



LUND
UNIVERSITY

Sweden as a country of destination for human sex trafficking

An analysis of Swedish police reports from 1999 and 2011 comparing views on
victims and perpetrators

Jenny Power

Human Rights Studies
Spring term 2012

Supervisor: Lina Sturfeldt

Abstract

Sweden is a country of both transit and destination for sex trafficking, the most common form of human trafficking that exists today. The purpose of this essay is to examine whether the type of victim and perpetrator has changed over the past thirteen years according to Swedish police reports. A comparison will be made between two police reports on human trafficking - one from 1999 and one from 2011. This will then be discussed and personal points of views will be added. Comparing the reports one can see that there are significant differences concerning both victims and perpetrators from then and now. Human sex trafficking has expanded immensely in Sweden and both new types of victims and perpetrators have been noted over the years. The police are today using more and better resources to combat the problem than they were in 1999 but there are still things that have not changed. The police are still in need of changing their perspective on a few matters that are vital for combating human trafficking for sexual purposes.

Table of contents

Abstract	2
Table of contents	3
1. Introduction	4
1.1 Research question	5
1.2 Method and Material.....	6
2. Views on the victim	7
2.1 Women.....	11
2.2 Children.....	13
2.3 Disabled.....	15
3. Views on the perpetrator	17
3.1 The seller.....	18
3.2 The buyer.....	22
3.3 In the eyes of the police: Who is the worse type of perpetrator?.....	26
4. Conclusion	28
5. References	32

1. Introduction

“You asked me to answer the question on what I think when I hear the word ‘Sweden’. What I would like to say to Swedish men. My answer is easy: when you go to a prostitute, think that your own daughter could be in her place. And one more thing, men sometimes think that they are helping us when paying to use our bodies. That is wrong. They are mutilating our souls.”¹

Although slavery was abolished in the 19th century² it is still today a large problem that exists around the world in many different ways. It is believed that there are more slaves today than there has ever been at any point in history.³ One of today’s most terrible forms of slavery is human trafficking. Trafficking of human beings is the illegal trade of people for exploitation. Most countries have signed and ratified the Trafficking Protocol that was adopted by the UN in Palermo, Italy in 2000. The protocol is an international legal agreement that is attached to the UN Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime.⁴ However, human trafficking is still a major problem around the world. Trafficking in human beings for sexual purposes is noted to be the most common form of human trafficking with up to 79% of all trafficking victims being exploited for sexual purposes.⁵ Sex trafficking is a well hidden business making it extremely difficult to fight. The market for trafficking women and girls for sex is extremely large in Europe and countries such as Sweden are used continuously as both a country of transit and destination. In Sweden, the most common form of human trafficking is for sexual purposes. It has been estimated that around 400-600 women and children are sex trafficked into Sweden every year although there has been no new study since 2003 due to the large number of hidden victims making it difficult for Swedish authorities to calculate the correct amount. The victims documented have all been women and young girls, brought over from Eastern European countries such as Albania, Poland, Hungary and Russia. It has also been noted that some come all the way from Nigeria and Thailand. The reason why women and young girls fall into the trap of trafficking is believed to be due to circumstances

¹ Matsson, K. (2006) Drömmen blev ett helvete. *Metro*. Retrieved from <http://www.metro.se/drommen-blev-ett-helvete/ObjffB!07_3720-23/>

² Regeringens webbplats om mänskliga rättigheter (2012) Förbud mot slaveri och slavhandel. Retrieved from <http://www.manskligarattigheter.gov.se/extra/pod/?id=55&module_instance=3&action=pod_show>

³ UR. “Slaveriet idag”, 2009. Retrieved from <<http://www.ur.se/Produkter/158751-Varlden-Slaveriet-idag>>

⁴ United Nations Convention against transnational organized crime and the protocols thereto, Annex II, adopted in December 2000.

⁵ UNODC. Human Trafficking FAQs. Retrieved from <<http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/faqs.html>>

such as poverty, unemployment and war. The victims are easily lured into believing that there is a well-paid job and a better life waiting for them somewhere else. They often have their passports and belongings taken away and their dignity stripped from them by the perpetrators. Some may believe that those dealing within the sex trafficking business are all men, which is not the case. Many women are also perpetrators but mostly act as managers and recruiters in specific regions, as they are believed to more easily gain the trust of the victims.⁶ According to the UNODC (UN Office on Drugs and Crime) it has been shown that women place a large role as perpetrators in human trafficking, compared to other types of crimes.⁷

It is important to acknowledge that perpetrators are not only those responsible for the selling of victims. There is another type of perpetrator which many believe to be just as guilty- the buyer. Studies have shown that it is mostly men that are buyers and although buying sex is illegal in Sweden it still exists on a large scale. In 2010 it was calculated that 98% of those suspected for sex crimes were men.⁸ Without buyers there is no demand and without demand human sex trafficking decreases immensely. Sadly, there is a demand and in industrialised countries one single sex worker can earn an average of 450 000 Swedish kroner per year with most of it going directly into the pocket of the seller.⁹ The revenue is extreme.

Swedish authorities are constantly fighting against sex trafficking and are well aware of the happenings. This is highly noticed in police, NGO and governmental reports on human trafficking.

1.1 Research question

My goals in this essay are to analyse different views on the victim and the perpetrator in relation to two separate Swedish Police reports from 2011 and 1999. Other authorities apart from the police are constantly releasing new reports but to delineate this essay I shall only be focusing on police reports. The latest report from 2011 that gives information from the year of 2010 will be compared

⁶ Swedish National Police Board (2006) Situation Report 9, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 8

⁷ UNODC. (2009) Global Report on Trafficking in persons. p. 57

⁸ Brottsförebyggande rådet. Våldtäkt och sexualbrott. Retrieved from <<http://www.bra.se/bra/brott--statistik/valdtakt-och-sexualbrott.html>>

⁹ Madslie, J. (May 2005) Sex trades reliance on forced labour. *BBC NEWS*. Retrieved from <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4532617.stm>>

with the first available report from 1999. This will be done to see whether views on victims, perpetrators have changed over the time span of 11 years and how. The main question this essay will answer is whether the Swedish police's overall view upon trafficking has changed over this time and how. These questions will be central for this specific essay:

Has the type of perpetrator according to the Swedish police changed since 1999 compared to today?

How?

Has the type of victim according to the Swedish police changed since 1999 compared to today?

How?

How are different types of victims and perpetrators distinguished from one another by the Swedish police?

Which perpetrator does the Swedish police see as the worst perpetrator?

It is not only of interest to me whether the police have changed their view on 'who' is the victim or 'who' is the perpetrator. I will also analyse how human trafficking is described in general by the Swedish police, such as is it called 'slavery' or something else?

1.2 Method and material

This essay is based on comparing two specific police reports to one another. The reports used in this essay have been carefully chosen out of twelve reports on human sex trafficking that are available to the public on the website of the Swedish police. One of the reports chosen for the analysis is the oldest one found on the website, which is a report on trafficking in women from 1999. The Swedish Police report from 1999 is the first report written after the purchasing of sexual services became a crime in Sweden. The second report is the latest report published in 2011 which is slightly more detailed than the first. The differences between the reports that have been written thirteen years apart are interesting to discuss and to acknowledge when regarding if any major changes have been made or if views upon the overall concept of trafficking, the victims and the perpetrators have changed. The reason for choosing to compare the oldest report with the newest is the interest in being able to acknowledge how in such a broad time span the main view upon human trafficking and those involved has evolved in the eyes of the Swedish police. Although there may have been larger changes between other years, this essay is based on only using two different reports and

focusing on the Swedish police's work and views on human trafficking. The oldest report has been of great interest due to the fact that the further back in time one goes, less information was known on the matter and less resources were used. Over the past few years media has acknowledge the problem of human trafficking immensely and it has each year become more alerted. The largest change compared to the 1999 report may be able to be seen before the latest report from 2011, but this essay focuses on being able to understand what the situation looks like today in the eyes of the police and what views the police has upon human trafficking, the victims and the perpetrators at present. It is interesting to see what can happen and change over a large period of time. One can most likely expect a change since 1999 as since then many changes on a global level have occurred. More countries have joined the EU, Sweden has become a full participant of the Schengen agreement, the amount of people traveling has increased, media has highlighted the problem and the human trafficking problem has become a popular current issue in discussions. All this has happened since the first report was written and therefore it is interesting to see how these factors have played a part in changing the awareness and views on human trafficking to what it is today. The reason I have chosen to compare police reports, instead of other reports such as from the government or organisations, is due to the fact that it is often the police that are the first people to deal with and meet the victims and the perpetrators. This makes it interesting to use their reports to see how they see upon victims and perpetrators from the beginning of the process. The police are in general the institution that in nearly all cases work with busting the human trafficking circles and finding the perpetrators and victims at country borders. They are also the ones to be called in immediately to a so called crime scene - for example an apartment where there have been suspects of human trafficking going on. Therefore it has been of large interest to me to focus on their reports as there is a lot of information in the reports to be analysed. What views upon the matter such an important institution in a country like Sweden has, can give a large insight in how Sweden deals with the problem and how it is seen upon.

The police reports have been thoroughly read a number of times and differences have been analysed and discussed. The reports have been examined and the two terms "victim" and "perpetrator" have been central when reading. The reports are clear on constructing the two terms into what they signify in the context. Therefore it is easier to see which parts in the reports discuss the victim and the perpetrator and which parts are just basic facts and information. The reports are published by the Swedish National Police Board and give basic information on human trafficking, the victims, the perpetrators and the measures being taken by Sweden. The reports on human trafficking are

released each year as a purpose to give the National Police Boards' picture of the scale of human trafficking and investigation has changed since the year before. The report from 2011 is based on the investigation done in the year of 2010. It is constructed of investigations, convictions and information that the police have dealt with in the year of 2010 that has to do with human trafficking. The report is primarily intended for the Swedish state, the police and other authorities. The report from 1999 is half based on facts and describes many European countries and their human trafficking situation. The second half focuses on describing cases of human trafficking in each Swedish county. The two reports are similar in the information provided but are structured in a very different way. It is clear than today the main focus in the report is only Sweden as the situation in other European countries is not part of the 2011 report.

The reports have been used as the primary material for the essay. However secondary material has also played a part to complement certain information. The secondary material has been used as background information and as help in discussions. The material includes statistics, newspaper articles, governmental/county/legal council/individual reports and websites that contain necessary information that could not be found in the police reports. It has been noticed that police detectives have stated viewpoints on subjects in interviews that have not been included in the reports. It has been of importance to add these to the essay when evaluating the Swedish police and their possible changes in opinions over the years. Academic literature and articles have been used to add a perspective to this essay. This has been used to apply a perspective on the perpetrator and the victim.

The material used has had its problems due to the fact that the primary material, the police reports, have not always been detailed enough. Also when reading separate interviews with Swedish police detectives that specialise in human trafficking, their viewpoints have not been found in the main report. Sometimes their reports are not always clear when they discuss victims and perpetrators and it is important to be able to read between the lines and form an individual understanding. The other material used apart from the police reports has sometimes stated information on victims, perpetrators and the overall concept of human trafficking that can not be found in the reports. Therefore it has been difficult at certain times to keep to the views that can be found in the chosen police reports. However, I have done my best and have been very focused on making sure that the reports that I have chosen are rightly interpreted and that the different views on human trafficking

are highlighted. The secondary material has been used to fill in certain gaps of information and facts that have been thought at necessary to support the reports.

The materials primary function is as stated before used to provide an insight in how views upon human trafficking, the victims and the perpetrators have changed in the eyes of the police over the years. The primary material has been thoroughly read and every part that has to do with victims and perpetrators has been analysed and compared to the other report. The literature being used as an overlying perspective will be applied on the polices' viewpoints and discuss whether any type of specific gender perspective in the reports can be found. The rest of the secondary material is not there to obtain how victim and perpetrator is constructed, so this will not be used for the main point of this essay. It is merely a help to back up information and the discussion and analysis.

This essay uses the terms "victim" and "perpetrator" which are terms used in the police reports. Therefore using these terms seemed appropriate when discussing the different views that can be noted when comparing the reports. Although the terms victim and perpetrator are used due to the primary material, they can be found in some of the secondary material too. The Swedish government report used as secondary material uses the terms victim and perpetrator in their plan of action against human trafficking. The terms are also used on the country administration of Gävleborg's website on their human trafficking information page. The FBI uses the terms on their website and so do some of the individual articles and UNICEF, however the UNODC report only focuses on the victim and not at all on the term perpetrator. The same goes for the report released by the UNICRI where instead terms such as 'madams', 'sponsors' or 'recruiters' are used, making the criminals sound more neutral. One source used in this essay has however chosen to instead of using the word "victim" used the term "trafficked people/persons". This is explained to be due to the belief that the term "victim" is regarded as disempowering. This can be seen in the report found on UNESCO's website written by a research team on trafficking in Nigeria. Stockholm's county administration report also refrains from the word victim and instead uses the term "those exposed to the crime". The Swedish network against trafficking and IM released a joint report which has also been used as secondary material. The report uses both the term "victim" and "perpetrator". Other material that has been used as secondary material that does discuss victims and perpetrators of human trafficking, but is used as backing information for this essay are laws, statistics, articles and radio.

This essay has no specific analysis chapter. Instead there is a mixture of facts, report comparisons and discussions in each part. The structure of the essay has been done this way so as to carefully distinguish the views on the victim from the views on the perpetrator instead of focusing on all views in general. However in the conclusion I have chosen to discuss the joint view on the perpetrators and victims and evaluate if the Swedish police report from 2011 shows any remarkable changes compared with the 1999 report.

2. Views on the victim

The latest police reports from 2011 show that neither young boys or men have been identified as victims of human sex trafficking. All cases have shown that women and young girls from Eastern Europe, Nigeria and Thailand have been the main targets as victims.¹⁰ It is interesting to acknowledge how reports have changed since 1999. Before 2003, the reports were all named ‘trafficking of women’ instead of today’s title ‘human trafficking for sexual purposes’.¹¹ The older reports focused on explaining types of trafficking (especially sex trafficking) that mostly women (note: not children!) were subjected to. Today the victim preference is much broader which may be due to an increased focus by the Swedish police. The 1999 report instead draws attention to certain cases that involve trafficking and prostitution.¹² This distinguishes the reports from each other showing that today the main focus is on the general term ‘victim’ and the importance of the report is to provide a full understanding of the problem instead of only concentrating on specific cases. It is vital to see beyond the victims that are found in one particular year and to acknowledge the fact that there are other underlying issues and many more victims out there that still need attention. Both reports from now and then show that there was and still is a problem when trying to get victims to testify in court against their perpetrators. This has been noted to be caused due to the fear of the perpetrators’ revenge and the inability to trust in this case, Swedish authorities.^{13 14} It is understandable that the women and young girls lack trust. They have been both mentally and

¹⁰ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 4

¹¹ The Swedish Police Trafficking Reports. Retrieved from <http://www.polisen.se/Stockholms_lan/en/Languages/Service/Publications/Trafficking-/>

¹² Swedish National Police Board (1999) Lägesrapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor. p. 17-24

¹³ Ibid p.27

¹⁴ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 9

physically abused, sometimes over a large period of time and are most likely not familiar with well functioning authorities. Most countries where the victims origin from are very corrupt. Corruption often leads to a country's population placing low trust in authorities.¹⁵

Difficulties in convicting perpetrators has also been due to victims stating in their testimony that they are selling sex by choice. This has made it more difficult for the police to identify women and girls as victims and to prove if the victim's freedom has been violated.¹⁶ Reasons that have been noted to why victims become loyal to their perpetrators and claim to be selling sex voluntarily are mentioned in the report from 2011. It also includes that the police have noticed that some victims initiate sexual relationships with their perpetrator which results in them looking upon their perpetrator as a partner. Some victims are also allowed to keep a share of their earnings as it makes them more loyal towards their perpetrator. Victims that have talked to the police have also stated that their perpetrators instructed them to tell the police that they were involved in the business voluntarily. The police often appoint experts nowadays in order to understand what motivates the victim's 'voluntariness'.¹⁷ Reading between the lines, the difficulties in convicting perpetrators due to victims testifying that they are in the business by choice is a problem for the police. Appointing experts shows signs that the police see the matter as important. The report from 1999 does not mention women testifying to be in the business by choice. Although it is mentioned that some women do not want to testify and that some victims were aware of that they were going to work in prostitution in Sweden no testimonies have showed voluntariness. This may be due to the fact that victims when found in 1999 were often rejected a temporary residence permit before the investigation was complete.¹⁸ In 2005 a provision granting temporary residence permits for foreign witnesses and victims was introduced into the Aliens' Act.¹⁹ Since then it has been easier for the police and prosecutors to fully carry out an investigation. It is likely that this had led to more victims being questioned including those that have stated to be selling sex by choice.

¹⁵ Transparency International. Corruption Perceptions Index 2011. Retrieved from <<http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2011/results/>>

¹⁶ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 8

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 9-10

¹⁸ Swedish National Police Board (1999) Lägesrapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor. p. 27

¹⁹ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 33

It has been noticed by the Swedish police that the number of countries that victims of sex trafficking originate from have increased over the last years:

“The foreign girls and women recruited to Sweden for the purposes of prostitution came primarily from Eastern Europe in 2010 (in particular from Romania, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary), Thailand and Nigeria. A clear change can be perceived here. In previous years, the majority of these girls and women came from Estonia, Poland and Russia.²⁰”

The year of 1999 showed signs of women from Thailand, Nigeria and other non-European countries being brought in to Europe as victims. However this did not apply to Sweden. Cases in Sweden from that year showed only victims from Eastern Europe.²¹ The perpetrators responsible for women from countries outside of Europe seem to have broadened their choice in countries of destination and added Sweden to their list. The latest police report from 2011 does however not discuss why there has been a major increase in Nigerian and Thai victims being brought into Sweden the past few years. There may be no specific reason apart from that the human trafficking business has grown and spread over the whole world. One thought could be that the demand among Swedish sex buyers for both African and Asian women has become popular which has in its turn led the perpetrators that handle non-European victims to expand their market to Sweden. In the past 10 years the amount of Swedes traveling abroad has increased with 38% according to the Swedish travel and tourist database.²² This may have contributed to the demand of more ‘exotic’ women that men have experienced on their travels.

The 2011 report shows that the women and young girls that are victims of sex trafficking often come from poor backgrounds and lack proper education. They may also have grown up in families where they have been subjected to sexual, physical or mental abuse. Often they originate from countries where they have restricted rights.²³ The report from 1999 contains no information on whether the victims that were subjected to human trafficking that year came from backgrounds with

²⁰ Ibid. p. 4

²¹ Swedish National Police Board (1999) Lägesrapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor. p. 6-8

²² Thorén, L. (March 2012) Allt fler svenskar reser utomlands. SvD. Retrieved from http://www.svd.se/resor/allt-fler-svenskar-reser-utomlands_6923399.svd

²³ Ibid. p. 4

difficult circumstances.²⁴ It is positively acknowledged that the police are more informed on the trafficking problems today and are using more resources to research underlying factors to help get a better understanding of what is happening and why. An increased interest today in the victim and her background is noticeable. Interest in background information is important when working against the trafficking business. Knowing where victims origin from and what their situation is in their homeland can assist the police in the work against human trafficking.

“The victim is usually in such a vulnerable situation that she or he cannot see any possibility of turning down an offer to earn money in another country, despite the fact that it may be clear that this offer involves a risk of her or him being exploited in some way”²⁵

It is not unusual that victims are aware of what awaits them. The majority of the women and girls that were discovered in 2010 admitted to knowing that they would be working in prostitution. However they agreed that their standard of living, amount of freedom and financial circumstances that had been promised beforehand had changed when they were brought into the business.²⁶ The awareness of working in prostitution has not changed. The report from 1999 also notes that most often the victims were aware of what type of work they would be carrying out in the country of destination.²⁷As stated in the quote above, many women and young girls are so desperate to gain a better standard of living and when an offer to earn money comes along it is difficult to decline. The risk of exploitation that many are conscious of is insignificant in a moment of desperation.

When victims that arrived in the country of transit or destination are taken advantage of in a unduly way without payment the police in their report of 1999 saw the conditions as slave-like. The way of explaining the trafficking business as ‘slavery’ has been toned down since the older report’s usage of the words ‘white slave trade’. (Nevertheless it is still, but more subtly, noted.)²⁸ ²⁹ There is no

²⁴ Swedish National Police Board (1999) Lägesrapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor

²⁵ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 4

²⁶ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 10

²⁷ Swedish National Police Board (1999) Lägesrapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor. p.10

²⁸ Ibid p. 10

²⁹ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 15

real difference between modern day slavery and slavery before it was abolished. Both involved human beings being shipped and held against their will with no pay or proper rights. When human beings are treated as a commodity and are bought and sold and forced to work they are living in slave-like conditions. Whether the police chooses to describe human trafficking as slavery or not does however not change the facts that many victims are subjected to slave-like conditions.

Although much has changed in the newest police report comparing it with the one thirteen years ago it is still today as it was then noted that it is hard to estimate how many fall as victims of human trafficking each year. In the latest report it is admitted that the number of victims found each year depends on the resources the police puts into detecting the crime.³⁰ However studies of how many victims are brought into Sweden each year have not been carried out by the Swedish Police since 2003 when the estimate was between 400-600.³¹ No study was carried out in 1999 but many police authorities reported then that there had been no cases of trafficking in women in specific counties.³² It is unlikely that human trafficking for sexual purposes hardly existed in Sweden thirteen years ago. The most plausible explanation is that the problem has become more recognised today and that the Swedish Police have broadened and improved their resources over the whole country which leads to a larger capability of working against human trafficking. However the large increase of victims over the past years has been pointed out in the newest report to be caused by various countries in Eastern Europe becoming members of the European Union.³³ Most countries where victims originate from today were not members until after 2004.³⁴

It is hard to estimate if the amount of victims brought into Sweden each year is increasing or decreasing. However when comparing statistics from 1999 and 2011 the amount of procuring crimes that have been reported have more than doubled.³⁵ Unfortunately human trafficking was not

³⁰ Ibid. p. 4

³¹ Stenberg Ribeiro, E (2010) Människohandel och prostitution - Ur ett svenskt perspektiv. *Länsstyrelsen i Stockholm, NMT*. p. 14

³² Swedish National Police Board (1999) Lägerapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor. p. 1

³³ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 8

³⁴ European Union. "Countries". Retrieved from <http://europa.eu/about-eu/countries/index_en.htm>

³⁵ Brottsförebyggande rådet. Anmälda Brott: Koppleri inkl. grovt. Retrieved May 24, 2012 from <<http://statistik.bra.se>>

a crime in Sweden until 2002³⁶ so cases of human trafficking in 1999 were not listed in the crime statistics. The latest statistics from 2011 note 35 cases of human trafficking being reported as crimes.³⁷

Those subjected to human trafficking range from different ages and backgrounds and have a number of different needs. Therefore it is important to take into account every individual's specific situation when helping each victim that has been found to have been exposed to sex trafficking.

2.2 Women

Women (those over the age of 18) constitute the majority of victims in sex trafficking - this is noted in all reports on human trafficking. They are often by traffickers and others involved in the sex trafficking business seen as a commodity that can be bought and sold on the international market. Since the earliest Swedish police reports women have been the main target of becoming victims of the sex market. The market for buying women for sexual purposes is immense and today it is possible to order women via the internet and get them sent over to Sweden to meet up with the buyer in a hotel room.³⁸

Women seem to be the 'general' type of victim of sex trafficking when reading various reports. They are mentioned as victims at all times when discussing human trafficking unless there is a specific report or article that focuses on another type of victim such as children or victims with disabilities. Unlike young girls under the age of 18 there have been many cases (according to the latest police report) in Sweden of women that have been trafficked into Sweden from Nigeria and Thailand. It has been noticed that Thai women often arrive in Sweden together with Western European men that exploit them through marriage. Many Thai women dream of a better life in the western world and become naive when approached by a western man. In many cases once the women arrive in Sweden they are exploited sexually in Thai massage parlours.³⁹ Nigerian women

³⁶ Polisen (2012) Människohandel - fakta, lagar och regler. Retrieved from <http://www.polisen.se/Stockholms_lan/sv/Lagar-och-regler/Om-olika-brott/Fakta-om-manniskohandel/>

³⁷ Brottsförebyggande rådet. Anmälda Brott: Människohandel. Retrieved May 24, 2012 from <<http://statistik.bra.se>>

³⁸ Fredriksson, E & Molnar, S. (2011) Destination: Såld. Retrieved from <http://manniskohjalp.se/sites/default/files/studiematerial_om_prostitution_och_manniskohandel_0.pdf> p. 7

³⁹ European Commission. Fight against trafficking in human beings Sweden. <<http://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/showNIPsection?sectionId=90764da1-9ea5-49be-94a1-a69e46bebf6d&breadCrumbReset=true>>

have also become an interest over the last years in Sweden. However they are mostly trafficked into Spain and Italy first and then transported further to Sweden. The UNICRI (UN Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute) has reported that most Nigerian victims are recruited by close friends or family members.⁴⁰

The police report from 2011 is careful to distinguish women from young girls. If the same information applies to both the term 'victim' is used. Compared to the report from 1999 that among other things is named 'trafficking in women', when discussing the overall victim, the main term used is 'women'. This comparison indicates that all victims found in Sweden in 1999 that were noted to be victims of human trafficking were women. Therefore there seemed to be no need to distinguish different types of victims from each other when describing trafficking victims in Sweden. There are a couple of mentions of children, distinguishing them as a separate type of victim, but this is done mostly when mentioning tips that had been received. Tips however do not seem sufficient to include children when speaking generally about victims in Sweden. Most of the report concerns women. Comparing this fact to the report from 2011 may be an improvement due to an increase in the amount of resources the police use.

2.1 Children

Victims under the age of 18 are in the eyes of Swedish law considered to be 'children'.⁴¹ Children subjected to trafficking are distinguished as a more vulnerable type of victim and are discussed individually in reports. It is the law that when a crime of recruitment or transport for sexual purposes is committed towards someone who is not yet 18 no improper means such as unlawful coercion, deception or the use of someone's vulnerability is needed for the perpetrator to be convicted of human trafficking.⁴²

Although the report from 1999 is named 'trafficking in women' there are a few mentions of children being victims. Back then Sweden was involved in an EU financed project to fight against the trafficking of both women and children in Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Germany, Russia and

⁴⁰ UNICRI (2003) Trafficking of Nigerian Girls to Italy; Report of Field Survey in Edo State, Nigeria. Retrieved from <http://www.unicri.it/emerging_crimes/human_trafficking/nigeria1/docs/rr_okojie_eng.pdf> p. 9

⁴¹ SFS 2001:453 Svensk författningssamling. Socialtjänstlag, 1 kap 2 §

⁴² SFS 1962:700 Svensk författningssamling. Brottsbalken, 4 kap 1 §

Estonia.⁴³ However, unlike today, there were in 1999 no proven cases of victims of sex trafficking being under the age of 18 in Sweden. Various tips had at different times been given to the police but there was no follow up as the information or evidence was never sufficient. Therefore it was difficult for the police in their report from 1999 to prove that child trafficking for sexual purposes was going on.⁴⁴ Although there was no sufficient evidence towards finding children that were considered victims the police seemed aware of the possibility that children could be victims of the sex trafficking market in Sweden and the report gave an impression that they were constantly on the look out for finding victims under the age of 18.

Things have since then changed and so has the title of the annual police report. Today is it proven that young girls under the age of 18 are victims of sex trafficking. Thankfully, no victims found subjected to sex crimes have been under the age of twelve. Since 2002 nearly all child victims have been aged 16 or 17.⁴⁵ Compared with the origin of women subjected to sex trafficking no children found to be victims have originated from Nigeria or Thailand. All child victims are noted to come from Eastern Europe, Estonia, Finland and Lithuania.⁴⁶ There is no explanation for the fact that no Nigerian or Thai children have been found in Sweden as victims of trafficking. A UNESCO report informs that children from Nigeria have been trafficked into Europe but have been found in Italy, Belgium, Spain, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Germany.⁴⁷

The analysis of the recruitment process showed that the family and other close relatives were a potential risk to the girls. It was shown that there were people in the girls' close environment who exploited them – something that the girls were unable to protect themselves against.⁴⁸

It has been noticed that many children are recruited into the sex trafficking business by close relatives. The trafficking business in Eastern Europe is extremely large and it is probably not

⁴³ Swedish National Police Board (1999) Lägesrapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor. p. 2

⁴⁴ Ibid p. 20

⁴⁵ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 16

⁴⁶ Ibid. p 16

⁴⁷ UNESCO (2006) Human trafficking in Nigeria: Root causes and recommendations. p.11. Retrieved from <<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001478/147844e.pdf>>

⁴⁸ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 5

unlikely that many families have connections with perpetrators. Generally speaking, most victims of human sex trafficking do come from Eastern Europe. The travel route to the countries of destination and transit in Europe is both cheaper and easier (especially when traveling through countries that are part of the Schengen Agreement) than trafficking victims from other continents. Perpetrators are constantly on the look out in Eastern Europe to find vulnerable young girls (and women) that could be possible victims. As stated in the report from 2011: “Many children left a risky environment for a new one and had difficulty in seeing the consequences of their decisions”.⁴⁹ Many young victims are naive and desperate to leave their broken homes. This makes the young girls easy targets for the perpetrators to lure into the business. Concerning child victims from Thailand it seems as if buyers rather travel to Thailand to commit sexual crimes against children.⁵⁰

The amount of reported crimes that involve purchasing a sexual act from a child seems to have accelerated immensely when comparing results from the 1999 to 2011. The Swedish bureau of statistics show that in 1999 nineteen cases of purchasing a sexual act from a child were reported. Compare this to 2011 when 131 cases were reported or even more surprisingly to 2010 when 233 cases were reported.⁵¹ The increase is frightening. Not all crimes have been cases of human trafficking. Cases of children under the age of 18 that are involved in prostitution are also included in the statistics. The statistics explain partially why reports today are more informed on sex trafficking of children than they were back in 1999. As trafficking has become more common and organised perpetrators have broadened their choice in victims. The bigger a business gets the more buyers it gains and an increased number of buyers means a wider variety in demand. Apart from the seemingly growing demand for children, perpetrators find it easier to traffic children as they are easier to ‘intimidate into obedience than adults’ as mentioned in a UNICEF report from 2006.⁵²

Today the number of victims under the age of 18 that are trafficked into Sweden for sexual purposes seem to have increased since the late 90s. Either that or more resources are being used now to identify victims than were used before. The latest report includes a separate chapter explaining the

⁴⁹ Ibid. p.16

⁵⁰ Ibid .p.17

⁵¹ Brottsförebyggande rådet. Anmälda Brott: Köp av sexuell handling av barn under 18 år. Retrieved May 24, 2012 from <<http://statistik.bra.se>>

⁵²Dottridge, M. UNICEF. Terres des hommes (2006) Action to prevent child trafficking in South Eastern Europe. Retrieved from <http://www.unicef.org/ceecis/Assessment_report_June_06.pdf> p. 23

issue on trafficking in children.⁵³ This shows positivity due to the fact that children are separately distinguished in the eyes of the police from the overall term ‘victim’.

2.3 Disabled

“In 2010, as in previous years, the police authorities reported on cases of procuring in which mentally impaired girls and women have been sexually exploited by men.”⁵⁴

Cases of victims in the trafficking business that are mentally or physically disabled do at times occur. The fact that the latest police reports acknowledge that there is a problem of some victims being disabled shows positivity that they are distinguished from the non-disabled victims. However there is no more information on the subject than a few lines in the whole 42 paged report from 2011 and couple of cases where victims that have been mentally impaired are addressed. The 1999 report noted no information on victims with disabilities.⁵⁵ No cases are mentioned and the possibility of there being victims with disabilities is not discussed. To be fair the latest report from 2011 regarding mentally impaired victims notes that those that have been found have all been permanent residents in Sweden.⁵⁶ No cases of victims with disabilities have been found to have been trafficked from abroad to use for sexual purposes. Mentally disabled victims are mostly noticed in other forms of human trafficking, such as for begging.⁵⁷ Therefore it is understandable that there is not a large number of information on disabled victims when discussing sex trafficking issues that need attendance.

There is however no sign of increased punishment in perpetrators when buying or selling mentally impaired individuals. Mentions of a harder sentences when committing a crime towards a mentally impaired victim is neither discussed or noted. This can be questioned as to maybe being a deficiency in the current Swedish juridical system. The Swedish government in fact agreed on the deficiency when a proposition was handed to the Council of Legislation in January 2011. The

⁵³ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 16

⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 4

⁵⁵ Swedish National Police Board (1999) Lägesrapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor.

⁵⁶ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 4-5

⁵⁷ Ibid. p 29-36

government's judgment noted that it was seldom that variations between different sex purchase crimes were paid attention to. It was also criticised that the level of punishment for some cases of sexual purchases were not in proportion to the seriousness of the crime. The government proposed that the maximum level of punishment for purchasing sex should be increased from six months to one year. This should be done to create more space when judging what punishment should be given in more serious cases.⁵⁸ The council on legislation answered in a statement from February 2011 that it was not sufficient to only change the level of punishment for sexual purchases and at the same time assign the courts to put greater emphasis on aggravating circumstances while not changing the offence description in chapter 6, 11§ in the Penal Code. The council believed that it was better to instead note the aggravating circumstances in legal texts.⁵⁹

Although only a small number of cases of human trafficking where the victim has been diagnosed to be disabled have been noted in Sweden it is still of importance to tighten the punishments when crimes are performed towards victims with special circumstances. Compared to 1999 when no cases of victims with disabilities were noted in sex crimes it does not seem to be a large problem today either according to the latest police report. Therefore there is not much more to discuss on the subject.

3. Views on the perpetrator

Human trafficking is today the third largest criminal business in the world and is constantly growing.⁶⁰ It is a billion dollar enterprise and it has been estimated that 2.5 million people are being trafficked throughout the world.⁶¹ It is easy to focus on those who lie behind the business: the sellers, the recruiters and the negotiators when thinking about or discussing the matter. This is of course not wrong to do but it is important to keep in mind that those who buy the services also play a large part in what keeps the business going at such a high rate. Like all types of commerce,

⁵⁸ Regeringen. (2011) Lagrådsremiss, Skärpt straff för köp av sexuell tjänst. Retrieved from <<http://www.regeringen.se/content/1/c6/15/98/62/fe615eac.pdf>> p. 7

⁵⁹ Lagrådet (2011) Skärpt straff för köp av sexuell tjänst. Retrieved from <<http://www.lagradet.se/yttranden/Skarpt%20straff%20for%20kop%20av%20sexuell%20tjanst.pdf>> p. 3

⁶⁰ Walker-Rodriguez, A. (March 2011) *Human Sex Trafficking*. FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin. Retrieved from <http://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/law-enforcement-bulletin/march_2011/human_sex_trafficking>

⁶¹ UNODC (2008) *Human trafficking: An overview*. Retrieved from <<http://www.ungift.org/docs/ungift/pdf/knowledge/ebook.pdf>> p. 6

demand goes hand in hand with supply. As long as there is demand the business goes on. It is up for discussion whether those that supply and sell or those that buy and use the victims are the worse type of perpetrators. The two different types of perpetrators will be discussed below but I have chosen to gather all types of perpetrators that lay behind the money making business under the same title 'the seller'. Recruiters and negotiators are included in the information given. 'The buyer' chapter will only focus on individuals that purchase sex for their own needs. The buyer in this case should not be mixed up with those that buy victims from sellers with the aim to sell them further.

In most reports and interviews I have read and listened to during my research the word 'perpetrator' is mostly associated to those that sell and recruit women and young girls for sex trafficking. I think it is important to highlight the buyer as a type of perpetrator due to the fact that one perpetrator would not exist without the other. Because of the word 'perpetrator' being used more often to describe the profitters it is difficult to gather information and different viewpoints on those that purchase sex. Physical and psychological pain experienced by victims is caused both by those who sell and those who buy. At least that fact should make it clear that both parties should be branded as perpetrators.

3.1 The seller

The trafficking business is like many other types of businesses, not a one-man task, but includes a large number of perpetrators with different tasks linked to the same case. Victims are normally trafficked throughout a number of transit countries before they reach the final destination. In each country there may exist new perpetrators that are responsible for dealing with the victims and contacting potential buyers. However the link often starts in the country of residence of the victim when the perpetrator meets the victim and is carried on from there. According to the 2011 Swedish police report those investigated for the criminal activities in 2010 were both men and women from Slovakia, Romania, the Czech Republic, Sweden, Denmark, Estonia, Nigeria, Cameroon, Uganda and Iran.⁶² The older report shows a study carried out in 1998 which indicates that the perpetrators had been noted to come from Estonia, Lithuania, (former) Yugoslavia, Poland and Slovakia.⁶³ Since 1999 perpetrators have originated from other countries in Europe but the largest change has been

⁶² Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 4

⁶³ Swedish National Police Board (1999) Lägesrapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor. p. 24

those perpetrators that have come from countries in Africa and Asia. The perpetrators that have come from Cameroon, Uganda, Denmark, Iran and Nigeria are mostly responsible for trafficking Nigerian women. It is not strange that perpetrators from countries in Africa are trafficking African women. Also a large number of both Iranians and Danes⁶⁴ reside in Sweden so it is most likely that they are based in Sweden and deal with victims that are brought into the country. The reason for why perpetrators origin from countries that are not in eastern Europe may have to do with the demand for other nationalities in women and a larger market since 1999. Cheaper and easier travel possibilities are most likely also a factor to why perpetrators origin from outside of Europe. At the same time the Swedish police seem to deal with the problem better today and use more resources than thirteen years ago. The law that criminalised human trafficking has most likely led to 'new' perpetrators being found that may have already existed in 1999 but were not as noted as they are today. Better resources being used by the police may also have increased the ability to find perpetrators from countries outside of Europe since 1999.

Although a large amount of the perpetrators on the so called 'selling' side of the business are men it has been documented in the latest report from 2011 that a few are women.⁶⁵ The report from 1999 also notes that women have been found to work as perpetrators and are former victims themselves.⁶⁶ In both reports the term 'perpetrator' or 'human trafficker' is gender neutral. This gives the impression that the police are aware of both sexes acting as perpetrators on the selling side. However women seem to act as recruiters in the countries were victims origin from and men as sellers and traffickers in transit and destination countries. This is probably the reason for why in both reports most cases that have been dealt with involve men as perpetrators.

Women that are part of the sex trafficking business often work as recruiters as it is believed to be easier for women to gain other women's and children's trust.⁶⁷ The UNODC has in fact shown that women play a larger roll as perpetrators in trafficking than in any other type of crime.⁶⁸ Most

⁶⁴ Immigrant Institutet (December 2005) Statistik över invandring till Sverige. Retrieved 24 May 2012 from <<http://www.immi.se/migration/statistik/20grupper.htm>>

⁶⁵ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 9

⁶⁶ Swedish National Police Board (1999) Lägesrapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor. p. 9

⁶⁷ Swedish National Police Board (2006) Situation Report 9, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 8

⁶⁸ UNODC (2009) Global Report on Trafficking in persons. p. 57

women that act as recruiters have a history of themselves being victims of trafficking or subjects of prostitution.⁶⁹ Without interviewing the female perpetrators it is difficult to understand the cause, but even through interviewing it has been noticed that in crimes such as human trafficking no one wants to talk. No one wants to tell the truth due to the fear of being abused or risking their own or their family members lives. Perhaps it is so that the female perpetrators have over their time of being exploited developed the so called Stockholm Syndrome, in which empathy is expressed towards their own past perpetrators. It is hard to believe that women who have previously been taken advantage of in prostitution or other sexual purposes and have shifted to instead recruit girls into the same position as they once have been in themselves have no bad conscience. Explaining the reason why former victims begin to recruit new victims can be very difficult without knowing the direct truth that lies within the female perpetrators. Most likely it is rooted in a mixture of fear of leaving the business and a bond of empathy between the former victim and her former perpetrator.

Although most sellers since the police report in 1999 have been documented to have foreign backgrounds there was back then no information that trafficking was being driven from abroad. The knowledge of whether trafficking is being controlled from abroad seems to have changed over the last years. In 2010 a number of interviews were conducted with victims that gave information about how the businesses could be controlled from any country. The police have now started to acknowledge the possibility that many trafficking crimes can be run from abroad, making it more difficult to link the perpetrators to the victims.⁷⁰

In many cases family members have have been shown to be potential risks to victims, especially to young girls. Family and relatives often exploit the victims beforehand and are the ones to recruit them into the trafficking business.⁷¹ Obviously the majority of those in the business have no specific relation to the victim apart from possibly a connection to the victims' country. Already in 1999 it was known by the police that recruiting within the family was usual. The report from 1999 explains family recruitment as one of the most common ways of recruiting victims into the sex trafficking business.⁷² The 2011 report mentions family members and relatives as recruiters a

⁶⁹ Stenberg Ribeiro, E (2010) Människohandel och prostitution - Ur ett svenskt perspektiv. *Länsstyrelsen i Stockholm, NMT*. p. 26

⁷⁰ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 10

⁷¹ Ibid. p.5

⁷² Swedish National Police Board (1999) Lägesrapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor. p. 9

number of times.⁷³ Recruiting family is most likely easier than recruiting victims that the perpetrator has no close relation to. Family is considered in most cases to be more trustworthy and victims are more easily thought to believe someone that stands them close when being offered a well paid job in another country. For the trafficking business is it a great benefit that perpetrators exist that are willing to recruit those close to them that will trust them.

As stated before most victims come from countries such as Estonia, Russia, Bulgaria and Albania. A large amount of poverty exists in these countries and unemployment rates are high in most eastern European countries (Estonia 11.5%, Bulgaria 12.9%, Hungary 11.7%) apart from Russia (5.8%) where surprisingly the unemployment rate is lower than Sweden (7.8%). Not surprisingly there is little trafficking from Russia. However although unemployment is in many countries of recruitment higher than in Sweden countries such as Spain (24.4%), Greece (21.7%) and Portugal (14.9%) have a considerably higher unemployment rate than the countries where both victims of trafficking and their perpetrators origin from.⁷⁴ Factors such as the collapse of communism and the Yugoslavian war are more plausible reasons for the large number of victims and perpetrators originating from the east. Studies show that the increase in the sex trafficking business is due to a post-communist eastern Europe.⁷⁵ The fall of communism led not only to poverty increasing but also corruption resulting in unreliable authorities. Together this led to a market for perpetrators to find easy targeted victims and drag them into the sex trade. After the collapse of the Soviet Union there became a large shortage of jobs especially for women. Between 70-80% of women were unemployed⁷⁶ which most likely led to the desperate search of any type of job - in its turn leading to leaving them in desperation and making them an easy target for traffickers. The desperation of work and inability to support themselves after the fall of communism led many to the easy but dangerous and illegal way of earning money in criminal businesses. Those who had no jobs or could not

⁷³ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes

⁷⁴ Trading Economics. *Unemployment Rates, List by country*. Retrieved 24 May 2004 from <<http://www.tradingeconomics.com/unemployment-rates-list-by-country>>

⁷⁵ Nikolic, V. (2002) "Social change, gender and violence". Kluwer academic publishers. p. 134

⁷⁶ Noonan, N & Nechemis, C. (2001) "Encyclopedia of Russian women's movements". Greenwood press. p. 332

support themselves with their current job looked for other positions but only jobs in privatised criminal businesses were available.⁷⁷

Unfortunately there are those who will do anything for money. The demand for sex has always existed and will always exist. Post-communism made many desperate and one type of criminal business that was easy to carry out due to large demand was the trafficking of humans for sexual purposes to richer, more developed countries. Poverty can cause anger and when anger is involved for some there are no borders for what they are capable of doing to earn money. This information and theory on why eastern Europe is the destination of origin for most perpetrators is unfortunately not documented in any police reports but has been discussed in both books and articles written by researchers and scholars.

Today it is extremely common that sellers use the internet to sell their victims. Internet advertising for sexual purposes was already common in 1999 but has most likely increased due to technology constantly moving forward. The 2011 report has a much longer and more detailed chapter on selling and purchasing sex on the internet and the police seem to today have much more knowledge and information on the subject. Selling sex on the internet has made it more difficult for authorities to capture the sex traffickers due to advertisements being set up to seem as if it is the victims themselves that are wanting to be sold. Another problem is that Swedish law only prohibits buying sex but not selling it⁷⁸ which makes it hard for the police to act if there is no proof that someone else but the girl advertised is behind the commerce.

The sellers have also in the last few years got much better at 'connecting' their victims to themselves by changing the way they treat the women and girls. In the 2011 report it is noted that violence is hardly used and instead perpetrators are offering victims 'better conditions'.⁷⁹ This has often made it impossible for both Swedish authorities to convict the perpetrators for human trafficking as the victims become loyal towards their sellers and refuse to testify against them in court. Of course victims are still subjected to abuse once they start 'working'. The 1999 report also

⁷⁷ Hughes, D. (2000) "The 'Natasha' Trade: The Transnational Shadow Trade of Trafficking in Women," *Journal of International Affairs*. Retrieved from <http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/natasha_nij.pdf> p. 8-15

⁷⁸ Regeringskansliet (November 2008) Sexköpslagen. Retrieved from <<http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/2593/a/116601>>

⁷⁹ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 8

notes that violence is hardly ever used in the recruiting process but is common when perpetrators want to scare their victims into not escaping.⁸⁰ Although it is said in the latest report that perpetrators have changed their behaviour towards their victims there seems to be no specific change in the amount of violence used thirteen years ago compared to what has been noted today.

3.2 The sex buyer

Brothers, fathers, husbands, friends - the average sex buyer is not necessarily a bald headed, tattooed former criminal but can be any average looking guy on the street. The most regular looking person, maybe even somebody we know, could be a sex buyer. Although there have been cases of buyers ranging from a young teen to an 80 year old the majority of the Swedish sex buyers are men between the ages of 30-50 years old.⁸¹ Many sex buyers are married, have children and are employed in high positions but are in the eyes of Swedish law a criminal.⁸² They support the sex business they are the demand. They encourage trafficking and exploitation even if some are not aware of the harm they are doing and the support they are giving to the multi billion dollar market.⁸³ The gender perspective can easily be applied to the sex buyer. No mention of women as buyers in the reports can be found and it is very clear here again that the Swedish police have fixed ideas on gender when it comes to perpetrators and victims. According to, there is a lot of frustration exuding from gender roles. Women have become more demanding of men and men feel that they constantly have to prove themselves. This causes a lot of tension in relationships leading to the man running away to a prostitute as a way of relaxing and disappearing from the constant tension in their relationship at home.⁸⁴ As women become more powerful and independent, men become more under stress and lose their sense of power. Turning to a prostitute is a way of regaining the power and restoring their self esteem.

⁸⁰ Swedish National Police Board (1999) Lägesrapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor. p. 28

⁸¹ Stenberg Ribeiro, E (2010) Människohandel och prostitution - Ur ett svenskt perspektiv. *Länsstyrelsen i Stockholm, NMT*. p. 34

⁸² Claude, K. (2010) *Targeting the sex buyer*. The Swedish Institute. Sweden. p. 7

⁸³ Länsstyrelsen Gävleborg. "Människohandel för sexuella ändamål är en del av trafficking". Retrieved from <<http://www.lansstyrelsen.se/gavleborg/Sv/manniska-och-samhalle/folkhalsa/vald-i-nara-relationer/Pages/Prostitution.aspx>>

⁸⁴ G. Wylie; P. McRedmond (2010) *Human Trafficking in Europe. Character, Causes and Consequences*. Palgrave Macmillan p. 137

In 1999 Sweden established a law that prohibited sex purchasing. The idea with the law was the wish for an change in attitude in men and to slowly create a society where the thought of buying human beings is not acceptable.⁸⁵ In 2008 the Nordic Gender Institute set up a poll targeting those between the ages of 18-74 to get an idea of whether the amount of sex buyers had changed since the law was enforced. The results were compared with an older poll from 1996 and showed that the amount of male sex buyers had decreased from 13.6 % to 7.9%.⁸⁶ Although the law nearly halved the amount of sex buyers there is still a fairly large number who carry on purchasing sexual services from women and young girls. It has been noted that most sex buyers are average, middle aged, family men.

When the law against sex purchasing went into force in 1999 the Swedish Police stated in their report the same year that the law had made it more difficult for them to fight sex trafficking. This was due to the fact that buyers stopped testifying in court most likely because of fear or of being convicted for breaking the sex purchasing law.⁸⁷ However the latest report tells that in 2010 336 legal proceedings had begun regarding purchasing of sexual services. This number shows effective action in catching sex buyers.

“The least resource-heavy way to handle prostitution and human trafficking is for men to change their behaviour and stop buying sex.”⁸⁸

This was quoted by Kajsa Wahlberg, Detective Inspector and National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Human Beings in Sweden, in one of her many interviews who believes that the demand from men is the reason for human sex trafficking. Strangely enough there is hardly any mention of the buyer being the perpetrator or information on any measures being taken to fight the trafficking business from the purchasing side in police reports. The report only notes that the Swedish National Police Board’s aim is to among other things to detect more crimes concerning the purchase of sexual services.⁸⁹ The measures proposed in the report from 1999 did not include combating the buyers.

⁸⁵ Regeringskansliet (November 2008) Sexköpslagen. Retrieved from <<http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/2593/a/116601>>

⁸⁶ Claude, K. (2010) *Targeting the sex buyer*. The Swedish Institute. Sweden. p.11

⁸⁷ Swedish National Police Board (1999) Lågesrapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor. p. 28

⁸⁸ Claude, K. (2010) *Targeting the sex buyer*. The Swedish Institute. Sweden. p.13

⁸⁹ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 21

All focus was directed towards the seller and the victims.⁹⁰ It is important to understand that even though the sex purchase law may have decreased the amount of street prostitution sex trafficking is mostly carried out in the darkness where many buyers can buy sex without being caught. The police agreed on this problem in their report from 1999 where it is stated that the new law made trafficking of women more invisible.⁹¹

Just like Wahlberg believes the problem will not end until men change their attitude towards buying sex. More attention today has been paid towards the buyer and the police have reported their attempt to constantly localise and convict buyers. The conviction of purchasers of sexual services has improved due to “increased efforts of the police to combat prostitution and human trafficking for sexual purposes as a consequence of a Government assignment during the implementation of the national action plan”.⁹² In my opinion more focus is needed on the actual buyer. Trafficking is a two way road and both ends need to be worked on. The 2011 report compared to the 1999 report explains a detailed description of the buyers. For example it is mentioned that the buyers have been reported to be aged between 19-70. It is also noted where the buyers normally meet their victims and shown that most meetings take place in somebody’s residence.⁹³ None of the above is mentioned in the older report. Attention towards catching the buyers seems to have increased over the last years. It is easy to at first focus on the perpetrators that are recruiting and selling victims and to blame them for the market being so big. However the police are becoming more knowledgeable with every year and seem to be acknowledging the fact that to be able to stop one end of the trade one has to stop the other. I had hoped that more effort was being put into tackling the sex buyer but at the same time I believe that it is quite a hard task to fulfil. First of all as the buyers are aware of what they are doing is illegal it is extremely hard to catch them. Each step in the process from contacting the seller to meeting the victim is performed secretly. Evidence that the buyer has actually paid a woman for sexual services needs to be proved. Although the sex purchasing law has been positive and diminished street prostitution buyers have developed new, safer and cleverer methods of finding women and buying sex without getting caught.

⁹⁰ Swedish National Police Board (1999) Lägesrapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor. p. 30

⁹¹ Ibid p. 14

⁹² Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 8

⁹³ Ibid p. 30

“When working on combating trafficking in human beings, focus should be on the demand. Without demand, trafficking in human beings would not exist.”⁹⁴

Stated in an interview from 2009 by Kajsa Wahlberg

There is no mention of the word ‘demand’ in either reports. Wahlberg’s statement on demand from 2009 is nowhere to be seen in the newest report. Being a detective inspector and rapporteur on human trafficking one would think that her opinion on demand and the sex buyer would be well noted and discussed in reports that have been written after her interview from 2009. Judging from the fact that there is hardly any information or discussion on demand or the buyer as a perpetrator of the trafficking business one gets the impression when reading police reports on human trafficking that the buyer is far from a priority when dealing with the problem. Research tells that men who buy sex from trafficked women are not aware or have the knowledge about trafficking victims. Therefore they at many times deny the existence of trafficking and do not believe they are doing anything wrong. States that there seems to be no specific demand for trafficked women. Men go to seek relaxation and comfort in a prostitute but have no actual intent to go to a trafficked woman. This leads to the fact that is it not demand for actual women subjected to trafficking that is the problem.⁹⁵ It is a separate problem that exists without the trafficking business - the problem of men buying sex from women in the first place. This may be a sign of why the Swedish police reports on human sex trafficking choose to concentrate on the sellers.

3.3 In the eyes of the police: Who is the worse type of perpetrator?

The police reports both from 1999 and 2011 focus on discussing the perpetrator mainly as the seller. However, the reports do not give a clear picture of every perspective. Wahlberg believes that to prevent human trafficking one must focus on the demand.⁹⁶ Her statements make it more difficult to

⁹⁴ Stenberg Ribeiro, E (2010) Människohandel och prostitution - Ur ett svenskt perspektiv. *Länsstyrelsen i Stockholm, NMT*. p. 37

⁹⁵ G. Wylie; P. McRedmond (2010) Human Trafficking in Europe. Character, Causes and Consequences. Palgrave Macmillan p. 139

⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 37

understand who is the worse type of perpetrator in the eyes of the police, as the reports do not discuss any views on the buyer as the main perpetrator. It is noticeable that only concentrating on the reports does not give the full view of the Swedish Police on which type of perpetrator is the main perpetrator that needs to be focused on to battle the human trafficking problem. This is one problem that makes it difficult to actually just from the reports, understand the police's view on which they consider to be the worse type of perpetrator. It is necessary in this case to use other types of material to gain a larger perspective on this specific view. In a statement from 2009, separate from the reports Kajsa Wahlberg clearly expressed how sex buyers are the most important link in the sex trafficking business. In her statement she never utters the term "perpetrator" but it is clear that she is certain of that the demand for trafficked women and children is what dictates the international trade and that this is the as she finely states, "the root cause".⁹⁷ In March 2012, Wahlberg held another speech where she again stated that the Swedish police do understand that the buyers are the root cause in the human trafficking chain and that it is vital that the buyers take responsibility for their actions so that the market can be closed down. ... Wahlberg is one of the leading police detectives in the human trafficking battle in Sweden and therefore it is difficult to create an image on whether the Swedish police's view on who is the main perpetrator has changed since 1999. Today, just as in the newest report, it can be read on the main police website that the police's main strategy is focus on the sellers.⁹⁸ However it is vital to also focus on the traffickers. Even if it is important to focus on lowering the demand human beings will always have a sexual drive and there will always be some type of demand.

Many believe that the buyer creates the demand and without demand there would be no market. However buying sex has existed for centuries and is not a new concept. Most likely many buyers are naive when purchasing sex. Their naivety can result in them believing that the women they buy for sexual purposes are not trafficked and are selling sex voluntarily. If the buyer believes that he is buying sex from a woman that is selling sex by choice it is harder to say that he is a worse perpetrator than the seller. In cases where men buy sex from girls under the age of 18, which is considered as child sex trade a much more serious form of crime, they are not always aware that the girl they are buying sex from are under age. Many teenage girls, especially when wearing make-up and dressing more maturely, look years older than their actual age. Although it is a crime in Sweden

⁹⁷ Statment by Kajsa Wahlberg, The Czech Republic, 2009

⁹⁸ Polisen (2011) Människohandel - Polisens Arbete. Retrieved 09/01/2013 <<http://www.polisen.se/Om-polisen/Sa-arbetar-Polisen/Olika-typer-av-brott/Manniskohandel/>>

to buy sexual services those doing it may not be aware of when or when not they are supporting the trafficking business. They may neither have no idea whether they are sleeping with a woman who is underage or selling sex by choice.

As noted in the previous chapter on ‘the buyer’ the police reports lack information and opinions on demand. The purchasing of sexual services is obviously mentioned as a serious crime and the law that prohibits the act is rooted in the belief that sex buyers are perpetrators. The report from 2011 does mention convictions of buyers when noting the increase of convictions due to increased efforts of the police to combat human sex trafficking.⁹⁹ However the main perpetrator that is concentrated on in both reports from 1999 and 2011 is situated on the selling side. Recruiters, organisers and sellers are highlighted throughout both reports and give the impression that the Swedish police do believe that the selling side is worse than the buying side. The impression given may not mean that this is what all involved in the Swedish police believe in or what the Swedish government believes in. In fact the government stated in a report from 2008 that measures towards preventing demand of sexual services is vital to overcome the problems of human sex trafficking.¹⁰⁰

One of the main pieces of information in the report of 2011 that gives the impression that the police see the organisers of the sex market as the main perpetrator is what is mentioned under the small chapter named ‘Profiles: perpetrators, organised networks’. This chapter is meant to describe those that are perpetrators. There is no mention of sex purchasers or demand.¹⁰¹ This specific sentence from the 2011 report also gives the impression that the term ‘perpetrator’ in the eyes of the Swedish police is mainly thought to be the sellers, recruiters and organisers: “The *perpetrators* published the advertisements on websites and formulated them to give *purchasers* of sexual services the impression that the victims were themselves responsible for the advertisements”.¹⁰²

The report from 1999 is not as clear in defining the term ‘perpetrator’ as the report from 2011 is but the overall report also gives the impression that the main perpetrators are those on the selling side.

⁹⁹ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 8

¹⁰⁰ Regeringen. (July 2008) Handlingsplan mot prostitution och människohandel för sexuella ändamål. Retrieved from <<http://www.regeringen.se/content/1/c6/10/86/21/6f716aa3.pdf>> p. 1

¹⁰¹ Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes. p. 9

¹⁰² Ibid. p. 12

Although the word ‘perpetrator’ is hardly mentioned cases of human trafficking that are mentioned involve describing organisers and sellers. A chart also shows what countries the organisers origin from.¹⁰³ The measures that are recommended to use against sex trafficking mention nothing about combating the demand that still has continued to exist after the sex purchasing law went into force.¹⁰⁴

Although the police are still not putting much focus on the demand or the buyer as a perpetrator in their reports police representatives such as Wahlberg and the government agree on that focus should be laid on demand. In my opinion focus should be on both sellers and buyers and both should be considered equal perpetrators. Hopefully future reports will show change in their opinions concerning who is the perpetrator and include a balanced description of both sides and what measures need to be taken towards combating both.

4. Conclusion

It is noticeable that police reports have changed over the past thirteen years. Views on types of victims and perpetrators have become in many cases more elaborated and different aspects have formed. The term ‘victim’ has broadened and the police seem to have gained a larger perspective on who is exposed to becoming victims of the sex trafficking business and why. The main change has been the recognition of new types of victims. In 1999 the term ‘victim’ was mostly used to describe women. Women as victims was the main focus and there was very little information on children as victims. The latest report from 2011 is still quite focused on women as the ‘general’ type of victims although the perspective on those under the age of 18 being victims has expanded immensely. The increased knowledge on children as victims is clearly shown in the latest report. A separate chapter on child victims can be found, explaining background information and noted cases that have been investigated. The information gives an impression that more and better resources are being used today than were used in 1999. The latest police report is careful to distinguish women from children and distinguishes itself from the older report in the sense of dividing the term ‘victim’ into different categories. It is clear that the police now hold a broader understanding in the overall ‘victim’ and are not as focused on discussing specific cases from the year that has past. An increased interest in both victims and perpetrators backgrounds is noticed when comparing the 2011 report with the

¹⁰³ Swedish National Police Board (1999) Lägesrapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor. p. 25

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 30

1999 report. The latest report informs us that victims mostly come from poor backgrounds and have been subjected to violence, war or a lack of human rights. The amount of information known about the victims has increased since 1999 which is extremely positive as it is important to understand who is at risk of becoming a victim.

When analysing cases involving victims with disabilities it is difficult to criticise the report from 1999 because of there being no mention of that specific type of victim. If there were no found cases in 1999 involving any victim with a disability in Sweden there would be no reason to note it in the report. Therefore if one assumes that there was no knowledge of any victims with disabilities in the trafficking business it is impossible to compare whether views on this type of victim have changed. However better police resources may be the answer to why victims with disabilities have been found and noted in the latest report. Reading through the lines victims with disabilities do not seem to be an important subject of discussion today. The police's view on victims with disabilities one would hope to become more attentive. Hopefully this is something that will be wider recognised in the future if individuals with disabilities are still found as victims.

When comparing whether the type of perpetrator has changed in the eyes of the police since 1999 there is not a big difference between the report then and the report from 2011. The seller is still the absolute main perpetrator and is focused on the majority of the time. However the information that is given on those that are on the 'selling' side has become more detailed and recognised. It is noted that women play a large role in the trafficking business as recruiters- a fact that was also mentioned in the report from 1999 although more vaguely than in the latest report. In 1999 the police had no idea whether trafficking was being driven from abroad. More resources and deeper understanding has led today to more knowledge on what goes on and it is now known that sellers and recruiters are handling the trafficking business.

Although buyers and sellers were distinguished already as two different types of perpetrators in the report from 1999 there seemed no specific interest in describing the buyers. The 2011 one has highlighted facts such as the age of the buyers and where they normally meet their victims. Again, reading between the lines, this does more clearly see them as perpetrators. Kajsa Wahlberg's statements on demand and buyers being the main perpetrator do in some ways link her opinions to the Swedish police as she herself is a detective inspector. Somewhere the Swedish police are aware of demand being important to tackle, buyers being large perpetrators. However the fact that there is

no mention of this in the latest police reports gives the impression that the police have yet not fully understood the fact that the term ‘perpetrator’ is important to divide into different categories.

A change that has been noticed in the latest report compared to the older one is the problem of victims stating in their testimonies that they are in the sex business by choice. Since victims were granted temporary permits to stay in Sweden until cases were over some have denied the fact that they have been forced into the sex trafficking business. However the police have acknowledged this as a problem and seem to be trying to combat it by for example employing experts to help with cases. Hopefully if more resources are put into making victims feel secure around authorities they will stop portraying themselves as volunteers.

That more resources are being used today than in 1999 towards learning about perpetrators (mostly sellers) can not be denied. The police are now aware of a large number of perpetrators that originate from countries that were not noted in the older report. The fact that sellers even more than in 1999 are using the internet when selling victims has been noted and the police are aware of the cases and seem to be more on the look-out today.

Much has changed to the better when comparing the two reports. A better understanding seems to spring from the police force increasing the amount of resources tackling the trafficking business. To be better informed and educated on the subject has surely led to the improvement of the information found in the reports. Some things have however not changed and are still the same today as they were thirteen years ago. Victims still fear testifying against their perpetrators and find it hard to trust Swedish authorities. Victims are still in the eyes of the police often too scared to ask for help. The police have noted the fear in victims for a long time and one would of thought that something could be done to improve the victims’ trust. Hopefully victims will be able to gain more trust in the police and other authorities in the future. Another unchanged fact is the steady flow of victims from Eastern Europe. The police are still as clear in their perception today as they were in 1999 that the majority of victims brought into Sweden originate from Eastern European countries. The police’s view on the trafficking business as modern day slavery is still noticeable today as it was in 1999. Although the way of expressing the matter as ‘slavery’ has been toned down in the latest report and is subtly described as slave-like instead of ‘white slavery’ it is still clear that human trafficking is considered by the Swedish Police to have slave-like similarities.

There is a lack of attention directed towards the sex buyers. There is not a large change in the 2011 report compared with the 1999 report in acknowledging buyers as main perpetrators. The view of who is the main perpetrator in the eyes of the police remains more or less the same in the reports. This could be a problem as both the demand side and the supply side need to be combated. Kajsa Wahlberg's ideas on the need to combat the demand and focus on the buyers needs to be better integrated into future police reports and the Swedish police need to change their views on who is the main perpetrator or at least broaden them because there is certainly more than one.

5. References

Literature

Claude, K. (2010) *Targeting the sex buyer*. The Swedish Institute. Sweden

G. Wylie; P. McRedmond (2010) *Human Trafficking in Europe. Character, Causes and Consequences*. Palgrave Macmillan

Nikolic, V. (2002) "Social change, gender and violence". Kluwer academic publishers

Noonan, N & Nechemis, C. (2001) "Encyclopedia of Russian women's movements". Greenwood press

Reports

Fredriksson, E & Molnar, S. (2011) *Destination: Söld*

Stenberg Ribeiro, E (2010) *Människohandel och prostitution - Ur ett svenskt perspektiv. Länsstyrelsen i Stockholm, NMT.*

Lagrådet (2011) *Skärpt straff för köp av sexuell tjänst*

Regeringen. (July 2008) *Handlingsplan mot prostitution och människohandel för sexuella ändamål*

Regeringen. (2011) *Lagrådsremiss, Skärpt straff för köp av sexuell tjänst*

Swedish National Police Board (1999) *Lägesrapport juni 1999, Handel med kvinnor*

Swedish National Police Board (2006) Situation Report 9, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes

Swedish National Police Board (2011) Situation Report 12, Trafficking in human beings for sexual and other purposes

UNESCO (2006) Human trafficking in Nigeria: Root causes and recommendations
Dottridge, M. UNICEF. Terres des hommes (2006) Action to prevent child trafficking in South Eastern Europe.

UNICRI (2003) Trafficking of Nigerian Girls to Italy; Report of Field Survey in Edo State, Nigeria

UNODC (2009) Global Report on Trafficking in persons

UNODC (2008) Human trafficking: An overview

Articles

Hughes, D. (2000) "The 'Natasha' Trade: The Transnational Shadow Trade of Trafficking in Women," Journal of International Affairs. Retrieved from <http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/natasha_nij.pdf>

Madslie, J. (May 2005) Sex trades reliance on forced labour. *BBC NEWS*. Retrieved from <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4532617.stm>>

Matsson, K. (June 2006) Drömmen blev ett helvete. *Metro*. Retrieved from http://www.metro.se/drommen-blev-ett-helvete/ObjffB!07_3720-23/

Thorén, L. (March 2012) Allt fler svenskar reser utomlands. *SvD*. Retrieved from http://www.svd.se/resor/allt-fler-svenskar-reser-utomlands_6923399.svd

Walker-Rodriguez, A. (March 2011) *Human Sex Trafficking*. FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin. Retrieved from <http://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/law-enforcement-bulletin/march_2011/human_sex_trafficking>

Radio

Sveriges Radio (December 2007) "Många vill köpa sex via internet". Retrieved from <<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/gruppsida.aspx?programid=4193&grupp=17144&artikel=1799037>>
Conventions

UR. "Slaveriet idag", 2009. Retrieved from <<http://www.ur.se/Produkter/158751-Varlden-Slaveriet-idag>>

Conventions

UN Convention against transnational organized crime and the protocols thereto

Laws

SFS 1962:700 Svensk författningssamling. Brottsbalken

SFS 2001:453 Svensk författningssamling. Socialtjänstlagen

Other references

Brottsförebyggande rådet. Anmälda Brott <<http://statistik.bra.se>>

European Commission. Fight against trafficking in human beings Sweden. <<http://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/showNIPsection?sectionId=90764da1-9ea5-49be-94a1-a69e46bebf6d&breadCrumbReset=true>>

European Union. "Countries". Retrieved from <http://europa.eu/about-eu/countries/index_en.htm>

Immigrant Institutet (December 2005) Statistik över invandring till Sverige. Retrieved 24 May 2012 from <<http://www.immi.se/migration/statistik/20grupper.htm>>

Jacobson, M. (2002) *Why do men buy sex?* Nordic Gender Institute. Retrieved from <<http://www.nikk.no/Why+do+Men+Buy+Sex%3F9UFRvIZF.ips>>

Länsstyrelsen Gävleborg. "Människohandel för sexuella ändamål är en del av trafficking". Retrieved from <<http://www.lansstyrelsen.se/gavleborg/Sv/manniska-och-samhalle/folkhalsa/vald-i-nara-relationer/Pages/Prostitution.aspx>>

Polisen (2012) Människohandel - fakta, lagar och regler. Retrieved from <http://www.polisen.se/Stockholms_lan/sv/Lagar-och-regler/Om-olika-brott/Fakta-om-manniskohandel/>

Polisen (2011) Människohandel - Polisens Arbete. Retrieved 09/01/2013 <<http://www.polisen.se/Om-polisen/Sa-arbetar-Polisen/Olika-typer-av-brott/Manniskohandel/>>

Regeringskansliet (November 2008) Sexköpslagen. Retrieved from <<http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/2593/a/116601>>

Regeringens webbplats om mänskliga rättigheter (2012) Förbud mot slaveri och slavhandel. Retrieved from <http://www.manskligarattigheter.gov.se/extra/pod/?id=55&module_instance=3&action=pod_show>

The Swedish Police Trafficking Reports. Retrieved from <http://www.polisen.se/Stockholms_lan/en/Languages/Service/Publications/Trafficking-/>

Trading Economics. *Unemployment Rates, List by country*. Retrieved 24 May 2004 from <<http://www.tradingeconomics.com/unemployment-rates-list-by-country>>

Transparency International. Corruption Perceptions Index 2011. Retrieved from <<http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2011/results/>>

UNODC. Human Trafficking FAQs. Retrieved from <<http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/faqs.html>>