TARGETING THE SEX BUYER.

THE SWEDISH EXAMPLE: STOPPING PROSTITUTION AND TRAFFICKING WHERE IT ALL BEGINS.

By Kajsa Claude
He could be your neighbor, even your best friend. Or perhaps he is a colleague at work, or someone you talked to at a party last weekend. He appears to live a normal life—he’s married, has children, a good job—in other words, he’s a regular guy. But he also buys sexual services and thereby supports the market for sexual exploitation, prostitution and trafficking. And under Swedish law he is a criminal.

Swedish law focuses on these men rather than on the young girls and women they exploit. Why? The thinking behind the law is that it is the demand for sexual services that maintains prostitution and human trafficking for sexual purposes. The legal approach to this problem is often referred to as “the Swedish example.”
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every day, cynical, loathsome human trafficking, involving primarily women and children who are being exploited for sexual purposes, is taking place the world over; it is a repugnant activity that can be compared with the slave trade of ancient times. Human trafficking is part of a multi-criminal operation that hits the very weakest members of society the hardest.

It is unacceptable that human beings are bought and exploited like merchandise, and we must combine forces and use all available means, both at home and at the international level, to put an end to this trade.

Sex trade with women and children also goes on in Sweden. This publication deals with the country’s efforts to combat prostitution and human trafficking for sexual purposes. At the request of the Swedish Institute, a number of players who are active in this area were interviewed so that they could explain how the Swedish law works in practice and what is being done to protect and support the victims. A general description of Sweden’s concentration on international collaboration to combat human trafficking is also included here.

Since 1999, we have had a law on the books that prohibits the purchase of sexual services. The idea behind the law is that the demand, primarily by men, for such services, is what sustains prostitution and human trafficking for sexual purposes. Even if the law was preceded by extensive debate and is still called into question in many parts of the world, it has received considerable support from the Swedish population.

The practice of focusing on the sex buyers and neutralizing the demand for sexual services in order to combat prostitution and human trafficking for sexual purposes is often referred to as “the Swedish example.”
ACCORDING TO THE 2008 GLOBAL REPORT ON human trafficking, published by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), several million human beings around the world are victims of human trafficking every year. Of this trade, about 79 percent is related to human trafficking for sexual purposes and about 18 percent to forced labor. Other forms of human trafficking, such as trafficking in organs and forced marriages, for instance, account for the remaining three percent.

The UNODC report also points out the fact that human trafficking for sexual purposes is organized crime’s fastest growing source of income. Human trafficking turns over ca. USD 7 billion per year and is, according to both UNODC and Europol, the third most profitable illegal activity in the world, after weapons and drugs.

In Europe alone, some 500,000 women are the victims of human trafficking every year; since women, as opposed to drugs and weapons, can be used and sold repeatedly, by the same seller, to several sex buyers, they fetch handsome profits for human traffickers. While this commerce affects primarily women and girls, men and boys are also exploited.

In order to make money in the business of human trafficking for sexual purposes (henceforth to be referred to as “human trafficking”) there must be people who are willing to pay for sexual services.
The Swedish sex purchase law: the world’s first

In 1999, Sweden enacted a law that forbids the purchase of sexual services, a law that, at the time, was the first of its kind. As of 2009, both Norway and Iceland had enacted similar laws. This legislation is gender-neutral; in other words, buyers and sellers can be men or women. Practically speaking, however, it focuses on the demand for women and children who are exploited sexually and it criminalizes the sex buyers who, typically, are men. On the other hand, the sale of sexual services is not punishable by law. It is this view of sex buyers and sex sellers that is the foundation of “the Swedish example.”

The law prohibiting the purchase of sexual services is an important component of Sweden’s strategy to combat both prostitution and human trafficking. In the Swedish view, prostitution and human trafficking are linked by the sex buyers, whose money finances organized crime. In other words, the sex buyers make human trafficking both possible and lucrative.

The Swedish law was controversial when it was enacted in 1999, because it challenges and criminalizes an age-old male right to look at women’s bodies as if they were goods to be bought and sold. The law cannot be understood without a perspective on Sweden’s equal opportunity policy in recent decades. Many years of discussions and work for women’s rights are the basis for the current legislation. In a gender-equal society, men do not regard women as merchandise.

The goal of the Swedish law is twofold: to convince people to abstain from committing the crime of buying sex and to establish norms under which no woman, man, girl or boy can be sold and no one has the right to sexually exploit another human being. This is a question of values. More and more people are gaining insight into how prostitution and human trafficking are part of organized crime. This is a societal problem that touches all of us, not just the women and children who are victimized.

The police and civil servants interviewed for this publication are of the opinion that certain groups that sell women for sexual purposes now avoid Sweden because of its sex purchase law. The evidence also shows that the law has had positive preventive effects on the behavior of male sex buyers and has markedly decreased their numbers.

The sex purchase law has strong support in Sweden: 70 percent of the population wants to keep the law on the books, and many believe that stronger penalties should be imposed for these crimes.

Nevertheless, the law that criminalizes sex buyers also has its critics, both internationally and in Sweden. There are those who believe that the law
forces prostitutes off the streets, which makes police work more difficult and
the prostitutes’ circumstances more dangerous. However, if sex buyers can
find women on the Internet, then the police should be able to do the same
thing—with the right priorities and adequate resources. Today, a good deal
of the trade involving women and children takes place on the Internet, where
intense police surveillance to detect and prevent human trafficking is ongoing.

One of the difficulties of combating prostitution and reducing the
number of sex buyers is that crimes against the sex purchase law result in
fairly lenient penalties. In turn, this situation has a bearing on how many
resources are invested in combating this type of crime. According to one
hypothesis, if violations against the law resulted in stiffer penalties, society
would invest more resources in fighting these crimes and the penalties would
also have a greater deterrent effect. Currently, the penalty for the purchase of
sexual services is, for the most part, limited to fines.

In accordance with a 2001 decision by the Supreme Court of Sweden,
the purchase of sexual services is punishable by 50 days of fines proportional
to the offender’s income. A purchase made through organized prostitution
constitutes an aggravating circumstance, which may trigger a conditional
sentence as well as fines. The intent of the Swedish law is that even an attempt
to buy sexual services is punishable by law.

Who buys sex?
A 2008 study conducted by the National Council for Crime Prevention
(Brottsförebyggande rådet) concluded that Swedish sex buyers are not a
homogenous group. They cover a wide spectrum—from young teenagers to
80-year olds—but are generally between 30 and 50 years of age.

Sex buyers also belong to all classes of society. It is not unusual for the
buyer to have a good job and a regular income, and about half have a college
or university education. Approximately every other Swedish buyer of sex is
married or in a relationship, and some 40 percent have children.

Some buyers take a more active role in these operations by, for example,
marketing the victims and acting as middlemen. In small networks, the line
is sometimes blurred between the buyer and the trafficker.

However, buyers also participate in the activities of larger networks by
offering to set up websites, manage accounts and find housing for the victims
in exchange for sexual services.

The Council for Crime Prevention study reveals that the demand affects
every aspect of planning and organization of the sex industry. The buyers’
The women and girls who are exploited for sexual purposes in Sweden come primarily from Eastern Europe. Most are transported to Sweden by car or ferry from Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany and Poland.
preferences are extremely important. One of the most frequent requests is for “new girls.” More specific requests may have to do with a particular hair color or ethnicity. Age may also be an important factor. The demand determines more than just who is recruited; it also plays a role in the circumstances surrounding the sexual service. For example, a buyer may have specific wishes regarding clothing or be willing to pay more for sex without a condom. No matter what the request, the victim is forced to cooperate.

**Norway and Iceland also criminalize sex buyers**

Most countries have laws that, to some degree or another, regulate prostitution. Before Sweden enacted its sex purchase law in 1999, two opposing positions prevailed: in some countries, prostitution was legal and in others, it was not. The Netherlands and Germany are among the countries that condone prostitution. In these countries, both the purchase and sale of sex, in certain forms and locations, are permitted. In the gray area between what is permitted and what is forbidden, some countries have laws that explicitly forbid procurement, that is, the exploitation of prostitution by a third person. In countries in which prostitution is illegal, the practice of prostitution and everything that is linked to prostitution, including buyers, sellers and procurers, is punishable by law.

Sweden, and now Norway and Iceland, have basically changed the outlook on selling and buying sexual services by solely criminalizing the sex buyer.

**Human trafficking is a terrible crime**

On 1 July 2002, human trafficking for sexual purposes was introduced as a new crime in Sweden. In July 2004, the range of punishment was expanded to include human trafficking that is not transnational, as well as human trafficking that relates to types of exploitation whose purpose is not sexual, for example, forced labor or organ trafficking.

The Swedish law is based on the definition of the human trafficking concept in the Palermo Protocol, one of the supplementary protocols to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. The definition in the Palermo Protocol is now universally recognized and, in principle, is used all over the world.

In order for an action to be classified as human trafficking, it must consist of three elements: *a deed* (for example, recruiting or transport), which is initiated through the use of *improper means* (for example, threats or deception) for the *purpose of exploitation* (for example, sexual). If a child is the
intended victim, it is not necessary for improper means to have been used. Human trafficking is often transnational and is comprised of source, transit and destination countries.

Sweden is both a destination and a transit country for human trafficking. According to the Swedish Police, the number of individuals identified in Sweden as victims of human trafficking depends in large part on the resources that the various police authorities allot to the detection of this type of crime. Police efforts vary considerably from county to county and year to year, and the number of unrecorded cases is presumed to be quite large. The Swedish Police previously estimated that in 2003, between 400 and 600 women were brought to Sweden to be exploited for prostitution.

The women and girls who are exploited for sexual purposes in Sweden come primarily from Eastern Europe. Most are transported to Sweden by car or ferry from Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany and Poland. The majority of women and girls belong to minority groups in their native countries or come from a home environment where unhealthy conditions such as abuse, sexual encroachment and social isolation are prevalent.

Some of the factors that make it easier to exploit individuals for human trafficking and prostitution include poverty, gender inequality and a lack of respect for human rights, limited education and unemployment. Other causes that may contribute to women ending up as prostitutes in Sweden are social problems, addiction and poor health.

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**SWEDISH RESEARCH ON MEN WHO BUY SEX**

The research program “Gender, Sexuality and Social Work” came into being in 1993 at the Department of Social Work at Gothenburg University and now has offshoots at Malmö University. Today, the program can best be described as a West Swedish network of researchers with a common interest in gender and sexuality within the field of social work and health; many of their research projects deal with the sex trade and prostitution.

Sven-Axel Månsson, professor of social work at Malmö University, has conducted research on men who buy sex and served as an expert on the commission of inquiry set up in 1993 that dealt with prostitution.

Jari Kuosmanen, assistant professor in the Department of Social Work at Gothenburg University, has worked with issues having to do with the identity of sex buyers.
**Sex Trafficking Laws in Other Nordic Countries**

**Denmark:** Prostitution was decriminalized in 1999. A discussion on the introduction of a sex purchase law that would criminalize the buyer is currently underway.

**Finland:** Since 2006, it has been against the law to buy sex from prostitutes who are the victims of human trafficking.

**Iceland:** In 2007, the ban on supporting oneself through prostitution was lifted. In April 2009, the purchase of sexual services was criminalized. The penalty can be fines or prison for up to one year.

**Norway:** On 1 January 2009, Norway introduced a sex purchase law that criminalizes individuals who buy sex. This law applies the same sentencing guidelines as the Swedish one. However, the Norwegian law goes one step further than the Swedish one—it also forbids the purchase of sex abroad.

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**500 Brothels in the 1970s**

It is estimated that by the end of the 1970s, Sweden was home to about 3,000 prostitutes. At the same time, authorities initiated a discussion on whether to criminalize the parties involved. In 1977, the same year that a committee to investigate prostitution was established, 500 brothels, masquerading as sex clubs, massage parlors and modeling studios were operating in Sweden.

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**A Decrease in the Number of Sex Buyers**

According to a research report in 2008 from the Nordic Gender Institute, the number of sex buyers in Sweden has declined since the introduction of the sex purchase law. A poll was taken to determine whether the law had influenced individual patterns of behavior. The results, compared with those of a similar poll taken in 1996, revealed the following: the number of male sex buyers had decreased from 13.6 percent to 7.9 percent. Each poll questioned 2,500 individuals between 18 and 74 years of age.

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www.bra.se National Council for Crime Prevention

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www.mah.se/kossa Research program “Gender, Sexuality and Social Work” at Malmö University
SINCE 1997, KAJSÄ WAHLBERG, an employee of the Swedish National Police Board, has been the national rapporteur on human trafficking to the Swedish government. She was appointed to this mission at the request of the EU. In her previous position as a detective inspector, she specialized in sex crime investigations.

“The least resource-heavy way to handle prostitution and human trafficking is for men to change their behavior and stop buying sex. Prostitution is a form of exploitation of women and children and a serious societal problem that damages both the individuals who are exploited and society in general,” says Kajsa Wahlberg.

She doesn’t beat around the bush about the fact that the demand from sex-buying men is the reason for prostitution and human trafficking. “In Sweden, the law is a very good starting point for combating both prostitution and human trafficking, but in order to step up the international effort, more countries have to introduce sex purchase laws that criminalize the buyer.

“Ten years ago, other countries were laughing at us and our sex purchase law; today their outlook is quite different,” explains Kajsa Wahlberg.

In our capital, Stockholm, which is also the country’s largest city, with 1.3 million inhabitants, about 200 people engage in street prostitution. In Amsterdam (750,000 inhabitants), the capital of the Netherlands, where it is legal to buy sex, the number of prostitutes is estimated at between 20,000 and
35,000. In spring 2009, the police were forced to shut down a large number of brothels and sex shops in Amsterdam’s notorious red-light districts in order to break the back of the criminal element. “Organized crime follows hard on the heels of prostitution, and here a lot of money laundering, among other crimes, comes into play. Furthermore, there’s no way of getting around the fact that the stigmatization of prostitutes will not go away simply by legalizing the activity,” continues Kajsa Wahlberg.

Nevertheless, although the law’s positive preventive effects on the behavior of men who buy sex in Sweden have been documented (see page 11), the problems related to prostitution and human trafficking still remain significant.

**Buying sex: a crime detected through surveillance**

“Steady streams of cars pick up women. Most of the deals take place between 11 pm and 3 am,” says Simon Häggström.

Häggström has been a policeman in Stockholm for two years. He’s originally from the province of Småland. His colleague, Anna Josefsson, is from Stockholm and has been on the force for three years. Their shift begins at 5 pm and ends at 3 am. They estimate that there are regularly between 20 and 30 women on the streets of central Stockholm.

“We carry out surveillance, observe a driver picking up a woman and then follow them. As soon as the sex act starts, we step in. All of this can happen in a parking place nearby. If they are about to enter an apartment, we apprehend them before they’ve had time to punch in the door entry code. The punishment is the same, since this is an attempt to buy sex,” explains Simon Häggström.

Every work shift results in reports of crimes against the sex purchase law. The reactions of the sex-buying men when they are apprehended range from total denial to a complete breakdown, where they sit down on the curb and cry.

“You have to remember that they’re jeopardizing their lives. They’re not taking small risks when they buy sex. Exposure could potentially mean the loss of both job and family, and those in their immediate surroundings can make them pay a high price for what they’ve done,” says Anna Josefsson, who also emphasizes that the police want to help. “We offer to put them in contact with social services, where sex buyers can get support. Karolinska University Hospital also has a clinic. For many of these men, getting arrested is a wake-up call.”

During an arrest, the sex buyer is interrogated on the spot. The seller, who is almost always a woman, witnesses the process. On rare occasions, a seller
may deny that sexual services played a role in the encounter, with the excuse that “he’s an old friend,” but generally it is easy to determine the true nature of their relationship.

When the police encounter sellers under the age of 18 (so far, the youngest was 14 years of age), they contact social services. “They come out right away, and sometimes even call the head of the social welfare committee in the middle of the night for a decision regarding temporary custody in accordance with the law on the ward of minors,” says Anna Josefsson.

Prostitution in central Stockholm contributes to feelings of vulnerability. “Many women don’t feel safe walking in the city at night. This also applies to prostitutes. It’s amazing to hear them say, in passing, ‘when I was raped last week.’ Obviously, this should be reported. Selling your body destroys your sense of self-worth,” says Simon Häggström emphatically.

The myth of “the happy hooker” is a foreign concept to the two police. “And there’s no difference between what are referred to as ‘escorts’ and women who ply their trade on the streets. They all have to take into account that they may be robbed or subjected to violence. Where we do see a difference is if the person is a victim of trafficking, meaning they have a pimp. They are often mixed up in serious criminality.”

Other women, working independently, often have ties to narcotics crimes, thefts or robberies. “But some would still rather sell their bodies than steal for drug money.”

Anna Josefsson talks about a meeting with a young woman who described prostitution as “a regular job,” one where it is possible to make a lot of money in a short period of time. “She made 35,000 kronor in one week. Illegal money, of course. Obviously, quick money can become addictive. She wanted to stop, knew it wasn’t right but kept saying ‘just one more time’.”

As a rule, the police and the women on the street have a mutual understanding. “It’s true that we disrupt them in their client contacts but at the same time, they feel secure knowing that we’re out here.”

**Long-range police work is crucial**

Mats Paulsson is a police inspector in Västra Götaland County and section head of the human trafficking group within the surveillance division. He has been working with human trafficking issues since 2003.

“Sometimes the work seems hopeless, as there is a constant stream of new women ending up as prostitutes in deplorable situations. It’s a matter of not giving up. We have to think in the long term, and I also believe that, sooner
or later, what we do for the girls on the street will produce results,” says Mats Paulsson.

At the beginning of 2010, there were some 30 Nigerian prostitutes in Gothenburg. For Mats Paulsson and his colleagues, a lot of their work has to do with putting themselves in the exploited person’s situation and trying to understand how and why they end up in Sweden and enter into prostitution. They also want to gain the women’s trust. “But what do I say to the exploited woman standing in front of me when she tells me that if she doesn’t remain a prostitute, her little sister will be sold? It’s horrible.”

Nevertheless, in spite of all the problems, for Mats Paulsson and his colleagues, the Swedish law has both practical and symbolic significance. “We are making an unequivocal statement to the poor, exploited women and girls when we—the citizens of wealthy countries—tell them that it’s not OK to buy human beings for sexual purposes.”

“Here in Sweden, we are part of the problem, since our Swedish men are buying sex, but we can only solve the problems on the streets of Gothenburg. We cannot solve the fundamental problems of injustice and poverty in other parts of the world from here,” Mats Paulsson points out.

**Examples of police efforts to deal with human trafficking**

At the beginning of 2009, the Swedish Police introduced a system whereby individuals could call into their hotline by dialing 114 14 and leave information on suspected criminal activities. In principle, all types of criminal activity can be called in; however, with regard to human trafficking, this offers the residents of a particular area an easy way to leave information that may indicate that human trafficking in some form is taking place.

In the country’s three largest metropolitan areas, the police have drawn up special projects and organizational forms to manage human trafficking.

The police leadership in Stockholm County has extended the surveillance work that previously operated under the name Project Europa, through 2010. The objective of the project, which became the Commission against Human Trafficking for Sexual Purposes, is to identify criminals and networks involved in gross procurement or human trafficking, as well as the criminality leading to such and begin legal proceedings against these individuals.

Since 2003, the police authorities in Västra Götaland County have had a special investigation group, the Human Trafficking Group, which is responsible for combating human trafficking and prostitution. The group also includes two analysts. In addition, it is in contact with an action group leader,
who can request that other surveillance groups support the Human Trafficking Group during a human trafficking case. The group also works closely with both the metropolitan police in Gothenburg City and the border police.

In 2007, the police in Skåne County, in the south of Sweden, collaborated with the police in Denmark on a case involving Thai women who were invited to Sweden by individuals living here. Instead of traveling to Sweden, the women ended up as prostitutes in Denmark. One interpretation of these events could be that the Swedish sex purchase law had a deterrent effect on the human traffickers. The police in Skåne have also assisted the Polish police with information gathering for ongoing cases involving human trafficking. To strengthen its work against human trafficking, in March 2009, the Skåne police established a commission that focuses on human trafficking and procurement.

**How human traffickers reach Swedish sex buyers**

When criminal organizations seek to establish themselves on Swedish territory, they are forced to take the prevailing laws into account. Some groups that sell women for sexual purposes and are active in other Nordic countries avoid Sweden because of its sex purchase law. Discretion is a “must” at the same time that the availability of services has to reach the Swedish sex buyers. Since the law makes contact with sex buyers on the street more difficult, they are instead reached via the Internet, which offers both anonymity and extensive contact opportunities. In addition, the Internet makes it possible to create eye-catching advertisements that entice sex buyers.

The organizers are well aware that Swedish sex buyers do not want to buy services from women who are the victims of human trafficking; on the other hand, foreign women are in great demand. To resolve this dilemma, the organizers place advertisements that make it appear as if the women are independent entrepreneurs who work alone.

The most common locations for executing a business deal are the sex sellers’ apartments. The women often live with the organizers or their acquaintances. However, in the case of larger networks, apartments are arranged through intermediaries. Sometimes, hotels serve as the point of contact for the buyer and the seller. The absence of round-the-clock staffing makes certain hotels easy to use and generally risk-free.

Thus, hotel personnel, landlords and local housing authorities play an important role in crime prevention by using their powers of observation to draw attention to human trafficking and procurement.
**Traffickers’ methods of control impede application of the law**

Human traffickers use a variety of methods to keep their victims in their organization and network. These may include rape, violence and threats of violence, or being held under lock and key. However, nowadays, human traffickers are likely to use less violence in favor of subtler methods of control.

One common method of controlling the victims of crime is to establish a state of indebtedness, thereby making them financially dependent on their handlers. For example, human traffickers may pay for the trip to Sweden and then force the victims to pay for the rent and Internet advertisements. Sometimes the victims receive some of the money they earn; sometimes they never see any of it. Another control method involves threatening the woman’s relatives in her native country. It is also not unusual for human traffickers to take away the women’s passports in order to decrease the flight risk.

One of the most subtle manners of control used by human traffickers is to win their victims’ trust in order to create a dependency situation. Taking advantage of the fact that the women come to Sweden without speaking either Swedish or English and find themselves in a new environment, the traffickers help them with practical matters. Their dependence is then used to control them.

Many victims may not know anything about how Swedish society works and the opportunities that exist for seeking help from the police, social services and volunteer organizations. However, they are unlikely to put their trust in any persons in authority due to bad experiences with the police and social services in their own countries.

When the Swedish law on human trafficking was written with the Palermo Protocol as its starting point, a clause about control—the element of control (italicized below)—was added.

“Any person who uses coercion or deception, exploits someone else’s vulnerable situation or, by any other such undue or improper means, recruits, transports, houses, receives or takes any such action involving a person, and thereby takes control of that person, with a view to that person being exploited for casual sexual relations or in some other way being exploited for sexual purposes, shall be sentenced to at least two and at most ten years’ imprisonment for trafficking in human beings.”

Lise Tamm is deputy chief prosecutor at the International Public Prosecution Offices in Stockholm and has worked with cases of both human trafficking and procurement since 1999. She believes that the element of control in the human trafficking section of the law makes it very difficult to apply.
“What to the untrained eye and ear looks and sounds like an act of free will is not if you’re able to read the situation correctly and really hear what the victims are telling you,” explains Lise Tamm. “But the fact that control has been exerted is difficult to demonstrate unless it’s possible to substantiate that the victim has, for example, been kept locked up.”

The Swedish law on human trafficking was revisited in 2009 and circulated to a number of different bodies for comments. In February 2010, the government submitted a proposal that would make the legislation easier to apply. It involves eliminating the element of control; that is to say, there would be no need to prove the degree to which and the way in which the perpetrators had control over a victim.

“The crime of human trafficking is also highly complex, because several links in the criminal chain have to be proved,” emphasizes Lise Tamm. “That’s why it’s easier to prosecute someone for procurement or gross procurement if it’s possible to prove that someone is financially exploiting another person who is having casual sexual relations in return for payment or that, say, there has been ruthless exploitation of the person selling sex.”

An important distinction between procurement and human trafficking is that the former is a crime against the state, while the latter is a crime against a person. One of the implications of this is that, following a conviction for procurement, damages are not always paid to the victim, who has no unconditional right to special counsel in the run-up to and during the legal proceedings either. “Of course, this distinction plays a very important role for the crime victim,” says Lise Tamm.

**How a case travels through the Swedish legal system**

When the police receive information about a crime in violation of, for instance, the law that forbids the purchase of sexual services or the law against human trafficking, a preliminary investigation is initiated.

Once the police have succeeded in identifying a suspect, the prosecutor is contacted and then takes charge of the preliminary investigation. Decisions with regard to coercive measures are made by the prosecutor, who can also apply to the district court for secret coercive measures (for example, wire-tapping).

The police continue to keep the suspect under surveillance and use wire-tapping if necessary. When the evidence is deemed to be adequate, the prosecutor can request that the suspect be detained.

- The police apprehend the person suspected of having committed a crime.
• The prosecutor can request that the suspect be taken into custody, for example, if the crime deals with human trafficking.
• If the prosecutor decides to indict, he or she files an application with the district court to take out a summons, or decides on either an order of summary punishment or on the option to decline to prosecute the case. If the prosecutor is leading the preliminary investigation, he or she can decide that the preliminary investigation should be dropped, for instance, if the evidence is insufficient or if the suspect has committed another more serious crime. The prosecutor always leads the preliminary investigation in cases that involve human trafficking and procurement.
• The district court appoints a public defense counsel and, if necessary, counsel for the plaintiff.
• The district court convenes a main hearing.
• At the conclusion of the trial or within 14 days at the latest, a judgment is delivered. In the case of a guilty verdict, sanctions such as fines, prison, a conditional sentence, probation and care from a forensic psychiatrist, or special legal force, for example, deportation and forfeiture may be imposed. In the case of a verdict of acquittal, the case is dismissed.
• The district court’s ruling can be appealed to the court of appeal. In rare cases, the court of appeal’s ruling can be appealed to the Supreme Court of Sweden.

1 An order of summary punishment is the same as a judgment and is recorded in the central criminal police register. The difference is that the prosecutor does not start legal proceedings and hence there is no trial.
2 The prosecutor can also decline to prosecute a case, in which case there will be no indictment, legal proceedings or sanctions; however, the crime will be recorded in the criminal police register.
3 An important distinction between the crimes of procurement and human trafficking is that the former is a crime against the state, while the latter is a crime against a person. One of the implications of this is that, following a conviction for procurement, damages are not always paid to the victim, who has no unconditional right to special counsel in the run-up to and during the legal proceedings either.
CRIMES AGAINST THE SEX PURCHASE LAW
After a decade with this law—January 1999 to August 2009—2,069 individuals have been reported for criminal activity. Of that number, 86 percent were from Stockholm, Malmö and Gothenburg. For the period 1999-2008, legal actions were brought against 590 individuals, with the following results: fines were assessed, summary fines were imposed, or the prosecutor declined to prosecute.

According to the National Council for Crime Prevention, in 2008, 69 judgments, impositions of summary fines and prosecutor declinations for the crime of buying sexual services were issued. Of these, 19 individuals were assessed fines. During the same year, eight individuals were convicted of procurement (three were sentenced to prison) and three were convicted of gross procurement (all three were sentenced to prison).

CRIMES AGAINST THE HUMAN TRAFFICKING LAW
From 1 July 2002 through 1 January 2009, 29 individuals were convicted of human trafficking for sexual purposes.

According to the police summary for 2007-2008, only one individual was convicted of trafficking in human beings for sexual purposes. In addition, one was convicted of conspiracy to traffic in human beings for sexual purposes, and an additional 22 were convicted of crimes related to human trafficking, such as gross procurement or procurement.

VERDICTS RELATED TO HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN 2005
In 2005, seven individuals were convicted of human trafficking, ten for gross procurement, nine for procurement and six for complicity in what could be deduced to be the crime of human trafficking. In those cases in which the courts passed sentences for human trafficking, the victims were under 18 years of age; in such cases it is not necessary to prove that the perpetrators used improper means, such as threats or deception.

Sonja
In Kosovo, Sonja, who was under 18 years of age, was contacted by Sebastian. He persuaded her to go to an apartment, where she was locked up for ten days before being forced into a car and driven to Sweden by Filip. Filip was ordered to kill her “if she tried anything on the way.” Sebastian met Sonja in Sweden, where he raped her on several occasions and, using assault and threats, forced her to sell sex. She had no passport or other official documents, and did not know where she was. She was afraid of Sebastian and did not dare run away.

Filip was convicted of human trafficking and Sebastian of human trafficking and rape.

Nadja
Oskar recruited Nadja when she was only 17 years old and arranged for her transport from Poland to Sweden for the purpose of using her for casual sexual relations. Oskar knew that Nadja was underage. He used her prostitution to take advantage of her financially. Oskar had control over Nadja, because he was 15 years her senior and because she did not speak Swedish and was penniless.

Oskar was convicted of human trafficking.

Lisa and Sandra
Lisa and Sandra lived together in Estonia. Lisa was under 18 years of age, while Sandra was over 18. Lisa and Sandra borrowed money from Anton to pay the rent. He suggested that they become prostitutes in Sweden in order to settle their debt. At first, they refused but Anton threatened them, saying that one of them had to go to Sweden or else they would be homeless. Lisa says that she did not feel forced to go but believed that she had no other choice in the matter.

Lisa went to Sweden before Sandra, who arrived a few weeks later. Nils met Lisa in Stockholm and drove her to an apartment. He gave her the key to the apartment, along with a SIM card for her cell phone. The telephone number was on the Internet, and buyers called her. She gave them the address and then sold them sexual services. She got to keep half of the money she earned but had to give Nils 300 kronor a day for the Internet advertisement. Nils came every day and picked up the money. Lisa had four to six customers a day. She had the right to turn down a buyer and decide for herself when to return home. On the other hand, she was afraid of Anton and chose to pay back her debt by transferring money to his account once she returned home to Estonia.
The circumstances surrounding Sandra’s stay in Sweden were similar to those of Lisa.

Was this judged to be a case of human trafficking? Yes and no.

The district court determined that the girls’ accounts were coherent, detailed and matched one another. The district court maintained that the circumstances were not exaggerated; if anything, they were understated. With regard to Lisa, the court ruled that she was the victim of undue influence. Both Anton and Nils were convicted of human trafficking and procurement.

In Sandra’s case, the deed was tried only as procurement. The procurement proceedings involved more women than just Sandra—a total of 19—and the operation was deemed to be a well-organized one. In addition, it had brought in enormous profits. The crime of procurement was judged to be very serious.

In contrast to Lisa, Sandra was over 18 years of age. Therefore, in accordance with the human trafficking law, the use of improper means was required in order for the action taken against her to be considered human trafficking. When it comes to children, no such improper means are required to prosecute, only the undue influence from the human trafficker. In a matter involving a crime of procurement, the use of improper means is not set forth as a requirement.

**SUSPECTED NON-TRANSNATIONAL HUMAN TRAFFICKING JUDGED TO BE PROCUREMENT**

Sweden is primarily a destination and transit country. However, human trafficking can also occur inside a country’s borders, in which case it is non-transnational.

In 2008, Sweden tried the first case in which the victim and the perpetrators were Swedish citizens, and the crime in its entirety was committed in Sweden. The proceedings concerned a mentally disabled 19-year-old woman, whose husband prostituted her. It was estimated that she had been sold to more than 100 men in various locations around the country. Contacts with sex buyers were established through, among other venues, advertising on the Internet. The Stockholm District Court opted to convict the principal perpetrator and a co-conspirator of gross procurement and preparations leading to gross procurement, respectively, instead of human trafficking. The court ruled that the evidence did not indicate that the intent to commit a crime existed when the victim and the convicted individual began their relationship.

**READ MORE**

www.polisen.se Swedish Police
www.aklagare.se Swedish Prosecution Authority
Attempted purchase of sexual services

Man: born in 1965, wife and three children, lives in a co-op apartment in Stockholm.
Victim: woman from Russia, born in 1988.
Completed transaction for sexual services

Completed transaction for sexual services

Man: born in 1963, wife and two children, high-income earner, lives in a house outside of Stockholm.

Completed transaction for sexual services
Man: born in 1966, domestic partner, father of small children, lives in an apartment in Gothenburg.
Victim: woman from Nigeria, born in 1987.
Attempted purchase of sexual services
Man: born in 1954, married, lives in a row house in Mölndal
Victim: young woman of Moroccan descent, born in 1990
Completed transaction for sexual services
Man: born in 1961, married, lives in a house outside of Umeå.
Completed transaction for sexual services

Man: born in 1938, married, high-income earner, lives in a house outside of Malmö.
Prostitution and human trafficking can mean serious consequences for the victims, such as humiliation, violence, sexual encroachment and abusive work and living circumstances. The victims may also experience post-traumatic stress, anxiety and depression and find it difficult to build social relationships based on trust.

The government’s action plan to combat prostitution and human trafficking (see page 49) explicitly states that all measures in the plan must have a clear focus on the individual’s needs, and that this approach must permeate the agencies’ work.

The plan describes several measures for arranging, coordinating and executing efforts designed to make it safer for persons victimized by prostitution and human trafficking to return to their countries of origin.

Various agencies in Sweden are also doing everything they can to help individuals who want to stop selling sex. In addition, programs exist for the purpose of trying to convince sex-buying men to change their behavior.

Prostitution sections in metropolitan areas

Sweden’s three largest cities—Stockholm, Malmö and Gothenburg—have special prostitution sections. They are part of the divisions of social welfare services that operate within the framework of the country’s municipal administrations. In the large metropolitan areas, they specialize in supporting individuals who want to leave the prostitution business.

Miki Nagata is one of nine social workers in Stockholm’s prostitution section. Since Stockholm City collaborates with the county council, the section also includes a midwife and gynecologist and has access to general practitioners and psychiatrists.
“Two of us do outreach to men and women on the street. Every week, about 60 people come to our offices to talk with us. They come of their own accord; we do not exercise any official authority”.

Miki Nagata belongs to a new generation of field workers. She is 26 years old and went directly from the School of Social Work and Public Administration to the prostitution section, where she did her internship. She likes it here. The work is challenging. “We can actually get people off the streets. It can be incredibly time-consuming, but the dividends for each person are enormous. In addition to conversations and counseling, we can give them the names of people to contact at the employment office and legal services agencies. During the initial meeting, they may rebuff us, but sooner or later, most people want our help.”

Her colleague Ulrika Paléus works with human trafficking matters. “However, for about six months, my work has not involved foreign nationals but the exploitation of Swedish children and women. Several cases have involved young women with learning disabilities.”

Ulrika Paléus is the person who is always at the ready to find safe housing and assist with other types of support, for example, health care and, if necessary, psychological support, especially if children are involved. “If the police have stepped in, then it is particularly important to gather as much information as possible as quickly as possible and, if needed, and the victim has no objections, I sit in on the police inquiry.”

A common denominator that both Ulrika Paléus and Miki Nagata see in their work is the lack of “self-preservation” on the part of the victims. “They’ve lost their sense of self-esteem. There has been a lack of concern for these individuals, and it’s happened in a variety of ways. What they have in common are broken relationships or abuse,” says Mika Nagata. “When a 13- or 14-year old begins to sell sex, they frequently have no concept of appropriate, personal boundaries.”

The prostitution sections also have activities directed to the buyers of sexual services for the purpose of persuading men to stop buying sex. In addition, the group works with outreach and encourages men to enter into a dialogue about buying sex with the goal of eventually changing their behavior.

**Repatriation to countries of origin**

The Stockholm County Administrative Board has been commissioned to plan, coordinate and execute efforts for the purpose of supporting and protecting individuals who have been victimized by prostitution and human
trafficking so that they may return to their homelands. According to the administrative board, the issue of returning home poses a complex set of problems and situations.

Sometimes, the victim wants to return home as soon as possible and not be part of the legal case against the perpetrator. Sometimes she wants to go home until the trial begins in Sweden and sometimes she stays in Sweden until the trial and returns home after the trial is over and the final judgment of the court has been announced.

Regardless of the situation, the victim is assigned a contact person, either from social services or an appropriate volunteer organization, who can keep her informed as to how the case is proceeding and provide support during contact with different authorities.

Most of the victims state that they only want help with paying for the ticket home; few of them express a real need for more extensive help with the return to their homelands. The social services office always asks them if they want to be in touch with an organization that could support them in their homeland, but many are not interested in this option. One alternative to local volunteer organizations is to arrange contact with the International Organization for Migration, which is active in many countries and has considerable experience with regard to repatriation of and support to victims.

One aspect that must be taken into account is that victims of human trafficking run the risk of being excluded from society when they return to their homelands and could once again find themselves in an exploitative situation.

The women from Nigeria who are suspected of having been the victims of human trafficking in Sweden do not want to return home, and the majority have residence permits in Spain and Italy. The Swedish police and social services need to learn more about the situation in Nigeria, as well as to determine the circumstances under which the Nigerian women arrive in southern Europe and what residence permits they are granted.

**Education raises the level of expertise**

The Swedish Criminal Victim Compensation and Support Authority (*Brottsoffermyndigheten*) has been instructed by the government to raise the level of expertise within the police, the Prosecution Authority, the judiciary and the Migration Board. The purpose of these education efforts is to increase knowledge with respect to the underlying mechanisms that can affect the incidence of prostitution and human trafficking for sexual purposes and improve the treatment of the victims.
The Authority and representatives of cooperating authorities have drawn up and done their best to carry out an educational program designed to raise the level of expertise about prostitution and human trafficking in the above-named organs. The program began in fall 2009 and is expected to continue throughout 2010. About 200 individuals, carefully selected from the various authorities throughout the country, are taking part in the program.

“Knowledge about the particular situations that the persons victimized by prostitution and human trafficking find themselves in must increase for everyone who meets these victims, who are often very young,” says Gudrun Nordborg, information manager at the Criminal Victim Compensation and Support Authority.

“The effects of control and victimization during procurement or human trafficking can be so powerful that it is reasonable to speak of a traumatic bond, by which the victim perceives the perpetrator as their only safe haven. In these situations, the perpetrator also has the power to manipulate his victim when ‘rescue’ is near, something that persons in authority must constantly be on the lookout for, yes, even in the courtroom,” says Gudrun Nordborg.

The educational program makes use of many different pedagogical methods, including role play and case studies, so that the participants can better understand the difficult and complex situations in which the victims find themselves. Another goal of the training is to increase understanding of something that, from the point of view of cultural attitudes, can seem foreign to Swedish authorities. Situations that involve homosexuals are also included in the course material.

“In encounters with people from circumstances that are far removed from our own experiences, the greatest risk is that we will fail in our efforts to communicate with them. At the same time, it is precisely in such situations that being treated in a professional manner can be crucial for establishing the trust that is the basis of a sound legal process,” explains Gudrun Nordborg.

**National collaboration to increase efficiency**

As far back as 2004, Sweden initiated a unique development partnership, known as Cooperation against Trafficking, among administrative agencies, organizations, religious communities, museums and universities. Although it was terminated at the end of 2007, it left behind a collaboration platform for a number of different activities that focus on the struggle to combat human trafficking. In its action plan against prostitution and human trafficking (see page 49), the government gave several assignments to the Stockholm County
Administrative Board. One of these deals with national coordination, which means developing and increasing the efficiency of collaboration between, primarily, administrative agencies, but also between these agencies and volunteer organizations.

Patrik Cederlöf was the process leader for Cooperation against Trafficking and is now the national coordinator for combating prostitution and human trafficking. “The government has commissioned us to develop collaborative measures and joint actions on a national level. This includes further development of the current and generally productive work that is being carried out in the metropolitan areas. We will also be supporting initiatives in other regions of Sweden that have not come as far as we have here.”

To carry out the collaboration project, a national method support team was established in concert with those authorities that have been working with the issue the longest in Sweden; this group includes the police authorities, the social services, the Prosecution Authority and the Migration Board.

The method support team will serve as a strategic resource, primarily for those counties and regions that, up until now, have either not carried out any work against prostitution and human trafficking at all or only done so to a limited extent. The target groups for the method support vary but could encompass individual authorities, individual administrators, collaborative groups, individual municipalities and counties, and other entities.

“A fundamental, joint knowledge base within the field is an invaluable tool for achieving effective collaboration, which is essential if one wants to prevent and combat these problems as efficiently as possible,” says Patrik Cederlöf.

He describes the multi-faceted collaboration that is going on with many authorities around the country. Together with the United Nations Development Fund for Women, the method support team and the Stockholm County Administrative Board have produced educational material designed to convey information on prostitution. The team is also collaborating with the Council of Baltic States Task Force against Trafficking in Human Beings and the National Centre for Knowledge on Men’s Violence against Women (Nationellt Centrum för Kvinnofrid) to expand the reach of Sweden’s national hotline, which would make it easier to contact the victims of human trafficking.

“We have begun a campaign with the working title ‘Safe Trip,’ which tells victims of crime how to contact the hotline. This information will be disseminated in several languages via hotels, restaurants, taxis, airports and ports. Among other initiatives, we will paste multi-lingual stickers on the inside of women’s public toilets,” says Patrik Cederlöf.
The work with the method support team will be developed in accordance with the timeline for the government’s action plan, that is, until December 2010. “However, I really hope that the method support team will become a permanent resource in the fight against human trafficking. The long view in this work is extremely important, and we have a lot left to accomplish,” adds Patrik Cederlöf.

The central role of the women’s movement

The first women’s shelters were established in Stockholm and Gothenburg in 1978 as a reaction to society’s inability to do anything about the problems associated with women who were the victims of violence and encroachment by men with whom they had a close relationship. Since then, the shelters have served as driving forces in the effort to keep men’s violence against women on the public’s radar screen.

Sweden is home to two national organizations that deal with women’s shelters. One of the main differences between the two is that the National Organization for Women’s and Girls’ Shelters in Sweden (Riksorganisationen för kvinnojourer och tjejerjourer) does not allow men to work at its shelters. It was founded in 1984 and has about 100 shelters around the country that offer safe housing to women and children victimized by violence. The second organization, the Swedish Association of Women’s Shelters and Young Women’s Empowerment Centers (Sveriges Kvinno- och Tjejerjourers Riksförbund), was founded in 1996 and has 67 member organizations.

Eva Engman, chair of the County Association for Women’s Shelters in Norrbotten County, has 22 years’ experience with this type of work. She was the national coordinator of Sweden’s shelter work for the Nordic Baltic Pilot Project, a collaborative effort that lasted from 2006 to 2008. The project’s purpose was to develop support and shelter, as well as work for safe repatriation for women and children victimized by human trafficking.

“Women’s shelters and the women’s movement have been extremely important in the work against prostitution and human trafficking. Within the women’s shelter movement, we have continued to expose the ruthless commerce with women that has gone on and is still going on,” says Eva Engman. She describes the untiring work that she has been conducting for a little over a decade in Sweden, northwestern Russia and the Baltic States. There have been many demonstrations against prostitution and human trafficking; meetings with the police and politicians; actions to infiltrate brothels; international conferences and much more. “Thanks to the women’s movement we
have legislation against violating a woman’s rights and personal integrity in Sweden that also encompasses the 1999 sex purchase law, which we can all be proud of,” explains Eva Engman.

In 2010, Eva Engman and Mildred Hedberg, staff members of the National Organization for Women’s and Girls’ Shelters, will serve as coordinators for a project that is part of the government’s action plan against prostitution and human trafficking. The purpose of the project is to train women’s shelters in Sweden to provide support and protection to women and girls who are the victims of human trafficking. It will also work for safe repatriation by, among other things, establishing contacts with women’s organizations in the victims’ countries of origin.

The women’s shelter project also aims to develop collaboration among the different players within the police, medical services, social services, the Migration Board and others. In 2010, four joint conferences will take place in various locations in Sweden.

“In spite of everything, I am optimistic about the future and believe all of our efforts taken together will give results. I hope that Sweden will follow Norway’s example and incorporate a clause in its sex purchase law that makes it a crime to buy sex abroad,” says Eva Engman.

**Volunteer organizations help vulnerable children**

UNICEF Sweden has, together with, among others, the National Board of Health and Welfare, published a paper whose purpose is to make it easier to identify and pay special attention to children who may be the victims of human trafficking. It is directed to individuals who, in the course of their work, may come into contact with children who are suspected of being human trafficking victims. For example, these might be personnel of social services in their municipalities, the Migration Board, the police, the Prosecution Authority, the Courts Administration and medical services.

Together with the national method support team (see page 35) against prostitution and human trafficking, UNICEF Sweden arranges teaching seminars for the same target groups as those listed above.

ECPAT Sweden is a non-profit organization whose aim is to prevent and stop all forms of sexual exploitation of children: child pornography, trafficking and child sex tourism.

In March 2005, ECPAT Sweden set up a web-based hotline to which the public can anonymously report suspected instances of child pornography, human trafficking of children for sexual purposes and child sex tourism.
The tips that come into the ECPAT hotline are classified and forwarded to the Swedish Police for further investigation.

In 2009, ECPAT signed a cooperation agreement with all the major banks in Sweden to begin stopping payments for child pornography. The principal tour operators have also become involved in the work to combat the commercial sexual exploitation of children by agreeing to abide by ECPAT Sweden’s Code of Conduct.

In 2009, the government began to allocate funds to the Children’s Welfare Foundation (*Stiftelsen Allmänna Barnhuset*), in part for network building among professionals within social services, child and youth psychiatry, and institutional care and in part for the dissemination of knowledge related to the support of children in Sweden who have been the victims of human trafficking.

In 1999, Sweden’s Queen Sylvia founded the World Childhood Foundation, which supports different projects that, among other things, help children victimized by trafficking and severe encroachment, street children, children in institutions and young mothers. Particular attention is given to girls who find themselves in challenging situations.

Sweden’s royal couple also initiated the World Child and Youth Forum, which is designed to serve as an arena for dialogues and exchanges of experiences regarding the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. The first forum, which is scheduled for the end of 2010, will take place at the Royal Palace in Stockholm. The idea is that the forum will then become a recurring annual event.

**Trade unions also take action against prostitution and human trafficking**

The project “Trade Unions against Human Trafficking” is a collaborative project between UNIFEM Sweden and several male-dominated trade unions, among them the Swedish Industrial and Metal Workers’ Union, the Swedish Building Workers’ Union and the Swedish Transport Workers’ Union.

The aim of the project is to raise awareness of human trafficking issues and demonstrate the importance of men’s participation in the fight against this abhorrent phenomenon. The project also wants to elucidate the role men play in prostitution, especially with regard to mitigating against the demand that gives rise to human trafficking. Three two-day conferences, which featured speakers from UNIFEM Sweden, the police, prosecutors, social workers and researchers, as well as film screenings, took place in 2009.
THE NUMBER OF STREET PROSTITUTES

According to a study by the National Board of Health and Welfare, in 2007, about 200 prostitutes in Stockholm, not quite 70 in Malmö and about 30 in Gothenburg were working the streets.

INTERNET PROSTITUTION

In 2008, the Swedish Police’s IT crime division investigated six websites that advertise women for prostitution in Sweden. None of the websites could be localized to a server in Sweden; rather, most of them were located in the United States, Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark and Russia.

The six websites that were examined had a total of 417 advertisements for female prostitutes. The age span for the women who were offering sexual services was 18 to 64 years of age; however, most of the ads were for women between 22 and 35 years of age. The women came from all over the world, and most of the ads were in either Swedish or English.

Countywide, 222 women were sold in Stockholm County, 51 in Västra Götaland County and 39 in Skåne County.

YOUNG VICTIMS PRIMARILY FROM THE EAST

The girls and women who were victims of human trafficking for sexual purposes in Sweden during the period 2007-2008 came primarily from Estonia, Poland, Romania and Russia and were between 13 and 36 years of age. A small number also came from Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Latvia, Thailand and Ukraine.

In recent years, women from Nigeria, suspected of being exploited for prostitution and human trafficking, have also turned up in Sweden, primarily in the Gothenburg region.

THE CRISIS AND TRAUMA CENTER SUPPORTS VICTIMS

The Crisis and Trauma Center (Kris- och trauma-centrum) in Stockholm is a privately owned clinic that supports the right of traumatized individuals to both health care, for example, physical therapy, and psychotherapy, which would work toward restoring the victims’ self-esteem. It has established itself as a comprehensive crisis and trauma center for the diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitation of persons who have been the victims of different forms of violence, encroachment and trauma, including the victims of human trafficking and sexual violence.

NATIONAL TELEPHONE HOTLINE

This national hotline (Kvinnofridslinjen) provides telephone support to women in Sweden who have been subjected to threats, violence or sexual encroachment, no matter whether the encroachment occurs on the street or during a relationship, prostitution or human trafficking. A family member or friend of the victim is also welcome to call 020-50 50 50 from anywhere around the country. This is a 24-hour hotline, and all calls are free from any location in Sweden. These calls do not appear on phone bills.

READ MORE

www.brottsoffermyndigheten.se Crime Victim Compensation and Support Authority
www.kvinnofridslinjen.se National telephone support line for women who have been subjected to threats and violence
www.roks.se National Organization for Women’s and Girls’ Shelters in Sweden
www.ecpat.se End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography, and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (Sweden)
www.childhood.org World Childhood Foundation
As early as 1995, Anita Gradin, then Swedish commissioner to the European Union, began to force the issue of human trafficking within the EU. At the time, many members of EU institutions did not take her seriously; if anything, they looked on foreign women working as street prostitutes in their countries as a sign of “migrant prostitution,” not human trafficking.

Anita Gradin, Maj-Britt Theorin and Margareta Winberg are three social democratic politicians who early on put the issue of human trafficking on both the Swedish and EU agendas.

Thanks to more knowledge and growing European opinion, the link between prostitution and human trafficking is now receiving greater attention. In 1997, the Hague Declaration was adopted by the EU ministers of justice and of equal opportunity who, among other things, recommended that all EU member states appoint a national rapporteur on human trafficking. Sweden was one of the first countries to respond to the request.

Human trafficking is a global problem, one that requires global and interregional collaboration, as well as a sector-comprehensive plan of attack that involves administrative agencies, NGOs, researchers, opinion makers and the general public. Organized crime is always finding new ways and tactics to carry out trafficking with human beings. Therefore, it is crucial that the international collaboration among countries continue and be further developed in terms of preventive measures, legal and social aspects regarding this complex
of problems, and transnational cooperation. In this regard, measures to raise levels of expertise and knowledge sharing among countries play vital roles. In February 2010, Ban Ki-Moon, Secretary-General of the United Nations, appointed Margot Wallström, formerly Sweden’s commissioner to the EU, as a special representative to monitor the vulnerable situation of women during wartime and other conflicts. Wallström’s task is to carry out United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820, which deals with sexual violence against civilians during times of hostility.

Within the EU, the newly appointed (2010) Swedish EU commissioner, Cecilia Malmström, is in charge of home affairs. She is responsible for police and migration and the fight against organized crime, such as human trafficking.

The importance of international agreements
International agreements play a vital role in combating human trafficking, because these crimes are frequently transnational in nature. The UN, the Council of Europe and the EU all have a number of mechanisms at their disposal with regard to the work against human trafficking.

At the global level, the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its supplementary protocol, the Palermo Protocol, on the prevention, control and punishment of human trafficking, in particular, of women and children, represented an important milestone. Further, with the Palermo Protocol, a comprehensive, internationally accepted definition of the crime of human trafficking was established. However, the protocol only sets a minimum standard, which means that national measures can be more extensive and stringent.

Several international conventions and other instruments deal with human trafficking and the issue of the sexual exploitation of children. They include:
- The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (ratified by Sweden in 1980, the first country in the world to do so).
- The Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (will be ratified in spring 2010).
• The Council of Europe Convention on the Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse (ratified by Sweden in 2005).
• The European Union Framework Decision on Combating Human Trafficking (adopted by Sweden in 2002).
• The European Community directive on temporary residence permits for victims of human trafficking (went into effect in Sweden in 2007).

**International police work against human trafficking**

Interpol encompasses 187 countries and is the world’s largest international police organization. Member countries collaborate within the criminal police area, primarily with crimes that fall under the general penal code. The collaboration occurs within the framework of the member countries’ national laws.

Europol is the European Union’s law enforcement agency. Twenty-seven countries are part of this collaborative effort, whose objective is to prevent and combat organized, transnational crime. The Swedish Police are Europol’s point of contact in Sweden. Europol works against crimes that are severe and transnational (including human trafficking) in which at least two of the European Union’s member states are involved.

The city police commissioner district in Stockholm continues to have a successful track record against trafficking crimes within the framework of the Commission against Human Trafficking for Sexual Purposes, previously known as Project Europa (see page 16).

In order to develop operative collaboration and crime-prevention work in Europe with regard to combating human trafficking, in October 2009, the city police commissioner district initiated the project “Joint Cooperation between Police and Social Services against Trafficking,” COPSAT. The project’s objectives are to disseminate methods within the European Union for questioning traumatized victims and to develop collaboration forms to help the victims of human trafficking readjust to life in their homelands.

The police, social services agencies and volunteer organizations from the collaborating countries—Sweden, Poland, Estonia and Romania—take part in COPSAT, which received some financing from the European Union in the amount of ca. 450,000 euro for 2009-2011.

_Ewa Carlenfors is the head of the commission as well as project leader for COPSAT in Sweden._ She is also a detective inspector and has 33 years’ experience in police work, with cases ranging from theft to human trafficking. She mentions taking victims of human trafficking into custody and their secure repatriation as two important issues to which she hopes the collaboration
with COPSAT can contribute. “Well-managed protective custody means that the victims will have a better chance for a decent future. Bureaucracy must be done away with, and emergency social services must learn more about human trafficking. It costs money to place individuals in safe housing, but money shouldn’t be an issue when people’s lives are at stake,” says Ewa Carlenfors.

The challenges facing international collaboration have to do primarily with the differences in legislation among the participating countries. “The biggest challenge is talking about the demand for human trafficking. If men weren’t still buying sex, the problem could be solved tomorrow,” emphasizes Ewa Carlenfors.

**Eurojust increases collaboration against transnational crime**

Swedish was one of the promoters of Eurojust, the European Union judicial cooperation body established in 2002. It consists of prosecutors from all EU member states.

Six years later, Sweden, along with 13 other member states, began to overhaul Eurojust and make it more efficient. Among other things this meant the establishment of an on-call organization, available 24/7 for urgent matters. The overhaul also gave the European Judicial Network a clearer and more effective role. The network was created in 1998 and consists of representatives of national crime-fighting agencies (points of contact). Their primary function is to facilitate the operative collaboration among the member states’ agencies, primarily in their efforts to fight serious crimes such as human trafficking.

**Controversial Stockholm program**

The Stockholm program is a framework for EU collaboration with regard to border controls, police work, asylum and migration for the period 2010-2014. This program, which has both supporters and detractors, was negotiated during Sweden’s presidency of the EU and adopted by the European Council 10-11 December 2009. The execution of the program falls in the area of responsibility of Cecilia Malmström, newly appointed Swedish commissioner to the EU.

The aim of the program is to improve the exchange of information among the member countries’ police, prosecutors and customs officials, as well as between them and the EU institutions, Eurojust (prosecutors) and Europol (police). European Union laws against child pornography and human trafficking need to be tightened, and the new information system that is linked to
the Schengen Agreement has been singled out as a vital tool for border control.

Critics of the program believe that the alleged security benefits come at a high price in the form of increased surveillance and higher thresholds for people in distress trying to enter Europe.

**Excellent collaboration around the Baltic**

The Council of the Baltic Sea States, CBSS, was established in 1992 during the aftermath of the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Its membership includes the Baltic Sea’s nine coastal states—Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Russia and Sweden—as well as Iceland, Norway and the European Commission. The council’s headquarters are located in Stockholm.

In the fall of 2006, the council created the Task Force against Trafficking in Human Beings. It consists of experts from the responsible departments in the eleven member countries, as well as from the European Commission. The task force builds on previous successful collaboration against human trafficking among the Nordic and Baltic countries.

Swedish lawyer Anna Ekstedt is a senior advisor on the CBSS and project leader of the Task Force against Trafficking in Human Beings.

“The collaboration among the countries in the Baltic is good. We work together to map human trafficking, educate relevant personnel and prevent human trafficking in the region,” says Anna Ekstedt.

“Of course, there are different points of view in the CBSS region with regard to prostitution and its link to human trafficking for sexual exploitation, but our strength lies in the fact that we have a platform from which to work. The dialogue and the cooperative framework itself are important. We have several formal meetings a year but we also meet informally to discuss and exchange experiences. We can detect trends at an early stage and also avoid the duplication of activities. Together, we evaluate our countries’ activities and experiences,” explains Anna Ekstedt.

The focus is on social issues and prevention work in the form of education designed to facilitate the early identification of victims and to provide them with protection and support.

Beginning in 2008 and continuing through 2010, the task force within CBSS has been conducting a number of educational and informational projects in its member countries. One such project focuses on educating the personnel at consulates and embassies in collaboration with the International
Organization for Migration. “For example, consular personnel can play a vital role in dealing with visa requests if they know something about human trafficking and how to detect and prevent it. They can also help with repatriation, contacts and support,” says Anna Ekstedt.

**Swedish liaisons in several countries**
The Swedish Police, along with the police and customs in the other Nordic countries, have liaisons in about 20 countries—from the Baltic and Eastern Europe to Thailand. They operate against organized, transnational crime, with a focus on, among other matters, human trafficking and child sex tourism.

The Nordic Police and Customs Collaboration is an advisory, coordinating and collaborating organ. The collaboration takes place primarily in joint Nordic programs for combating serious crime of a transnational character and through the stationing of liaisons to other countries.

These liaisons can collaborate with and support the crime-fighting authorities in those countries in which they are accredited and with crime-fighting authorities in the Nordic countries.

**Woman to Woman works preventively in the Caucasus**
Woman to Woman (Kvinna till Kvinna) was founded in Sweden in 1993 as a reaction to the encroachment that women were subjected to during the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Woman to Woman supports women who are organizing in an area of conflict and collaborates with local women’s organizations that take an active role in peace-making and reconstruction.

In Armenia, Woman to Woman supports the organization Democracy Today, which devotes considerable efforts to combating trafficking. In the capital Yerevan, Democracy Today and another Armenian organization run a safehouse and a project aimed at preventing young girls in orphanages from being enticed into human trafficking.

**The Nordic Gender Institute compiles knowledge**
The Nordic Gender Institute (NIKK) is a cross-Nordic knowledge center for research on gender and equal opportunity. NIKK is part of the University of Oslo and financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers.

One of the many projects that NIKK pursued is “Prostitution in the Nordic Countries (2007-2008)”. The project report describes how the legal management of prostitution and human trafficking in the Nordic countries
has been influenced by the fact that the number of foreign women has increased on the national prostitution markets in the last decade. It is clear that all of the Nordic countries currently face a new situation. With regard to this altered state of affairs, discussions are underway as to how the argument for criminalizing sex buyers differs from one Nordic country to another. The report also touches on the ways in which sex buyers chat online and how the police and social workers discuss and apply the Swedish sex purchase law.
"It is unacceptable that human beings, often women and children, are recruited for the purposes of exploitation. With this action plan, the government is taking a vital step, one that intensifies the work against prostitution and human trafficking for sexual purposes." These words were spoken by Minister for Integration and Gender Equality, Nyamko Sabuni, in July 2008, when the Swedish government adopted a national action plan to fight prostitution and human trafficking that includes measures for providing protection and support to the victims.

The plan states: "A starting point for all measures is that they have a clear focus on the individual’s needs. Furthermore, this approach must permeate the authorities’ work."

For the period 2008-2010, the government has invested a total of SEK 213 million in 36 different measures within five areas. A follow-up of the action plan will be carried out in 2011. Its five operational areas are outlined below.

**Increased support for the victims of human trafficking**

The government has commissioned the Stockholm County Administrative Board to plan, coordinate and execute efforts that will make it safer for persons victimized by prostitution and human trafficking to return to their countries of origin.
“This initiative will create new ways of providing protection and support to those individuals who have been victimized by prostitution and human trafficking,” says Nyamko Sabuni.

To carry out this commission, the administrative board is working with the National Organization for Women’s and Girls’ Shelters in Sweden and the Swedish Association of Women’s Shelters and Young Women’s Empowerment Centers.

**Improved preventive work**

A vital part of preventive work is increasing knowledge about both prostitution and human trafficking and their victims for the purpose of changing attitudes. Knowledge and information directed to children and youth are given special priority.

Ethical guidelines and codes of conduct for agencies and organizations constitute another vital element in the prevention work related to countering the demand and lowering recruitment rates for prostitution. Efforts to create alternative income opportunities for those currently working as prostitutes are also needed.

**Improved quality and efficiency in the legal system**

The fight against human trafficking is a core element of the government’s long-term strategy for combating serious organized crime. It is particularly important that this strategy make a pronounced impact on the legal system.

“This venture plays an important role in the mobilization against serious organized crime, an issue that the government has addressed previously. Through these intensified efforts, it is creating conditions that will give the police and prosecutors greater singleness of purpose than they have today in the fight against prostitution and human trafficking,” says Minister for Justice Beatrice Ask.

**Expanded national and international collaboration**

The work to combat human trafficking for sexual and other purposes presupposes global and inter-regional collaboration, as well as a sector-comprehensive plan of attack, which involves agencies, volunteer organizations, researchers and the public. This work also requires concurrent efforts in a number of different areas. Collaboration and coordination efforts with regard to prevention measures and protection of and support to the victims need to be expanded.
“The government is concentrating a lot of resources on combating prostitution and trafficking. Norway has just followed Sweden’s lead with a sex purchase law, and other countries are considering doing the same thing. I am happy that they see Sweden as a role model,” says Nyamko Sabuni.

In addition, the government has instructed the Swedish Institute to organize a visitors’ program for key foreign players who want to study Sweden’s work in preventing and combating prostitution and trade with human beings for sexual purposes. The institute has also been asked to arrange activities and presentations abroad, which will provide perspective and background related to Sweden’s contributions to these issues.

**Higher level of knowledge**

A broad knowledge base is crucial when it comes to formulating effective measures to neutralize prostitution and combat human trafficking. Research and other forms of study are necessary in order to broaden and deepen the expertise in agencies and volunteer organizations that are active in this field. Both quantitative and qualitative study is required. Experiences from other countries are also important and can constitute a basis for increased collaboration among them.

“The government must be a voice for the rights of all people, no matter what their sexual orientation. All too often, homosexual, bisexual and transgender persons are forgotten in discussions about sex buying and human trafficking. We need more knowledge in order to be able to identify the type of protection and support the members of these groups need,” says Nyamko Sabuni.

Since the government’s action plan was launched, several of its measures have been implemented. The government’s concentrated efforts are extremely important, because they further strengthen the work against prostitution and human trafficking and the organized crime that is behind these operations.
A little over ten years ago, a Lithuanian girl committed suicide in Malmö by jumping off a bridge onto a highway. Prior to that, she had been exploited by sex-buying men in Sweden. In the end, her desperation and sense of powerlessness became so overwhelming that she took her own life. She was just 16 year old. In a compelling and frightening way, the 2002 Swedish feature film Lilja 4-ever, directed by Lukas Moodysson, shows what human trafficking is about—the life that young girls are forced into.

Sex buying and human trafficking are cynical acts that have nothing to do with sexuality and love. Rather, they are bizarre, appalling forms of male domination over, primarily, women and young girls, but also of men’s oppression of other males, primarily boys.
He could be your neighbor, or a colleague at work, or someone you talked to at a party last weekend. He appears to live a normal life—he’s married, has children, a good job—in other words, he’s a regular guy. But he also buys sexual services and thereby supports the market for sexual exploitation, prostitution and trafficking. And under Swedish law he is a criminal.

This publication presents the Swedish view on human trafficking for sexual purposes and prostitution. Its point of departure is that the demand for sexual services sustains these deplorable activities. Seen from this perspective, Sweden has taken a number of important steps, including stricter laws; measures designed to increase cooperation among authorities and organizations; and efforts to ensure better protection for victims and safe repatriation to their countries of origin.