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UNIVERSITY OF GÖTEBORG

Department of Social Work

International Master of Science in Social Work

**Bridging the Gap between the Actors: Coordination in
Prevention Work against
Human Trafficking in Grassroots Level:
A Case of Gothenburg – Sweden**

Gothenburg University

Master of Science in Social Work, International line

Thesis, spring 2008

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ABSTRACT

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The objective of this research is to provide understanding of how public authorities and social units coordinate in order to curb the problem of human trafficking. The qualitative method was in use in this research. The primary data was collected during the spring 2008 by using the non-probability sampling embedded in purposive sampling method together with snowball method. In total, five respondents from the state authorities and Civil Society Organizations were used as the informants in the focused interviews conducted by the author. There is also used secondary data from academic journals and books. According to the collected data, it can be generalized that all actors in Sweden rely on law enforcement in prevention of human trafficking. This law criminalizes sex services for money exchange and benefiting from prostitution of others. However, the author is suspicious on the successful part of this law because according to the findings the law enforcement has essential implication in crime prevention work, but despite of how effective the law enforcement is, it is common knowledge that law enforcement resources are always limited. This fact may encourage the breach of law, and intense of human trafficking crimes in Sweden may not be deniable. Consequently, the law enforcement weakness may encourage the criminal entrepreneurs to engage more in illicit business, knowing that the possibility of being caught and prosecuted is always low. In this case the coordination between state and non-state actors committed to work against human trafficking is essential. However, this study reveals large discrepancies of sincerely relationship between the state authorities and the Civil Societies. Analysis of this study confirms that there is a gap in coordination of prevention work among actors, since both have different perception on the best way of looking the human trafficking challenge. The findings of this study may be used as a basis for framework to understand the patterns of coordination in prevention work against human trafficking between the state authorities and Civil Society Organizations, for gaining deeper understanding on the best way of bridging the gaps between the state and non-state actors.

Key Words: Human trafficking, Victims of trafficking, Civil Societies, State

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ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
EU	European Union
GI	Gothenburg Initiative
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IOM	International Organization of Migration
ILO	International Labour Organization
LDCs	Low Developed Countries
NCID	National Criminal Investigation Department
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
TIP	United States Department data collect system
UN	United Nations
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
US\$	United States of America Dollars
US	United States of America

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Appendix

1. INTRODUCTION

Human trafficking is one of the fastest growing forms of transnational organized crime

networks. The industry of trafficking in human beings is one of the leading sectors of the national and transnational lucrative crimes, earning to the traffickers multibillions of US\$ annually, from trafficking of hundreds of thousands vulnerable women and children, who are forced mainly into sexual exploitation within and across their national borders.

Although the problem is not a new phenomenon since the purpose of trafficking has remained the same ever since, the emergence of other transnational crimes such as smuggling of drugs and weapons, money laundering and terrorism makes the problem of trafficking in human beings as a mega problem as it is posing a serious threat to the international security. However, changing the models, means and structure of operations used in the trafficking business poses serious challenges to the state and non-state actors who are committed to fight against human trafficking.

Prevention work against the human trafficking business, has been proven as a crucial challenge to actors working against trafficking in human; since the illicit trade has been develop and taken different dimensions at different times. While the states are consistently trying to dominate the matter as the state issue, on the other side CSOs have been so keen to be involved actively in the prevention and suppression of the human trafficking scourge. However, although all actors are trying to combat the trafficking business, both the state and non-state actors are fighting against trafficking with different purpose.

The purpose of this study is to address the issue of coordination among the state and non-state actors in the prevention work against trafficking in Sweden. The study stipulates the need for the state to look the matter of trafficking on the larger context of human security which sees the victims of trafficking as vulnerable instead of illegal immigrants; the perception which influences the states' legal instruments which are often in use as counter-measure against trafficking in human business.

2. PROBLEM FORMULATION

The horrendous business of human trafficking particularly of women and children for sexual exploitation has for long been a growing problem throughout the world. According to Haynes (2004), the Europe Union (EU) is one of the potential parts of the world, where the trafficking magnitude has exacerbated in the last fifteen years. Williams (1997, cited in Jamieson 1999) reports that a vast number of women, estimated between 200,000 and 500,000, are working illegally in European sex industry. Nevertheless, this figure is out-numbered by children and young adults.

Sweden is an EU member which is described as destination of victims of trafficking. According to Swedish National Criminal Investigation Department (NCID), in 2004 the official figures were between 400 and 600 hundreds people who were trafficked to Sweden mainly for sexual purpose. NCID estimates about 70 per cent of the victims are women and children (Regeringskansliet 2005). Despite of the fact that there is no estimation of the exact figure, different indicators¹ show that the problem is still persisting and hundreds of men, women and children may be trafficked to Sweden and become captives of modern day slave holders. (Stretmo 2005)

For instance, Stretmo (2005) cited Swedish Migration Board that there are 1423 unaccompanied minors applied for asylum in Sweden between 2002 and 2004. Nevertheless, Stretmo (2005) argued, although not all but significant numbers of minors are victims of trafficking, given the fact of terrifying figures of the large number of *disappearing* minors from official contacts.

There is a considerable amount of studies which substantiates the significant nexus between gender prostitution and trafficking in human beings. These studies depict women as the most vulnerable. In this light the threat of trafficking business may be observed as

¹ The number of human trafficking cases reported, and the figures depicted from the immigration board on the number of unaccompanied minors who apparently disappear from the reception centers may raise the society concern on human smuggling as well as trafficking in human.

essential topic for Sweden, since Sweden constantly perceives itself, and by others, as a champion of gender equality (Ekberg 2004,) the issue of trafficking for sexual purpose may implicate a new form of inequality in Sweden. Nevertheless, the prevalence may possibly force the Swedish policy makers to identify the scourge in the hierarchical categorization of gender inequality in Sweden particular to ‘immigrants’ who apparently have become prominent victims of trafficking. (Towns 2002 p.2)

3. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Since 1999, the growing prevalence of human trafficking led the former United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan to call for an urgent action to curb the scourge (Annan 1999, cited in Hodge & Lietz 2007). Schatz & Furman (2002) argue, however, that despite of the call for urgent action, yet only little can be found from the social work literature focusing on the issues relating to human trafficking. This situation is pathetic due to the fact that social work has been for a long time “...characterized by strong commitment to social justice and advocacy for vulnerable groups” (Hodge & Lietz 2007).

Therefore, it is the objective of this research to provide understanding of how public authorities and social units coordinate in order to curb the problem of human trafficking. Nevertheless, it is also the aim of this research to add some inputs in the small number of the existing social work literatures, which narrate the prevalence of human trafficking and the efforts taken in the grassroots level to prevent the scourge through public authority and CSOs in prevention work against the trafficking. The research is based on the empirical study of Gothenburg Police Anti-Human Trafficking Unit, Gothenburg City Council Prostitution Unit and Coalition against Human Trafficking. This study will focus on and analyze the coordination in grassroots level in the prevention of victims and the roles of the CSOs - public authority in prevention work.

The study will explore the coordination in grassroots level between the public authorities and CSOs in the prevention of victims of human trafficking in Gothenburg, Sweden. The thesis will use different approaches to find out how the state and non-state actors are

influencing and complementing each other in the prevention work of victims of human trafficking. The study objective and the thesis problem will be studied by two research problem questions:

1. How state and non state actors coordinate in prevention work against trafficking?
2. Does actors coordination in prevention work against trafficking matter?

4. KEY TERMS

4.1. Civil Society and Non Government Organization

The concepts embedded on Civil Societies (CSOs) and Non-Government Organization (NGOs) have instigated debates ever since. The two concepts have been dubbed interchangeably. (Lewis 2001) However, the distinction should be noted.

There is no precise definition of CSOs and to compile a fully and comprehensive definition of CSO prove to be difficult. However, CSO comprise a diversity of actors varying at different levels from grassroots to international level, with differences in formality, power and autonomy, characterized by advocating the reform of policy, in order to gain a desirable outcome which is good for everyone. (Lewis 2001) Nevertheless, this study will attempt to borrow the definition of CSO from Michael Brandon (1994 p.14) who describes CSO as “...*social interaction between the household and the state characterized by community cooperation, structures of voluntary association, and networks of public communication.*”

However, the concept of CSO and Non Government Organizations (NGOs) in most parts of this study will be used interchangeably, due to many NGOs claiming to represent CSOs and the definitions of both in many ways overlapping to each other. (Lewis (2001) This study will use CSOs and NGOs concepts based on the NGOs definition which describe NGOs as nonprofit or commercial: “*group [of people] or association that acts outside of institutionalized political structures and pursues matters of interest to its member by lobbying, persuasion, or direct action...*” (Lewis 2001). Furthermore, NGOs

are characterized by issues not explicitly connected to public policy.

4.2. Public Authority

The term public authority in this study is in use to represent the state, which has a broad meaning. But in this study, the term state has been used according to Marx Weber's definition. In Weber's view, state may be defined as "*a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory*" (Gaus et al 2004 p.195). In Weber's view, other institutions within state might have certain physical force defined clearly by law and within certain limits.

5. EARLIER RESEARCH IN HUMAN TRAFFICKING

In recent years, several measures have been taken by the public authority (i.e. State) and non-states actors (i.e. CSOs) on prevention against human trafficking scourge. According to Haynes (2004), a number of models for prevention against trafficking have been developed by international organizations and grassroots anti-trafficking organizations. However, Haynes claims that still these models are not yet effective, since a number of public authorities (states) seem to be uncertain to incorporate the grassroots organizations in their programme. This is despite of their potential based on their field observations and experience.

Furthermore, human trafficking has been heated topic in recent years; this is despite of the fact that there are a number of issues that have been debated by experts: such as definition of human trafficking, the difference between human trafficking and smuggling of migrants for asylum or prostitution and issues related to consents of the victims. However, despite of unavailability of reliable data, all of them agree that in principle the challenges posed by human trafficking are undeniable. (Kangaspunta 2003)

The accurate data is difficult to find, moreover, even those which are available,

reliability issue is still remaining as a serious problem, since most of the data is based on “guesstimates” which, in most cases is used to raise awareness and propagate the scourge. (Kangaspunta 2003) Therefore, most of the trafficking cases go unnoticed, leading the sensitivity and perceptions about the scale of the problem to vary significantly. McDonald and Monzini (2004, cited in Hodge & Lietz 2007) mention that the estimation of the human trafficking prevalence continues to be hindered because of the clandestine nature of human trafficking. Traffickers have attitudes to dodge from being noticed, and victims are often hesitant to recount their experiences because of the fear of retaliation or other undesirable outcomes such as deportation. Consequently, there is no precise figure established and those figures that exist vary considerably.

For instance, while the report of the International Labour Organization (ILO 2005 p.10-14) estimates that 12.3 million people are in forced labour globally, and 2.4 million are found internally and across borders to be victims of human trafficking, according to the estimation from the United States Department of State’s TIP report, between 600,000 and 800,000 people are trafficked across international borders annually (UNODC 2, 2006), and IOM claim 700,000 to 2 million women are trafficked annually, beyond their national borders (Kvinnoforum 2002).

5.1. The Scope of Vulnerability on Gender Based

Despite of different experiences demonstrate sexual exploitation not to be the only reason for trafficking, as other reasons that may include activities such as forced labour and robbery of the body organs. In this light, even though women are the most vulnerable, there is considerable number of research revealing a significant number of trafficked victims being also men and boys. (Nuyts 2007) Nevertheless, social structures of victims of human trafficking vary from victims’ social position to the identity as regards to their gender, class and age, yet the patterns of illicit trafficking in human suggest women and children to be the most vulnerable. (Truong & Angeles 2005)

Recently there is an increasing amount of studies centered on women and children as

victims of human trafficking. A particular point of interest of studies concentrating on women and children is based on the figures depicting women and children as significant victims of human trafficking. The UN estimates that 4 million women and children fall to be victims to traffickers annually. According to International Organization of Migration (IOM) estimations, as many as 500,000 women have entered in prostitution market in Europe, possibly as victims of human trafficking. (Regeringskansliet 2005, p.2)

Citing the US Department of State, at least 80 per cent of all victims of human trafficking are women, and up to 50 per cent are minors, recruited purposely to work for sex industry (Friesendorf 2007, p.381). Above all, the largest subset of the victims is women and children who comprise a 70 per cent of the victims trafficked for prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation (Hodge & Lietz 2007).

5.2. Trafficking Human Being as a Process

Trafficking in person is not a single event or offence; rather it is a process which takes different forms during different phases. However, most of the trafficking cases are more or less similar in characteristics and often follow the same patterns such as recruitment, transportation and exploitation. (UNODC 2 2006)

For instance, at the country of origin the crime starts when the traffickers abduct and recruit the victims; in this phase the trafficker tends to employ different techniques such as general recruitments for those who have already been working as sex professionals. In this case the victims are often aware “of the offer of employment [...] in the sex industry”(UNODC 2, 2006 p.60); however, if the victims have no experience in prostitution, the recruiters tend to manipulate the victims by false promises, without informing them of the exploitation they will be subjected too (UNODC 2, 2006). In this stage the victims, mainly women, are often recruited by strangers or acquaintances (often women) with promises of well-paid jobs abroad (Friesendorf 2007).

The second stage is transportation of the person either within the country or beyond the

country. If it is beyond the national borders the act is known as transnational trafficking. This process includes in most cases illegal entry to a country. In the last phase for those who accept the offer to migrate upon their arrival to the destination, their pass-ports are always taken away and their lives are grumbled by various acts of exploitation. Sexual exploitation is the most common form, but also exploitation by working in the sex industry without pay. Other forms of exploitation are forced servitude to work off bogus debts, and various threat of violence against the victims. (Friesendorf 2007)

5.3. Factors Contributed to Human Trafficking

5.3.1 Demand as a Main Cause of Trafficking

Human trafficking business is run and controlled by international organized crime network. According to Schelling (1971, cited by Schloenhardt 1999 p. 5), the existence of organized crime may be perceived as the “safe heaven” by the criminals, as long as the society perceives personal gain to be more important than equality. In this case, *“it is well known that organized crime exists and thrives because it provides services the public demands. [Because the] Organized crime depends not on victims, but on customers” (ibid p.5)*. Within the same context *“It is becoming widely accepted that the business of organized crimes is to provide the public with illicit goods and services” (ibid p.5)*. For that reason, the objectives of criminal organization do not differ from the other commercial activities, since its major objective is to maximize the economic gain.

There are two sides of factors contributing to trafficking in human business. According to the above insight, human trafficking can be seen mainly from demand perspective. Demand perspectives in this case may be characterized by pull factors such as the promise of better life in the destination country. Nevertheless, there are also push factors which are often instigated by poverty, exacerbated by other factors such as natural disasters and civil war or HIV/AIDS; these factors are subordinating to the pull factors. However demand or supply factor can be explained as circumstances that compel the victims or potential victims to fall in horrendous trap, it is pull factors that generate

demand in the destination part that lead the victims to succumb. (FitzGibbon 2003)

Therefore, as demand side patterns for exploitation of victims may be perceived as a main cause of human trafficking business, and therefore, the destination country has responsibility to introduce discourage measures such as legislation as the Swedish one which prohibits commercial sex in order to discourage demand which is the main cause of trafficking. The example of these laws are government bill on “Violence Against Women” (prop. 1997/98:55 Kvinnofrid), The 2005 Penal Code (ch.6, s.9) which criminalizes the purchase of sex from children and the Penal Code (ch.6, s.11) which criminalizes purchase for sexual services, nevertheless, the Penal Code (ch.6, s.12) prohibits anyone to benefit from prostitution of others or to promote or encourage sexual exploitation of another person, and the felony “shall be sentenced to imprisonment for at most four years...” (Regeringskansliet 2005)

5.3.2. Poverty as a Driving Force of Trafficking of Human

Poverty has been seen as a embedded factor from the supply side, where the victims often tend to be the least member of the particular society. There are vast researches depicting the victims of trafficking to be members of the vulnerable and marginalized segments. Several studies provide ample evidence and substantiate their claim, that majority of human trafficking victims are generally vulnerable individuals originated from places experiencing economic instability and social difficulties and dislocation, which are compelling them to find migration as the only choice to find hope in their life. (Friesendorf 2007; Helsinki process paper 2005)

Least powerless people become potential victims due to extreme poverty and their inability to defend themselves. Flamm (2003) and Kelly (2004) (cited in Hughes 2004a) make a note that traffickers see vulnerable individuals as potential targets because they are easier to control. For instance in Eastern Europe, young women and girls from poor background or with disabilities are targeted, approached and recruited by seemingly genuine organizations for employment, marriage or adoptions. In Nigeria, according to Aghatise (2004), the traffickers target victims who are often illiterate young girls without

any experience with urban life (Hodge & Lietz 2007 p.167).

The trafficking in persons claim increasingly more ground in several LDCs, largely due to unequal distribution of resource allocation, possible legal sources of income contributed with declining income from agriculture, land scarcity in the rural areas and high youth unemployment in urban areas caused by decreasing paid work particular for unskilled labor, and young women labor market discrimination.² (SIDA 2003)

5.3.3. High Profits, Low Risks

While economic difficulties on the supply side compel victims into business in response to the demand, consequently the vast income from illegal human trafficking business encourage more organized crime organizations to engage more into illicit business. Studies show that human trafficking business is a multibillion worth industry, however, there is no accurate statistics of profits generated because of the underground activities of human trafficking. Nevertheless, US Department of State (2005 p.13-14) and Haynes (2004) estimate the human trafficking yielding between US\$ 7 and 10 billion every year. However the figure differs from International Labour Organization (ILO) (2005: 10) reports which claimed that the human trafficking for sexual purpose may generate annual profits of over US\$ 32 billion to traffickers annually. (Friesendorf 2007, p.381)

According to United Nations, human trafficking is the fastest-growing area of organized crime. For instance, the US Department of State report in 2004 suggested that the trafficking in sex industry is the third largest profitable business for organized crime, after guns and narcotics. However, unlike the other forms of disposable illicit 'goods' such as narcotics which are sold and used only once, victims of trafficking for sexual

² Young women are constantly discriminated or restricted from the labour market contrary to young men counterpart. This happen due to the fact that: "Women are not as highly valued in terms of their labour as men in sectors such as agriculture and are therefore restricted to household work, and sales and service jobs in the informal sector" (SIDA 2003 p. 15)

exploitation may be resold and in that way earn profits annually and continually for their “pimps”. (Hodge & Lietz 2007 p.166) United States Central Intelligence Agency estimate, victims of trafficking generates the average of US\$ 250,000 profits annually to their traffickers. (Haynes 2004 p.223)

According to FitzGibbon (2003), high profit is not the only factor encouraging the human trafficking business, rather the low risk associated in trafficking in human crimes may give confidence to traffickers to continue with the business, persuading other criminal mind entrepreneurs to engage in the activities and consequently make the trafficking an attractive business. Nevertheless, institutional lapses, corruption within the judicial system and the witnesses’ and victims protection’s uncertainty lead to low risk of arrest and prosecute the traffickers, in victims’ home countries as well as in destination countries. (FitzGibbon 2003)

6. METHODOLOGY & ANALYTICAL APPROACH

6.1. Qualitative Research

The qualitative research method will be used in this research, this is despite of the fact that qualitative method has been criticized for lacking scientific inflexibility and end up in producing merely ‘idiosyncratic impressions’ findings, because the method contains different meanings and understandings. (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995)

Despite of criticisms against qualitative method, the method has always got backers who support the usefulness of using it for scientific research. For instance Alitolppa-Niitamo (2004 p.71) supports qualitative method because of its understanding of the human actions which are based upon different interpretations or social meanings which are socially constructed and cannot be explained “...by simple causal relationships [as in quantitative method], but needs to be described in more complex and dynamic terms.” Nevertheless, other qualitative method supporters such as Straus & Corbin (1998) support the method because the aim of qualitative research is not to produce facts arrived by statistical or quantifications procedures. Rather, the qualitative researches aim to interpret

and organize the findings in a theoretical explanatory frame where the concepts and relationships are hidden in gathered information.

In this line, Denzin & Lincoln (1998) concurred with Straus & Corbin (1998) as they describe qualitative research method aiming to discover the new phenomena and new perspectives discovered by the researcher through interpretation of data obtained in the field, in order to find meaning, insight and understanding of the phenomena. In the same context the qualitative research focal point is supposed to be on the processes and context which lead the researchers' findings. Therefore, no absolute truth or single way interpretation should be expected from qualitative research, due to the fact, that the qualitative research findings is a "...bricolage, a complex, dense, reflexive, collage-like creation" (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004 p.71).

6.2. Data Collection

The fieldwork was conducted in Gothenburg City in spring 2008, and lasted for two months. The author approached eight possible respondents from the public authorities and civil societies to take part in the research. Seven of them were interviewed by the research author and one did not show up at all, this is despite of several attempts made by author to host the respondent, but all efforts proved futile. Two of the respondents were unqualified for the topic researched, and their information was therefore dropped from the research, compelled the research author to use five respondent's information which was significant and precise for the study topic researched. However, the research author has to admit, although the two respondents were not suitable for the research, their information and experiences have been widening the author's understanding of migration and smuggling of human being in Sweden.

The author engaged in different negotiations in terms of gaining access, establishing a rapport and finding the right respondents who could participate in this research. During the fieldwork, the author also paid the visit to the respondents working places. These visits were important for understanding the background and the role of the respondents in

prevention of victims of human trafficking. On the other side the visits were crucial since the meetings gave for the author of this study the picture of the working relations and coordination among the actors, and familiarized the researcher with the respondents and vice versa. However, the observations the researcher has made during the fieldwork visits are not included in the analysis of this research.

The study is primarily based on secondary data and information is obtained mainly from library database where academic journals and books have been accessed. The primary data has been collected through interviews with experts working in prevention of human trafficking sector. However, the author has to admit lack of resources and time constraints, which make the thesis unable to include other key respondents such as victims of human trafficking and legislatures to participate in the study, because their participation would add significant input to the study.

6.2.1. Sampling of the Informants

The objective of this research is to provide a framework of understanding of the coordination in grassroots level, in prevention of victims of human trafficking. Therefore, non-probability sampling embedded in purposive sampling method together with snowball sampling was employed in this study to find interviewees. It is suggested to use purposive sample due to its realistic nature for small-scale or qualitative research (Newman 1997; Gilbert 2001), as in this case, when specific cases were selected when the researcher had specific purpose in mind.

The approach used by the researcher to find informants was to set up initial contacts, the task which the researcher relied mostly on his thesis and internship supervisors. A number of contacts have been given to the researcher by the thesis supervisor PhD Marie Törnbohm, internship supervisor and director of Gothenburg Initiative Mr. Tomas Magnusson and a GI staff Tristan Trobby. The researcher contacted all of them, through E-mail and phone calls and asked the possibility and the willingness of the respondents to take part in the study. Some of them responded promptly and others after few attempts.

However, some of the contacts did not respond at all, some referred the researcher to the third contacts who in their opinion may be more useful and more expatriate for the study, while other contacts were helpful and supportive with the research.

6.2.2. Focused interview

The researcher conducted the interviews with respondents in the respondents' respective working places as their preferred choice, due to the respondents' freedom to choose the place where they could feel comfortable to conduct the interview. The tape recorder borrowed from the university was used to record the interview with the permission of the respondents, and also the notes were written by the author. The duration of the interviews varied between 45 minutes to 1 hour. In general the interviews went fine, without any interruptions. Interview guide (see appendix) included questions, but there was freedom to discuss of other areas, according to the issues that come up during the interview and to the wishes of the respondents.

6.3. Data analysis

Data analysis is claimed as one of the complex part of qualitative research. However, data analyses aims to summarize the gathered data without desecrating the essential information the respondents have given to the researcher. In this context, after the researcher made transcriptions of the interviews, the data was coded and the answers were analyzed in order to extract certain information which was related to the theme of the study. After the further careful reading, themes were extracted and merged under major categories of particular theme. However, a number of pieces were seemingly not fitting with the study and therefore, the author had to leave them out of the study.

Nevertheless, efforts have been made by the researcher to make sure that all useful descriptions and data which were touching upon relevant issues or information is included in the study as well as in the analysis. However, the analysis of the study is mainly relying on empirical data and secondary data collected for this study.

6.3.1. Validity and Reliability

The internal and external validity in this study means the assessment of this study to sustain the arrived findings, and therefore the findings can be generalized and applied in other studies. Several studies stipulate the importance of validity enhanced by triangulation as a corner stone of qualitative research, so there has been used different sources of data such as interviews and literature research. Norman Lincoln & Egon Cuba (1985, in Merriam 1998) suggest that high internal validity is the strength of qualitative research and can be achieved by the findings matching with the analysis position vis-à-vis the theoretical framework and the themes of the research.

In this case ‘consistency’ within the study is crucial and in order to achieve it, the research must be conducted with regular inside checks (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004). Therefore, Kvale (1996) stresses, that the trustworthiness of the statements given by respondents may affect the overall validity and quality the interview. However, doing the research on clandestine nature topics such as human trafficking, the author has to consider the difficulties arising from the lack of internal validity due to inconclusive empirical data.

Furthermore, Merriam (1998) argues that the aim of qualitative research is not to examine what is absolute truth perceived by many, but to understand certain themes within special context in depth. Moreover, it is still essential to consider the external validity of the study from the study case to general society beyond the small number of selected cases (Alitolppa-Niitamo 2004).

The author singles out Sweden as a case study and uses two theories, human security and crime waves theory, to produce a full explanation of the case of “coordination in prevention work on grassroots level”. The theories focus on crime from different perspectives but both complement each other. Due to the dispersed character of the human trafficking and its prevention measures, both theories have been utilized to the possible extent. Nevertheless, it would have been nice to add economic crime and

migration theory if the pages would have allowed, but the chosen theories were considered as precise for the study as they are giving extensive and full explanation of what should be done in preventive work.

6.3.2. Ethical consideration

Ethical concern in social research is increasingly perceived as a cornerstone of social science research. Ethical consideration, dealing with the rules and principles of how to conduct social research (May 2006), has been carefully addressed by the researcher. According to Kvale (1996), ethics in social research should be considered throughout the research process, due to the terms standing for the interest of all participants who take part in research. Therefore, the anonymity and confidentiality of the interviewees and protection of the subjects' privacy was followed through out the research process, in terms of interviews and reporting.

Nevertheless, based on positive social research, the purpose of the study should seek knowledge with the aim to improve the human situation investigated (Kvale 1996). In the light of that, the study is useful, real, and valuable for humans, since throughout the research, the researcher tried to show the impact of human trafficking as serious violation of human rights rather than just a matter of violation against the state.

In addition, the research author has made some attempts to explain the nature and importance of this study as Kvale (1996) insists on the importance of familiarizing the informants with the purpose of the study and the benefits of the research. In this study the researcher of the study informed the respondents on the aim of the study and the informants of this research were consented to take part in the research, and with the agreement their names will remain anonymous.

7. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

7.1. Concepts and Definitions

Despite of many existing definitions of human trafficking (Aronowitz, 2004, Ibarra & McDonald 2004 and Zimmerman, et al. 2003), however, many of them are stemming from the United Nations 2000 trafficking protocol, known also as Palermo Protocol (Hodge & Lietz 2007 p.164). *The UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* was signed in December 2000 in Palermo, Italy, and came into effect in December 2003. According to the Article 3 of the Trafficking in Persons protocol, trafficking is defined as:

“[...] recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.” (UNODC 1, 2006 p. xi)

Human trafficking definition is constituted by three parts that compose the whole criminal act which comprise the “recruitment, transportation, transfer and harbouring or receipt a person;” the means one use for the acts, this may encompass the “use of force, threat, coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power or vulnerability, or giving payments or benefits to a person in control of the victim” and purpose of the trafficker which is to benefit through sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or similar practices, and removal of organs (UNODC 2, 2006 p.xi).

In line with proposed definitions, UN protocol defines human smuggling as “the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into State party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident” (UNODC 1, 2006 p. xiii). The Protocol also insists that the consent of the victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation shall be irrelevant where any of the means such as deception or coercion have been used. This is

due to the fact that a free will is often limited when force, deception or the abuse of power used to get the victims consent. In addition, the protocol excludes minors on a consent-based defense as protocol stipulates: “A child cannot consent to being trafficked; the Protocol excludes any possibility of consent from a victim under age of 18” (UNODC 1, 2006 p.xv).

Article 3 subparagraph (a) stipulates that human smuggling is typified according to three elements broken into peaces from the smuggling definition: the procurement of illegal entry; into a State of which the person is not a national or permanent resident; and to obtain direct financial or other material benefit. (Ibid 2006)

7.2. Trafficking and Smuggling: Complexity of the Phenomenon and Definitions

The UN protocol against the smuggling of migrants by land, sea and air defines explicitly the smuggling as different to trafficking. Human smuggling and human trafficking have similarities, as both actions involve moving human beings for profit. Human trafficking implies to a permanent relationship between the offender and the trafficked person. The relationship between trafficker and trafficked is characterized by higher risks of deception, coercion and abuse of power aimed for exploitative purpose. (UNODC 1, 2006)

This is contrary to the human smuggling which is transnational in nature and there are varying degrees of consent of the smuggled person (Friesendorf 2007). However, the consent of the victim may be invalid if the use of deception or coercion has been employed by smuggler to get the consent of the smuggled person (Aronowitz 2001). United Nations (2000) and Aronowitz (2004) stipulate that by using forms such as fraud and deception, the criteria of the consent of the victims cannot be truly met and therefore the consent “shall be irrelevant” (Hodge & Lietz 2007).

Smuggling and trafficking refer equally to irregular migration. The UN protocol specifies the difference of trafficking from smuggling since trafficking encompasses exploitation at

every level (Goodey 2004 p.27), while smuggling is based on the assumption that the smuggled persons are always consented and begin the trip voluntarily, but the smuggled person may still end up in coercive situations and eventually become the victims of traffickers (Aronowiwitz 2001 p.167).

According to the UN protocol, both two cases are overlapping crime problems since both are surrounded by common elements, since even in trafficking case a victim may start the process by consenting to be smuggled from his/her origin home to the destination and on the other hand a smuggled person may later end up to a permanent relationship with his/her smuggler and be deceived or coerced into exploitative forms and thus amount to human trafficking. (UNODC 1, 2006 p.xiv)

For the case of this study, demand for sex from the victims of trafficking in Sweden entails the last part of the definition of human trafficking, which states: “*Exploitation shall include, a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation...*” (UNODC 1, 2006 p.XI). The part of definition connotes that buying sex from the victims of trafficking is a form of sexual exploitation which is prohibited by the UN definition, supplemented by Swedish legislation of “Violence Against Women” (prop. 1997/98:55 Kvinnofrid) and The 2005 Penal Code (ch.6, s.9-12) (Regeringskansliet 2005).

7.3. Human Security Theory

Human security as a term encompasses broadly the concepts of ‘responsibility to protect’ and providing “...human need at the moments of extreme vulnerability” (Kaldor, et al, 2008 p.2). Human trafficking is one of the circumstances where a human being can find him/herself in ‘extreme vulnerability’. Trafficking in human beings becomes increasingly a complex problem for human security. This is because the felony is not just a single crime, rather it has been understood as a bundle of crimes which are collected together and it is a process rather than a criminal event. (UNODC 1 2006)

The human security theory is essential in prevention work against human trafficking, due to the definition of human trafficking containing three phases of "...recruitment, transportation, transfer and harboring or receipt a person" (UNODC 2, 2006 p.51), including that the common feature appearing in all phases is the serious violation of human rights and lack of security. For instance, Hodge&Lietz (2004) explain that throughout the process of human trafficking, survival and safety of the trafficking victims rely largely on the traffickers, who often use whatever means at their disposal to secure the victims' compliance; means may include threats, violence such as gang-rape, burned with hot irons and cigarettes or seizing passport which is rather common.

Over the recent years, there have been numerous efforts from different stakeholders in different levels trying to respond on the UN Protocol framework to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Person particular for sexual purpose. Trafficking for sexual purpose has been described in several academic works as the worst form of modern slave trade. (Friesendorf 2007) However, human security theory may help to understand the prevention measures and the efforts in combating the human trafficking. Human security theory tries to demonstrate the crime trends as a consequence of 'breaches' of social prevention measures such as legislation, and how these laws produce fresh opportunities to offend. Furthermore, the theory describes "...a relationship between criminal opportunities, crime prevention and creation of new laws" (Killias 2006 p.27). Therefore, human security intention is to enhance the actors working in prevention against trafficking to rethink the focus from 'rule of law' to the language preferred by human security 'vulnerabilities,' intending to help in underline the helpless situation which victims of trafficking have, and to reduce the risk of re-victimizing the victims. (Kaldor, et al 2008)

Fighting against human trafficking has continuously taken different dimensions as well as paradigm shift in the academic field. For example, while others perceive human trafficking as violation of international laws and the trafficked are criminals, other paradigms focus on human trafficking as serious violation of human rights and the

trafficked are victims. Human security is one of the paradigms³ currently dominating the academic works and starting to appear in several major researches and projects as latest neologism. The new neologisms of human security play down with the conventional phenomenon of international security as something connected only with military defense, state interests in international arena and territorial security from external aggression. Rather, the center of attention of human security neologisms is to emphasize the welfare of “...ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives” (Paris 2001 p. 87-90).

Human security theory develops a critical approach concerning the cooperation between CSOs and public authorities. In this perspective CSOs are known for standing for ordinary people, while public authorities stand for law and order. In this context there is claim that CSOs “tend to develop along oppositional and even adversarial lines vis-à-vis governmental authorities” (Sørensen 2007 p.484). Human security theory is not in dispute with the state theory which emphasis on the ‘rule of law,’ rather the theory is aligned with state the security, not narrowly but widely, seeing the victims as vulnerable, instead of being perceived as criminals.

Based in the clandestine nature of the human trafficking, the theory is not convinced that the state alone is the best option for protection of human security, despite of how state is democratic, responsible and effective. Rather, the theory supports the engagement of all stake holders, such as the state- and non-state-actors, to work for common purpose for combating human trafficking (Helsinki Process 2005). However, Sørensen (2007) is cautious, calling the actors to be skeptical with the CSOs status sought in order to assist victims of trafficking, since some CSOs may be financed by traffickers, or possible financiers have links with criminals and they are using illegitimate funds to advance their interest through the legitimate organization.

However, this is not to say the public authorities undermine or discredit the CSOs’

³ Scholars have been arguing that human security “represents a new paradigm for scholars and practitioners alike” (Paris 2001 p. 88).

relevance, rather the cooperation between the state and CSOs must be founded in trust for the benefit of the state and the victims of trafficking. For instance, in most of the domains the non-state actors such as CSOs have exclusively been proved to be effective in fighting and helping the victims of human trafficking, by providing urgent needs such as advocates or information advisor for the victims and supporting the victims of trafficking to understand the national laws, regulations and identifying resources which are available to victims. (UNODC 1 2006)

These perspectives of support may be explained well in human security theory dealing with the ordinary people's safety, and the threat from unexpected vulnerability such as hunger, disease or a sudden discomfort brought by hurtful disruptions (Paris 2001), patterns which seemed potential for increasing victims of trafficking and threats to the human survival, life of individuals, dignity and violate human rights.

This familiar picture of human threats mentioned above develops the particular argument which confirms the stand point of human security thesis, urging the receiving countries to engage better in prevention, particularly by correcting "...political and economic origins of powerlessness and insecurity..." (Helsinki Process 2005 p.06), instead of focusing only on criminalizing the problem. Nevertheless, the problem of human trafficking must not be seen by destination country as a crime against the state⁴, rather the felony should be treated as a crime against the victims of the human trafficking.

On another dimension, analysis ought to focus on measures to be taken and on how the state actors should be acquainted with non-state-actors, such as CSOs, in sensitizing the key actors on the need of prevention work and recognizing their importance in bringing the human face for victims. This will empower the victims to join the battle against the traffickers. (UNODC 1 2006) In this case the human security thesis recognizes and encourages the policymakers and non-state-actors to focus their commitments on

⁴ It has been observed some enforcement authorities in different countries sometimes treated the victims of trafficking as criminals. (UNODC 1 2006 p. XX)

reforming policy and action, since studies show a number of states having closer links between CSO, and public authorities achieve an excellent results (Ibid 2006), which may correct human security failures in the form of physical safety, economic well-being and full exercise of human rights. (Helsinki Process 2005)

UNODC (1, 2006 p.139) describes the responsibility of the state in correcting human security as it is stipulated in the article 6 which states: “Each State Part shall consider implementing measures to provide for the physical, psychological, and social recovery of victims of trafficking in person, including in appropriate cases, in cooperation with non-government organizations...”, or other organization which has CSO elements in providing to victims of trafficking accommodation, counseling and information on issues related to the victims right, in the language that victims can understand, and employment, educational and training opportunities.

However, reforms in policy and action may require a strong and narrow description of human security concept. For instance, Paris (2001) stipulates two problems embracing the human security thesis. Firstly, the concept lacks a precise definition, since the existing one is extraordinarily vague, covering from physical security to psychological well-being, leading Paris to argue that the definition provides little guidance to stake holders in what they should start to prioritize in their policy goals. Secondly, Paris (2001) claims a conflict of interest in allowing the definition of the thesis to be expansive and vague; first, in facilitating the unifying concept to lead to the coalition between states, development agencies and CSOs; secondly, it is seeking to “...shift attention and resources away from [the] conventional security issues,” toward the humanity fabric which has fallen into the international development discussion (Paris 2001 p.88).

Although the states have responsibility to invest resources in protection and preventing each individuals within its territory from undesirable circumstances, people at risk tend to be marginalized, vulnerable and the least powerful members of any society. Therefore human security theory tends to see the state’s responsibility as protecting and preventing people at risk from being extended beyond territorial borders. (Helsinki process 2005)

7.4. Crime Waves Theory

Human trafficking is a scourge that many identify as a serious crime which violates human rights. Different theories explain in their own way the nature and dimension of the long-term crime trends such as human trafficking. The crime embedded on opportunities emerges from two factors: technological and social changes. These factors bring often new risks and challenges to the particular society, provoking often in reaction of those risks the call for legislative action to control the felony, caused by social and technological changes. (Killias 2006)

The crime wave theory explains the character and dimension of the problem of crime and suggests the increases of the long-term crime to be basically provoked by ‘breaches’. The long-term crime such as human trafficking may go unnoticed for a considerable long period of time. The theory raises that the swift increase of the problems provokes automatically defensive actions such as a new tough legislation aiming to fill the gaps and to curb the ‘breaches’, the action may turn to a vicious circle, since curbing of one breach leads always to open another opportunity for breaches which is not covered by criminal law. (Killias 2006)

Clarke and Mayhew (1980) and Felson (1998) (cited in Killias 2006) aligned by viewing crime trends as a phenomenon which always reflects the changing in environment and the reaction of the particular society. For instance, a number of studies such as Hodge & Lietz (2007) suggest that offense is often occurred and persuaded by availability of easiness, supported by the society that recognize prostitution whether as legal or semi illegal business, the perception which may complicate efforts to combat the trafficking. Bertone (2000, cited in Hodge & Lietz 2007) argues that substantial profits are high, and risks associated with the felony are low; this may encourage the traffickers to engage more in trafficking crimes. In this context the felony may be prevented in the course of social environment in which the crimes take place.

According to Killias (2006), patterns of law ‘breaches’ are attributed and provoked by

opportunities to commit the crime. In this case new legislation and implementation of the preventive measures lead the crime to fade away new crime waves or trends of criminality, considering the society reaction to the threat and changes in technological and social development.

Human trafficking is a crime which is a rather common one now in the European countries. Human trafficking may perhaps fall in general trends of crime in the EU which have been summarized as trends of certain similar crimes, differing in size and lasting over certain period of time, since the changes in crime trends may be understood as the consequence of the emergence and vanishing opportunities to offend. (Killias 2006)

The recent legislative measures in the crime of trafficking have been focusing on the prevention measures, by shifting its focus from criminalization to protection of the vulnerable. For instance Boutellier (2000, cited in Killias 2006) describes that the criminal law dealt with the vulnerable has shifted the paradigm to protect the 'victims'. Nevertheless, the 'weak' are always the victims of the 'powerful' who are enhanced by new opportunities created by new technologies, enabling them to take illegitimate advantages against the vulnerable.

8. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter the findings of the study will be presented and analyzed. The study was comprised by seven interviews: three from the public authorities, police and Gothenburg City Council, and four from the civil society. However, the researcher chose to drop two of the respondents since their information was not well-suited for the study. Therefore, five respondents' information was used for this study.

Out of five respondents, three respondents, Paul, Susan, and Jordan, presented the public authority and other two, Anna and Agnes, presented the civil society. As the author took the gender issue into serious consideration, it was crucial to equalize the number of respondents. However, to take the ethics into consideration, the real names or organizations of the respondents will not be revealed; rather the author will forge the

names by using the cover names: Anna, Agnes, Susan, Paul and Jordan.

The respondents have been working in their respective organization for a considerable period: Anna has 5 years of experience, Susan has been working in the areas for two years, Agnes for 4 years, Paul for 7 years and Jordan has been working in the unit for 5 years.

8.1. The Overview of Human Trafficking and Prevention Work in Sweden

Based on the definition of human trafficking, the respondents acknowledge the problem of trafficking existing in Sweden. The human trafficking in Sweden is conducted in extremely well-connected and organized criminals, driven by profit making as a purpose for trafficking, and the acts characterized by exploitation of the prostitution of the victims through the different forms of sexual exploitation. In this context, the study findings and analysis will focus on the coordination in prevention of victims of human trafficking in the grassroots level.

This study will explore the coordination in preventive work in Sweden conducted by both the public authorities and the CSOs, by using the human security and crime waves theories in order to understand how the actors complement each other in prevention work against human trafficking, putting victims in the focus as ‘vulnerable’ rather than criminals.

8.2. Shifting Attention from Being Criminals to Victims: A Cornerstone of Swedish Prevention Work

Even though prostitution has recently been increasingly seen as legally accepted profession (Ekberg 2004), the respondents revealed that as a destination country of trafficking for the sexual exploitation, Sweden has faced a number of challenges in the prevention work against the problem of human trafficking. However, Sweden still perceives prostitution as a severe form of sexual exploitation of women and in its efforts

to create a society where the gender equality is a norm, Swedish policies see prostitution and trafficking as the root causes, and the demand for sexual exploitation as a mechanism force driving the trafficking business, as described by the respondent:

“We have a law here in Sweden, that you can’t buy a sex, I think it is the only country in the whole world that has it, this law is working, because it is the attitude of people [has to be changed] that it is not OK to buy sex. I think it is good for us to have this attitude change that it is not OK to buy a victims of trafficking.” (Jordan)

There were also found different trends of trafficking, and this development has created a serious challenge to those who are engaging in prevention work and therefore, it is essential for the public authorities and CSOs to coordinate or facilitate partnership at all levels. Furthermore, it can be concluded that the state and non-state actors must shift the attention and resources from convention security to investing in the international development issues (as described by Paris 2001) as the prevention work strategies; in addition to that, political will as well as financial commitment must be placed to prevent the scourge, and to confront the demand for commercial sex in Sweden.

Nevertheless, human security hypothesis encourages adding more efforts and coordination work among actors in Sweden and in victims’ home country in order to ensure that re-victimisation does not occur. However, a low coordination between the actors in Sweden and the actors in the victims’ home countries was mentioned by the respondents, since Sweden does not allow the public authority, particular police force, to extend their operation beyond Swedish boarder through the Amsterdam Treaty⁵ where Sweden is a signatory. As one police officer of the respondents brought it up:

I don’t know actually, we are here just in this level in this group, so I don’t know all the politics up here so that I am not really involved in the... But I think it is important that you follow them all the way, so that it won’t stop here in the port in Sweden and then we just say “we don’t care anymore, thank you very much, you gave us all this, they are in prison now for 2 years and you can go home now.” That is bad, that is not good system.

⁵ According to Stretmo (2005), since 1999, there is an agreement among EU members to fight against “trafficking in Human beings” which requires members to cooperate on Judicial and Police cooperation.

However, despite of the legislation prohibiting the buying of the sex services the problem of sexual exploitation through commercial sex may be traced from the dysfunctional behavior within the Swedish society. In this case it can be concluded that if the legislation only would help to combat the problem of sex service industry due to its association with dysfunctional behavior resulting from the failed relationships between the individual and the society, it would consequently lead to the occurrence of crime; in this light the preventive measures are expected to be in priority in order to overcome the challenge, aiming to undercut the causes of breaches as it is suggested by crime waves theory.

From the respondents can be found two preventive measures; one is taken by the public authorities which intervene in crime by introducing tough border laws and efficient legal mechanisms, such as criminalizing sex buying and allowing selling, intending to prevent the occurrence of human trafficking for sexual purpose crime; on the other hand the CSOs engage in prevention measures through intervening more broadly to advocacy, public awareness, and social change in relation to prostitution and victims of trafficking, which are considered by the CSOs as having causal significance for human trafficking business, as one of the CSO respondents reply:

We try to spread all the information in the society and to politicians and to get a better laws and we are working with the other CSOs and things, trying to get that better... And do you know in Sweden it is not allowed to buy sexual services. (Agnes)

Gullotta (1994) supported the idea of intervening to the problem by addressing the issues such as dysfunctional behavior which instigate demand for casual sex services and therefore the best way to intervene is to secure means for prevention by discouraging demand for commercial sex in Sweden, which presents threat to individuals and communities. In this case prevention work may be perceived as: “Planned efforts to reduce (prevent) the incidence of new cases of dysfunctional behaviour in a population not yet demonstrating signs of dysfunctional behaviour and encourage behaviours that are known to contribute to functional behaviours” (Gullotta, 1994).

Along with Gullotta’s ideas, the author concurred with ideas of placing the efforts on the

behavior change which may help to change the attitude of the offenders, since the crime affects the communities' affection, and interrupts the social bonds, knowledge and cultural values of the particular place where the crime is happening. In this context, human trafficking violates the fundamental rights of the victims since the felony is denying the right of social protection to victims as Fitzgibbon (2003) stipulated. In this case, it can be concluded that the prevention strategies by the Swedish public authorities and CSOs must not rely totally on laws and legislation and tougher boarder control in order to discourage the demand for the sex services of trafficked victims.

According to the UN, the efficient way in prevention work against human trafficking requires national, regional and international strategies. However, grassroots coordination may be perceived as the soul in executing whatever action plans. Human trafficking is a global crime issue, which needs not only the international conventions and national legislation to be dealt with it, but also actions in the grassroots level: "These strategies are based on systematic efforts to assess the nature of the problem and the capacity of the various existing systems to respond it" (UNODC 1, 2006, 11).

8.3. Poverty and Human Security Discourse in Prevention of Human Trafficking

Prevention work against human trafficking has been focusing on tough immigration laws and tight border restrictions. The author concludes that there should be focusing on the human security and poverty alleviation, and other social issues in the poor countries which are a source of supply of human trafficking victims. As poverty has capability of deprivation, it is essential for the Swedish authorities to engage with the sustainable solution of the problem instead of engaging in new legislation by preventing people from the periphery to cross over to the wealth countries such as Sweden. In this case, poverty alleviation must be in the highest agenda as a long lasting solution for human trafficking. This was mentioned also by the respondents:

I think poverty is a main reason. That they cannot work in their country is the reason why they decide to come to Europe maybe, and they think that They are going to earn a lot of money. So that it is very easy for the perpetrator to fool them and to say: Come to Sweden and you will get a lot

of money. However, that would not be the case because they are not getting all the money [they were promised]. (Susan)

I think the human trafficking is the biggest problem you have now in the world, it is from the poor country to the rich country; it is the children, girls and young boys, who come from the poor countries to the rich countries in the whole world. (Jordan)

Referring to the respondents' statements, it is not possible to separate human trafficking and poverty. The globalization of the neo-liberal concepts such as free markets economy has deprived many without necessary social protection, exacerbating the socio-economic relationship. This situation enlarges often the global inequality (which is rooted from the framework of the world system theory), which is a cause of poverty, and poverty is perceived as a fertile ground of human trafficking victims. In this line Wilkin (2002) agrees by making an argument of the global security orthodox and the global poverty, which according to his opinion are created and used to protect the developed world from the developing one, which is dominated by poverty. In this context, poverty has to be understood as a result of the neo-liberal global governance on security–development discourse, which reflects the attempts made by the core to strengthen its power over the LDCs. In this case, Wilkin (2002) argues:

[The global] security structure is inadequate as a mechanism for ending global poverty, that it can only really be a mechanism for attempting to contain and control its effects. Ultimately the orthodox security discourse runs into a series of contradictions which reside in the social relations underpinning the institutions and social structures that generate both global poverty and global governance. (Wilkin 2002, 633)

The empirical evidence from the interviews shows, that the trend of human trafficking is characterized by the poor countries as the source of supply of victims, and the wealth countries, including Sweden, as the destination and consumers of victims of trafficking. Considering the Wilkin's (2002) argument, the insufficiency of wide-ranging commitments for ending the global poverty has been exacerbating the trafficking in human beings. Therefore, in order to achieve desirable results on prevention work against trafficking, the author concludes that a comprehensive measure is needed where the efforts will be placed on people who have been victimized by the free market system which has compelled them to a vicious cycle of poverty.

8.4. Coordination between Public Authorities and CSOs

The respondents have highlighted the area where they are coordinating in prevention work. A strong communication channel between the public authorities and the CSOs has been established through various ways. For instance, a number of meetings are hosted regularly by the actors working in the area. Through these meetings, actors are enabled to know each other and to learn from each other. The importance of these formal and informal networks is that each actor knows to whom they may contact in the urgent situation, or in the normal cases, who to invite for the conferences and seminars organized by one of the actors:

Most of us know about the other ones who are [within their respective practice areas] and for example I know who to contact if something shows up, and whenever we need someone to talk about this, from police or 'prostiion akuten', they always try to help us. (Susan)

However, the security theory according to Killias (2006) describes clearly the anti-crime actors' responsibilities of being coherent in their role so that they can easily identify crime opportunities and preventive measures but the author observed some deficit of harmonization of coordination work against trafficking:

We tried to have some work together [CSOs] but it is difficult. I think Sweden is special [case] in that, because we work in government and they work in private organization and there is no work together. (Jordan)

However, the author finds structural impediment in the coordination of the prevention work. In the line of the security theory (Killias 2006), it can be concluded that it is essential for actors to incorporate some components of human security and crime wave's theory in the prevention work. Since despite of strong communication channel, there is a lack of clear and functioning relationship between the public authority and CSO actors, because CSOs have no specific roles known and recognized by the public authority. Nevertheless, based on the complex nature of human trafficking, it is suggested by the crime waves theory that it is important for actors to be consistence and having clear functional relationship in preventing long-term crime such as trafficking in human.

Nevertheless, while according to one respondent there is a poor relationship between the two public authorities on one hand and the CSOs working on human trafficking area on the other; the author has noticed an impressive communication and effective team work between the public authorities, particularly prostitution team and police anti-human trafficking unit, as mentioned by the police respondent:

We are working here as a group [of police], and then we have this entire unit if it's a big case and in connection with the social services and also with prostitution unit.

Consequently, it could be recommended by the author for the actors to develop an implementation of the plan of action, and joint activities in prevention work involving all the actors, and this must be carried out on continually basis. In this context, actors would be trained together in order to acquire necessary working methods to increase their efficiency in prevention work. Furthermore, the plan of action has to involve training sessions for both actors, focusing on each other's roles in preventing the human trafficking scourge.

8.5. Underutilization of Civil Society

Although the public authorities have been generally supportive to the CSOs conception in prevention work, the author highlights the limited responsiveness in incorporating the CSOs working with victims direct or in some cases even indirect. Based on the respondents' answers the author concluded that this trend of current coordination work is inadequate, since CSO action is essential in prevention work in order to prevent the victims from being re-victimized. Based on the human security theory on the state's inadequacy in offering full support to the victims of crimes, and the fact that the CSO have incentives to offer, which the public authority does not always have, can be concluded that denying equitable opportunities for CSOs to tender their skills in prevention or protection of victims of trafficking, may be more damaging the efforts than helping:

It is very good to have contact with NGOs if we [...] can raise contact [between the victims and CSOs], so that to find someone who speaks her

language, someone who understands her, and what happens now is that she will be taken care of by the social well fare program. But we don't need people from different authorities,[despite of] police officers, staffs from social welfare program, people from the migration board,[the same problem of speaking] victims language or who really understands the victims, we always need to get interpretation, if we have reliable people from this society it could be a big help. (Jordan)

The statement above shows the ability of CSOs in providing basic services such as social support, health, education and social welfare. The statement above may reflect the need for CSOs, nevertheless, it may also indicate as well the inadequacy of public authority to deliver expected services to the victims of human trafficking as required by the article 6 of the UN protocol against trafficking which stipulates the responsibilities of the signatories to provide all physical, psychological to enhance smooth recovery of victims and in appropriate cases the protocol insists in cooperation with CSOs (UNODC 1 2006). However, contrary to public authorities remarks that it is for the victims interest, that they are not able to involve many actors such as CSOs; according to the CSOs respondents thoughts, they are sidelined just because the public authority has no need for CSOs since they have enough resources, at least at the moment:

Nowadays they [public authorities] have a few of cases and they work really close to each other, since they have enough resources. But maybe if there would be like a lot more cases every year, they might have not enough resources and the time to take care of the cases, and then they might need the [CSOs]. But today I think they have the time and resources to do it so that's the reason. (Anna)

Agnes supported Anna's remarks as she is also observed:

This network we want to create...today it's not [sustainable as] we have a lot of volunteers who want to be in this network and they want to be the support for authorities. But today I think that they don't, the threat is they don't feel like they are needed to day but maybe in the future. I think maybe we should try to improve the cooperation by creating this network, even if they don't need the support today, it's good because in the future if they need the support they can only contact us and we'll support them. (Agnes)

Therefore, the author would recommend it is essential for public authorities to realize that CSOs are not contesting with the public authorities, rather they are just complement public authorities' goal by looking various crime opportunities to prevent and combat the

challenge posed by trafficking scourge. Above all, the author finds the importance of actors in prevention work to work together, as the human security theory suggested, on the responsibility to prevent and support the victims.

8.6. Lack of Coherence in Coordination the Prevention Work

Human security theory encourages the actors in prevention work to have effective coordination and remain consistently close to each other. There is evidence from the respondents that CSOs' work with public authority is complex, since there was only little recognition given to CSOs by the public authority respondents. Nevertheless, little concern have been given to potential challenges such as funding for prevention work and other practicalities such as distinguishing unambiguous roles of actors, widely known and their involvement must be assured by all parties involved. However, insufficient coherence among actors in prevention work framework can be observed from the respondent's statement:

Sometime it is a problem because we have very different roles. Maybe the social services have got their roles, so maybe it can be difficult. If we call them and ask them to help they can say: "No it's not our thing, you have to call there, No, we don't want to have this, we don't have any money, and you have to call there..." (Frank)

Nevertheless, there was mentioned also the problem in the integrated coordination of CSOs in prevention work, since different aspects of the preventions work are splintered across among the public authorities. Consequently, CSOs do not know what the other actors are doing. Perhaps, lack of clear specialization, information and resources contribute to marginalization of CSOs. For instance, the respondents mentioned the resources impediment which was mainly contributed by CSOs budgetary problem:

It's because maybe the lack of money [impede us to engage CSOs], that who is going to pay. Is it going to be the Board of Migration or is it going to be the Social Services [...] it can be a conflict, maybe, who is taking the responsibility here. And it can be a problem afterwards, if you have got a conviction or maybe not a conviction, what is happening to the girl afterwards, when she has been talking with polis and helped us, who is taking care of her? (Susan)

In this context, in several occasions during the interview, the monetary constraint on the CSO emerged as an excuse for the public sector to sideline the CSOs. While the public authority is funded by the state, CSOs have to depend on voluntary contributions which impede the CSOs ability when they are needed by the public authority for quick respond. Nevertheless, the author notices that the public authorities take seriously the CSOs which have sufficient funds and networks. In most cases these CSOs are regarded as desirable partners for public authorities as the respondents mentioned:

Some time we can [initiate some coordination], because some religious coalitions can give us money to [finance some operation, for example to] take the girl to her family to her country and they can pay for it, they can help us to have contact with catholic or some other church in [victims home] country. Because maybe the church is the best help we can get. (Jordan)

From the respondents could not be found the principles for cooperation or a regulatory mechanism which would show the practical plan of the so-called coordination. There was no overall strategy of operations, even if the author observed that there is widespread agreement among the actors that close coordination between the public authority and the CSO actors is essential in prevention work against human trafficking. Nevertheless, efforts which have been taken by the CSO actors in initiating close coordination proofed to be futile, as the public authority was observed by the author as an obstructing factor for coordination in the prevention work against trafficking:

We tried to have some work together but it is difficult. I think Sweden is special in that, because we work in government and they work in private organization and there is no work together. (Jordan)

Consequently, in the light of the respondents' answers can be recommended the need for CSOs and government to develop a better channel of communication and more dialogue to understand each of the actors' roles in prevention work, and to complement each other and develop local and transnational partnership between local CSOs in Sweden, as well abroad. For instance the Swedish authorities have close working relation with *La Strada*. This organization has been effectively involved by Swedish public authorities, to receive and support victims of trafficking upon their return home.

We have a special organization [in Eastern Europe called] La Strada, we have a contact with them in all eastern Europe. They are very good to

work with. Because they have safe houses and therapy and education for the girls when they go back to their home. (Jordan)

In this case it is not clear why Swedish public authority offers less support to local CSOs and a strong support for CSOs in abroad. The author did not find any convincing reason why the same cooperation was not given and provided to local organizations.

8.6. Mistrust between Public Authorities and CSOs

Even if the public authorities have constantly encouraged the cooperation with the CSOs, the collected data indicated that the public authorities have resisted for full coordination with the CSOs. The public authorities have used a number of excuses to retain a full amount of independence, on the grounds that CSOs engagement might compromise and jeopardize the safety of the victims or the ongoing investigation. The contradiction can be seen in the following statements by the public authority:

We work only with the police, migration and safe houses... (Jordan)

I really don't know exactly how it works but if you are in witness protection program then it is also very important to keep very few people involved that know about this person and the real identity. So that might be a problem if you got too many organization involved in this, because it is a risk that people can talk... (Susan)

That was mentioned also by CSOs, respectively:

... We don't have the contact with the victims. We work more with the information and the stuff like this so we don't work so much practical yet. So that's why we've never been in contact with the victim so to help with the shelter etc. It's always the authorities that take care of that, victims protections and stuff like that. (Anna)

The general views of coordination in prevention of the victims of trafficking have a very vague understanding, particularly on the issue of the CSOs roles in prevention work against trafficking in Sweden. Although public authority recognized the usefulness of CSOs as mentioned by the respondent, there is still doubt that practices of CSO may hinder the public authority's efforts in curbing the human trafficking in Sweden. While a strong coordination is vital for human security in prevention work, it is also essential to remember that at any given time interests of some CSOs may be at inconsistency with the

public authority. In this case, instead of locking out CSOs it is rather important to engage them and to deal with these differences in more constructive manner.

For instance, although the respondents from the public authority have positive perception on CSOs, as all of them agreed the importance of CSOs, however, some of them make a note that it would be crucial if the CSOs engagement could occur in the home country of the victims of trafficking, rather than in Sweden, because in Sweden there is no room for CSOs:

We have two different works to do for trafficking people. That is important to know it that police, their work is to care for the crime, and [Social office] we are responsible to taking care of the [victims]. (Frank)

The public authorities are too much close to each other, we [are] working most with the polis, migration and safe houses...some of us don't think that there are really need of being connected to CSOs in Sweden "[we may need CSOs support] when [victims] go back to their country, there it is important. But we don't need [CSOs] here." (Jordan)

Therefore, it can be concluded that the low trust to CSOs which public authority's have is due to insufficient knowledge of CSOs about the public authority's roles in prevention work of victims of human trafficking. For instance, while CSOs have perception that the public authorities are not the best in treating the victims well, as human security theory suggest, this way of thinking makes CSOs reluctant to reveal the victims of trafficking to the authority, with fear that if police knows their existence they might deport the victims:

In one case in Gothenburg, a volunteer actor (CSO member) was hiding a girl which has been trafficked. They were hiding her from the police, so I think after that they (police) were kind of suspicious [to CSOs] and they thought that this actor should have told police, they should not have hidden her. So I think we have to meet and talk, you know, so that you have to trust each other before being able to work together. (Anna)

However, CSOs' decision to give protection to victims of trafficking without revealing the victims to public authority seems as one of the excuses used by public authority not to trust the CSOs. For instance in another case, a victim of trafficking went to the church to seek for help and the church kept the victim without disclose the case to authority. The public authority views this issue as:

[A] problem is that they hide her[the victim] away, because otherwise maybe she would have had to go back to her home country, so they hide her in the church and that was not the problem to start with. But then after a while this became a problem because this girl had connections with other people and that was a problem because [she was] threatening. [The church came to disclose] then they came to the police because it was a problem. But for us it was a problem because they had hidden her for maybe almost a year...this was so long time [...], so it very hard for us to investigate this now. So that is the problem. (Frank)

Frank remarks have been backed by Suzan as she raise her concern on CSOs action to hide the victims, that do not help the victims rather the decision is intrigue suspicious mind among the public authorities, and impact negatively any coordination in prevention to be working. In this light can be seen that each actor may have obligation to work in building confidence to each other, so that the authorities have to trust the CSOs and vice versa:

[CSOs have to understand that their efforts] don't help these persons always by hiding them if there is crime behind. If they think police is just here to kick the victims out of the country, we are not doing that. There the other units that are working just with the illegal migrants if that is the case, because that is the law. But we in this group are helping these girls because they have been victims of a crime. But if they are in use just thinking that they are protecting them by hiding them can be a problem. We have to have good [mutual trust to] working together with each others. (Susan)

9. DISCUSSION

The prevention work against the human trafficking business has taken different dimensions at different times. While the states are consistently trying to dominate the matter as the state issue, on the other side CSOs have been so keen to be involved actively in the prevention and suppression of the human trafficking scourge in Sweden. However, although all actors are trying to combat the trafficking business, this study finds both of them fighting against trafficking with different purpose.

Based on the empirical data, it can be observed that the government focus on the prevention work against trafficking in Sweden clearly from the criminal perspective and the authorities have to work on crime control and law enforcement. In this case the public

authorities' (i.e. the state's) primary concern is to combat the scourge of human trafficking and to eliminate the organized crime networks who are the main organizers of the human trafficking business. However, the organized crime networks in Sweden become more sophisticated and well organized, and this provokes more response from the public authority, since the state is concerned on other factors originating from trafficking, such as money laundering, drug trafficking and security threat.

The Swedish government has been seen involved too much in the crime control and law enforcement in its prevention work against the human trafficking. This focus has been criticized a lot by CSOs, also by the respondents, who push the government to shift its focus, and to start to work with the victims and to prevent the potential victims. Nevertheless, a number of CSOs perceive the government concerns over state security as irrelevant, because the perception which the CSOs has on human trafficking is that it is a serious violation of human rights of the victims rather than a crime against the state, and the security of the victims should be in priority without preconditions. Furthermore, CSOs view, that in order to prevent a crime such as human trafficking, efforts from both CSOs and public authority are needed in order to provide support for those who have already been victimized. In this context human security capabilities are crucial concepts in the prevention work, in responding to the challenge of trafficking.

According to Kaldor (et al 2008), human security coordination in prevention work may take different dimensions in the relationship among actors, coordination procedures and combined capabilities in protection and prevention of the victims rather than to fight the enemy,⁶ and all of these must be defined very clearly within overall plan of coordination; to avoid having operation system which jeopardise the safety of the victims or places the victims in danger of being re-victimized. As most of the victims leave from Sweden without any protection or prevention beyond the Swedish boarder, this situation reflects the argument of Haynes (2004) in the published paper "Used, Abused, Arrested and Deported" where she argued the importance of extending immigration benefits by the

⁶ The enemy in this case may appear in the shape of traffickers, pimps or sex buyers.

“jailing the offender” and “protecting the victims” strategies.

Therefore, a moral outrage about trafficking in human beings forced the CSOs to undermine the government’s undertone efforts to eliminate the organized crime and illegal migration as an inappropriate strategy to combat human trafficking, since this policy often end up in re-victimizing the victims of trafficking in the name of the ‘illegal migrants’. In this context, this thesis concurs with human security hypothesis developed by Paris (2001). The hypothesis seek to encourage the actors working against trafficking in human beings to “...shift attention and resources away from [the] conventional security issues,” towards the humanity fabric which fall to human security and to look the trafficking felony as a crime against victims in its real sense, rather than a breaches of states law. In this case, the actors may coordinate in prevention work by providing information related to the victims’ right and available support and services for the victims. Nevertheless, the emotional support is essential, since it may help the victims to regain faith in public authority and to encourage the victims to offer useful support for the criminal justice system to curb the scourge

As Schelling (1971, cited in Killias 2006 p.24) argues “...organized crime exist and thrives because it provides services the public wants. [Therefore] Organized crime depends not on victims [supply factor], but on customers.” In this context, the actors’ rely on tougher boarder law and effective law-enforcement may not discourage the victims to cross boarder to Sweden, due to the fact that crimes occur, perpetuate and find new ways and opportunities according to social and technological development as crime waves theory suggested. Therefore, the author would encourage the actors in prevention work against trafficking: to coordinate their operations and shift their focus from arresting and convicting the criminals instigating demand (who are mostly prostitute customers) to incorporating other measures such as discouraging demand for prostitutes by explaining the implications of the crimes for prostitute customers who may think they are not engaging in human trafficking directly. These measures can go simultaneous with the efforts to introduce un-conducive environment for sex industry and to weaken the liberal view on sex industry.

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Appendix

Questionnaire

1. In which area against human trafficking are you working with?
2. With whom are you working to fight against human trafficking?
3. How do you cooperate with other actors (e.g. civil society and Law Enforcement) in the work against human trafficking?
4. What is the level and form of cooperation?
5. What are the barriers of cooperation?
6. Do you think this cooperation is useful? Why
7. How would you like to improve the cooperation?
8. Can you describe what you consider the strengths of this cooperation?
9. Can you briefly describe possible weaknesses and negative effects or impacts of this cooperation?
10. How prevention work is perceived in the cause of human trafficking?
11. How the protection of victims of human trafficking is organized?
12. What kind of support is available for victims of human trafficking?