Vulnerable and Marginalized Women and Young Girls:

The development of Human Trafficking in Sweden

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Abstract

In this thesis, the author explores the main factors that may have contributed to the development of human trafficking in terms of sexual exploitation in Sweden. The aim is to identify the background of the main women and young girls exposed to human trafficking and to identify the factors that could potentially decrease the development of human trafficking. The theoretical underpinnings, which incorporated the push and pull model, the postcolonial feminist theory and the routine activity theory, as well as the information provided by the seven semi-structured interviews, provided a necessary framework to analyze and discuss the findings. The knowledgeable and experienced informants of this qualitative thesis consist of relevant authorities and organizations in the field of human trafficking. The findings of this thesis suggested that human trafficking in women and young girls for sexual exploitation is driven by poverty, the experience of war, lack of opportunities, the trafficker’s greed for profit and the demand for prostitution from countries such as Sweden. The findings moreover presented that the women and young girls that generally are exposed to human trafficking in terms of sexual exploitation, usually originate from third world countries and through circular migration within Europe. The results of this thesis furthermore presented various aspects and areas of improvement that are needed for relevant actors, in order for them to jointly work towards their common goal; to combat human trafficking cases in Sweden.

Key words: Human trafficking, Women, Young Girls, Push and Pull, Motivated Offenders, Postcolonial Feminism, Sweden
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Finally, with this thesis, my intention is to acknowledge the violence that vulnerable and marginalized women and young girls experience in human trafficking. The effects of violence vary from immediate to long-term consequences. This dissertation is therefore dedicated to all women and young girls that currently are, or have been, exposed to human trafficking.
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1. Introduction
In recent years, the proportion of reported and unreported cases of human trafficking for sexual exploitation has increased. There are currently more people than ever around the world who have been exposed to sexual exploitation. Human trafficking in all forms is a violation of human rights, and the crime of it is moreover complex and dynamic which is taking place in a wide variety of contexts and is extremely difficult to detect (Heber 2018). Human trafficking is rapidly becoming a lucrative industry that involves the forced movement of people internally within countries, or externally across borders. It has become an international concern and a growing challenge during recent years, and an issue that has affected many people around the world, especially migrants (Limoncelli 2009; Sida 2018, Heber 2018).

Human trafficking has during the 2000s become established as one of the most serious problems in the Western world and has been given a prominent position on both national and international agendas (Heber 2018). The Western and Scandinavian country Sweden is for instance known for being a prominent and leading country in the Western world (SI 2018) which furthermore prides itself on its adherence to human and labour rights. On the other hand, Sweden has additionally been identified as a transit and destination country for people subject to human trafficking (Woolfson, Thörnqvist & Olsson 2011; European Commission 2019). Human trafficking has in Sweden been a growing phenomenon since 2010, with both an increase of reported and unreported cases. The group that has mostly been exposed to trafficking in Sweden has been women and young girls which significantly have been exposed to sexual exploitation (European Commission 2019; Migrationsverket 2017).

Human trafficking in the form sexual exploitation has been identified as one of the most widespread forms in Sweden, which is why this qualitative thesis intends to shed light on this underdeveloped research field by attempting to identify the main factors of the development of trafficking and identify the main profile of the women and young girls that are exposed to human trafficking in Sweden. By interviewing relevant actors in the field of human trafficking, and by having the lens of the push-pull model, the postcolonial feminist theory and the routine activity theory, I will provide an enhanced understanding of the developing phenomenon for the reader and contribute to the research field of human trafficking.
1.1 Aim and research questions
The aim of this thesis is to identify the main factors behind the growing development of trafficking in Sweden, the profile of the women and young girls being exposed to trafficking and the factors that could potentially decrease the development. The thesis will, therefore, be guided by the two following questions to achieve this aim:

- What are the main factors behind the development of human trafficking in Sweden, and what factors could potentially decrease human trafficking, according to the Swedish authorities and organizations working in the field of trafficking?
- Who are the women and young girls that are sexually exploited in Sweden?

1.2 Delimitations
There are a few delimitations that are worth emphasizing because of its impact on the end result of this study and because of the importance to outline the process in which the research has been conducted. First and foremost, this thesis is solely delimited to women and young girls who have been exposed to trafficking in Sweden in terms of sexual exploitation. Secondly, this study will be based on the data collected from interviews made with relevant authorities and organizations based in Sweden, who work closely with issues concerning human trafficking and possess much knowledge on this topic. It is important to emphasize that the study largely will be based on the information and the knowledge of the authorities and organizations in combination with the selected theoretical framework for this thesis. I have not been in direct contact with the people exposed to human trafficking and I have personally not heard their stories, nor have I seen the business side of it. I am simply seeking to answer my research questions through a secondary interpretation of the actors understanding and experience. I have therefore for this thesis trusted the informant’s expertise and knowledge in the field of human trafficking. Moreover, this thesis will exclusively focus on human trafficking, and not smuggling, which is more elaborated in chapter 1.2.

1.3 Structure of the thesis
Following this introduction and the aim of the thesis, a contextualization in chapter 2.0 will be presented, which will undertake a description of the historical, legal, and political context concerning human trafficking in Sweden. The third chapter presents a selection of previous research, which will shed further light on the field of human trafficking. The theoretical underpinnings will be presented in chapter four. The theoretical framework of this thesis consists of the push and pull model, the postcolonial feminist theory and the routine activity
theory. Chapter five presents the methodological framework in detail, where information about sampling, data analysis, ethical and philosophical considerations are provided. Thereafter, the findings are presented where the informant’s knowledge concerning human trafficking in Sweden will be demonstrated. The following analytical framework is used to interpret the data and answer the research questions. Finally, the last chapter concludes the study and provides suggestions for future research.
2. Contextual background
This contextual background is provided to better understand the history of human trafficking in Sweden and the attempts that previously have been made to reduce the development. This background chapter will furthermore provide a better understanding of how trafficking is differentiated to smuggling, which is important for the reader to comprehend when reading this thesis.

2.1 Defining human trafficking as phenomenon
In today’s world, trafficking is often referred to as the ‘modern day slavery’ or the ‘slavery of our time’ and furthermore portrayed as a threat to human security (Belser 2005: 3). On the basis of such a description, the historical ties that are made can be derived all the way back to ancient times. Yet, the understanding of human trafficking as a contemporary global problem made its way into public consciousness at the beginning of the twenty-first century, which was pushed mainly by governments and feminists. It has since been more acknowledged in the media. Human trafficking was at the turn of the twenty-first century identified by the United Nations as a transnational crime and was along with terrorism and drug trafficking described by political leaders as one of the three “evils” to haunt the globe (Kempadoo 2012: 7). Human trafficking in persons is more precisely described by the UN Trafficking Protocol in Article 3, paragraph (a) as:

the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation (United Nations 2004).

Human trafficking consists of both men and women, working in both legitimate and illicit markets and may in other forms take place within forced labour, slavery, removal of organs or similar practices (Bales 2007: 271). However, the most acknowledged feature of trafficking in human beings has been sexual exploitation (Van der Laan et al. 2011). Human trafficking evidentially leads to the economic exploitation of the victims who are paid little or no money, increasing the material welfare of the perpetrators (Belser 2005: 2).

The Protocol approaches trafficking from the viewpoint of organized crime (Andrijasevic 2010: 7). States are encouraged by the United Nations to adapt to the broad definition of the
UN Protocol into national legislation, or to implement a similar legislative definition that acknowledges that trafficking may occur across borders and within a country; that is for a range of exploitive reasons and that it takes place with or without the involvement of organized crime groups. In its legal form, trafficking is considered to be a crime against the human rights of a person. The crime in question involves in most cases two actors – one person who commits the crime, generally referred to as the ‘trafficker’ and one whom the crime is committed against for the purpose of exploitation of that individual, which is generally referred to as the ‘victim of trafficking’. In this sense, ‘victims of trafficking’ are the ones who have their human rights violated and are therefore considered to be crime victims. Whether it is for the cause of exploiting another human being for e.g. sexual purposes or forced labour, the crime is still against the human rights of the subject individual and a crime of trafficking. Smuggling of another human being, on the other hand, is a crime against the state, involving the violation of immigration laws and public order, and does not by its definition involve the violation of the rights of the smuggled individual (Kraler & Rogoz 2011). It is, however, important to note that human trafficking also is perceived by many as something that happens to women, as opposed to exploitation experienced by women who make a concerted and legitimate attempt to change their lives. In this regard, attention is often focused on the idea of a young woman who is unwillingly and unknowingly sold by her family or husband into sex work (Vijeyarasa 2012). It is therefore of high significance to provide all perspectives of the exposed and subject individual before analyzing the collected data of this thesis in order to provide a fair and objective narrative of the person being exposed to trafficking.

Another important core stone to clarify is that the term ‘trafficking’ as well as ‘illegal migration’ and ‘human trafficking’ was during a large part of the 1990s tended to be spoken about interchangeably (Kraler & Rogoz (2011). Although the terms have been problematized more frequently, this tendency still remains to this day. It is important to note that these concepts may easily become nested to each other, however, they should not be considered as a term with the same meaning. These concepts have different conceptual categories that have different consequences, both politically and legally, and lastly, the legal definition of ‘trafficking’ which previously has been described, does not include smuggling as a defining element and neither does migration. However, in many European countries, trafficking continues to be spoken about in relation to migration, and especially in many European
countries where trafficking often is spoken about in terms of cross-border migration, both from within as well as from outside members states of the European Union (EU).

2.2 Human trafficking legislation in Sweden
The Act on violence against women (*Kvinnofridslagen*) came into force in January 1999 after many years of debate initiated by the Swedish women’s movement which have been described as a cornerstone of Swedish efforts to create a contemporary, democratic society where women and girls may live free of all forms of male violence (Ekberg 2004: 1187). It was moreover the first law that addressed the root cause of prostitution and trafficking in persons which was explained to be the demand which was the men who assumed the right to purchase persons for prostitution purposes. It was additionally described that the purpose of the law was that the buyers would risk punishment, which would fundamentally lead to a decrease in prostitution and the local prostitution markets would become less lucrative (Ekberg 2004: 1187). This law and the ones currently implemented were primarily promoted by the abolitionist, radical feminist movement that has been dominant in Nordic countries, especially Sweden, for more than two decades. The aim of the movement was the abolition of all types of sexual violence against women, and hence the abolition of prostitution and sex trafficking. They did this by challenging position via laws that targeted sex buyers and others who benefited economically from prostitution, rather than targeting the prostitute. The Swedish regulatory responses do however not only stem from feminist politics but are also grounded in international obligations, e.g. the UN Palermo Protocol (Heber 2018). However, the Act on Violence against women (*kvinnofridslagen*) has been described to be highly controversial because of the notion that it tends to force sex workers underground and make them less visible, as opposed to actually reducing the number of trafficking causes (Jesionka 2018). This law has furthermore been explained to make it dangerous for sex workers to operate.

The first law that was implemented specifically against sex trafficking came into force in 2002 in Sweden, with sex trafficking being prohibited via the penal code in line with the Palermo protocol. The sentence for sex trafficking was specified between two and ten years’ imprisonment. During 2004, the law became extended to include all types of human trafficking, such as forced labour and domestic trafficking, and it was no longer mandatory for the act to be transnational for it to be considered an act of human trafficking (Heber 2018). However, in the year 2010, the trafficking law in Sweden was updated. The update of the law
provided a clearer and more appropriate description of the crime. Thereby, the application of the penal provision could be made more effective and the criminal law protection against trafficking in human beings more strengthened. The update of the law mainly includes that the so called kontrollrekvisitet become removed, which has previously meant that it must be possible for the person exposed to trafficking to prove that a person with violence or unlawfulness has exercised control over them and with that forced them into prostitution (SVT 2010).

In addition, July 1, 2018, a new revised paragraph was implemented in Sweden, concerning trafficking which included exploitation as a form of trafficking. The updated law implied that it would be prohibited and punishable to exploit people through forced labour, begging, or labour with unreasonable terms. The law furthermore included that the punishment for human trafficking and procuring would be strengthened. More specifically according to the government of Sweden (Sveriges Riksdag 2018) the law declares that:

- The punishment for human trafficking in the form of exploitation is at most four years of prison.
- The crime of human trafficking will become clarified so that the law becomes easier to implement.
- Max punishment for the procurement of sexual service (koppleri) is strengthened to eight to ten year’s imprisonment.

2.3 Human trafficking in Sweden

Sweden has been identified as a destination, source, and transit country for women and young girls subject to sex trafficking (U.S. Department of State 2016). Trafficking has furthermore been an increasing development in Sweden for the last decade according to multiple sources and relevant Swedish authorities (Migrationsverket 2019, NMT 2018, Svenska Dagbladet 2018). Sweden had the year 2017, 444 reported trafficking cases, to a marginal decrease year 2018 with 384 reported cases. The Swedish Migration Agency does however not see the marginal decrease as completely positive because it may possibly have been an increase of unreported cases instead (Migrationsverket 2019). This is because of the fact that there are many people being exposed to human trafficking in Sweden that essentially is a part of a “hidden population”. The true number of trafficking in persons is therefore unknown (Tyldum & Brunovskis 2005: Belser, de Cock & Mehran 2005).
In 2018 there were 133 reported cases of sexual exploitation in Sweden involving women and young girls primarily from Romania, Bulgaria, Poland and Nigeria (Polisen 2019). Human trafficking in Sweden for sexual purposes is more of a metropolitan phenomenon but it certainly occurs in smaller cities as well. Most of the women and young girls involved in human trafficking are allegedly aware that they are going to become exposed to the field of prostitution, but they are generally not aware of the conditions. They are usually not aware that they might be facing debts and fees that they are expected to payback such as the travel fees, rent, food and hygiene products that they initially are provided by the traffickers (Polisen 2019).

Sexual exploitation and begging are moreover the largest forms of human trafficking in Sweden because of the number of cases identified by key authorities, which significantly has increased the last couple of years (NMT 2018). The number of suspected cases in the form of labour related trafficking and the individuals being forced to commit crimes on behalf of profiteers has additionally increased. It has moreover been shown that multiple exploitations has increased, which means that individuals exposed to trafficking are exposed to different forms of trafficking simultaneously (Länsstyrelsen Stockholm 2017: 9).

Children that are between the ages of 16-17 years old are commonly known to be involved in human trafficking in Sweden (Unicef 2018). It is common that children are brought to Sweden to commit a crime or to be on the streets begging. The traffickers then exploit the children’s vulnerable situation. This is described by the police authorities in Sweden to be the toughest mapping of crime. It has additionally been emphasised that the traffickers at times can take away the trafficked persons passport after arrival to their destination country in order to restrict their freedom of movement, which they are supposedly able to get back after they have paid an amount of money to the traffickers (Polisen 2019).

The mapping of the prevalence and extent of prostitution in Sweden has been carried out during different periods and with different purposes. Since the Swedish Sex Purchase Act was implemented the year 1999, the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare commissioned the Government to regularly map the prostitution magnitude in the country (Holmström 2008: 303). However, in 2018, the Swedish County Administrative Board received the mission to map the situation concerning sexual exploitation in Sweden
(Länsstyrelsen Stockholm 2018). In addition, the National Criminal Police, municipalities, county councils and voluntary organization regularly compile knowledge of the human trafficking situation in Sweden. The Swedish Criminal Police concluded in 2007 that the selling of sexual services has become more complex because buyers at that time developed the ability to order women through advertisements on the internet and other online forums. The ordered women were sold and sent to Sweden with travel and hotel fees paid by the traffickers. The money was mostly transferred in person in cash or by depositing money into an account and the direction for time and place occurred online or through the phone. It is therefore according to the National Criminal Police, difficult to detect the sex trade in today’s society (2007: 6).
The literature review is an integral part of the research process and makes a valued contribution to practically all operational steps. The sources provided in this chapter are important to this dissertation as it facilitates a deeper appreciation of the various dimensions of human trafficking. There is, however, limited research on the topic of human trafficking, especially research on the affiliated sex industry (Giusta, Tommaso & Strøm 2008:1). The lack of good quality data is of great hindrance to the scholars, and most likely a reason why the interest in the issue seems to be low (Giusta, Tommaso & Strøm: 61; Jakobsson & Kotsadam 2015:1). Limited research was however found, concerning different factors that have contributed to the development of human trafficking, as well as post-colonial studies made regarding human trafficking and the Western narrative of trafficking.

Gunilla Ekberg is a long-time radical feminist activist and lawyer who has also been a former special advisor on issues regarding prostitution and trafficking in women and children to the Swedish government. Ekberg (2004) concluded in her report, which was based on numerous cases reported to the Swedish Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications – that the number of prostitution in Sweden had decreased rather substantially from 2,500 in the year of 1999 to 1,500 in the year of 2002, with street prostitution, in particular, decreasing by approximately 30% and 50% after the prohibition of prostitution. However, Ekberg additionally emphasised that there may have been an increase in the so-called “hidden prostitution” via internet and escort services after the prohibition, but that buyers now would risk facing criminal charges for purchasing sex. The study indicated that the shrinking market in Sweden indicated that the prohibition of prostitution in particular cases has a negative scale effect on prostitution markets, yet an uncertainty of the number of hidden prostitution cases.

In addition to the report made by Ekberg, Diego Hernandez and Alexandra Rudolph (2015) in their quantitative study examined the determinants of human trafficking victims inflows into European countries based on identified victim numbers. Their empirical results suggested that human trafficking occurs within well-established migrant and refugee corridors and that victims are more prone to be exploited in host countries that have weak institutions. This study explains that legalization activities have no direct effect on victim inflows and that the liberalization of border controls increases trafficking flows. The authors found no effect of host countries acceptance rates of asylum seekers and concluded the report by emphasising that effective policies against human trafficking require sound institutions and a focus on the
entire trafficking chain from the victim’s country of origin to their destination country (Hernandez & Rudolph 2015: 118).

Moreover, research made by Laurie Hauber (1998) acknowledged elements that have contributed to the development of human trafficking in terms of prostitution within the EU. She explains that the lifted travel restrictions from Eastern Europe to Western Europe, thus the free movement within the EU, have made it easier to enter countries in Western Europe, which have made human trafficking to increase. She also emphasises that many women seek employment in Western European countries where unemployment is lower and the standard of living is higher. What is also acknowledged by Hauber (1998: 185) is that many Western European countries have imposed strict limits on legal migration for employment, which is why there are women who turn to traffickers in order to obtain employment legally.

Furthermore, quantitative research by Toman Omar Mahmoud and Christoph Trebesch (2010) found that individual trafficking risks are much higher in regions where emigration flows are large. The main reasons are that there are lower recruitment costs for traffickers in emigration areas and furthermore to a less extent more negative self-selection into migration. The study showed that illegal migration increases trafficking risks and that better information is needed to effectively reduce the crime, e.g. through awareness campaigns (Mahmoud & Trebesch 2010: 173). Others found reasons, why women and young girls leave their country of origin, is according to the anthology by Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russell Hochschild (2003) possible issues within the family, conflicts with other families, the hopefulness of finding a partner or to try something new. It is additionally explained that women may have a “glorification of the Western world” and that seeing the world from such a perspective may tempt individuals to migrate to another country in the west at all costs (Ehrenreich & Hochschild 2003: 154-163).

In addition, obstacles in people’s country of origin have described driving a force for participating in trafficking activities. In Romana Vijeyarasa’s (2012) qualitative research, for instance, she studied the role of barriers to full and equal participation in the labour market for Ukrainian women as a driver to human trafficking. The researcher found a direct correlation between the denial of full economic participation for women and the aspiration to seek employment opportunities aboard. The researcher also acknowledges the issue regarding the perception of opportunities abroad among the Ukraine population. There is an unrealistic
expectation of the prospects of work and life abroad that attracts women with decent working conditions in Ukraine, which also was found in the study by Ehrenreich and Hochschild.

Jenny Westerstrand who is a Swedish scholar has studied the international debate on prostitution and trafficking, as it has been conducted in the feminist theory field since the 1980s, with a focus on which discourses appear in the debate. Through her discourse analysis, Westerstrand concluded that there were two conflict lines found that is described as a bisection, one of them being referred to as abolitionist discourse and a normalization discourse. According to the abolitionist discourse, prostitution is an expression of unequal relationships, whereas advocates of the normalization position see prostitution as a matter between two individuals (Westerstrand 2008: 127-129). In addition, based on the abolitionist position, a radical feminist position is identified where patriarchal structures are pointed out as the cause of prostitution and sex buyers are essentially understood as synonymous with violence against women. Within the normalization position, however, a liberal feminist position is included which is based on the view of prostitution as a free choice (Westerstrand 2008).

Researcher such as Jo Doezema, who furthermore is a post-colonial scholar, has explained in her research (2004) that the most official documents on migration, prostitution, and trafficking matters portrays women from the global South as submissive, ignorant, poor, low-educated and of problematic social and family background. Doezema furthermore explains that the characteristic of the western anti-trafficking is their tendency to infantilize migrant sex workers. She furthermore describes that the western anti-trafficking narratives have the understanding that migrant prostitutes are irresponsible under law provisions, naive and incapable of being responsible for their own destiny on the basis of rational criteria. Another post-colonial scholar, Adriana Piscitelli (2007) has in her qualitative study on Brazilian sex workers in Spain, pointed out that Brazilian prostitutes are depicted not only as loving and caring women, but also as sensual and erotic, that is if they were naturally over-sexualized. According to Piscitelli, erotic, aesthetic, and sexual attributed are built on a racial differentiation: the particular femininity assigned to Brazilian women is directly linked to their darker skin tone. The historical mythical idea of the ‘Brazilianness’ shapes the Brazilian women as sensual and always inclined to sexual experiences, which reveals a clearly Eurocentric and colonial character (Piscitelli 2007). Both studies unveil how Eurocentric attributions prescribe the notion of a racialized and sexualized ‘other’.
4. Theoretical framework
The push-pull model, the postcolonial feminist theory and the routine activity theory constitute an integrated framework for this research. The theoretical framework was chosen after the data analysis of the interviews was conducted which correspondingly reflects the contributing factors of the individuals being exposed to human trafficking. The research results were then applied to the selected framework. The purpose of integrating the theoretical framework is to present the interaction of probabilities from different theoretical perspectives that could explain the factors contributing to a person being exposed and vulnerable to trafficking and the roots of the development of human trafficking in Sweden. As King (2012: 11) explained, “migration is diverse and has many sides and cannot be explained in a single theory” which fundamentally is why these three perspectives have been selected. In short, the push-pull model was selected for this study to identify the main factors contributing to individuals being a part of human trafficking. The postcolonial feminist perspective will assist me in navigating explanations to why a certain specific group of women and young girls are primarily being exposed to human trafficking. In final, the routine activity theory will for this thesis be used in order to investigate the crime of human trafficking, and more explicitly, investigate how a motivated target, suitable target and the absence of a capable guardian have affected the development of trafficking in Sweden.

4.1 The push-pull model
The classic push-pull model that dominated the migration research until around the 1960s claimed that the factors that pushed people out of their country of origin towards their destination country were economic, environmental and demographic factors. The model reflects the neoclassical economics paradigm which is based on the principle of utility maximisation, rational choice, factor price, differentials between regions and labour mobility (Castles et al. 2014: 28). This theory has vastly been utilized in migration research in order to explain the different reasons why people choose to migrate or move from one place to another.

Push factors are those which are forcing people to emigrate due to severe conditions in their countries of origin, such as population density, political repression and lack of economic opportunities. It could moreover be unemployment and underdevelopment, low productivity, poor economic conditions, lack of opportunities for advancement, exhaustion of natural resources and natural calamities and many others in their area (Adams 1968). According to
Adams, the push factors are those features in the country of origin for a given profession that produce emigration (Adams 1968: 126).

On the other hand, pull factors can be described as factors that are attracting individuals to another region for better opportunities and prospects in life. Pull factors may involve the availability of land, political and economic freedom and the demand for labour (Castles et al. 2014: 28). The push factors are in short a contrast to pull factors. They consist of the idea of possibilities of higher standards of living, and moreover, the perception at better opportunities exists in larger cities abroad (Shelley 2010).

It is highly polemical to discuss which of these factors that are more important in a decision to migrate. There are researchers that proclaim that push factors are more important than pull factors because “they feel that it is the rural problems rather than the urban attractions that play a dominating role in the migration of the population” (Kainth 2009: 85). Other researchers claim that the pull factors are more important when deciding to migrate because they “emphasize high rates of investment in urban areas leading to more employment and business opportunities and greater attraction for the urban way of life” (Kainth 2009: 86). But mostly there are researchers that mean that both factors are equally important because they are explained to be closely interrelated. People that are essentially pushed into migration are simultaneously pulled by the expectations of finding something better elsewhere (Kainth 2009: 86). In addition, according to the push-pull model, migration ensues as an outcome of the combination of push and pull factors and has the ability to explain migration on both a macro and micro level. On the rather broader scale, people migrate because of the uneven spatial distribution of labour. In some regions, for example, labour is abundant while capital is scarce which results in low wage levels. However, the opposite exists in other regions where workers migrate from low-wage economies to high-wage (King 2012: 13). At the micro level, migration is initiated by the decisions made by the ‘rational actor’ who weighs up the pros and cons of emigrating versus staying in the country of origin, based on the abundant information about the options (King 2012: 14). Sjaastad (1962) interpreted the outcome of the cost-benefit calculus as a decision to migrate based on the returns to the individual’s investment to his or her personal human capital.
4.2 Postcolonial feminist theory

Between the late 1970s and the early 1980s, the meeting between feminism and postcolonialism made important contributions to the discipline of International Relations. Postcolonial feminism arose as a reaction to the feminist theory as developed in the U.S. and Europe by questioning its essentialised image of ‘Third World’ women. Academics and activist from southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America, and African Americans began to blame ‘First World’ feminism for neglecting the local experiences, motivations, customs, and demands of such non-western subjects of study (Valadier 2018; Kempadoo & Doeszema 1998; Piscitelli 2007)

Postcolonial feminism has by its critical interpretation of the texts and discourses of western feminist discourses and by bringing to the forefront the experiences of women of color, of ethnic minorities, and of Third World migrants, contributed to destabilising the theories thus far consolidated. Postcolonial feminist studies highlight the roles of racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in the oppression of women of color, by problematizing several feminist critiques of capitalism and patriarchy (Peterson & Runyan 1999). With this perspective, human trafficking in the form of sexual exploitation is understood as a force that capitalises and reinforces the hierarchies of gender, race, and nationality (Valadier 2018: 509-510).

Moreover, postcolonial feminism describes that the experiences of women vary along cultural, ethnic, and geographic lines. Oppression is not a universal experience among women, for instance, women living in the developing world live different lives and experience different forms of oppression than more privileged women in the western world (Chambers & Watkins 2012). Unlike the intersectional theory and other mainstream feminist movements, the postcolonial feminist theory tends to revolve around the identities and experiences of non-Western women. According to postcolonial feminist scholars, women from postcolonial developing nations are the ones who experience the horrors of human trafficking severely (Chambers & Watkins 2012). The majority of these women are migrants who have fled poverty and persecution in their home countries who are coerced into a verity of exploitative forms upon arriving alone into a new country.

In addition, postcolonial feminists criticize the colonial discourses and practices of western feminists due to their presumption of wishing to ‘save’ or ‘enlighten’ women from the global
South, especially by portraying a negative image of the innocent and vulnerable trafficked victim from third world countries (Berman 2003; Jahic & Finckenauer 2005).

A central starting point for the formation of postcolonial theory is essentially the view of colonialism as something that still characterizes the world, both economically and culturally. According to Stuart Hall, no society can be defined as completely neutral or outsiders from the postcolonial (Eriksson, Baaz & Thörn 2005: 17). From this viewpoint, racism in today’s Europe is understood partly as an inheritance from the era of colonialism, and partly in relation to the new conditions that characterize the “multicultural” postcolonial society (Eriksson, Baaz, Thörn 2005: 13-16).

The postcolonial feminists have highlighted a characteristic of the western anti-trafficking discourse and their tendency to infantilise migration sex workers. By linking them with children, they implicitly, according to the scholars of postcolonial feminism, strengthen the idea that their migration project in order to work in the sex industry in Europe cannot be the result of a mature, conscious and autonomous decision, but instead can only result from a lack of judgment due to their young age. Scholars of the postcolonial feminist thought furthermore believe that by comparing migrant prostitutes to children, who are irresponsible under law provisions, evidences the general understanding of immigrant women as naive and incapable of being responsible for their own destiny on the basis of rational criteria. According to this view, these women would need protection by states because of their character of being easily manipulated (Valadier 2018: 510). Another characteristic of the western anti-trafficking discourses highlighted by post-colonial feminists is the tendency to portray the women from the global south as submissive, ignorant, poor, low-educated and of problematic social and family background (Kempadoo & Doezema 1998; Doezema 2004).

In general, the ‘other’ women, from ethnicities, races, cultures, and societies outside the western world are labeled as defenceless, uneducated, sexualised and subjected to traditional gender models. In the context of sexual trade, such categories of ‘color, culture, religion, origin, and race are used to exclude and exploit the other. Sexualisation of race and ethnicity is described as an integral part of the game of power relations and exclusion, namely between European citizens and aliens, between European and immigrant women, or between white and women of color (Valadier 2018: 511). Lastly, according to the lens of the postcolonial feminism, the global sex trade leans heavily on the bodies of women of color, meaning people
from third world countries. Being a minority, previous homeless youth, and of color are the main factors according to the postcolonial feminism theory increases the chances of being exposed to human trafficking (Kempadoo & Doezema 1998). Sex work of brown and black women is essentially drawn upon a way to develop “underdeveloped” regions of the world, either by attracting foreign exchange or as an export commodity servicing industries abroad (Kempadoo 2001:33).

4.3 Routine activity theory
Lawrence E. Cohen and Marcus Felson proposed a new approach, in the late 1970s, to examine crime trends and cycles called the routine activity approach. The routine activity theory is a subsidiary of the rational choice theory. Cohen and Felson proposed this research to better gain an understanding of why crime rates were increasing after World war II. The researchers detected that predatory crime rates were increasing between the years of 1947 to 1974, however, the income, employment, and education were too rising, which correspondingly challenged many of the periods popular theories of crime causation (Cohen & Felson 1979). Cohen and Felson explained in their theory that predatory crimes involve both direct or proximal contact with a victim, resulting in the victim becoming violated, injured or having something stolen from them (Cohen & Felson 1979).

The routine activity theory has previously been used to examine predatory crimes, which range from sexual offenses (Mustaine & Tewksbury 2002) to modern day piracy (Sheetz 2013). The theory has been used by law enforcement for the purpose of crime control practices (Boetig 2006). Mustaine and Tewksbury (2002) examined the higher incidences of sexual assaults among females than males on college campuses and concluded in their study that not all women are at the same risk of victimization but rather that some activities of a chosen lifestyle may increase one’s risk of victimization. They furthermore concluded that the exposure to motivated offenders in places that lack capable guardianship has a greater impact on victimization than certain lifestyle activities.

The theory strongly focuses on individuals activities and the impact that changes in such activities may have an impact on criminal opportunity (Cohen & Felson 1979). The activities in question often include employment, sexual outlet, housing, and social interaction but may include other activities if they are a part of normal life for the individual. In addition, the
researchers explained that the activities occurring outside on an individual’s home, involving people who are not family members, may have a greater probability of being victimized.

Ultimately, the routine activity theory provides three key elements that need to exist for a predatory crime to take place. The first element is a motivated offender with criminal intentions and the ability to act on these inclinations (Cohen & Felson 1979: 589). A motivated offender must be present for a predatory crime to take place, which is why this element is essential in the theory. Cohen & Felson (1979: 589) described the presence of offenders in society to be both common and abundant. They also explained that they take criminal inclination as a given and emphasised that the activities which bring an offender and a victim together, demand more attention. They furthermore explain that the motivated offender possesses criminal inclination or will, as well as the capability to carry out the crime (Boetig 2006; Cohen & Felson 1979). Cohen & Felson when explaining the theory, applied more focus on offenders when it came to selecting a target for victimization. They essentially postulate that criminal activities are a “structurally significant phenomenon”, meaning that violations are neither random nor trivial events (1979: 390). As a consequence, it is the routine of the activities people participate in over the course of their day which result in some individuals more susceptible to being viewed as suitable targets by a rationally calculating offender. The theory conveys the pattern of offending to the everyday patterns of social interaction. If there thus is an unprotected target and there are sufficient rewards, a motivated offender will commit a crime (Felson & Cohen 1979: 390).

The second element is a suitable target or victim. Suitable targets of crime can either be individuals or objects that are positioned in time and space which risk being violated or stolen by a motivated offender (Felson & Clarke 1979). When determining suitable targets, there are four factors that are being considered. First and foremost, a suitable target is one that the offender values. Value is not limited to financial worth but may be any perceived value, therefore, value is not constant between offenders but rather it varies from person to person (Sheetz 2013). The second factor is inertia, which applies to both inanimate and animate objects alike and refers to the weight or size of the item. Objects that may be light and small or even portable or self-propelled would have favourable inertia. For animate objects, such as people, inertia is also defined by whether or not the victim has the ability to resist attackers with or without weapons (Cohen & Felson 1979: 591). The third factor of determining target suitability is visibility which entails the amount of exposure that a target has. Basically, when
a target is easily obtained or is in plain sight, then it has a high level of visibility (Sheetz 2013). The final factor when determining target suitability is access which essentially means how attainable a person or object is to tamper with. Felson & Clarke (1998) explains that activities could make a target more accessible because they are engaged in a task that limits their ability to resist attacks, and furthermore, accessibility may also be determined by the location of a target in a structure or the patterns that the target follows on the street. The choice is influenced by the offender’s perception of the target’s vulnerability; the more suitable and accessible the target, the higher probability that a crime will take place. It is explained that the offenders are less prone to commit crimes if they can achieve personal goals through legitimate means (Sheetz 2013). This indicates that the motivation for criminals may be reduced if offenders perceive that there are alternatives to crime.

The last and third element is the absence of a capable guardian who can prevent the crime from happening (Cohen & Felson 1979). What fundamentally defines a capable guardian is simply any person, in close area, that can hinder a predatory crime from happening (Sheetz 2013). The guardian does not have to know that they are preventing a criminal activity from happening, and also, the guardian in questions can be either truthfully present or only believed to be present in the eyes of the offender (Sheetz 2013). Moreover, Cohen & Felson explained that (a) the concept of guardianship can apply to the self-protection of an individual; (b) guardians can oversee both a victim and the offender; (c) advancements in technology can be used to protect a person or defeat a target, which essentially means that a capable guardian can include a variety of objects. The absence of a capable guardianship is a very influential element of the routine activity theory because it can lead to the risk of victimization. The presence of a capable guardian is essentially held to deter individuals from offending. Guardianship may other than being present as a person who is able to act in a protective manner, furthermore act in the form of a more passive mechanical devices such as video surveillance or security systems. Such physical security measures help limit an offender’s access to suitable targets (Sheetz 2013). The key feature of the routine activity theory is the interaction of motivation, opportunity and targets. From this viewpoint, the presence of guardians will deter most offenders, rendering even attractive targets off limits. Consequently, the presence of opportunity coupled with a lack of guardianship increases criminal motivations and the probability of an offence taking place.
In final, Cohen and Felson explains that the lack of any of these elements is adequate to hinder the successful completion of a direct-contact predatory crime, and moreover, that the convergence in time and space of suitable targets and the absence of capable guardians may event lead to large increases in crime rates without necessarily requiring any increase in the structural conditions that motivate individuals to participate in crime (1979: 589).
5. Methodology

5.1 Philosophical consideration
This research utilizes a social constructivist approach that “sees the world as constructed, interpreted, and experienced by people in their interactions with each other and with wider social systems (F Tuli 2010: 100). The angle of the analysis is therefore influenced by my philosophical underpinnings, essentially how I understand and interpret the world. Ontologically, the philosophy of constructivism grows from the understanding of reality, as Oxford (1997: 37) explained “reality exists only in ideas or ideals”. Epistemologically, constructivism arises from the philosophy of knowing and generation of knowledge. Furthermore, the social constructivist view that this study has utilized builds on Kim’s (2001) belief that individuals produce knowledge socially and culturally, and also that the activities of individuals construct their understanding of reality. The philosophical underpinning and the broader research design of this research is suitable because it enables informants to develop their subjective meanings of their experiences and come to appreciate their own construction of knowledge. By allowing the informants to express themselves freely, I have attempted to absorb all knowledge provided and understand their narratives in order to provide an in-depth analysis for this present study. Ultimately, my philosophical underpinning allows me to critically view society and its structures, in this case, patriarchal structures, and gain some understanding for why women and young girls becomes exposed to human trafficking.

5.2 Inductive research design
This thesis will utilize an inductive case study design in order to investigate the relatively understudied field of human trafficking in Sweden. The inductive approach was selected because of the idea that construction of social reality is created and defined by the people, but moreover to retain a certain degree of freedom to react to the responds made by the informants. The study is of qualitative nature and material-driven, therefore, the analysis will establish the variation in the phenomenon, without quantifying it. With a qualitative approach as described by Creswell (2007), I am able to obtain knowledge by directly communicating with people through a face to face interaction, and through the phone. The selected approach for this study establishes understanding rather than explanation, by providing reasons rather than causes. By allowing multiple perspectives, different views are able to be explored, that people essentially have about human trafficking as a growing phenomenon. The qualitative perspective of this study will investigate human trafficking in depth and explore experiences,
meanings, perceptions and feelings based upon information collected from the informants, hence, is limiting in making generalisations and broad conclusions.

5.3 Semi-structured interviews
This research utilized semi-structured interviews because it conveys knowledge on social circumstances, exploring people’s feelings and experiences. Semi-structured interviews are deemed as a suitable tool because of its multiple beneficial attributes. As Silverman explains (2016: 52), interviews provide access to the meanings people attribute to their experiences and social worlds. By essentially using semi-structured interviews, the intent is to represent the informant’s view fairly and to portray it as consistent with their meanings as possible. The informants were by this approach moreover encouraged to freely discuss their own opinion and knowledge.

An interview guide was furthermore developed and used, with seven open-ended questions which focused on the informant’s knowledge on human trafficking in Sweden. The interview guide was used to achieve optimum use of the interview time and it served the useful purpose of exploring many informants more systematically. As DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree (2006) explained, the interview guide keeps the interview focused on the desired line of action. It furthermore provided the opportunity to regulate the order of the questions and provided the informants the possibility to expand their ideas. The themes of the questions were formulated in advance to make the interview process time efficient and structured. Moreover, having open-ended questions allowed me to adjust the questions asked. As Halperin and Heath (2012: 258) explained, semi-structured interviews are neither a free conversation nor a highly structured questionnaire. This form therefore allowed me to have a mutual dialogue, yet, with a narrative approach with the support from the used interview guide.

The collection of data was conducted by both face-to-face interviews and over the phone. Face-to-face interviews do have beneficial attributes because they allow me as a researcher to recognise social cues like voice, intonation and body language and to furthermore build upon the informants responses with more probing questions. Nevertheless, there are many advantages to phone interviews as well which increasingly is recognized as a valid tool of modern research. The advantages include its reachability, decreased financial resources and travel time (Bryman 2016: 484). By having interviews through the phone allowed the informant to feel comfortable, and made the interview less formal. However, conducting
interviews through the phone have the disadvantage of not recognizing the physical interaction such as the body language of the informant (Bryman 2012: 488). Nevertheless, the body language of the informant for this specific study was not of high relevance, because it was the knowledge of the informant that were of much higher significance than other characteristics. Both interview methods, however, managed to provide the data that was needed in order to answer the research questions.

The interviews were all conducted in Malmö, Sweden, while the other interviews were conducted over the phone. The interviews took place between 20th of February to 29th of March. In final, the informants were receptive to my questions and every answer received were useful and insightful for the purpose of this study.

5.4 Sample criteria and technique
The sample that was used for this study was through a purposeful sampling technique that is based on a non-probability approach. This approach implies that the sample has not been chosen by using a random selected method (Bryman and Bell 2007), thus some authorities and organisations were more likely to be selected instead of others. Because the selected authorities and organisations for this study are knowledgeable and highly informed in the field of human trafficking, the non-probability selective technique was the most appropriate for this study in order to ensure that the sample, the informants, were specifically selected based on my criteria for this study, which will below be described in further detail.

The primary criteria for the selected sample was that the informants acquired adequate knowledge regarding the field of human trafficking and preferably a high position within their authority/organisation. Given that this study focuses on human trafficking, the informants working closely with this issue was considered the most appropriate contributors, which additionally limits the potential risk of misrepresentations. The informants were therefore personnel from authorities and organisation with human trafficking as their main field of work. It was ultimately of importance to include interview persons from both authorities and organisations in order to highlight their respective perspectives on human trafficking in Sweden. Taylor (2006) explained that researchers are able to use their own social network in order to locate relevant informants, I was however reluctant to use my own network because of the level of frankness of my connections in the field and because I preferred to stay as unbiased as possible throughout the study.
The goal with the sample was to essentially describe a shared perception and experience among a relatively homogenous group. The sample of seven informants was therefore sufficient for this thesis. The selected informants have different missions and area of focus, yet, with the same target group and the same goal, to fundamentally combat the increase of human trafficking. Qualitative inquiry typically focuses on relatively small samples which can be studied more in depth, making the purposeful sampling method suitable for this specific study.

The results of the sampling approach led to the final selection of seven informants from authorities and organisations. One of them being an employee at the Swedish Ministry of Health and Social Affairs. The informants consists, moreover, of five representatives from Swedish authorities, one representative from the Government offices of Sweden, and one representative from the civil society, who all work in the field of human trafficking and are all in different ways either in direct contact with people who have been exposed to trafficking or who works close with questions concerning trafficking. The Swedish Migration Agency, for instance, work with human trafficking cases more hands on than the rest of the informants, while the informant from the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs broadly works with questions concerning human trafficking in line with the priorities of the Swedish government.

In addition, because one of the informants works for an organisation, it was of importance as the researcher of this study to have in mind that organisations in Sweden, that deals with social problems, receives public funds from the state (Johnsdotter Carlbom 2002: 194). This was taken into consideration when conducting the interviews, and is moreover important for the reader to have in mind when reading this dissertation.

5.5 The interview setting
The informants of this thesis were all able to decide the venue for the interviews in order to feel as comfortable as possible when providing me their knowledge and expertise, which Tjora (2012: 120) have recommended. The informants were furthermore provided the opportunity to decide whether the interview would be conducted through the phone or in person. Most informants wanted to have the interview through the phone, meaning that the informant could be interviewed by staying at his/her workplace, while I made sure to be in a quiet environment with no risk of being disrupted. Some informants, however, wished for the interview to take place at their office.
Before all interviews, emails were sent to every informant which covered the general points to be discussed, in order for them to prepare for the interviews. By indicating the points to be covered ahead of time, the informants become prepared of the topic to be discussed but more importantly, the informants were able to inform me of what area he/she would like to exclude from the interview.

The actual interviews, opened by having a few minutes of small talk conversation, which created a warm atmosphere. By simply initiating the interview with small talk, resulted to a more free discussion for obtaining in depth accounts (Hermanowich 2002). Furthermore, before the actual interview started, it was important for me to obtain consent from the informants, in order conduct the interview as well as record the interview in order to achieve the ethical considerations designated for this thesis, which moreover will be elaborated in chapter 5.9. It was furthermore of importance that the informant felt comfortable to withdraw or pause the interview if needed.

The conducted interviews, were all in all, between 30-60 minutes. The informant and the researcher were during this time able to discuss human trafficking in a much freely, open and relaxed way.

5.5.1 Data recording
All interviews were recorded through the program QuickTime Player that is installed on most MacBook computers which have the ability to capture high quality recording. The strength with using the recording program may have emphasized to the informants that their views are being taken seriously (Bloor & Wood 2006: 18). It was furthermore of importance that the recording program was as discreet as possible and that me as researcher was relaxed about its presence in order to reflect the calmness to the informant.

5.6 The role of the researcher
The role of the researcher in qualitative studies is often referred to as the human instrument, because of the notion that research often is considered an instrument of data collection (Denzin & Lincoln 2003). To fulfil this role, the readers of the dissertation need to know about the human instrument and not only about the position of the informants, which will be described more in depth in this chapter. It was important when conducting this study to keep a research journal throughout the process, where personal reactions could be kept, as well as
reflections and insights into self and past. This would moreover turn out to be helpful for me when conducting the thesis in its total form.

I was throughout the study aware of the socially constructed nature of this dissertation, and mindful of my role as the constructor of the analysis of this study. I was furthermore the primary instrument of analysing the collected data to uncover the emerging concepts, patterns and answers for the designated research questions. It was therefore highly prioritized for me to take on the role as an observer, and to be a good listener towards the informants by letting them answer the questions without being interrupted.

During the entire writing process, I was reflexive of my own position as a Swedish-Eritrean woman, a university student, with both work and theoretic experience in the field of migration. But more importantly, a lot of sympathy for the women and young girls that daily becomes exposed to human trafficking. In combination with my ideas about the study as well as hopes for the study and simply my human distractibility, can distort what I hear from the informants. It is therefore a possibility that all of my characteristics, my passion for the feminist movement and equal rights for all, may create my own biases and prejudice for this dissertation. However, being aware of the circumstances, and by me working towards my neutrality, makes me capable of realizing and overcoming the “subjective knowledge” (Silverman 2011: 141). My awareness channelled me to control my subjectivity, instead of allowing my subjectivity to control the outcome of the dissertation. Johnson (2016: 41) explained that all human beings possess particular lenses when viewing the world, and to simply approach the research process as if researchers were value-natural, does a disservice to the research, the informants and to the researcher itself. Therefore, the experience, knowledge and family background that I seize, impact me with significant values that may or may not align with others which makes this dissertation unique. By having practical experience within the field of migration, made it useful for me to understand the informants position as work officers and to additionally make reliable claims.

5.7 Analysing the data
The interviews were all conducted in Swedish because it is the native language for me and the informants. During the process of transcript, I carefully re-listened to the recordings and reread the transcribed text multiple times in order to not miss any important details. Having the interviews recorded in these aspects, was a great benefit. Moreover, when translating and
transcribing the recordings of the interviews, the data became simultaneously analysed and themed. Van Nes et al. (2010: 314) explained that providing words to experience is complex as the meaning of experiences not often is fully comprehensible for subject and difficult to explain in language. It was therefore of significance to carefully re-ask the informant’s to clarify their statements when made unclear.

Moreover, this research is not likely to harm the informants in any way, however, my intent is still to protect their privacy. The informants were therefore informed that the recorded material would be deleted when finishing the thesis. A verbal approval was additionally received by all informants to use the collected data for the study, yet, the researcher still made sure to send the transcript to every informant for final approval and confirmation. This to primarily ensure that their accounts were correctly reflected and understood. According to Kumar (2014: 318) the validation of the information collected from an interview is an important aspect of ensuring the accuracy of the data collected.

Following the transcription, the process of coding started. Gibbs (2007: 39-40) described coding as “a way of indexing or categorizing the text in order to establish a framework of thematic ideas about it”. This procedure is well used in qualitative research and was well used when conducting the study. The codes, meaning the words and phrases that were mostly found repetitive, were underlined and collected in order to become categorized and organised in themes. Furthermore, phrases became underlined which reminded me of concepts mentioned in the interviews and from the selected theoretical framework. I remained close to the data and analytical in order to conceptualize the themes to abstract categories. The process of coding, was conducted by hand because it was more efficient and enabled focus on what was relevant within the scope of study. This process was also accomplished by having the purpose of study and theoretical framework in mind to efficiently comprehend the collected data. As a result, the described process facilitated a robust insight into the shared experiences of the informants, which moreover will be displayed and analysed in chapter 6.0 and 7.0.

5.8 Ensuring validity and reliability
The aspiration for this thesis was to provide a high level of validity and reliability by assuring a level of transparency, authenticity and trustworthiness. The two concepts validity and reliability are important to take into account because of their ability to determine the objectivity of the research. Validity in its broader sense refers to ensuring that the researcher
have achieved what is set out to investigate and provide correct and reflective results, while reliability refers to the consistency in its finding and how transparency is achieved for other researchers to conduct similar research (Kumar 2014: 218).

It might be difficult to achieve a high level of reliability for another research since the environment and the setting is likely to change from the time of this research to the time of a second one. However, Bryman and Bell (2007) have described a strategy, which was utilized when conducting this study, in order for this study to become somewhat replicated. To achieve an increased level of reliability, the methods used as well as how the interview process was performed have been described in great detail. This entailed a high level of self-awareness and reflectivity. Moreover, the interview questions in appendix 1, along with the description of how this study came about, increases the ability for other researchers to replicate this study under the same conditions with comparable results. By additionally acknowledging the limitations makes this study somewhat reliable in itself. The reliability of the research was furthermore achieved by the use of audio-recording because the process of transcribing became very successful when having the ability to re-listen to the statements made multiple times. By moreover re-asking the questions when something was unclear during the interview, was significantly vital for the validity of the research.

Validity was moreover achieved by problematizing and defining the main concepts of this study. The term *trafficking* for instance, was operationalized through a variety of peer-reviewed articles and books found through Google Scholar and Malmö University’s Libsearch, as well as government-administrated websites. The elements found were then matched with the collected data. Lastly, as previously mentioned, the transcripts were sent to the informants for final approval, which increased the validity and decreased the prospects of using own interpretations of the material. The method of interview validation, was moreover vital and prioritized for the validity of this thesis.

5.9 Ethical consideration
The reliability and validity, as well as the integrity of the research findings rely heavily on the adherence to the ethical principles which are critical in qualitative research. This research follows the principles of informed consent, information about the study and the use of the research, which are considerations recommended by the Swedish Research Council (SRC 2017: 40). Because this study is limited to adult stakeholders who supports people that are
being exposed to human trafficking in their daily work reduces the ethical considerations for this specific thesis. There would, however, be more ethical considerations to reflect over if this study were to interview women and young girls that are directly exposed.

The principle of informed consent, information about the study and the use of the research, were all considered throughout the thesis process, from the interview, presentation, to the analysis of the collected data. In fact, many informants of most qualitative research are usually unaware of the principles and techniques being used by the researcher (Mason 2002: 156). Being aware of this, I wanted to have an open and honest dialogue with the informants of this study and enlighten them about the type of research that is being conducted. It was a priority to provide as much information to the informants as possible, from the overarching aim, the objectivities of the research as well as how I collected the data, in order to receive an openness from them as well. Another important priority of this study was to receive consent from all informants. Consent was received from all informants through email when receiving their confirmation to participate as informants for this study. Although I received consent from all informants, both in writing and in person, it was still important for me that the informants were aware that they had the opportunity to withdraw from the interview if any aspects of the interview made them feel uncomfortable. The informants were also provided the opportunity to withdraw their consent after receiving a draft of the finalized thesis.

Bloor & Wood (2006: 17) explains that audio-recording of data presents ethical issues, and that the main issue is that the recording is the loss of anonymity as the informants exact words and voice are recorded, the informants identity’s might thus be disclosed. It is for this reason important to highlight that the identity’s of the informants for this study are not in any way endangered, meaning, if the recording were in any way to be leaked, it would not put them in any sort of harm. Still, in order to assure a satisfactory level of privacy and protection (Bryman 2012: 142), the information about anonymity and confidentiality of the recordings made were provided.

In final, in regards to the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), this study was registered through Malmö University’s online registry to store personal data that was collected when conducting the interviews. Because of the GDPR, the specific work title of the informants will not be provided in order to protect their privacy and to provide anonymity.
5.10 The informants

| Informant A | Personnel at the equality unit from the Swedish Ministry of Health and Social Affairs |
| Informant B | Personnel at the prostitution and human trafficking unit from the Swedish Gender Equality Agency |
| Informant C | Personnel at the human trafficking unit from the Swedish Police Authority |
| Informant D | Personnel with human trafficking questions as main field of work from the Swedish Migration Agency |
| Informant E | Personnel with human trafficking questions as main field of work from the Swedish Country Administrative Board |
| Informant F | Personnel at the human trafficking unit from the operational network National method support team (NMT) |
| Informant G | Personnel with human trafficking as main work task from the Swedish Salvation Army |
6. Findings
In this chapter, the collected data from the interviews is presented. The data consists of the knowledge and experiences of the above mentioned informants, A-G, who are all working in the field of human trafficking in Sweden.

6.1 Defining the phenomenon human trafficking
All informants of this thesis, share the same definition of human trafficking in their field of work. They all use the definition presented in the Swedish legislation, which previously have been described in chapter 2.0 more in depth. Informant A from the Swedish Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, however, explained that it is the Action Plan that defines human trafficking in her work. Nevertheless, what was found when reading the Action plan myself, was the same definition that is used by all other informants of this study, essentially, as it is presented in the UN Palermo Protocol. In addition, informant G from the Swedish Salvation Army expressed that they use the Swedish definition that is defined in the law in their field of duty, but they moreover expressed that it is important for them to include:

“(…) not only who the offender and the perpetrator is in our definition, but moreover, the responsibility that the state has and, moreover, the exposed people as the rights holders”.

6.2 Identified causes for human trafficking in Sweden
With the informant’s similar views on how human trafficking is defined, the informants moreover acknowledged diverse and similar causes that according to them are influencing the development of human trafficking in Sweden. In general, the informant’s stressed conditions that the people exposed have experienced in their countries of origin, which has forced them to escape or leave their homes. Informant C from the Swedish Police Authority explained that:

“People in most cases derive from poor and exposed areas where there is lack of education and work opportunities which drives people away from their countries of origin”.

Informant C generally stressed that the conditions in their country of origin essentially drives people away in search for another country to live in. Informant C furthermore explained that there is a need for development in the subject people’s country of origin:

“There needs to become a development in these countries where the victims derive from, so that people are able to receive education and employment opportunities, so that these people are not lured into false promises of a better life in Sweden (…)”.
As informant C described in the statement above, informant B from the Swedish Gender Equality Agency, similarly described the background cases of human trafficking through his point of view:

“*A combination of migration flows, and the situation at the moment with wars, conflicts, famine, alienation, etc. creates human trafficking (…)***”.

As informant C and B highlighted, informant G from the Swedish Salvation Army acknowledged similar and additional factors that may have contributed to the development of human trafficking in Sweden:

“*The background for human trafficking in Sweden is the socio-economic vulnerability, war, conflict, natural disasters, poverty, discrimination, and being a minority***”.

Informant G, as informant C, B, generally acknowledged severe conditions that essentially have made people escape their countries of origin, which correspondingly have resulted with people being exposed to different forms of human trafficking. In addition, informant F from NMT moreover emphasised equivalent causes that have contributed to the development of human trafficking:

“*It is mainly people who have lived under poverty, who have then struggled to escape from their country of origin. It is primarily poverty and being undocumented that makes it possible to exploit these people***”.

Informant F highlights another yet important dimension to the debate by acknowledging the undocumented living in Sweden. Deriving from poverty and being undocumented, are signs that an individual is vulnerable, especially when traffickers are able to exploit them.

Informant D from the Swedish Migration Agency, moreover, highlights the vulnerability of people as being an attribute for these individuals being exposed to human trafficking:

“*(…) most of the people that we meet who have been subject to human trafficking in the form of sexual exploitation, have all previously been or are in a vulnerable situation***”.

This statement goes in line with what informant C, B, G and F have acknowledged. These informants have essentially described that people who have derived from war, poverty and other severe circumstances, are extremely vulnerable and exposed and easily subject to human trafficking in Sweden. On the other hand, informant E explained that the increase of human trafficking could be a result of people essentially being unaware of their rights when living in Sweden, especially being undocumented:
“The undocumented children, that are being exploited, are people that are unaware of their rights when living in Sweden”.

6.2.1 The demand for prostitution
Most of the informants moreover expressed that the demand for prostitutes in Sweden have contributed significantly to the development of human trafficking. Informant D, for instance, recognizes this matter:

“I am convinced that it is the decrease in the demand and supply that would decrease the development of human trafficking internationally and nationally. If there were no men or women who would buy sex in Sweden, then the sex trade would be non-existing, and the same is for human trafficking for labour purposes”.

Informant D more or less points to the fact that human trafficking would decrease if the demand for prostitution in Sweden would decrease. The informant essentially points to the matter that the decrease in demand control the magnitude of human trafficking cases, no matter the form. In addition, informant A from the Swedish Ministry of Health and Social Affairs also emphasizes the demand when discussing the key factors for the development of human trafficking:

“What is described in the Action Plan, is the demand for the services, which is the area of my work. The people subject to human trafficking, are being exploited, and unfortunately, there is still a high demand for human trafficking...and this is what needs to become handled. The demand is the main pillar for the lucrative market for human trafficking”.

The conclusion that can be made based on the statement made by informant A is that the current priority for the ministry is the demand that exists in Sweden for human trafficking, and essentially that the demand has laid the foundation for the lucrative market. The demand is furthermore emphasized by Informant C as a contributing factor for the development, but also acknowledges the fact that the demand must become hindered in order for human trafficking to decrease:

“There is moreover a high demand in wealthy countries, such as Sweden, where there are victims being exploited, there is a request for sexual services, there is also a request for cheap labour. (…), to prevent human trafficking, we must stop requesting sexual services and stop requesting cheap labour. People in society must start evaluating what it is we are consuming”.

Informant C, A and D, similarly described that it is the demand that contributes to the development of human trafficking in Sweden, but also acknowledges that it is the demand
that essentially will decrease the growth. Informant B shares the same view as informant C, A and D, by expressing that the demand essentially has a great impact on the growing phenomenon of human trafficking:

“If there is no market for human trafficking or purchasers, then the market will die out. People promote human trafficking by purchasing prostitutes. The demand has a huge impact on human trafficking in Sweden”.

In addition, informant G describes how their unit works towards a decrease of human trafficking cases from occurring in Sweden:

“We have to focus on the demand for human trafficking, how the demand is navigated, and how it really is connected to sexual exploitation, labour etc. and how we also consume the services performed by the victims of human trafficking”.

What is evident in the statement made by informant G, D, A, C, D, is that the demand for human trafficking, generally for sexual exploitation, have in their field of work, been identified as one of the main causes for the development taking place in Sweden.

6.3 The route for the people subject to human trafficking
The above mentioned causes for the development of human trafficking, points to the fact that most people exposed to human trafficking originates from countries outside of Sweden because they have escaped war, poverty, lack of opportunities and other severe circumstances. The informants furthermore had similar responds when explaining which countries, and regions, the people exposed generally derives from. For instance, informant G explained:

“The people exposed to human trafficking are men, women and children, however, we mostly meet women and children within sexual exploitation. (...) half of the people that we meet are from third world countries, thus, outside of Europe, they have arrived to Sweden through migration flows. We also have a circular migration within Europe, where we have seen a number of EU citizens, who have been exposed to human trafficking in the form of labour work, who are mostly from Poland and Romania. (...) the people that we mostly meet in our field of work are people mostly outside of Sweden, which is a consequence of the migration flows”.

Informant G moreover emphasised that there generally are women and children who are exposed to human trafficking in the form of sexual exploitation, and that they usually derive from third world countries and through circular migration in Europe. Informant G furthermore highlighted that the people exposed to human trafficking, according to informant G, is a result of the migration flows. Informant C furthermore provided a similar statement by expressing that the people exposed to human trafficking generally originates from:
“(…) outside of EU, especially for human trafficking for sexual purposes then they are mostly from Romania and Nigeria. When it comes to begging on the streets of Sweden, people are commonly originated from Bulgaria and Romania. The Swedish Migration Agency mostly meet people from third world countries, while there are many people deriving from other EU countries as well. However, there is definitely a great concern that people deriving from third world countries into Sweden, are being exploited into a larger and larger extent in terms of the demand on sexual services, and because of the poverty and vulnerability in their countries of origin”.

Informant C acknowledges countries such as Nigeria, Romania and Bulgaria as the main countries where people have derived from, while also mentioning that poverty and vulnerability in their countries of origin have caused them to become exposed to sexual exploitation in Sweden. Informant F, furthermore, provides a similar statement:

“The majority of the people exposed to human trafficking are not from Sweden. It is mostly people who have lived under poverty in their country of origin and are trying to escape (…). They are being exposed primarily because of the fact that they are not Swedish citizens. Many are being exploited because they are undocumented (…) they are simply afraid of returning back to their country of origin due to different circumstances, making them a vulnerable and visible group”.

Informant F acknowledged that people who are undocumented are in fact in greater risk of being exposed to human trafficking. However, before being undocumented, people are generally involved within an asylum process, and informant D from the Swedish Migration Agency stressed the vulnerability of an asylum seeker:

“The risk of being exposed to human trafficking in Sweden, is more likely to occur when being an asylum seeker, than to a person having a Swedish citizenship. (…), you are already vulnerable and exposed when being involved within an asylum process. (…) If we had an extremely powerful increase of asylum seekers, then we would probably see an increase of human trafficking cases”.

In this statement, informant D, moreover acknowledged that human trafficking cases significantly would increase if Sweden were to experience and increase of asylum seekers, which moreover points to a potential cause for the development of human trafficking occurring in Sweden. Informant D also describes that:

“It is, moreover, important to be aware of risk countries when working at the Migration Agency, if a person comes from Nigeria, Ukraine, Russia, Albania, and has an increased knowledge about these countries, then this may have successful results when identifying cases of human trafficking”
In addition, informant E, similarly explained that the people subject to human trafficking generally derives from other countries than Sweden, and moreover acknowledged the vulnerability of the individuals being involved within an asylum process:

“Commonly they derive from different countries, it is the different migration flows that control which country that the people exposed to human trafficking will derive from. (...) There are children that usually arrives to Sweden through human trafficking, but there are also instances where a person can become subject to human trafficking when receiving a rejection on their asylum application”. (...) It is furthermore important, when meeting an asylum seeker to early identify if the person is a victim of human trafficking. (...) It is common that there are unaccompanied minors, especially now with the new law on upper secondary education, that many decides to stay in Sweden, even when receiving a rejection which makes them much vulnerable to human trafficking”.

The informants E, G, C and D, have all depicted that the people being generally exposed to human trafficking in the form of sexual exploitation, and other forms, typically originates from third world countries, and circular migration within Europe. But moreover that individuals who are involved within an asylum process or who live in Sweden undocumented, are in a higher risk of being involved within human trafficking.

6.3.1 The refugee crisis 2015: its effect on human trafficking

The reason why there has been an increase of migration flows that was mentioned by most informants is because Sweden experienced a large increase of refugees during 2014 because of the so called refugee crisis. Informant C somewhat points to this crisis as an explanation to the increase of human trafficking cases in Sweden:

“The migration flows have been significantly large these last couple of years, which have resulted in more reported cases of human trafficking. Migrants have then expressed in their stories that they have been exposed to human trafficking in Sweden, on their way to Sweden, and in their countries of origin as well”.

In addition, informant F moreover acknowledged the increase in asylum seekers from 2014 and onwards as an explanation to the people being easily exploited:

“Because there was an increase of asylum seekers since 2014 and onwards, there were many of these people who received a rejection on their application who decided to stay in Sweden because they were afraid to return back to their countries of origin. These people are then trying to solve their situation in Sweden in the best way they know how, and this have resulted that many are easy to become exploited”.
In this statement, informant F points to the people being undocumented as a result of receiving a rejection on their application, who then becomes easily exploited because of their vulnerable situation. Moreover, informant G, additionally explains that the development of human trafficking in Sweden simply is a result of the migration flows:

“The increase of the human trafficking in Sweden, is a consequence of the refugee flows, 70% of the people who have went through Europe, have been exposed to some form of human trafficking, and when it comes to women and young girls, the number is much higher”.

All in all, informant C, F, G points to the migration flows, most commonly referred to as the refugee crisis, as their common denominator, which essentially have influenced the increase in human trafficking cases in Sweden.

6.4 The identified traffickers
When it comes to the traffickers who are behind the organisation of human trafficking, they have fundamentally been described in previous literature as individuals who have exploited others for their own profit and gain through different sorts of trafficking methods, the main one being sex trafficking. The informants of this study provided different views, yet, similar perspectives on the traffickers luring others, for their personal benefit. For instance, informant G, described the traffickers profile more in-depth:

“The traffickers that we see, are usually involved in larger criminal networks and within smaller family networks, and sometimes there are cases of individual traffickers who have a connection to a larger criminal network that are moreover involved within money laundering, arms trade, and drug trade. Human trafficking in Sweden is in many cases an international crime, because the traffickers that take part in organising the networks, does not live near the people exposed to the crime, so it is therefore very hard to prosecute the key people behind human trafficking. We must therefore work internationally. The traffickers have decided to live outside of democracy and the rule of law. When it comes to human trafficking with connections to the Middle East, we can see that the traffickers are mainly men. But when it comes to connections to Africa, Nigeria for instance, then there are mainly smaller family network consisting of women traffickers”.

Informant G acknowledges that the traffickers in most cases are organising the crime outside of Sweden, which makes it difficult for Sweden to prosecute the traffickers. Informant G therefore emphasised that a global cooperation would be needed in order to hold the traffickers accountable for their crime. Informant C furthermore acknowledge this issue by explaining the police authority’s perspective:

“The resources are not enough, we wish that we could many times “turn more stones” in other countries outside of Sweden in order to capture, what we call them, pimps, that are
active in Sweden, however, sometimes we must be satisfied with the individual/s that we are able to capture here in Sweden”.

Still, with the desire to prosecute the traffickers, there is nevertheless an ongoing demand in Sweden, and traffickers with the motivation to make profit based on the demand, which was acknowledged by informant F:

“Because there is a demand in wealthy countries, such as Sweden, (...) there are people who want to earn money based on such demand. Traffickers tactic is to play on peoples dreams for a better life”. “(...) misleading people about the living conditions in Sweden and the work conditions”. (...) the traffickers use the method of scarring and threatening the victims by telling them that they will release videos of the victims in circumstances involving prostitution, making the victims scared to express their vulnerable situation to the police, or somebody else, that they essentially are human trafficking victims. The victims could be scared that the traffickers will release the videos and spread them in the victims country of origin”.

Both informant C and F explained that the traffickers utilize the method of scaring and threatening in order for individuals to remain subject to human trafficking, and in order for these individuals to fundamentally obey the traffickers. Informant G furthermore adds to the debate by explaining that:

“The traffickers that are established in the country of origin of the person being exposed to trafficking, may threat them by saying that they have their child or other family members in custody, and therefore, the person exposed to human trafficking is scared of the repercussions”.

In addition, informant E, as the above mentioned statements, shared the same argument regarding the tactic of misleading the migrants:

“(...) there are people who arrives to Sweden on work permits, who have been deceived regarding the work conditions and are additionally expected to pay back a huge amount of money to the traffickers. It all is perceived “white” on paper, but in reality, this is not the case”.

Ultimately, the people exposed to human trafficking, based on the information provided by informant E, C, G, and F, are being threatened and mislead in numerous and harsh ways by the traffickers in order remain the human trafficking cycle.

6.5 Swedish legislation on human trafficking
In order for authorities to capture traffickers and moreover to hold them accountable for their crime, there are fundamental laws that need to be followed, which have been described more
thorough in chapter 2.2. The informants of this study, had similar and diverse thoughts and opinions regarding the current legislation towards human trafficking in Sweden. Informant B expressed a positive attitude when being asked about the implemented legislation:

“I don’t think that the increase of human trafficking cases has to do with the current legislation. I think that the legislation that we have, is quite good, especially with the new law regarding exploitation, which makes it possible to access those parts as well”.

Informant A on the other hand, could not in detail describe her thoughts and opinions concerning the current legislation because of her position as the desk officer for the ministry of Health and Social Affairs. However, what was shortly described, was her unit’s anticipations regarding the current legislation:

“We have hopes that the new legislation that came into force in July last year regarding human trafficking in the form of exploitation, will lead to more convictions”.

The statement made by informant A, can be interpreted as though the law will result in more convictions, meaning that more traffickers may be held accountable for their actions. In addition, informant C provides her thoughts regarding the current legislation on human trafficking:

“The law has been revised many times, and the current one that was implemented July 1 2018, is a new version, which is very much complex, and many of the Swedish prosecutors have explained that it is one of the most complex legislations that we have. There are many parts that are difficult to prove, which may result with that the case becomes closed, and instead becomes connected to procuring of sexual service or unlawful coercion, rape case etc.”

Informant C highlights complexities found with the current and revised law, which might lead human trafficking cases being shut because of lack of evidence. In addition, informant F provides a similar statement as informant C when it comes to the complexity with the revised law:

“What we have seen is that there has been much criticism towards the legislation because of the fact that it is difficult to get convictions, the prosecutors have expressed that they perceive it as difficult. It is believed that the new law that was established 2018, will cover more human trafficking cases, especially concerning exploitation”.

Informant E, additionally highlights some thoughts concerning the legislation:

“The law is there to use, however, for us to use it, there needs to be more cooperation and dialogue amongst all actors, and this is an area that we have to work more with”.
In this statement, informant E is referring to the cooperation and dialogue that is needed between authorities who works with issues concerning human trafficking in order to effectively use the law, which moreover will be elaborated in the upcoming chapter 6.6.

6.6 The need for cooperation and competence
Informants of this dissertation did not only raise concerns regarding the legislation, but as mentioned, they raised concerns and opinions regarding the lack of cooperation, dialogue and competence there is amongst authorities who works with issues concerning human trafficking. Informant B was as described earlier, positive towards the current legislation on human trafficking, however, was critical regarding the competence there is when working with human trafficking cases:

“\textit{I think that there are shortages in the judicial system when dealing with human trafficking cases. At times, there is lack in competence when tackling such cases. The cases are moreover tough and expensive to investigate. So it is also a matter of resources}”.

Informant B acknowledged both the deficiencies in competence but moreover the lack of resources that makes it difficult to combat the development of human trafficking. Informant C also highlighted the need for resources:

“\textit{We moreover need more people who works with human trafficking. The resources at the moment are not enough, to cope with the reports and the tip that we receive (...)} “.

Resources is something that is needed according to these informants, in order to fight human trafficking from developing in Sweden. Other informants who recognized resources as something vital was informant E who expressed that:

“\textit{It is maybe not any wrongs with the current legislation, but issues concerning cooperation between relevant authorities, lack of resources, time, interest, and knowledge to investigate cases. It is very resource-demanding to create trust}”.

Informant E, as the informants in chapter 6.5, furthermore stressed the fact that further attention needs to be placed on the area of cooperation between authorities, rather than finding deficiencies within the legislation. In addition, informant A from the Swedish Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, expressed when being asked how trafficking shall become prevented and hindered:

“\textit{There definitely needs to be a strong legislation, competence in the law enforcement authorities and more knowledge of how personnel shall work with human trafficking cases}”.
As informant A and E described, there generally is a need for more knowledge amongst authorities. Informant E furthermore highlighted the need for knowledge when discussing the large number of hidden cases involving unaccompanied children:

“There is a large number of hidden cases, especially involving unaccompanied children that disappear, which have in many cases not seemed as a case regarding human trafficking. However, it requires from the Police Authority to acknowledge this issue, and acknowledge some cases as human trafficking. There needs more knowledge among the people and authorities who meet this group. The knowledge from the Migration Agency’s side have during later years increased, but we do still feel that there might be room for more knowledge. (…), there is a need for an increase of knowledge for all actors involved”.

Informant E furthermore stressed the importance of knowledge amongst all relevant authorities who are in direct contact with the people subject to human trafficking:

“There are laws concerning human trafficking, however, what is needed is more cooperation between all actors, there is a need for more dialogue between us, the police authority, the Migration Agency and everyone who are in contact with the people exposed to human trafficking. It is important with cooperation between the authorities, and to share information between each other (...). It is important to have a child perspective, and to have in mind that it might take time to understand that it is a human trafficking case, it is therefore important to put time into the case, which is something that might not be done in most cases. We need more exchange of information, analysis and statistics, so that the Migration Agency for instance, are prepared when a youth derives from a specific country or a specific region, that this case might be a human trafficking case (...)

Informant E expressed very thorough of how authorities shall work with the people exposed to human trafficking, and moreover what areas authorities needs to work jointly with. In the statement below, informant E additionally described potential measures that needs to be considered in order for people subject to human trafficking to remain in a safe environment:

“If an authority is suspicious that they have a case involving human trafficking, how are we supposed to protect the child? We believe that there is deficiency in the system evolving this sort of matter in Sweden. In Netherlands, we are aware that they have special accommodations with extra staff and resources to protect the children. We don’t have this in Sweden, people are in Sweden placed in a “network-home”, or living at a family members home, who might not have been evaluated. We need greater structures on how to deal with these types of cases, where we should really place children. (...) because the environment is being evaluated so poorly, the environment might be in many cases a risk environment for the children, instead of being a safe environment”.

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Although informant E expressed that there is a need for more knowledge at the Migration Agency when working with human trafficking cases, the informant from the Swedish Migration Agency on the other hand explained that they have been able to improve their way of discovering cases concerning human trafficking but that they are open to increase their knowledge:

“We have been able to spot a couple of hundred cases every year involving human trafficking, which is because we have been adamant about educating our staff: (...) we can, however, become better in recognizing human trafficking cases, I think that there always is room for improvement in this area”.

In addition to the debate of increased knowledge, the region coordinator for human trafficking (informant F) emphasised the importance of cooperation and awareness:

“All actors have important functions, the border police needs to have an ”extra eye” in order to evaluate if the person they meet may be involved in human trafficking, and the Migration Agency needs to be very aware as well. It is important with cooperation between all actors involved and to moreover have a victim perspective”.

All in all, the informants acknowledged authorities need for further knowledge, competence and cooperation in order to efficiently combat human trafficking in Sweden. In addition to the above mentioned statements, informant B depicted the support that is needed from the civil society:

“The civil society has definitely a room to fill, they are able to run their campaigns and contribute in another important way and speak more clear, than what an authority is able to do”.

Lastly, informant A explained the priorities of her unit and how Sweden is working towards a decrease within the human trafficking development:

“For human trafficking to decrease, we have to work on attitudes towards the ideal of the right to your own body, questions concerning sex and coexistence education, and moreover informative campaigns. We have to raise awareness, because there may be people in the Swedish society that are consuming services from human trafficking victims (...). “There is definitely more that we can do in the field of human trafficking, because it is definitely an issue that is still increasing, so we from the unit definitely have to keep up with the development. Sweden is trying to better the conditions in Bulgaria and Romania through different agreements, because many people exposed to human trafficking derive from these countries”.

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7. Analysis
This chapter will based on the found results, the theoretical framework and previous research, seek to answer the designated research questions of this dissertation.

7.1 Vulnerable and marginalized women and young girls
As previously identified in this thesis, and as the presented results showed, there are generally women and young girls exposed to human trafficking in the form of sexual exploitation in Sweden. What was principally found and conveyed by the informants, was the notion that the majority of people being exposed to human trafficking, do not obtain a Swedish citizenship, and mainly derive from other countries outside of Sweden’s boarders. These women and young girls have reached Sweden through circular migration within Europe from countries such as Poland, Bulgaria and Romania, but also from what most informants referred to as third world countries, namely Nigeria. The people exposed to human trafficking were moreover identified by the informants as being vulnerable and marginalized, because of the notion that they are either undocumented or involved within an asylum process, and because they fundamentally are migrants who have escaped different types of horrors and severe conditions which they have experienced in their countries of origin.

The increase in women and young girls from third world countries in Sweden who have become exposed to human trafficking could according to the postcolonial feminism lens possibly depend on the negative portrayal that the consumers have of third world women. The consumers of prostitution who prefer third world women, could possibly have the portrayal and preference, as Piscitelli (2007) discussed in her report, for women of color because of the portrayal that they are over-sexualised people. Prominent postcolonial feminism scholars (Kempadoo 2001:31, Valadier 2018 & Chambers & Watkins 2012) would possibly agree with this argument because of their perception of women and young girls from third world countries being the most frequent people subject to human trafficking. But moreover because they believed that the global sex trade heavily lens on women of color. However, as the informants of this thesis expressed, there are additional women and young girls from Europe who have become exposed to human trafficking in Sweden, which may challenge the main ideology of the postcolonial feminist scholars in regards to the development of human trafficking in Sweden. There must therefore be additional motivations and factors that must become considered.
Other than the fact that the majority of women and young girls have originated from third world countries and European countries, the informants additionally acknowledged that the reason for the increase of human trafficking in Sweden is because there have been an increase of undocumented people who more likely than others are prone to become exploited and subject to human trafficking. This can moreover become related to the arguments made by the postcolonial feminist scholars, who acknowledged that most women and young girls that becomes exposed to human trafficking previously has been homeless (Kempadoo & Doezema 1998). This because of the notion that many who are undocumented in Sweden mostly live hidden, when not voluntarily wanting to return to their countries of origin when receiving a rejection on their asylum application.

It is, overall, when investigating the findings, difficult to not draw similarities to the postcolonial viewpoint, because of the notion that most third world countries that the informants referred to, have at one point been colonized by the Europeans, though not all. This is basically the fundamental idea and starting point of the postcolonial feminist perspective that our societies currently are, and will be characterized by colonialism. It is therefore evident and possible that the development of the demand for third world women and young girls to Sweden, or the ones who are highly marginalized, has been influenced by the era of colonization and post-colonization. The statements made by the informants, could moreover be viewed as a force which capitalizes and reinforces the hierarchies of gender, race and nationality. In addition, ideals that promote capitalism are constantly bombarding post-colonized nations, and has propagandized the people in the regions with visions of capitalistic grandeur that they do all that is necessary to encapsulate the Western dream, which was moreover expressed by a number of informants.

With women and young girls thoughts to encapsulate the western dream, there might be instances of where there are individuals who make the conscious and autonomous decision to become involved within the human trafficking cycle voluntarily, for own financial gain. This was according to the postcolonial feminist scholars possible, because of the fact that women might be in need to turn to sex work in order to supplement their incomes and earn money (Weitzer 2014), in order to survive the day and make a livelihood. Westerstrand (2008) moreover, stressed this aspect in her report, when acknowledging the normalization position which is based on the view of prostitution as a free choice. Hauber (1998) additionally stressed that there are women who tend to turn to traffickers in order to obtain employment
illegally, but moreover to live in a country where the standard of living is high. Thus, women are therefore not always lured into human trafficking in terms of sexual exploitation, they might perhaps be involved because they are in need of a better living situation, money and to simply make a livelihood.

However, based on the information provided by the informants, there were no signs of there being women nor young girls in Sweden being involved within the human trafficking cycle voluntarily, which is why they namely were referred to as victims of human trafficking by all informants. This does nevertheless not mean that it does not exists, mainly because of the actual hidden and unknown cases in Sweden, making it impossible to know the motives of all the women and young girls involved. It is moreover important to remember, that the women and young girls, according to the informants, are moreover derived from the circular migration in Europe, most commonly known as the free movement within the EU (Hauber 1998) meaning that we not can draw the conclusion that being a women of color is the sole reason of why most women and young girls are exposed to human trafficking in terms of sexual exploitation in Sweden. Thus, there must be other factors that are important to take into account as well.

7.2 War, poverty and lack of opportunities – identified push factors

The findings of this thesis presented that the majority of the informants expressed that factors such as war, conflict, poverty, lack of opportunities (education and employment), famine, alienation, natural disasters, discrimination etc. are causes of women and young girls escaping and leaving their country of origin. Women and young girls are then eventually becoming vulnerable to human trafficking, either on their way or while living in Sweden. These factors, when investigating them through the push and pull model, are key examples of push factors. These push factors has, according to the informants, pushed people out of their country of origin, and made these individuals vulnerable and exposed to human trafficking in terms of sexual exploitation, and other forms of human trafficking as well, such as labour trafficking. According to the informants, the push factors has moreover been a driving force and foundation for the development and increase in human trafficking cases in Sweden. The findings showed that there were three push factors that became more acknowledged than others, these were: war, poverty and the lack of opportunities.
As regional conflicts have both intensified and multiplied, an increase of human trafficking cases has correspondingly been increasing in Sweden, and around the world (Global Initiative 2017), which was generally acknowledged by most informants. When escaping war, people typically abandon all that they have in search of a life free from prosecution and secure communities, which may lead that these individuals find themselves in a very vulnerable situation, leading them to be exposed to human trafficking. What was furthermore shown in the findings were that the cases that have been reported to the Swedish Migration Agency, both involves human trafficking that have occurred in Sweden, and also cases that have occurred when individuals have been on their way to Sweden. This moreover matches the argument made by Cockayne & Walker (2016) who explained that one of the main trends of human trafficking fundamentally is human trafficking out of, and in conflict zones, that involves large refugee and internally displaced people (IDP) populations as they try to leave conflict zones, and irregular migrants trying to find opportunities by going through a conflict zone. Cockayne & Walkers (2016) additional argument regarding the people who have escaped their country of origin, matches the argument made by the informants that refugees in fact are at much higher risk of becoming victims of human trafficking. A great example that was illustrated by a few informants, was the so called refugee crisis that took place 2015, which indeed forced people to escape war, political repression and poverty in their countries of origin. The informants in this instance acknowledged that refugees are easy to exploit by traffickers because they are both marginalized and vulnerable, especially when they have found themselves being undocumented and are correspondingly in great desperation of trying to make a living.

The second prominent push factor that was emphasised by the informants was poverty as one of the leading causes of individuals being exposed to human trafficking. Poverty pushes people to escape their country of origin, which according to the informants, paves the way for individuals being exposed and vulnerable to human trafficking in terms of sexual exploitation. The description of the people being subject to this form of human trafficking, refers to the description that Chambers & Watkins (2012) provided, that women and young girls generally are migrants who have escaped poverty in their home countries who have then found themselves forced into a variety of exploitive forms, when arriving to their destination country. In addition, poverty creates despair, and enable traffickers to target poor and marginalized people, in order to offer them false opportunities to improve their circumstances.
According to the informants, the people who have escaped poverty are purposely targeted by traffickers. The people who then have become targeted, are subsequently preyed upon by manipulative traffickers offering false promises of employment and education opportunities, which leads us to the third main push factors: lack of opportunities. The findings generally indicated that individuals more likely are pushed out of their country of origin in order to find opportunities of employment and education in other countries. This is the argument that Adams (1968) made, that individuals more likely makes the decision to emigrate for the reasons of advancement and education and employment opportunities. The informants moreover stressed that by being pushed out of their country of origin, may much likely result in people being pushed into human trafficking, which moreover was identified by Vijeyarasa (2012).

Ultimately, when concluding the collected data, the increase of human trafficking cases depends more or less by the events occurring in the world, and the conditions people are under in their respective countries of origin. The informant from the Swedish Police Authority, expressed that there is a need for development in the countries where the victims derive from, there is essentially a need for employment and education opportunities for the inhabitants, in order for them not to be lured into false promises in Sweden, and other countries. The statement made by informant C from the Swedish police authority, when relating it to the essence of the push/pull model, is essentially that the push factors forcing people to emigrate, need to decrease in order for human trafficking cases to decrease.

7.3 Demand and supply – identified pull factors
The gathered data further suggested that the demand for prostitution, and people providing services that fall under the category of human trafficking, is highly demanded in Sweden. The demand for labour, was by Adams (1968) identified as the typical pull factor. The demand for prostitutes, have according to most informants set the foundation for the increase for human trafficking in the form of sexual exploitation in Sweden, and to many other countries in western Europe. The description provided by the informants, furthermore matches the argument provided by Castles et al. (2014) who claimed that the individuals generally exploited, have the aspiration to arrive to a country where there is political, economic freedom, and moreover has better prospects. Unfortunately, many migrants who have this sort of mind set, falls up being victims of human trafficking, either on their way to Sweden or
when arriving to Sweden, because of the perception that many are prone to make dangerous and desperate decisions when being stuck within a vulnerable situation.

The informants of this study, moreover explained that it is mainly refugees who are seeking for the availability of freedom, employment and education, that mainly are exposed to human trafficking when arriving to Sweden, which moreover refers to other main pull factors that a refugee seeks for when emigrating (Castles et al. 2014). As the informants moreover explained, refugees who are leaving their country of origin for Sweden, are essentially pulled by the expectations of the opportunities that exists in the Western world, which correlates with what Kainth (2009: 86) identified as a pull factor. Because individuals emigrate due to their expectations of Sweden, and because they are pulled moreover by false promises, they are as the indicated results showed, more vulnerable of being exposed to human trafficking in the form of sexual exploitation. In addition, Vijeyarasa (2012) and Ehrenreich & Hochschild, furthermore stressed the fact that people have thus unrealistic expectations of opportunities abroad, which increase the chances of them falling victims of human trafficking. What fundamentally is understood based on the findings is that the traffickers have comprehend and employed the push/pull factors to coerce their victims, usually the ones who are poor and uneducated, in order to provide them false promises of a better life, which these vulnerable people usually falls for.

All in all, human trafficking for sexual purposes, is more or less, fueled by the demand for women and young girls from countries that experience either political instability or poverty. These women and young girls are being pulled to Sweden by mainly traffickers, primarily because of the uneven spatial distribution of labour that exist in the world (King 2012: 13), which the traffickers takes into advantage when manipulating the victims. The findings of this thesis fundamentally shows that women and young girls are simultaneously pushed and pulled to Sweden (Kainth 2009: 86), which have correspondingly increased human trafficking cases of sexual exploitation, and other forms of human trafficking as well.

7.4 Factors contributing to the criminal act of human trafficking
Human trafficking have in previous literature, and correspondingly by many informants, been identified as one of the third largest crime industry in the world. The findings of this thesis acknowledged some factors that may have led up to this sort of illegal activities, which have permeated the Swedish society. The factors that have contributed to this criminal activity, is
more or less, the factors that have influenced the development of human trafficking in Sweden. The findings made in this regard, can be divided into the three key elements that were identified by Cohen & Felson’s (1979) in their routine activity theory.

7.4.1 Suitable target
The background of the target, which essentially was identified as the ‘victim’ by nearly all informants, have been described throughout this dissertation. The victims in most cases according to the informants does not acquire Swedish citizenship and they have moreover escaped their countries of origin due to both push and pull factors, which have been described more in depth in chapter 7.2 and 7.3. The informants of this thesis have moreover described that the traffickers target the victims who are both vulnerable and marginalized, because the traffickers have understood that the victims are easily manipulated. It was furthermore highlighted that individuals who are undocumented, becomes suitable targets, and this could be because of the notion that they in fact know that no one will look for them if they were to disappear. This was an issue that was especially raised by informant E, which they moreover expressed needs further attention by relevant authorities and organisations in the field. Ultimately, suitable targets identified by the informants are victims who have found themselves being in an extremely vulnerable position, both when being in Sweden and on their way to Sweden, which have been taken to the traffickers advantage. This cycle has according to the informants contributed to the development of human trafficking in Sweden, and much likely contributed to the increase of ‘hidden cases’.

According to Felson & Cohen (1979) inertia is described as whether a victim have the ability to resist or not, and according to the findings of this thesis, it is clear that the people who found themselves being both vulnerable and marginalized, are in no way or form, able to resist the traffickers in any way. In addition, the victims exposed to human trafficking in terms of sexual exploitation, have in most cases put all their trust into these traffickers because of the fact that they have been promised a life with better opportunities and prospects.

Felson & Cohen (1979) additionally describes that a suitable target needs to have some sort of visibility, in order for the offender to find the target easily obtained. It seems as though, based on the findings of this thesis, that the traffickers have it easy to locate the people to target, which has to do with the fact that they are much accessible. They are accessible for the traffickers, mainly become of their vulnerability. Their vulnerability has fundamentally moved them further into the clutches of traffickers and sex exploitation.
7.4.2 Motivated offender
As Felson & Cohen (1979) explained, a motivated offender will commit a crime if they find a suitable target, meaning an unprotected target, and moreover if there are sufficient rewards to collect from it. The identified traffickers in this thesis, acquires criminal intentions and has the ability to act on their inclinations. Human trafficking in Sweden, is primarily being fueled by the high financial rewards, and the low risk dynamic. Traffickers earn much money on the human trafficking business, and this has to a large degree to do with the previously identified pull factor, the demand for people derived outside of Sweden, which the traffickers brings large profits for (Cho 2011: 6).

The argument that criminal activities are defined as a structural phenomenon (Felson & Cohen 1979: 390) and that such activity not in any way or form is randomly occurred, matches with how human trafficking has developed in Sweden, when investigating the way traffickers have targeted potential victims. The methods described by the informants that the traffickers essentially acquire include luring, manipulating and deceiving vulnerable and marginalized people into human trafficking for sexual purposes. What can furthermore be understood, is that their way of targeting a victim does not happen randomly, instead their way of conducting their criminal business is well calculated and thought-out.

The conclusion that can be made based on the information concerning the traffickers, is essentially that the business of human trafficking, in terms of sexual exploitation, will continue to flourish, as long as there will be a demand for prostitutes in Sweden. But moreover, as long as there will be criminals who seeks to exploit vulnerable individuals on behalf of their own gain and profit, human trafficking will continue to develop.

7.4.3 Capable and competent guardianship
Guardianship is according to Felson & Cohen (1979) an important factor to facilitate the hindrance of a predatory crime taking place, and what was largely found as needed to prevent and hinder the development of human trafficking in Sweden was essentially guardianship in the terms of competence and support from relevant authorities, or guardianship in the form of a friend, family member, who are in direct contact with victims of human trafficking. For instance, informant E, acknowledged the importance of safe living environments for unaccompanied minors, due to that there previously have been deficiencies for authorities to provide safe homes. This have according to them resulted with unaccompanied children disappearing, and in many cases fallen victims to human trafficking, which more or less have
contributed to the increase of human trafficking cases. Without safe environments, and without the presence of adequate guardians, there is a large risk of victimization for the people who are in need of support (Felson & Cohen 1979). It is therefore, of high importance, to provide physical security, to help diminish trafficker’s access to, individuals who they view as suitable targets (Sheetz 2013). Informant E moreover highlighted many important and relevant examples of how the approach of authorities can become improved in order for there to become a reduction in human trafficking cases in Sweden. One prominent example was that there needs to become better dialogue and cooperation between authorities who acquires important information and knowledge, in order to work jointly towards the decrease of criminal activity of human trafficking. But moreover, that there needs to be more capable guardians and more capable and competent personnel within authorities, in order to support victims of human trafficking to keep them away from becoming victimized and lured into the highly troubled and exploitive cycle.

Many informants of this thesis, moreover, acknowledged the legislation as an important factor to decrease the development of human trafficking cases, and they furthermore expressed that they were consent with the current legislation concerning human trafficking and that it manages to cover most human trafficking forms. However, these informants correspondingly expressed that the current laws in Sweden highly are complex to implement when cases occur, which have made it difficult to prosecute the offenders. Although laws are not guardians in its physical form, it can nevertheless be recognized, as guardianship with its essential task to decrease the crime rates, and more importantly, facilitate the hindrance of a predatory crime to take place. Therefore, in order for human trafficking in all forms to decrease in the amount of cases, there needs to exist laws that is not complex for prosecutors to use when dealing with human trafficking cases. There needs to be more dialogue and cooperation in order to solve the issues concerning the current legislation, which generally was emphasised by most informants.

Although there are laws for the purpose to decrease the amount of cases, and informants who moreover expressed that they were content with the current legislation, there have still been an increase in human trafficking cases and there still is a lucrative market that is growing. This makes one wonder if Jesionka’s (2018) hypothesis is applicable in the case of Sweden, meaning, if the laws have forced women and young girls underground and made them less visible, instead of reducing the actual number of human trafficking cases. This conclusion,
however, needs further investigation. Yet, when investigating the information provided by the informants, there needs further cooperation between authorities in order to efficiently use the laws, meaning that there essentially are not any errors with the law per say.

In addition, according to the findings, there is an unknown number of hidden cases, most probably higher than the registered cases, concerning human trafficking in the form of sexual exploitation. One conclusion that can be made, based on the findings, is that the undocumented migrants living in Sweden, renders less likely to collaborate with the law enforcement authorities, or other authorities, to catch and punish the traffickers. Declaring that undocumented migrants in general are criminals exacerbated their vulnerabilities, causes an additional vulnerable situation for the victims. In this instance, there needs to be better cooperation and methods to approach the people being exposed to human trafficking, in other words, the Swedish authority’s needs to implement and utilize a crime victim perspective. Moreover, many informants explained that there is lack of knowledge concerning the services that are being consumed, and regarding the density of human trafficking cases taking place in Sweden, which is why they proposed that there is a need for awareness campaigns, which moreover was acknowledged by Mahmoud & Trebesch (2010: 173). Campaign organised by these authorities and organisations, in one step towards a decreased development of human trafficking.

It is nevertheless difficult to ignore the notion that the lack of dialogue and competence within relevant authorities may have influenced the growing development of human trafficking cases in Sweden. It is therefore extremely positive that the informants of this dissertation are aware of their sense of guardianship that they have, and that they are aware that there are areas that needs to become improved in order for Sweden to achieve a decreased level of human trafficking cases.
8. Conclusion
The purpose of this thesis was to essentially shed light on the underdeveloped research field concerning human trafficking in Sweden in terms of sexual exploitation. There are based on the findings of this thesis, mainly marginalized and vulnerable women and young girls from third world countries and circular migration within Europe, who becomes exposed to human trafficking for sexual purposes in Sweden. The acknowledged factors for the development of human trafficking in Sweden were many, however, there were some key factors that were more acknowledged than others by the informants. Push factors war, poverty and lack of opportunities were the main acknowledged factors. The vulnerable and marginalized women and young girls have originated from these severe conditions, which have made them easily lured and exploited within human trafficking in terms of sexual exploitation, either on their way to Sweden or when living in Sweden.

In addition, the demand for prostitution in Sweden generally became acknowledged by all informants as the main pillar and factor for the growing development of human trafficking for sexual purposes. The informants expressed that the demand for prostitution in Sweden is the fundamental factor that needs to become handled in order for human trafficking to decrease. The pull factors availability of freedom, employment and education were additional factors that became acknowledged as factors contributing to the development of human trafficking. The traffickers are simply luring the victims through false promises of better opportunities in Sweden. The conclusion of the findings is that the victims are simultaneously being pushed and pulled into Sweden, and are through these diverse factors being persuaded, unknowingly, into the lucrative business of human trafficking.

With the postcolonial feminist view, it can be understood as though the women from third world countries are demanded because of the western idea that women of color essentially are overssexualised people, and viewed as the sexualised ‘other’. Although the informants solely acknowledged the push and pull factors as essential contributors, does not have to mean that women and young girls from third world countries are not requested by countries such as Sweden explicitly for their darker complexation. This perspective is worth shedding light on in order to explore this complex issue.

Human trafficking in women and young girls has moreover become an attractive business for motivated offenders because the profits are high while the risks are minimal. The
characteristics of this lucrative business make it possible for traffickers to continue their business and to continue to exploit vulnerable and marginalized women and young girls for their own gain. Unfortunately, the increasing number of migrants, refugees, and internationally displaced persons have created a devastating human trafficking business. What is therefore needed according to the informants, are applicable laws in order to hold the offenders accountable for their crime, and moreover global cooperation in order to capture the traffickers who operate outside of Sweden.

There were furthermore deficiencies acknowledged in regards to authority’s sense of guardianship, in other words, how they protect the victims of human trafficking. The informants stressed deficiencies with the cooperation, dialogue, and competence among the authorities who are in direct contact with the victims. The authorities need to furthermore encourage the victims to come forward and cooperate with the authorities, in order to more effectively capture the traffickers. Hopefully, with better cooperation and increased competence, the relevant actors within the field of human trafficking in Sweden, are able to come together in order to work towards their common goal, to decrease the development of human trafficking and detect more cases.

In final, what was adequately described by informant C was essentially that there needs to become a development in underdeveloped countries, and there is furthermore a need for more opportunities within the sector of employment and education in such countries. When development is achieved in their countries of origin, they will not become easily lured into false promises of a better life. This complex and growing issue that Sweden is facing, is not an issue that Sweden can solve alone. As many informants expressed: in order to solve the development of human trafficking in Sweden, there is a great need for international cooperation in order to prosecute traffickers who are active around the world.

8.1 Suggestion for future research
This thesis is limited in a number of different ways, such as the specific aim of this study, time and the selection of method. It is therefore of significance that this thesis is viewed as an entry point for further research. As previously mentioned, research on human trafficking, especially with Sweden as focus, is highly underdeveloped, which is why there is a need for further research on the subject. For future research, it would be valuable to acknowledge the victims perspective on human trafficking as well as their personal experiences, views, and
perceptions. It could possibly shed light on the development and factors of human trafficking in a different way, and it would possibly provide an understanding in another way. It would moreover for future research be interesting to solely investigate the impact that the Swedish legislation has had on human trafficking, and what sort of effect it has had on the development. It would in this regard be interesting to test the hypothesis of Jesionka (2018) and investigate if the legislation concerning human trafficking in Sweden has forced women and young girls underground.
References


Appendix 1: Interview guide

- What are the main factors behind the development of human trafficking in Sweden, and what factors could potentially decrease human trafficking, according to the Swedish authorities and organisations working in the field of trafficking?

- Who are the women and young girls that are sexually exploited in Sweden?

Introduction:
° Thanks the informants for their participant in the interview.
° Introduction of myself.
° Explanation of aim, purpose, and procedure of the interview.
° Guarantees right to anonymity, and asks if recording (and/or taking notes) is fine.
° Explaining that the informant has the right to withdraw from the interview at any time and that he/she can ask question(s) for clarification.

General information:
° Could you please introduce yourself, and explain how you are in contact with human trafficking in your daily work?

Main phase:
° How would you define human trafficking? (Who are the people behind human trafficking, and who according to your experience are the people subject to human trafficking?)

According to official reports, human trafficking have increased in reported cases the last couple of years in Sweden. There was a marginal decrease of reported cases in 2018, however, officials from the Swedish Migration Agency have stated that they are afraid that the amount of unreported cases have increased, and that there are no signs of the trend decreasing.
° Do you share this point of view that human trafficking have increased in Sweden?
  - (If yes, what do you believe are the main factors behind the increase of human trafficking in Sweden?)
  - (If no, why, and what do you believe are the main factors of human trafficking increasing?)
° Could you express your thoughts regarding the efficiency of the Swedish legislation concerning human trafficking?
   - (If you believe the legislation is good, then why is human trafficking increasing?)
   - (If you believe that the legislation is insufficient, then how can the legislation regarding human trafficking be improved?)

° How do you think human trafficking can be hindered globally and nationally?

° Do you think that your authority/organisation could do more, or improve your way of working with human trafficking?

**Conclusion:**
° Thanks the informant again for his/her participants.
° In case: explain again to the informant why and for what I am using the data, and that the participant have the opportunity to withdraw the provided information.
° Explain to the informant that a draft of the thesis with his/her remarks will be sent before the official hand-in of the thesis.