Anette Brunovskis and Rebecca Surtees

Reframing trafficking prevention

Lessons from a "Positive Deviance" approach

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Preface

This study presents the results of and learning from a three-year project implemented in Albania by Fafo, NEXUS Institute and Different and Equal. The project combines research and practice in an effort to identify new (and improved) approaches to preventing human trafficking, through adaptation and implementation of "positive deviance" methodology. The project is financed by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and we are very grateful to the Ministry for this opportunity to undertake this innovative project.

This report is authored by Fafo and NEXUS Institute. Of tremendous importance in this project has been our partner organisation, Different and Equal (D&E), which implemented the project in a town in Albania. The dedication and hard work of Mariana Meshi, Syri Pepa, Reta Pinderi, Stela Tanellari and Ymer Manaj has been absolutely crucial to this project's success and we have benefited a great deal from this partnership.

We are deeply grateful to the community leaders and community members of the Albanian town in which this project was implemented. We have chosen not to identify the community in which we implemented this project so as not to identify individuals involved in ways that they might not be comfortable with. However, we wish to extend our sincere gratitude, albeit anonymously, to the very many people who made this project possible. Our thanks go in particular to the community's leadership, Mayor and Deputy Mayor, for welcoming us into the community and supporting the project from the beginning to its conclusion. We have also benefited greatly from the dedicated and generous support of one staff within the municipality, to whom we are deeply indebted. Her dedication was at the heart of this project's success. We also wish to extend our thanks to the community leaders and former migrants who were so central to the project, generously sharing their time and experiences with other members of the community. In addition, a great number of individuals and institutions helped in various ways, either in sharing knowledge in their professional capacity or by sharing their personal experiences of migration. This contributed greatly to our understanding of the community and to the further development of this project.

Finally we would like to acknowledge our own institutes – Fafo and NEXUS – for affording the space and opportunity to explore new and innovative ways of combatting the very critical issue of human trafficking.

Anette Brunovskis and Rebecca Surtees,
Oslo and Washington, February 2015

Acronyms and abbreviations

AT	anti-trafficking
D&E	Different and Equal
GO	governmental organisation
LPKP	Lembaga Pelesenan Kenderaan Perdagangan (Indonesian NGO)
NGO	non-governmental organisation
PD	positive deviance
PDI	Positive Deviance Inquiry
TBU	true but useless
TIP	trafficking in persons

1 Introduction

This study discusses our experiences in developing and implementing a trafficking prevention project in a town in Albania. In this project, Fafo and NEXUS (two research institutes) partnered with the Albanian anti-trafficking NGO Different & Equal (D&E) to pilot a trafficking prevention project inspired by and drawing on a particular approach to behavioural and social change, called "positive deviance" (PD). In brief, and as we will explain in more detail, "positive deviance" is based on the premise that in every community, there are individuals or groups who are in a comparable situation to others (i.e. with similar social and economic resources), who nonetheless manage to find successful strategies and better solutions to a particular problem. A PD approach identifies and mobilises these successful strategies to foster social and behavioural change in the community.

In this project we sought to bring together both research and practice, by teaming up with practitioners in the field to collaboratively develop and implement a trafficking prevention pilot project drawing on a PD approach. Our interest in the PD approach emerged from learning about its previous application in the prevention of trafficking of girls into the sex industry in Indonesia. Having conducted research on trafficking in many different countries and regions, one of our general observations over time is that what works in one context (be it in the field of prevention, reintegration or other aspects of anti-trafficking work) may not be equally successful elsewhere. We were, therefore, interested to see if this approach could be used more broadly – e.g. in another geographical, social and economic environment as well as adapted to adult trafficking victims and victims of trafficking for labour as well as sexual exploitation.

Moreover, because the PD approach focuses on solutions that have already been found and mobilised in the community (in this case, amongst those "at-risk" of trafficking), this methodology, arguably, holds particular promise for successful, cost effective and locally grounded trafficking prevention practices. A PD approach to trafficking prevention would not only encourage, but indeed be based on careful consideration of the local trafficking (and migration) contexts, how the community sees the problem and solution as well as available resources within the community that address the issue of human trafficking. The research component of this project reflects upon and analyses the implementation of this pilot prevention project in ways that can be useful for others considering or implementing a similar approach or methodology. In documenting the different steps in the implementation of this particular pilot project, including adjust-

ments and adaptations made at various stages, we explore both potential opportunities for, and limitations in, the application of a PD approach for trafficking prevention.

Further, we also hope that this report can contribute to a discussion of trafficking prevention efforts more generally. As mentioned above, the PD approach aims to change behaviours in specific ways in order, in turn, to foster social change. We, therefore, believe that, in the context of this PD approach, there is room for further discussion about the potential role for (as well as limitations) of behaviour change in trafficking prevention strategies generally.

This report is structured as follows: in chapter 2 we briefly discuss and situate the PD approach in relation to other trafficking prevention efforts. In chapter 3 we describe the core elements of the PD method, as well as how it has been implemented in practice, both in the fields of nutrition and in trafficking prevention. In chapter 4 we describe how we adapted the methodology for the implementation of a trafficking prevention pilot project in Albania, in the period 2011 to 2013, detailing the different steps in the process. We also discuss the specific outcomes of the pilot project and the adjustments to the approach that were necessary in this context. In chapter 5 we further elaborate on what we consider to be key considerations when implementing a PD project; both in terms of specific challenges tied to trafficking prevention and to more general observations made during the pilot project implementation.

1.1 Project documentation and foundation for the report

Over the course of this project, we collected a considerable body of data, which is the basis of this analysis. This included data collected during the initial Positive Deviance Inquiry (PDI) (see section 4.1.4), systematic reporting from the field for the duration of the pilot project (2011 to 2013) as well as documentation from an internal project evaluation (2014). Details of these various data sources are briefly listed below.

1. Positive Deviance Inquiry (PDI), November 2011 to May 2012

All aspects for the PDI were carefully documented and shared regularly amongst project partners. Each interview was recorded, transcribed and translated and logged for analysis in the identification of PD strategies. The PDI included the following documentation:

- Interviews with 57 community members (including seven victims of trafficking) during initial fieldwork in November 2011 and on-going data collection in the community including interviews to identify PD strategies

- Interviews with seven trafficking victims to assess and analyse relevance/applicability of PD strategies identified
- Analysis of 19 case files of trafficking victims from the community to assess and analyse relevance/applicability of PD strategies identified
- Nine interviews and 11 (individual and group) meetings with community leaders and municipal representatives about the project and possible respondents for the PDI

2. Project reporting

Systematic reporting was put into place from the outset of the project to allow for clear and comprehensive documentation and understanding of each step of the project for all project partners, including those who were not present in the community for the full duration of the project. This included:

- Project documentation (based on templates developed during the course of the project):
  - Monthly narrative reports of project activities, outcomes and challenges
  - Field notes detailing each visit to the community, including notes from meetings with community members and leadership
  - Reports for 11 community meetings held as part of the pilot PD project
- Regular communication and correspondence between the project partners (November 2011 to June 2014)

3. Evaluation data

An internal evaluation was conducted in 2014 to assess the results and outcomes of the project and as a means of informing the analysis of the PD approach in the field of trafficking. Data for the evaluation was collected over a period of several months and included the following:

- On-going data collection following the implementation of the pilot project including:
  - Monthly community observations by D&E staff for a period of seven months (November 2013 to May 2014)
  - Interviews with 36 project participants
  - Interviews with 11 community members who did not participate in the project
  - Interviews with 11 community leaders

- Joint fieldwork by all three project partners (in June 2014), ten months after the pilot implementation phase ended including:
    - Interviews with two positive deviants involved in the project
    - Interviews with four community leaders/municipal representatives in the community who were involved in the project as participants and community educators
    - Interviews with three project staff who implemented the project (two rounds of interviews conducted)
    - Joint discussion of experiences and findings during project implementation amongst all three project partners

1.2 A note on terminology and "positive deviance"

The ideas behind the PD approach and its fundamental principles are fairly simple and, for many, have a great appeal. In our experience, though, when discussing the PD approach with others, the name of the approach itself can be somewhat puzzling and even be met with a certain degree of resistance, tied to the concept of "deviance". As mentioned above, "deviance" in this context refers to individuals or groups who find uncommon and better solutions to a problem than others in their community. This, however, is a somewhat unusual use of the concept of deviance. Indeed "deviance" describes actions or behaviours that violate social norms, including formally enacted rules and laws as well as informal violations of social norms and practice. By implication, "deviants" are individuals who violate these social norms. The terminology of "positive deviant" and "positive deviance" aims to highlight situations where deviating from the norm was a positive behaviour and action and had positive outcomes. That being said, the term "deviance" has negative connotations for many people, in many social settings and in many different languages and it is not an immediately palatable concept. It may be a particularly problematic terminology when addressing issues such as trafficking, which are highly stigmatised and involve already vulnerable people. Nevertheless, it is difficult to avoid the term in a context that discusses this particular methodology and its associated literature and previous applications nor have we been able to formulate a suitable alternative terminology.

2 The broader context of trafficking prevention

Trafficking prevention has long been one of three recognised pillars of anti-trafficking work, together with the protection of victims and punishment/prosecution of traffickers (often referred to as "the three P's").[1] Trafficking prevention can be framed very broadly – that is, all efforts to reduce social and economic vulnerability can, arguably, be seen as reducing trafficking risk, as can the development of anti-trafficking legislation or institutional, structural and international cooperation. That being said, trafficking prevention more commonly refers to targeted efforts to reduce individual and group vulnerability to human trafficking. Over the years, a number of different prevention measures have been directed at those deemed "at-risk" of trafficking, such as awareness-raising, microcredit schemes, vocational training, community protection networks, programmes to increase school attendance and development of local infrastructure. In addition, prevention measures, often overlapping with the identification of trafficking victims, are also implemented in destination countries, with information campaigns, efforts to target demand for labour or sexual services from at-risk individuals, hotlines and so on (Marshall 2011: 5).

Broadly speaking, prevention efforts fall into two categories:

1. those seeking to increase knowledge of trafficking and, thereby, influence decisions about whether and/or how to migrate (e.g. awareness raising and information campaigns); and

2. those addressing vulnerability at a more structural level with the goal of either decreasing the necessity for migration or enabling migrants to migrate more safely (e.g. micro-credit schemes, school attendance programmes, vocational training).

[1] The '3P paradigm' - referring to prevention of the act of trafficking, protection of victims of trafficking, and prosecution of perpetrators of trafficking - is a framework used by governments around the world to combat human trafficking. The paradigm was pioneered by the United States government in 1998 in accordance with efforts to combat violence against women and trafficking in women and girls (Samarasinghe 2003). The 3P paradigm is outlined in the United States' Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) and in the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime of 15 November 2000, 2237 UNTS 319 ("Trafficking Protocol"). In 2009, United States Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton announced the addition of a 'fourth P' to the paradigm - partnership - which will serve as a pathway to progress in the efforts against trafficking (U. S. Department of State 2010).

Generally, there is quite limited information about the efficiency of the different approaches to trafficking prevention. It has also been noted that prevention efforts may sometimes rest on faulty assumptions, both about who is most at-risk and how trafficking can best be prevented. Some prevention measures – e.g. in the form of information campaigns – have been criticised for being more concerned with curbing migration rather than protecting the rights and well-being of migrants (Nieuwenhuys & Pécoud 2007: 1674).

In certain contexts, trafficking prevention conveys messages of no migration and, moreover, this is often primarily directed at women. This can be problematic for three main reasons:

1. The inherent gender bias in who should and should not migrate, which, in some cases, suggests that women should not migrate and can mean that women are stigmatised for leaving home.

2. Messages of no migration do not address socio-economic vulnerability (including lack of alternatives at home), which puts some people at risk of trafficking. Such messages also do not help individuals make informed choices in situations where they will likely migrate anyway, safely or not. Assessing whether there are alternatives at home to risky migration can either provide an alternative to (risky) migration or help individuals to reduce their vulnerability and be able to make a more considered choice about where, when and how to migrate.

3. Migration *per se* can be a positive and strategic means of coping with social and economic vulnerability.

A common criticism of many awareness raising efforts undertaken to date is that they often provide general information about trafficking risks but no alternatives to potentially risky migration – e.g. by offering opportunities for income generation, poverty alleviation or mechanisms to cope within the existing socio-economic framework. That is, without alternatives or resiliency strategies in their families and communities, many individuals (and their families) may not see any option apart from (sometimes risky) migration. In many cases, due to limited options for regular migration and general social vulnerability, migration may be unsafe, leading to exploitation or even human trafficking. In this context, there is a great need to identify factors that protect against these unwanted outcomes, whether they be strategies that eliminate the need for migration or that make migration safer.

It is difficult to document something that *does not* happen, which is precisely what trafficking prevention efforts aim to achieve. Further, attributing this somewhat invisible result to a particular prevention effort is also complicated. While one way to go about this might be to compare prevalence of trafficking at different times, these data are often unavailable or unreliable. This is because trafficking is a hidden and elusive

phenomenon and it is difficult to collect reliable and representative data. Further, official numbers of trafficking prevalence tend to reflect the institutional focus and attention given to (different forms of) trafficking. For instance, while many countries document a higher prevalence of women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation compared with other groups, this may reflect the relatively little attention given to trafficking of men or trafficking for labour generally, rather than actual prevalence. An increase or decrease in available prevalence data may, thus, reflect either a real and substantial change or simply a change in institutional focus and attention.

Prevention must, therefore, be discussed against existing knowledge of how trafficking takes place and what creates vulnerability to trafficking exploitation. That being said, trafficking takes place in very different ways and in very different contexts and affects a diverse group of people. This means, crucially, that it is highly unlikely that one singular approach to trafficking prevention will be equally appropriate and relevant for all types of victims and across the spectrum of trafficking vulnerability.

Individuals may be vulnerable to trafficking for different reasons – e.g. because of a lack of knowledge about how to protect themselves in migration, lack of safe migration options, because they may not have (or perceive not having) other options than to be exploited, because they are financially, emotionally or otherwise dependent on their traffickers and so on. These different forms of vulnerability must be addressed in different ways; prevention interventions must take into account this diversity in their design and implementation. For example, some people migrate for work opportunities and are trafficked in the process (e.g. they are deceived and exploited upon arrival in the destination country). Others are deceived from the outset – recruited with false promises of the work, payment and/or work conditions and then exploited. Still others are deceived and trafficked by persons close to them, including family members.

There is a distinction between migration gone wrong (with lack of information/resources) and people who are in a very vulnerable situation/highly dependent on others and/or in a position with limited influence on decisions and outcomes. Indeed in seeking to address trafficking, it is important not to lose sight of profound vulnerability in the context of poverty, discrimination and limited options for safe (and legal) migration, which will not be addressed by encouraging individual behaviour change.

Further, it is important to keep in mind that people are trafficked not *because* they are vulnerable, but because someone decides to exploit them. In recognising that victims' behaviours are not the *cause* of trafficking, it also follows that addressing their behaviours exclusively cannot fully solve the problem. Thus, while it may be fruitful to target potential at-risk groups and individuals with the aim of strengthening their options and decisions, this will not be effective in preventing all cases of trafficking.[2]

[2] In the growing body of trafficking research, there is a lack of focus on the actions, behaviours and motivations of human traffickers, with a few exceptions. See, for instance, Antonopoulos & Winterdyk (2005),

Changing the behaviour of trafficking victims and those at-risk is only one part of the solution to trafficking prevention.

Prevention must increasingly target traffickers as those whose actions need changing. There is also a need to address the issue more structurally, not simply by targeting individuals who are at-risk and expecting them to somehow navigate these risks while coping with (their often pronounced) individual and social vulnerability. This requires an institutional response, working with institutions and structures to effect a more systemic and grounded change.

This is not to say that prevention efforts involving awareness raising or decreased vulnerability are not useful. Some forms of trafficking vulnerability can be addressed (or alleviated) through specifically targeted information and enhanced knowledge about risk and opportunity. But such prevention efforts will not be useful or effective in all cases and for all persons who are at-risk of trafficking.

Busch-Armendariz et al. (2009), Chenda (2014), Icduygu & Toktas (2002), Levenkron (2007), Nair (2004), Siegel & deBlank (2010), Surtees (2008), Troshynski & Blank (2008), Turner & Kelly (2009), and Webb & Burrows (2009).

3 What is the positive deviance approach?

The concept of "positive deviance" (PD) first emerged in the field of nutrition research in the 1970s when researchers were exploring causes of child malnutrition in communities. They found that, despite poverty in a community, some poor families had well-nourished children. This was the case even when families had no more resources than their neighbours whose children were malnourished. Researchers decided that instead of focusing on what the families of malnourished children were "doing wrong" they would study what the families of well-nourished children were "doing right" and mobilise these strategies in the design of nutrition programmes. This positive deviance approach was used successfully to improve the nutritional status of children in different countries and has since been applied to a range of different issues, including new-born care, the use of contraception, safe sex practices, educational outcomes and so on (Marsh et al. 2004, Pascale et al 2010).

Positive deviance has been used only to a very limited extent in the field of trafficking prevention. While an assets-based approach[3] to behaviour change is, arguably, a promising one, transferring a methodology that has been used successfully in fields like nutrition to more complex social and economic issues like human trafficking warrants careful consideration. It also merits mention that previous PD programmes aimed at trafficking prevention have focused on at-risk children and their parents, which necessarily involves a specific approach and perspective. To our knowledge, it is not an approach that has been largely tested with adults, which is a target group with very different characteristics, situations and needs. One of the goals of this project was, therefore, to discuss and explore necessary adjustments of the PD approach if it is to be used (effectively and ethically) in trafficking prevention more broadly.

In this chapter we first describe the principles of the PD approach and how it was originally implemented in the field of nutrition as well as more recently in terms of preventing the trafficking of children for sexual exploitation. As a concept, the PD approach is quite simple and has an intuitive appeal, with its focus on solutions and, not least, that these solutions are already available in communities. In practice, and in the implementation of specific projects, the approach can, however, be more compli-

[3] An asset-based approach refers to assets that already exist in a community. This approach helps communities identify, strengthen and utilise resources and knowledge that exist within the community itself to support behaviour change and realise project outcomes.

cated and take many different forms, depending on the topic, field of work and social, economic and cultural context. We, therefore, find it useful to describe and discuss the specificities of some previous PD projects as a backdrop to our own pilot project (described in chapter 4). We then discuss some key issues and considerations in transferring the PD approach to the prevention of human trafficking of adult victims and victims of different forms of trafficking exploitation.

3.1 The principles of the PD approach

As mentioned in the introduction, positive deviance (PD) is an approach to behaviour and social change based on the observation that in any community, there are people whose uncommon but successful behaviours or strategies enable them to find better solutions to a problem than their peers, despite facing similar challenges and with no more access resources. These individuals are referred to as "positive deviants" – "positive" because they are doing things "right", "deviants" because they engage in behaviours that most others do not. The PD approach focuses on success rather than failure. It relies on the presence of positive deviant individuals in a community whose existing solutions to a problem are, through the project, identified and then replicated by others within the community with similar risk and resources (Pascale et al. 2010).

Positive deviance is practice oriented, emphasising hands-on learning and actionable behaviours. Positive deviants' knowledge and skills are shared with peers in the community who are facing the same problems. This means that community members look within their own communities to identify and replicate successful and affordable solutions. Because this approach draws on local resources, solutions and knowledge, benefits can be immediate and sustained in the longer term. It does not rely on external expertise for resources or solutions. Rather, the role of experts is to facilitate the identification of existing solutions – i.e. identifying positive deviants and the strategies they use to cope with the problem – and work with the community to mobilise these strategies more broadly (Dura & Singhal 2009, Macklis 2001, Pascale et al. 2000, Sparks 2004).

Further, as Marsh et al. (2004) argue, the PD approach reveals at least partial, immediate solutions to what are often pressing issues in the community. While there will still be a need to address complex underlying development challenges that cause or contribute to the issue being addressed, the PD approach allows for immediate action by and within the community to tackle the specific problem. Because the PD approach offers local solutions, it has three important advantages over traditional approaches, according to Pascale et al. 2010:

1. progress is made quickly, without requiring a lot of outside analysis or resources;

2. resulting benefits can be sustained because the solution originates and is grounded in the community; and

3. the approach can be broadly applied as positive deviants exist in every community.

One requirement of the PD approach is to strike a balance in identifying uncommon, but not *too rare*, positive deviance examples and strategies. This is because rarer strategies are costly to identify and replicate and more common strategies may fail to stimulate new thinking amongst vulnerable groups (Marsh et al. 2004). In addition, some strategies are, in PD parlance, designated as "true but useless" (TBUs). That is, they are factors that contribute to the success of the individual using them, but, because they are not accessible to all persons, they cannot be practiced by everyone in the group and, thus, are "useless" in solving the problem on a more systemic basis. Thus, part of a Positive Deviance Inquiry is to eliminate these strategies (Sparks 2004).

In sum, PD is an asset-based approach, which is applied to problems requiring behaviour and social change. It is based on the following principles (as outlined in Pascale et al. 2010):

- *Communities have the solutions*. Community members are experts in their own lives and best placed to solve their own problems. The community discovers existing uncommon, successful behaviours and strategies. Community members recognise that "someone just like me" can get results, even in the worst-case scenarios. PD is based on respect for the community, its members and its culture and focuses on interactive engagement and capacity, letting the community lead the process.

- *Community organisation*. Communities self-organise and have the human resources and social assets to solve an agreed-upon problem. The community designs ways to practice and amplify successful behaviours and strategies and unleashes innovation. All individuals or groups who are part of the problem are also part of the solution and hence the PD process involves all parties who affect the problem. That is, "don't do anything about me without me."

- *Collective intelligence.* Intelligence and know-how is not concentrated in community leadership or in external experts; it is distributed throughout the community. The PD process draws out collective intelligence and applies it to a specific problem requiring behaviour or social change. The community creates its own benchmarks and monitors progress.

- *Sustainability*. The PD approach enables the community to seek and discover sustainable solutions to a given problem because PD behaviours (i.e. the demonstrably successful uncommon behaviours) are already practiced in the community, within the constraints and challenges of the current situation.

- *Practice oriented.* The PD approach maintains that it is easier to change behaviour by practicing new behaviour rather than through knowledge. That is, "it is easier to act your way into a new way of thinking than to think your way into a new way of acting."

3.2 PD in practice

There are six "Ds" in the positive deviance approach, which guide the process, as outlined in Sparks (2004):

1. **Define:** Define the problem and the perceived causes and the related community behavioural norms. Define what a successful solution/outcome would look like (described as a "behavioural outcome" or "status outcome").
2. **Determine:** Determine whether there any individuals or entities in the community who already exhibit the desired behaviour or status (identification of "positive deviants").
3. **Discover:** Discover the unique practices or behaviours that enable positive deviants to outperform or find better solutions to problems than others in their community. (identification of "positive deviant strategies").
4. **Design:** Design and implement an intervention that enables others in the community to experience and practice new behaviours (focus on "doing" rather than the transfer of knowledge).
5. **Discern:** Discern the effectiveness of the intervention (determined by on-going monitoring and evaluation).
6. **Disseminate:** Make the intervention accessible to a wider constituency (replication or scaling up).

Implementing a PD project in practice means to partner with communities, typically in a series of steps. The first step is, as noted above, to define the problem and what would be the desired outcome. Community leaders and experts then work to identify those who have achieved an unexpected and positive outcome vis-à-vis the problem faced, despite having the same resources and constraints as others. This might be done through interviews with "positive deviants", to discover uncommon behaviours or enabling factors that explain the positive outcome. It may also be useful to observe individuals and the community more generally as a means of identifying positive deviants and their strategies. The next step is to analyse the findings from interviews and observations

and assess if behaviours are uncommon and accessible to those who need to adopt them. It is then possible to design behaviour change activities to encourage adoption of the PD behaviours, after which it will be necessary to monitor implementation of PD strategies and evaluate the results (Marsh et al. 2004: 1177).

These steps are meant to facilitate three processes – social mobilisation, information gathering and behaviour change. Marsh et al. (2004) outline these processes as follows:

- *Social mobilisation.* The community is mobilised around the issue (in our case, trafficking prevention) and in finding solutions to this issue. The community is motivated by the fact that there are those within the community (positive deviants) that are "doing something right" and that a solution to the problem already exists in the community.
- *Information gathering.* Information is gathered to identify the behaviours and factors that account for the good outcome (i.e. not being trafficked) and positive deviants promote good behavioural outcomes.
- *Behaviour change.* Behaviour is changed in the community through the mobilisation of PD strategies.

A successful application of the PD approach, as mentioned above, was by the NGO Save the Children in addressing child malnutrition in Vietnam. At the time, conventional wisdom was that malnutrition in communities was due to overarching structural issues such as food distribution patterns, illiteracy, poor sanitation, the role of women in society and so on. But, at the same time, some poor families in Vietnam had children who were adequately nourished. By using a Positive Deviance Inquiry, villagers inquired and documented how these poor families (the "positive deviants") were able to adequately nourish their children. It was learned, for example, that "positive deviants" (i.e. mothers of well-nourished children) were adding small shrimps and crabs from surrounding rice paddies as well as sweet potato greens to children's meals. While these foods were widely accessible, most community members viewed them as inappropriate and harmful for young children. Other positive deviant behaviours involved the timing and methods of providing food (e.g. actively feeding children) and other health care practices. To mobilise and spread these PD strategies, PD mothers taught neighbours how to cook new recipes using these ingredients and to share their health and child care practices. After a two year pilot study, malnutrition decreased by 85 per cent. Over the next decade, the intervention was replicated in 250 communities around Vietnam and helped rehabilitate an estimated 50,000 malnourished children under the age of five years (Lapping et al. 2002; Pascale et al. 2010; Walzer 2002). The approach became sustainable not least because results (healthier and well-nourished children) were visible and relatively swift and accessible to everyone.

Successes notwithstanding, PD is not a suitable methodology in all situations and will not be effective in tackling all issues and problems. In addition, it is critical that the community agrees that there is a problem that needs addressing. As Sternin has noted, "Usually [people] agree there is a problem. If they don't, that's the end of the [PD] inquiry" (Sparks 2004). Additionally, a problem must be sufficiently significant to warrant a PD application because this approach is time-consuming and requires extensive human resources (Walzer 2002). Moreover, a PD approach needs to be sufficiently specific and targeted, as Sternin has noted in discussing the methodology:

> ...the positive deviance approach is always used within the context of a very specific problem. We wouldn't try to improve educational performance because that is too broad a subject. Instead, we would define within it particular problems and do a positive deviance inquiry for each of them. For instance, parents' participation in their children's education would be a separate inquiry from improving reading in the primary grades. This makes it easier to identify the positive deviants, who may be different individuals in different situations (Sparks 2004).

3.3 Previous use of PD in trafficking prevention

As previously mentioned, PD was used in a trafficking prevention project targeting child trafficking in Indonesia. In many ways, its application in the trafficking prevention field is based on the same principle as for nutrition, health or other issues. That is, the method identifies persons who have and have not been trafficked and the factors that make some people and not others vulnerable to trafficking under similar circumstances. Successful strategies for avoiding trafficking are then identified and replicated with the at-risk population. By working with and learning from individuals who have not been trafficked ("positive deviants"), it is possible to understand and replicate strategies that they employ to prevent being trafficked and factors that contribute to their safe migration. And, as in other implementations of the PD approach, identifying locally accessible resources contributes to these strategies being available to others.

This methodology was used with communities in Indonesia deemed at high risk of child trafficking toward the design of a community-based prevention programme. The programme was initiated by Save the Children and the Indonesian NGO Lembaga Pelesenan Kenderaan Perdagangan (LPKP), which first piloted the approach in three communities and later scaled and replicated it in 30 communities (Dura & Singhal 2009; Save the Children nd). The implementation is particularly well documented in one of the initial pilot communities where there was a high prevalence of girls traf-

ficked into the sex industry. A baseline study found that in the village (consisting of 778 households) there were 106 cases of trafficked girls (Save the Children nd).

The project team (which included the NGO, LPKP already working locally) approached and recruited 17 local community leaders (*cadres*) to participate in the project as community volunteers and collaboratively specify and define the problem and work towards its solution. The objective of the project was to provide the *cadres* and LPKP staff with a deeper understanding of the positive deviance approach in general and to introduce how it could be used to address the problem of girls being trafficked from the community into the sex industry. That being said, the issue of trafficking was approached indirectly and it was not initially made explicit at the first meetings that child trafficking was the intended focus of the project. Rather, the initial workshop with community leaders was introduced as an opportunity to learn how the PD approach could be used to address community problems in general. This was done to approach the issue in a less direct way, given that the issue and was perceived by LPK project staff to be quite sensitive for some of the village *cadres*. The issue of trafficking emerged over the course of the workshop as an issue within the community and then was determined to be the focus of the PD project itself (Sternin 2004, cf. Dura & Singhal 2009).

Once community volunteers were trained in the PD approach, they then undertook a PD inquiry, identifying PD families (i.e. families of the same socio-economic class as the families whose daughters had been trafficked), to learn about the strategies they used to avoid their daughters being trafficked. Community volunteers/leaders interviewed PD families about their practices and parenting, including their thoughts on how girls could be prevented from being trafficked into the sex industry. Through this process, they identified a number of things that PD parents were doing to protect their daughters from trafficking (i.e. "positive deviant strategies"). Some strategies were tied to income generation – e.g. some PD families grew diversified crops to be harvested at different times of year, giving higher income stability; some PD families helped their daughters establish small businesses that supplemented the family income. Other PD strategies were to emphasise the value of education (both formal and vocational) and to openly discuss the dangers of human trafficking within the family. Further, when daughters did leave the community for work, PD parents would investigate the employers and stay in regular contact by phone and letters to monitor their child's well-being and situation and ensure that they did not end up in the sex industry (Dura & Singhal 2009; Save the children nd).

Following the identification of local positive deviant strategies, the community itself, in collaboration with the *cadres* and the NGO partner, developed a local action plan to mobilise these strategies in the community. They approached families who were thought to have daughters at-risk of being trafficked and discussed the various PD strategies as well as how to make migration safer. They also established community "watch

groups", consisting of *cadres*, PD families, formal and informal leaders and community members, who monitored known brokers and traffickers (Dura & Singhal 2009).

When researchers visited the community two years later to assess the PD project, they documented a higher awareness of trafficking, a greater openness to discussing this previously sensitive issue and that no new girls had left the community for the sex industry. There were also more general activities initiated by the community, such as the establishment of a girls' youth club and seeking government funding for expanding training opportunities for girls in the community Further, the community had embraced the PD approach as way of addressing other issues in the community (Dura & Singhal 2009; Save the children nd).

While successful on many levels, some aspects of this PD project merit careful consideration – not least those that involve restrictions on movement and migration as well as the use of community watch groups, which may potentially infringe on individual rights and freedoms. Existing literature and analysis on the project has not documented unintended or negative consequences, something that would contribute to a better understanding of how PD may best be used in the context of trafficking prevention.

Another example of how the PD approach has been used in trafficking prevention is in Nepal (described in Clawson 2002). This project was implemented by the Nuwakot District Development Committee with technical support from Save the Children – US. This particular application was different from the Indonesia project in that the intention was to use the principles of PD to broadly inform programming in preventing trafficking in girls. Rather than fully implementing a PD approach (that is, both identifying PD individuals, families and strategies *and* mobilising these strategies with at-risk populations within the same community), the project aimed to use a Positive Deviance Inquiry (PDI) to identify PD strategies to inform an overarching programme response. The core principles of the PD approach were used to inform the research methodology and research questions. This points to the potential for flexibility in a PD approach and demonstrates that the core principles may be implemented in different ways, depending on local context and the overarching goal.

In the Nepal project, staff faced constraints that complicated implementation, not the least of which was extreme resistance in many families and communities to openly discuss or even acknowledge human trafficking. Further, during project implementation, the security situation in the country was unstable, due to an insurgency and State of Emergency.[4] This prevented researchers from visiting some communities with a high prevalence of trafficking in girls, thus, limiting the opportunity to access important

[4] The civil war in Nepal– an armed conflict between government forces and Maoist fighters - was fought from 1996 until 2006 . It began in February 1996 when the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoists) sought to overthrow the Nepalese monarchy and establish a People's Republic. The civil war officially came to an end in November 2006, with the signing of a peace accord.

information and experiences. In the end, the security situation deteriorated to such an extent that it was not possible to complete the PDI (Clawson 2002).

Although this PDI project was not completed, we include it in this discussion for several reasons. Firstly, it presents and points to the potential for drawing on core principles in PD, rather than fully implementing a PD project, in identifying local and specific strategies that can be used to inform programming and prevention efforts more broadly. Secondly, it illustrates that the social, cultural or political environment may not always be conducive to implementing a PD approach (or indeed other trafficking prevention efforts based on some level of open discussion), both because of resistance to the issue or, as in this case, because of security concerns. Thirdly, this project report also highlights some very central issues to consider when transferring an approach originally developed and, to a large extent, implemented in the fields of health and nutrition, to a more complex issue:

> [...] the beauty of applying PD in the context of malnutrition is the reasonably high likelihood of finding strategies that could be implemented here and now, with existing resources, such as feeding children currently available food. In the case of trafficking, if differences were found in areas such as gender attitudes, family relationships or levels of knowledge, any ensuing programming would likely require extensive, long-term behavior-change campaigns in those communities to encourage other families to attain similar levels of knowledge and adopt similar attitudes and relationships (Clawson 2002).

This points to the complex social dynamic underpinning vulnerability to human trafficking and some of the limitations in promoting change directly for some of the underlying risk factors. Deeper social patterns that uphold gender relations or family relationships may not necessarily be easy, or even possible, to change and may also have social implications far beyond the problem that we seek to address.

In a phenomenon as complex as trafficking, the link between cause and effect may be less apparent, than, for instance, in nutrition. This is important in considering the use of a PD approach in two different ways.

Firstly, identifying protective or successful practices can be somewhat less straightforward in the field of human trafficking. While it is possible to identify specific and locally available foods that provide better nutrition than other foods, identifying strategies that, with a high degree of certainty, specifically protect against human trafficking may be less straightforward.

Secondly, in mobilising the community and encouraging community members to take on new practices to prevent trafficking, positive results may be less apparent and the advantages of participating may not be immediately obvious. Contrasting this with children's nutrition, researchers found that better feeding practices were upheld even several years after a PD approach to nutrition was implemented in a community, most

commonly because parents could see that their children looked healthier (Mackintosh et al. 2002). By contrast, it may not be apparent or visible in the case of trafficking prevention that trafficking has, in fact, been prevented.

3.3.1 Using PD in trafficking prevention – how prevalent does the problem need to be?

As noted above, implementing a PD approach requires that the problem to be addressed is the norm, or at least sufficiently prevalent, in the community to warrant this type of intensive approach. Equally important is that the positive deviant strategies are uncommon (but not too uncommon) and based on available resources in the community. The name of the approach itself, positive *deviance*, points exactly to the idea that the positive strategies deviate from the norm, in a positive way. In the Indonesian trafficking prevention pilot project (discussed in the previous section) there was a high prevalence of trafficking, with 106 documented cases in a village consisting of 778 households. And in the Nepal project (also described above), the aim was also to target communities with a high prevalence of human trafficking; the criterion for community inclusion was that 30% of girls in the community had been trafficked (Clawson 2002).

In our use of this approach, we have not set as a precondition that positive deviant behaviours are necessarily uncommon in the community as a whole, but rather, that they are uncommon (or unknown) in at-risk subpopulations in the community, or among trafficking victims. "Deviance" is, thus, understood as those who "deviate" from the unwanted consequence (i.e. in our context, being trafficked) and not those that deviate from the norm or most common scenario (i.e. migration).

This is one of the points where our use of a PD approach may, in some sense, depart from the ways in which it has been commonly used in the past and it is perhaps more accurate to say that our project draws on, rather than fully implements, a PD methodology. But we maintain that the fundamental ideas behind the PD approach may also be applied to address more marginal, and yet very serious, problems, rather than only very prevalent and common problems in the community.

When using a PD approach in the trafficking prevention directed at adults, there are two issues in particular that supports thinking about positive deviance in this way.

Firstly, in most contexts, and in our experience with trafficked adults, trafficking is a disparate phenomenon that may not necessarily affect entire communities as such, but may be more prevalent in subgroups in communities. These subgroups may sometimes be disadvantaged and discriminated against groups and, thus, identifiable. In such situations, we are more easily able to foresee using the PD approach directly. However, trafficking victims do not always come from communities or belong to groups where many others have been trafficked. While they may sometimes belong to (identifiable)

vulnerable groups, their vulnerability may also be of a more individual nature, for instance, in terms of their social or economic situation.

Secondly, trafficking in adults can occur along a spectrum of unsafe migration or exploitative relationships and is defined differently from trafficking in children. The international definition of trafficking[5] in adults lists a set of actions (recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons), carried out by a set of means (and importantly in this context this includes the abuse of a position of vulnerability, in addition to abduction, fraud, etc.), for the purpose of exploitation. The inclusion of "the abuse of a position of vulnerability" leaves the definition open to some level of interpretation and, therefore, there exists a lack of clarity in application in domestic laws (Gallagher and McAdam 2013). Further, this means that it may sometimes be unclear when an exploitative situation is and is not considered trafficking.

On the other hand, the definition of trafficking in children, states: "The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered 'trafficking in persons' even if this does not involve any of the means […]." As a consequence, the definition of child trafficking is less open to interpretation – any of the actions undertaken with the purpose of exploitation constitute trafficking. Because of this difference it may not be possible to identify whether a community has a high prevalence of trafficking in adults to the same extent that one can identify child trafficking.[6]

Another issue that affects the possibility of identifying incidences of adult trafficking is that trafficking is, in many communities and societies, generally understood as trafficking of women (and girls) for prostitution. Exploitative migration experiences among men (or indeed labour exploitation of women and men) may not necessarily be understood as trafficking and consequently, not "counted" towards the prevalence of trafficking in a community.

[5] This definition is set forth in the Trafficking Protocol, Article 3: (a) "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs; (b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used; (c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article;(d) "Child" shall mean any person under eighteen years of age.

[6] This is not to say that there are no controversies regarding what should and what should not be defined as child trafficking, only that it has one less aspect for interpretation than the adult definition (see for instance Kielland 2013).

4 The trafficking prevention pilot project

As mentioned above, we undertook this project to test the use of the positive deviance methodology in efforts to prevent human trafficking. Because the PD methodology has been used as a means of trafficking prevention on only a few occasions, the overall aim was to adapt the methodology and assess its appropriateness for this particular field of work by testing it in a pilot project. The pilot project was implemented over the course of two years in Albania, starting in 2011, in a partnership between Fafo, NEXUS Institute and Different and Equal (D&E). The project consisted of two main phases, as outlined below:

Phase 1. Identifying PD strategies. During this phase we undertook a Positive Deviance Inquiry (PDI), in which we gathered and assessed information about the local context of trafficking and of migration more broadly. The central goal was to identify PD practices that could form the foundation for safer migration practices more broadly in the community. Another goal of this phase was to mobilise support for and local commitment to the project.

Phase 2. PD project implementation. In this phase we sought to mobilise the PD strategies identified through the PDI, in close cooperation with the community itself. A central process was to collaboratively identify and implement locally appropriate and relevant methods for social mobilisation around the issues of trafficking prevention and safe migration.

Over the course of these two main phases, we undertook a numbers of steps and, moreover, made a number of adjustments, which are described in more detail below. In addition, we also describe the process of securing local commitment to the project as well as its sustainability. Finally, in this chapter, we describe the observable outcomes of the pilot project in this particular community.

4.1 Phase 1: Identifying PD strategies and building a relationship with the community

4.1.1 Preparation for the PDI: identifying an NGO partner and selecting a community for implementation

As previously mentioned, the project as a whole was initiated by Fafo and NEXUS, two research institutes, based on an interest in testing alternative means of trafficking prevention. An important decision, even before seeking funding, was the local partner with which we would cooperate for implementation. Most commonly in the PD method, PD experts collaborate with a community-based partner where the project is to be implemented. This organisation or partner will both be known in the community and will also have detailed local knowledge *of* the community. In this case, we chose a slightly different strategy and approached the Albanian non-governmental organisation Different & Equal (D&E), which works on human trafficking issues in Albania generally. Their work includes providing assistance and reintegration support to trafficking victims as well as conducting prevention efforts. D&E is based in the capital, Tirana, which meant partnering with an organisation that was not based in the community where the project was to be implemented.

The rationale for choosing D&E (and not a partner based in the community) was their extensive experience and competence in human trafficking generally, which would provide added value in effective project implementation as well as safeguard against any unwanted (and potentially harmful) consequences. Importantly, and in light of criticism against some previous trafficking prevention efforts, having a highly competent partner that is specialised in human trafficking (both prevention and assistance) meant that they would not implement inappropriate responses to human trafficking – e.g. aiming to curb women's migration, failing to refer cases in need of assistance, failing to recognise cases of male trafficking or trafficking for forced labour and so on. D&E also knew how (and has a structure in place) to handle cases of trafficking victims (current or past) identified in the community over the course of the project, including referrals and the provision of comprehensive reintegration assistance (e.g. legal, social, financial, economic, etc.). This turned out to be important in the project, as victims of trafficking *were* identified (and offered assistance) as a direct result of project implementation.

The advantage of having a partner that is expert in trafficking issues outweighed the potential disadvantage of not being based in and local to the implementing community. We were, however, conscious that this required the partner spending more time than was perhaps common when conducting a PD approach, to provide the opportunity for D&E to identify a relevant community and, not least, to build community relationships over time.

The next preparatory step was to identify a community that would be appropriate for and receptive to implementing this pilot project. Based on the criteria below, we

identified six potential communities, from which we then selected one. The chosen town has approximately 30,000 inhabitants. Our criteria included:

- Known incidence of migration
- Known incidence of human trafficking
- A community that D&E already worked in, were familiar with or had contacts in (to ease access)
- Safety and security considerations for staff and community leaders/members (e.g. presence of traffickers in community)

Known incidence of migration. Since the 1920s, this town was home to several industries and factories. The local industries were already in decline following the end of the communist era and closure of several factories followed the collapse of the Albanian economy in the late 1990s. Many of the town's community leaders attribute the current high levels of migration to this weak local economy and lack of economic opportunity.

While the town has a high level of migration, it is difficult to document exact numbers or patterns. Much migration has been irregular – across the mountainous border between Albania and Greece – and patterns of migration have changed over time and in response to the economic situation, visa regimes and so on. Regardless, it is worth noting that migration is in many ways socially normative and it was not difficult to find quite large numbers of returned migrants when working in the community.

Known incidence of human trafficking. In terms of the incidence of human trafficking, D&E had assisted a number of trafficking victims originating from the area. The victims were women and girls trafficked primarily for sexual exploitation but also, in some cases, for forced labour.

Community where D&E had contacts. D&E had contacts in the community who were interested in and saw value in partnering on the project, providing a critical gateway into the community. The initial contact person, who was well respected in the community, worked within the municipal structure and had knowledge of human trafficking, was helpful in advising on how to approach the issue of trafficking in the local community (not least because human trafficking was sensitive for many community leaders and members) as well as in identifying appropriate leaders and community members to meet in the project.

Safety and security considerations. One important consideration was the security situation for the staff in engaging closely with the community over time on such a sensitive topic and also for project participants in the community itself. Crucially in this context, working to prevent trafficking may, in some contexts, put staff in a precarious situation if they are perceived to work against the interests of local traffickers. Sometimes traffickers are part of (multi-)criminal networks, which in itself poses a

security threat. But even when trafficking takes place in ways less obviously linked with criminal networks, there may be people in the community who, in various ways, profit from trafficking (e.g. in recruitment or in issuing documents that facilitate trafficking and so on) and who may perceive a trafficking prevention project as a threat to their income. One of the six communities from the initial list was excluded as a potential site for implementation because of security concerns. While the community had a high prevalence of trafficking, it also had a high prevalence of locally-based traffickers.

4.1.2 Connecting with community leadership

A priority very early on in the project was to ensure local commitment to and ownership over the project. The PD approach presupposes that change can and should be locally derived and driven, drawing on local resources, expertise and existing PD strategies. This meant meeting with community leaders to discuss the proposed pilot project, including the method, approach and goals. The gatekeeper played a critical role from this early stage in facilitating and smoothing access to community leaders and toward building and sustaining relationships with community leadership for the full duration of the project.

Community leaders were engaged in refining the focus of the project, based on their knowledge of the community and who might be considered at-risk of trafficking or having been previously trafficked. One recommendation was to focus on the Roma population noting that this is a socio-economically disadvantaged group, where there were several known cases of unsafe migration, exploitation and human trafficking.

These early meetings pointed to a somewhat varied interest in and openness to discussing human trafficking in this community. One municipal representative expressed scepticism that trafficking was an issue in the community and was, in her tone and demeanour, resistant to discussing the issue. Similarly, another official said that he had encountered very few trafficking cases in his work. This suggested that an exclusive focus on trafficking might not be well received and could potentially even be alienating of community leaders and leadership.

4.1.3 Refining the PD approach for trafficking prevention in the local context

We next adapted the PD approach for implementation in this particular community and context. As outlined above, we identified three issues in particular that needed addressing:

1. *Problems linked to a direct focus on trafficking*. Initial contact with the community indicated that a specific focus on human trafficking was potentially problematic for two reasons:

    a. A bias in perceptions of trafficking in the community (consistent with Albania as a whole) in which trafficking is most commonly understood to be women trafficked for sexual exploitation (whereas men or women exploited for labour would not necessarily be seen as trafficked); and
    b. Resistance among some community leaders (and, arguably, by extension within the community at large) to acknowledge trafficking as a problem in the community,[7] which meant that focussing solely on trafficking could create resistance to the project.

2. *Difficulties in identifying victims of trafficking in the community*. Trafficking victims and persons at-risk for trafficking were difficult to identify directly through community members and leaders.[8] It remains unclear whether local actors, regardless of their knowledge of the community and its inhabitants, would always be sufficiently informed about human trafficking to make a sound assessment of who is and is not at-risk as well as what would be positive deviant strategies. This was particularly a concern in terms of less considered forms of trafficking (e.g. of adult men and boys, for forced labour, exploitation for street selling and begging, sexual exploitation of boys and so on). This means that positive deviants – i.e. persons who are in a similar socio-economic situation but who succeed in protecting themselves against trafficking – could also not be easily identified, which was central to this methodology.

3. *Project partner was not locally based*. Because D&E was not based in the community, time was needed for D&E to become known and build trust with local leadership and community members before the mobilisation of positive deviant strategies. It

[7] This is consistent with our past experiences in the working on human trafficking in Albania and an issue that D&E also highlighted as critically important in terms of working on trafficking prevention.

[8] Identification of trafficking cases by community leaders and volunteers was the approach used in one of the few projects that have employed PD in trafficking prevention, in Indonesia, as described in the previous chapter.

was also important for D&E to familiarise themselves with the local context and leadership, which allowed them to consider the best ways to approach the design and implementation of the pilot project.

Because of these issues, we made two adjustments to the PD approach in this project. In addressing resistance to discussing trafficking as well as bias in perception of what trafficking is, the first adjustment was to include the goal of trafficking prevention in a broader framework of fostering safe migration. This adjustment facilitated more openness to the issue and offset the potential for stigmatisation of project participants.[9]

We also needed to address the fact that it was hard to identify victims of trafficking in the community, and by implication, their "successful counterparts" (i.e. positive deviants) through community members and leaders. The second adjustment was, therefore, to identify PD strategies through a Positive Deviance Inquiry carried out by the project partners, rather than have these be identified directly by the community leadership. We also observed that identification of at-risk and positive deviant categories in the community, based on the assessment of local leadership only, could be ethically problematic in this context. Trafficking remains stigmatised and, in many places, blaming trafficking victims is not uncommon. There is, therefore, a risk that families or individuals who were seen as displaying "problematic behaviours" generally could be assumed to make "bad choices" regarding migration leading to trafficking and, by default, be categorised as at-risk. This is a general issue with the mobilisation of communities to address unwanted behaviours and outcomes. That is, how sure can we be that local assessments and proposed solutions are empirically sound and not informed by power dynamics within communities and social and cultural biases?

Conducting a PDI meant a more involved and long-term engagement of the project staff in identifying PD strategies for preventing trafficking. This also meant that D&E had a longer presence in the community before engaging in decisions about the best ways to mobilise these strategies, which was the third issue that we needed to address. As critically, it also allowed D&E greater insight into the community itself, which could serve to augment the relevance and appropriateness of the subsequent PD strategies and piloting component as well as the opportunity to build stronger relationships with the local leadership.

[9] As we have touched upon, trafficking continues to be a sensitive issue, not least due to its association with prostitution. Visibly targeting individuals or groups for a trafficking prevention project can, therefore, unintentionally create the potential for stigmatisation in the local community and the implication that individuals or groups are somehow connected to prostitution. It is also important to be mindful of other ways that trafficking may be stigmatised or stigmatising. While stigma connected to prostitution is well known and obvious, in many contexts there is a great deal of humiliation and disgrace connected with failing at migration (e.g. not being able to return with money or help family and so on). It is, therefore, important to carefully consider the local context, whether stigmatisation may be an issue and, if so, how if can be avoided.

4.1.4 PDI first stage: Preliminary identification of PD strategies

After adapting the PD methodology to the local context, the research and NGO project partners worked collaboratively on identifying positive deviant strategies during fieldwork. We conducted interviews with different categories of respondents to better understand how migration took place from the community and any potential vulnerabilities and resiliencies amongst migrants. We focused on interviews with former migrants to better understand the experiences of migration from the community, including "successful migrants" (those who migrated safely and were not exploited) and "unsuccessful migrants" (those who did not migrate safely and were exploited, including cases of trafficking).

We also approached interviews with the perspective that PD strategies that avoided trafficking could include migrating safely as well as finding alternatives to migration. This was part of our broader approach to trafficking prevention, which does not take a position against migration *per se*, but rather looks to what is needed to keep people safe from trafficking (at home or abroad). This was an important aspect of our use of the PD approach.

Over the course of fieldwork in November 2011, we conducted 17 interviews with migrants and analysed what PD strategies could be identified. This analysis gave a certain impression of PD strategies in this local context, but we were concerned that the foundation was insufficient for the pilot project implementation as it was a challenge to identify strategies that could be linked specifically and concretely with preventing trafficking.

Further, we found that the migration experiences shared were highly varied, reflecting, in all probability, the variety of migration experiences, but also making it difficult to identify positive deviant strategies. Respondents also tended to focus on their early migration experiences (as compared to recent migration), meaning any strategies might not be relevant for the current (and significantly changed) political and economic context of migration or the current situation in the community. Such PD strategies would not necessarily mesh with the current social, economic and political situation that today's migrants faced.

Some of the more general issues that came up as being conducive to safe migration were:

- To migrate legally,
- To have contacts in the destination country, and
- To have at least an elementary knowledge of the language in the destination country.

While useful in some situations, we were also concerned that these PD strategies were unfeasible for some migrants (and, arguably, those most vulnerable to trafficking). And

we were concerned that these interviews did not realise a sufficient level of detail about how these strategies could be translated into concrete strategies that others could use.

While these initial 17 interviews pointed to some general issues that could foster safe migration, we wanted information more specifically on *how* successful migrants managed to realise these strategies – for instance, how prospective migrants can learn the language of the destination country, what the procedures and options were for migrating legally and how migrants went about making contacts in destination countries. In accordance with the principles of the PD method, this more specific information could later be mobilised as PD strategies for others to emulate. We, therefore, extended the PDI, to develop a more carefully derived and practical set of tools and strategies to prevent trafficking.

4.1.5 PDI second stage: Expanding the scope, narrowing the focus

We extended the PDI for an additional five months, to obtain sufficiently detailed information on which to build the pilot project implementation. This period involved refining interview criteria, developing research tools, conducting interviews and community observation and on-going contact with the community and community leaders.

In addition, we determined in the first stage of the PDI that several respondents (e.g. victims of domestic violence, people in need of medical assistance) had unmet assistance needs, but little knowledge of where to get help. We, therefore, developed a referral sheet of services in the community to share with respondents. This proved to be a useful and welcome tool in communicating with respondents and other community members in the second stage of the PDI as many had unmet assistance needs and some were former victims of trafficking in need of assistance.[10] That being said, compiling information for the development of the referral sheet took a great deal of time. D&E generally needed to interview each institution or organisation to collect accurate information, making it a labour intensive, time consuming and, ultimately, resource-heavy process.

Over the course of the PDI (first and second stages) we conducted 57 interviews with migrants and victims of trafficking. We aimed to balance the respondent selection in terms of gender and ethnicity as well as narrowed the scope to migration to Greece to allow for the identification of more specific and targeted strategies.

During this period the sensitivity and ethical considerations surrounding the accessing of trafficked persons became clear. To carefully focus the identification of PD strategies required understanding who was trafficked and finding persons with similar characteristics whose successful migration strategies could then be identified.

[10] These referral sheets later translated into the development of a handbook for migrants, which is discussed in more detail in the later sections and formed a critical component of this project

However, migrants were initially resistant to talking about their negative experiences of migration, including those who we learned through subsequent interviews had, in fact, been trafficked. It was even difficult to identify "typical" cases of trafficking from Albania (i.e. trafficking for sexual exploitation) in the community because of reluctance amongst local gatekeepers to pass on information about the project and requests for interviews to people they knew had been trafficked for sexual exploitation. It was even more difficult to identify other types of trafficking in the community – e.g. of forced labour or men being trafficked.

Community leaders facilitated access to respondents from their constituencies based on an evolving interview criteria. They were also kept abreast of the project over the course of fieldwork and, over time, became invested in the project. Over this period and through on-going contact and communication, D&E's role in and relationship with the community was bolstered and trust was fostered. Engagement of community leadership was an important aspect of the project – to ensure that the project was appropriate in how it was targeted but also toward sustainability in the long-term.

4.1.6 Positive deviant strategies

The design of the pilot project was challenging given the diversity of migration (and, arguably, also trafficking) in the community that were disclosed in the PDI, which meant that pinpointing PD strategies was not easy or direct. One concern was that what constituted PD strategies for some individuals would not be relevant or helpful for others (that is, "true but useless", as discussed in chapter 3). Another concern was to ensure that any PD strategy suggested was ethical in that it did not infringe on anyone's human and civil rights or in some way cause harm or negative consequences. This was of concern, for example, in terms of identifying PD strategies related to safe migration. As previously noted, in some situations, safe migration programmes have essentially meant no migration, which is neither realistic nor appropriate/ethical, particularly in the case of adults. Similarly, given the vulnerability faced by irregular migrants, we also wanted to avoid strategies that facilitated or promoted illegal migration. It was necessary to measure each PD strategy and pilot project approach against not only the practical solutions being used and proposed, but also against this ethical yardstick.

Critically, the pilot project (including the PD strategies shared) was not narrowly focused as is typical in many PD programmes.[11] Instead, the PD strategies straddled a range of different migration experiences and risks and tried to offer various options and alternatives that might fit with different people's situations and needs. We chose

[11] For example, the PD project implemented in Indonesia to prevent trafficking (see chapter 3) focused very specifically on the trafficking of girls into the entertainment industry in nearby cities. It did not aim to target other forms of trafficking which might have been occurring from the same community – e.g. trafficking of domestic workers, forced labour or men and boys, etc.

this approach because we were trying to reach as many different at-risk groups as possible within the community and were also seeking to offer options on how to manage risk, not wishing to be excessively prescriptive or restrictive in the proposed strategies. We also found that because migrants did not always divulge trafficking experiences it was difficult to identify specific PD strategies.

PD strategies fell broadly into four categories:

1. Preparing for migration in terms of personal resources, timing and the advisability of migration (e.g. language skills, professional skills, cost assessment, etc.);
2. Collecting information about the destination country (knowledge of culture, laws, language);
3. Establishing a social network in the destination country and community, both before going and while away; and
4. Being familiar with and following the legal and institutional framework for migration (e.g. obtaining residence and work permits, knowing where to go for help).

More specifically, PD strategies, as described by the community members, were to:

- Have information about the country you are going to
- Carefully choose the country that you are migrating to; collect information about the destination country before migrating
- Have knowledge of the culture of the destination country
- Have basic knowledge of the language of the destination country
- Have knowledge of the laws of the destination country and respect them
- Have legal documents – for travel and for work
- Know somebody in the destination country who can assist with housing and finding a job upon arrival
- Have information about services and support in the place where you live and work
- Know the emergency numbers in the place you live (e.g. police, hospital, etc.)
- Learn a profession while away or know a profession before migrating
- Register in an employment office for any job opportunities
- Have information about existing different organisations, associations that can assist you in the destination country
- Keep contact with former employers in the destination country

- Establish and maintain contact with influential persons in the community, like the head of the village
- Make your own evaluation of the costs and benefits of migration; see what you can afford and assess your personal resources before migrating
- Find a network of informal support in the destination community, not only among Albanians, but also Greeks

Some of these PD strategies were relatively readily available, such as focusing on building and sustaining relationships and support networks, while others were more complicated. In particular, migrating in a safe and legal manner was repeatedly underlined, not least by people who had experience with both legal and illegal migration. This illustrates a challenge when using the PD approach in a field that can require quite complex strategies or solutions, as can be the case with migration. When PD methodology has been used to address, for instance nutrition, it has been possible to offer guidance in terms of feeding practices or by encouraging parents to grow or collect locally available food. As such, it is an accessible practice, something that that can be done within one's existing options and opportunities. Encouraging legal migration, however, requires orienting oneself in a complex institutional and legal framework, if it is even possible at all. In the same way, the positive deviant strategy that involves assessing whether it is actually a good idea to migrate, may also involve assessing what alternatives exist at home, including possibilities for support, education or benefits, also involves institutional orientation and knowledge. This may be difficult, confusing or intimidating, especially amongst the socially vulnerable and marginalised.

To make these PD strategies replicable, we needed to provide information also about *how* to realise these more complicated strategies. And, at the same time (and as previously mentioned as a factor that spurred the development of the referral sheet), we observed that a lot of people, and not least the most vulnerable people, had very little information and knowledge about the institutional framework for support and assistance in their community. Thus, the project yielded the idea of building on the referral sheet of local services, as a tool for enhancing the replication of the PD strategies. We considered this particularly promising for strategies that required specific knowledge about legal frameworks and institutions, relative to strategies that involved adopting more informal practices.

One important observation during this period was that not all PD strategies were equally feasible or relevant for all categories of migrants. Legal migration was not be an option for everyone. Similarly, having contacts or building a support network in the destination country will not always be possible, or sufficiently protective, for some of the most vulnerable people. In this observation, there is also the recognition that vul-

nerability in the context of trafficking may take many different forms and vary greatly. This poses a great challenge in trafficking prevention generally, as discussed in chapter 2.

Also, as discussed in the chapter on trafficking prevention, in some cases, it makes sense to think about trafficking as migration "gone wrong". That is, at some point, for instance due to lack of information or contacts, migrants may become vulnerable to exploitation because they do not have access to or knowledge about other alternatives. This may, to some extent, be tackled by addressing these particular issues, for instance in a PD approach. For example, one young woman who was deceived by a family member during migration and forced into prostitution, might have been able to avoid this exploitation (or at least escape at a much earlier stage) had she had access to some of the PD strategies noted above, not least information about assistance available in the destination country and the ability to communicate in the Greek language. As she herself said, she did not know how to escape or where to turn for help: "...I was obliged to do what [my relative] told me. I did not know the place; I did not know where to go and what to do. I could not communicate because I did not know Greek language. So I was forced to work as a prostitute."

In other cases, however, vulnerability can most likely only be prevented structurally and with direct interventions. In some cases, victims were trafficked by family members that they were completely dependent on and with little or no influence to make choices for themselves at all. In other cases, the socio-economic vulnerability can be so entrenched that being exploited represents the only option. And, while seemingly rare, we also documented one case of a woman being kidnapped as a young girl and forced into prostitution. This underlines the wide variety of mechanisms involved when people are trafficked and that one singular approach to prevention will not be relevant, efficient or effective in all cases.

4.2 Phase 2: Mobilising PD strategies in the community

The next step in the project was to build on the PD strategies identified during the PDI and consider how best to mobilise these strategies in the community. This was done in close collaboration with community leaders, who were actively involved in the project from the outset, in identifying individuals at-risk of trafficking and formerly trafficked persons to be interviewed as part of the PDI.

As described above, we had, at an early stage, become aware that targeting trafficking directly and exclusively could be problematic due to the sensitive nature of the subject. We were also concerned that participation in the project could be stigmatising for community members, in terms of being identified or singled out as those at-risk of trafficking (or even having been trafficked). As described in chapter 3, a previous

effort to mobilise PD strategies in Indonesia had positive deviants and community leaders directly approach families considered at-risk to prevent the trafficking of their daughters. This would not have been appropriate in our project for various reasons. Such an approach would be intrusive and alienating, in ways that might lead to resistance to the messages and hostility to the "messengers", including the positive deviant involved. In addition, at-risk families or individuals could not easily or accurately be identified, bringing into question the efficiency of this approach, even if it were to be considered appropriate.

Another issue was the different nature of the PD strategies we identified. As described in the previous section, while some PD strategies were relatively readily available to the local population, others involved orienting in a complex institutional and legal framework relating to migration and to local structures offering support in different forms to vulnerable people. At the same time, this was information that many people did not have access to or were not aware of.

Based on this, and through discussions with the local community leaders (both from the municipal and state structures and from civil society), the implementation and mobilisation of the PD strategies was designed with two distinct and yet mutually reinforcing components, each of which is described in turn below:

- Sharing of PD strategies through community meetings, and
- Development and dissemination of a municipal "Migration and services handbook".

4.2.1 Sharing of PD strategies through community meetings

Community meetings were held at which the PD strategies identified in the PDI were shared with target groups who were potentially vulnerable to unsafe migration and human trafficking. The PD strategies offered tools, resources and strategies to ensure safe migration or to offer alternative livelihood options to (unsafe) migration. Each community meeting targeted a specific group assessed to be vulnerable to trafficking and PD strategies and discussions were tailored to their situation and needs.

Each community meeting was led by one "educator" (that is, community leader or municipal representative), after being trained by D&E in the project methodology and positive deviance strategies. "Educators" were selected in consultation with community leaders and represented six different organisations/institutions with relevance to the various target groups. Community leaders took this work on voluntarily; they were not paid for their involvement in the project.

In addition, at each meeting one positive deviant shared his or her migration experience and his or her positive deviance strategies. Five positive deviants were identified from the interviews conducted as part of the PDI. Positive deviants were both women and men and represented both Roma and Albanian ethnicity. This was done con-

sciously to address some of the key social markers and stratifiers in the community. It is important to note that it was not uncomplicated to mobilise positive deviants to be involved in these community meetings. Some positive deviants could not be reached, some having migrated again to Greece. Some did not wish to be involved because of their personal commitments and work responsibilities. Some also may have declined because they did not want to be positioned as a positive deviant within their community. In addition, it must be stressed that PDs were engaged on a voluntary basis and, as D&E staff explained, this was also a potential barrier for persons with economic constraints: "It's not so easy in Albania to find people who want to be engaged free of charge due of course to the financial situation. But this was one of our criteria, that the people have the will to be engaged, to support and to give some kind of contribution for their own community without expecting anything back".

A total of eleven community meetings were held over a six-month period, with a total of 234 participants. Community leaders identified groups to be included in the community meetings. This included targeting different ethnicities (Roma and Albanian), different sexes (women and men), different ages (adults and youth) as well as different experiences related to employment (unemployed and employed), education (educated and early "school leavers") and migration (returned migrants, non-migrants and prospective migrants). Community meetings were held two to three times a month in this period, working in cooperation with different community leaders who identified and contacted relevant individuals according to the specific target groups.

Attempts were made to reach a wide number of individuals in the community, to ensure that the information was spread broadly. However, some groups were more difficult to reach than others. For example, while students were contacted through schools and the youth centre, it was more difficult to contact youth who were school leavers. This was eventually achieved through the combined efforts of the youth centre staff and the employment office which had a list of unemployed youth. Some youth school leavers agreed to attend the meetings; others did not. This highlights the involvement and commitment of various municipal and community representatives in the project without whose support far fewer target groups would have been reached (including perhaps some of the most relevant groups for trafficking prevention). It also highlights the difficulty in reaching some individuals who might have benefited from this project but who could not be reached, were not interested in participating or did not have the time or opportunity to attend community meetings. Indeed it is important to consider whether the individuals who were harder to reach (or less inclined to attend) were, in fact, those most in need of this information and the various PD strategies.

A critical feature of the community meetings was the sharing of experiences by positive deviants – that is, those who had migrated without being trafficked. Reactions to PDs were largely positive. Many meeting participants described how they appreciated the sharing of past migration experiences by PDs. The PD experiences

shared aimed not to curb migration or frighten prospective migrants, but to equip them in avoiding risky migration and trafficking. Nonetheless, this approach – of one person being held up as an example to others – introduces some interesting (and, arguably, complicated) dynamics, which merit careful consideration. As noted above, some people who were identified as PDs were not willing to participate in a project in this capacity and it is worth considering why this is the case – e.g. because of social codes about not "showing off" or putting oneself above others (or being perceived to have done so). Social reaction to a PD (long after an intervention has ended) requires careful thought. In this vein, it is worth reflecting on an exchange that took place in one community meeting after the PD presented his migration experience, which had been successful in that he had learned a lot, been safe and never trafficked. However, in a community where migration is normative and many people return home having earned money abroad, this PD was, by these standards, arguably, unsuccessful (in that he had had faced problems while abroad and not returned home with money). This was demonstrated when one of the meeting participants challenged the positive deviant in terms of what, exactly, made him a success, given that he had not, for instance, built a house or opened a business following his migration. This particular positive deviant managed this situation very well and had, as demonstrated by his response, clearly internalised the PD strategies and perspective: "It is true that I have not done any big thing but following my strategies I have been safe. I have learned many things there, how to work, how to communicate, what is a work contract, rules and some culture and I think these are many good things". But social codes and norms about what constitute successful migration cannot be divorced from this discussion of what PD strategies are (and perhaps are not).

4.2.2 Development and dissemination of "Migration and services handbook"[12]

The "migration and services handbook" was a supplementary source of information, a tangible output to be taken away from the community meeting as reference material. This format meant that it was possible to offer more information than was possible to cover in community meetings and participants could refer to it as situations arose. Also, as a written resource, it could be shared widely within the community, with those who had not attended community meetings (e.g. had not agreed to attend; had not been invited) and who might also be at-risk of trafficking.

The handbook included a range of information aimed at fostering safe migration or offering alternative livelihood options to (unsafe) migration. In practice, this meant

[12] We refer to the handbook as a "migration and services handbook" as it included more than information about safe migration as described in this section.

providing information about avenues for safe, formal migration in Greece and services/resources in Greece should migrants face problems while there. The handbook also offered information about services in the municipality to improve livelihood options and social and economic support at home as alternatives to unsafe, risky migration that might translate into trafficking. The intention of the handbook was to offer information that could be helpful in the context of various migration trajectories – toward migrating more safely, assistance to reduce the vulnerability of returning migrants as well as finding livelihood options at home as an alternative to unsafe migration.

The development of the "migration and services handbook" was not originally foreseen as part of the project. However, the handbook was considered an important tool to both share PD approaches as part of the project as well as to provide useful information amongst those interviewed as part of the PDI (for vulnerable groups and for prospective and returning migrants).

As previously mentioned, in the context of the PDI interviews, several respondents had very limited knowledge of services at home and abroad and access to this information during past migration might have prevented exploitation and problems. This is perhaps not surprising given that it took quite some time (as mentioned above) to compile the referral sheet used during the PDI and many more months to collect the information needed to complete the handbook. One key informant interviewed for the evaluation following the project implementation focused on the importance of the information shared about services in the municipality, which was included as a means of offering an alternative to unsafe or risky migration:

> I think that due to this handbook, due to this project, all the citizens of [the town] have really benefited because, due to some problems the system has, people can't access the services that are created for them and they have some difficulties to reach them. So I think this handbook has helped, especially in that direction, I think because without asking so much people know where to go. I think that this project has brought some kind of approach or such a great impact that the local government in 20 years were unable to do it.

Moreover, the handbook was important as a tangible output of the project, which was originally perceived by some within the community and municipality as somewhat unclear and abstract. As one individual, who participated in the project and worked within the local administrative structure, explained:

> First of all for me it wasn't so clear, the point of the project. But thanks to the ongoing meeting with the staff project then I was able to create a really clear idea of the project, the point of the project. Even the information presented within the handbook I think has been helpful, even for me at first, for the institutions, for different services that can be found here.

Information (from the community meetings and the handbook more generally) also reached community members through informal channels, through information sharing with friends and family members by those who had attended community meetings. One key informant working within the municipality also noted that information and knowledge was spread widely:

These activities have a really great impact on the people, not only for those who have directly participated but even for those who have indirectly received the information as well for the families who have their own members or outside migration. The information delivered was clear enough and the migrant is able to receive all of the needed knowledge to [address] the problems that came out while he is in migration.

4.3 Anchoring the PD project in the community: Ownership and sustainability

In addition to the specific and concrete steps that were part of phase 1 and phase 2 of the project (in identifying and implementing PD strategies), an important parallel component was local commitment to the project. This was important in successfully implementing the project, but also in building a foundation for the project to have long-term and sustainable effects. As described in chapter 3, the ultimate goal is for the community to adopt new behaviours and practices, beyond the PD project implementation period (Marsh et al. 2004).

4.3.1 Community ownership

Throughout the pilot project, the project team worked closely with municipal representatives and community leaders. The project was, very early on, embraced by key leaders within the municipality and their commitment to and engagement in the project translated into interest and involvement/commitment from other community leaders. The role of the first gatekeeper was critical; this individual's willingness to support and engage with the project helped greatly in facilitating local ownership and sustainability. This highlights the importance of strong links with and commitment from communities and community leaders in which such projects are undertaken. This person's position within the municipality also meant that the project had strong support within the administrative centre of the community, not only through informal connections. Other community leaders and municipal representatives were supportive of the project from the outset and, over time, assumed leading and even primary roles in the implementation of the project, with the project quickly becoming embedded within the municipal structure.

Communication and collaboration was done at two levels – at the policy level and the operational level. Higher-level engagement involved regular communication and interaction with the mayor and higher-level policy staff. More operational-level municipal staff was engaged not only in community meetings, but also in further dissemination of information form the handbook.

It merits mention that, when evaluating the project one year after project implementation was completed, the long-term, consistent presence of the D&E team in the town was noted by key informants as critical, in terms of trust and confidence from community leaders and also within the community more broadly, as different key informants explained:

> The [D&E] staff were here for a long period of time – not come for the training and then not coming again. So [the staff] was here in the community to discuss different problems and [the community] saw them as trustworthy persons so they are more open now with them. [The staff] can go now to a family...perhaps you haven't done something with them, but you have heard them, discussed with them, shared with them different opportunities...

> The [D&E] staff were really on the ground, on the same level with the participants in how they interacted and participated...

Local ownership and involvement, which are key elements of the PD approach, were also demonstrated in the observations and statements of key informants about the project, many of whom spoke about it from an internal perspective, as something that they "owned". One key informant from the municipality spoke of a presentation she had recently given about the project:

> So we have, [this project presentation] was this month. And it was really good. So we have seen [the project] as useful, as important, and now it is ours! Now we see that this project is ours, that *this is ours!*

4.3.2 Sustainability

Commitment from the municipality translated into a range of tangible activities and outputs which were not originally foreseen in the pilot project, but which were important additional activities, including on-going dissemination of sections of the handbook through the municipal newspaper and meetings with professional staff (nurses, health workers, police, social services staff, youth centre staff, teachers, school psychologists). The community's ownership of and commitment to the process also translated into activities continuing beyond the duration of the pilot project. D&E scaled back its presence in the community at the end of the pilot project, but continued to monitor

activities related to the PD project for several months afterward. The goal was to assess to what extent activities would continue and whether the PD approach had taken root.

In this time, community leaders and municipal representatives took advantage of a number of public/community events to further disseminate the PD strategies from the project and the handbook. These included community events (e.g. Migrant's Day, European Day against THB, National cleaning day) and community activities (e.g. children's summer camp, youth centre events). The municipality also presented the project and handbook at international and national events.

The handbook and PD strategies were integrated into municipal activities and institutions beyond the pilot project period. During the project implementation period, the municipal information office took the initiative to publish excerpts from the "migration and services handbook" in the local municipal newspaper and this continued beyond the implementation period. The handbook itself was posted on the municipality's website and distributed at several municipal offices.

Further, the project and its goals of fostering safe migration were incorporated into the municipality's strategic plan, giving further evidence of a structural and formal commitment to the approach as well as being an important step in creating sustainability. In the strategic plan, the municipality states that it will continue publishing excerpts from the handbook in the municipal local newsletter. The municipality also plans to regularly organise awareness activities on safe migration and is exploring publishing other handbooks to foster safe migration.

An additional outcome of the project was further use of the mediums used in the pilot project, namely: 1) communication and information exchange within the community (meetings, discussions and so on) and 2) written material and handbooks as resources. The various "carry-on" activities have mobilised these two approaches because they were felt to be appropriate and functional within the community. For example, one municipal social worker highlighted the value of the handbook as a resource to be given out to community members with different issues and problems and also plans to continue with community meetings in the future. In addition, more than one key informant interviewed for the evaluation highlighted that this project had opened lines of communication amongst community members, which in and of itself was an important outcome.

Importantly, carry-on activities were not only institutional in nature, but were also undertaken by individuals who had been part of the project in different ways, some as positive deviants but also people who had participated in the community meetings. For instance, one "positive deviant" also worked as a trainer on a project aimed at job seekers and used elements of the handbook and the positive deviant project as part of the training conducted. Another "positive deviant", a teacher, used the material from the handbook to discuss safe migration and trafficking risks with students. A group of young people attending the youth centre (where some community meetings took

place) took the initiative to distribute copies of the handbook to central institutions (such as local police offices) in the community that they felt should be aware of its existence. The evaluation interviews showed that other project participants also shared information from the project, including the handbook, with others in their family and peer groups including those abroad, indicating that the information and experience was perceived as relevant and useful and that it has been widely disseminated.

4.4 Positive results of the PD approach

The overall goal of this project was to assess whether and how a PD approach could be useful in trafficking prevention work. We have already in previous sections (chapters 2 and 3) discussed some of the challenges in assessing whether *any* approach in and of itself prevents trafficking directly. It is also hard to document cases of people *not* being trafficked and, moreover, attribute this directly to this specific project.

That being said, while we cannot directly measure trafficking prevention, we have observed an improved institutional response to trafficking within the municipality that we feel can reasonably be attributed to the PD pilot project. We have also documented results in terms of individuals' migration decisions and processes following participation in the PD pilot– in some cases taking measures to make their migration safer, in other cases finding alternative coping strategies to migration.

In terms of institutional impact, two important outcomes have been 1) the mobilisation in the community and leadership around the issue of safe migration and alternatives to migration and 2) the development of local commitment to and ownership over the process, as discussed above. The project has been followed by a structural commitment to continue developing efforts to prevent trafficking and foster safe migration and an increased awareness of the issue at political and operational levels in the municipality. In the longer-term, this has the potential to contribute to trafficking prevention at a structural (local) level, as approaches developed in the project become integrated into the local response and approach to migration and trafficking prevention.

There also seems to be a greater awareness of the potential for human trafficking in different situations and a greater ability (or willingness) to engage on the issue. For instance, social service staff within the municipality described one family that her department was working with in which the daughter had been sent to Italy to work as a domestic worker and the staff had recognised the potential for this being a trafficking case. And, in a post-project interview, one community member reported what she was concerned was a new trend of trafficking from the community – of young men going to Germany and Switzerland recruited with false promises of work but then forced to undertake criminal acts, like selling drugs and theft.

In addition to practical advice both on migration and on rights, opportunities and services in the local community, several people pointed to the project opening up a space to talk about migration and trafficking and the exchange of experiences (good and bad) as an important outcome of the project. It was reported that, traditionally, people would not talk about their problems and that the project had contributed to challenging that attitude. This is a potentially important element both in trafficking prevention and in fostering safe migration, as it may provide an opportunity to learn from the experiences of others, not least in an environment where migration is prevalent. It may also mean that more exploited migrants may be able to accurately assess if their experiences were, in fact, trafficking experiences (and be able to seek out support or redress as needed).

We would further argue that the PD approaches mobilised in this project – that is, access to information and resources at home and abroad – can contribute to preventing trafficking in some individual cases by providing information and resources.

There were also positive and specific results of the project in terms of an improved response on human trafficking, including:

- *Identification and assistance to trafficking victims*. Over the course of the project, eight trafficking victims and one person at-risk of being trafficked were identified and referred for assistance by D&E and its partner NGOs working with trafficked persons.
- *Mechanism for future identification and referral.* Repeated visits from D&E and the relationships that were forged during this project made D&E's work with trafficking victims known to community leadership and within municipal structures. Through these contacts and relationships, future referral of trafficking victims can take place, in addition to consultation on cases where there may be suspicion of trafficking.
- *Bridge between community and trafficking NGOs*. D&E now has experience in the community, which can, in future, assist them in their anti-trafficking efforts – both prevention and the identification and referral of trafficking victims. There is confidence that local institutions will contact D&E when faced with trafficking cases in future. D&E is also a natural contact for any information or efforts undertaken in terms of trafficking prevention.
- *Handbook included helpful information for many within the community.* While the handbook was developed primarily as a tool for prospective migrants and those at-risk of trafficking, it included a wide range of resources and information about rights, which had relevance for other (sometimes disadvantaged) groups in the community. This also increased the likelihood that information about services reached trafficking victims, including those who did not recognise their experiences as trafficking.

- *Greater openness to discuss human trafficking*. There is a greater openness to discussing the issue of human trafficking in the community (formally and informally) and greater knowledge of the different forms of human trafficking that occurs in Albania, beyond only women trafficked for sexual exploitation.

5 PD in trafficking prevention – key considerations

As discussed above, our interest in the PD approach stemmed from its potential to frame and guide a locally-grounded and sustainable approach to trafficking prevention. And, as outlined in the previous chapter, our experiences with designing and implementing a PD trafficking prevention project indicate that this approach provides a useful framework for working with a community over time. It translated into a number of positive outcomes, including an improved local trafficking response as well as local commitment and social mobilisation around issues of trafficking and safe migration. At the same time, project implementation was not always a straightforward process and a number of adjustments were necessary along the way. Tackling a complex social and economic issue like human trafficking involves careful consideration of a number of different factors and issues. In this chapter, we outline and discuss various considerations when using PD in trafficking prevention, based on our experience and with specific reference to our project. Some considerations are specifically linked to the complex and sensitive nature of human trafficking and how this influences (as well as limits) how a PD approach to trafficking prevention can be used. Other considerations are more general observations about the PD approach.

5.1 Considerations linked to the nature of trafficking

The following issues and considerations are very much related to specific features of trafficking and migration, not least that human trafficking is diverse, complex and a highly sensitive issue. The use of a PD method in tackling this issue requires consideration of various issues, explored in more detail below.

5.1.1 Addressing trafficking within a safe migration framework

As previously noted, there was a varied openness to acknowledging and discussing trafficking in the community where the project was implemented, particularly in the early stages of the PDI. This was also an issue in the context of two other projects that

used a PD approach to trafficking prevention – in Nepal and Indonesia.[13] In Nepal, the project team reported an extreme reluctance to openly discussing trafficking, which complicated the process of mapping possible PD strategies for trafficking prevention (Clawson 2002). In Indonesia, initial discussions with the community leadership were framed quite broadly, precisely to avoid negative reactions to directly tackling the sensitive issue of girls being trafficked into the sex industry (Sternin 2003). In our project, we integrated the overall goal of trafficking prevention within a more general (and less sensitive) framework of safe migration. This had, in our view, several advantages.

Situating trafficking prevention within a safe migration framework facilitates more openness to the issue, particularly in a community where migration is normative and also, to some extent, socially valued. We also found that it facilitated local investment, as safe migration initiatives engage and are perceived as relevant for more people and institutions than those focused solely on human trafficking. This is especially critical when trafficking is generally perceived as trafficking of women and girls for prostitution, with less focus on and knowledge of men and women being trafficked for labour or men being trafficked at all.

Framing trafficking prevention within a safe migration framework also increases the likelihood of reaching potential (and former) trafficking victims in efforts to mobilise the community (e.g. through community meetings and discussions), as those at-risk of trafficking cannot be identified directly, but will likely be found within a broader group of prospective migrants. This also addresses the issue of trafficking victims who may not have recognised their experiences as trafficking (and, thus, are unable to necessarily identify with trafficking prevention paradigms) but rather see their experience as one of failed migration or exploitation.

By framing trafficking prevention within a safe migration approach, we also offset the potential for stigmatisation of project participants. As trafficking (certainly for sexual exploitation but also potentially for labour) continues to be stigmatised in Albania (and many countries), great care must be taken not to target potentially at-risk groups in ways that identify them in the local community and translate into discrimination, stigmatisation or even violence.

A broad based approach was also important because we did not have comprehensive and adequately nuanced information about how trafficking took place in the community, due to its hidden nature and lack of clarity in the community about what, in fact, constitutes human trafficking (as compared to failed migration or exploitation abroad). With a more narrow approach, focusing solely on trafficking, we could perhaps have targeted some forms of trafficking or (potential) victims from certain groups (e.g. vulnerable women trafficked for sexual exploitation or Roma children),

[13] For a description of these two projects, please see chapter 3.

but sufficiently targeting such groups or targeting the most prolific form of trafficking may still not have been possible.

5.1.2 PD strategies: Broad scope versus pinpointed

The design of the pilot project was challenging given the diversity of migration (and, by implication, arguably also trafficking experiences) noted in the community. This meant that pinpointing PD strategies was neither easy nor direct and what constituted PD strategies for some individuals would not necessarily be relevant or effective for others. Typically, PD projects and the PD strategies that they mobilise are narrowly focussed.[14] This pilot project (including the PD strategies shared) was not. Instead, PD strategies for this community straddled a range of different migration experiences and risks and tried to offer various options and alternatives that might fit with different people's situations and needs. This was done because:

- Many in the community had suffered exploitation in the context of migration (some that rose to the level of human trafficking) and the project tried to reach as many different at-risk groups as possible;
- It was not easy to identify cases of trafficking within the community due to sensitivities around the issue of human trafficking which, in turn, made it difficult to identify very specific PDs strategies;
- The target group for the project was largely adults, which meant some of the more prescriptive (and, arguably, restrictive) PD strategies would not have been appropriate or ethical; and
- It was difficult to identify specific patterns of behaviour on the part of previously trafficked victims that might have prevented trafficking; many trafficking cases involved manipulation and deceit by loved ones that had little to do with victim's individual behaviours, but was rather about the behaviour of traffickers.

5.1.3 Keeping the focus on human trafficking when the community takes ownership

The PD method is, in a way, a hybrid between an external, expert approach and an internal, grassroots approach. In this project (as in many other applications of PD),

[14] For example, the PD project implemented in Indonesia to prevent trafficking focused very specifically on the trafficking of girls into the entertainment industry in nearby cities. It did not aim to target other forms of trafficking which might have been occurring from the same community – e.g. trafficking of domestic workers, forced labour or men and boys, etc.

the project team as "outsiders" and "experts" defined the problem to be addressed, but the solutions came from the community.

In choosing to integrate trafficking prevention in a broader safe migration framework, this also opened up the project to being about migration more generally (in addition to trafficking prevention). And, in this more general migration framework, there may be other issues that are perceived as equally, if not more, important by some community members or project participants than the initial intention of trafficking prevention. One such issue was the situation of returned migrant families and particularly their (school age) children in reintegrating in the community. Initially in the project design, this was not a group that was identified as especially relevant in a trafficking *prevention* context (although certainly returned migrants are an important group for the possible *identification* of trafficking victims). Nevertheless, this issue was of such concern to a large number of community members that a full section was included in the "migration and services handbook" aimed at meeting the needs of returned migrants in the community.

In this case, this did not detract from the overall goal of trafficking prevention and, as discussed above, the inclusion of material and topics that are broadly relevant in the community may contribute to a wider dissemination of the project material and create a greater interest in participating in the project (and greater knowledge that may prevent trafficking). Nonetheless, it is necessary in a project such as this to strike a balance between the intentions of the project and where the focus turns when the community takes ownership of the process. This may not always be a straightforward process.

5.1.4 Who is at-risk? Defining the target group

When using a PD approach for trafficking prevention, it is necessary to first define the group of people who are at-risk of trafficking and then, within this group, further identify positive deviants. However, this requires that there is a clearly defined group of people who are at-risk and, equally, that project implementers and community leaders are in a position to identity them. The extent to which this is the case is an open question and differs substantially according to context.

Importantly, community leaders and members may not be sufficiently informed about human trafficking to make a sound assessment of who is and is not at-risk (as well as what would be positive deviant strategies that would prevent trafficking). And, while some community leaders may be aware of more typical forms of trafficking (e.g. women and girls trafficked for sexual exploitation), they may be less aware of the possibility that men and boys may also be trafficked and also that some people are trafficked for forced labour, street selling and begging, crime and delinquency and so on. And yet we know from our past research and from D&E's on-going work

in the community and country that such forms of trafficking exist.[15] For example, in the Albanian community where this pilot project was implemented, trafficking was initially most commonly understood as the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation and community leaders and members did not generally understand trafficking for labour (of men and women). It was only upon completion of the project that a more complex and nuanced understanding of trafficking seemed to have taken hold in the community and within institutions.

In addition, trafficking remains stigmatised in many environments, which means that trafficked persons will not likely have shared and made visible their experience of exploitation.[16] Indeed we learned this very early on in the project. To carefully focus the identification of PD strategies required understanding who was trafficked and finding persons with similar characteristics whose successful migration strategies could then be identified. However, migrants were initially resistant to talking about their negative experiences of migration, including those who we later learned through subsequent interviews had, in fact, been trafficked. This, in turn, means that community leaders and members are often not privy to information about who is and who isn't a trafficking victim. Also, while we found it difficult to identify even "typical" cases of trafficking from Albania (i.e. trafficking for sexual exploitation), it was even more difficult to identify other types of trafficking in the community – e.g. of forced labour and trafficking of men – which means that community leaders who are not informed about these forms of exploitation were less likely to find and recognise them.

Stigmatisation of trafficking victims (and social resistance to the issue) may also mean that some community leaders are unwilling to recognise this issue within the community and engage in a trafficking prevention programme. Some community leaders feel that it brings shame on their community to have such a social problem within their population. In this pilot project, initially there was a certain resistance amongst some community leaders (and, arguably by extension, within the community at large) to acknowledging trafficking as a problem in the community.[17] Had this resistance been more pronounced and on-going over time, this would have been a significant impediment to the implementation of this project.

[15] For example, see Different and Equal's recent study on trafficking of men within, from and to Albania: Falling through the cracks. The trafficking of men and boys in Albania (2015).

[16] In our other research we have found that many trafficking victims do not divulge their exploitation to even their closest family members. For example, please see Brunovskis & Surtees 2007, 2012a&b.

[17] This is consistent with our past experiences working on human trafficking in Albania and an issue that D&E also highlighted as critically important in terms of working on the issue.

5.1.5 The necessity of including trafficking expertise

Most commonly, PD projects involve PD experts partnering with an organisation based in the community where the project is being implemented. This is done both because it facilitates access to the community (i.e. the organisation is known in and trusted by the community) and because it draws on local knowledge (i.e. the organisation will have detailed local knowledge *of* the community). However, this is also likely to often mean that the organisation will not have experience in and substantial knowledge of human trafficking and human trafficking interventions. The alternative (which is what we did in this pilot project) is to engage an anti- trafficking organisation, which may not be based in the community.

Having a local partner with trafficking expertise is, we would argue, of critical importance in a project such as this for various reasons, including:

- having experience with and sensitivity in relations and communication with victims of trafficking who may be identified over the course of the project;
- being well positioned to identify and refer (or directly assist if the organisation is also a service provider) trafficking victims whose cases come to light over the course of the project;
- ensuring that the project is in line with ethical standards for working with trafficking victims and safeguarding against any unwanted (and potentially very harmful) consequences; and
- not implementing inappropriate responses to human trafficking – e.g. aiming to curb women's migration, failing to refer cases in need of assistance, failing to recognise cases of male trafficking or trafficking for forced labour and so on.

In this particular project, the involvement of an anti-trafficking NGO was of great value as a number of (previously unidentified and unassisted) trafficking victims were indeed identified in the community and the organisation was able to assist or refer them accordingly.

When engaging a partner organisation that is specialised in human trafficking but not based in the community, adjustments will likely be needed – e.g. spending time to learn about the community, building relationships with community leaders and members, being present in the community over time, engaging and working through local gatekeepers and so on. It will also be important to take the time to assess whether any safety and security issues may arise (for staff or participants) during the project. But, in our experience, there was also the added benefit of building a bridge between this particular NGO and the community and institutional structures, which has translated into a firm foundation for future cooperation and partnership – for prevention but also referrals for assistance.

5.1.6 Ethical, appropriate and safe PD strategies

A major concern and consideration is to ensure that any PD strategy suggested is ethical and does not infringe on anyone's human and civil rights. This can be of concern, for example, in terms of identifying PD strategies related to safe migration. As previously mentioned, in some situations, safe migration programmes have essentially meant no migration, which is not realistic, appropriate or ethical. In this project, given the vulnerability and risk involved in irregular migration, we also wanted to avoid strategies that facilitated or promoted irregular migration. It was necessary to assess each PD strategy and pilot project approach in terms of being safe, ethical and appropriate, to avoid the potential for doing harm. Here again the role of a specialised anti-trafficking organisation was a great advantage.

On a similar note, difficult questions may arise in the process of the community identifying positive deviant strategies generally. While the PD strategies should arise from and be anchored in the local community and be both feasible and acceptable locally, it is still important to ensure that PD strategies do not breach basic human or civil rights. This has not been an issue in this particular project but is, nonetheless, an important point to keep in mind for the PD method generally when tackling complex social issues. For instance, in one area we visited during a former study on trafficking, one strategy used by parents to prevent trafficking was to keep young girls from attending school, for fear of kidnapping. While this might have been (at least to some degree) socially acceptable in that particular context, where many people shared a fear of harm befalling their daughters, this would clearly not be an acceptable positive deviant strategy. Given the prevalence of efforts to prevent trafficking by encouraging or sometimes even actively stopping individuals, particularly women, from migrating, it is worth bearing in mind that local ideas and solutions to prevent trafficking may not always be ethically sound, safe or appropriate.

5.1.7 Migration and trafficking is dynamic and ever changing

One appealing aspect of the PD approach is that not only are solutions locally available (rather than brought in from the outside), but that they are also sustainable as they draw on local resources and already existing practices. One complicating factor when applying PD to trafficking prevention is that trafficking and migration may fluctuate and change over time, both in prevalence and how it takes place. This can compromise the sustainability of specific PD strategies, as their relevance may also substantially change as migration and trafficking patterns change. This is something that we observed, even over the limited time period during which the pilot project was implemented.

Migration from Albania to Greece is long standing and has changed in nature and composition many times over the years, as has trafficking itself. This means, in practice, that PD strategies need to be up to date (and regularly updated) to mesh

with the current ways that trafficking is playing out. For example, when interviewing migrants as part of the PDI and toward the identification of PD strategies, a number of migrants spoke primarily about their very early migration experiences (in the late 1990s and early 2000s), which meant that any PD strategies that were identified from these experiences would not necessarily mesh with the current social, economic and political situation that today's migrants faced. Moreover, the migration situation and migration patterns at the time of the project were fast changing – e.g. the economic crisis in Greece meant many Albanian migrants were unable to find work in Greece, while at the same time, visa liberalisation meant that they were able to travel legally within the Schengen area for three months. This means that, in future, migration may be increasingly directed to other countries in the EU and aspects of the PD strategies from this project may not be relevant or sufficiently protective.

This highlights the importance of considering the implications for PD strategies in the context of significant social, political and economic changes. That is, are the PD strategies that have previously been used, still viable in a fluctuating social, political and economic context? Given that migration patterns are often in flux, do PD strategies need to be assessed and revised over time? If so, to what extent is this viable, realistic and cost effective?

5.2 General considerations in a PD approach

The considerations outlined above are very much related to specific features of trafficking and migration and not least the sensitive nature of human trafficking. Over the course of the pilot project we also identified other, more general issues and considerations of the PD approach, which are explored below.

5.2.1 The PD approach can be perceived as intangible

In many ways the PD method is simple and straightforward. And yet, in practice, many community members found it quite intangible, especially in contrast to large, well-funded projects, which are not uncommon in Albania. For example, when the project was first introduced in the municipality, one state representative was perplexed as to what this project *really was*, comparing it to the large infrastructure projects he was used to. Similarly, another individual involved in the project explained that the project was initially perceived by some within the community and municipality as somewhat abstract: "...for me it wasn't so clear, the point of the project. But thanks to the on-going meeting with the staff project then I was able to create really clear idea of the project, the point of the project." Therefore, having an actual output (that is,

the "migration and services handbook") was very useful in terms of making the project more concrete and tangible, with the handbook being something that could be pointed to as an output of the project.

Importantly, the handbook was developed from an inside perspective, in that it arose from the realisation that many people in the community had little knowledge of their rights and opportunities for support and in that it contained specific information about options for support both in the municipality and in Greece, including contact numbers and addresses. It was also an extension of our typical research protocol in which we offer information and referral for services to persons interviewed, to try to address any unmet or urgent needs they may have in their lives as consequence of their trafficking or bad migration experience (or general vulnerability).

The handbook also continues to be present in the community beyond the implementation of the pilot project. It can be (and has been) reproduced in parts for different audiences and in different settings. And it also filled an important information gap, which could go some way in terms of contributing to addressing vulnerability (and, arguably, trafficking vulnerability). The handbook also further institutionalised the PD strategies being shared through community meetings as it has been integrated in the work of several municipal bodies, contributing to the sustainability of the project.

5.2.2 How to share PD strategies

One central aspect is how to share and mobilise PD strategies. There may be different ways of mobilising PD strategies, but common to all must be careful consideration of not only what is most efficient, but also what is locally appropriate. In this project, the project team, in collaboration with the community leaders, chose to conduct community meetings rather than targeting at-risk families one-on-one, as was the approach in the Indonesia PD trafficking prevention programme. This was done for three different reasons:

1. Given the breadth of migration and trafficking experiences and the hidden nature of trafficking in the community, it would have been difficult to target specific individuals or families with any real degree of accuracy (for the reasons discussed earlier);

2. Targeting individuals had the potential to be alienating in ways that might lead to resistance to the messages and hostility to the messengers, including the positive deviant involved. As one key informant explained when asked about the possibility of approaching families individually: "In Albania it's difficult. They say 'why me?'... Even they would say 'my family? Why are you coming at me specifically"...[18]

[18] In the trafficking prevention project in Indonesia, one of the positive deviants expressed some discomfort about talking to other families and felt it would only be appropriate to do so if he were asked by them to offer advice.

3. Community meetings allowed for greater reach within the community; it would not have been possible to interact with 234 individuals through one-on-one interactions.

5.2.3 Some at-risk groups are hard to reach

At the core of the PD approach is the goal of reaching individuals who are at-risk for the unwanted outcome, in order to make available to them solutions that others have already successfully used. We have already pointed out that in the case of trafficking, it can be difficult to correctly and precisely identify at-risk groups and individuals in a community but an additional limitation is that even if identified, at-risk groups may not necessarily be easy to reach and engage.

In the pilot project, attempts were made to reach a wide number of individuals in the community, to ensure that the information was spread broadly. It was the observation of one key informant, who was involved as a community leader and facilitator, that the reach of the community meetings had been broad and that this had the potential to reach large numbers of people: "And it was good that we have trained a lot of people because we have trained people from the ground – Roma people, Egyptian people, women, men, youth. So perhaps their perception of migration is different, but it is good because we have worked with all of them." Said another key informant who attended a number of community meetings: "The groups have been all kinds of different participants. Roma group, Albania group, also the level of education differs and the level of the intellect was different. Participants who were taking part in these activities have been former migrants. Even family members who have their members who migrated in Greece or other countries."

However, some groups – e.g. school leavers – were more difficult to reach, as discussed above. While this group was eventually reached, it required concerted effort from the youth centre staff and cooperation from the employment office in providing contacts for unemployed youth. This highlights the involvement and commitment of various municipal and community representatives in the project without whose support far fewer target groups would have been reached (including perhaps the most relevant groups for trafficking prevention). It also highlights that some individuals (and, arguably, some of those most in need of this information) were harder to reach and, in addition, were not always interested in participating nor did they have the time or opportunity to attend.

Another feature was in terms of targeting one particular group of women who wished to be paid to participate in the community meeting, as some projects in Albania do pay participants for their time when attending community meetings. This, however, would not have been consistent with the underlying principles of a PD approach, which ultimately meant not reaching this group of women. This also highlights that some individuals (or even whole groups) may be missed because they do not see that value

in discussing a particular topic or the way that information is disseminated. This fact further endorses the value of multiple mediums for the sharing of PD strategies – i.e. the handbook as well as the community meetings; the larger community events as well as targeted community meetings.

5.2.4 Engaging positive deviants

As noted above, it was not uncomplicated to mobilise positive deviants. Some positive deviants had since re-migrated to Greece, others were prevented from participating by personal commitments and work responsibilities (and the need to earn money). Still others may have been dissuaded by not being paid for their time and work on the project. In addition, some may also have declined because they did not want to be positioned as a positive deviant within their community. While none specifically gave this reason, this was the impression of project staff. Indeed, while five positive deviants agreed to participate in the community meetings and were trained as facilitators, one later "dropped out" prior to the community meetings, because he was busy with work and other commitments. The project team additionally assessed that he had declined to be involved as a PD because he was shy and uncomfortable in this particular role.

Indeed, as discussed above, the approach of one person being held up as the example to others has the potential for tension and complication. Social codes about not "showing off" or putting oneself above others (or being perceived to have done so) is a feature in many societies and may have negative implications for PDs. As such, social reactions to a PD (long after an intervention has ended) merit careful thought.

It is also interesting to mention again the exchange which took place in one community meeting after one PD presented his migration experience that had been successful in that he had learned a lot, been safe and never trafficked. However, as noted above, given that many people in the community return home with money, this PD was, by community standards, unsuccessful. While this particular man managed this situation well, the exchange illustrates that social codes and norms about what constitute successful migration cannot be divorced from this discussion of what PD strategies are (and perhaps are not).

Additionally, one positive deviant who had, by all accounts, successfully migrated with her family nonetheless had a complicated relationship to her migration experience, not least because of discrimination faced by Albanians in Greece as well as what she had left behind when she migrated (i.e. her profession as a teacher in Albania; she worked as a cleaner in Greece). Thus it seems important to consider in more detail the not uncomplicated category of positive deviant, including how this role is experienced by PDs themselves.

5.2.5 Community selection; community determines success?

One key aspect of the project was the involvement and commitment of community leaders. In our project, we initially gained access to the community with the assistance of one person, known previously to D&E, who introduced the project team to community leadership and endorsed the project. This individual, who was well respected in the community and worked in the municipal administration, was active throughout the duration of the project – in contacting community leaders, contacting relevant community members and was an enormous source of information in terms of developing the referral sheets and the "migration and services handbook".

This support went beyond the scope of the project. For example, after the completion of the pilot project, this gatekeeper assisted in setting up "extra" meetings with select professional groups who come into regular contact with the various target groups and who were well positioned to disseminate the handbook and the PD strategies (e.g. law enforcement, teachers, school psychologists, health workers, child protection staff, youth centre staff, etc.). These meetings were not easy to arrange and required concerted efforts – i.e. by contacting individuals time after time by phone and also meeting them personally in their places of work. This highlights again the integral role that the primary gatekeeper played in the project and the possibility of less success had a community-based representative not been as involved and supportive.

Important questions arise as to whether and to what extent the project would have been successful had different conditions existed in terms of community interlocutors. It was, for example, key that the primary gatekeeper was well respected and trusted by the community leadership. We may have faced more barriers or challenges had she, while willing to help, been a less revered individual or professional.

Also important is the issue of security for persons involved with the project, vis-à-vis traffickers within the community, who may perceive the project as a threat to their business. Such an approach may not be feasible in environments where traffickers are more powerful and/or violent. This can create a dilemma in terms of using PD in trafficking prevention, as the presence of powerful traffickers may also reflect a particularly pressing need precisely for trafficking prevention. And, at the same time, in these situations, PD might not be an appropriate approach due to the high degree of staff involvement in the community over time, which, in these situations, could create a threat to security.

5.3 Limitations of behaviour change generally in trafficking prevention

As an overarching point, using behaviour change as a means of trafficking prevention presupposes that it is the behaviour of trafficking victims that requires changing or that changed behaviour would enhance safety during migration. This may be the case for some types of recruitment and some forms of trafficking. But it is not always the case. We have touched upon this issue earlier in this report, however, it is a point that bears repeating. One observation from the PD project was that changing some behaviours – in terms of how migration takes place – might serve to better protect migrants and prevent their trafficking. However, in other cases, it was not the behaviour of prospective migrants but rather of traffickers that needed changing, suggesting that this approach may be more efficient for some groups of trafficking victims and less for others. This reflects that trafficking takes place in many different ways and that vulnerability in migration is multi-layered and complex.

In the community where the project was implemented, after identifying PD strategies, we interviewed trafficking victims as a means of assessing to what extent the mobilisation of these strategies would have, in fact, prevented their exploitation. Some trafficking occurs in the context of a much deeper vulnerability and where individuals may have very limited access to alternative choices even if they are provided with more knowledge. This is especially the case if they are in a dependent relationship with their traffickers or if their social vulnerability is extreme. For example, one young woman was trafficked by her boyfriend, who deceived her into migration by promising that they would migrate and have a wonderful life together. He sold her for approximately 3000 Euros to traffickers in Greece who exploited her in prostitution. Another young woman eloped with her boyfriend to Italy to be married but was then sold by him into prostitution. Another woman was trafficked into prostitution abroad by her cousin. And one woman was literally kidnapped and trafficked into prostitution in Italy. In none of these cases is it likely that a behaviour change approach directed at victims would have prevented their trafficking, whether based on PD or another approach. Trafficking prevention can, thus, not only be thought of from the perspective of the individual victims, but must also be addressed structurally in terms of reducing social vulnerability. And some attention might also be paid to how behaviour change efforts might be directed at brokers and traffickers, those who are perpetrating the crime.

6 Conclusion

An overarching goal of this project is to assess, through practice and analysis, the usefulness of a PD approach in trafficking prevention and to explore how the methodology might be adapted to address this complex and disparate issue in other communities and contexts. Overall, we have found that this approach has relevance for efforts to prevent human trafficking. One of the main strengths of the PD method is that it identifies locally existing and viable strategies that protect against the phenomenon that is to be addressed. Learning from positive deviants is concrete and specific and offers real life alternatives that have been proven in practice, which opens up space both for learning and for the exchange of experience.

While the adoption of any one PD strategy by itself could perhaps only do so much, taken together they, arguably, create the opportunity to improve options for those at-risk of trafficking within the community. PD also offers a more sustainable approach than is typical with much trafficking prevention work, which generally centres around sporadic information campaigns and external resources and expertise. Most critical is the PD perspective itself, which changes how an issue is addressed, looking instead to the existing solutions in a community and who is already "doing it right", rather than to the problem and those who have "failed". Thus, we feel that there is space for mobilising a PD approach in preventing trafficking or, at least, in integrating elements of the PD approach and perspective in anti-trafficking prevention activities and projects.

In terms of the replicability of a PD methodology or approach in the field of human trafficking, one important consideration is about resources. A PD approach is labour intensive and time consuming and requires resources from PD specialists as well as the community at large. As such, we find it useful to consider PD as a spectrum. The PD project that we implemented in Albania was labour intensive, long-term, involved three partner organisations and, since it has a built-in research component, extensive data collection. In most contexts it would be difficult to replicate this project in its full form, due both to the high (and long-term) involvement and limited options for funding in many contexts. However, using PD in trafficking prevention can entail anything from full project implementation, to using the principles of PD (that is, identifying local specific resources and learning from positive experiences). It is also possible to use the approach of positive deviants sharing experiences in a more *ad hoc* manner and not necessarily as part of a larger project. This is a way of potentially working practically with trafficking prevention in smaller contexts without necessarily implementing a

full PD programme or project. For example, a critical aspect of our project was the "migration and services handbook" and map of local services. While the development of the handbook in its full form was labour intensive, it is also possible to consider less comprehensive variations of this type of output targeted to trafficking prevention and safe migration.

We have also found that, given the stigmatised and hidden nature of trafficking, there is value in considering how to embed the objective of trafficking prevention within the broader context of fostering safe migration efforts, especially when applying a PD approach to prevention of trafficking in adults. Trafficking, with all its connotations to sexual exploitation, is a touchy, sensitive and stigmatising topic and stakeholders are often resistant to discussing this openly. This requires consideration of how best to approach the issue.

Another important consideration is in terms of ensuring that, when replicated, a PD approach or project is safe, effective and ethical in the field of human trafficking. For this reason we maintain that there is a need for the inclusion of individuals or organisations that are knowledgeable about and experienced in working against human trafficking. This is necessary in terms of ethically and sensitively interacting with vulnerable groups, like trafficking victims and exploited migrants. It is also important in that anti-trafficking organisations will have knowledge of services and support for any trafficking cases that may be identified and be in a position to refer and assist accordingly. Anti-trafficking specialists will also be well-positioned to accurately educate and inform community members and leaders about the full spectrum of forms of trafficking, so that the issue is correctly understood and recognised and that those at-risk are appropriately targeted in prevention efforts. Finally, engaging anti-trafficking specialists is important in ensuring that PD strategies identified within the community do not constitute violations of the rights of individuals (e.g. limiting migration, impinging on personal freedoms) or lead to negative effects for trafficking victims (e.g. stigmatisation and discrimination within the community).

Based on the experiences of this project, we believe that the PD approach can contribute to preventing trafficking at the individual level in certain types of cases, especially when vulnerability occurs at least partly through a lack of information about available resources, alternative paths of action or how to migrate safely. In other cases, however, trafficking occurs in the context of a much deeper, structural vulnerability, where individuals may have very limited control over and ability to make alternative choices even if they are provided with more knowledge or if their social vulnerability is extreme. Trafficking prevention can, thus, not only be thought of from an individual perspective, but must also be addressed structurally in terms of reducing social and economic vulnerability. This is where the adaptation in this project to include both individuals in the community and to work closely with local institutions (such as the municipality) is of particular importance and one which we feel merits replication in

future projects. Strengthening of the community structures should, in the long-term, also offer greater protections for socially vulnerable persons, including those at-risk of trafficking. It is also essential in terms of sustainability of the project.

Finally, when considering replicability, it is important to note that ultimately a positive deviance approach to trafficking prevention aims to change behaviour. And this typically means the behaviours of trafficking victims. Where we see limitations in terms of this approach is precisely in situations where changes in victims' behaviours would not have translated into greater protection or safety. That is, many migrants follow similar migration pathways, with only some ending up trafficked. It is the exploitation of their vulnerability that is the difference in such cases, meaning that there are limits to what behaviour change approaches that target victims can achieve. We would also caution more broadly that trafficking prevention efforts in the future increasingly consider to what extent trafficking victims rather than traffickers themselves should be targeted for changes in their behaviours.

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Reframing trafficking prevention

While much attention has been given to the prevention of human trafficking, the effectiveness of traditional prevention efforts remains unclear. This study documents and discusses an innovative project aimed at trafficking prevention that brought together research and practice in seeking to adapt and apply a "positive deviance" methodology to the issue of human trafficking. A positive deviance approach is based on the premise that in every community, there are individuals or groups who are in a comparable situation to others, who nonetheless manage to find successful strategies and better solutions to a particular problem. A positive deviance approach identifies and mobilises these successful strategies to foster social and behavioural change in the community. In this project we developed and implemented a pilot project using positive deviance to prevent trafficking in a town in Albania. This study gives an introduction to the methodology, a description of the steps and adjustments in the pilot project and presents considerations and key issues for those contemplating the use of a positive deviance approach in anti-trafficking prevention work.

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