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Human Trafficking: A comparison between municipalities in the Netherlands

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Abstract

This research will study the problem of human trafficking within two border municipalities in the Netherlands. A report issued by the National Rapporteur Mensenhandel in the year 2012, named *“Mensenhandel, Effectieve aanpak op gemeentelijk niveau Lessen uit de praktijk”* contains the role municipalities play in the administrative and integrated approach to human trafficking in the Netherlands and to what extent the municipalities have developed policies aimed at combating trafficking in human beings. It is striking that no border municipalities have been chosen for the mentioned report of the National Rapporteur as trafficking in human beings is regarded as a cross-border problem that knows no borders.

The cross-border aspect plays a major role within trafficking of human beings. Trafficking of people mainly takes place along the border of the Netherlands and this would indicate that the municipalities at the border of the Netherlands may have a very different policy and approach in terms of tackling human trafficking. This research will attempt to make a comparison with the existing report from the year 2012 of the National Rapporteur with the chosen municipalities of Arnhem, Emmen, Eindhoven and Vlaardingen. A comparison will be made within this research of the four municipalities of the 2012 reports with two selected municipalities that are closer to the border of the Netherlands than the four municipalities mentioned in the report, namely Etten-Leur and Maastricht.

The four non-border municipalities will be compared with the two municipalities that are closer to the border of the Netherlands. Hereby the policy of the mentioned municipalities will be looked at and their approach regarding the tackling of human trafficking in their respective municipalities. As a result of this, the comparison can be made between non-border and border municipalities and whether a difference can actually be distinguished. If a large difference is distinguished a closer look will be given at what exactly the reason for these differences is and a further explanation will be given for these differences. It is also possible that no differences will be established at all between the relevant municipalities in the report and the municipalities close to the border, and the location and the cross-border aspect of human trafficking do not play a major role in human trafficking.

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1. Introduction

The trafficking of human beings is extensive and big business in Europe and the rest of the world. Human trafficking has grown over the two last centuries at an enormous rate and it is regularly documented by scholars and non-governmental organizations (Shelley, 2010). Human trafficking has been defined by the United Nations as:

“The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring 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” (Aronowitz, 2009, p.1).

Human trafficking is today one of the main concerns of governments and organizations who are active in the migration field and it has become a priority for those who are working in numerous other policy areas such as gender, law, human rights and social services (Laczko & Gramegna, 2003). The majority of the people that are being trafficked are women and young girls. Two third of identified victims of human trafficking are women and 13 percent are identified as young girls (UNODC, 2009, p.11).

The United Kingdom, together with the Netherlands have reported the largest number of victims (Eurostat, 2015, p.22). The Netherlands is considered to be a source, destination, and transit country for men, women, and children from the Netherlands, Eastern Europe, Africa, and South and East Asia exposed to sex trafficking and forced labor (US. Department of State, 2016). Human trafficking is prohibited and punishable in the Netherlands in Art 250a of the Penal Code (Van der Loon & Vervoorn, 2004, p.9). Traditionally human trafficking in the Netherlands is related to exploitation in prostitution. It includes forcing people in prostitution, recruiting or taking a person to put them in another country in the prostitution and bringing minors into prostitution, regardless of whether this happens voluntarily. Profiting from the above conditions is also punishable (Van der Loon & Vervoorn, 2004, p.10). The Netherlands has received criticism regarding its approach of human trafficking. Especially various municipalities in the country are lacking an effective approach to tackle the concept of human trafficking (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012).

1.1. Background

As stated above there are several critical factors where the Dutch government is lacking in order to tackle human trafficking in an effective way. For example the Global Slavery Index 2014 criticizes the Dutch policy on trafficking in human beings. The report criticized the Dutch government and that it focuses too much on the aspect of sex work and it fails in other aspects (The Post, 2014). In addition, the municipalities in the Netherlands play a significant role in human trafficking. In the case of trafficking, people quickly think of situations abroad or something that only takes place in the big cities. The opposite is true. Trafficking in human beings can occur in every municipality in the Netherlands. For example, one of the most well-known human trafficking cases in the Netherlands occurred at an asparagus nursery in Someren in Brabant with only 11,000 inhabitants (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p.9).

According to a report of the National Rapporteur on Human Trafficking, *“Mensenhandel, Effectieve aanpak op gemeentelijk niveau Lessen uit de praktijk”* from the year 2012, municipalities in the Netherlands are failing when it comes down to the subject of trafficking in human beings. 95 percent of the municipalities do not have a specific policy when it comes to human trafficking (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel en Seksueel Geweld tegen Kinderen, 2017). The municipalities of Arnhem, Emmen, Vlaardingen and Eindhoven have been selected and research has been carried out with regard to the municipal approach to human trafficking. According to the report the municipalities have been chosen because in the past there has been no plan of action relating to combating human trafficking and regional distribution and difference in regional responsibility are seen as important here (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 19). A selection has been made in the existing report for regional municipalities in the north, east, west and south of the country, this has been done with the aim that other municipalities in the Netherlands can recognize themselves in one of the selected municipalities in the report (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 19).

Because trafficking in human beings can occur in every municipality, it is very important that all municipalities are aware of the risks of human trafficking and that they can act against it (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p.9). Nevertheless, the report does not pay attention to municipalities that are located at the border of the country. Trafficking in human beings is seen as a cross-border problem that requires international cooperation between countries. One could argue that especially municipalities in border regions could

have an important role in combatting human trafficking. One could also argue that municipalities in border regions have to deal with specific problems, for instance cooperation with municipalities or other relevant actors on the other side of the borders. In general, it is known in literature that legal differences, different organizational arrangements, different cultures or different cooperation arrangements can hinder effective cross-border cooperation.

Moreover, numbers of people are smuggled between the borders to be exploited in the Netherlands, which means that the municipalities at the border could play a crucial role in effectively combating trafficking in human beings. Nevertheless, the municipalities at the borders with Belgium and Germany are not considered in the report, while such municipalities could have an important role in the fight against human trafficking. But then again is this really the case? Do the municipalities at the border have a different approach when it comes to trafficking in human beings and combating this phenomenon, does the location really matter and do the municipalities at the border show a different picture than the four selected municipalities of the relevant report?

1.2. Research Question and Sub-questions

The aim of this research is to investigate two different municipalities in the provinces of Limburg and Brabant with regard to combating human trafficking in the Netherlands. The choice has been made for two municipalities located near the border with Belgium and Germany so that a comparison can be made with the existing report of the Rapporteur on Human Trafficking. The border municipalities can sometimes tackle trafficking related problems and possible approaches different than the non-border municipalities.

The municipalities of Etten-Leur and Maastricht will be the focus of this research. Etten-Leur and Maastricht are one of the two largest municipalities of their provinces and will therefore give a good representation of the border municipalities. Furthermore previous research regarding the chosen topic has not been conducted within the mentioned municipalities. Additionally, the report from 2012 indicates that the smaller the municipalities are, the more lack of visibility exists regarding trafficking. If smaller municipalities were chosen, there would probably be less information available for the research since there is hardly any policy on trafficking present, therefore the choice has been made for two larger municipalities where there is a chance that there is insight on human trafficking and the policy

on it and that the necessary information could be available for this research. The mentioned report did not make a choice for municipalities at the border and their approach with regard to human trafficking. Within this research this will be done with the aim to test the assumptions that border municipalities face partly different problems when it comes to combatting human trafficking than other municipalities in terms of legal differences, cultural differences and organizational differences. The following research question that has been formulated is as followed: ***To what extent can differences be distinguished regarding combating and regulating human trafficking in municipalities which are located at the border of the Netherlands compared to Dutch municipalities that are not located at the border?***

In order to fully answer the above research questions, several sub-questions were formed. The following specific sub-questions are as follows:

1. To what extent does the cross-border aspect of trafficking play an important role at the border-regions in their approach towards combating trafficking in human beings?
2. What are the challenges and approaches of the municipalities of Etten-Leur and Maastricht and to what extent are they considered to be at high risk regarding human trafficking ?
3. To what extent does human trafficking differ at the two chosen municipalities located close at the border of the Netherlands and the non-border municipalities and how to explain for this?

1.3. Scientific and Societal Relevance

The trafficking of human beings is an universal concept and most of the society is well known with the horror stories that are linked with the subject. Trafficking of human beings has a major impact on the society globally. The conditions in which the women, children and men live are horrific and they are not entitled to any form of freedom and are exposed to violence and torture daily (Weebly, 2017). The hardest social impact is of course on the human beings who are trafficked but there are always effects on the society as a whole. For example in 2009 there were 63 Dutch minor victims of trafficking registered. This number has risen to 165 young people in 2013 (Conrisq Groep, 2017, p.9). The Dutch government is trying to make the Netherlands aware of the growing problem of trafficking in human beings in the country

(Kallen, 2011, p.9). This is being done by providing more information about the problem of trafficking on the internet. As mentioned previously, the trafficking of human beings is big business and is considered a global complex problem. It has a large impact on the society and the crimes can be considered inhumane and a danger for the security of fragile people who are being targeted.

Scientific relevance is considered to be important because it aims to make a positive contribution to already existing knowledge in a specific area. This research is considered scientifically relevant because it aims to fill in a knowledge gap between the problems and policy of border municipalities and non-border municipalities. Existing literature and knowledge is available regarding human trafficking in general and in the Netherlands. Furthermore reports and research have been conducted within different municipalities in the Netherlands and of their existing policies, approaches and problems regarding the trafficking of human beings. The lack of information in these researches is the approach of border-municipalities in the Netherlands and to what extent they differ from the non-border municipalities. Geography can be considered as a crucial factor in trafficking as the problem of trafficking is an universal cross-border problem.

Nevertheless the existing reports, especially the report of the National Rapporteur *“Mensenhandel, Effectieve aanpak op gemeentelijk niveau Lessen uit de praktijk”* focusses only on municipalities that are not located at the border of the Netherlands. This research will make a contribution to fill in the gap of border-municipalities which are not represented in the mentioned rapport and to what extent they differ from other municipalities in the Netherlands regarding their approach, policy and problems in human trafficking. This will also give an idea if geography can be seen as relevant with regard to human trafficking.

1.4. Reading guide

This thesis will be divided into several chapters, in order to answer the before-mentioned central question and related sub-questions. Chapter two of this thesis will consist out of a theoretical framework where the main concepts of the research will be introduced. The next chapter will be the methodology that has been used for this research. This will also include the important concepts which will be defined. Furthermore the research method, data collection, and lastly, the limitations of this research will be discussed within this chapter. The fourth chapter will consist of an overview regarding human trafficking so that a brief outline

of information can be given regarding trafficking in human beings. Also a sub-chapter will be dedicated to the extent of human trafficking in the Netherlands.

The fifth chapter is going to focus on previous research into the non-border municipalities, also the municipalities in the existing report will be reviewed and the most important outcomes will be described of this report. The following chapter is considered to be the most important chapter of this thesis, namely the analysis. This will consist of three sub-chapters and these sub-chapters will analyze the formulated sub-questions. Finally the conclusion will be given which will contain the answer to the formulated research question.

2. Theoretical Framework

In the theoretical framework the main theoretical concepts will be introduced that help answer the research questions that is mentioned in the introduction. Furthermore the main question will be conceptualized on the basis of scientific literature and the well-known problems of human trafficking and cross-border cooperation will be described. Also combating organized crime with regards to human trafficking will be reviewed. In the literature review, a sub-chapter of the theoretical framework, the existing literature will be given about the above mentioned points of cross-border cooperation and organized crime.

2.1. Human trafficking

Human trafficking can be defined as a broad concept with various definitions. The term human trafficking is considered to be one of the oldest trades and there is not enough research conducted on trafficking and what exactly is out there. What is available is not considered to be always the most reliable, this because is it almost impossible to get reliable information on the subject (MacInnis, 2013, p.1). Human trafficking is regarded as slavery in modern times and it is seen as the second largest illegal business in the world just behind illegal arm dealing (MacInnis, 2013, p.1).

The definition of human trafficking according to article 3, paragraph (a) of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons states human trafficking as *“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.”* (UNODC, 2018). Another definition is given by government of the United States. The U.S government defines human trafficking as:

- *“Sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age.”*
- *“The recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery.”* (National Institute of Justice, 2018).

Three constituent elements of trafficking can be distinguished, namely:

- **The Act.** The Act includes the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons.
- **The Means.** Threat or use of force, coercion, abduction, fraud, deception and abuse of power.
- **The Purpose.** The purpose includes exploiting the prostitution of others, sexual exploitation, forced labor, slavery or similar practices and the removal of organs (UNODC, 2018).

The majority of people tend to think that human trafficking is only about sexual slavery, however other reasons exist why people are being trafficked. These reasons vary from forced labor and organ trafficking. People can be trafficked internationally or domestically (McInnis, 2013, p. 2). Furthermore the traffickers use different methods to lure the victims such as the internet and newspapers where the victim has been misled and a false job advertisement has been promised (McInnis, 2013, p.6).

2.2. Organized crime

The term organized crime is considered to be a changing and flexible phenomenon and the term has emerged in Chicago in the year 1919 (UNODC, 2018). With globalization, many benefits such as faster communication, international travel and movement of finances came into place and created opportunities for various transnational organized criminal groups to expand their illegal activities (UNODC, 2018). They are not only expanding their activities but are also diversifying their activities. This results in transnational threats that have become complex and unpredictable (Abadinsky, 2012, p.2). With this transnational organized crime has emerged. Transnational crime is a criminal phenomenon exceeding the international borders, transgressing the laws of various states and are having an impact on another country (UNODC, 2018). Transnational organized crime has evolved over the years and takes into account the global complexity of the subject and permits cooperation on the broadest possible range of common concerns, such as human trafficking (Abadinsky, 2012, p. 2).

An issue such as human trafficking within the field of transnational crime mostly involves a country of origin, transit and destination. In these areas international cooperation is essential, as one single state cannot take comprehensive action to challenge the problem of

trafficking and organized crime (Abadinsky, 2012, p.2). The developing countries with a weak rule of law can be mostly vulnerable to the activities of organized crime organizations which can lead to the weakening of the governance in states.

The United Nations issued a convention against transnational organized crime and this instrument is considered to be leading regarding the fight against (transnational) organized crime. It was signed by member states of the European Union in the city of Palermo, located in Italy on 12-15 December in 2000 and it entered into power on the 29th of September 2003 (European Commission, 2018). The signed convention could be seen as a step forward in the fight against transnational organized crime, human trafficking included. It shows the need for further improvement of international cooperation in order to combat the problem of trafficking and other issues of organized crime. The states that have signed the convention have committed themselves into taking a number of actions against transnational organized crime such as law enforcement cooperation, the creation of domestic criminal offences and mutual legal assistance (European Commission, 2018).

2.3. The Netherlands and organized crime

Organized crime brings many forms of damage on the Dutch society. Organized crime can be found in the Netherlands in the form of exploitation of people (human trafficking), production, import and transit of drugs (Rijksoverheid, 2007, p.1). The legal and illegal markets are closely tangled and therefore the direct environment of citizens becomes threatened. The boundaries between use and misuse of services and facilities can become very thin and therefore the society in the Netherlands ultimately becomes responsible for the direct and indirect material and immaterial damage (Rijksoverheid, 2007, p.1). The organized crime involves unacceptable side effects, namely: Degeneration of neighborhoods and influence of certain business sectors. Lastly, organized crime goes accompanied by threats, the use of force and extortion (Rijksoverheid, 2007, p.1). The organized crime in the Netherlands can be considered for an important part as transit crime. Meaning criminal groups are often involved in illegal cross-border trade and smuggling, such as drugs, weapons and people, which are made of the same infrastructure that also facilitates the legal economy in the country (Rijksoverheid, 2007,p.2).

The Netherlands can be considered to be a transit country , to a substantial extent a destination country and to a lesser extent a production country (drugs). The geographical

position of the Netherlands plays an important role and the logistic hub in Europe which provides a spacious opportunity structure, which includes the social infrastructure, making the Netherlands an attractive country for organized crime (Rijksoverheid, 2007, p.2). The local government plays an important role in the fight against organized crime. It is considered of great importance that all involved parties feel the urgency of factors that will promote work for organized crime and that everyone involved in it is considered responsible and the local government must be seen as a full partner by all parties involved (Rijksoverheid, 2007, p.6). Over the past 15 years many instruments and organizations have been established on both international as national level such as the UN Convention on Transnational Crime. Also, in the border regions, many good cooperation initiatives have been developed that can be expand throughout the years (Rijksoverheid, 2007, p.13).

There are indications that as a result of the increasing administrative approach to the Dutch side of the border, part of the criminal activities are being moved to the neighboring countries and vice versa In the Maas-Rijn Euregion. The different partners involved feel that this shift can only be counteracted as the underlying problems are dealt with jointly (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2008, p.12). The Dutch, Belgian and German investigative services are working more intensively in combating cross-border crime in the Euregions Maas-Rijn and Rijn-Maas-North. In this border region, the police and justice services of the three mentioned countries are already collaborating as part of the Bureau for EU regional Cooperation (BES), which has been set up in Maastricht on the initiative of the Netherlands (Rijksoverheid, 2013). The Royal Marechaussee is picking up more and more people in the border region with Belgium. The number of arrests related to human trafficking have increased even more by as much as 47 percent (Omroep Brabant, 2013). Four mobile teams from the Marechaussee are active in the Dutch provinces of Brabant and Limburg. Since the disappearance of the European internal borders, they have been carrying out checks on the traffic entering the Netherlands and trying to combat the illegal activities of organized criminal groups (Omroep Brabant, 2013).

2.4. Transnational cooperation of the Netherlands

Transnational cooperation includes the regions from various states of the European Union who are forming bigger areas. The purpose of this is to indorse better cooperation and also regional development within the European Union, this by a joint approach to challenge

common issues (European Commission, 2018). Transnational cooperation is required in order to tackle the problem of human trafficking. The Netherlands play also a significant role within transnational cooperation and combating the trafficking of persons.

Regarding the cooperative efforts of transnational cooperation to combat trafficking, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs is funding several projects in a number of source countries regarding trafficking, particularly in Romania, Bulgaria and Nigeria (European Commission, 2018). The aim of these projects is to provide technical assistance and also training for the local law enforcement authorities, also to establish and improve transfer instruments and provide shelter facilities for the victims. The joint investigations that are being conducted with the source countries are not only considered essential in order to prosecute the transnational trafficking networks but it can also be an effective way to transfer investigative skills to the source countries (European Commission, 2018).

In addition, there is intensive cooperation with the surrounding neighboring countries and the Netherlands with regard to tackling human trafficking. According to Trudy Jansen, chain director for Trafficking in the Region of Limburg, a letter of intent was signed in May 2018 by the ministers of Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands. This means that a pilot project has been set up by the countries concerned for the administrative approach to combating organized cross-border crime, including trafficking in human beings. The intention is to strengthen cooperation and improving information exchange within the framework of the administrative approach between Belgium, the Netherlands and North Rhine-Westphalia (RIEC, 2018). The Netherlands itself believes that closer cooperation with neighboring countries is essential to effectively combat cross-border crime. The current cross-border approach to organized crime is regulated around various treaties between all individual partners such as the police and the Public Minister. The new center will distinguish itself by offering a platform in which the local government from all three countries, the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany will cooperate fully with other partners such as the police and the Public Prosecution Service. For example, administrative and criminal law measures are combined to tackle undermining cross-border crime as effectively as possible (RIEC, 2018).

In order to better combat cross-border crime, negotiations were being made during the Dutch presidency for the revision of the Benelux Police Convention in 2004 called Senningen (CVV, 2017). The ministers signed the third "Senningen" action plan, which ran from 2013 to 2016. These strategic action plans lay the foundation for structural cooperation

between the three countries in the field of Homeland Security. They provide for strengthening and improving the safety and well-being of citizens (ANP, 2013) The administrative approach to organized crime such as motorcycle gangs, corruption, money laundering and trafficking in human beings will be given high priority. In terms of safety, the Benelux countries will also join forces to draw up joint regulations for drones and continue working on improved operational cooperation between crisis centers for more effective disaster response (CVV, 2017).

2.5. Literature review

Trafficking in human beings has reached what could be considered to be epidemic proportions and no country in the world can be considered to be immune to human trafficking. Human trafficking grows fast in Central- and Eastern Europe. Furthermore, over the past decade there has been an astonishing explosion of the law that is regulating cross-border movements in the area of trafficking in persons (Kempadoo, K, Sanghera, J & Pattanaik, B, 2015, p.25).

2.5.1. Cross-border movement

The subject of human trafficking and cross-border movements is considered to be a major challenge in the field of human rights. As it effects various countries around the world, several anti-trafficking measures have been adopted around the globe which involve cross-border cooperation (Kempadoo, K, Sanghera, J & Pattanaik, B, 2015, p.29).

In the region of the Benelux cross-border cooperation is considered as important and has several cross-border problems on its agenda where the emphasis is placed on combating cross-border crime, such as the fight against human trafficking (Europa Decentraal, 2017).

2.5.2. Borders

Borders play an important role in the trafficking of persons and international borders are widely advertised as defenders in the fight against trafficking in persons (McAdam, 2013). Since trafficking in persons frequently has a transnational dimension, addressing it efficiently needs a transnational response. States around the world have to authorize their borders and take measures to prevent human trafficking and there are a number of measures included in the Trafficking in Persons Protocol (UNODC, 2008, p. 216). In agreement with the Trafficking in Persons Protocol, States must strengthen their border controls and monitor the incomes of transportation so that they are not illegally used (UNODC, 2009, p.92). With this Protocol states can make it more difficult for the human traffickers to move people across the borders.

Furthermore cross-border cooperation is recommended by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (UNODC, 2008, p. 216). Measures such as strengthening cooperation among border control agencies and strengthen border controls may be necessary to prevent and detect trafficking in human beings, these measures are being taken by the international community in the form of cross-border cooperation to combat and reduce the trafficking of persons within borders to other countries. To further improve the effectiveness of international cooperation instruments, lawmakers should focus on the formation of jurisdiction, including on an extraterritorial basis, extradition, mutual legal assistance and law enforcement cooperation (UNODC, 2009, p. 88). Anti-trafficking interventions must address prevention, protection and assistance, including return and resettlement.

2.5.3. Trafficking as part of organized crime

The trafficking of persons is a part of organized crime. The open borders within Europe have brought vulnerability to cross-border organized crime, such as human trafficking. The prevention and fight against the trafficking of persons has become a top European Union priority (European Commission, 2018). As organized crime is seen as an transnational issue, it requires a coordinated transnational response to it. The organized criminal networks who operate in the field of human trafficking extent within the globe, the efforts to combat them must also cross the national borders to ensure that the organized crime networks do not deter their illegal activities to other countries and regions where weak cooperation means weak criminal justice responses (UNODC, 2018).

The threats of human trafficking and the organized crime that comes with it will not respect the geopolitical borders of the nation state but they resist the institutional borders and arrangements which are traditionally designed to manage them (Depenbrock, p. 6). In the Netherlands the approach to human trafficking has been prioritized by the judiciary and the police in the country. However, the two authorities cannot solve the problem together. Collaboration and information exchange with other parties are of crucial importance (CCV, 2010, p.28). The scale on which it takes place is borderless. In human trafficking no account is taken of the municipality, regional or national borders, for this reason it is difficult to get a grip on it (CCV, 2010, p. 29). In the fight against trafficking in human beings, the municipalities play an important role. They have a responsibility for prevention, signaling, enforcement and

assistance, but also for raising barriers. The border regions play an important role also within the trafficking of human beings in the Netherlands.

2.5.4. Cross-border cooperation problems

A Europe without borders furthermore causes frustrations and problems in the border regions and the national governments are looking for practical solutions. National governments have slowly gained more attention for the specific problems and development possibilities of their border areas. Moreover, the Council of Europe and the European Commission have stimulated cross-border administrative partnerships (Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2007, p.2). The Netherlands has a relatively large border area. Seven of the twelve provinces are border province and about 2 million Dutch residents live in it Dutch border municipalities. A large part of the Dutch territory becomes covered by the seven Euregions at the border with Germany and Belgium.

This means that cross-border administrative cooperation is of great importance for the Netherlands (Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2007, p.2). National borders remain an obstacle to occurrence and control of cross-border crime. Police and justice may only enter specific cases and work across borders under strict conditions and in criminal law cooperation with sister institutions in other countries (Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2007, p.2). They are not only dealing with differences in competences, but also with differences in organization, working method and priority setting (Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2007, p.8). Visible limits remain that create barriers in cross-border contacts. It is a task of the public administration to work on an effective, efficient, lawful and responsive way to work on the solution of these border problems (Raad voor het openbaar bestuur, 2007, p.10).

Cross-border cooperation plays an essential role in combating all forms of crime and the Dutch, Belgian and German authorities work together to exploit opportunities in the border areas and to tackle cross-border crime. For over fifty years, efforts have been made to improve cross-border cooperation, but nevertheless there are challenges and problems present when it comes to cooperation between countries (Decentralized Europe, 2017). Due to, for example, linguistic and cultural differences and differences in legislation and regulations, borders between countries are still clearly present and can cause confusion, for example, with Member States interpreting European directives differently, or because new European legislation has the concrete impact on specifically the border regions (Decentralized

Europe, 2017). In addition, cross-border cooperation also has financial aspects, particularly in the form of the use of European subsidies for stimulating cross-border projects.

The state can play a major role in solving certain blocks at transnational crime. For this reason a Cross-Border Cooperation Taskforce was set up (Decentralized Europe, 2017). This Taskforce had the goal to solve the main obstacles in the border regions within a year. The border regions, neighboring countries and line ministries have subsequently joined forces to make this possible. The main difficulties at the time were later converted into action points. (Decentralized Europe, 2017). In the 1980s and 1990s, the Netherlands concluded with Belgium the Benelux Convention on cross-border cooperation between territorial partnerships or authorities, and with Germany the German-Dutch Convention on cross-border cooperation between territorial communities or authorities (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2010). Nevertheless difficulties are present within this part of cross-border cooperation, namely the cross-border public bodies can not make decisions that bind citizens. The Euroregions would like their representative body to be able to make binding decisions for citizens (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2010).

In addition, the provinces play different roles in cross-border cooperation in Euregional collaborations. The provinces of Limburg, Noord-Brabant and Zeeland are partners and co-founders of the Dutch-Belgian Euroregions. Problems and difficulties within the Euroregions occur in different categories, such as: Problems in the organizational area, meaning that civil servants know their own organization, but are not familiar with the organization of the services on the other side of the border in Belgium or Germany. Also problems in the area of legislation and regulations and the lack of knowledge about those rules can occur and also problems of a technical nature. In the case of emergency medical assistance, various means of communication and transmission frequencies are used in the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2010). It is clear that there are various problems present regarding cross-border cooperation and cooperation in alliances and networks is not considered easy. Therefore it is important to for example identify and name problems which occur regarding cross-border cooperation in time so that the cooperation can run smoothly and information exchange can take place effectively in order to limit criminal practices, which includes trafficking in human beings (Boonstra, 2013, p.323).

3. Methodology

In the third chapter of this research the methodology will be discussed. The research question will be discussed briefly followed by the sub-questions related to it. Secondly the most important concepts within this research will be discussed and explained. After this an outline will be given of the different types of research methodology and which type has been used for this research. Furthermore a description will be given about the type of data collection and finally the limitations of this research will be discussed.

3.1. *Central Research Questions and Sub-questions*

The aim of this thesis is to find an answer to the following research question: *To what extent can differences be distinguished regarding combating and regulating human trafficking in municipalities which are located at the border of the Netherlands compared to Dutch municipalities that are not located at the border?*

The focus will be mainly on two different municipalities in the Netherlands, namely Etten-Leur and Maastricht, both located near the border of the Netherlands. The focus will be on these municipalities because these municipalities are as mentioned near the border of the Netherlands and the focus of this research are municipalities located near the border. The two municipalities are considered to be one of the largest in size and number in their provinces and by choosing the largest municipalities a good example can be shown to what extent human trafficking is present at the borders and how it is being combated.

The attention to the municipalities is because they play an important role in combating human trafficking in the Netherlands but due to various unclear circumstances their role is not considered to be effective in combating the phenomena of trafficking. By doing research on the two chosen municipalities, namely Etten-Leur and Maastricht an answer can be given whether there is a difference regarding the policy and approach of combating human trafficking in the two mentioned municipalities located close to the border and the four municipalities mentioned in the rapport of the National Rapporteur, who are not located near the border. A comparison can be made between border and non-border municipalities and whether the factor of being located close at a border plays an important role regarding the existing policies and approach of combating human trafficking.

Therefore the mentioned research question is established, with the aim to research and compare the policies and actions regarding combating human trafficking of the municipalities located at the border and to portray to what extent there is a difference in approach.

In order to fully answer the research question it is important to create sub-questions. Therefore the following sub-questions are outlined:

1. *To what extent does the cross-border aspect of trafficking play an important role at the border-regions in their approach towards combating trafficking in human beings?*
2. *What are the challenges and approaches of the municipalities of Etten-Leur and Maastricht and to what extent are they considered to be at high risk regarding human trafficking ?*
3. *To what extent does human trafficking differ at the two chosen municipalities located close at the border of the Netherlands and the non-border municipalities and how to explain for this?*

These sub-questions will provide the necessary information that is needed for this research. The first sub-question will provide information about the aspect of cross-border and in what way does it play an important role at border-regions. The second- sub-question will have its focus on the municipalities Etten-Leur and Maastricht, which are located near the border of the Netherlands. The approaches regarding human trafficking of these municipalities will be analyzed and thereby a comparison can be made to the other municipalities who are not located at the border. The third sub-question will focus on the differences in the way the non-border and border municipalities within this research approach the trafficking of human beings and if a difference can be found within their approach, what could be the reason and explanation for this.

3.2. Central concepts

In this section, the most central concepts that are mentioned in the research and sub-questions, as well as in other chapters of the research, will be explained briefly. This will be done in order to create a clear understanding of what is meant with these concepts.

Human trafficking	Refers to the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception 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 (<i>Aronowitz, 2009, p.1</i>).
Border	A border is a key geographical concept that has also been at the center of the politics of mobility, identity, and economy. Borders are efficiently invisible and are marked symbolically and graphically with custom officials (<i>Cresswell, 2010</i>).
Municipality	A municipality is a group of settlements (villages, cities) with the associated area that are controlled together by a political apparatus. The municipality is the lowest layer in the political governance structure in most countries (<i>Merriam-Webster, 2018</i>).
Cross-border trafficking	Trafficking which occurs within the context of migration and relates to the movement across different countries involving people against their will, for exploitation (<i>Aldeguer, n.d., p.2</i>)

3.3. Research Methods



This section of the chapter will discuss the various research methods that are present and the specific research method that will be used for this research. This method will be described in this section and further explained. Within the field of research methods a difference can be made between quantitative and qualitative research. The main focus of quantitative research is described as entailing the collection of numerical data and exhibiting a view of the relationship between theory and research (Bryman & Cramer, 2012, p. 160). Thus quantitative research emphasizes quantification in the collection of data and also predominantly emphasizes an inductive approach to the mentioned relationship between theory and research (Bryman & Cramer, 2012, p.35). Qualitative research provides in-depth information by discussing the underlying motivations, opinions, wishes and needs of the specific research group (Claudia de Graauw, 2018). Furthermore the research provides insight into how people think about a specific subject. Does the target group understand and appreciate the message and what are the needs, opinions, motivations and intentions of the target group. It tends also

to be more concerned with words than with numbers. It also provides an inductive view of a relationship between theory and research (Bryman & Cramer, 2012, p.380). In comparison to quantitative research, qualitative research tends to be a more open-ended research strategy and the theories and concepts are often seen as outcomes of the research process (Bryman & Cramer, 2012, p.412). Qualitative research is ideally suited for 'why-questions'. It also provides in-depth insights about the studied communication target groups (Rijksoverheid, 2018).

As mentioned previously there are various research methods present. The following research methods can be distinguished: A survey, an experiment, a text analysis, ethnography and a case study. When choosing a research method it is important to distinguish the type of research question that has been formulated and also if the focus of the research is on historical or temporary events. For this thesis, a case study will be conducted in order to answer the formulated research questions while various sources in information will be consulted.

3.3.1. Case Study

As mentioned above this thesis will exist of a case study. There are different types of case studies that can be applied to a research. According to Bryman a case study involves the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case (Bryman & Cramer ,2012, p. 66). Its main focus is the complexity and the particular nature of the case that is in question (Bryman & Cramer, 2012, p.66). The term case is related with a specific location, situation or phenomena, for example a community or an organization. There are three different types of case studies that can be distinguished, namely exploratory, descriptive and explanatory.

The first one mentioned, exploratory, has a main goal to prove that further research is still proven necessary and sets to explore any phenomenon in the data which could be seen as a point of interest to the researcher (Zainal, 2007, p.3). A descriptive case is considered to be detailed and focused in which proposals and questions about a certain case are cautiously analyzed and expressed at the beginning (SAGE,2010). The last mentioned case study is the explanatory case study. The main focus of this case study is to find an explanation for a question or a phenomenon. Within an explanatory case the data will be examined closely, in order to explain the phenomena found in the data (Yin, 1984). The data is being examined both on a deep level and at a surface. The last type of mentioned case study will also be used for this thesis because the aim of this thesis is to explain the differences, if existing, between non-border and border regions and their approach and policy regarding human trafficking.

Furthermore it is also important to decide whether your case study is a single or multiple-case study. If there are no other cases available for replication, the researcher has to implement the single-case design to his research. This thesis will apply a multiple-case study. The reason that a multiple-case study will be conducted is because more than one municipality will be used for this thesis and a comparison will be made between the chosen municipalities in connection with human trafficking and the existing policies of the municipalities on this matter.

3.3.2. Advantages and Disadvantages of a Case Study

Using a case study has its advantages and disadvantages. An advantage of a case study is that it is the most flexible research design and it allows many details to be collected that normally would not be easily to obtained by for example other research designs (Yin, 1984). This data that has been collected through a case study is considered to be a lot richer and of greater depth in comparison to other experimental designs. Furthermore, evidence from a case study can be collected from multiple sources and this is not always the case with other methods (Rowley, 2002).

As advantages exist regarding the use of this method, a case study has also received some criticism. The main criticism regarding the use of a case study is that a case study does not provide much basis for scientific generalization, as a small number of subjects are used and some case studies are only conducted with one subject (Yin, 1984). Another disadvantage of case studies is that it is often categorized as being too stretched and difficult to conduct (Zainal, 2007, p.5) Furthermore they are often accused of lack of rigour. It has been noted that in many times the case study investigator has delivered disordered work and has also allowed equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of the findings and conclusions (Zainal, 2007, p.5).

3.4. Data Collection

This thesis will primarily conduct desktop research that involves a document analysis and a literature study of scientific articles. Since desktop research involves both a document analysis and a literature study of scientific articles, the data can be analyzed from multiple perspectives. The methods will be explained further in the following sub-sections. Furthermore information will be collected from specialists and employees of the mentioned municipalities. The relevant information will be send through e-mail exchange. Because

employees and specialists from the requested municipalities, national government, the police, National Rapporteur, and the CVV cannot make the necessary time for a personal interviews, an attempt has been made to provide more information about the subject via e-mail exchanges.

Experts Trudy Jansen, chain director of region Limburg and Ton Vissers, employee integral safety at the municipality of Etten-Leur, cooperated and the necessary information regarding the research was sent through correspondence by e-mail. These individuals have insights and can provide information that is necessary for this research to be able to formulate an answer to the mentioned research question. Information regarding the policy and approach to human trafficking in the two border municipalities will be provided by the two mentioned individuals. The main themes that were presented to the two respondents were the policy and approach to trafficking in human beings in their respective municipalities and how that policy is being implemented.

3.4.1. Desktop research

By using desktop research, information will be collected that will make a contribution in answering and explaining the formulated sub-questions of this thesis. Many terms will be searched online but the following are considered to be the most important and frequently searched ones:

- Human trafficking
- Policies human trafficking Etten-Leur
- Policies human trafficking Maastricht
- Human trafficking cross-borders
- Challenges human trafficking

The sources that will be used to collect the necessary data for this research will consist of official policy reports of the National Rapporteur and the municipalities of Etten-Leur and Maastricht. Furthermore the information provided by the experts in the municipality of Etten-Leur and Maastricht will also be included in the analysis.

3.4.2. Document Analysis

Document analysis have a communicative purpose and provide primary and secondary data (Reulink & Lindeman,2005, p.5). The data that will be collected for the document analysis will

consist of official findings and reports of governmental institutions on human trafficking and human trafficking in the mentioned municipalities. These institutions will include the UNODC and Rijksoverheid but also the municipalities of Maastricht and Etten-Leur. The relevant documents have been found by using the keywords and terms as mentioned above: Human trafficking, policies human trafficking Etten-Leur, policies human trafficking Maastricht, human trafficking cross-borders and challenges in human trafficking.

By means of these terms various documents have been found where relevant information is stated, will be applied for this research. This information was used and applied for this research, such as the human trafficking policies in the municipality of Etten-Leur and Maastricht and human trafficking in general. The necessary documents such as reports of RIEC and the municipality of Etten-Leur and Maastricht were also analyzed on the basis of the above-mentioned terms. The most important subjects have been filtered within the documents, namely trafficking in human beings, trafficking in human beings in the municipality of Etten-Leur, trafficking in human beings in the municipality of Maastricht and the challenges that are present within the municipalities. Based on the relevant subjects, the documents were examined and the most important information for this research has been extracted and further analyzed for relevance.

3.5. Limitations

Validity in a research refers to whether the findings of a particular study are considered to be true in the meaning that the findings of a research precisely reflect the situation and there is evidence that is supporting the conclusions (Brink, 1993, p.35). Every research has its limitations to it. Limitations to a research are considered to be characteristics of a design or methodology that have impacted or influenced the interpretations of the findings of a research (Research Guides, 2018). The limitations of this research will be mentioned in the following paragraph.

This research is carried out within the two mentioned municipalities, namely Etten-Leur and Maastricht. The policy regarding trafficking in human beings in the municipalities that are located close to the border of the Netherlands will be examined. There is a chance that the policy staff from the two mentioned municipalities do not want to participate in the research and do not want to grant an interview. As a result, there will be a shortage of information and a clear picture of the situation at the border municipalities with regard to

human trafficking cannot be outlined. As a result, a correct image cannot be given, which puts the validity of the research at risk.

4. Background information Human Trafficking

Within this chapter background information will be provided regarding human trafficking. An overview will be given regarding data and numbers of the victims, where the victims come from and the transnational policies that exist alongside cross-border trafficking. Furthermore a sub-chapter will be dedicated to the nature and extent of trafficking in human beings in the Netherlands.

Trafficking in persons can be seen as a violation against humanity 200 years ago and it continued to be an international issue in modern day society. Nearly every country in the world is affected by the trafficking of persons for sexual exploitation or forced labor (UNODC, 2008 ,p.3). Also transnational organized crime has been escalating in recent decades because of the impact that globalization has on a region. This is resulting in a decline of nation states and border controls. With globalization being a central concept within our time, the trafficking of people has taken a whole new dimension (Hughes, 2000). The value of the global trade in the trafficking of only women is even estimated to be between seven and twelve billion dollars every year (Hughes & Denisova, 2003).

4.1. Data and numbers

Between the years 2012 and 2014 a number of 62,251 victims have been distinguished in a number of 106 different countries (UNODC, 2016, p.26). Based on the 17,752 victims detected in 85 countries in the year 2014, a majority of them were adult women and young girls. This comprises a 70 per cent of the total victims of human trafficking (UNODC, 2016, p.26). Approximately 23,000 victims that were trafficked for sexual exploitation were noticed and reported between the year 2012 and 2014 (UNODC, 2016, p.27).

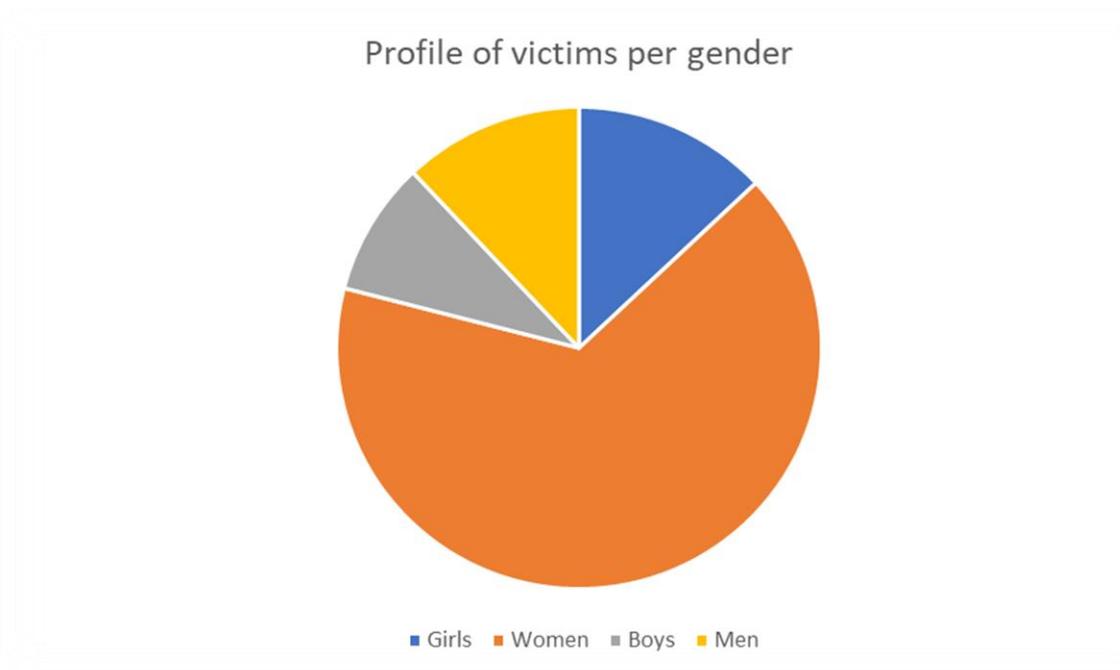


Figure 4.1: Profile of the victims gender related

Organized crime is considered to be a male activity and men make up over 90 per cent of the population in prison in most countries and are also over-represented when it comes to violent crime. Therefore the assumption could be made that in the field of human trafficking where violence and threats are common practices every day would be dominated by men (UNODC, 2016, p.10).

The victims of trafficking have an average age of 26 years old and half of the victims are identified between the age of 18 and 34 years old (Migration Data Portal, 2018). In the year 2015-2016 the average age was 29 and the male victims were considered to be older than the female victims.

4.2. Destination and source countries

Countries that are involved within human trafficking can be labeled as a source, destination or transit country. What this means is that source countries deliver the supply of victims for the human trafficking market. These victims are moved across various routes through transit countries to end up in the destination countries. These destination countries produce the demand for the international human trafficking market (Meija, n.d. ,p3). Thailand and the Philippines are considered major supply countries but mostly countries from the former Soviet Union have become main sending countries such as Ukraine and Belarus (Hughes, 2000).

Ukraine is one of the largest suppliers of women in prostitution with 14 percent of the trafficked women coming from the Ukraine (Hughes, 2000).

4.3. Transnational cooperation and cross border trafficking

Numerous countries around the globe have ratified several anti-trafficking laws. Legislations under the Rule of Law Principle have helped to indict human trafficking cases both at the domestic as the regional level (Sedletzki, 2008, p.58). On a global scale the policy efforts with the aim to prevent human trafficking have advanced since the year 2000 (IOM, 2006, p.2). This has been done with the adaption of the Palermo Convention and the three protocols linked to it, which are:

- The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children
- The Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air.
- The Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition (UNODC, 2018).

There is the incredible need for the different governments across the globe to collaborate across borders. If a victim has been recruited by a trafficker in one country and is being exploited in another country, there is the vital need that the various governments, civil societies and law enforcement in the countries that are involved in the trafficking engage in a multi-lateral response that could be considered as effective so networks who are engaged in human trafficking can be exposed and combated effectively (Polaris, 2016). It is also reported that in the most cases the victims were moved across international borders. It was reported by 32 countries, that there is a case of domestic trafficking or the exploitation of citizens in the home country (UNODC, 2016, p.11).

Nevertheless the number can be considered higher due to restrictive definitions of trafficking or the larger prominence of the foreign victims. In more than 20 countries around the globe victims from East Asia were detected, also the trafficking of victims from African countries were detected in locations in Europe and North America. Victims from Latin America were trafficked mostly to North America and Europe and South Asian victims were trafficked to the Middle East and lastly victims from Central and Eastern Europe were being transported to Europe and the Middle East (IOM, 2006, p.2).

4.4. *The Netherlands and Human Trafficking*

The Netherlands as a state also has to deal with the issue of human trafficking. In the Netherlands, trafficking in human beings means recruiting, transporting, transferring, taking in or accommodating a person, using force (in the broad sense) and with the aim of exploiting that person (Nationaal Rapporteur, 2018). The National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings and Sexual Violence against Children and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) made an estimate in 2017 of the extent of human trafficking in the Netherlands. The annual number of victims of trafficking in human beings is estimated to be around 6,250. This is considered to be about five times higher than the number of registered victims, which means that many victims of trafficking remain out of the picture of agencies. Of these people, 1,325 people (21%) are victims of cross-border exploitation outside the sex industry (Fairwork, 2017). The number of reports of victims of trafficking in human beings has fallen sharply in the past five years, from 1,287 in 2012 to 952 in 2016. In 2016, the number fell by 17 percent compared to the year 2015 (Fairwork, 2017). Of the 410 victims registered in the period from January to June 2017 in the Netherlands, most victims have the Dutch nationality, followed by the Romanian, Nigerian Bulgarian and Guinean nationality.

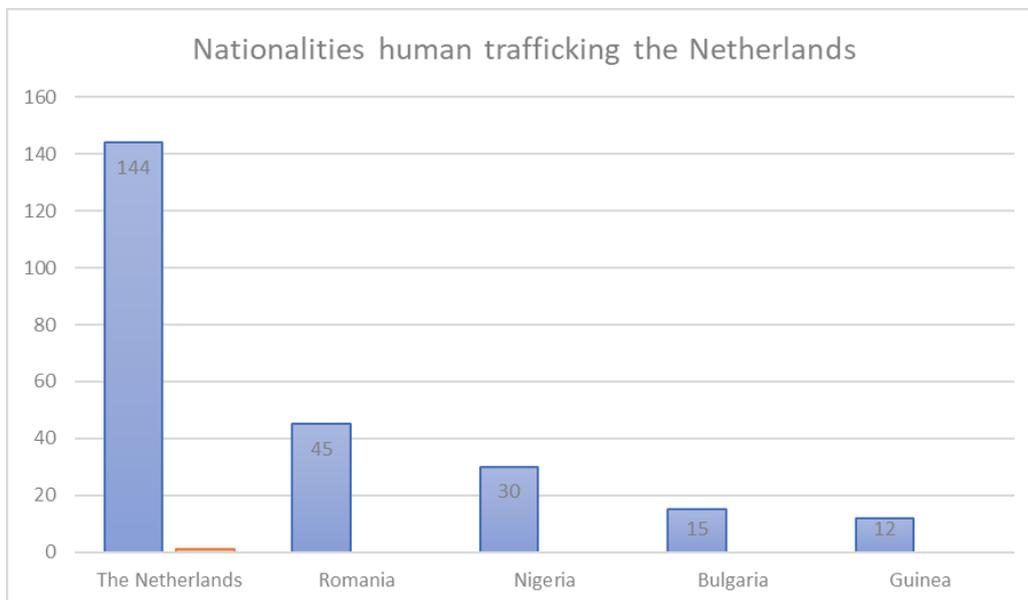


Figure 4.2. Nationalities of victims human trafficking 2017

The Netherlands as a country is considered to be a source, destination and transit country for the trafficked victims and the government of the Netherlands has investigated, indicted and convicted a substantial number of trafficked victims (U.S. Department of State, 2016). There

is a government-wide taskforce created that coordinates policy. Furthermore the national legislation entails law enforcement officers to mention the victims to the protection services (U.S. Department of State, 2016). The Dutch government sustains efforts to prevent trafficking in the Netherlands. Preventions comes in the form of various awareness campaigns that are offered to educate the community about the forms of trafficking that exist on the basis of websites, handouts, school prevention curricula and videos (U.S. Department of State, 2016). Moreover local government officials have conducted inspections on brothels for any signs of trafficking. Trainings have been given to staff of for example hotels, aviation and customs so that the mentioned staff members can pick up on signs of trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2016).

5. Existing research on Dutch non-border municipalities

In this chapter a closer look will be given to the four municipalities, Arnhem, Emmen, Eindhoven and Vlaardingen as mentioned in the existing report of the National Rapporteur of mensenhandel, "*Mensenhandel, Effectieve aanpak op gemeentelijk niveau Lessen uit de praktijk* ". Existing research has already been conducted into the policies of a number of non-border municipalities, including the four above mentioned municipalities in the report. This research complements the existing research of the National Rapporteur, which makes it relevant to outline the existing policies of the non-border municipalities and how their approach is regarding human trafficking at municipal level. Hereby a good comparison can be made with the border municipalities of Etten-Leur and Maastricht.

Trafficking in human beings can occur in every municipality in the Netherlands (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 9). In the fight against trafficking in human beings, the Dutch municipalities play an important role. They have a responsibility in the area of prevention, signaling, enforcement and assistance, but also for raising barriers (CCV, 2018). The mentioned non-border municipalities in the report have taken control of the approach of trafficking, have gathered and shared information, connected various chain partners and lastly have deployed administrative resources and powers to aggravate the process of human trafficking at the local and regional level in order to strengthen the oppressive and economic approach (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 15).

5.1. *Municipality of Arnhem*

Arnhem, with a number of 148.070 inhabitants, the first mentioned non-border municipality in the report has not drawn up a separate policy memorandum for trafficking in human beings. However, the municipality has drawn up a policy for supervision and enforcement on the prostitution sector (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 35). A policy regarding the tackling of human trafficking has been reached at the regional level, the Action plan for the Trafficking in Human Beings, Gelderland-Midden Region has been approved on the 21st of March 2012 by the Regional College of the Gelderland-Midden police region (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012,p. 38). The plan contains in what way the regional chain partners can form an integrated approach to trafficking in human beings with the support from the Regional Information and Expertise Center East Netherland (Nationaal Rapporteur

Mensenhandel, 2012,p. 38).

Various policy documents and public sources have shown that the municipality of Arnhem has not drawn up a policy for the tackling of human trafficking in general and also not for the tackling of other forms of exploitation in particular. More municipal policies have been drawn up for supervision and for enforcement in the sector of prostitution. The municipality and (regional) chain partners are still not working sufficiently together in practice regarding gathering information and sharing information in the field of human trafficking. Chain partners also state that signs of trafficking in human beings can be missed due to a lack of supervision and enforcement in the municipality. There appears to be little insight into the non-licensed prostitution sector, the escort sector and other forms of exploitation in Arnhem. From this it can be concluded that the information position of chain partners is not optimal (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 50). The RIEC and the Safety House can play a role in overcoming these problems and obstacles and establish a chain approach to trafficking in human beings. These partnerships are hardly ever used in practice for dealing with human trafficking. There is no regional or local collaboration on human trafficking (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 51).

5.2. Municipality of Emmen

In the municipality of Emmen with a number of 109.259 inhabitants, there are no official figures present regarding the nature and size of human trafficking. The municipality of Emmen has not drawn up a specific policy note on trafficking in human beings. A policy has been voiced on the basis of which it can be checked and enforced to prevent and combat exploitations in the registered prostitution sector. These rules, which are included in the General Local Regulation of Emmen, are the result of regional agreements (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 57). Though there is no specific policy in the area of human trafficking in Emmen, further rules have been laid down in the context of freedom, safety, health and working conditions when granting the permits for sex workers.

The municipality of Emmen has not drawn up a policy for a local approach to human trafficking. However, the municipality does state in the 'Framework Memorandum on Integral Security Policy' from 2011 that agreements have been made at regional level 'for combating illegal prostitution and human trafficking (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 58). At regional level, more attention is paid to tackling human trafficking and preventing abuses

in prostitution. For example, it appears from the Discussion Paper on Human Trafficking that in the province of Drenthe there has been a control group prostitution for several years under the official chairmanship of the municipality of Emmen

In the arena of other forms of exploitation, there is also no question of a structural partnership present. The municipality specifies that developments are taking place in this area that could lead to more structured cooperation (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 64). The fact that no approach to trafficking in human beings has yet been established at local level seems to lie mainly in the attitude of the municipality of Emmen. The municipality states that it has not formulated or adopted a formal approach, because according to Emmen there are not enough insufficient signals to pay attention to this. The police and the Public Prosecution Service have not made it sufficiently clear that trafficking in human beings is a problem within the municipality and the regional limits (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 64).

5.3. Municipality of Eindhoven

The municipality of Eindhoven has a number of 216.036 inhabitants. The exact nature and scale of trafficking in human beings in the municipality of Eindhoven makes it difficult to make a statement on the basis of official documents. The figures from the Public Prosecution Service show that in the period 2007-2011 that 51 trafficking cases were registered, approximately ten trafficking cases per year (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 81). In the Integral Safety Action Plans of 2012, the municipality has specified that it wants to achieve an integrated approach to trafficking in human beings in the context of the fight against organized crime.

The municipality also states that it wants to implant the approach to organized crime and human trafficking regionally via RIEC Zuid-Oost Brabant (RIEC ZOB) and Taskforce B5. In the Annual Plan of 2011 of the police, they stated that the fight against trafficking in human beings has been given high priority both politically and operationally and that it is therefore important that a responsible contribution is made in the chain to the fight against and detection of trafficking in human beings, illegal prostitution and other degrading relationships of dependency in labor relations (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 92). The municipality of Eindhoven has not yet drawn up a specific policy memorandum for trafficking in human beings. The municipality further states that there is a lack of partnership regarding

the trafficking in human beings and that municipal supervisors do not know what to look out for in order to recognize signs of human trafficking (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 102). The absence of such a reporting center and training creates the risk that signals from trafficking in human beings will not be picked up in time. Furthermore some supply chain partners experience uncertainty in the field of privacy legislation and each other's expectations and interests. This is seen as an obstacle for cooperation and information exchange. The RIEC could play a role in remedying or reducing these obstacles due to its regional task and powers (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 103).

5.4. Municipality of Vlaardingen

Vlaardingen counts 71,269 inhabitants. The precise size and nature of prostitution and human trafficking in Vlaardingen is unknown and there is a large dark number for (semi-) illegal, victimless, activities or (semi-) illegal activities with a low declaration willingness (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 106). Vlaardingen's policy on prostitution and trafficking in human beings is described in Vlaardingen's 'General Local Regulation' (APV) and in the 'Policy Framework on Human Trafficking' (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 109).

The Regional College of the Rotterdam-Rijnmond Police Region adopted the 'Framework Paper on Regional Approach to Honor-related Violence, Domestic Violence and Trafficking in Human Beings'. This Framework Memorandum states, among other things, that a uniform regional approach must be implemented for the Rotterdam-Rijnmond region of which the municipality of Vlaardingen is a part of, or tackling human trafficking. (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 110). The cooperation between the municipality and the police is in general good and there is mutual trust between the two. The development of the regional municipality of Rotterdam and the police force was important for the strength and for the establishment of a regional approach to trafficking in human beings (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 115). The approach to human trafficking in Vlaardingen itself is still in development. According to the police, it also took some time before the municipality of Vlaardingen became aware of human trafficking.

Furthermore the information position of the municipality of Vlaardingen is not yet optimal and no fixed reporting point has been set up to collect signals from all forms of trafficking. As a result, the municipality and its chain partners are less able to keep an eye on

the nature and extent of human trafficking (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 121). The municipality seems to be working on improving the information position by making managers more aware of human trafficking. However, the executive staff should also be aware of signs of trafficking and a hotline should also be present for all forms of trafficking, otherwise there is a risk that signals from trafficking are not adequately monitored. The RIEC RR and the Waterweg-Noord Safety House can play a role in solving these obstacles and creating a fully integrated approach (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 122).

6. Analysis

This chapter will aim to analyze the three sub-questions of this research, in order to get a final answer on the main research questions of this thesis. The data that has been collected for this research will be analyzed through the three mentioned sub-questions. The three sub-questions were as followed:

1. To what extent does the cross-border aspect of trafficking play an important role at the border-regions in their approach towards combating trafficking in human beings?
2. What are the challenges and approaches of the municipalities of Etten-Leur and Maastricht and to what extent are they considered to be at high risk regarding human trafficking ?
3. To what extent does human trafficking differ at the two chosen municipalities located close at the border of the Netherlands and the non-border municipalities and how to explain for this?

Firstly, the aspect of cross-border human trafficking will be discussed and what the measurements are the Dutch government is taking at the border-regions towards human trafficking. Secondly, the policy and approach regarding human trafficking in the municipalities of Etten-Leur and Maastricht will be examined closer to determine the approach of these municipalities regarding trafficking in human beings and to what extent a form of trafficking is present in the particular municipality. Thirdly, a closer look will be given between the two chosen municipalities, Etten-Leur and Maastricht, located near the border of the Netherlands and the four already examined municipalities in the existing report of the Nationaal Rapporteur "*Mensenhandel, Effectieve aanpak op gemeentelijk niveau Lessen uit de praktijk*". By making a comparison between the border and non-border located municipalities an analysis can be made regarding the policy of human trafficking and the way the different municipalities are tackling the problem of trafficking in human beings.

6.1. *The cross-border aspect of trafficking at the border regions*

Trafficking in human beings is often considered to be a complex cross-border problem that takes root when people are vulnerable to poverty, democracy fails, where there is gender inequality and violence against women, social integration is inadequate, there is lack of opportunities, employment and educational opportunities, where child labor and

discrimination occur and where conflict and post-conflict situations are present (Eur-Lex, 2016). Human trafficking is a global problem of cross-border organized crime where human rights are flagrantly violated from those who are looking for a better life (Nationaal Rapporteur, 2007, p.18). Both the Dutch police and the OM are committed to international cooperation in the fight against cross-border crime. This is particularly relevant for combating cross-border crime of human trafficking (Nationaal Rapporteur, 2007, p. 144). On 27 May 2005, seven member states of the European Union, including the Netherlands, concluded a treaty to intensify cross-border cooperation in tackling crime. This so-called Prüm Treaty specifically refers to the approach to terrorism, cross-border crime and illegal migration, including human trafficking. The main part of the treaty is the improvement of information exchange between the treaty states (Nationaal Rapporteur, 2007, p. 47). Police forces in the Dutch border region have been around for some time cooperated with police from neighboring countries Germany, Belgium and Luxembourg. In one of these partnerships trafficking has been made a priority. The possibilities for such forms of cooperation have been extended with the ratification by the Netherlands of two international agreements (Nationaal Rapporteur, 2007, p. 295).

The prostitution sector has long been a lucrative market for organized crime. Organized crime holds a part of the prostitution sector firmly in its grip and this can result in trafficking, exploitation and forced prostitution. The forced sex industry is not limited to the big cities. In particular, the northern provinces and the border municipalities are the most desirable locations for establishing sex establishments (Moise A, 2017, p.). It is considered that the crime of human trafficking are of a cross-border character which enacts that the evidence be obtained from the territorial jurisdiction of several states, by using the special techniques of criminal investigation, international cooperation and requests for mutual assistance.

Municipalities in the Netherlands play an important role in the integrated approach to trafficking in human beings. A municipality is constantly in contact with various chain partners and can use administrative means to tackle human trafficking (CCV, 2015). Policy that is focusing on human trafficking is an important basis for tackling the problem of trafficking in human beings from municipalities. For example, the active signaling of the different forms of trafficking are anchored (CCV, 2015). Human trafficking policy can be formulated separately or can be included in other policy issues. Development policy can not only be local, but also take place regionally. This results in local initiatives being reinforced but it also prevents

waterbed effects (CCV, 2015).

It is also necessary as individuals to be aware of signals concerning trafficking in human beings and to transmit these signals to the relevant authorities. That is why it is not only general awareness among employees or municipalities that are important within a municipality. At least one employee is familiar with the administrative opportunities to raise barriers to trafficking and to pass on signals to the relevant partners involved (CCV, 2015). The presence of the Royal Marechaussee on the border and in the border region is relevant for combating trafficking in human beings and they play a huge role within signaling and preventing trafficking at the border. The Royal Marechaussee has increasingly reported possible victims of trafficking to the Human Trafficking Coordination Center since the year 2012 (2014, Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel en Seksueel Geweld tegen Kinderen, p.63). Several projects have been set up in the border areas of the Netherlands, with the aim to promote the detection of trafficking in human beings.

Local security issues of municipalities are becoming more and more intertwined with cross-border crime and security (Tops, van Duin, van Os & Zouridis, 2010, p.5). For the government and municipalities it has become an increasingly important issue in recent years. The cross-border aspect of trafficking in human beings plays an important role in how municipalities determine their policies regarding security and the tackling of human trafficking. As mentioned previously, the municipalities have an important role in the fight against organized crime and in the last two decades, an instrument has been developed in the Netherlands for the administrative approach of organized criminals (Huisman, 2010, p.45). Local intervention strategies were developed in which local crime problems become the responsibility of the mayor of the municipality and they are being tackled by cooperating government parties. To this end, national policy and legislation have been developed (Huisman, 2010, p.46).

Based on the findings from a study by Fijnaut and Spapens in the year 2005 concerning the cross-border crime in various EU regions, including the municipality of Maastricht, a covenant was signed in 2004 for the administrative approach of organized crime in Limburg-South (Huisman, 2010, p.48). This project, called the Limburg project is based on the three pillars: application of 'armed administrative law', screening and monitoring of tenders and stimulating ethical government actions. The Limburg project is considered to be particular as it focuses on the cross-border crime problem but because of this a occurrence of a possible

waterbed effect and the displacement of crime to Belgium and Germany can occur (Huisman, 2010, p.48). Trans-organizational crime is considered to be the most important aspect of organized crime in the Netherlands that the municipalities are concerned with. Crimes such as the cross-border smuggling of drugs and the trafficking in women for prostitution are the two main concerns municipalities are concerned with when it comes to trans-organizational crime. This has consequences for the range and the impact force of the administrative approach of the concerned municipalities. The administrative approach is primarily focused on legal, local activities and on transnational, illegal markets of prohibited goods and services (Huisman, 2010, p.52).

6.2. Challenges and approaches of the municipalities of Etten-Leur and Maastricht

Within this subsection of the chapter, it will be examined what kind of approaches have been drawn up for the mentioned municipalities, Etten-Leur and Maastricht, concerning human trafficking. The approaches and policies regarding human trafficking of the two municipalities will be analyzed and also the challenges related to the policy and approaches will be presented so that a comparison can be made with the four mentioned municipalities in the existing report of the National Rapporteur.

6.2.1. Challenges and approaches of Etten-Leur

No specific policy on human trafficking is known within the municipality of Etten-Leur, which has a population of 43.382 inhabitants. Why there is no specific policy on the subject of human trafficking has everything to do with the frequency with which the municipality has had to deal with this subject. In three years there have only been four cases that have had a connection with human trafficking (Vissers, 2018). However, a policy memorandum has been drawn up called VTH, which stands for permits, supervision and enforcement, in which all forms of supervision and enforcement are appointed and indicated and what the specific approach is. The information on trafficking in human beings can be found in various parts of this policy, including under the headings of the prostitution law, housing labor migrants and undermining and enforcement freedoms (Vissers, 2018).

Based on this policy, the RIEC, the Regional Information and Expertise Centers, in which the fight against organized crime is centralized through public-private partnerships can

be referred on the aspects relating to trafficking in human beings. The expertise of the police also plays a role within the referral to human trafficking in Etten-Leur. The RIEC and the police are also considered the places where the task of combating trafficking and organized crime belongs. Information sharing has been laid down in various documents under the strict regulations of the AVG. As soon as a signal arrives at the municipality of Etten-Leur, they come into direct contact with RIEC and the police to see what the best strategy is to take on the signal (Vissers, 2018). As mentioned, the subject of human trafficking is part of the subversive crime in Etten-Leur. The approach to organized crime calls for an organized governmental and an integrated approach. The focus on the integrated approach and cooperation are mainly focused on the use of preventive, administrative, tax, private and criminal law instruments (Vissers, 2018). Part of this integral approach is the administrative approach. Within the administrative approach, the public administration takes measures that obstruct or frustrate organized crime in their activities. When the criminal investigation and prosecution by the police and judicial authorities are combined with administrative and fiscal means, the most optimal form of the fight against organized crime arises, namely the integrated approach. To this end, on the basis of equality, various parties such as the municipality, province, police, Public Prosecution Service, tax authorities and special investigative services work together. One time this will lead to administrative, the other time to fiscal or criminal action (Vissers, 2018).

The approach to organized crime requires a firm approach by the municipality and the Public Prosecution Service, the tax authorities and the police. Effective combat requires much more than just a criminal perspective. The challenge of an integrated approach, from criminal law, tax law and administrative law with the aim of disrupting a criminal business, vital elements, logistical processes and occasional structures are required (Vissers, 2018). The focus in tackling human trafficking is housed under the section of subversive crime. Etten-Leur, integral multidisciplinary inspections are planned and carried out as part of this approach. The objective of the supervision is to gain insight into and obtain an overview of possible illegal habitation, illegal development, fire safety, environmental activities and conflicting use. These supervision tasks are carried out in close cooperation with other enforcement partners such as the police, tax authorities, UWV, Customs, OMWB, Safety Region Central and West Brabant (Overheid, 2018).

The municipality of Etten-Leur works in addition to the RIEC and the police, closely

with various municipalities such as Zundert, Roosendaal and Moerdijk (Etten-Leur, 2018, p.1). The cooperation is aimed at establishing a joint draft policy with regard to enforcement where human trafficking and undermining crime are a part of. The main points of the collaboration include the efficient use of capacity in drawing up the VTH policy with attention to supervision and enforcement and knowledge exchange between the various involved municipalities (Etten-Leur, 2018, p.3). The exchange of knowledge is also seen as an important aspect of cross-border crime. Because of its international character, cross-border involves various locations and various agencies are involved with coming up with an effective approach. However, an obstacle regarding knowledge and information exchange is that only information exchange between the various investigative and supervisory bodies is possible within the legal frameworks (Etten-Leur, 2018, p.3). The cooperation is aimed at the use of preventive, administrative, private, tax and criminal law instruments. Part of this integral approach is the administrative approach. Within the administrative approach, the public administration takes measures that hinder or frustrate organized crime in their illegal activities (Etten-Leur, 2018, p.20).

6.2.2. Challenges and approaches of Maastricht

The municipality of Maastricht, with a population of 122.397 inhabitants is together with the municipality of Heerlen seen as one of the two central municipalities in the province of southern Limburg. These mentioned municipalities have decided to collaborate with regional municipalities and chain partners regarding the regional violence in dependency relations on the scale of South Limburg (Regiovisie Veilig Thuis Zuid-Limburg, 2014, p.3). Factors such as border location and the extensive range of services are considered as beneficial to the municipality. To prevent the type of violence intertwined with human trafficking serious and planned work must be done on preventing the trafficking of human beings (Regiovisie Veilig Thuis Zuid-Limburg, 2014, p.7). This means that detecting and addressing signals in the field of trafficking by means of cooperation with the partners or other government bodies including various healthcare institutions. In addition, good care and guidance are prioritized by involving the care and assistance institutions in the chain process (RIEC Limburg, 2016, p. 10).

The municipality of Maastricht is collaborating together with the RIEC and is participating in the working groups on tackling trafficking in human beings. Concrete actions are carried out through the chain collaboration of the region Limburg and the municipality of

Maastricht which include: Integral checks for illegal prostitution, developing a digital hotline for trafficking in human beings and control licensed sex establishments (RIEC Limburg, 2016, p.10). Next to the RIEC, the municipality of Maastricht is working closely with the RIEC partners (police (AVIM), Public Prosecution Service, ISZW, Tax Office and Royal Netherlands Marechaussee. Also with other municipalities and the Safety House where also health care partners collaborate (Jansen, 2018). Furthermore the municipality of Maastricht is closely working together with the Public Prosecution Service and the police to combat all possible illegal practices and all kinds of other forms of crime in an integral and effective way (Spapens, 2005, p.249). The cooperation will mainly focus on tackling the infrastructure of the heavy organized crime that is present in South Limburg. Because the focus is on tackling the infrastructure of organized crime, there is a chance that these activities can shift towards the neighboring countries, such as Belgium and Germany, which is why it is also necessary to organize consultations at the Euregional level with regard to addressing organized crime (Spapens, 2005, p.249). In the region in which the municipality of Maastricht is located, a lot of cross-border traffic between people and goods and services is present. Cross-border crime is not a new phenomenon in the area (Spapens, 2005, p.2).

There have been years of various initiatives present to improve cooperation between the potential and judicial authorities. In addition, the increasing importance of international police and judicial cooperation has been strongly emphasized in recent years in the border region where the municipality of Maastricht is located (Spapens, 2005, p.3). This is done, among other things, by the opening of a Joint Center Euregion Maas-Rijn, in which police officers of Belgian, German and Dutch origin will be established where they can exchange information directly with each other (Spapens, 2005, p.4). In addition, the office for Euregional cooperation has been set up at the judicial level, where a partnership of the Maastricht and Roermond district prosecutors applies to intensify cooperation between the Dutch, German and Belgian prosecutors (Spapens, 2005, p.5). In addition, a search team has also started in South Limburg, which mainly focuses on criminal investigations into criminal organizations in the area (Spapens, 2005, p.5).

In 2014, there is a lot to do from the administrative approach and attention is paid to the approach of trafficking in human beings. Furthermore, there are agreements being made and recorded between the Limburg Safety. From 1 In August 2014 there is a registration system for both the possible victims trafficking in human beings from the police and the

Ministry of of Social Affairs and Employment (Gemeente Maastricht, 2014, p.46). It is expected that in 2014 the "Law regulation prostitution and combat abuses sex branch " will be strengthened. This means that the municipalities will have a greater role to play in the fight against trafficking in the prostitution sector. The new law requires prostitutes to be registered in a national register of prostitutes. The municipality must carry out this registration and is required to have an intake interview with the registration (Gemeente Maastricht, 2014, p.46).

To provide an effective follow-up regarding subversive crime, it is necessary to be able to deal with every RIEC theme within the so-called undermining themes. The aim of the RIEC partners is to have insightful foundations that operate integrally and effectively. Another challenge is social and managerial awareness, commitment and resilience. After all, the financial strength of the partners is under pressure and therefore it is a constant focus. Commitment is needed to continue joint efforts on the subject of tackling subversive crime where human trafficking is considered to be a part of (RIEC Limburg, 2016, p.2).

6.3. The differences in approach of border and non-border municipalities

Within this final sub-chapter the existing approaches and policies of the mentioned border and non-border municipalities will be compared amongst each other. By doing this an answer can be provided for the formulated research question of this research, namely:

“To what extent can differences be distinguished regarding combating and regulating human trafficking in municipalities which are located at the border of the Netherlands compared to Dutch municipalities that are not located at the border”?

In the previous sub-paragraphs of this chapter, the municipalities of Etten-Leur and Maastricht and their relevant policies, approaches and challenges regarding human trafficking were examined. The previous chapter looked at the policies and approach of non-border municipalities that have already been examined in the existing report of the National Rapporteur on human trafficking. Can a difference to be noticed with the policy of the border and not border municipalities? The four non-border municipalities almost all do not have a separate policy with regard to human trafficking, except for the municipality of Vlaardingen, which cooperates with the Rotterdam-Rijnmond municipality to combat human trafficking (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 120).

The four municipalities in the existing report, Arnhem, Emmen, Eindhoven and

Vlaardingen are dealing with human trafficking on a small scale. The trafficking of people does not take place on a large scale in the municipalities which were studied. In Arnhem there is only a specific policy on prostitution and the cooperation between the chain partners hardly takes place. In addition, there is little supervision of the signs of trafficking in the municipality. In Emmen there is also no question of a chain collaboration with various partners and no initiative has been drawn up for an action plan for cooperation amongst partners (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p.75). There is also an APV present with regard to prostitution. Furthermore, the Public Prosecutor and the police indicate that, in view of the number of signals, the investigations in the field of human trafficking are lagging behind. In the municipality of Eindhoven it applies that the municipality has all the tools for a successful approach to human trafficking. (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p.75).

For Vlaardingen it applies the same as for Eindhoven, the description of policy documents and public sources shows that in the municipality of Vlaardingen in principle all instruments are available to bring about a successful integrated approach to trafficking in human beings (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p.120). The image emerges that the municipality of Vlaardingen is committed to implement the regional approach to trafficking at the local level. This is done by looking for connections with regional chain partners within the RIEC RR (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p.121).

However, there are still points of attention and obstacles the municipalities are facing. In Arnhem the municipality and (regional) chain partners are still not working sufficiently together in practice regarding gathering information and sharing information in the field of human trafficking (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 50). In Emmen there is also no question of a structural partnership present. The municipality specifies that developments are taking place in this area that could lead to more structured cooperation (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p. 64). In Eindhoven there is a lack of partnership regarding the trafficking in human beings and that municipal supervisors do not know what to look out for in order to recognize signs of human trafficking (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p.102). Lastly in Vlaardingen the information position of the municipality of Vlaardingen is not yet optimal and no fixed reporting point has been set up to collect signals (Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, 2012, p.121).

For the two municipalities examined for this research, Etten-Leur and Maastricht, there is also no specific policy aimed at trafficking, but that it falls under the subject of

subversive crime of the municipality. In Etten-Leur there is a focus on an integrated approach to human trafficking and the emphasis is on cooperation with the RIEC and the police since they play a major role in this subject. Because of its cross-border aspect, it involves various locations and various agencies are involved with coming up with an effective approach. However, an obstacle regarding knowledge and information exchange is that only information exchange between the various investigative and supervisory bodies is possible within the legal frameworks. Because of the cross-border aspect of jointly partnership cooperation various locations and agencies are involved, yet there is an obstacle within information exchange. Nonetheless the non-border municipalities also deal with the problem of partnership and information exchange, even though the municipalities are not located near the border.

For Maastricht, collaboration is considered as important, and the municipality also works together with the RIEC and various working groups to combat human trafficking, and concrete actions are taken against trafficking in human beings. It is striking that in the two municipalities close to the border good cooperation is applicable for combating trafficking in human beings, this may indicate the cross-border aspect of trafficking and where cooperation is needed with various partners and authorities to limit and tackle the problem. Maastricht does not face the problem of information exchange and partnership such as the other municipalities do. The cross-border aspect of information exchange of partnership is positively present in the municipality. Partnership and joint collaboration are one of the most important aspects when it comes to the cross-border aspect. It can be mentioned that the two border-municipalities within this research have a good partnership and collaboration with other partners and joint institutions. This can be seen as an important and positive factor when it comes to the cross-border image of the border municipalities. However, this is not the point when we look at the four non-border municipalities that have been examined in the existing report. The report shows that three of the four non-border municipalities in the Netherlands have an occurring problem when it comes to cooperation and (structural)partnership. In Arnhem, Emmen and Eindhoven a lack of structural partnership occurs and the involved partners do not work well together when it comes to tackling trafficking in the municipality effectively. Only in the municipality of Vlaardingen does this not occur.

It appears that the two border municipalities are doing more to identify trafficking in human beings and that this is immediately tackled and passed on to the cooperation partners (police, RIEC). Vlaardingen has a policy that is more comparable to the policy of Etten-Leur

and Maastricht. Nonetheless, the policy of Etten-Leur and Maastricht does not differ much from the other four non-border municipalities when it comes to the design of tackling human trafficking and there are many similarities with regard to the policy and approach to trafficking in human beings. The differences can be noticed in the problems between the municipalities when it comes to tackling human trafficking. As mentioned, the border municipalities have a strong partnership which is missing in most of the non-border municipalities.

7. Conclusion

Within this research the following research question was formulated: *'To what extent can differences be distinguished regarding combating and regulating human trafficking in municipalities which are located at the border of the Netherlands compared to Dutch municipalities that are not located at the border'?* Research has been done to two selected municipalities close to the Dutch border, namely Etten-Leur and Maastricht. The policy and approach of the two municipalities was compared with the policy and approach of the four municipalities in the relevant report of the National Rapporteur, this report concerns municipalities that are not located at the border. Within this research, an attempt was made to make a comparison between the four municipalities investigated in the relevant report and the two municipalities close to the border. Examined was whether the cross-border aspect of trafficking in human beings plays a role within the border municipalities and if this aspect plays a part in the policy to the approach to human trafficking.

This research has shown that the cross-border aspect of trafficking does not play a role in the approach and policy of human trafficking of the municipalities Etten-Leur and Maastricht. The only aspect that can be traced back to the cross-border aspect of human trafficking is cooperation with various partners to tackle the problem. It should also be noted that in one municipality surveyed in the report, namely Vlaardingen the cooperation with other partners was also good and the right measures were taken to tackle human trafficking. Furthermore is it striking that good cooperation between the border municipalities is present which is considered to be a main aspect of the concept of cross-border. It is also striking that a lack of partnership is missing in the non-border municipalities. The problems of dealing with human trafficking effectively which are present in the non-border municipalities is considered to be a strong point in the other two border municipalities and the emphasize has been placed on strong co-operation through the years by joint partnership with also other partners and institutions in neighboring countries. Every municipality has their own approach on trafficking and the border-municipalities do not have taken any specific measures or policies regarding trafficking in their municipality or the fact that their municipalities are located at the border and this could be a factor for the implemented policy and approach. Therefore it can be concluded that the border municipalities do not differ in their approach towards human trafficking despite being located near the border with all cross-border aspects that are connected with human trafficking and geography furthermore does not make any difference

within the approach and policy of trafficking in human beings.

The question of how to explain for this still remains. No major differences between the approach to trafficking could be distinguished, only the problems that the non-border municipalities are facing in the lack of partnership compared to the border municipalities could be distinguished. An explanation for this could be to the fact that human trafficking does not occur in large numbers in the municipalities, therefore that no specific policy needs to be set up for each municipality to tackle it. If there was a large amount of trafficking in human beings present, it could well be that the municipalities would apply a completely different policy than at present and that differences could be distinguished in that case. In addition, it may also be that the Netherlands is a relatively small country in terms of area, which means that the municipalities may apply a similar policy that does not differ much from each other, and institutions and partners from different municipalities may adopt the policy of each other regarding the implementation of tackling human trafficking.

Within this research strengths and weaknesses can be distinguished. The available documents relating to the human trafficking policy can be seen as a strength of this research. As a result, a picture could be outlined of the policy of municipalities and a comparison could be made between the municipalities involved in this study. The lack of in-depth information and interviews could be considered as a weakness for this research. Due to the lack of interviews, it is possible that crucial information was lost that could be of importance for this research. Professional individuals have knowledge and information that could be crucial for this research. As a result, in-dept information may have been lost. Furthermore, the lack of official numbers can be considered as a weakness. If there were official figures present showing how many cases of trafficking the municipalities have to deal with, a better picture can be given of the extent to which trafficking in human beings poses a great risk in the concerned municipality.

Lastly two points for further research could be distinguished. The question could be as to what extent does this play a role with an effective approach towards human trafficking? Does the lack of structural partnership play a major role in establishing an effective way of dealing with the problem of trafficking. This subject could be submitted for further investigation. Furthermore, only two border municipalities have been chosen for this research. There is a risk that other border municipalities in the Netherlands perhaps are facing other problems and difficulties when it comes to this subject and therefore other results

would be shown in a research which would be contradicting. This could also serve for further research.

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