could become more publicly known and thus

incidentally influence policy making”. So, while he/she was open to the possibility that the ATO could influence policy, this exception did not directly engage any EU or Greek government policy makers.

4.2 Findings: Second Question Data

Regarding the second research question, there are only five responses since only five participants affirmed the possibility that the ATO’s work could influence anti-trafficking policy. Overall, all five responses were favorable towards the ATO’s work being potentially able to influence policy at both the EU and the Greek government levels. The following table summarizes the responses to the second question:

“Table 3”

Interview Question #2: If “yes”, to which group of officials, those working at the supranational or national level, do they think their work would be of the most benefit?	
Participant #1	N/A [answered “No” to first question]
Participant #2	N/A [answered “Doubtful” to first question]
Participant #3	Both levels
Participant #4	Both levels
Participant #5	N/A [answered “Doubtful” to first question]
Participant #6	Both levels
Participant #7	Both levels
Participant #8	Both levels, but includes specific instances under which this could occur
Participant #9	N/A [answered “No” to first question]

Totals	
Both Levels	Only One Level
5/5	0/5

“Table 3 (cont.)”

Beginning with the third participant, he/she felt the ATO’s work could be of benefit to both the EU and the Greek government, however chose to not include any clear examples or provide further support for this statement. Yet, he/she did clearly state, “I would talk to the Greek government” and then mentioned several different topics he/she would enjoy discussing, such as the role of the police (in trafficking and prostitution cases) and different financial aspects of trafficking. In connection with the first research question, this participant believed the importance of the work of the ATO would not only allow it to influence policy, but that it would be of benefit to both EU and Greek government policy makers.

The fourth participant was also convinced that the ATO’s work could be of benefit to both EU and Greek policy makers. After affirmatively answering the first question, he/she continued by further supporting his/her answer by stating that if given the opportunity to speak with EU and Greek government policy makers, “I would talk to them...I would tell them so I could impact the way things are going”. For example, “there are all kinds of laws, but no one really wants to implement them” and in particular, the Greek government needs to “start sticking to the laws”. This participant believed if the EU policy makers really stopped to listen to the ATO, they would realize that they [the ATO] offer hope to the girls and women engaged in prostitution. In response to both interview questions, this participant expressed a strong belief in the importance of the ATO’s work due to their focus on the client, and therefore was confident that the ATO’s work could be of benefit to EU and Greek government policy makers.

While the sixth participant believed the ATO's work would be of benefit to both types of policy makers, he/she also included a reminder that "our primary job is not to provide for the EU, but our primary focus is in helping people, getting them out, and caring for them". Regarding the Greek government, the participant stated, "the Greek government is important because this is the entity that has to implement what the EU says" and that "everything will come through the Greek government". Yet, the participant admitted, "we [the ATO] are very small in this chain", and offered the following opinion: "I think the best option is to have a roundtable with all the NGOs and plus the government organizations and working together...that is the most important thing...to talk about what is good for Greece". In summary, this participant expressed a strong commitment to prioritize the mission and vision of the ATO, but also believed that the ATO's work could benefit both EU and Greek government policy makers.

In line with his/her response to the first research question, the seventh participant emphasized the role of the person volunteering for the ATO and that this "person working with an NGO like [the ATO] could influence at different levels starting with grassroots agencies which will [would] include government and non-government[al] organizations". Furthermore, this influence could grow and impact "broader agencies like [the] EU". The participant shared that the ATO's work "opens doors to wider influences", but was also convinced that they needed to "start where we [they] are". In summary, this participant believed that the ATO's work could be of benefit to EU and Greek government policy makers.

The eighth participant shared that the ATO's work could be of benefit at both the EU and Greek governmental levels and even stated that it already had. For example, "We [the ATO] were involved in a networking group to advise on the new trafficking policy [for the Greek government] when it was drafted". In other words, according to this participant, the work of the

ATO had already earned it opportunities to influence policy. He/she continued that, “There was a bias to listening to us because we are not orthodox or Greek, but the other orgs [organizations] kept inviting us to mtgs [meetings] and asking us to speak up”.

However, despite this optimism, this participant did restate (from his/her answer to the first interview question) some conditions, with one being that the “Greek govt [government] prefer[s] to listen to their people like police rather than “a” Ngo” and also “that NGOs can be used by the govt [government] to give the impression of greater efforts to stop trafficking”. In other words, this relationship between the ATO and especially the Greek government can be complicated. In summary, this participant thought the work of the ATO had already had an opportunity to influence policy development and could be of benefit at both the EU and the Greek government levels. However, his/her opinion included two examples of how this relationship could become complicated and ultimately would not allow the ATO to influence policy.

4.3 Adjustments to Data due to Member-Checking

As mentioned in the previous section, the researcher converted the responses from each interview into short written statements, which were then sent to the respective participant.⁷ This process of member-checking was carried out in order to provide each participant with the opportunity to affirm the accuracy of the researcher’s notes and overall assure that the researcher had accurately represented the thoughts and opinions of the participants. Therefore, the following data to be presented summarizes the changes made by the participants to the original statements. Of the nine participants, only four made corrections to the written statements, with the majority of them taking advantage of this opportunity to further support their initial views.

⁷ The original version of each written statement can be found in Appendix A

The first participant made three comments regarding his/her written statement, two of which were meant to further clarify comments made during the initial interview and the third was intended to change a previous statement. In the first comment, this participant reiterated that even if an EU official was “more deeply” touched as a result of witnessing the ATO’s work with the women trapped in prostitution, this “would not in itself impact their [the EU’s] policies of how to deal with the cause behind the problems now experienced first-hand”. This correction was consistent with his/her previously stated belief that EU policy makers would not be able to connect the realities of human trafficking with the development of policy.

Secondly, the participant corrected his/her previous comment regarding CSOs only being interested in the EU for the purpose of securing funds. Instead, he/she clarified that “this is clearly not the case” and he/she did not intend to imply that CSOs only work with the EU “just to stay in business”. Finally, in the participant’s third comment, he/she again affirmed the “we” (the ATO) and “they” (the EU) divide, which led him/her to remain skeptical that the ATO’s work would be able to influence policy.

Overall, the fourth participant took advantage of the member-checking process in order to add more detailed information and strengthen the support of his/her opinion that the ATO’s work could influence policy. For example, he/she started by reminding the researcher of the different classes and services offered by the ATO, which he/she had actually stated during the interview, but the researcher had not included any of these specific examples in the written statement. Secondly, the participant directed additional comments towards both EU and Greek policy makers, stating “that if I got the chance to talk to them [EU and Greek policy makers] about the problem of prostitution, I would ask them (both) to emphasize on making policies that would aim

[at] the training of these girls as far as learning new and useful [skills] for finding a ‘decent job’”.

He/she admitted that the ATO “has very limited resources”, which overall limits its ability to meet the needs of the women (and often their children) engaged in prostitution. Moreover, “since many of the girls are single mothers and since the biological father is mostly [often] not present due to the nature of their ‘profession’ then policies should be made for that as well”. In other words, the participant continued to emphasize the vast needs of their clients and the limited or complete noninvolvement of EU and Greek government officials. Yet, it is in the face of such despair that this participant thought the ATO shines: “as far as hope we give to the girls is concerned, I would like you to add that this is the result [having hope] of the girls knowing that somebody cares for them!! And that when they need us we will try to help them the best way we can without looking down on them”. In summary, this participant repeated different qualities of the ATO’s work, which not only further distinguish the ATO, but also could cause its work to influence policy.

The fifth participant made only three comments, however what was of the greatest importance was this participant’s slight change in his/her response to the first question. During the initial interview, the participant was very doubtful as to whether the ATO’s work could influence policy, however during the member-checking process the participant seemed somewhat more optimistic, stating, “I believe it [the ATO’s work] could and it might already have” influenced anti-trafficking policy. This increase in optimism led the participant to respond to the second question, stating “I believe it [the ATO’s work] would influence more the EU officials, and less the Greek government – but they [Greek government] would be touched and

maybe interested-but both if they offer a helping hand it would be under their rules, naturally, which does not match our ways of functioning for and with the girls”.

This was further supported with a more detailed description of the complicated nature of the relationship between a CSO and the EU (or the Greek government). For example, according to this participant, if a CSO requests assistance from the EU, “they [the EU] will ask for the project and its details requesting a time limit, and when the time limit is over, the NGO should have accomplished the requirements” and “this is impossible with these girls as it takes time for them to adapt to a program”. These last two comments were more in line with the participant’s initial interview and serve as additional support for his/her overall opinion that it is unlikely that the ATO’s work could influence policy.

The sixth participant made a variety of changes to the written statement, which included the removal of different phrases used by the researcher and further elaborating on his/her original opinion. To begin, the participant added that in addition to hoping to see “people driving” (referring to the women engaged in prostitution) the development of policy, “the first hand information, the situations they [the women] are in and their needs” could also “influence the development of policies, changes in the laws and finding better practices to help them”. A second comment was the reminder of the ATO’s focus and mission in order to emphasize the fact that while policy is important, serving the clients is more important. He/she stated, “Our primary job is not to provide information or statistics for the EU, instead our focus is to help people out of those situations, care for them and help them find a new way in life – reintegrate back into the society”. In general, these first two comments affirmed comments made in his/her interview regarding the significant priority placed on serving the women engaged in prostitution.

The participant's third comment was mainly a rewording of his/her opinion regarding the Greek government. For example, the participant included other Greek authorities (in addition to the Greek government) who could benefit from "the information and our expertise", mainly "the police department, social workers & health departments". It was important to include these entities, since they "have to implement EU policies and so the awareness and the collaboration is needed" between them and the Greek government. Finally, the participant concluded with several comments regarding the nature of the ATO and its role in the broader fight against human trafficking. First, he/she acknowledged that, "we are [a] very small organization" in this fight against human trafficking and that "being a non-governmental organization our work sometime[s] is taken as less professional and or of a little value". Yet, the participant was not dismayed or discouraged by the smaller size of the ATO, but instead recognized that collaboration at all levels was important, in order to "be effective and have a lasting intervention in fighting human trafficking". In summary, "One small organization or NGO cannot be as effective as [everyone] all together on a national or EU level. Collaboration between the local /national entities will provide the information and expertise as well as the accountability to work on the best practices that could apply to Greece".

4.4 Discussion: Limitations

This research project did have several limitations, but the five to be discussed are mainly the lack of sufficient rigor necessary for qualitative research, the use of a single case study research design, the small sample size, the nature of the ATO's mission and vision, and the categorization of participants as being volunteers. Beginning with the issue of rigor, greater effort should have been made in the planning of this research project in order to assure that the

most appropriate strategies were incorporated. While this project did employ the use of member-checking, an audit trail, and thick description, these strategies were drawn into the study after the research design had been determined.

The second limitation was the use of a single case study design versus a multiple case design. The use of a multiple case design would have been much more “informative”, not simply because of the increase in data, but the cases could have been compared with “rival explanations” (Suter, 2012, p. 366). In other words, “evidence from multiple cases is often considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust” (Yin, 2009, p. 53, but cited in Herriott & Firestone, 1983). Since the use of a single case limited the transferability of the findings, the researcher employed the strategy of “thick description” in an effort to offset this limitation (Barusch, Gringeri, & George, 2011, p. 13).

The third limitation was the small sample size, in that the sample only consisted of nine people. Especially in light of the fact that the single case study design had already been selected, a greater effort should have been made to secure a larger sample size, thus helping to allow for a greater generalizability of the findings. Also, regarding the nine interviews carried out, it is possible that if all nine interviews had been carried out “face to face” (instead of six) more data would have been acquired. This is not meant to diminish the value of the data acquired from the three interviews carried out through email, but instead to recognize that this research project would likely have been further enhanced had these interviews been carried out “face to face”.

The fourth limitation was regarding the micro-focused nature of the ATO’s work and activity. This research project was committed to exploring a macro related issue, mainly the EU’s anti-trafficking policy and whether the participants believed their CSO’s work could influence EU policy. However, the ATO is primarily committed to working alongside women

involved in prostitution, and therefore most of their work is very micro or client focused. Therefore, a possible explanation for why the participants showed such a limited interest in the EU might simply be a lack of interest, awareness, or experience with macro related questions and issues. In other words, had this research question been posed to a CSO engaged in more macro related activity, the answers might have been completely different from those uncovered in this specific case study.

The last limitation concerns the organization of the ATO in regards to volunteers and those in leadership. The ATO has a unique organizational structure in that even those participants who hold leadership positions still view themselves as volunteers. None of the participants viewed themselves as employees even if they volunteered for a fixed number of hours each week which in quantity resembled that of an employee working thirty hours a week. This was uncovered during the data gathering phase when volunteers asked to not be referred to as an “employee”, which was the term used in the original interview questions. This discovery resulted in the sample representing a loose definition of what it means to be a “volunteer” with some participants volunteering thirty or more hours a week and others for a smaller number of hours. This difference in time spent volunteering, in addition to differences in leadership role among the participants, was not able to be differentiated in the final reporting of the results, but it is reasonable to assume that these distinctions impacted the perceptions and responses of the participants.

4.5 Discussion of Broad Themes and Conclusions

The main conclusion of this research project was the discovery that the volunteers of the ATO were less interested in the EU and its anti-trafficking strategy because they were more focused on achieving their own mission and vision. The volunteers perceived the EU as present and active in its own unspecified arena, while it (the ATO) was carrying out its activity in its respective arena. The volunteers' perceptions that their work is unique and important was seen as a very distinguishing factor.

This conclusion is supported by the one overarching theme represented in each participant's response, which was mainly a highly positive perception of the ATO and its commitment to serve the women engaged in prostitution. Traces of this theme were found in each interview, yet it was particularly dominant in six of the nine interviews. The volunteers were united in their loyalty to the ATO and its work regardless of each individual's opinion regarding the ATO's work and whether it could influence EU anti-trafficking policy. Although some participants did include very realistic comments as to what the ATO is not capable of accomplishing due to size and budgetary realities, each participant held quite positive perceptions of the ATO's work.

4.5.1 Sub-Theme: ATO's Commitment to Clients

This overarching theme was most clearly supported by two connected sub-themes, with the first being the participants' recognition of the ATO's commitment to serve their clients. In other words, each interview included at least one reference to the priority the ATO places on assisting women engaged in prostitution. This first sub-theme quickly became apparent during the thematic analysis, with some examples of words and phrases being "in the streets", "street

work”, and “outreach”, in addition to several direct references to “these girls”. These terms very clearly indicated the priority of being “in the streets” directly communicating and engaging with their clients.

Several volunteers made direct references to the women or girls engaged in prostitution as a way of reminder that the sole purpose of the ATO is to reach and serve their clients. The fifth participant stated “...our primary interest [is] the girls...[to] save the girls” and “our main concern is not trafficking, we don’t go looking for girls who have been trafficked...we look for girls who are trying to come out of there”. The sixth participant stated “...but our primary focus is in helping people, getting them out, and caring for them”. Another participant commented “we go to them”, which in turn was seen as a rare activity not often practiced by other CSOs active in the areas of prostitution or human trafficking. Even the ninth participant, who provided a much shorter response to the first research question and did not believe the ATO’s work would influence policy, made the effort to describe the work as a “frontline type of work”, in which “we [the ATO] go into the working areas”.

4.5.2 Sub-Theme: The Uniqueness of the ATO’s Work

This client-focused sub-theme is directly connected to the second sub-theme, which is the participants’ agreement that their work is unique. While several participants made reference to the ATO’s work being “important” or having “value”, most of them were not content to describe the ATO’s work in such general and, if left unsubstantiated, subjective terms. Instead, several volunteers took advantage of the opportunity to elaborate on the specific services the ATO provides their clients. For example, the third, fourth, and fifth participants all included specific

examples of the types of services offered, such as “sewing classes”, “Greek language classes”, and “job search” assistance. Additionally, the member-checking process provided another opportunity for the fourth participant to provide a more complete list of these services and he/she even requested that this list be included in his/her response. These two sub-themes are directly connected, as the volunteers believed their work was unique because it was client-focused and vice versa.

4.6 Division in Response to Uniqueness: Asset or Barrier?

While there was unanimity regarding the uniqueness of the ATO’s work, it was this uniqueness that also became the point of division in the participants’ response to the first question. The five participants who believed the ATO’s work could influence policy were firmly convinced that the ATO’s work offered a unique, client-focused perspective which would be beneficial to EU and Greek government policy makers. In other words, these volunteers found the uniqueness of the ATO’s work to be a strength or an asset worthy of attention. These participants found the EU and sometimes the Greek government as entities to be engaged and with which it could be beneficial to have discussions. Overall, their responses revealed an openness and willingness to share information and speak into the activity of both entities. Yet, interestingly, none of these participants shared any expectations of how either entity would respond, nor did anyone express any clear commitment or loyalty to either entity. In other words, there was an openness to be involved, but no fierce loyalty making this a priority in the ATO’s daily agenda.

While several of these participants made this clear while answering the first question, it was the second question which gave them the additional opportunity to elaborate. For example, four of the five participants recognized that the ATO's high interaction with the women had made them eyewitnesses to a variety of concerns and situations, which could be very informative for policy makers. The ATO is well-positioned to pass on "information" to EU officials on "things they can't see when sitting in an office making laws". In general, there was openness towards the EU and even the Greek government, with two participants even listing several topics they would like to discuss with both EU and Greek government officials. In summary, these participants interpreted the ATO's "uniqueness" and insights its staff are in a position to provide as an advantage, as well as justification for why their work would be of benefit to policy makers.

Conversely, the remaining four participants saw the uniqueness of the ATO's work as a barrier, which would likely not allow it to influence policy. Yet, these four participants, while united in their view, were somewhat varied in their justifications. The greatest overlap was found in the responses from the first, second, and fifth participants. Collectively, these three volunteers believed the work of the ATO and the EU shared little in common as each had taken a different approach to helping this population. In other words, the ATO is operating out of an approach which prioritizes direct contact and assistance to the client, while the EU is perceived to be operating out of a different approach, which interestingly was never specifically identified or further elaborated on in any of the interviews. Also, it is important to note that these comments did not include what the researcher could identify as any mean-spirited criticism towards the EU, but were instead stated as facts.

This difference in approach was clearly seen in remarks made by the first and second participants. Both were confident that even if EU officials witnessed their work in the "streets"

and were given the opportunity to engage the women receiving assistance from the ATO, they still would not be able to connect this experience to the development of new policies. Both were convinced that the EU officials, as well as Greek government officials, were “above” the issue and that while the ATO’s work was definitely important and would intrigue these officials “in the moment”, this experience would not carry over into the policy development process. This idea that the EU is “above” or not connected to the daily struggles of the women was one of the only descriptors offered by any of the volunteers regarding the EU’s approach to addressing human trafficking.

The fifth participant did not utilize the word “above”, but instead made the distinction between the ATO’s decision to serve the women engaged in prostitution, while the EU is engaged in other activities which were not specified by the participant. Particularly during the initial interview, the participant repeatedly referenced the ATO’s client-focused approach and how this approach limited their participation in more macro activities, such as policy development or collaborating with government agencies. In the past, when offered opportunities to engage the EU, he/she often returned to the question, “What is [ATO]?”, as a way to make sure that he/she remained focused on the ATO’s mission and not be distracted by an abundance of opportunities, which are not wrong, but simply are not aligned with the ATO’s mission.

Furthermore, this participant provided an example depicting the complexity of the EU’s conditions and rules regarding funding and how these restrictions are unrealistic and reveal the EU’s lack of understanding of the population, which the ATO is serving and which the EU claims to be assisting. This story recalled from the participant’s past experience served as additional support for the idea that the EU is disconnected from the issue and therefore cannot relate or understand the work of the ATO. Therefore, it is not surprising that this participant

believed that at this time it was better for the ATO to remain committed to what they know they are supposed to be doing, mainly serving and assisting women in prostitution, rather than pursuing relationships with EU and Greek government policy makers and officials. In summary, these three participants perceived the EU (and in certain instances the Greek government) as unable to relate to the ATO and its mission, since it (the EU) has chosen to approach the issue of human trafficking and prostitution differently. This lack of a connection or overlap in their respective work led these three participants to doubt that the ATO's work could influence policy.

The ninth participant offered the most different opinion, since he/she did not mention the EU or the Greek government, but simply cited the volunteers' lack of interest in engaging political authorities or policy makers as the primary reason why the ATO's work would not influence policy. Although more straightforward in his/her remarks, this participant did find the ATO's work important, which was evidenced by his/her provision of one exception that if the work was "studied" by an outsider, such as a "journalist, then it could become more publicly known and thus incidentally influence policy making". So, clearly, the ATO's work could influence policy, but according to his/her view this would not come about because the volunteers were not seeking to engage policy makers (at any level). In summary, these four participants thought the unique quality of the ATO's work was a barrier and would not allow the ATO's work to influence anti-trafficking policy.

4.7 Implications

Collectively, both the academic literature and the findings of this study offer implications for EU officials and policy makers, as well as the ATO's leadership. First, EU officials and policy makers need to be aware that CSOs may not join or collaborate on the EU's anti-

trafficking strategy simply because it has an inviting and inclusive tone. Similarly, the EU's treatment of CSOs as partners in a political arena, as indicated in their anti-trafficking policy rhetoric, may not be an effective way to establish and build relationships with CSOs, particularly those which are less interested in macro, policy related activities. Contrary to the neo-institutional theory, the ATO has not adopted the values and norms of the EU, even though its daily operations exist in an EU-saturated environment. Quite differently from this theory's behavioral predictions, the volunteers of the ATO have remained strongly aligned with their own mission and vision. In other words, the EU might need to develop new ways for building relationships with CSOs, particularly those engaged in client-focused services and which prioritize their immediate geographic context.

A second concern for EU officials and policy makers regards funding and the possible tension this creates for interested CSOs. In this case study, a few volunteers rightly noted that the ATO had wisely declined pursuing EU funding (of any kind) because it would mean taking on a different set of values and norms which would conflict with the ATO's mission. Therefore, in line with the first implication, the EU needs to determine how to create funding opportunities which continue to value financial transparency and accountability, but also allow the CSO certain freedoms. In this specific case study, the ATO is positioned to be able to provide "live", "hands-on" information to the EU, however the volunteers clearly indicated that they would prefer to serve the clients, than accept EU funding and lose the ability to determine a course of action based on their own values, mission, and goals.

Implications for the ATO's leadership are primarily related to the ATO's overall mission and vision and how this relates to their future work. Interestingly, the ATO functions quite contrary to the neo-institutional theory and the resource dependence theory, evidenced by the

fact that the ATO has been wary of EU funding and the effect this could have on the ATO's ability to remain focused on their mission and vision. This commitment to the mission and vision is equally supported by the volunteers and it appears that the ATO has at least a core of nine very committed and dedicated volunteers.

However, at the same time, there was division as to whether the ATO should be open to engaging the EU and Greek government policy makers. Especially since contributing to the fight against human trafficking and exploitation in the broader region is recognized as a goal of the ATO, it seems it would be prudent to determine and further define the ATO's position towards political entities. Additionally, the ATO's leadership should note that although some volunteers were more open to the EU, this did not undermine their commitment to the ATO or the clients they serve. In other words, the engagement of EU officials and other similar activities does not have to work in opposition to the ATO's mission and vision. With clear and intentional planning, it should be feasible for these two types of activities to be compatible, yet only the ATO's leadership can determine if engaging EU and government officials is a priority, and therefore a wise use of very precious time and financial resources.

Finally, it would be profitable for the ATO's leadership to examine its third organizational goal (participation in the broader fight against human trafficking) in light of its hesitation to accept external funds. Clearly, the ATO has much to offer in regards to creating and implementing activities related to this third goal, however if the ATO is hesitant to accept funding from external sources because this often obligates them to accept and operate under a new system of values and procedures, then it would be wise for the ATO's leadership to evaluate how the organization will continue to carry out activities supporting this goal with limited funding. Not only would completing this exercise benefit the ATO, but it would also help

“outsiders” who are inquiring into the nature and activity of the ATO, specifically those who are trying to understand how the ATO is involved in the broader fight against human trafficking.

4.8 Areas of Future Research

This thesis has uncovered several areas where further research is necessary and could yield new insights. To begin, further investigation is needed to explore the vague and limited interest held by the participants towards the EU. The ATO did not abide to the neo-institutional theory, thus it would be interesting to delve further into organizational theory in order to uncover possible explanations for the ATO’s resistance to the EU. Yet, the EU is not a typical “organization” or environment, and instead has a much more intricate and distinctive nature. Therefore, additional research to better understand the EU’s relationship with CSOs would greatly assist EU policy makers and officials seeking to better engage civil society in the fight against human trafficking.

Additionally and in line with this first idea, a second area is regarding the ATO’s perception of the EU as operating in a different arena completely separate from the ATO. If further investigation of this perception is supported in additional research, it would be interesting to explore possible solutions focused on bridging these two arenas. For example, this case study revealed the CSO’s strong loyalty to serving its clients, so it would be interesting to explore ways in which the EU could better connect with what is happening “in the streets”. In short, this case study might have demonstrated that the EU is maybe losing support from its CSO partners because it is disconnected from the realities of human trafficking, yet further research is needed to confirm this.

Finally, while the results of this case study are authentic and represent the views of real people, they also only represent one CSO, therefore making the generalizability of the results somewhat difficult. It would be interesting to pose this research question to several CSOs in a variety of EU countries and see what trends and patterns emerge. It is possible that the results from this case study do represent other CSOs engaged in anti-trafficking work, yet it is also possible that the findings from this this case study are underrepresented in a larger sample size.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The EU's anti-trafficking strategy has labeled civil society, including CSOs, as key players in the EU's fight against human trafficking. According to the appreciative and collaborative rhetoric of the ETHB, CSOs could potentially become great agents of change and help steer the EU down the course of complete eradication of human trafficking. Yet, this case study demonstrated that CSOs may not perceive the EU in the same welcoming tone and instead may be ambivalent to the EU's intentions and priorities. The participants of this case study perceived their direct work with women trapped in prostitution as the priority instead of the EU's anti-trafficking policy.

This finding is significant and has great implications for the EU, assuming that the EU is sincere in its commitment and desire to work alongside civil society in the fight against human trafficking. The EU must reexamine its motives and methods, particularly those which are rooted in political interests, such as improving the EU governance model. The EU is correct in its view that CSOs can potentially offer useful, insightful data, which could be very valuable in policy and program development, but if the EU chooses to define its relationship with civil society strictly on political terms, this will likely push at least some CSOs away. Additionally, the EU must review its conditions associated with funding opportunities so that the priority is on serving those affected by human trafficking, and not merely on promoting EU values and ideals.

This case study has been a first step in better understanding the EU-CSO anti-trafficking policy development relationship, with a particular emphasis placed on understanding how CSOs perceive their work in light of the EU's anti-trafficking strategy. It has not only sought to address a gap in the literature, but has strived to uncover data which could inform EU policy makers regarding how volunteers perceive their own work in relationship to the EU's anti-trafficking strategy. It is hoped that this first step will encourage others to examine the intricate and complex nature of the EU-CSO relationship, resulting in a strong, collaborative partnership committed to providing assistance and ensuring justice for victims of human trafficking, and reducing and eventually abolishing human trafficking entirely.

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APPENDIX A

Member-Checking Paragraphs Sent to Participants:

Participant #1

As an employee of a small non-nongovernmental organization (NGO), this participant does not think that there is a strong connection between what they (meaning the NGO collectively) do and its ability to influence policy development. This disconnect is a result of several factors, with perhaps the most obvious being that the people operating at the EU level are high above what they, as an organization, are doing “in the streets”. For example, the Commissioner for Home Affairs was to walk into the office, this employee could take her on a tour and show this person what the NGO does (particularly showing this EU official the pain and brokenness of the people the NGO works with), however in the end, this employee is “doubtful” that this would result in any real change with regards to policy. This employee believes that it is very difficult for an EU official to allow what he/she has seen “in the streets” to directly influence the development of relevant policies. Additionally, this employee also feels that most NGOs choose to pursue a relationship with the EU in order to secure EU funds (financial security), and therefore are not as interested in influencing policies, but seek policies which will be financially advantageous. In short, there is a divide between “we” and “they” and this employee is strongly committed to upholding the mission and vision of the NGO, sees value in the work of the NGO, but is not convinced that a relationship with the EU could lead to the NGO’s ability to influence the development of policy.

Participant #2

As an employee of a small non-nongovernmental organization (NGO), this participant began by commenting that it is great that there are people who want to work at the policy-making level. If an EU official were to visit the NGO, this participant would welcome him/her and take him/her out to the “streets” in order to show this official what the NGO does in Athens and the type of people they interact with. This employee feels that the NGO is well-equipped to provide a “human face” on the issue, which can be a very important and helpful, as statistics are helpful, but it is good to have a more personal connection with the issue. Yet, even after attaching a “human face” to the issue, this employee is “doubtful” that an EU official after seeing the NGO’s work in Athens would transfer this experience into the policy-development process, allowing the NGO to be a part of influencing policy. The employee stated again that if this did happen, meaning that if policy was influenced as a result of the work of the NGO, this would be welcomed, but this employee still “doubts” that this would happen. In short, the work of the organization has value, but whether or not it would be seen as valuable by EU policy makers and thus allowed to influence in the process of policy development is unlikely.

Participant #3

As a long-term volunteer of a small non-nongovernmental organization (NGO), this participant very much values the work of the NGO and would welcome a relationship with the EU and Greek government policy makers. Even though the NGO is a “faith-based” organization, this participant still feels that the NGO “works hard using our means” in order to assist the people they are working with. This participant has great “confidence” in the work of the NGO. The participant emphasizes that most organizations do not engage in “outreach”, that

it is “very rare” for other groups to do this, and therefore since this is a primary focus of this NGO, their work has great value. They (the NGO) offer girls the opportunity to make that “first-step”, which “is very important”. Additionally, this commitment to outreach has led to the organization being asked to report on different “numbers” related to the issue, because these other groups “will not go out and get it”. Regarding policy makers, this participant “would talk to the Greek government” and actually mentioned several different topics which this participant would enjoy discussing with them (examples would be the role of the police and different financial aspects of trafficking). In short, this participant very much values what the NGO does and strongly believes that the NGO should be engaging policy makers at both the EU and the Greek government levels.

Participant #4

As a long-term volunteer of a small non-nongovernmental organization (NGO), this participant believes that the work of the NGO is “important” and that it could lead to influencing the process of policy development at both the EU and the Greek government levels. The participant emphasized the “importance” of the work of the NGO by providing several examples of their work, such as: “trying to help them [girls/women] integrate into society”, trying to help these young women “support themselves” by providing different classes, and perhaps the most important is that the NGO is active in the streets. This last point is particularly “important” as “we go to them...we go to their working place”, which allows the NGO to see “things they can't see when sitting in an office making laws”. The participant continued that if given the opportunity to speak with EU and Greek government policy makers, “I would talk to them...I would tell them so I could impact the way things are going”. For example, “there are all kinds of

laws, but no one really wants to implement them” and in particular, the Greek government needs to “start sticking to the laws”. This participant believes that if the EU policy makers really stopped to listen to the NGO, they would realize that they offer hope to these girls and women. In short, this participant thinks that the NGO’s work is very important, which is most likely the result of the significant amount of time that they spend communicating directly with girls, and could influence the development of policy at the EU and Greek government levels.

Participant #5

As an employee of a small non-nongovernmental organization (NGO), this participant thinks that the work of the NGO is important, but “doubts” that it would be able to influence the development of policy at the EU or Greek government level. The participant began with a reminder that the “primary interest [of the NGO] is not to fight trafficking...our primary interest [is] the girls...to save them”. In other words, the NGO only “gets involved in trafficking” when they are approached by a girl who happens to have been trafficked and she “ask[s] for help to come out”. With the focus of the NGO clearly in mind, the participant expresses doubt as to whether or not the EU or the Greek government would be able to help them and whether or not it would even be worth pursuing a relationship with them. For example, this participant could attend EU meetings, but right now some primary concerns of the NGO are “jobs for these girls, or a business for these girls...help build a business out of sewing classes...help us have a rehabilitation center” and if the NGO asks the EU to help them, “they will say no”. Continuing in this line of thought, the participant stated that “I doubt....even if that politician [Greek politician] is my very best friend...he would appreciate the ministry and he would say hey guys you are doing a great job, but we cannot help you”. Additionally, the participant admitted that

both the Greek government and the EU have specific policies and procedures for programs, projects, and policy and that the way these entities operate “doesn't match with our way of functioning with the girls”. There in light of all this, the participant admits pondering this question [research question], but often asks “What is the point?” in regards to pursuing a relationship, such as one (a relationship) which is characterized by being engaged in policy development, with the EU or the Greek government. In short, the work of the NGO is important, but it is not able to influence the development of policy at the EU or the Greek government levels.

Participant #6

As an employee of a small non-nongovernmental organization (NGO), this participant thinks that the work of the NGO is “important” and “valuable” and that it could influence the development of policy at both the EU and the Greek government level. The participant recognizes that the NGO has existed for thirteen years “and the type of work we [the NGO] do-- having first contact with these people could be of a good help because it comes from these people who have been abused and trafficked”. The participant continued that “these people could be the drive” and therefore the NGO’s work would actually real people and situations to influence the development of policy. However, the participant did remind that “our primary job is not to provide for the EU, but our primary focus is in helping people, getting them out, and caring for them”. Regarding the Greek government, the participant stated that “the Greek government is important because this is the entity that has to implement what the EU says” and that “everything will come through the Greek government”. However, as it relates to the NGO, “we are very small in this chain”, but the participant offered an opinion stating that, “I think the

best option is to have a roundtable with all the NGOs and plus the government organizations and working together...that is the most important thing...to talk about what is good for Greece”. In short, this participant believes that the work of the NGO is “important” and that it could influence the development of policy at both the EU and the Greek government levels.

Participant #7

The seventh participant also expressed a favorable opinion towards the work of the NGO and believed that the NGO’s current work could influence policy. Yet, somewhat different from the first three responses, this participant’s response was more personal, in that he/she believed that their specific work would “be able to influence policy”. Furthermore, the participant does not see the NGO’s faith-based philosophy as a hindrance or a reason to exclude the NGO’s work from being able to influence policy, since “Jesus called us” to engage real life issues, such as trafficking. Finally, while this participant does see a potential connection between the NGO’s work and policy, he/she does admit that his/her work is more “behind the scenes” and that overall, the organization “rarely get[s] the chance to interact with those policy makers, [but] maybe one day in the future” this could happen.

In line with the seventh participant’s response to the first question, he/she emphasized the role of the person volunteering for the ATO and that this “person working with an NGO like [the ATO] could influence at different levels starting with grassroots agencies which will include government and non-government[al] organizations”. Furthermore, this influence could grow and impact “broader agencies like EU”. The participant shared that the ATO’s work “opens doors to wider influences”, but is also convinced that they need to “start where we [they] are”. In

summary, this participant believed that the ATO's work would be of benefit to both the EU and the Greek government policy makers.

Participant #8

In his/her response the eighth participant included the ATO as just one part of a much broader NGO response to the issue of trafficking. In this participant's opinion, "work done by ngo's on the issue of trafficking can influence policy by drawing attention to and advocating for the survivors". Yet, this optimism does come with a condition, in that "it depends on a lot of factors, like who supports the org[anization] and how much political power they have". More specific to the ATO, he/she continued that "In the past [the ATO] has been approached by [the] State Dept and other foreign offices investigating this issue [trafficking]" and that this came about because [ATO] knows the issue from in person experience, not only research". Therefore, while the participant does recognize the potential for the ATO's work to influence the development of policy, he/she does include some stipulations (conditions) of this relationship.

Directly connected to the eighth participant's response to the first research question, this participant shared that the ATO's work could be of benefit at both the EU and the Greek governmental levels and even stated that it already had. For example, he/she stated, "We [the ATO] were involved in a networking group to advise on the new trafficking policy [for the Greek government] when it was drafted". In other words, according to this participant the work of the ATO has already earned it opportunities to influence policy. He/she continued that, "There was a bias to listening to us because we are not orthodox or Greek, but the other orgs [organizations] kept inviting us to mtgs [meetings] and asking us to speak up". However, despite this optimism, this participant did restate (from his/her answer to the first research question) some conditions, with one being that the "Greek govt [government] prefer[s] to listen to their

people like police rather than Ngo” and also “that NGOs can be used by the govt [government] to give the impression of greater efforts to stop trafficking”. In other words, this relationship between the ATO and especially the Greek government can be complicated. In summary, this participant thought the work of the ATO had already had an opportunity to influence policy development and could be of benefit at both the EU and the Greek government levels. However, his/her opinion included two examples of this relationship can be complicated and not allow the ATO to influence the development of policy.

APPENDIX B

Member-Checking Corrections:

Participant #1

1. In response to the idea that an EU policymaker would come to the office, this participant clarified that "though perhaps touching them more deeply [by meeting with victims via the ATO], would not in itself impact their policies of how to deal with the cause behind the problems now experienced first hand"
2. This statement was retracted: "Additionally, this employee also feels that most NGOs choose to pursue a relationship with the EU in order to secure EU funds (financial security), and therefore are not as interested in influencing policies..." "Hmmm, this isn't quite what I wanted to say....this seems I was almost saying that seeking financial security was the only reason for working with EU organizations and that they have no agenda of their own and would want to agree with anyone about any policy just to stay in business. This is clearly not the case."
3. Emphasized agreement with this statement: "In short, there is a divide between "we" and "they" and this employee is strongly committed to upholding the mission and vision of the NGO" "Exactly..."
4. Responds that influence is possible: "...sees value in the work of the NGO, but is not convinced that a relationship with the EU could lead to the NGO's ability to influence the development of policy" responded with "Maybe we could..."

Participant #4

1. In response to this part of the paragraph, the participant wanted to add more: The participant continued that if given the opportunity to speak with EU and Greek government policy makers, "I would talk to them...I would tell them so I could impact the way things are going". For example, "there are all kinds of laws, but no one really wants to implement them" and in particular, the Greek government needs to "start sticking to the laws". ADDED: "
"that if I got the chance to talk to them about the problem of prostitution, I would ask them (both) to emphasize on making policies that would aim on the training of these girls as far as learning new and useful for finding a "decent job" skills is concerned.. Cause [the ATO] or any other ngo has very limited resources to do that, (obviously!) . Also in the meantime they should be able to provide for them so that they survive.. The girls and the children cause this is a problem as well. Additionally about the last one (children) and since many of the girls are single mothers and since the biological father is mostly not present due to the nature of their "profession" then policies should be made for that as well."
2. Additional add, self-motivated: "And if you think about it and distinguish prostitution into legal and illegal, then the implementing the laws part, takes care of the illegal and the helping them with finding a better job, takes care of the legal prostitution."
3. Additional add, self-motivated: "And as far as hope we give to the girls is concerned, I would like you to add that this is the result of the girls knowing that somebody cares for them!! And that when they need us we will try to help them the best way we can without looking down on them."
4. Important to note that the participant started his MemCh by reminding the researcher about what ATO offers: "Which would emphasize on a thing you mention in the beginning of my

answer.. .as I see you have mentioned the part that [the ATO] offers help with classes as you say (my guess is that you have analyzed this part somewhere else, meaning that you have mentioned that there is a sewing class and greek lessons... and possibly other classes in the future..)"

Participant #5

1. Repeated a simple answer to the first question:

"Do you think the work of [the ATO] could influence policy?"

"I believe it could and it might already have."

2. Repeated a simple answer to the second question: "If “yes”, which group of officials, those working for the EU or for the Greek government, do you think would benefit the most from knowing more about what [the ATO] does (the work of [the ATO])? Feel free to answer that neither would be interested or that both could be interested.": "I believe it would influence more the EU officials, and less the Greek government – but they would be touched and maybe interested- but both if they offer a helping hand it would be under their rules, naturally, which does not match our ways of functioning for and with the girls."
3. Added further clarification as to why the EU is unable to help, as well as the GRK GOV: "For example, this participant could attend EU meetings, but right now some primary concerns of the NGO are “jobs for these girls, or a business for these girls...help build a business out of sewing classes...help us have a rehabilitation center” and if the NGO asks the EU to help them, they will ask for the project and its details requesting a time limit , and when the time limit is over, the NGO should have accomplished the requirements. The participant says that

this is impossible with these girls as it takes time for them to adapt to a program and be disciplined. By then the EU or Greek officials: “they will say no”.”

Participant #6

1. Overall, this participant made several changes of simply adding one or a few words to something that I had written (so the things listed below are the more significant changes that this participant made
2. Made changes to a sentence I wrote: these people (and the first hand information, the situations they are in and their needs) could be the drive” [removed words I wrote] to influence the development of policies, changes in the laws and finding better practices to help them”.
3. However, the participant did remind that “our primary job is not to provide information or statistics for the EU, instead our focus is to help people out of those situations, care for them and help them find a new way in life – reintegrate back into the society”
4. Regarding the Greek government, the participant stated that “the Greek government as well as the Greek authorities (the police department, social workers & health departments) could benefit from the information and our expertise”. (These are the entities that have to implement EU policies and so the awareness and the collaboration is needed)” [removed words I wrote].
5. However, as it relates to the NGO, “we are very small organization in this (scale) to be able to influence decision making/ policy making or law changes/ enforcements or anything that would bring us closer to fighting human trafficking”. (Also being a non-governmental organization our work sometime is taken as less professional and or of a little value) but the

participant offered an opinion stating that, “I think the best option is to have a roundtable with all the governmental organizations & authorities plus the NGO and work together so that we can be effective and have a lasting intervention in fighting human trafficking. One small organization or NGO cannot be as effective as all together on a national or EU level. Collaboration between the local /national entities will provide the information and expertise as well as the accountability to work on the best practices that could apply to Greece)”.

APPENDIX C

The following table shows the use of the term “civil society” or “civil society organization” (CSO) in its respective context within the “European Union Strategy towards the Eradication of Trafficking in Human Beings 2012–2016” (ETHB). Additionally, the researcher as labeled each term in accordance with the context, in order to highlight a particular characteristic or action.

Term	Context	Characteristic/Action
Civil Society	“European Commission seeks to focus on concrete measures that will support the transposition and implementation of Directive 2011/36/EU, bring added value and complement the work done by governments, international organisations and <u>civil society</u> in the EU and third countries.” (p. 5)	The EC wants to “ <u>complement</u> the work” done by civil society
Civil Society Organizations	“The measures included in this Strategy are the result of a thorough examination of measures and policies that are already in place, the work of the Group of Experts(18), extensive consultation with governments, <u>civil society organisations...</u> ” (p. 5)	The EC claims to have done “ <u>extensive consultation</u> ” with CSOs in the process of developing the included measures
Civil Society	“This Strategy identifies five priorities the EU should focus on in order to address the issue of trafficking in human beings. It also outlines a number of actions which the European Commission proposes to implement over the next five years in concert with other actors, including... <u>civil society...</u> ” (p. 5)	The EC is striving to implement the stated measures “ <u>in concert with</u> ” civil society
Civil Society Organizations	“A multi-disciplinary,	The EC claims that civil

	coherent policy against trafficking in human beings requires the involvement of a more diverse group of actors than before in policy-making. These should include... <u>civil society organisations</u> ...” (p. 5)	society organizations should be <u>involved</u> in “policy-making”
Civil Society	“Member States should ensure that formal, functional national referral mechanisms are established. These mechanisms should describe procedures to better identify, refer, protect and assist victims and include all relevant public authorities and <u>civil society</u> ”. (p. 6)	The EC requests that member states <u>include</u> civil society in the process of establishing a “Referral Mechanism”
Civil Society	“In 2013, the Commission will strengthen the EU-wide coordination mechanism to support the work national rapporteurs’ do to monitor the implementation of Member States’ EU and international obligations; to collect data, analyse and research human trafficking trends at national level, and assess progress on preventing and combating human trafficking as well as on protecting victims, while ensuring the participation of <u>civil society</u> ”. (p. 11)	The EC states its plans to improve the coordination system related to the “Referral Mechanism” and will work to include “the <u>participation</u> of civil society”
Civil Society Organizations	“An EU Platform of <u>civil society organisations</u> and service providers working on victim protection and assistance in Member States and selected third countries will be established in 2013”. (p. 12)	The EC will ensure funding for the forming of the EU Platform for CSOs
Civil Society Organizations	“Moreover, a tool for <u>civil society organisations</u> to assess policy and legislation on trafficking in human beings(37) and a tool to give	The EC states that a tool related to “fundamental rights” and human trafficking has been produced , implying that it is involved in <u>equipping</u>

	guidance on fundamental rights in Commission impact assessments have been developed”. (p. 13)	CSOs
Civil Society	“The Commission strongly advises the National Rapporteurs or Equivalent Mechanisms to consult <u>civil society</u> when preparing their reports”. (p. 16)	The EC urges member states “to <u>consult</u> civil society”

APPENDIX D

The following table shows the use of the term “civil society” or “civil society organization” (CSO) in its respective context within the “Justice and Home Affairs Directive on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims” (Directive). Additionally, the researcher as labeled each term in accordance with the context, in order to highlight a particular characteristic or action.

Term	Context	Characteristic/Action
Civil Society Organizations	“Member States should encourage and work closely with <u>civil society organisations</u> , including recognised and active non-governmental organisations in this field working with trafficked persons, in particular in policymaking initiatives, information and awareness-raising campaigns, research and education programmes and in training, as well as in monitoring and evaluating the impact of anti-trafficking measures”. (p. 2)	The EP and Council of Ministers urges member states to <u>collaborate</u> with CSOs
Civil Society Organizations	“Member States shall take appropriate action, including through the Internet, such as information and awareness raising campaigns, research and education programmes, where appropriate in cooperation with relevant <u>civil society organisations</u> and other stakeholders, aimed at raising awareness and reducing the risk of people, especially children, becoming victims of trafficking in human beings”. (p. 10)	The EP and the Council of Ministers encourages member states to <u>cooperate</u> with CSOs
Civil Society Organizations	“Member States shall take the necessary measures to	Again, the EP and the Council of Ministers encourages

	<p>establish national rapporteurs or equivalent mechanisms. The tasks of such mechanisms shall include the carrying out of assessments of trends in trafficking in human beings, the measuring of results of anti-trafficking actions, including the gathering of statistics in close cooperation with relevant <u>civil society organisations</u> active in this field, and reporting.</p>	<p><u>collaboration and cooperation</u> between member states and CSOs</p>
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