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# Sex trafficking: Swedish Policy and Different Approaches

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# Abstract

**Title:** Sex trafficking, Swedish Policy and different approaches

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**Key Words:** Sex Trafficking, prostitution, different approaches, implementation of anti trafficking measures, intervention, cooperation

Sex trafficking has recently become a large problem for many nation states and many endeavours are put into solving it. It is recognized by the academics as a complex and global phenomenon which needs to be confronted in a comprehensive way, but also there is a great deal of controversy about what should be in the scope of the struggle. Different countries view the problem from different positions and follow different approaches in order to combat it. As this thesis recognizes the intricacy of the problem and its global nature, seeks to discuss, comprehend and analyse it from different approaches and aspects. However, the focus of this study is on the Swedish approach and specifically on how the different actors who are involved in the implementation of the measures work in order to achieve effective intervention. Trafficking is considered to be a linked phenomenon with prostitution by the Swedish approach and for that reason the issue is discussed in relation to prostitution and trafficking approaches. In the analysis part the model of the Process Evaluation and Implementation Theory is used constantly as a significant instrument so that the findings concerning the measures carried out against sex trafficking, could be explained, discussed and analysed in relation to this model. Specifically, the process of the interventions applied by the professionals who implement the Swedish anti trafficking measures, are discussed and factors that influence the outcomes are examined in connection with the theory. As sex trafficking could not be confronted without the collaboration of International initiatives for that reason the International cooperation is an integral part of this thesis. The outcomes of this study depict clearly the way the professionals cooperate in a local, national and international level in order to achieve effective interventions in the area. The perception of sex trafficking and prostitution as interrelated phenomena is another outcome which outlines the Swedish approach and its implications as well as the intervention process and the way it is viewed by the actors who are involved. The International collaboration among different actors is not disregarded and the importance of its role for the confrontation of the problem is reflected as one of the main results in this study.

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# Contents

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 1. Introduction.....  | 1         |
| 1.1 Choice of the Study and Pre-Understandings .....        | 1         |
| 1.2 Problem Area .....                                      | 2         |
| 1.3 Purpose of the Study .....                              | 5         |
| 1.3.1 Research Questions .....                              | 5         |
| <b>2.</b>   |           |
| <b>Method.....</b>  | <b>6</b>  |
| 2.2 The Choice of Method and the Research Process.....      | 6         |
| 2.3 The Data Collection .....                               | 7         |
| 2.4 Interviews.....   | 8         |
| 2.5 Method of Analysis.....                                 | 10        |
| 2.5.1 Validity, Reliability and Generalizability .....      | 11        |
| 2.6 Ethical Considerations .....                            | 11        |
| 2.6.1 Delimitations.....                                    | 12        |
| 2.7 Literature and Earlier Research .....                   | 13        |
| <b>3. Theoretical</b>                                       |           |
| <b>Framework.....</b>                                       | <b>16</b> |
| 3.1 Introduction.....                                       | 16        |
| 3.2 Perspectives on Prostitution.....                       | 16        |
| 3.2.1 Prostitution as a choice .....                        | 16        |
| 3.2.2 Prostitution as work .....                            | 17        |
| 3.2.3 Prostitution as violence against women.....           | 18        |
| 3.2.4 Prostitution and Sex Trafficking.....                 | 19        |
| 3.3 Swedish Legal Framework .....                           | 20        |
| 3.3.1 Legal measures that Discourage the Demand.....        | 20        |
| 3.3.2 The Procuring Law .....                               | 20        |
| 3.3.3 Legislation against Trafficking in Human Beings.....  | 21        |
| 3.3.4 The National Action Program.....                      | 21        |
| 3.4 The European Union.....                                 | 22        |
| 3.5 The UN Protocol.....                                    | 23        |
| 3.6 Main Dimensions of Sex Trafficking .....                | 24        |
| 3.6.1 Globalization and Capitalism / Gender and Power.....  | 24        |
| <b>4. Results .....</b>                                     | <b>26</b> |
| 4.1 Description of the Tasks .....                          | 27        |
| 4.2 Perception on the Issue of Trafficking.....             | 27        |
| 4.3 Assessment of Services to the Victims .....             | 29        |
| 4.4 Impact of the Prostitution Law on Sex Trafficking ..... | 30        |
| 4.5 Swedish Policy.....                                     | 31        |
| 4.6 Areas that need to be reviewed .....                    | 33        |
| 4.7 Cooperation.....  | 34        |

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <b>5. Analysis .....</b>                             | <b>37</b> |
| 5.1 Introduction.....                                | 37        |
| 5.2 Historical Background of the Intervention .....  | 37        |
| 5.3 Intervention Design.....                         | 39        |
| 5.4 Implementation .....                             | 40        |
| 5.5 Addressee Response.....                          | 41        |
| 5.6 Other Government Interventions and Agencies..... | 42        |
| 5.7 Issue Networks and Other Environments .....      | 43        |
| <br>   |           |
| <b>6. Discussion - Conclusion .....</b>              | <b>45</b> |
| <br>   |           |
| <b>List of References.....</b>                       | <b>48</b> |
| <br>   |           |
| <b>Appendix.....</b>                                 | <b>53</b> |
| <br>   |           |
| <b>Informed Consent .....</b>                        | <b>55</b> |

# 1. Introduction

## ***1.1 Choice of the Study and Pre-Understandings***

There are many factors that prompted us to choose women's sex trafficking as the main topic for this thesis. The process to arrive at the final theme was not easy and it took us some time to come up with the final topic. As we are students in an International Master Program, we wanted to profit the opportunity to study a local problem that Sweden is facing in a global perspective. We started to consider the issue of immigration in Sweden, the reasons that lead people to move from their native's countries, the policies implemented in the country and their aims, and the influence of the European Union policy concerning immigration in the Swedish policy. While we were searching for data about immigration we found impacting information about trafficking in human beings and we decided to reorient the topic. Another factor that led us to focus on sex trafficking was the fact that we visited an exhibition about trafficking, organized by the Museum of World Culture. We also gathered information about Sweden as a country which implements a 'unique' law about penalizing the buying of sexual services since 1999, considering prostitution as male violence against women.

All the previous factors influenced us to focus on women's sex trafficking and study how Sweden perceives the problem and deals with it. We understood that even if we wanted to study the phenomenon in Sweden, it would not be possible without taking into consideration the way trafficking in human beings is developed in the global scene and the responses given to the issue by the implicated countries. We also realized that we would not be able to comprehend the problem properly without bearing in mind global issues as migration, gap between rich and poor countries, gender issues and power relations.

Personally, we haven't worked with sex trafficking issues in our home countries<sup>1</sup>. In spite of that, we are able to acknowledge some elements that led us to be sensitive with the problem in relation to our professional experiences. The knowledge of working with immigrants gave us a closer perspective on their way of thinking, the risks they have to take, their hope for a better living and the difficulties they confront in their native countries. Moreover, we were involved in activities concerning violence against women such as increasing awareness in the society about violence and relevant issues. This experience provided us with better understanding on women's position in the society and the problems they face as a result of the existent inequalities which place women in invulnerable and risky positions.

Considering our countries of origin we can recognize that Greece is a nation of transition and destination of trafficked women, while sex trafficking constitutes a big problem for the country and we could say that there is lack of adequate measures to confront it (United Nations, 2006). Uruguay had one antecedent of sending women into prostitution to Italy some years ago. After this episode nothing else was said about the issue but there are some conjectures that Europe, Australia, Argentina and Brazil are the current destination countries of trafficked Uruguayan women for the

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<sup>1</sup> Greece and Uruguay

purpose of prostitution ([www.montevideo.usembassy.gov](http://www.montevideo.usembassy.gov)). In both countries prostitution is a regulated as legal activity and is viewed as one more profession of the labour market.

All these background knowledge from our home countries contrast a lot with the Swedish perspectives about gender relations, prostitution, sex trafficking and measures related with these issues. From our perspective, it is needed to understand the global dilemma of sex trafficking within its own complexity, taking into consideration the influencing dimensions on the problem. Our considerations as Social Workers are to comprehend properly the phenomenon regarding the different perspectives in the global scene, influence the policy makers to implement effective measures to combat it and raise public awareness on the issue. We also believe that if Social Workers are able to gain knowledge and increase awareness on sex trafficking, their interventions will be more efficient.

## **1.2 Problem Area**

Even though trafficking in human beings has existed for a long time<sup>2</sup>, present globalization confers to it new features that build it as a great and recently discovered global phenomenon. Since 2002, United Nation's in the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (2002) defines trafficking in persons 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, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or removal of organs”.* (United Nations, Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children: 2002)

It is clear that the main purpose of human trafficking in the whole process is to obtain financial earnings by exploitation of human beings. Victims of trafficking are acquired and transported by the person who will exploit or sell them for future exploitation. The first phase is to acquire the victim in diverse forms according to the purpose of the utilization of them. They could be sold, given as a gift, kidnapped, captured, become victims of fraud<sup>3</sup> or coerced. Coercion is performed by different methods: sexual abuse, torture, starvation, imprisonment, threats of violence against family members, financial coercion<sup>4</sup>, legal coercion<sup>5</sup>, blackmail<sup>6</sup>, etc. When the victim is recruited, she or he is transported to the exploitation place which could be within the country of the victim's residence or outside it. At this stage, the victims are already owned by the person who is going to exploit them and they are forced to perform activities regulated by the legal system or

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<sup>2</sup> Since 1815 until 1957 can be identified 300 international agreements in order to suppress slavery in its diverse forms. (UNHCR, 2006)

<sup>3</sup> Fraud is often carried out by advertisements in mass media offering work abroad or marriage (Repetskaia, 2005).

<sup>4</sup> Financial coercion occurs when the victim is supposed to pay the services given by the exploiter (for example: cost of passport, visa, and transportation). The victim could also borrow money from the exploiter and in order to pay the debt she or he has to carry out obeying (Repetskaia, A, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> Legal coercion takes place in cases of marriage, custody or adoption of the victim (Repetskaia, A, 2005).

<sup>6</sup> Blackmail is a threat to make public some information related with the victim or the victim's family (ex: the exploiter could threaten the victims to report them as illegal immigrants to the authorities; threatens the victims to tell their families that they are performing as prostitutes) (Repetskaia, A, 2005).

within the criminal sector<sup>7</sup> (Repetskaia, 2005). As the victims become commodities owned by the exploiter, he or she is able to keep them in isolation, change their position and also sell them again to a new exploiter.

Trafficking in persons comprises a wide range of purposes that can be summarized as following: purposes of forced labor or services (physical strength and skills of the victims are exploited), purposes of removal of organs (organs of the victims are taken and sold), purposes of sexual exploitation (victims are used to provide sexual services, to act in porno films, to pose in pornographic pictures, etc) and other forms of exploitation (victims are forced to participate in military conflicts, to transport illegal goods for instance weapons and narcotic drugs, etc) (Kleimenov & Shamkov 2005; Repetskaia, 2005).

In spite of the magnitude of all forms of trafficking in human beings, the main theme of the present study is women's sex trafficking. According to Farley (2003) sex trafficking can take place within a country or across international borders, thus women may domestically or internationally trafficked. This means that vulnerable groups of people are taken and sold for sexual use in different parts of the world. Some people have tried to distinguish prostitution and sex trafficking, but trafficking can be considered as a global form of prostitution (Farley, 2003).

Sex trafficking is treated by many authors as a complex issue since it contains multiple dimensions such as: deep gap between poor and wealthy countries, restrictive migration policy in developed countries, unequal gender relations, gender and race violence and discrimination, lack of legal instruments to confront the problem, etc (Stoecker & Shelley 2005; Farley, 2003).

The internationalization of the economy and the increasing polarization of the world between wealthy and poor countries have as a consequence the raising of migration. With the expectations of a better future, people - mainly coming from the called third world countries - immigrate to rich countries with the willing to avoid poverty, unemployment, political instability, gender and race based discrimination in their native countries. It is a fact that the current restrictive migration policy in developed nations contributes to build significant limitations and increase risks for people who are seeking for better living conditions by leaving their native countries. As Tiurikanova (2005) states, the international migration policy is based on competing pillars. She identifies a division into desirable and undesirable migrants from the view of national interests. This division, results in discriminatory practices towards certain group of migrants, and the segmentation of labor market in receiving countries (ibid).

Another process which is pointed out by several sources is the feminization of migration, known as a new phase in the development of global labor migration. It is related with the intensification of the service sector and the needs to employ women in unskilled jobs. The role of migrant women as low-paid service providers, fulfill the niches in the labor market of developed countries and the sex industry constitutes an important part of the global service of their economies (Tiurikanova 2005:98). An additional global phenomenon that goes hand by hand with migration and trafficking in human beings - and particularly with sex trafficking - is the feminization of poverty. It is estimated that 70% of the absolute poor in the world are women and their children dependents

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<sup>7</sup> The legality or illegality depends on the law that regulates the activity of the victim within the country she or he is working (Repetskaia, A, 2005).

(Shearer, 2003). In a context of lacking access of education, limited job opportunities, restricted social networks and state support, women have constrained possibilities to make choices in their lives.

In spite of the asymmetrical opportunities for women in different societies, most of the times they are expected to take responsibilities for their children and family on their own, without any support. The whole problematic context increases their vulnerability to exploitative forms of work and their exposition to extreme risks. It is not a coincidence that figures about trafficking in human beings show that the most frequent victims of these crimes are women<sup>8</sup>. Moreover, many authors identify violence against women as a factor which leads them into sex trafficking. As an example, one research on prostitution and sex trafficking in nine countries shows that about 65% and 95% of women in prostitution were sexually abused by male relatives or acquaintances in their childhood (Farley, 2003:56).

Many authors acknowledge in several countries the lack of legal instruments to combat sex trafficking. In these countries there is no objective information available and sex trafficking is not considered as an issue to be attended by the authorities. In spite of the fact that some countries are making efforts to confront trafficking in human beings and it is difficult to find accurate statistics about it, it is considered as a growing tendency which affects more and more people year by year ([www.sweden.gov.se](http://www.sweden.gov.se)). United Nation estimates that 4.000.000 women and children are victims of trafficking every year (Kanicks, 1998). The United Nations Report about Trafficking in Persons (2006), shows worldwide the most affected population by trafficking in human beings are women, and they are mostly recruited for the purpose of sexual exploitation<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, human trafficking is recognized as the third most lucrative activity, subsequent to trafficking of arms and drugs (Shearer, 2003). According to United Nations, sex trafficking industry gains US\$ 7 billion annually and it is also known as the least punished of the three activities (Shearer, 2003; Masika 2002:13).

There have been a lot of debates about the right way of dealing with sex trafficking and how to stop it. There are many aspects which should be taken into consideration, but in general we think that the legislation of each country and the international cooperation, play a significant role in order to criminalize sex trafficking and provide assistance to the victims rather than detention and deportation. Different societies and governments have diverse views on the issue. The decision of considering prostitution as legal or illegal activity, has direct influences in the phenomenon of sex trafficking. Some countries have made the option of legalize prostitution by protecting the sex businesses and the traffickers and others decided to protect the victims and confront the problem. In 1999 Sweden implemented a law that views prostitution as male violence against women and treats it as a phenomenon which has to be eradicated.

*“Swedish government criminalized the buying of sex but not the selling of sex. Understanding that without the demand of purchased sexual access to women and children, prostitution and trafficking would not flourish, the 1999 Swedish law criminalized the costumer himself as well as pimps, procurers, and traffickers, but not the prostituted person (Farley, 2003: xv) ”.*

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<sup>8</sup> As an example, one research shows that in OSCE countries, 98% of the victims of trafficking are women and 2% are men. (See Repteskaia, 2005:51)

<sup>9</sup> 77% of the reported victims for the purpose of human trafficking at the global level are women. In addition, 87% of the reported victims were forced into sex trafficking. (United Nations, 2006)

After two years of the implementation of the new policy, the results were evaluated as positive. As a consequence, the number of women in prostitution decreased and also the number of men who are buying sex reduced along with the cases of trafficking in the country. Since the implementation of the law, trafficking of women has decreased in Sweden while traffickers transport women to other states that tolerate or have legalized prostitution, such as the Netherlands, Germany, and Estonia (Farley, 2003).

In addition, on 2002, Sweden put into practice a new legislation which imposes criminal liability for sex trafficking activities ([www.sweden.gov.se](http://www.sweden.gov.se)). In spite of the effort of the Swedish society to combat trafficking, it is known that during the year of 2003 between 400 and 600 women most of them coming from East Europe continued being trafficked in this country (National Board in Health and Welfare, 2003). Nowadays, victims of trafficking and especially women are being recruited, transported and exploited in order to perform in the sex industry by criminal groups. Moreover, there is evidence that mainly women coming from the Eastern Europe enter to Sweden from the East-North part of the country (ibid).

### **1.3 Purpose of the Study**

Bearing in mind the complexity of the phenomenon, the aim of this thesis is to analyze and discuss the implementation of the policy towards women's sex trafficking in Sweden and particularly in Gothenburg. In order to gain knowledge on the topic, we based our study on opinions and views of different actors involved in the implementation of the Swedish policy in Gothenburg. Our main interest is to obtain an overview of the professionals' opinions and their perception on the problem area as well as on the intervention they carry out in order to confront sex trafficking. As we presented sex trafficking as a complex problem, which could not be solved with isolated efforts, we assumed that cooperation is an important tool to tackle it and for that reason we had a special focus on searching for views in this area. At last, it is significant to develop a deeper understanding on different approaches existent in the international arena concerning sex trafficking and discuss them from a comprehensive position.

#### **1.3.1 Research Questions**

In order to achieve the overall purpose of the study, a set of questions need to be answered.

- How the different professionals involved in the implementation of the policy against sex trafficking, cooperate in Gothenburg and trans-nationally, in order to arrive to effective interventions?
- What are the views and perspectives of the different professionals involved in the implementation of the policy against sex trafficking about the intervention they are carrying out in Gothenburg? What areas need to be changed or evaluated?
- What are the different approaches on the issue of sex trafficking in the international scenario?

# 2. Method

## 2.2 The Choice of Method and the Research Process

After having highlighted the research questions, we think it is very important for the reader to have a grasp on the perspective we started in our investigation process about the implementation of the anti-trafficking policy and the Swedish approach<sup>10</sup> on the issue. In order to answer the research questions, we will firstly begin by focusing on the research we have conducted on trafficking<sup>11</sup> and especially from the perspective of the implementation of the anti-trafficking measures in Gothenburg. Moreover, we think that the analysis part of the thesis should be based on data we have gathered through the empirical findings (interviews) and theoretical sources. The theoretical framework on the present study has been formulated not from a specific ideological perspective of a theory within a single subject field, but from a more comprehensive way by using several theories and ideologies on the topic.

The research questions that were mentioned above will be answered by using the qualitative method. The claim about this is directly related with the aim of the research. In this study, it is necessary to obtain in detail the opinions of the experts involved in different problem areas. It is not enough to obtain as response standardized answers. It is required that comments, points of view, opinions, beliefs, and judgments about the issues come up freely. According to May (2001), interviews capitulate rich insights into people's experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings. In this way, we argue that we will get a better understanding of the beliefs and the experiences of the professionals and a deeper view on the issue of trafficking. Moreover, being aware of the fact that trafficking is a complex issue with many aspects interrelated, we believe that it would not be possible to get a deeper insight on the issue without using the qualitative method as a tool in the present thesis. In particular, the research focuses on collecting information from professionals who have being involved in sex-trafficking cases by using semi-structured interviews.

The in-depth interviews can be regarded as semi-structured and semi-standardised (Svensson & Starrin, 1996:56 and Ekholm & Fransson, 1992:9, cited in Dilemmas of Irregularity, 2005:6). The reason we decided to use semi-structured interviews in this study is that in this type of interview there is a question guide but also the structure allows us to make follow-up questions (Kvale, 1997:121). At the same time, there is openness to changes of sequence and forms of questions in order to follow up the answers given and the stories told by the subjects (Kvale, 1997:124). By using semi- structured interviews, we attempt to find out opinions from different experts who are involved in the implementation of the policy against trafficking related with diverse problem areas. In particular, we are looking for a wide overview from the interviewees' opinions. A survey with closed questions would not have served this purpose, since we want to see what the different respondents themselves interpret as important (Ekholm & Fransson, 1992:79 cited in Dilemmas of Irregularity, 2005). The material we gathered, allowed us to know more specifically about the implementation of the anti-trafficking measures the professionals are carrying out in Gothenburg.

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<sup>10</sup> When we use the term *Swedish approach* we signify the official Swedish discourse on sex trafficking.

<sup>11</sup> From now on, we will mean trafficking for sexual exploitation whenever we use the term trafficking and in cases, we refer to other forms of trafficking this will be explicitly stated.

Furthermore, the interviews are semi-standardised since some questions in the guide differ among the respondents and this is because they represent different positions and they are working in different settings. But, most of the questions are the same so that it enables us to compare the different positions and views of each of the respondents and also any differences between answers are held to be real ones and not the result of the interview situation itself.

In all the in-depth interviews we conducted, we separated the tasks since we were two people involved in the research process. In order to be focused during the interviews and follow the whole process between the interviewer and the respondent, one of us asked all the questions and the other one took notes. In the end, the latter could take over if something needed to be clarified or if something interesting had came up during the interview and should be discussed further in the end of the process. All the interviews have been documented by using a tape recorder and also have been transcribed by us. All the respondents were talking English, which means that we didn't have to translate and all the quotes that are mentioned in the analysis part by the respondents are in English.

An inevitable consequence of conducting interviews is that the analysis, the choice of the respondents and the background material are all affected in some point by us as researchers. This happens when analysing social phenomena and especially when doing it from a qualitative perspective (Kvale, 1997:64). We would like to remind the reader that we are aware of the fact that an analysis can never be completely objective and we know as participants in this study, we can influence the final results. However, we tried to be as neutral as possible during the research process, so that the respondents were feeling free to answer the questions without being influenced by our thoughts or our preconceptions on the issue.

### **2.3 The Data Collection**

As we mentioned above, the aim of this study is to develop knowledge on the implementation of the policy against trafficking in Gothenburg and to view it from a global perspective. The criterion we used in order to select the population to be studied was the strategy of theoretical sampling. About this sample Gilbert (1996) states:

*“This approach [theoretical sample] eschews attempting to obtain a representative sample, arguing that sampling should be entirely governed by the selection of those respondents who will maximize theoretical development”* (Gilbert 1996:74).

Following the criterion of theoretical sampling, the selection of the professionals who participated as informants in the research were chosen by the contribution they could confer to the purposes of the study. The goal was to be able to select the adequate informants, the ones that will provide the data we were searching for, rather than to obtain a representative sample. In the beginning, we selected and divided the respondents we wanted to interview according to their profession, but during the research process we realised what is important is the working setting and the social processes the respondents are involved in and not the professions they represent. Even though, we had planned to interview two Policemen, two Lawyers, two Social Workers and two Psychologists, during the research process we decided that we should select our sample according to the working setting the professionals represent. At last, we interviewed one Policeman, one Prosecutor, one

Equal Opportunity Expert, one Lawyer, one Sociologist and four Social Workers who are working in different areas.

Therefore, we have chosen to contact a number of people who in different ways can be considered to be experts in the issue of sex-trafficking. All these people are involved in the fight against trafficking in the city of Gothenburg and they work actively within varying fields. They are all members of a local network which is carried out by the County Administration of Västra Götaland and some of them participate in an International network with the aim to combat trafficking.

The purpose of our research is to gain a deeper understanding of the implementation of the anti-trafficking measures and to learn more about the views and the perspectives of the people involved in the struggle against trafficking. Moreover, the way they cooperate in a national and international level is in the scope of our study. In order to achieve this, the interviewees were chosen by representing different authorities involved in the fight against sex-trafficking. In this way, we tried to cover the basic areas that are involved and implement anti-trafficking measures in the city of Gothenburg. The authorities of Gothenburg municipality who participate in the fight against trafficking are the Police, the Migration Board, the County Administration of Västra Götaland, the Public Prosecution Office, the Prostitution Unit, the KAST Project and the Social Welfare Offices who provide help and support to the victims of sex-trafficking. It is necessary to clarify that the KAST Project is dealing with the buyers of prostitution and not with the victims of trafficking, but we thought it would be useful for us to gather information about prostitution since we think it is highly connected with trafficking.

## **2.4 Interviews**

To make an adequate examination of the Swedish approach towards the newly realised phenomenon of sex-trafficking, apart from the formal documents and all the written resources on the subject, we acknowledged the significance of the research by conducting interviews. We have decided to contact a number of people who can be considered in different ways the main actors in the matter of trafficking and we carried out in-depth interviews. Furthermore, these people are working actively in the city of Gothenburg and they are dealing with trafficking questions. Since our main interest is to learn how the Swedish anti-trafficking policy is carried out in Gothenburg and also the trans-national cooperation, the interviewees represent different authorities and all of them cooperate in a national and some of them in an International level. In this way, we tried to achieve a balance among the different views expressed by the experts.

In the beginning of the research process, we learnt that most of the authorities which are involved in the fight against sex-trafficking are part of a local cooperation network. It was important for us to come into contact with the cooperation group so that we could gradually arrange meetings with our respondents. In the first interview we had an appointment with the head of the cooperation group who is an Equal Opportunity Expert. This gave us the chance to learn what are the main actors involved in the local network for combating trafficking and to gain a gender perspective on the issue. The interview took place in the working place of the interviewee which is a department within the County Administration Office of Västra Götaland. Since this person is the head of the local cooperation network, we were assisted to come into contact with the group and we also participated in a meeting in order to contact all the professionals for the purpose of the research.

After the meeting, we arranged interviews with most of the main actors who are involved in trafficking issues. At the Central Social Welfare Office we met a representative of the KAST Project which is part of the Prostitution Unit and deals with the buyers of prostitution in the city of Gothenburg. This provided us with useful information to our work concerning the Swedish policy against prostitution and different ways to deal with the problem, including help and support to people who are buying sex. We also interviewed two Social Workers who are part of the Prostitution Unit and work with the victims of trafficking. This gave us the chance to pose more specific questions on the sex trafficking issue on the ground level and on how the work is carried out with the victims of sex-trafficking.

Apart from that, we thought it would be very useful to learn more about the Swedish legislation towards sex-trafficking and about the anti-trafficking measures the authorities follow. For that reason, we interviewed a Prosecutor who works in the Prosecution Department of International Crimes. This person is involved in trafficking issues, cooperates closely with the Police and mostly they work with traffickers or perpetrators. We also thought it would be essential for our study to interview a representative of the Police Department which is specialised on trafficking issues. We interviewed the head of this department, which is part of the Police Authority in Västra Götaland and comprises the entire Västra Götaland County. By interviewing this informant we got important data on the issue and especially about the process the Police follow and the way they work in order to find the traffickers.

Furthermore, we came into contact with a Lawyer who represents trafficking cases for the Migration Board authority. This gave us the chance to make more specific questions about the migration aspects in relation with trafficking policy implementation. Also, we interviewed Social Workers who are working with sex-trafficking issues and they represent different Social Welfare Agencies who support and offer assistance to the victims of sex-trafficking. In this way, we gathered useful information about the measures which are carried out towards the victims by the authorities. One of the Social Offices is a private company which sells care services to the public and all the rest authorities are funded by the state.

One significant aspect of our study is to gain knowledge on the international cooperation network among Sweden and other countries and a trans-national perspective on the subject. As we learned from the respondents through the interview process, the Museum of World Culture is involved in an international cooperation initiative which contributes to the trans-national work by raising awareness on human trafficking. We contacted the representative of the trafficking exhibition in the museum, who is also the main actor of the trans-national cooperation. We arranged an appointment in order to interview this expert, which was later cancelled. Despite of our efforts, it was not possible to arrange another meeting. We are aware that this may have influenced our study but we tried to cover this part by asking relevant questions on the trans-national perspective to the other respondents.

All the meetings with the interviewees took place in their working settings, so we had the chance to see how are the working environments of the experts who deal with sex-trafficking issues. According to Kvale (1997) some of the interview subjects appear to be better than others and also good interviewees are cooperative and well motivated, they are eloquent and knowledgeable. In our case, we didn't face in particular difficulties with our respondents, since most of them were friendly, open for discussion, motivated to talk about the topic, and express their views to us. To be

more specific, most of them showed great interest on the issue and they were willing to provide us with extra written material and resources in order to get more information about the topic.

The only difficulty we faced was the restriction of the English language, since a few of the respondents were not very familiar with the language. However, they managed to answer all the questions and when they could not understand a question they were asking our assistance for further clarification. We tried as much as possible to be clear and exact. By doing this, we avoided any misunderstandings or getting wrong answers. As Kvale (1997) claims, some people may be harder than others to interview, then it is the task of the interviewer to motivate and facilitate the subject's accounts.

## **2.5 Method of Analysis**

As it is known, the analysis of the information which comes up as a result of a qualitative method encloses some difficulties. In social research there is no method of analysis that makes the researchers arrive magically to the results of the investigation. Each method of analysis of qualitative data requires to be used as a tool that the researcher will apply depending on the interviews and the purpose of the research. The methods applied in this research based on Kvale's (1997) classification are: meaning condensation, meaning categorization, and meaning interpretation.

Meaning condensation implies the reduction of the data obtained in the interviews into small sentences summarizing the main meaning of each statement (Kvale, 1997). The use of this method of analysis is needed because we conducted semi-structured interviews and as result we got considerably long statements. Due to this factor the data were required to be compressed into shorter phrases, in order to gain a clearer understanding and better manipulation of the information.

Meaning categorization focuses on the codification of the interview into different categories. It is used as a simple method to reduce statements by coding them, for example from 1 to 5 depending on the strength of the informant's opinion in one specific issue (Kvale, 1997). We decided to use this method in order to simplify the contents of the statements so that we would be able to compare different opinions of the informants in a more simple way.

Meaning interpretation goes deeply into the discourse of the informants analyzing the content of the information given (Kvale, 1997). In particular, we will analyse the findings of this study by using as an instrument the "*Process Evaluation and Implementation Theory*" held by Vedung (2005). The model introduced by the author, focuses on the identification and analysis of different factors which may explicate the outcomes of public interventions. Based on this theory, we will analyze and discuss the data provided by the informants, building up a structure composed by interdependent factors that influence the way the measures against sex trafficking are implemented in Gothenburg.

### 2.5.1 Validity, Reliability and Generalizability

According to Kvale (1997), from the positivist tradition the concepts of validity, reliability and generalizability are not significant in qualitative research. However, he claims that if it is possible to redefine these concepts in a wider perspective they might be helpful in order to produce well-founded research (Kvale, 1997).

In particular, validity refers to accurate measuring of research concepts, but we could say that validity does not mean an absolute truth but to produce constructive and reliable data (Glibert, 1996; Kvale, 1997). According to Kvale (1997) there are some aspects that could be considered in order to increase the internal validity of a research. For instance, the author mentions that validity might be influenced by the craftsmanship and credibility of the researcher. One way to reach valid knowledge is to present the methodological choices of the study, explaining explicitly the choices made in the research process that might have biased the results. In this thesis we have clarified how the data was gathered, how the respondents were selected and which limitations this study implies. Additionally we have been discussing our assumptions as well as methodological and theoretical choices during the whole research process with our supervisor who presented us suggestions and comments that we could integrate in our study.

Reliability focuses on the consistence and coherence on the measurement of the data (Gilbert, 1996). According to Kvale (1997) research reliability on qualitative studies is discussed in relation to formulation of questions in the interviews. It is often argued that qualitative researches are not reliable because they are based on leading questions and the data collected through interviews are considered as subjective and not scientific. Instead, Kvale (1997) claims that qualitative studies focuses on respondent's perception of the reality. Thus, informants provide unique information concerning their own opinions views and perceptions. Their information is not right or wrong is not lie or truth is just a singular perspective about facts that want to be explained.

The main aim of conducting qualitative studies is to assess some characteristics, opinions, values and views of the informants and gain knowledge about certain phenomena. Kvale (1997), states that every situation is unique and each phenomenon contains its own inherent structure and logic. The author identifies different forms of generalizability that are applied in relation of particular studies. For instance, Kvale (1997:233) explains that analytical generalization "*involves a reasoned judgement about the extent to which the findings from one study can be used as guide to what might occur in another situation*". In our study the possibility to generalize is mainly restricted to the analytical form, since it implies the estimation by the reader to what extent the result could be generalized analyzing similarities and differences of different situations (Kvale 1997). Particularly the present thesis does not have the aim to generalize but to gain deeper understanding on the selected topic trying to comprehend its main dimensions.

## 2.6 Ethical Considerations

Women's sexual exploitation on trafficking is a very sensitive issue which is subjected to moral consideration in many aspects, thus involving the issue of human rights, violence against women, illegal actions, crime, and social exclusion and so on. Due to its complex nature, and the numerous frameworks that are being interrelated, the researcher of an issue such as trafficking should take

very seriously into consideration the moral aspect of the issue. The researcher's behaviour is of great importance through the whole research procedure and involves the researcher's sensitivity and commitment to moral issues (Kvale, 1997).

When it comes to interviews, questions of ethics arise in the presentation of the data. An additional ethical aspect to consider is the preservation of the respondent's anonymity and confidentiality. As we know the professionals who participated in the interviews deal with trafficking issues in different settings. Negative appreciations about the workplace or the procedures implemented in other areas could have negative consequences for the respondents. This implies that private data identifying the subjects will not be reported. If the study involves publishing information to the others, a written agreement should be made in order to release information (Kvale, 1997). Furthermore we decided not to mention the names of the people interviewed and keep the anonymity as a matter of respect and also to assure that they feel well in the interview process without having to worry whether they will be held responsible for this at a later stage (Kvale, 1997:109).

Anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed by the elaboration of informed consent<sup>12</sup>. The informed consent contains detailed material about the aims of the research and the way we will use the information. All the respondents who participated in the research process have received an informed consent. This document used in order to establish a relationship between the interviewee and the interviewer based in mutual respect and consideration.

In this kind of study, it is difficult to decide whether an informant should be seen as a subjective respondent or as a representative of a larger organisation or authority (Kvale, 1997:197). Probably a combination of both would be an answer to the problem, but we decided to collect the information of the interviews as the statements were made by a representative of an organisation. Another ethical dilemma we faced was how to treat the other's opinions without influence them with our own beliefs and thoughts. For that reason, we tried to be as objective as possible and keep distance from the analysis and we also tried to treat the others' views, opinions and beliefs with respect. However, we acknowledge as authors that we are accountable for the results of the analysis.

### 2.6.1 Delimitations

When we refer to human trafficking from the wider definition, we should clarify that this includes all forms of exploitation such as labour force exploitation, removal of organs, sexual exploitation and other forms of exploitation. As it is difficult to analyse all the forms of trafficking, the present thesis has a clear focus on trafficking with the purpose of sexual exploitation. We decided to specify our topic on sex trafficking, being aware of the limitation of time and size of this thesis. Moreover, the reasons we focused on sex trafficking are due to the fact that it is a rather discussed phenomenon in Sweden than any other form of trafficking and due to our personal interest on the topic. Moreover, in this thesis we concentrate on women's sexual exploitation which means that we leave out children's trafficking, even though among the trafficked women a large number are children under the age of 18<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> See the appendix.

<sup>13</sup> Everyone under the age of 18 can be considered a child. In Sweden both women's sexual exploitation and children's sexual exploitation are perceived as two different but related crimes by the legislation.

In addition, we decided to limit ourselves in regard to the number of the interviews we conducted, due to the limitation of time and the importance of interviewing the key persons who work in this area and not focusing on the quantity of the respondents. At last, we identify that it is rather difficult to include a variety of resources in the analysis part of this thesis. In this point, we made a selection regarding the relevance of the material and the topic we are dealing with, so we have tried to integrate the most prominent one. However, we do not disregard the importance of using different sources and the way it might affect the results of our analysis.

## **2.7 Literature and Earlier Research**

In order to carry out this study, different sources were used: documents, books, articles and international and Swedish reports. As sex trafficking is recently known and studied as a phenomenon, a big part of the literature we use is not yet edited and could be found only in the internet. Considering the international documents in this study we can mention: The “*Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children*” (2000), “*Convention against Transnational crime*” (2000), “*Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of Prostitution of others*” (1949), “*Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery*” (1956) and the “*Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women*” (1979).

The use of books especially enlarged our understanding on the issue of sex trafficking. One of the books is called “*Human Trafficking and Transnational Crime: Eurasian and American Perspectives*” compiled by Stoecker & Shelley (2005). The book contains eight articles written by different professionals engaged in the issue. It gives an overview on human trafficking in United States of North America and Eastern Europe while shows the main causes for the existence of sex trafficking in a comprehensive perspective. Undoubtedly it provided us with better understanding of the elements which compose human trafficking crimes and its implications for the victims. The author also gives recommendations in order to achieve measures to combat trafficking.

“*Prostitution, Trafficking and Traumatic Stress*” is a book compiled by Melissa Farley which contains numerous articles concerning prostitution. This book presents the results of an investigation carried out in 9 countries<sup>14</sup> towards women in prostitution and their experiences with sexual and physical violence through their lives. The effects of being in prostitution are also deeply studied and analyzed. Trafficking of women and children from Mexico to United States of North America is described and their main causes are discussed. The authors show figures and concrete case analysis and point out challenges and recommendations to attend this phenomenon. In the book, the linkage of prostitution and trafficking is analyzed in depth and viewed as a part of the same system of domination based in gender inequalities, and violence against women.

For our study, the contribution given by the articles exposed in the “*Seminar on the Effects of Legalization of Prostitution in Stockholm*” (2002) was of great value and we will mention here only some of them. “*The International Debate about Prostitution and Trafficking in Women: Refuting the Arguments*” bared by Ekberg, gave us an overview on different approaches

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<sup>14</sup> Canada, Colombia, Germany, Mexico, South Africa, Thailand, Turkey, United States of North America and Zambia.

concerning prostitution as well the implications of the legalization of the activity. Janice Raymond in her article “*State Sponsored Prostitution*” explains the role of the states that decided to regulate prostitution as a legal activity and its impacts on the development of sex trafficking. In the article “*Legalizing Prostitution: In Search of Alternative from a Gender & Right Perspective*”, Jean D’Cunha discusses the arguments against the legalization of prostitution by pointing out good practice interventions in the issue and showing alternatives to the legalization of the activity. “*Trafficking for Prostitution in Italy*” is an article written by Esohe Aghatise which entails information about the issue of sex trafficking in this country. It gives information on the dynamics of trafficking patterns, and particularly on trafficking of women and girls from Nigeria to Italy. The author introduces the Italian legal framework, describes the engagement of the official authorities and NGOs in this issue and also proposes strategies to fight against the phenomenon.

One of the international reports we referred to in this thesis is the “*United Nations Report on Trafficking in Persons*” (2006). It is based on the analysis of the database on human trafficking trends from 1996 to 2003 of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. Its main purpose is to decrease the gap of existent information on the issue, recognizing the lack of accurate statistics and systematic reports from diverse countries as limitation of the study. This report shows worldwide and regionally (Africa, Asia, Europe, the Commonwealth of Independent States, Americas, and Oceania) those nations pointed out as countries of origin, transition and destination of trafficking in human beings by identifying trafficking patterns in regional and sub-regional areas. It also lists the incidence of countries reported as origin, transition and destination nations in a scale of: very high, high, medium, low, very low. The report gives also information about the process of trafficking in persons, its patterns, different forms of exploitation and the profile of victims and offenders.

A useful Swedish report with special relevance for this thesis is ‘*Prostitution in Sweden*’ (2003), carried out by The National Board of Health and Welfare. This report is a follow up of the first report about prostitution in Sweden written by the same office in 1998-1999, and it contains information about the extent and development of prostitution within the country. It is based on data collected from interviews with persons involved in the issue. This study explains the features of street and indoor prostitution and describes to what extent these two forms of performing the activity are developed in Stockholm, Gothenburg, Malmö, and Norrköping. It gives an overview on the profiles of persons involved in the activity: sex sellers, pimps and promoters and prostitution consumers. It also points out the measures taken by the Swedish policy oriented to detect prostitution and to treat and support people who want to stop selling sex, and also to prostitution consumers. Moreover, the report gives figures and descriptions on sex trafficking in Sweden.

In order to obtain accurate information about sex trafficking in Sweden we referred to two ‘*Trafficking in Women Reports*’ written in 2000 and 2002 by the National Criminal Investigation Department, National Criminal Intelligence Service and Illegal Immigration Unit. These reports contain information about investigations and international work carried out in those years. They show the development of trafficking in Women in Sweden and give an overview about the situation in other European countries and regions concerning the issue. The difficulties that the police face are pointed out and also some proposals to improve the anti - trafficking work are introduced.

At last, “*Dilemmas of Irregularity: an Interpretive Policy Analysis of the Swedish Trafficking Approach*” is a rather useful master thesis on the topic, written by Boynton & Hagström, in Malmö University (2005). The authors discuss the relations between the Swedish migration policy and the issue of trafficking. Through interviews to key informants and other written sources they explore if and in what extent the migration perspective is considered in the Swedish approach in order to combat trafficking.

# 3. Theoretical Framework

## 3.1 Introduction

In this section we will present some theoretical arguments and different perspectives in relation to sex trafficking. Hopefully, this could lead us to a better understanding of the Swedish approach to combat trafficking within different contexts. The main focus in this chapter is the theoretical characteristics of different approaches on the issue in relation to the Swedish approach. It is important to view the problem from different perspectives and for that reason we will outline different approaches in the International context. In this section we will not use a single theory but we will highlight different ideas of different academics that discuss the problem from a multidisciplinary position. All these will be related to the results of the analysis and provide us with a deeper insight on the phenomenon of sex trafficking.

## 3.2 Perspectives on Prostitution

In the international scenario it is possible to find different views on prostitution and sex trafficking. The singular view within specific governments and societies leads to different policies in the matter. We will summarize the major perspectives existent about prostitution as following: prostitution as a choice; prostitution as work, prostitution as violence against women. After that we will introduce a brief discussion about different approaches to sex trafficking and its linkage with prostitution.

### 3.2.1 Prostitution as a choice

One position is that prostitution constitutes a choice. The supporters of this view affirm that the persons who sell sex, made an informed and deliberated evaluation of their choice before entering into the activity. They state that all the individuals should have the possibility to exercise their own option and it is said prostitution is one more. This argument is supported in the name of self determination, freedom and right of choice over women's own lives and bodies (Ekberg, 2002). As an example, the liberal feminism view conceives prostitution as part of a contract between two parts where women are free to agree or not. In this perspective, the choice of prostitution seeks for equality of rights and freedom between men and women. The choice of prostitution is also perceived as an inherent political right of the women ([www.feministsissues.com](http://www.feministsissues.com)).

Some prostitution supporters claim that prostitution is a suitable alternative for finding a solution to the problem of poverty. They believe that the selling of sex is a choice for people who are lacking of material resources, who are not well educated and who have restricted job opportunities (Ekberg, 2002). For instance, from the existentialist feminist perspective, prostitution gives to women the opportunity to gain independence from men. The activity provides economical freedom and empowerment in women's' lives. From this perspective women in prostitution are liberated while they are using their capacity to develop their inner power through sexual liberation ([www.feministsissues.com](http://www.feministsissues.com)).

The advocates of this view can be considered tolerant with the issue of prostitution, since they respect people's rights of choice to be engaged or not in the activity. Governments that support this perspective defend the decision made by individuals to perform the activity and their position could be considered not far from the views of advocates of prostitution as work since they argue for the decriminalization of the activity. This is the case of Uruguay that since 1927 penalizes the procurers but is tolerant with prostitution (Law N.8.080 Uruguayan Penal Code, 1927).

### 3.2.2 Prostitution as work

It is possible to find another position which considers prostitution as "sex work", by legitimating it as one more in the division of labor. The supporters of this view state that prostitution is a profession as all the others and it is carried out by skilled women who are fulfilling an important social function as providers of sexual services to men. Activists and politicians affirm that the emotional harm coming up from the selling of sex has to do with the stigma that the activity encloses within the society and not with the activity itself. They consider the harm that prostitutes come across as more physical than emotional and they argue that it has to do with the lack of legal measures which regulate it as a profession and protect the workers. Subsequently, they claim for the legalization of prostitution as a way to conquest rights for sex workers such as: health controls, security, maternity leave, vacations, etc (Ekberg, 2002).

The supporters of this view consider prostitution as work by taking into consideration the organization of the activity and its economical and social contribution to the society. For instance and using the argument of the economical contribution of prostitution to the gross domestic product in different countries, the International Labour Organization calls for the recognition of the sex industry as any other activity in the market (Lin Lean Lim, 1998). This public recognition includes labour rights for the workers, the improvement of their working conditions and expanding the taxation of the activity.

Another international actor that sees prostitution as sex work is a Dutch organization called Red Thread with the aim "*to fight the rights of all sex workers who work in the Netherlands, whether male female, Dutch or foreign*" ([www.rodedraad.nl](http://www.rodedraad.nl)). The organization sees prostitution as a "*private affair*" where the state should not interfere. Even though they recognize prostitution as a work, they also show that the activity encloses not minor risks for the women engaged in the activity in the Netherlands where prostitution is legal:

*"Women (sex workers) are not always free to refuse clients and to decide which services to render and which not. In this respect it has improved but we still hear too many incidents that do not happen. But still, abuse and sexual harassment of sex workers have been recognized as a problem"* ([www.rodedraad.nl](http://www.rodedraad.nl)).

The governments that conceive prostitution as sex work legalized the activity within a framework which controls and organizes the sector, including a system of taxation of the earnings of "*sex workers*". For instance, we can mention Netherlands which legalized the activity in 2000 and Germany in 1998 (Ekberg, 2002).

### 3.2.3 Prostitution as violence against women

There is another perspective on the issue of prostitution which sees it as violence against women. From this perspective prostitution is considered as severe form of oppression of women which should be eradicated ([www.sweden.gov](http://www.sweden.gov)). Men, who are almost exclusively consumers of prostitution, buy the right to use mainly women's and girl's bodies in order to satisfy themselves. Thus, the relations between individuals in prostitution are signed by domination from one part (buyer) to the other (seller). There is always a power disproportion where one has the economic power to make use of a person who is supposed to act according to the buyer's personal desires (Farley, 2003). As a result, women and girls are depersonalized, their identities disappear and they become commodities as any other in the market, being at men service. Farley (2003) states:

*"The acts perpetrated on women in prostitution cause not only physical harm, they (men) also psychologically define her as object, as degraded, as "cunt", as "filthy whore". Her self, her individuality, her humanness is systematically attacked and destroyed in prostitution. She is reduced to vagina anus, breasts and mouth. She acts the part of the thing men want her to be"* (Farley, 2003: xiv).

As a consequence of prostitution, women suffer by physical, mental, emotional and health problems. One research on the effects of prostitution in 9 countries shows that 68% of the persons in prostitution met criteria for posttraumatic stress disorders. The researchers compared the symptoms found in persons in prostitution with the same symptoms found in veterans and refugees by state-organized torture. In the same investigation was found that 89% of individuals in prostitution want to escape from the activity (Farley, 2003:56).

There are at least two countries that can be mentioned as supporters of the view of prostitution as violence against women: Venezuela and Sweden. In 1998, the government of Venezuela rejected the decision to accept a union of sex workers in the country, by considering prostitution as sexual exploitation instead of sex work. Venezuela determined that: *"prostitution cannot be considered as work because it lacks the basic elements of dignity and social justice"* ([www.sisype.org](http://www.sisype.org)). It was also taken into consideration the Union's activities concerning the promotion of the rights of its members and as a consequence the *"sex workers"* would be unionized and prostitution would be promoted and expanded (ibid).

In 1999, Sweden criminalized the buying but not the selling of sex. Sweden recognized explicitly that prostitution constitutes *"male violence against women and children"* and it should be abolished. From the Swedish perspective, prostitution constitutes a social problem which not only affects prostituted persons, but also to the whole society. The new law included in the Penal Code, prohibited the purchase of sexual services by imposing punishments of fines or imprisonment to the offenders. Winberg (2002) explains the Swedish position:

*"We have long taken a position against prostitution and the oppression of women that this entails. We have made clear in no uncertain terms that those men who buy and sexually exploit women and children commit a crime"* (Winberg, 2002).

By doing this Sweden penalizes the customers, procurers and traffickers and protects the prostituted person who is considered to be in a vulnerable position. The enactment of the new law put into action the provision of services to prostituted persons in order to help them finding other

ways of living. By making efforts to combat prostitution, Swedish government's purpose is to strengthen women's positions in the society by achieving equality between men and women at national and international level ([www.sweden.gov.se](http://www.sweden.gov.se)).

According to the Swedish perspective, the beneficiaries of the legalization of prostitution are procurers, traffickers, consumers and also the countries that have regulated or decriminalized the activity. From this view the states that legalize prostitution become sponsors of the activity, while making profit of the taxes paid by women who have being sexually exploited.

### 3.2.4 Prostitution and Sex Trafficking

We can identify that different perspectives on the issue of prostitution are connected with different approaches on the issue of sex trafficking. The ones that conceive prostitution as work, prostitution and sex trafficking constitute two separated phenomenon that should be treated as such. Those who view a connection between sex trafficking and prostitution argue that legalization or decriminalization of the sex sector is a solution in order to combat trafficking for purposes of sexual exploitation. Red Thread illustrates this perspective:

*“That is (sex trafficking) a global international problem and has nothing to do with lifting the ban on brothels or not (...) And if I look world wide, if I look at Brazil, Eastern Europe, India and lots, lots, lots of other countries: sex workers suffer abuses and work in slavery like conditions. So if you want to stop traffic in persons you have to better their position. And this starts with decriminalization: then you don't need pimps, you can report police corruption and you have civil rights and you can go to the court to enforce them. So stop criminalization, give human rights to sex workers and then we are fighting traffic in women”* ([www.rodedraad.nl](http://www.rodedraad.nl)).

Sweden is a country which perceives prostitution as male violence against women and children and has another perspective about the linkage between prostitution and sex trafficking. Margareta Winberg (2002) illustrates the Swedish view on the issue:

*“I believe that we will never succeed in combating trafficking in women if we do not simultaneously work to abolish prostitution and the sexual exploitation of women and children (...) We know that without men's demand for women and children, the prostitution industry would not be able to flourish and the trafficking in women would therefore not be able to continue. This is why it is important, and controversial, to focus on the demand”* (Winberg, 2002).

From the Swedish point of view, it is very clear that the acquisition and transportation of women aims to sell them to the prostitution market and when the demand of sexual services has been prohibited and criminalized, the possibilities to sell women into these markets are drastically reduced. Thus, Sweden considers the demand of sexual services as one of the main causes of trafficking for sexual exploitation. They relate the demand of sexual services with cultural patterns of oppression over women and girls (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2003).

The Swedish approach on sex trafficking also explains the existence of the crime by introducing other dimensions. One of them is the subordination of women and girls who suffer gender discrimination and oppression in different societies. It could be seen as a power imbalance between men and women which leads to less education for women, higher rates of unemployment, and place them in vulnerable and risky positions. Another dimension of the problem according the

Swedish perspective is poverty and lack of social protection system in many countries. In this context, the most vulnerable group in the society – mainly women and girls- become victims of a system lacking of protection of their human rights.

It is clear that the different approaches in the international scenario depict polarized views on the issue. The capacity to see the connection between prostitution and sex trafficking has to do mainly with ideological approaches by governments and societies and the different interests by the involved actors.

### **3.3 Swedish Legal Framework**

The Swedish Government has given priority to combating prostitution and trafficking in human beings for sexual purposes and has placed the issue higher in the political agenda, nationally and internationally. It is considered to be a significant social problem, which is harmful not only for the prostituted women, but also for the society at large. *“Gender equality will remain unattainable as long as men buy, sell and exploit women by prostituting them”*([www.sweden.gov.se](http://www.sweden.gov.se)). For combating prostitution and trafficking the Swedish government has put into place legal measures and special regulations in order to prosecute the perpetrators and offer support and protection to the victims (Nordic-Baltic Campaign against Trafficking in Women, 2004:53).

#### **3.3.1 Legal measures that Discourage the Demand**

*“On January 1, 1999, the Act prohibiting the purchase of sexual services entered into force. The law was part of a Violence against Women Act package (Kvinnofrid), which was enacted on July 1, 1998”* (Nordic-Baltic Campaign against Trafficking in Women, 2004:54).

In Sweden prostitution is regarded as a form of men's violence against women. This law prohibits men from buying sexual services and it determines this action as a criminal offense, which is punishable by a fine or up to six months imprisonment (Nordic-Baltic Campaign against Trafficking in Women, 2004:54). In the last report, the National Criminal Investigation Department of the National Criminal Police (2002 cited in Nordic-Baltic Campaign against Trafficking in Women, 2004:54) stated that during the past years, there are clear indications that the *“Law that prohibits the purchase of sexual services has positive effects on the trafficking in human beings”*. Experiences of the law enforcement is that the law on purchase of sexual services has been an efficient tool to combat trafficking, even though the specific legislation regarding trafficking in persons it seems to be legally complex which have an impact on the number of convictions off trafficking in human beings. This statement was also confirmed by some of our interviewees who view prostitution as a highly connected phenomenon with sex trafficking. What is of great importance is that the victims do not risk any legal repercussions, because they are considered as the weaker part that have been exploited both by the procurers and the buyers (Nordic-Baltic Campaign against Trafficking in Women, 2004:54).

#### **3.3.2 The Procuring Law**

According to Chapter 6, s. 8 of the Swedish Penal Code (cited in Nordic-Baltic Campaign against Trafficking in Women, 2004:55) a person who promotes or encourages or by using improper means, exploits the casual sexual relations for payment of another person, is guilty and shall be sentenced for procuring to imprisonment for at most four years. If the crime is aggravated, imprisonment for at least two and the maximum six years should be imposed (gross procuring,

chapter 6, s. 9) (ibid). All the endeavors' of committing procuring or gross procuring, as well as preparation for and conspiracy to commit gross procuring, together with failure to reveal such crime, are criminalized (ibid). Promotion can take various forms: examples include operating a brothel, letting premises for purposes of prostitution or helping a buyer find prostituted persons ([www.sweden.gov.se](http://www.sweden.gov.se)).

In Sweden the legislation for procuring is being used a lot for prosecution of trafficking cases. This is because the legislation on human trafficking requires today, some kind of unlawful coercion or deception or any other such improper means has been used by the recruitment. One weak point of the law is that sometimes can be difficult to prove 'unlawful improper means' for prosecutors. Hopefully, this main problem will be solved soon, since the government has set up a Committee with the task whether it is possible to abolish the prerequisite of improper means in the provision of trafficking in human beings. The committee shall finish its works at the latest by the end of October 2007 ([www.sweden.gov.se](http://www.sweden.gov.se)).

### 3.3.3 Legislation against Trafficking in Human Beings

The Swedish government has agreed to combat trafficking and to bring traffickers of human beings into justice, as it was mentioned in previous chapter, by signing the United Nations "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime" (Nordic-Baltic Campaign against Trafficking in Women, 2004:55). The basis of the regulation is the UN additional protocol on trafficking in human beings to the Convention on the work against the serious cross- border crime. The protocol is also called 2000 Palermo Protocol which sets priorities on three kinds of trafficking; for sexual purposes, for exploitation of illicit labor and for trade in human organs (National Criminal Investigation Department, and National Criminal Intelligence Service and Illegal Immigration Unit, 2002:11).

According to the Swedish Penal Code (chapter 4, s.1.a), criminal liability for trafficking in human beings applies to anyone who through the use of unlawful coercion or deception, by exploiting a person's vulnerability or by any other similar improper means, recruits, transports, harbors, receives or takes other similar actions towards a person and thereby gains control over that person to be: "subjected to sexual offenses as stated in the Penal Code, chapter 6, sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6, casual sexual relations or other forms of exploitation for sexual purposes" (Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications, 2005:6). The parliament has decided by applying the above Penal Code, to sentence to jail for a minimum of two years and at most of ten years, for any person who is found guilty of the crime of trafficking (ibid).

### 3.3.4 The National Action Program

At the moment the Swedish government has started to develop a National Action Program for combating trafficking in human beings ([www.sweden.gov.se](http://www.sweden.gov.se)). This plan is expected to be ready by now. The program is divided into two parts, but in this thesis we will refer only to the first part:

1. "A National Action Plan for the continued work against prostitution and trafficking in human beings for sexual purposes, especially women and children".

2. "A National Action Plan for combating trafficking in human beings for the purpose of forced labor ,removal of organs and other forms of exploitation". ([www.sweden.gov.se](http://www.sweden.gov.se))

The work on the first plan can be characterized as an interdepartmental work being appointed by the government, where a group is consisted of different representatives of ministries, who work under the leadership of the Division for Gender Equality in the Ministry of Industry (Dilemmas of Irregularity, 2005). The proposal of the National Action Plan is related with the continuance on the work against prostitution and trafficking in human beings for sexual purposes within a number of areas, in order to make the work more substantial and effective. Furthermore, it will include a survey of measures taken in the past about actions against prostitution and trafficking in Sweden (Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications, 2005:4 cited in Dilemmas of Irregularity, 2005). The plan focuses on action that will discourage the demand of prostitution in Sweden, as well as measures that have to do with the improvement of protection and assistance towards the victims of prostitution and trafficking. Additionally, the proposal will put emphasis on issues related to current punitive measures, including the development of the work within the justice system, the Police force and social services and also on the humanistic perspective of the problem (Dilemmas of Irregularity, 2005).

### **3.4 The European Union**

International trafficking in human beings for sexual exploitation is a growing worldwide phenomenon. Trafficking is a global problem that transcends national borders and involves countries of origin, transit and final destination. This means that it is a problem, which is impossible to be solved inside the borders of a country. None of the countries acting alone can combat trafficking unless all the actors involved work together across borders<sup>15</sup>.

The European Union has outlined some priorities for instance to decrease poverty and deal with problems that are related to that, such as combating trafficking where the countries of origin, transit and destination are engaged (Dilemmas of Irregularities, 2005). After 1990 European Union has been working in a more comprehensive way in order to confront the problems. In the European Conference in Vienna on Trafficking on Women were outlined three basic principles: 1) prevention of smuggling with human beings; 2) protection and assistance to the victims; 3) development of effective laws which criminalize the traffickers (Commission Communication, COM (96)567 cited in Dilemmas of Irregularity, 2005:39).

The Council of the European Union adopted the Council Framework decision in July 2002 which is a rather important and effective instrument that the EU has used so far with the aim to combat trafficking<sup>16</sup>. According to the Council Framework decision, the laws and regulations of the member states have to be adjusted within the framework set out by the Framework decision and be fit within the framework. The implementation of adapting the national legislation to it came into force on August 2004 (Dilemmas of Irregularity, 2005:40).

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<sup>15</sup> Copies provided by Prosecutor, see appendix.

<sup>16</sup> The Council Framework Decision is used in order to “approximate the laws and regulations of the member states. The Framework decisions are binding upon the member states as to the result to be achieved but leave the choice of form and methods to the National authorities” ([www.europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/a11000.htm#a11008](http://www.europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/a11000.htm#a11008))

### **3.5 The UN Protocol**

Trafficking in human beings has come to be an issue of great significance for the United Nations. It is considered to be an organized crime and also a matter of human rights. It is often described as the perfect crime with enormous profits and extremely rare prosecutions for trafficking cases. Only a few countries have escaped the effects of this brutal phenomenon (Gallagher, 2006). Nowadays, sex trafficking is the topic of a vast array of international legislations and national laws and a profusion of standards ranging from policy directions to regional commitments (Gallagher, 2006). In spite of the present international regulatory framework, the norms have not yet found expression in national government policies or regional legislations (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2003:20).

According to the recent legal developments in the international trafficking scene an important legal instrument is the UN Trafficking Protocol<sup>17</sup>. It entered into force on the 29<sup>th</sup> November of 2003. It entails the first ever internationally agreed definition of trafficking that was agreed upon the International community. The *UN Convention against Trans-national Organised Crime and its Protocol, to prevent, suppress and punish Trafficking in persons, especially women and children* (2002), is aimed at:

- 1) *Preventing and combating human trafficking in persons, and especially for women and children*
- 2) *Offering protection and support to the victims with full respect for their human rights, and*
- 3) *Facilitating cooperation among the states and governments with the view to achieve these aims.*

(Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2003:21)

The Protocol has already played an important role on bringing the international community together with the common aim to combat trafficking in a collective endeavour (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2003:21). Even countries with traditionally distrustful view on the international legal and political process, have had no problems and doubts to join the international movement (Gallagher, 2006). As a consequence the countries that have signed the UN protocol against trafficking, have taken it as a starting point and framework in order to develop national laws on trafficking (ibid).

However, the Protocol is already appearing to be a little old-fashioned. For instance there are some weak points that show unlinked sides among the prosecution of perpetrators and the protection of the victims. In particular, there are mandatory obligations which are related to prosecution, investigation, and criminalisation but for the victims there are only a few hard obligations but several provisions (Gallagher, 2006). Despite the fact that the member states are encouraged to provide support and protection to the victims, in reality are not required to do so. Furthermore, the states are encouraged to avoid involuntary repatriation of the victims but are not legally obliged to do so (ibid). As Skrivankova (2006: 229) states:

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<sup>17</sup> The convention and its protocols were adopted and opened for signature in Palermo in December 2000. Over two thirds of the UN member states have signed the protocol on trafficking, thereby indicating their intention to ratify it (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2003).

*'Trafficking should not be simply looked at as a law and order issue or a problem of organised crime. Trafficking is human rights violation and the rights and the welfare of the victims should be at the heart of any counter-trafficking strategy'.*

We acknowledge the importance of the legislation that prohibits trafficking for all forms of exploitation as a necessary instrument in combating trafficking, but we think, it emphasises more on the criminal justice aspect of the problem and ignores the other side of the victims.

### **3.6 Main Dimensions of Sex Trafficking**

In order, to provide the reader with a proper understanding on the issue of sex trafficking as global and complex issue, we will introduce two of the major dimensions that we identify as roots of the existence of the phenomenon. One of them refers to globalization and capitalism by introducing the economical perspective on the issue of sex trafficking; the other one introduces the dimension of gender and power.

#### **3.6.1 Globalization and Capitalism / Gender and Power**

Along with the development of capitalism and globalization of the economy a process of polarization of the world has taken place. The current system is characterized by the existence of central and peripheral countries with a big developmental gap which separates them (Amin, 2000). Amin (2000) illustrates this phenomenon:

*"The developmental gap between these centers and the vast regions of the world which have become their satellites has continued over the last two centuries (...). The polarization that is characteristic of modern globalization is definitely phenomenal without precedent in the history of humanity". (Amin, 2000:599)*

In the process of expansion of capital, it is evident that the structural imbalance between countries is becoming a feature in the world system. This fact, leads to a deep segmentation of the market. Amin (2000) refers to segmentation as: labor segmentation and international migration of workers. To solve this polarization, from the liberal perspective is recommended to open the market but not the openness of the economy. This implies that financial flows and trade are free to move worldwide while migration of workers is restricted with multiple strategies.

As a consequence, people from the peripheral countries should find ways "to adjust" or "to reintegrate" in the global economy (Amin, 2000). In this context, the possibilities to be integrated in the system become restricted and expose more and more the lives and dignity of human beings. Current capitalist globalization comprises an exceptional "commodification" of human beings by creating a market of women and children who have been transformed in sexual commodities (Poulin, 2004). Poulin (2004) shows this phenomenon:

*"The industrialization of the sex trade has involved the mass production of sexual goods and services structured around a regional and international division of labour. These "goods" are human beings who sell sexual services. The international market in these "goods" simultaneously encompasses local and regional levels, making its economic imperatives impossible to avoid". (Poulin, 2004)*

For instance, the recognition of prostitution as sex sector in many peripheral countries represents an alternative to obtain financial gain from the activity and solve the problem of unemployment from which they suffer. By doing so, they are opening a niche in the market where vulnerable groups without opportunities change their status from unemployed to employed, decreasing unemployment rate and providing with earnings to the state which becomes sponsor of the activity. About this issue Poulin (2004) states:

*“The sex industry, previously considered marginal, has come to occupy a strategic and central position in the development of international capitalism. For this reason it is increasingly taking on the guise of an ordinary sector of the economy”* (Poulin, 2004).

The logic of capitalism put efforts on showing that the market is a sort of supranational force that has its own course and commands the entire world. This perspective advocates clearly from the submission of the individuals to the logic of market, where almost no space to confront it is left. (Amin, 2000) As an example, the discourse of International Labor Organization which considers prostitution as sex work, view the activity from its financial contribution to the economy as entire rule of conceiving it, ignore that those who are engaged in the activity are the groups more at risk in the society. From this perspective the only thing that counts is the economical contribution of the activity, leaving in second place who are the ones that support the earnings and what negative effects imply for them.

In the name of sovereignty the countries of the center of the system, build up strict policies to control the immigration of workers coming from the periphery in order to defend their resources. The barriers imposed to immigrant workers coming from poor regions, and the segmentation of the labor market in central countries, lead to a forced inclusion where oppressed groups become victims of the lack of equal opportunities for the whole system. In this context, sex trafficking is seen as one veiled form of inclusion of people from peripheral countries to central ones. Poulin (2004) illustrates this phenomenon:

*“The industrialization of the sex trade and its globalization are fundamental factors that make contemporary prostitution qualitatively different from the prostitution of yesterday.”Consumers” in the economic North now have access to “exotic” and young, very young bodies worldwide, notably in Brazil, Cuba, Russia, Kenya, Sri Lanka, Philippines, Vietnam, Nicaragua, and, given the trafficking of children, in their own countries. The sex industry is diversified, sophisticated, and specialized : it can meet all types of demands (...) We can see that, in every case, the “goods” in this market move transcontinentally and transnationally from regions with weak concentrations of capital toward regions with stronger concentrations”.*

It is true that the gap between rich and poor countries in the world explains a great part of the phenomenon of sex trafficking, but also it is necessary to look more deeply through gender and power dimension. To be poor and to be woman, are the two most common variables when we refer to trafficking victims. The Nordic-Baltic Campaign Against Trafficking in Women (2004) shows very clearly the relation between sex trafficking, gender and power:

*“Trafficking in women for sexual purposes is a gender-specific crime and serious barrier to gender equality in all societies. The traffickers exploit to their full advantage the fact that most women who are victims of trafficking come from the most oppressed and vulnerable groups in society, those who are educationally,*

*economically ethnically and racially marginalized and often victims of prior male sexual violence”* (Nordic-Baltic Campaign Against Trafficking in Women, 2004:12)

Women’s conditions in the entire world are broadly recognized as extremely difficult. Multiple factors contribute to women’s deprivation, among them we point out: lack of material resources, lack of accessibility to education, restricted job opportunities, imbalance of structure of power among men and women. It is also possible to identify a link between the structure and character of state provision and the alternatives and prospect open to women. The weakness of the welfare states as one of the results of the neoliberal policy brings a negative outcome principally for women in peripheral countries who become neglected, and with increasing chances to be poor.

Kimmel, (2002) identifies that women and men are differently positioned in the society, with unequal access to resources, imbalanced accessibility to the provision and consumption of goods, and different and unequal access to the political process that guides economic development. In order to understand this power disparity it is important to refer to gender order concept. Kimmel, (2002) illustrates this concept with the following phrase:

*“... the gender order expresses men’s power over women (male domination) and the power of some men over other men (by race, sexuality, ethnicity, age, able-bodiedness). (Kimmel, 2002)*

The current gender order, establishes a system of supremacy where powerful men dominate not only women but also those men who do not fulfill some basic requirements of being rich, white and heterosexual. Therefore the global gender order, offers special privileges to men in different ways, for instance we can mention: unequal labor force participation, unequal distribution and control over properties, disparity of salaries, unequal control over one’s body and cultural and sexual privileges (Connell, 1998 cited in Kimmel 20002). As a result the existent gender order builds up disparities among individuals and installs a global hegemonic model of masculinity.

We claim that the existence of unequal power structures allows the society to support and protect discriminatory and exploitative institutions and practices. Thus, prostitution and sex trafficking could be considered as practices that have their roots on a system of domination. It is not difficult to identify the power imbalance between regions in the world and the level of oppression that certain groups of people are exposed to. Thus, sex trafficking constitutes itself as a phenomenon that shows clearly the logic of a global system whose prosperity is based on the subjugation of vulnerable human beings, mostly women.

## **4. Results**

In this section we will present the findings of our study. In order to make it clear for the reader we will divide them in six major themes: description of tasks, perception on the issue of trafficking, assessment of the services offered to victims of trafficking, impact of the prostitution law on sex trafficking, Swedish policy, cooperation.

## **4.1 Description of the Tasks**

In this theme we will introduce the main tasks of the actors who were interviewed for the purpose of this study. Most of the authorities we came into contact, work directly with victims and traffickers. The ones who are involved directly with the victims and the perpetrators are the Police, the Prostitution group, The Social Emergency Office, the Gryning Company, the Prosecution Office, the Migration Board and the KAST Project. The County Administration of Västra Götaland answered that the Office is not involved directly in the ground level, but is working indirectly with the issue of trafficking in an administrative level. We will mention the main tasks of each of the interviewees who represent different offices.

- **KAST Project:** It is a special team, which is part of the Prostitution group and deals with buyers of sex services. The KAST Project cooperates mostly with the Police.
- **Prostitution group:** It is dealing directly with the victims of sex trafficking and its main goal is to make contact with them, build a relationship from the beginning until the end of the investigation process.
- **Prosecution Office:** The professionals investigate trafficking crimes and collect evidence against perpetrators or suspects, until the case is handled by the court. They also assist the victims with legal issues and make endeavors to convince them to testify against the traffickers.
- **Social Emergency Office:** It deals directly with the victims. The main responsibility of this Office is to make decisions concerning the victims, and provide them safety, support and protection.
- **Police:** There is a special unit which deals specifically with trafficking issues. The main responsibility of this unit is to investigate trafficking cases and bring the perpetrators to trial. It deals also with victims especially during the investigation process in order to gather information about the suspects.
- **Gryning Company:** It works directly with the victims of sex trafficking and its main responsibility is to cover their basic needs (accommodation, clothes and foods) while the victims are staying in the country.
- **Migration Board:** One of its tasks is to identify trafficking cases in the daily work when people are applying for asylum. Moreover, when a trafficking case is identified, the professionals are responsible for the preparation of the necessary documents so that the victims can stay temporarily or permanently in the country.
- **County Administration of Västra Götaland:** The office is responsible for the coordination of the cooperation group between the authorities who are involved in the fight against trafficking and also for raising public awareness on the issue.

## **4.2 Perception on the Issue of Trafficking**

The results about the perception of the interviewees on the issue of trafficking in Sweden and particularly in Gothenburg are obtained through a specific question in the interview guide which search for information in this area and also from other relevant statements made during the interview.

After analyzing the answers of the respondents about their perception on the issue of trafficking in Sweden, we realized that most of the interviewees have a similar view on the phenomenon. It is

possible to say that the respondents don't perceive the issue of trafficking in a contradictory way. In particular, when they were asked about their perception on the issue of trafficking in Sweden, most of them considered it as a hidden problem, which exists, but it is not clearly visible by the society. One of the respondents stated:

*"I think there is a lot of trafficking but you can't see it if you don't want to and if you don't have the knowledge about it. There are different kinds of trafficking, but you have to get the eyes to see it in Sweden. I've been travelling to Russia and it is more open there, but here, you should have trained eyes in order to see it"* (Gryning Company-Interview, 07/03/29).

The professionals also explained that the phenomenon of sex trafficking was recently discovered and without knowledge about it they couldn't recognize it properly or see it in its complete dimension. Other professionals affirmed that nowadays the issue of sex trafficking is in the public agenda in Sweden. This could be considered as an advantage since the authorities can get financial support by the state.

Some of the respondents compared the phenomenon of trafficking with other countries from a quantitative perspective and they concluded that the problem could not be considered large in numbers in Sweden. In spite of it, they view trafficking as a severe problem, while taking into consideration the connotations of it for the society and its members. One of the respondents also considered it as a big phenomenon taking into account the traumatic experiences and the harmful consequences for the victims. Particularly, he perceived it as a serious problem by saying:

*" I think of trafficking as a big problem because women who have been forced into trafficking have experienced violence and have suffered a lot, in that sense I believe that it is a very big problem"* (Prostitution Unit-Interview, 07/03/28).

Other informants referred to the problem of sex trafficking in Gothenburg and compared it with other Swedish cities such as Stockholm and Malmo. They stated that the problem is not so widespread in Gothenburg than in other cities, because of the work that has been developed by the professionals who are involved in the issue. This can be illustrated in the statement of a policeman who outlined the importance of the work in Gothenburg in the following sentence:

*"We have the problem, but we don't think we have the problem so much compare to Stockholm for example (...). We also think we have been working very hard in Gothenburg, lots of people know that we exist and that we work hard (...)"* (Police-Interview, 07/04/19).

About the linkage of trafficking and prostitution some respondents claimed that these two phenomena cannot be separated. Other respondents mentioned that there is a relation between sex trafficking and prostitution but they didn't specify about it. In spite of it, most of the respondents recognized that the implemented measures towards prostitution and specifically the legislation have impacts on the phenomenon of sex trafficking. One informant stated about this:

*"We feel that the problem (sex trafficking) exists in Sweden, but it is not as big as it is in other countries where you have a liberal view on prostitution"* (County Administration Office-Interview, 07/03/13).

As it is illustrated above, the majority of the opinions of our respondents depict a strong belief on the Swedish approach concerning sex trafficking, as the right one for dealing with the problem, since it is more wide spread in countries where the liberal perspective on prostitution is dominated.

### **4.3 Assessment of Services to the Victims**

Another theme of the interview is the respondents' valuation of the services offered to the victims by the authorities. The results of this theme depart from the opinions of the respondents who work directly with the victims. In particular, we didn't request for relevant information from the representatives of KAST Project and County Administration Office, as they don't deal with this target group.

The majority of the respondents' stated that the work they carry out is important and they feel satisfied with their interventions. Furthermore, they indicated that they value positively their work and specifically one of the professionals answered that the actors who are engaged in the anti-trafficking fight are willing to work with this target group, since the nature of their job is quite demanding. The same statement is supported by another interviewee, who believes the work they are doing is tough and specifically it takes a lot of time to make contact with the victims, since they don't trust the authorities easily. She specified:

*“It is not easy... the victims are very afraid and they don't trust the authorities. You need a lot of time to make contact with them. If you work in the right way you have to meet this girl for many times and built some kind of trust”* (Migration Board-Interview, 07/04/23).

Two other respondents answered that even though the services offered to trafficked women are adequate, there are still some areas that could be changed and improved within the intervention. Another professional answered that they could improve the trauma treatment therapy offered to the victims and also to have a follow up with the cases by keeping in contact with them after their repatriation. Moreover, he stated that the regular evaluation on their work is an important instrument of improving the services.

At last, two interviewees related their opinions with the views of the victims towards the offered services. Both of them stated, the women are satisfied with the intervention and the services offered by the Swedish authorities. However, one of the professionals thinks it is difficult to be completely aware of their opinions towards the services, because they lose contact with the victims after the repatriation process. He also emphasized on the importance of the evaluation of services taking into consideration the victim's perspective. He elaborated:

*“It is necessary to have a follow up with the women and ask them questions when they are going back to their countries, how were the services provided to the them by the authorities in Sweden, how was the interaction with the police, how did they feel in the whole process, if they were treated with respect, etc. I think this should be done after the women return to their countries so they feel safer. I think if we want to improve our work we have to evaluate it and make interviews with the girls who have been trafficked”* (Prostitution Unit-Interview, 07/03/28).

To sum up, in this theme we consider important the fact that none of the professionals answered in a negative way by valuing the services as ineffective or inadequate. The general impression is that

the actors are aware of the difficulties they face and they conceive their work as important and especially concerning the assistance and the treatment they provide to the victims.

#### **4.4 Impact of the Prostitution Law on Sex Trafficking**

Legislation in Sweden is considered to determine the way trafficking issue has been evolving during the years. Most of the professionals believe that prostitution and trafficking are not two different areas which should be studied separately, but two related phenomena where each part influences and interacts with the other. The first question of this theme is searching for opinions on how the issue of trafficking was carried out before the implementation of the law in 1999, and the second one is seeking for opinions concerning the changes that might have occurred on the trafficking arena, after the implementation of the law.

Most of the interviewees see a clear connection between trafficking and prostitution and they believe that prostitution policy within a country can influence the issue of trafficking. The following statement explains clearly this view:

*“It has been more difficult for the traffickers to bring women to Sweden, because they know it is against the law to buy sexual services so the market is not so attractive any more...Sweden is a difficult country for trafficking”* (Prostitution Unit-Interview, 07/03/28).

The opinions of the respondents on the development of trafficking before and after the law depict a clear picture on the way they perceive the phenomenon. Some of the professionals answered that even though trafficking existed as a problem before the implementation of the law, they were not aware of dealing with it. Specifically, one of the respondents claimed:

*“We didn’t have any knowledge about trafficking cases at that time (before 1999). Trafficking was not in the agenda like it is today”* (Police-Interview, 07/04/19).

Other interviewees think that prostitution was more widespread before 1999, than it is now and inevitably this influenced traffickers on starting business in the country due to the large number of buyers of sexual services. They also consider trafficking as a newly arrived phenomenon, which existed before the implementation of the law, but it was not yet integrated as one of the priorities in the political agenda.

Even though the prostitution policy has been criticized a lot by other countries and particularly by those who implement a more liberal policy towards prostitution, all the respondents believe it is an effective law, especially because it protects the victims. Two professionals were not able to answer to this question because they didn't have experience on the issue of trafficking before the implementation of the law, but they started to be involved in trafficking cases after it.

Taking into account the legal aspect of the problem, a respondent who is involved in legal cases concerning trafficking answered that before the trafficking legislation the procuring law was used for trafficking cases. It is important to reflect on the answers about the changes that might occur on the trafficking issue after the implementation of the law in 1999. The opinions in this part of the study are similar, while most of the respondents look at the question from the same perspective. Particularly, two of the respondents agreed that the law has influenced the issue of trafficking and they believe trafficking cases have decreased. Two other respondents stated that after the law was

clearer that the professionals had to look on the issue with more serious eyes and deal with it with effective interventions.

Another interviewee answered that the law is good for combating prostitution and as a consequence trafficking. However, she thinks it doesn't really penalize the sex buyers, when the highest punishment is to pay a fine. In reality, those who can pay can possibly repeat the same action. According to the respondent, although the legislation penalizes the sex buyers it doesn't prevent men from consuming sex services. As she claimed:

*“The biggest problem in this area is to change the minds of men. Men should be much more active so that they could influence other men that it is not ok to buy sex. And there I am a bit disappointed with some Swedish men”* (County Administration Office-Interview, 07/03/13).

At last another professional stated that trafficking is a newly discovered phenomenon and it was not discussed much before the implementation of the law. The respondent believes that Swedish legislation is a very good instrument of combating trafficking. Even though the meaning of the prostitution law was not to combat trafficking, it is said that influenced the issue of trafficking in Sweden in a positive way. To sum up, the majority of the respondents think of the Swedish law against prostitution as a good way of combating trafficking and because of this, the phenomenon is decreasing in the country.

#### **4.5 Swedish Policy**

We will present the results of the Swedish policy against sex trafficking by taking into consideration three areas. The first one explores the opinions of the respondents on the Swedish policy against sex trafficking. The second area refers to opinions concerning the connection between the current immigration policy and the issue of trafficking in Sweden. The last area refers to opinions about implementation of the measures against sex trafficking in Gothenburg.

To begin with the opinion of the respondents about the *Swedish policy against sex trafficking*, generally speaking we could say that all the respondents have a constructive view about it. The majority of them affirmed that sex trafficking is a priority among politicians, authorities and media with positive consequences on the treatment of the issue. In addition, they emphasized on the sufficiency of the policy.

Moreover, other interviewees acknowledged the necessity of improvements in some areas of the policy but without referring directly to these issues. One informant referred to the forthcoming National Action Plan as an important tool which will improve the work the professionals carry out. In particular, she emphasized on the matter by saying:

*“Well, since we don't have the National Action Plan we don't really have strong documents...so very much of the work is done by the organizations themselves, out of the experiences they have, but it depends on the political level”* (County Administration Office-Interview, 07/03/13).

Another factor concerning the Swedish policy against sex trafficking is the opinions of the respondents about the law against purchasing sex. In particular, one of the respondents referred on the perception of the prostitution law by the Swedish people and emphasized on the connection between the prostitution law and trafficking as it is one integrated phenomenon.

*“There has been a research that most of the Swedish people like the prostitution law, they are happy about it but they were not in 1999. Today, most people in Sweden think it is a good legislation. We don’t put prostitution from the one hand and trafficking from the other, we put it together”* (Police-Interview, 07/04/19).

It is important to look on the opinions of the respondents about the way they view the policy in relation to the work they carry out. The majority of the respondents claimed that even though many areas need to be improved on the policy and specifically on the interventions, generally, they are satisfied with the way their work is carried out. One of the respondents outlined the importance of viewing the problem as a priority among the political actors and the authorities by saying:

*“I think we have a very good way to look at this problem and also it is an issue which is being placed high on the agenda of the politicians and of different authorities. This priority in a way brings to us money or funds by the state so that we can work with the problem and I feel quite comfortable with the way the policy works”* (Prostitution Unit-Interview, 07/03/28).

The second area of the Swedish policy is related with *the current Swedish immigration policy and the relation with the issue of trafficking in the country*. In this area it is possible to state that the majority of the respondents were not familiar with the issue. Some respondents didn’t answer on the question. Others mentioned that they don’t think there is a connection between the immigration policy and the issue of trafficking. One of the respondents specified that it is very difficult to prevent people from crossing borders in order to run illegal business in foreign countries since they can easily find other strategies to commit illegal actions.

*“I think that we are EU members and in some way it is easier to cross the borders than before. Probably it is because the Swedish borders in a way are wide open, even if some people here, they don't think so, I think there are many ways that somebody can enter in a country without the legal documentation and without the authorities knowing anything...but I don't think it has to do with the migration policy, because even if the borders were closed, people would still find other ways to cross countries”* (Migration Board-Interview, 07/04/17).

As we mentioned above, the third area in this section refers to the answers of the interviewees about their opinions for the implementation of the measures against trafficking in Gothenburg. All the respondents perceive the implementation of the local measures in a positive way and they consider it as good or quite good. In addition, the majority of the informants emphasized on the role of the cooperation among them, as an important factor of achieving effective implementation of measures. Other important factors that contribute to effective measures are the good communication among different professionals involved in the issue, the experience acquired by the practice in the field and their accurate division of roles and responsibilities. This view is depicted in the following statement by a professional who is working in a private company offering services to trafficked women.

*“I think, as I can see, we have done a good job, all of us. We have taken the responsibility for each part of it and what is good in Gothenburg, is that we don’t criticize each other, we know that everything is not perfect and that is ok, but we talk directly to each other, we share opinions and we work in a collective way. We don’t try to...we are not fighting about the power”* (Gryning Company-Interview, 07/03/29).

Furthermore, two of the respondents mentioned that Gothenburg has a special cooperation network among professionals engaged in the issue of trafficking which doesn't exist in other Swedish cities and in this aspect they consider the implemented measures as successful in Gothenburg in comparison with other cities.

#### **4.6 Areas that need to be reviewed**

The results of this theme are based on a specific question about areas in the intervention process which need to be reviewed and on other testimonies supported by the informants in different parts of the interview. From the collection of the data, we can say that many suggestions and opinions on how to improve their work were given by the majority of the professionals.

Some respondents who are working with the victims of trafficking focused on the services offered to the victims and in particular on the treatment therapy. One of them also suggested new models and methods of treatment as required tools for the improvement of the services.

*“I think we need to be better and find ways to meet the needs of the women in trauma treatment and today we have been educated on it. In this area we need to have more models and methods to work with because every woman is a very unique person and we have to learn how to meet all the different needs of them”* (Prostitution Unit-Interview, 07/03/28).

Evaluation was another area which was indicated by the professionals who are working in the Prostitution Unit. Both of them assessed that evaluation of the intervention process towards the victims is needed. To be more specific one of them claimed that new instruments to carry out evaluation taking into consideration the opinions of the victims are necessary.

Another issue underlined by the professionals in the Prostitution Unit was related with the rights of the victims while they stay in Sweden. The professionals stated that the current distinction of entitled rights between victims who are willing to testify against traffickers and victims who are not willing to cooperate with the authorities in the investigation process is not accurate. They think that the focus should be placed on the needs of a victim as a person and it should be possible to support those who don't want to get involved in the investigation but assistance is required. One of the informants explains this view:

*“If the girl helps the police in the investigation process then the social services get money from the Migration authority for their expenses like clothing, shelter etc. and she has the right to stay in Sweden. But if the girl refuses to help in the investigation process then we in Social Services...we can not contact or talk to the Migration authority and get funds for the victims. For example, we see many times the girl is suffering and needs treatment on trauma for at least three months and unfortunately we don't have that possibility, this could happen only if she would cooperate. That is not good; we also need to make changes in that system”* (Prostitution Unit-Interview, 07/03/28).

Most of the professionals referred to the victims' process of returning home as an issue that needs to be attended. Some of the respondents think that a follow up of the women after they go back to their home countries is needed. Particularly, one of the informants stated that Sweden should provide some kind of aid in order to guarantee that the victims will not be involved in the same situation again. This contributes to effective confrontation of the problem.

*“I think the returning process the repatriation should be reviewed. If they (victims) go back, the services in their home countries must be reviewed and even I could think on Swedish foreign aid that could be placed in such projects for the rehabilitation of the girls to guarantee that they don't get back to this business again”* (County Administration Office-Interview, 07/03/13).

Legislation about sex trafficking is another issue that professionals think that needs revision. The policeman and the prosecutor are the actors who expressed their opinion in this matter. Both of them think that the legislation on trafficking should be easier to apply. The informant explained the difficulties they face with the current legal instruments:

*“Yes, we have some problems with the legislation. We have to prove that the suspect uses improper means and this is very difficult to prove and often it takes time. If you can't prove as a prosecutor that the suspect uses unlawful or improper means then you have to use another alternative solution and this can be the legislation against procuring. This is one of the main problems in Swedish legislation, and we are trying to solve it so that we can be more efficient”* (Public Prosecution Office - Interview 07/ 04/ 18).

In this section we could identify a wide range of areas that need to be reconsidered departing from the opinion of the respondents. It is possible to add, that each informant gave personal opinions concerning their specific area of responsibility and they also showed a critical but constructive perspective about the intervention they are carrying out.

#### **4.7 Cooperation**

In the present thesis we try to develop knowledge on the issue of trafficking and specifically on learning how the anti-trafficking measures are applied in the city of Gothenburg. In order to do so, we considered important to gather information about the cooperation of the authorities involved in the struggle against trafficking. In particular, this thesis, seeks information on the dynamics of *cooperation of the authorities in a local, national and international level*. In the first part of this theme, the respondents described with whom they cooperate in the local and national level and they discussed about their opinion concerning the current cooperation with other authorities. The second part of this section attempts to give a trans-national perspective on the issue of trafficking by providing information concerning the involvement of the Swedish authorities in international cooperation initiatives.

As we mentioned in the chapter of methods, all the authorities that participated in this study, are part of a *local cooperation network* which is coordinated by the County Administration of Västra Götaland. In order to avoid repetitions, we will just mention which authorities are involved in this network and we will focus more on the opinions of the respondents about the cooperation. To begin with, it is essential to clarify that the cooperation among the authorities doesn't take place in a daily basis but instead the representatives of the authorities participate in monthly meetings and they discuss issues concerning their work on trafficking on a local level. Depending on the different tasks some of the authorities keep special contact with others, for instance the Prosecution Office cooperate mostly with the Police and the Migration Board.

All of the respondents have positive opinions about their current cooperation in the local level. They are very satisfied and they think their meetings are rather fruitful with good communication, even though they think differently. One respondent stated that the good cooperation derives from the fact that all of the participants in this network are really engaged in the issue of trafficking and

have a real interest on that, since most of them work with these issues by personal choice. Two other respondents mentioned that they feel very well with the group of people who participate in the local cooperation and it is important that all of them know how to listen and respect different opinions and perspectives on the same issue. In conclusion, all of the participants in this study believe their cooperation among different authorities works very well and this contributes to develop effective ways of working with the target group as well. One of the respondents explained the way she views the cooperation in Gothenburg:

*“I think we have different perspectives on the issue depending on the work we are doing and different professions we have and through cooperation we try to understand each other. I would say that many authorities and also NGOs are very engaged in the issue and (...) we know each other and that helps because it is more easy to discuss something if you know to whom you are talking to (...) No one can say it is my issue I can solve it by myself... we should cooperate a lot”* (Prostitution Unit- Interview 07/04/03).

The current cooperation against trafficking is organized in a *local and national level* and it is a development partnership within the European Social Fund, called Equal Program. The regions that take part in this partnership are the authorities from Stockholm, Skane and Västra Götaland counties. Particularly, the partnership consists of BalticFem, Caritas Sweden, Hela Manniskan, Women's Forum, the Male Network, The County Administration of Västra Götaland, the Prostitution Unit in Stockholm, Södermalm's Baptist Congregation, the Museum of World Culture and the Public Prosecution Office. Other participants and co-financers authorities are the Swedish Migration Board (Stockholm, Göteborg, Malmö), the Police in Stockholm, the County Councils of Stockholm and Skane, Goteborg's City, the Prostitution Group in Malmo, the Police authority in Skåne, and 'Museion', Goteborg University. The cooperation among national authorities was formed in 2005 and it will last until 2008 carrying out meetings once a year. The aim of this subject area is, to streamline legal procedures against the perpetrators, improve support for the victims of human trafficking, and facilitate a dignified and organized return to their country of origin or another. The authorities also carry out knowledge and method development, based upon their practical cooperation.

The general impression from the answers of the interviewees, about *international cooperation* is that most of the Swedish authorities were engaged in international partnerships and basically within the European and Baltic countries. Even though they believe on the importance of International contacts, from the other hand they think it is time consuming and also there are difficulties on the communication level, since different countries have different perspectives and also have difficulties to accept the different approaches on the issue. One of the respondents illustrated his experience concerning international cooperation:

*“Another thing is that Sweden has a completely different law that criminalises the buyers of sex and the other countries think that we ‘lost our minds’. Also they are very angry, and it takes a lot of time to discuss this (prostitution) law and I am very bored of hearing again and again the same. Can’t they accept that we have this law and we think it is a good law and it works very well in Sweden? If they don’t like the law they are not forced to implement it”* (Prostitution Unit-Interview, 07/03/28).

The majority of the participants in this study believe that it is rather difficult to cooperate under these circumstances especially when other countries deny accepting the Swedish perspective which

views prostitution as women's sexual exploitation. He elaborated on his personal experience about the international cooperation:

*“In the last International meeting I participated, they were talking a lot about health issues and that prostitution is a health problem. I don’t see prostitution as a health problem, it is a social problem. I don’t think that you can solve the problem by giving people condoms. I think it is a very big difference between Sweden and other countries on how they perceive the problem. But of course everybody has the right to say I am not working in that way. But you can see there are different perception of the problems in different countries”* (Prostitution Unit-Interview, 07/03/28).

In the present time not many authorities participate in international networks of cooperation even though they think it is essential to combat trafficking. This is due to oppositional perspectives towards the phenomenon by different participants in the international network and the difficulties that arise from it.

From our results, we could identify the principal actors involved in the implementation of the anti trafficking measures in Gothenburg and their major responsibilities in the intervention arena. We also gained a deeper understanding on the respondents’ opinions about the issue of trafficking in Sweden recognizing that they share a common perspective on the matter and they strongly support the official approach. Additionally, the results showed the professionals’ conformity with the shape of the Swedish policy against trafficking and particularly with the way the intervention is carried out in Gothenburg. The results also clarified that the respondents do not see a linkage between migration policy and sex trafficking.

Concerning the assessment of the services offered to trafficked women, the results of the study demonstrate that there is a high level of satisfaction towards them. In spite of that, the informants pointed out the necessity of reviewing or improving some elements of the intervention and the legal framework. We also acknowledge the positive impact of the measures applied against prostitution on the issue of sex trafficking, identified by the respondents. At last, another important area of the findings is related with the cooperation against sex trafficking. Knowledge about the initiatives of the actors was revealed and the way they cooperate in a local, national and international level.

# 5. Analysis

## 5.1 Introduction

The analysis of the data took place according to the earlier presented method of analysis. As we mentioned, we based the analysis of our findings on the “Process Evaluation and Implementation Theory” introduced by Vedung (2005). Even though we use an evaluation based theory we should clarify, that we will not evaluate the implementation of the measures carried out in Gothenburg since it was not the purpose of our study. Instead, we consider it is significant to discuss and analyze the findings by using some key factors from the ‘Program Evaluation Theory’.

We have divided the results in different themes in order to achieve clarity and make it easier for the reader to follow and comprehend the different aspects that are interrelated in the issue of trafficking as well as the implementation process. However, we will discuss the themes by selecting the most important elements which influence the present outcome of the anti trafficking measures according to our opinion and guided by the theory. Particularly, we use the Process Evaluation and Implementation Theory as a tool in order to identify different factors that may explain outcomes of public interventions.

The author claims that this theory: “*seeks to establish a whole pattern of casual interdependencies*”. This means that the theory takes into consideration the existence and the interaction of different elements of the policy and their effects on the way the measures are implemented by the different actors involved in the intervention process. The basic factors identified by the author that might explain and influence the public intervention outcomes are: historical background of the intervention, intervention design, implementation, addressee response, other government intervention and agencies and issue networks and other environments. Thus, in this chapter, we will use those factors as an instrument to analyze our findings.

## 5.2 Historical Background of the Intervention

The historical background of each implemented policy area reveals the impact on the present form and the way the policy is carried out today. For that reason in this section we will analyze the Swedish measures towards trafficking by outlining different dimensions of the background of the policy. According to Vedung (2005), it is would be reasonable to look on the outcomes of the implementation of a policy as if it was at the moment of its establishment but it is important to take into account the factors that led to the present form of the implementation such as legislative processes and societal movements. The author presents as an example, the fact that policy researches or policy makers rarely show any interest in what happens after the laws are passed but they restrict their interests to issues of policy design and policy implementation (Vedung, 2005).

One key factor which contributes on the outcome of the present policy and the way the measures are carried out is ‘the direction of the proposed change’. The author claims that it is necessary to identify if the instigated intervention is corresponding to or constitutes a clear break with previously pursued policies. Moreover, “*the direction of proposed change may influence implementation, service delivery, addressee response and as a consequence outcome*” (Vedung,

2005:214). To clarify, the present form of a policy could be considered as an outcome of previous initiatives. According to our study, the present implementation of the sex trafficking measures is linked with previous legislation and public awareness on the issue. Specifically we identified two majors' factors that constitute as background of anti trafficking measures which are achievements on gender equality in Swedish society and legislation against the purchase of sex.

During the conduction of our research, we acknowledged through our respondents the importance of the previous initiatives concerning gender equality as a background of the implementation of the anti-trafficking measures. In Sweden, gender equality plays a significant role in the society and it has been supported by social movements and also by the state. The legislation on prostitution that came into force in 1999 could be considered as a consequence of the achievements concerning gender equality in the society. The high level of acceptance of the prostitution law by the Swedish society confirms a common perception on gender issues. Undoubtedly, the prostitution law has had a strong impact on the way the work against trafficking is carried out today. We consider that the prostitution law has influenced the implementation of the anti-trafficking measures and this was confirmed by our respondents as well.

In addition, the informants, who participated in this study, perceive prostitution and trafficking as two linked phenomena, where each part influences the other. We identify that, their view has to do with the Swedish approach concerning the fight against trafficking. As was mentioned before, prostitution is conceived as violence against women and there is the perception that an effective way to combat trafficking is to bring to an end the demand of sexual services and this could be done by criminalizing the buying of sex. Departing from the perspective that gender equality should be promoted in the society, the legislation conceives as victims women who are engaged into prostitution and provide them support and protection. We recognize that there is a strong connection between achievements on gender equality, prostitution law and anti trafficking measures.

In order to outline clearer this connection, it is essential to analyze how the prostitution law has influence the issue of trafficking. Before the implementation of the law, sex trafficking was not perceived as a social problem, even though it existed, it was not recognized as such by the society. After the implementation of the law, special focus was given by the authorities to prostitution and the intervention that was carried out towards it, contributed on the identification of sex trafficking as a specific problem. The legislation on prostitution introduces the need of combating trafficking by the authorities and the issue becomes a priority in the official agenda. This brought attention to the problem and new instruments and resources were provided to the actors who were engaged in the anti trafficking struggle.

Another dimension that brought a change in the problem area was the impact of the prostitution law in the prosecution and punishment of the traffickers. The interviewees who are involved in the legal procedures stated that the prostitution law has been useful in dealing with trafficking cases. Before the implementation of the trafficking legislation, the use of the law was important in order to convict the traffickers. Since the trafficking law reveals some weaknesses on its application, the prostitution law is still being used as an instrument to penalize the traffickers. Moreover, it is used as a tool in the investigation process of trafficking cases since the sex buyers can be used as informants by the prosecutors and the police in order uncover the traffickers.

To sum up, many factors have influenced and contributed to the implementation of the present anti trafficking policy. As we mentioned before, achievements on gender equality and legislation could be considered as a historical background according to the theory supported by Vedung (2005). These antecedents play a significant role on the way the anti trafficking policy is carried out in the present time in Sweden. Without taking into consideration the historical background of the policy, we wouldn't be able to comprehend it.

### **5.3 Intervention Design**

According to Vedung (2005) the intervention design presents important components that influence the outcomes of the intervention process. One of the components is *clarity*. The level of clarity in a policy might influence the existence of clear or unclear priorities in the intervention. By unclear priorities the author implies that two or more aims are provided but without any indication of what the priority among them should be. For instance when a policy contains more than one goal and they are contradictive, the intervention becomes unclear and it is not possible to identify the main objective of the measures. Moreover, clarity gives a correct picture of what policies are designed to achieve (Vedung, 2005).

Taking into account the findings of our research, we acknowledge the existence of clarity in the implementation of the measures towards trafficking. During the research process, our informants gave a clear description of their tasks and the way they intervene. From the data, we can affirm that all the professionals involved in the fight against trafficking in Gothenburg are following the same guidelines in the intervention. They share common goals and there is a clear distinction of their duties. We could say that each office has its own tasks which are directly connected with the main objective of the intervention. Moreover, the activities carried out by the different offices are not overlapping but they are complementing the whole intervention process.

According to Vedung (2005) another element that has impacts on the intervention process is the *validity of the intervention theory*. The author explains that every public intervention is based upon certain assumptions of a problematic situation that needs to be changed, and upon the linkage between the intervention and these negative circumstances. Even though it is very clear what the measures want to achieve, if the intervention is based on wrong presuppositions it is likely that it will fail. In order to understand a policy, it is important to take into account the assumptions which are behind the policy and support it. We identify that the Swedish policy against trafficking is based on certain assumptions which derive from a specific perspective and determine the way the intervention is carried out. Before analyzing the assumptions it is essential to clarify that we will focus to those that are based on the opinions of our informants.

As we mentioned in a previous section, the Swedish approach towards trafficking is subjected to the perception that sex trafficking cases will diminish by criminalizing the buying of sexual services. The actors, who are involved in this area, conceive the problem of trafficking as an issue related with prostitution and they have the presupposition that if the demand of buying sex would eradicate, the trafficking cases would be decreased. The interventions operated by the authorities in order to combat trafficking, rely on this assumption as well. Special programs are implemented in Sweden with the purpose to support and assist people and mostly men in order to discourage them from buying sexual services. One example is the KAST Project which deals with people who have

been penalized for buying sexual services or people who were supporting the sex market and now they are willing to change behavior.

Secondly, the Swedish policy is based on the assumption that the assistance and support towards the victims of sex trafficking ought to be one of the most important priorities in the intervention process. For this reason, special measures are carried out by the Swedish authorities in order to provide protection, assistance and the right treatment to the women who have been sexually exploited. The professionals who are involved in this process acquire special qualifications and follow specific training programs, funded by the state, with the purpose to improve their effectiveness towards the victims. This reveals clearly the focus of the Swedish approach on the assistance of the victims and the importance of appropriate measures in order to achieve it.

Furthermore, in this study we thought it would be important to explore the area of migration policy in relation with sex trafficking, assuming that there might be a link between these two factors. For that reason, we asked the informants about their opinions regarding this connection. By analyzing our findings we realize that the interviewees do not have any presupposition that links sex trafficking and migration policy. Based on the data we gathered, we can see that the migration aspects are not integrated in the intervention concerning sex trafficking. Taking into account the validity of the intervention theory, we argue that not only the presuppositions but also the unconsidered aspects of an intervention need to be examined for effective outcomes. In this case, we consider the migration aspect as one unconsidered element of the Swedish approach and we outline the significance of this dimension in the matter of trafficking.

After analyzing the basic components of the intervention design based on the theory of Vedung (2005), clarity and validity of the intervention theory, we identify the importance and the great impact they have for the interventions carried out by the authorities. They not only influence the intervention process but in some cases they determine the way the measures are implemented and the outcomes as well.

## **5.4 Implementation**

Another group of factors that might determine the results of a policy could be identified within the implementation arena. Vedung (2005) divides the implementation in four major problem areas: national agencies, intermediaries or inter organizational networks, street- level bureaucrats, and addressee implementer. According to Lundquist (1987:76ff in Vedung 2005) implementation includes three types of assets which can be applied to the four problem areas. These assets are: comprehension, capability and willingness. Specifically the actors who are involved in the national agencies, intermediaries, street level bureaucrats and addressee implementers ought to comprehend the intervention, be able to conduct it, and be willing to do it. The comprehension asset, is significant in all four problem areas of the intervention and might influence both the implementation and, hence, the results. Capability is another ingredient, which has direct impact on the achievements and characterizes the quality of the work that the actors who are involved in the implementation are carrying out. Willingness is another sub factor which can alter the outcomes of the intervention. If the actors who are engaged in the intervention are lacking of willingness to act according to the guidelines of a policy, then the results can be affected in a negative way (Vedung 2005).

As we consider the importance of the above elements of the implementation, we will analyze our findings based on them. According to our study, we identify that the national agencies problem area is related with the national cooperation towards sex trafficking. On a previous section it was mentioned that the national cooperation in Sweden is based on the Equal Program which could be considered a frame that structures the cooperation. Through national cooperation the different actors involved in the fight against trafficking exchange and build up knowledge about the issue. We can see from the data collection that comprehension of the intervention, capability of the professionals involved and strong willing to act according to the main aims of the policy are assets that can be identified within the national agency.

We recognize that the problem area of the intermediaries or inter organizational networks, is connected in our study with the existence of different offices, organizations and enterprises involved in the implementation of measures against trafficking in Gothenburg and the cooperation among them. The way the cooperation is conducted, constitutes a factor which shows their willingness to follow the main aims of the Swedish policy against trafficking. The clear compromise of the professionals, their responsibility towards their function and the perception of their contribution in order to reach high level goals might be one reason that explains why conflicts in order to gain power do not take place among them. We acknowledge that the different actors are characterized by logic of cooperation and common contribution of their main goals and not by competition. All the informants considered as positive their cooperation and they outlined the quality of their communication and the meaning of collaboration. The capability of the professionals involved in the implementation of measures could be seen in their division of areas of responsibility, their specialization of carrying out their tasks and their awareness about other actors' duties. We consider that the clear comprehension on the objectives the actors are following, contributes on establishing a specialization of tasks where it is very easy to identify who is responsible on each matter.

In our study, we recognize as street level bureaucrats the professionals who are working directly with different target groups concerning trafficking. From the data we collected, we can affirm that there is a high level of personnel qualified and capable to execute tasks concerning trafficking issues. The professionals involved in the intervention towards trafficking, are specialized in dealing with different target groups: victims of sex trafficking, sex buyers or traffickers. All of our informants' who carry out activities in different settings put emphasis on their satisfaction towards their intervention and their engagement and willingness to improve it. It is possible to state that the personnel involved in direct intervention are able to comprehend the main aims of the policy against trafficking and take into consideration the impacts of their actions on the outcomes.

### **5.5 Addressee Response**

The fourth element which is defined in the model of Vedung (2005) concerns the addressees' response. The addressees are the target group who deliver the services and their comprehension, capability, willingness, organizational belongingness and general predicament may have an impact on their compliance with regulations and other outcomes. All the factors mentioned, have an impact on the intervention but also on the behavior of the target group. For instance, if they have difficulty to comprehend the intervention, this can determine the results on themselves as well. In this study and based on our findings we can distinguish three types of target groups: the victims are women who have been sexually exploited, the buyers of sexual services, and the traffickers or

perpetrators. Most of the representatives of the authorities we interviewed, work with victims and for that reason in this section we will focus mainly on this target group.

Women who have been sexually exploited are defined by the interviewees' as a 'difficult' target group bearing in mind all the traumatic experiences they have faced. Other features of the victims are the illegal status, the limitation of the language and also the feeling of fear against the authorities. Due to these factors, it takes time for the victims to comprehend the aims of the intervention and specifically the intentions of the professionals towards them. Moreover, the professionals stated that most of the victims are not willing to cooperate with them especially in the beginning of the investigation process. In order to clarify the effectiveness of the measures towards the victims, it is important for the professionals to be able to evaluate the services they provide considering the opinions of the trafficked women. In this case, some of the informants stated that they do not have instruments for evaluation even though they think it is very important for effective interventions. In our view, women's opinions on how they value the services they receive should be a priority among the authorities in order to enhance the effectiveness of the intervention.

The second target group includes people who are buying sexual services. Since the purchase of sex in Sweden is penalized some of the buyers who are attending the KAST Project, have been accused for their illegal activities by the authorities, and others participate in the project voluntarily. All of them participate in the project on their own willingness and they have decided before hand to change their behavior. This reveals their ability to comprehend the aims of the intervention and the willingness to accept the services. However, the professionals who are involved in this project stated that it is difficult to come in contact with this target group especially with non traditional buyers for instance, men who buy sexual services from men, and women who are buying sexual services from men. Even though not many consumers of sexual services are participating in the intervention, we think initiatives that take into consideration the sex buyers are significant for the alteration of their perception towards the problem and as a consequence to decrease the demand of sex services.

At last, the perpetrators of trafficking are considered an important type of target group for combat trafficking. The actors who are dealing with this group are mainly the Public Prosecution Office and the Police. As we mentioned in previous chapter, traffickers are considered as criminals by the Swedish legislation and they should be castigated by the authorities. The ingredients of comprehension, capability and willingness are not taking into consideration for this target group by the actors who implement the measures against trafficking. Instead, the authorities put great emphasis on the effectiveness of the investigation process by using the right instruments in order to prove the offences of the traffickers.

## ***5.6 Other Government Interventions and Agencies***

Another group of factors that may influence the outcomes of a policy is other government interventions or agencies. Vedung (2005) states that it is important to take into account other policy sectors or programs that may be interconnected with the policy that is being analyzed. He describes the public administration of a country as a heterogeneous actor with not only one expressed will. The reason is the disagreement and variety of perceptions on most issues of the politicians within a country. The government has founded different institutions and agencies in

order to safeguard various interests and wishes. As a consequence, the civil service is characterized by fragmentation since different organizations with contradictive desires, has entered in the government agenda (Vedung, 2005).

As we mentioned before, the Swedish government has played a significant role in achieving gender equality. The perception of gender issues is widespread in Sweden and finds expression in a comprehensive body of legislation including The Equal Opportunities Act (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2003:30). Other measures that aim to promote equality are extensive to diverse government agencies and also there is a common perspective on gender issues supported by different policy areas. Several initiatives have been conducted by the government in order to promote equity and equality among genders in different settings. For instance, different Ministries carry out diverse measures and implement programs following a common standpoint on gender issues. Bearing in mind the theory, we acknowledge that Swedish government agencies have a central objective of achieving equality between women and men in the national level and this influence positively the intervention towards sex trafficking.

### ***5.7 Issue Networks and Other Environments***

The final factor that Vedung (2005) identifies is issue networks and other environments. He explains that the level of support in the direct and distant environment of the intervention may influence its outcomes. The results of a policy can be also influenced by the support or resistance from other stakeholders who are not involved in the public administration. In spite of the fact that the stakeholders do not have a role in the administration or implementation of a public policy, their actions and statements might influence the results of the intervention (Vedung, 2005). In this study, we identify other interventions and cooperation networks from other countries as other stakeholders that have an impact in the local and national intervention towards trafficking.

As sex trafficking is a global issue, it couldn't be possible to be solved by interventions within a country, but cooperation networks among nations who have been affected by the problem are necessary in order to confront it. As a consequence, transnational or international cooperation among other stakeholders could enhance the effectiveness of the results of the intervention within a country. The general actions, therefore, taken by each country towards the problem, influence the way the work is carried out against trafficking in other nation as well. For instance, different countries have different perspectives and approaches on the issue and as consequence they follow various interventions which many times happen to be contradictive.

Through the years, Sweden participated in several international and trans-national networks with the purpose to confront the problem in a collaborative way. Nowadays, the participation of Sweden in International and trans-national cooperation networks has decreased, due to the resistance of other countries on the Swedish approach on sex trafficking. This view has been supported by the informants of our study who believe that different approaches and perspectives on the problem create difficulties in the cooperation arena. However, they outlined the importance of cross-border cooperation for counteracting the phenomenon. As sex trafficking is global problem, we argue that the intervention within a country is influenced by the work other countries are carrying out against the issue.

In conclusion, in this chapter, we analyzed our findings by applying the model of "Program Evaluation Theory" held by Vedung (2005) in order to increase knowledge about the factors that might influence the outcomes of the Swedish anti trafficking policy. According to the findings, we can see the relevance of the achievements on gender equality and the measures against prostitution as a background of the anti trafficking policy in Sweden. We also acknowledge that the Swedish anti trafficking policy is based on certain ideological assumptions that determine the way the intervention is conducted. Additionally, the findings led us to identify the existence of different actors in the implementation of the policy who are interrelated within the cooperation arena. At last, the analysis of the results provided us with knowledge on other interventions and on the role of the international cooperation from the Swedish perspective concerning the fight against trafficking.

## 6. Discussion - Conclusion

In this section we will reflect upon the three main areas of our study. The first part, aims to discuss the views of the informants about the intervention they conduct and their opinion on the areas that need to be reviewed. The second element explores the current cooperation among the authorities in the city of Gothenburg and the impact of it on the interventions concerning sex trafficking. At last, we will attempt to gain a deeper understanding on the different approaches about prostitution and sex trafficking and discuss the implications in the international scenario.

In the analysis section, we have seen that the way intervention is conducted is a considerably large element with impacts on the effectiveness of the Swedish policy on the issue of sex trafficking. In the implementation of the measures, the policy is created through a multitude of decisions taken by the actors who interact directly with the different target groups (Vedung, 2005). From our findings we apprehended that most of the informants in this study, consider that their intervention has build up through the experience on the daily interaction with clients. This lead us to think that even though the policy is regarded to be a strong influential actor which determines the way the intervention is carried out, there is a lack of concrete guidelines to establish a connection between the upper level of the policy and the ground level. This could be regarded as a disadvantage for the overall official approach. We argue that the effectiveness of the work should not depend on individual good intentions or practices but on more established principles to steer the intervention.

Even though some respondents identify a lack of official instruments to conduct the intervention, the majority of the interviewees value positively their work. Moreover, we could see that the informants present a high level of contentment with the implemented measures, and they are critical and dynamic actors on making revisions concerning the way the intervention should be developed. The engagement of the respondents on the intervention they carry out and their reliability on the ideology that support the Swedish approach on sex trafficking are some special features of them. As a consequence of the sentiment of commitment towards their intervention, we could assume that the respondents and their actions have had an impact on the current shape of the policy and their opinions were taken into consideration by the political actors in order to build up the policy or make revisions on it. Taking into consideration this aspect, we could say that the professionals conceive themselves as actors who have an important role for the improvement of the policy.

Even though the respondents consider the implementation of the measures as effective, they recognize some important areas that need to be reviewed and improved. One of these areas is related with the needs of the victims. We state that the Swedish legal framework sets the victims needs as a major priority in the intervention process. In this point, the overall aim of the policy in order to protect the victims is in contradiction with concrete regulation that does not allow the Social Services to provide assistance to the victims who do not cooperate with the authorities in the investigation process against traffickers ([www.sweden.gov.se](http://www.sweden.gov.se)). We could say that even though the legislation aims to provide assistance and protection to the victims, the distinction of entitled right for women who cooperate and women who do not, installs logic of “good” and “bad”

victims. We argue that this peculiarity of the Swedish implementation of the anti trafficking measures end up criminalizing the women who do not follow the rules in this aspect. Although, Sweden considers prostitution and sex trafficking as a severe form of violence against women the existent conditions for being entitled of protection put the victims in difficult position where they become castigated (in terms of being neglected) if they do not cooperate with the authorities and can possibly end up into trafficking again.

The informants pointed out that trafficking legislation is another important area that needs to be reviewed. They mentioned that the legal framework concerning trafficking presents some difficulties on its application and due to this fact the procuring law was used instead. We remark the importance of achieving legal instruments that are able to indicate formally trafficking cases as such. Some authors (Kleimenov & Shamkov, 2005; Repetskaia, 2005) refer especially to the particular features of trafficking crimes compared with other types of crimes. Even though we admit that the procuring law establishes punishment for the offenders, the public recognition of trafficking as a particular crime is also needed.

Most of the professionals pointed out the need to improve the repatriation process of the victims to their home countries. Follow up of the victims and financial support of services for women in their home countries, are some of the alternatives proposed by the respondents. Some informants showed their concern about the future of trafficked women when they go back to their countries. We consider the returning process as relevant factor to be attended by the Swedish authorities in order to bring truthful solution to the problem. From our perspective if the intervention towards the victims ignores their future while they go back to their countries, the measures are at risk to serve only for the purpose to take the problem out of the borders but not to confront it.

Another element that was explored in this study was the role of migration policy in the intervention design of the Swedish anti trafficking policy. We acknowledge that migration aspects are an unconsidered element on the measures to confront trafficking by the country. According to Tiurikanova (2005) the migration aspect is regarded as one dimension that has a strong impact on the issue of trafficking. We believe that it is necessary to integrate this variable in the Swedish approach since it is maintained that a restrictive immigration policy contributes to trafficking. It could be said that the act of controlling the borders in order to keep the trafficking of human beings outside the state may be one of the reasons, for why trafficking occurs and increase and this leads to a dilemma which should be considered by the Swedish approach (Dilemmas of Irregularity, 2005).

It is also remarkable that the respondents conceive their cooperation as an integrated part of the intervention process and we acknowledge during the study that most of the actors involved in the anti-trafficking struggle put emphasis on this dimension in order to evaluate their work. Even though the tasks and the responsibilities are clearly divided among the actors, the sentiment of working as a team is also strong. We regard cooperation as an important element which contributes to effective interventions. In particular, one of the respondents underlined the significance of the team work by emphasizing on the members of the local cooperation network and by identifying them as key actors in the whole process. She explained that the intervention would change if the current actors would be replaced by others. This shows clearly the prominence of the individual actors as important contributors to the intervention process. The strong relation among the

members of the cooperation group could be perceived from the one hand as a positive factor, which can increase the quality of the intervention, and from the other hand as a disadvantage if it is based on individuals and not on other concrete official instruments. When a public intervention is based mainly on individuals, the replacement of the actors with others could be expected to threaten its outcomes.

As we highlighted the different perspectives on prostitution and sex trafficking through the involvement of the Swedish authorities in the international scenario, we will discuss it in relation to the data gathered from the interviews about the Swedish cooperation on the international scene. In the section of the study which sought opinions about the engagement of the Swedish authorities in international initiatives and networks, most of the respondents expanded their views on approaches of other countries about sex trafficking. As a result, it could be said that the existence of diverse approaches and perspectives in the global scene towards sex trafficking have an impact on the international cooperation.

Sweden perceives the issue of sex trafficking and prostitution as one-interrelated phenomenon and also considers it as an expression of male violence against women ([www.sweden.gov.se](http://www.sweden.gov.se)). The Swedish approach and the aims of its legislation are not mainly supported by other participants in the international arena and as consequence it is not easy to balance oppositional perspectives which bring discrepancies and conflicts among the participants. Most of the respondents claimed that it is difficult for other actors to understand or accept the Swedish approach and this fact creates difficulties in finding a common approach to deal with the problem. In particular, The Netherlands perceives the legalization of prostitution as an effective approach to deal with the phenomenon. From the other hand, Sweden opposes this discourse by criminalizing the buying of sexual services as a way to act against the market of sexual services.

According to Vedung (2005) validity of the intervention design is based on certain assumptions of a problematic situation that needs to be solved by influencing certain dimensions of the phenomenon. As we have outlined previously, different countries have different assumptions on the proper way to confront sex trafficking. As a consequence, the different approaches bring complexities to initiatives of cooperation among the actors who are involved in the international scenario. We could say that one of the major challenges that nowadays the international fight against sex trafficking faces is to overcome the existent ideological contradictions which support divergent interventions.

Departing from the opinions and views of the informants we acknowledge that the current Swedish intervention does not consider as a first priority the international cooperation and focuses more on the local and national level. Some of the respondents stated that Sweden has been participating in several international initiatives in the past years, but nowadays their involvement has decreased due to the rising of oppositional ideologies on the issue. We consider that due to the challenges that international efforts to combat trafficking imply, Sweden has been mainly focused on eradicating the problem from the country. This strategy got positive results within the country, and the conquest of support and adhesion from other countries. We believe that Sweden plays a significant role in the international scenario and its ideological and practical contribution to it should be strongly considered in the official intervention.

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# Appendix

## Interview Guide

### Background Data

**Sex: Female**

**Male**

**Name:**

**Profession:**

**Working Place (name of the Organization or Center):**

**Professional Experience:**

1. How many years have you been working with trafficking issues?
2. What are the main areas or issues that your Office is dealing with?
3. How is your Office involved in the fight against trafficking?
4. Can you describe your tasks in this center as a professional concerning trafficking?
5. How do you perceive the issue of trafficking in Sweden and specifically in Gothenburg?
6. What is your opinion concerning the current policy against trafficking in Sweden?
7. Do you think that the current immigration policy influences the issue of trafficking in Sweden?
8. In what way, can you explain?
9. Can you explain how was the issue of trafficking carried out by the authorities before the implementation of the law in 1999?
10. Do you see any changes in the process of combating trafficking by the authorities after the implementation of the law?

11. Can you describe the implementation of the policy against trafficking in the structural level in Gothenburg?
12. What is your opinion about the implementation of the measures in Gothenburg?
13. Do you work with the victims of trafficking?
14. Can you describe the services being provided by your Office to trafficked women?
15. How do you value the services your institution/organization/center offer to trafficked women?
16. Do you deal directly with the perpetrators of trafficked women?
17. In what way do you deal with them?
18. What is your opinion about the intervention process that your Office is carrying out concerning trafficking?
19. Are there any areas of the intervention process that need to be reviewed?
20. If yes: can you specify?
21. Do you cooperate with other organizations/centers/institutions in the intervention process to combat trafficking?
22. What is your opinion about the current cooperation in the issue of trafficking?
23. Is your organization/center/institution involved in any International network to combat trafficking?
24. What areas against trafficking this cooperation involves?

# Informed Consent

The following is a presentation of how we will use the data collected in the interview.

The research project is a part of our education in the International Masters program in Social Work at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. In order to insure that our project meets the ethical requirements for good research we promise to adhere to the following principles:

- Interviewees in the project will be given information about the purpose of the project.
- Interviewees have the right to decide whether he or she will participate in the project, even after the interview has been concluded.
- The collected data will be handled confidentially and will be kept in such a way that no unauthorized person can view or access it.

The interview will be recorded as this makes it easier for us to document what is said during the interview and also helps us in the continuing work with the project. In our analyze some data may be changed so that no interviewee will be recognized. After finishing the project the data will be destroyed. The data we collect will only be used in this project.

You have the right to decline answering any questions, or terminate the interview without giving an explanation.

You are welcome to contact us or our supervisor in case you have any questions (e-mail addresses below).

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