

**Security, Equality and the Clash of Ideas: Sweden's Evolving Policy Towards the
Trafficking of Women for Sexual Purposes**

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Introduction

In recent years, international trafficking in human beings has become a highly politicized issue at both the national and international level. Perhaps most notably, several United Nations and European Union initiatives have resulted in a series of measures intended to combat trafficking. As the policy responses to trafficking have grown in number, so too have the attempts by scholars to provide compelling explanations for the content of anti-trafficking initiatives. In particular, a substantial amount of research has focused on the European Union (see Askola 2007a and 2007b; Locher 2007 as contrasting examples). Much of this literature has addressed the emergence of anti-trafficking initiatives by emphasizing the ability of actors to successfully depict trafficking as a security issue, resulting in policies that tighten border controls, limit migration, allow for deportation of trafficked women, and facilitate efforts by law enforcement to secure prosecution. In contrast to this securitization approach, other scholars (albeit far fewer) have forcefully argued that EU anti-trafficking measures are chiefly the result of successful efforts by actors to mobilize increasingly powerful norms regarding gender equality and human rights.

Yet, comparatively little attention has been devoted to the emergence of anti-trafficking initiatives within individual EU member states. If we accept that ideas regarding security and gender equality have been a crucial impetus at the EU level, can we locate a similar degree of ideational influence over anti-trafficking policies at the member state level? Exploring the types of ideas that have been salient in national trafficking debates, and those that have subsequently shaped national policies, should be of interest for at least two reasons. First, broad anti-trafficking initiatives decided upon at the international level are often open to some degree of interpretation when compliance must be ensured at the national level. Here, relevant domestic ideas that can plausibly be grafted onto the trafficking debate, such as prevailing values regarding immigration, law and order, and gender equality) may exert an impact on policies where discretionary possibilities allow for this. Second, individual states not only represent settings in which internationally agreed upon initiatives are implemented, but also serve as key actors who attempt to secure an international consensus (often in conjunction with non-state actors) for such policies in the first place. As such, focusing on the role of ideas in forming national policy responses can contribute to a richer understanding of the dynamics underpinning anti-trafficking initiatives at all levels of society.

In this paper, we detail the evolving Swedish response to the trafficking of women for sexual purposes. Sweden constitutes a particularly interesting case for analyzing the development of anti-trafficking initiatives. In 1999, Sweden became the first country to criminalize the purchase, albeit not the sale of sexual services. There is general agreement among scholars and analysts that this landmark policy resulted from the successful efforts of policy entrepreneurs to establish linkages between the proposed ban and specific feminist ideas regarding gender relations that had become especially prevalent in Swedish society in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Svanström 1999; Ekberg 2004). Largely as a result of the writings of key Swedish feminists, such as the historian Yvonne Hirdman (1990), gender relations in Sweden had increasingly come to be characterized as existing within a “genus system” of sharply unequal levels of power and privilege. Under such a system, prostitution constituted both an example of one of the more egregious forms of inequality between men and women, and as male violence against women, a symptom of the pathology of prevailing gender relations.

As such, the Swedish case provides us with an opportunity to explore the degree to which a specific category of ideas that held sway in one policy area may have exerted comparable impact in a related policy area. Despite the comparatively small amount of trafficking for sexual purposes that involves Sweden as a destination, even prior to the 1999 ban, Sweden plays a highly visible role in the international debate over which strategies constitute the most appropriate response to trafficking. Most notably, the prominent Swedish Social Democratic politician, Anita Gradin, assumed a leading role as EU Commissioner for Justice and Home Affairs in the late 1990s, championing efforts to combat the trafficking of women for sexual purposes. Moreover, Sweden remains highly visible in its international efforts to see the “Swedish Model” on prostitution and trafficking adopted elsewhere, sponsoring study trips for foreign politicians, supporting foreign NGOs that wish to pursue a like-minded policy agenda, and seeking to mold public opinion throughout Europe.

Thus, one might expect to find the same ideas to have exerted substantial influence on both the initial evolution, as well as the subsequent development, of Sweden’s anti-trafficking legislation. Yet, as our analysis shows, this is not entirely the case. As will be seen, while a radical feminist discourse was heavily prominent in the Swedish debate over trafficking, initial policies primarily reflected securitization concerns. The potential impact of a gendered ideational framework on policy and programs has only become apparent in the past few years, most notably in the case of protesting Germany’s prostitution policy during the 2006 World Cup,

and to an extent, the proposed granting of permanent residency to victims of trafficking. Far from being a radical shift, we regard this aspect of Sweden's evolving anti-trafficking response as evidence that concerns over the integrity of national borders and fighting transnational organized crime remain largely dominant. A gendered perspective may have achieved inroads in terms of shaping policy, but it thus far holds a comparatively weaker position in terms of overall influence.

This paper now proceeds in the following manner. First, we offer a brief overview of the constructivist approach within international politics and the related ideational literature in comparative politics, focusing attention on the importance of ideas in the struggle by actors to see specific policies enacted. Next, we address the two competing ideas that scholars regard as having the greatest degree of impact on the shape of anti-trafficking initiatives, particularly at the international level: securitization and gender equality norms. At the same time, we note how state-level studies have been less explicit in their emphasis of ideas on trafficking policy outcomes. Following that, we present the Swedish case, tracing the evolution of trafficking legislation and initiatives from the initial criminalization of trafficking in 2002 to ongoing debates regarding permanent residency. Our data consists chiefly of official documents from the Swedish Parliament (*Riksdag*), organizational statements, and media accounts. We conclude in an admittedly unconventional manner. Rather than recapitulating our argument, we pose the question as to whether an expanded focus on the efforts of the Swedish state to combat trafficking abroad might have implications for our current argument. In doing so, we raise the possibility that in addition to the evolution that we trace here in terms of domestic policies (leaving aside foreign campaigns), securitization and gender equality ideas might each have a respective sphere in which they have received pride of position when it comes to Swedish policymakers and anti-trafficking campaigners.

The Role of Ideas

The current ideational wave in political science has diffuse origins both within several of the subfields of the discipline, and beyond. Within international politics, dissatisfaction among scholars in the late 1980s and early 1990s with prevailing materialist accounts of state behavior led to the emergence of the constructivist research agenda, focusing on the varied ways in which norms are an essential component for understanding both historical and contemporary transformations in world politics. Similarly, scholars within comparative politics increasingly called into question the limitations of historical

institutionalism, for its emphases on how institutions structuring individual preferences, as well as for predicting largely stable, path dependent polities (Blyth 2002). In the related fields of American politics and public policy, the agenda setting literature of the 1990s placed an explicit emphasis on the importance of fit, which has emerged as one of the central thorny issues for scholars seeking to demonstrate why some ideas succeed, and why others fail in a given national context. Beyond the disciplinary boundaries of political science, sociological research from the 1970s and the 1980s into the importance of framing has played a similarly important role, emphasizing how actors can be mobilized under different framing processes (Snow, et al. 1986). Whatever the source of inspiration, or the precise subfield location, scholars who are engaged in ideational scholarship share a broad interest in understanding what factors account for the increased salience of new ideas, the mechanisms through which ideas become embedded in various features of the polity, and the impact that ideas have on political processes (Berman 2001).

Similarly, scholars adhering to ideational approaches within political science maintain that successfully deploying ideas in support of policy objectives requires a synergy between ideas and the relevant institutional and cultural features of the polity (Béland 2005, Berman 2001, Cox 2001, Walsh 2000). Thus, ideational scholars do not deny that actors, their level of strategic resources, and institutional design are crucial elements in understanding policy outcomes. Where an ideational approach differs is in emphasizing the need for actors to “embed their arguments in persuasive ideational frameworks” (Hansen & King 2001). Indeed, placing ideas alongside more traditional explanatory variables, such as actors’ resources and the institutional framework, is defining feature of contemporary integrated approaches to public policy, including Sabatier’s (1998) advocacy coalition framework and Baumgartner & Jones (1993) emphasis on punctuated equilibrium. Successfully nesting ideas for policy reform can be regarded as the mobilization of consent for policy (Gourevitch 1989). Within the field of international relations, the concept of grafting is used to describe a similar attempt at achieving policy change: entrepreneurs graft their reform idea onto existing international norms in order to improve the odds that governments will enact their proposals (Price 1998). A complementary argument is put forward by Kingdon (1995), who specifies how policy proposals need to “fit with the dominant values and current national mood” in order to be adopted. Taken jointly, these scholars stress that ideational accounts must demonstrate an explicit linkage between policy ideas and relevant ideational frameworks within the broader polity. An ideational approach thus augments mainstream perspectives on public policy reform, which focus on actors’ strategic capabilities and institutional constraints.

Yet, knowing that ideas matter in general says little about the specific types of ideas that may be of strategic value when it comes to a state's anti-trafficking initiatives. As we will see in the following section, while only Locher (2007) has argued in terms familiar to constructivist scholars that norms play a crucial role in the trafficking policy process, two broad ideas have been identified in the trafficking literature as being of particular importance throughout the policy process, simply not in those terms.

Securitization and Gender Equality Ideas: The International level and the Domestic Setting

What ideas shape the response of actors to the trafficking of women for sexual purposes? Unsurprisingly, trafficking scholars are not in agreement as to what drives policy choices. However, we can attempt to group their arguments by dividing the literature into two rough categories. First, we can consider the literature that explicitly focuses on the ideas that are assumed to guide actors devising anti-trafficking policy responses. Here, the dominant approach has been an emphasis on the securitization of trafficking. Since the mid-1990s, many scholars studying the efforts of the EU to stem trafficking argue that such measures are representative of broader efforts to ensure that regional and national borders remain secure in the face of various "threats" resulting from increased globalization, the collapse of the Soviet Union and most recently, the events of 9/11. To that end, the content of anti-trafficking policies has generally tended towards efforts that are thought to reinforce state sovereignty and the maintenance of law and order: tighter immigration regimes, secure borders and an increased ability for police and prosecutors to arrest and secure convictions. By contrast, certain constructivists and feminists, exploring similar developments, have emphasized the way in which ideas regarding gender equality have played a critical role in allowing for gender-sensitive trafficking policies to emerge. Second, we can explore the scholarship that has examined *national* responses to trafficking, particularly when addressing EU member states. With few exceptions, these studies have pointed to the significance of, for lack of a better catch-all term, *domestic setting*. As we will see, while these studies are not equally as informed by theoretical considerations, they nonetheless call our attention to a broad variable that can be made more refined and precise.

Securitization

The securitization approach to trafficking can, at least partially, be traced back to the establishment of the Copenhagen School of international relations (see Wæver et al 1993 and

Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998 as examples). In contrast to the emphasis within traditional theories of international relations on the very limited range of “high politics” issues thought to be of relevance for state and regional security, “new security” scholars have stressed the process by which specific “securitizing actors” (both states and non-state actors) have engaged in discursive strategies resulting in a steady expansion of issues that now fall under the security umbrella. Indeed, whereas environmental degradation, migration and human trafficking have not traditionally been considered central to a state’s security concerns, scholars influenced by the Copenhagen School have documented how various actors have managed to achieve inclusion for these issues as being of relevance to state security (for examples pertaining to the environment and migration in general, see Barnett 2001, Dalby 2002, Huysmans 2002, and Watson 2009).

When it comes to the trafficking of women for sexual purposes, the securitization approach has also made substantial inroads in the analysis of how anti-trafficking initiatives emerge, although it should be stressed that not all of the work has a direct lineage that can be traced back to the work of the Copenhagen School. Rather, what is characteristic of the broad literature linking anti-trafficking initiatives to security concerns is an emphasis on how trafficking constitutes a challenge to state sovereignty. Berman (2003) argues that the discourse surrounding trafficking to the EU conflates different categories of migrants and sex workers, and does so in order to serve the image of European nation states under threat from migration as the product of globalization and a loss of control over borders. Indeed, Berman maintains that such a construction is intentional, as it establishes a “a group of innocents in need of the protection of – but also deportation from – the state, (and wherein) these discourses work to affirm the place for the state in maintaining sovereign borders and quelling the anxiety created by European integration and globalization” (Berman, 2006). In more recent work surveying overall EU efforts to combat human trafficking, Berman and Friesendorf (2008) argue that “security-focused” programs continue to dominate, with little overall room being left for a comprehensive approach that would seemingly take into account both gender and migration. Accordingly, following the securitization of trafficking (and cross-border migration in general) states are generally thought to respond to trafficking with harsh measures such as increased border controls, criminalization of trafficking, police efforts against “organized transnational crime networks”, and deportation of trafficked persons as illegal migrants (Lobasz 2009; Berman 2006; Wæver et al 1993). Askola’s work on EU anti-trafficking initiatives reaches a broadly similar conclusion, yet also underscores a certain paradox: “while trafficking in women for sexual purposes has experienced an almost meteoric rise onto the EU agenda, it is still not framed as a

phenomenon of gender” (Askola, 2007b). Rather, her analysis concludes that the core of the EU efforts to combat trafficking consist of ensuring effective state control over national borders via the limitation of immigration, that is, “keeping the women home” (Askola 2007a). While much of the scholarship that considers trafficking from a securitization perspective is content to identify concerns over state security as an underlying rationale for chosen policies, Friesendorf (2007) explores how securitization is implemented in practice, arguing that a deficient system of “security governance” is in place across Europe, one that involves the collaboration of state and non-state actors to halt the flow of transnational crime and to ensure national borders can withstand efforts by criminal networks to traffic women.

Gender Equality

In contrast to the literature that has emphasized the way in which trafficking has become subsumed under the heading of security, a smaller set of scholars have argued that anti-trafficking initiatives are, to a great extent, shaped by femocrats, “women who describe themselves as ‘feminists’ or are ‘strongly committed to equal opportunities’ and who enter organizations to further their aims” (Barry, Chandler & Berg 2007). Together with other allies, femocrats are argued to have mobilized increasingly salient ideas regarding the importance of gender equality and grafted them onto more established human rights norms in order to successfully influence policies on trafficking. Most prominent among these is Birgit Locher’s (2007) social constructivist account of the emergence of EU anti-trafficking policies and programs during the mid-1990s. Emphasizing that ideas require actors in order to have an impact on policy-making, Locher argues that a “velvet triangle” of femocrats, NGOs and academics joined forces against the backdrop of a favorable political opportunity structure to successfully gather support for a gendered response to trafficking. The cornerstone of the actors’ strategy was to assert that trafficking represented a violation of established norms, including those pertaining to human rights, and opposition to slavery, as well as recent norms that were increasingly becoming institutionalized; specifically, ideas regarding the human rights of women as a distinct category. In contrast to securitizing actors who have sought stricter measures to preserve the sanctity of state borders and to ensure that both trafficked women and the ‘responsible’ criminal networks are either prosecuted or deported, the policy aims of femocrats and their allies have generally involved: combating trafficking primarily through ending demand (criminalizing male customers), providing trafficked women with the legal opportunity to remain in the destination country as a way to

sever dependency with criminal networks, and (to a lesser extent) developing policies for implementation in the sending country, such as educational campaigns outlining the risks of taking certain labor opportunities abroad, as well as those intended to domestic economic prospects.

Whereas Locher focuses on a set of gendered actors with largely similar values, Lobasz (2009) emphasizes the potential incompatibility between the “new abolitionists” (those who argue that trafficking is largely a demand-driven phenomenon) and “competing feminists” who stress exploitation as the root cause of the problem and the need to make distinctions between trafficking and the sex industry as a whole. Despite this, Lobasz succinctly notes the important contribution that these feminist analyses of trafficking make, via “expand(ing) the referent of security from states to people.” (2009: 322).

While Locher’s and Lobasz’s analyses are largely presented in neutral terms, a host of other scholarship exists implicitly sounding the alarm that feminists have made substantial headway in framing the trafficking question through a strategy that relies on mobilizing ideas regarding gender, as well as through the strategic misrepresentation of facts (Agustin 2007; Doezema 2005; Andrijasevic 2007; and MacDonald 2004). Weitzer (2007) provides one of the most assertive examples of this brand of scholarship, stating that the “core claims (of anti-trafficking activists) regarding both trafficking and prostitution are generally quite dubious, yet activists have met with remarkable success in getting their views and demands incorporated in government policy, legislation and law enforcement practices.” Focusing chiefly on the efforts of activists (both feminists and evangelical Christians) to influence the administration of former U.S. President George W. Bush, Weitzer argues that the core strategy has involved the use of a series of “grand and unverifiable core claims” regarding the prevalence and causes of trafficking in human beings for sexual purposes. For Weitzer, many of these core claims stem from an ideology declaring prostitution as immoral, with examples including prostitution as the definitional equivalent of evil (along with male customers and traffickers), that violence is omnipresent in prostitution and trafficking, that sex workers lack agency, and that there exists an inextricable link between prostitution and trafficking. Such ideas gain influence over policymakers through their gradual institutionalization, in the form of activists being consulted, receiving official recognition by policymakers, the subsequent articulation of activist ideas by policymakers and, ultimately, through the adoption of the desired policy measures.

While some scholars have regarded constructions of trafficking as a security threat, and others as one involving the successful deployment of ideas involving human rights and gender equality, Aradau (2004) argues that these depictions are “in no way mutually exclusive.” She suggests that the two frames -- or discursive regimes, in her terminology -- are “entwined and feed upon each other”, as witnessed in EU policies for the prevention of trafficking:

While promoting women as bearers of human rights was initially devised as an NGO counter-strategy to the EU security discourse, a coalition of NGOs and EU actors coupled the two discourses and endorsed them as logically related and mutually reinforcing -- thus allowing the humanitarian discourse to be gradually taken up by the EU itself.” (Aradau 2004, 253)

Despite Locher’s emphasis on gendered actors and ideas regarding gender, women’s rights and human rights, she too makes room for influence from competing frames, when acknowledging that the recent events of the Madrid and London bombings, as well as the September 11th attacks, have led to a growth in securitization discourse and the “old illegal immigration frame” within the EU (Locher 2007, 299). There is little doubt that “gendered agents” have been increasingly instrumental in mobilizing norms to generate support for specific policies targeting trafficking in women. Less certain however, is whether the rise of a gendered approach to trafficking spells the demise of concerns over securitization, or whether they co-exist in the promotion of anti-trafficking measures in the EU and its member states.

The Domestic Setting

Studies of trafficking that focus on the international level have made an important contribution for their emphasis on how competing ideational frameworks have been utilized by entrepreneurs seeking to frame preferred initiatives. However, there is one important limitation to these studies, one that is largely a product of their chosen level of analysis. Scholarship that asserts an explanatory role for a given discourse at the international level of the trafficking debate often tends to gloss over the fact that such discourses -- whether they frame trafficking in terms of threat or pity -- might have differing degrees of salience at the national level, leading to substantial variation in how policies are institutionalized across states. Neither the Palermo Trafficking Protocol nor subsequent EU actions have mandated the precise manner in which states are to implement anti-trafficking measures. Indeed, while the new EU Commissioner for Home Affairs, Cecilia Malmström (2010), has recently announced that one of her chief priorities in the early period of her tenure will be to

harmonize some aspects of how member states implement anti-trafficking initiatives, member states still maintain considerable discretion when it comes to evolving anti-trafficking initiatives. Since these studies do not register descriptively how states have responded to trafficking, they cannot be employed as a tool for explaining how and why alternative trafficking discourses inform trafficking policies and practices in different contexts.

Two contributions to the trafficking literature stand out for their comparative analysis regarding how different states have constructed national policies in response to trafficking. Munro (2006) has analyzed the way in which the “domestic regimes” of four EU member states and Australia have been critical in forging national anti-trafficking initiatives. Specifically, Munro distances herself from a “formalistic engagement with the application of pertinent international law and human rights frameworks”, and calls attention to the “narratives that underpin disparate legislative outcomes” (Munro 2006, 323). Apart from demonstrating the divergent ways in which states have responded to trafficking, Munro adds important pieces to the puzzle of trafficking policy diffusion. For instance, she shows that ambiguities in the official norm, resulting from the compromise among bargaining parties, allow for diverse interpretations of the norm’s latent meanings, which affords states considerable leeway in implementing the requirements of the protocol. Moreover, Munro’s fieldwork reasserts the classical insight that policy is one thing, implementation is another. In this context, while policy diverges sharply between her cases, practice -- that is, the ways in which those policies are implemented -- show signs of greater convergence. For instance, while Italy uniquely offers a broad program for assistance to victims of trafficking, in practice they must normally cooperate with crime investigators in order to get such help.

Similarly, Askola (2007) focuses on anti-trafficking responses in Sweden, the Netherlands, and Italy, in order partially to highlight three contrasting views “underpinning attitudes to sexuality and its role in commercial sex in general and prostitution in particular” (Askola 2007, 13). In stressing the role that the abolitionist, regulatory and prohibitionist approaches play in each respective case, Askola does not argue that the emergence of national-level anti-trafficking policies constitutes a case of policy converging on one model. Rather, her study demonstrates that the nesting of domestic national policies within broader European harmonization efforts on migration policy and law enforcement implies that anti-

trafficking measures need to be evaluated more narrowly, concluding that some strategies are nationally distinct, while others are in the process of becoming increasingly Europeanized.

Munro and Askola make a significant contribution to the trafficking literature by focusing our attention on intriguing instances of policy divergence, and to some extent, convergence. However, while focusing on specific state responses, both studies could benefit from a more explicitly theorized role that is afforded to ideas in the trafficking literature that is concerned with the international level. We would maintain, however, that this is a friendly objection to the overall thrust of their arguments. As both “narratives” and “underpinning attitudes” can be regarded as adjacent to norms and ideas, we regard their accounts as ones that should largely be built further upon, such that a more narrow focus on the presence of specific ideas can be assessed.

One final comment is in order on the trafficking literature in general. We note that many of the studies that focus on trafficking *discourses* often seem to collapse the distinction between theory and discourse, that is, between scholarly analyses of state responses to trafficking and, on the other hand, the ways in which policy makers and other important actors talk about and respond to these phenomena. This might be a deliberate choice on the part of these scholars, as academics often partake in the discursive struggles they study and thus, empirically the categories of “experts”, “activists” and “policy makers” tend to blend into each other. Indeed, such involvement on the part of academics is central to the behavior of epistemic communities (Haas 2002; Becker & Hendriks 2008). However, collapsing the distinction between theoretical concepts and empirical discourses can result in uncertainty for how scholarly output should be received by policymakers. Is it an attempt to frame the debate for policy-specific ends, or is it an attempt to impose analytical order on a previously understood phenomenon? Here, we think scholars should be explicit as to their intentions. As such, in this paper, our focus is exclusively on policy analysis and we leave it to others to engage in the heated debates over which anti-trafficking measures are most appropriate for achieving desired ends.

The Evolution of Swedish Anti-Trafficking Initiatives

In this section, we address the evolution of the various initiatives that currently comprise the Swedish response to the trafficking of women for sexual purposes. In doing so, we focus both on the proposals, legislation and specific efforts to export the official Swedish

stance on prostitution/trafficking, as well as on the statements made by policymakers, pressure group representatives and scholars during key points in the policy debate. We document the way in which, despite the mobilization of a gender rights (and by extension, a human rights) frame by many actors partaking in the debate, initial policies reflected securitization concerns. However, there has been a modest shift from roughly 2006 onwards, with gender rights ideas exerting some influence in two key instances: first, during the 2006 World Cup in Germany, Sweden's "Football – Yes, Prostitution – No!" campaign centered on a critique of German legislation that allowed for legalized prostitution. Drawing upon the abolitionist rhetoric common to radical feminist portrayals of sex work, the Swedish campaign collapsed the distinction between trafficking and prostitution, treating them as essentially identical phenomena. Second, proposals currently exist to grant trafficking victims permanent residency, if they cooperated with prosecutors. Previous policies had only allowed temporary residence permits in conjunction with prosecutorial efforts. This proposal has been justified on the basis of both securitization (prosecuting and convicting traffickers) and gender rights ideas (improving the conditions of women who fall prey to traffickers). In short, earlier ideas of securitization, which largely resulted in trafficked women being treated as instruments for state prosecutorial efforts prior to their expulsion from Sweden, now co-exist alongside gender rights ideas that underpin increasingly compassionate stances towards victims of trafficking. Still, there is little doubt that in the clash between ideas – securitization holds greater sway.

Criminalizing Trafficking (2002) and Granting Temporary Residence Permits to Female/Child Victims of Trafficking for Sexual Purposes (2002-2005)

While many proponents of the 1998 legislation banning the purchase of sexual services frequently assert that the law has played an important part in minimizing the degree to which Sweden has been regarded as an attractive destination for those seeking to traffic women for sexual purposes (Winberg 2002; Thulin, cited in *Expressen* 2003; Leijonborg et al 2005), this was never considered the primary intent behind the legislation. Rather, as Leijonhufvud (2009) stresses, the legislation chiefly represents an effort to "scare" men away from the prospect of purchasing sexual services: by shifting the focus to the demand from men for commercial services and stigmatizing this, prosecution was thought to result in a loss of social status in the community. Indeed, approximately two years after the ban went into effect, the chief of Europol's anti-trafficking division stated that while the market for sexual services in continental Europe had reached saturation, trafficking to Sweden had begun to

increase, with “sexual service wholesalers” having their sights set on the Nordic states (“Kvinnohandeln ökar” 2000). Reliable data has traditionally been difficult to come by in terms of precise numbers for women trafficked to for sexual purposes. However, the Swedish Police estimated that between 200 and 500 foreign women had been victims of trafficking in 2000, primarily from Baltic and other Eastern European states (Regeringen 2001: 15).

In 2000, the initial press coverage of the efforts by Swedish policymakers to introduce anti-trafficking legislation not only highlight the degree to which gender rights were a prominent frame, but also how unfamiliar the term ‘trafficking’ was initially deemed to have been to the Swedish public, with one article offering a pedagogical definition of the term as “meaning, in this context, the commercial trade of women and children for sexual purposes, a growing problem throughout the world.” Indeed, Swedish law did not contain measures directly addressing trafficking, only pimping. While the Swedish ban on the purchase of sexual services was considered to have some impact on incidents of trafficking to Sweden, Sweden’s entry into the Schengen Agreement raised concerns that decreased border controls would result in increased cross-border trafficking for sexual purposes. In making the case for an immediate need to see comprehensive anti-trafficking measures implemented, Left Party MP Ulla Hoffman echoed the assumed lack of agency on the part of female sex workers common to the radical feminist analysis of prostitution, stating that the Swedish effort to combat trafficking would begin with “the initial moment when the women are tricked (in to entering Sweden) under false pretenses.” Social Democratic Foreign Aid Minister Maj-Inger Klingvall identified “patriarchy and poverty” as the underlying causes of trafficking and noted that under the forthcoming Swedish presidency of the EU, a gender perspective would be introduced to guide the relevant development policies. Social Democratic Gender Equality Minister Margareta Winberg was perhaps most direct and identified male customers of sexual services as the main culprit, noting that, “if there weren’t any buyers, then there wouldn’t be any trafficking in human beings.” (“Alla led” 2000). Winberg also underscored the degree to which other EU member states were at odds with the Swedish government’s stance on trafficking, pointing out that she could not comprehend their claim to oppose trafficking while simultaneously supporting legalized prostitution (“Mansrollen viktig” 2001).

Unsurprisingly then, the parliamentary committee charged with establishing criminal penalties for trafficking in sexual purposes (summarized in Prop. 2001/02:124) contained language mirroring the claim that trafficking was intimately and chiefly linked to a male demand for sexual services and prostitution:

The committee has...emphasized that trafficking in human beings is not simply a matter for criminal law. A precondition for this type of trade is that there is a demand for sexual services. As such, the committee has emphasized that trafficking for sexual purposes must not only be attacked through criminalization, but also through efforts to counteract prostitution and to ensure that men refrain from purchasing sexual services (Prop. 2001/02: 124, p. 48).

Despite this, the initial legislation exclusively focused on establishing trafficking for sexual purposes as a criminal activity and determining the sentence that could be applied by the courts. As of 1 July 2002, a conviction for trafficking in human beings for sexual purposes became possible in instances where it could be shown that an individual had either induced, or allowed another person to be transported across international borders and subjected to “certain sexual crimes or...exploited for sexual purposes” (SOU 2002:69 26). The broad range of actors involved in the trafficking process were made subject to prosecution, including those who received, transported or gave shelter to a trafficked individual. Criminal penalties were set at between two and ten years in prison. While welcoming the legislation as crucial for addressing the “cynical trade” in human beings, some feminist organizations were critical of the overall thrust of the new policy, maintaining that it represented an excessive emphasis on law and order at the expense of security for trafficked women. As Carolina Wennerholm of the feminist development group *Kvinnoforum* (Foundation of Women’s Forum) noted:

There’s been a great deal of focus on the police and criminal (aspects of fighting trafficking), that are naturally also of great importance. A problem is that many of these women, these victims, are often in Sweden illegally. If they are caught, then the expectation is that they will be deported immediately. Then we won’t be able to help them. But currently, it’s being discussed as to whether victims will receive temporary residency and I think this will prove to be the case. (“Winberg vill provocera” 2002).

Then Foreign Aid Minister Maj-Inger Klingwall had struck a similar tone two years earlier, upon announcing that an ongoing investigation into amending the Aliens Act would be

expedited. However, while Klingwall acknowledged that the investigation should examine the “general situation” of trafficked women, she also stressed the importance of allowing foreign women to remain in Sweden in order to assist with police investigations (“Regeringen utreder” 2000). Indeed, when the parliamentary committee issued its report in the summer of 2002, it strongly backed a revision of the Aliens Act to allow for female victims of trafficking to receive temporary residence permits, and did so exclusively with reference to how this would assist police investigations into trafficking rings.¹ According to the committee, the need for temporary residence permits resulted from situations wherein:

...police and the prosecutor investigating trafficking in humans have experienced problems because there are no legal grounds for a victim or other person who has evidence to remain in Sweden while the process of justice runs its course. This has resulted in women being refused entry to the country after just a preliminary interview with the police. Later in the proceedings this has made the situation regarding evidence more difficult. The lack of any means of temporarily retaining a foreigner in the country for further investigation has also meant that foreign women who are found to have prostituted themselves are immediately refused entry and sent home, since they lack sufficient funds for their sojourn or do not support themselves in an honest fashion (Section 4 subsection 2 of the Aliens Act). In such cases there is no further investigation with respect to the circumstances which prevailed when they came to Sweden and resided here. This means that a lot of information about, for example, the trafficking in humans can be lost (SOU 2002:69 34).

Given this, the committee argued directly that as part of the “importance of the work” associated with combating “serious transnational criminality, there is a need to allow people whose evidence is required to remain in Sweden in order to assist the police and the prosecutor in their investigation” (SOU 2002:69 30). As such, the committee proposed that temporary permits be granted to female trafficking victims who agree to partake in police investigations against accused traffickers. In certain cases, on humanitarian grounds, it would also be possible for women to apply for permanent residency. However, the committee chose not to propose a specific change to the Aliens Act that would allow for victims of trafficking to file an application for permanent residency, as there were concerns that families to successful applicants might then seek to enter Sweden under family reunification permits, thus putting the state under a greater financial obligation than would be

¹ At the same time, the committee drew upon abolitionist logic in discussing prostitution more generally, noting that prostitution can never be regarded as “a job just like any other” and that liberal approaches to prostitution not only prevented “the negative aspects such as incidents of violence, abuse, disease, isolation, denial, etc” from being highlighted, it also resulted in a larger market for traffickers. See SOU 2002:69, pp. 235-236.

the case with temporary permits.

In early 2003, five senior Social Democratic ministers announced that they would be introducing a government proposition later in the year that was consistent with the policy recommendations of the parliamentary committee. Speaking at a parliamentary debate, the new Social Democratic Foreign Aid minister, Jan O. Karlsson, declared the government's support for temporary permits to help battle the "modern form of slavery", that was trafficking. At the same time, Karlsson was clear that the government did not intend to make Sweden a permanent sanctuary for trafficking victims, noting that he was skeptical towards calls to provide women who testify with permanent residency ("Fler regler mot" 2003). Other Social Democratic ministers were more ambiguous as to the type of permits to be granted. In an op-ed piece published in the leading liberal daily *Dagens Nyheter* prior to a Baltic summit on human trafficking, Margareta Winberg and Justice Minister Thomas Bodström detailed a broad package of measures that they hoped to see states adopt, including "investigating the possibilities for victims to receive temporary or permanent residency in destination countries" (Winberg & Bodström 2003). For their part, law enforcement officials, in particular, were optimistic that temporary permits could make a substantial difference. Stockholm district prosecutor Hans Ihrman, one of the leading figures in Stockholm municipality's anti-trafficking work responded to the announcement with an almost unrestrained enthusiasm:

This is completely unbelievable! Fantastic! This means a great deal for our work. We won't need to interview the women on the same day (that we take them into custody), rather we can let a relationship of trust emerge between prosecutors and the women. We can now conduct several interviews and treat the women in a better way. As it stands now, our point of departure has been that every interview may be the last one ("Offer för trafficking" 2003).

Organizations that chose to comment on the parliamentary committee's report during the public hearing period were also largely supportive, though several counties and bureaucratic agencies expressed concern that the possibility for permanent residency was not being made automatic when the trafficked woman in question was not of legal age.

In November 2003, the government proposition was finally introduced, calling for a revision of the Aliens Act such that prosecutors could apply for temporary residency permits on behalf of foreigners who were regarded as necessary for pursuing trafficking investigations. The proposal chose not to specify the minimum and maximum periods that the permits could be granted for, instead arguing that case by case circumstances would

dictate how long a given permit was valid for. It was assumed that an initial application might be for a short period of time or up to a few months, with the possibility of multiple extensions that could result in a combined time frame of “sometimes over one year”. Central to the argument for temporary resident permits with no fixed time frame was the logic that had been developed in the earlier parliamentary committee report, namely that the aim of the revision to the Aliens Act was simply to allow the trafficked individual to remain in Sweden until the legal process had been brought to a close (Regeringens proposition 2003/04:35 72). No specific provision was introduced allowing for victims of trafficking as a category to apply for permanent residency, though the government underscored that existing channels to apply for asylum were naturally available to those who wished to lodge an application. Indeed, then Minister of Migration Barbro Holmberg responded to critics seeking a specific provision enabling trafficking victims to apply for permanent residency that applications could be filed “if there is cause” (“Holmberg vill ingripa” 2003).

While the legislation took effect in October 2004, the decision by the government not to specify minimum and maximum lengths for temporary residence permits resulted in calls for clarification. The Justice Department published a report in late 2005, addressing both the matter of permit length, and also spelling out more precise conditions under which they were to be granted. In terms of the former, the Department proposed a minimum standard permit of six months, a shorter first permit when initial police investigations were being carried out, and for extensions to the six-month permit with no required minimum. However, it is the detailed conditions under which temporary permits would be granted that are of greatest interest. In an effort to harmonize Swedish policy with the European Community’s 2004 directive on temporary residence permits for victims of trafficking for sexual purposes, the Department sought to operationalize the three criteria set out by the Community for granting temporary permits to third-country national victims of trafficking: the importance of the victim to the criminal investigation, the willingness of the victim to cooperate with relevant authorities, and whether evidence existed that the victim had broken off all contact with traffickers. In developing its’ reasoning, the Department explicitly framed the need to do so in order to ensure that state interests were protected, particularly with regards to the requirement of severed contact between victim and trafficker. The first criterion was considered best dealt with by the leading official assigned to the investigation, as s/he was thought to be the only individual who could have the knowledge as to the significance that the victim’s testimony could have on behalf of the prosecution’s efforts. In

addressing the second criterion, the Department grappled with whether any sort of document ought to be drawn up, in which candidates for temporary permits would acknowledge their awareness of the prevailing guidelines and that they would offer their cooperation. However, here too, the Department chose to defer to the judgment of the leading official. In attempting to operationalize the third criterion, the Department left no doubt that the underlying rationale driving the exercise was that it contributed to state's ability to combat crime, noting that, "even this requirement is made on the basis of the state's interest in being able to investigate the crime. Through contacts being severed, there is a guarantee, to some extent, that no dependency relationship (on the part of the trafficking victim) will exist towards the abductors, that might persuade the foreigner not to follow through on any cooperation with authorities" (Ds 2005:24 45-47).²

Taken jointly, we maintain that the period 2002-2006 saw legislation that was chiefly influenced by securitization ideas. While policymakers seeking the enactment of specific anti-trafficking initiatives did invoke a gender rights frames, particularly in public comments, there is little evidence that these were then utilized to justify the specific policies or to shape their contents. Both the initial criminalization of trafficking in 2002, and the lengthy process to bring about temporary residence permits, resulted in policies that chiefly promoted the state's interest to prosecute cross-border traffickers. Particularly in the instance of temporary residence permits, granting women the temporary right to stay in Sweden during ongoing investigations was rarely promoted as a means for ensuring the physical and psychological security of trafficked women, but rather as an instrumental component in crime-fighting efforts.

In the following section, we shift our focus to two more recent aspects of Sweden's evolving anti-trafficking initiatives. First, we examine some of the rhetoric regarding the "Football – Yes, Prostitution – No!" campaign during the 2006 football World Cup in Germany, in which Swedish officials repeatedly stressed that a link existed between prostitution and trafficking. While no domestic policy reform was the focus of this effort, this campaign nonetheless shows how Swedish officials invoked gendered ideas regarding

² These provisions were enacted in conjunction with the 2006 government bill ensuring that Sweden was in compliance with the European Community's 2004 directive on temporary residence permits for victims of trafficking for sexual purposes (Regeringens proposition 2006/07:53).

sex work in a highly visible international campaign. Second, we examine the ongoing discussions over whether victims of trafficking ought to receive permanent, as opposed to, temporary residency. The emerging consensus over this reform to Sweden's anti-trafficking policies suggests that securitization concerns are increasingly sharing center stage with ideas that require a greater focus on how policies can assist foreign women who have been trafficked to Sweden.

The "Football – Yes, Prostitution – No!" Campaign (2006) and the Emerging Consensus over Permanent Residency for Victims of Trafficking (2006 -)

As Swedish football fans debated the prospects of victory for the fourteenth-ranked national squad in the following summer's World Cup that would be held in various German cities, an op-ed piece was published in the Swedish Social Democratic daily tabloid, *Aftonbladet*. The article, jointly authored by the Social Democratic Ministers of Sports and Gender Equality, together with the chair of the Swedish Football Association, sought to call attention to how one of the traditionally largest scale international sporting events would be a magnet for those seeking to traffic women for sexual purposes, noting that, "Alarming reports indicate that women will be tricked into traveling to Germany in the belief that they are going to get to work, for example, as waitresses. In reality, they will be forced into prostitution." Indeed, throughout the attempt to highlight the link between German prostitution policy and the prospects for increased trafficking, it was frequently alleged in the media that upwards of 40,000 Eastern European "sex slaves" were being prepared for import to Germany. Unlike the legislative initiatives that had already been adopted by Sweden against trafficking, this article marked the starting point of a campaign that relied on abolitionist arguments towards sex work that were consistent with gender equality norms:

We want to encourage all Swedish football lovers who are traveling to the World Cup to think about the importance of fair play both on and off the pitch. It's simply not okay to buy sex. A precondition for the sex trade is that there's a demand to buy sexual services. It's our impression that Swedish men, because men are those chiefly responsible for buying sex, regardless of whether it's in Sweden or abroad, should not support an industry that exploits, humiliates and harasses women. Trafficking is nothing more than a form of slave trade that is not worthy of our time, which we condemn in the most explicit terms...The government and the parliament believe that prostitution is a form of man's violence against women...Human traffickers are well-organized and unscrupulous businessmen who earn enormous sums of money by exploiting women and children. The sporting movement and the government condemn human trafficking in all of its forms (Ringholm et al. 2005).

At the EU, Swedish MEPs had supported the call from Austrian Social Democrats that “forced prostitution” should be condemned in conjunction with the upcoming World Cup. While the call met with overwhelming support from MEPs overall, one Swedish MEP expressed disappointment that prostitution had not been condemned as a whole, stating that, “It’s very difficult to get others to understand that there is no such thing as voluntary prostitution. But, (the sponsors of the non-binding motion) are making a distinction between prostitution connected to trafficking and other prostitution (“Tyskland uppmanas hindra” 2006). Swedish Minister of Justice Bodström echoed this point when speaking at a meeting of EU Member State Justice Ministers in February 2006, noting that, “if Germany wants to do something about the problem of trafficking, then it would be a good idea to ban the purchase of sex” (“Bodström vill stoppa” 2006). As the campaign developed, an official t-shirt was unveiled that could be worn by Swedish fans who made the trip to Germany. While the Swedish(-language) debate over the apparent dangers presented by the World Cup had chiefly focused on how traffickers would take advantage of the event to “trick” women into coming to Germany, the t-shirt took aim at German prostitution policy. In the national colors, gold and blue, the text on the t-shirt had the simple message, “Football – Yes, Prostitution – No!” Bodström attempted to place further pressure on Germany by proposing that Swedish police, who would be in attendance at the event in order to conduct surveillance of Swedish football hooligans, could also partake in efforts to combat trafficking (Swedish Ministry of Justice 2006).

While the campaign was broadly supported at the outset, proposals by two prominent public figures that Sweden ought to boycott the World Cup in order to demonstrate its opposition to German prostitution policy suggested that there were limits to the ability of gender rights ideas to influence Swedish behavior abroad. First, Gender Equality ombudsman Claes Borgström argued that it “would resonate across the globe if we were to withdraw from the World Cup to demonstrate that we have to use every means possible to stop this modern form of slavery.” Borgström maintained that it was his status as a football fan that was of significance, as this showed the need “for one interest to take the background in place of another, greater interest” (“Krav på bojkott” 2006). His call was backed up two days later by Sweden’s then representative in the European Council’s committee against torture, Christina Doctare:

If a country’s government and authorities has decided to allow modern slavery via trafficking, in the form of legalized prostitution, then one has taken the stance that it’s okay to think that some people are worth less than others, and don’t have the same justifications for existing and human

rights. As Sweden's representative against torture in the European Council, I visited jails and police stations across Europe and could observe the flipside of the coin of all of this trafficking. If we go to Germany to watch football and wave our money around, then we are at the same time accepting the country's laws that allow prostitution. It's as simple as that! (Doctare 2006)

The chair of the Swedish Football Association, Lars-Åke Lagrell, immediately rejected the call from Borgström, stating that it was ultimately a political question, that Swedish football "could not change, even if we wish to do so" (Lagrell, 2006). Jens Orback, then Minister of Equality, sought to cast the decision not to support the proposed boycott in more pragmatic terms, stating that while he welcomed the debate over the most appropriate course of action, he would rather shut down German brothels than shut down the World Cup:

Our football stars are idols for hundreds of thousands of children. They can influence attitudes by saying that there should be fair play both on and off the football fields at the World Cup. Our national team's players could get the players from other countries to participate in a demonstration against women and children being sold for sexual purposes. Of course there's a connection between prostitution and human trafficking. The sex industry buys and sells women as slaves because there is a demand for sexual services. In crass terms, this is about supply and demand in a market where women and children are sold as sex slaves (Orback, 2006).

No boycott was forthcoming and the campaign remained one chiefly of consciousness raising. Interestingly, in the autumn of 2006, the Swedish Development Agency (SIDA) and the International Organization of Migration (IOM) produced a post-mortem report showing that trafficking in women for sexual purposes had not at all increased to Germany during that summer's World Cup. The report was particularly skeptical of the way that journalists accepted the number of 40,000 sex slaves without substantiation, and concluded that the debate over the issue had very little impact on suppressing incidents of trafficking. Borgström was present at the seminar in Gothenburg where the report was released and expressed skepticism with the results, stating that "with all due respect" for the experts that had been consulted, he still believed that Sweden managed to push the Germans on the issue and that it would likely be considered at the planning stages in conjunction with future international sporting events ("Ingen ökad sexhandel" 2006).

The more recent framing of trafficking with gender equality ideas has not been limited to efforts to shape public opinion and export the Swedish stance on prostitution and trafficking. Since 2006, there have been ongoing discussions as to whether children and women who are victims of trafficking ought to be granted permanent residency if they agree

to partake in police investigations and criminal proceeding against alleged traffickers. Here though, gender equality ideas have had to share center stage with the securitization concerns that shaped initial policies.

Shortly after the four-party bourgeois alliance came to power in the 2006 parliamentary elections, Moderate Party Minister of Immigration Tobias Billström announced that the government would soon be proposing a revision of the Aliens Act to allow for permanent residency to be granted to victims of trafficking. In fact, Billström's announcement overstated the degree to which the governing bourgeois alliance was the agent of change in this process, as the previous Social Democratic government had instructed an ongoing parliamentary committee to investigate precisely that issue (Kommittédirektiv Dir 2006:78). Regardless, Billström's justification of the policy shift rested partly on a critique of the insecurity associated with only being in Sweden temporarily, noting that "people need to feel secure in how they are being protected against their abductors." At the same time, Billström acknowledged that the shift was based on the desire to establish a reciprocal relationship – "we help them and they help us" – and that permanent residency would prevent trafficking victims from being deported back to the regions or villages where they had allegedly been abducted in the first place. As such, he argued that "the possibility of getting (permanent) residency Sweden is wholly decisive for whether or not (one) would choose to testify or not" ("Traffickingoffer kan få" 2006).

Interestingly, the criticism that followed Billström's announcement partially reflected concerns over the impact of the proposal on the women being targeted. It was not "state interests" that formed the basis of much of this criticism, but the well-being of the women. Left Party MP Kalle Larsson dismissed the idea as "cynical" saying that it would result in the state exploiting women simply to ensure that convictions could be secured. ("Vittnesmål ska ge" 2006). Similarly, Green Party MP Bodil Ceballos expressed skepticism on the grounds that testifying could be the equivalent of placing women in "mortal danger" requiring them to enter witness protection programs ("Migrationsministerns förslag kritiseras" 2006). It was only the Swedish Police that sought to highlight the problems that granting permanent residency presented for prosecutorial efforts. On the one hand, Swedish Police trafficking expert Kajsa Wahlberg doubted that women would be enticed to stay if permanent residency was offered as an incentive, stating that, "The girls just want to go home. They don't think that Sweden is at all as fantastic as we want to believe." However, Wahlberg's primary concern was that permanent residency could be exploited by the counsel

to alleged traffickers, who might be able to successfully argue that testimony had been “bought” in exchange for the promise of permanent residency (“Flickorna vill bara” 2006).

Yet, when the parliamentary committee released its report in late 2008, it was noteworthy for the shift in tone compared to previously parliamentary committee documents pertaining to trafficking. Whereas earlier committee reports had emphasized residence permits as a device to ensure that police investigations would not be thwarted for lack of testimony, the current report was explicit in emphasizing both security and gender equality ideas. Even more importantly, in making the argument for permanent residency, the report authors afforded pride of position to promoting the physical and psychological well being of the victim:

In order to discuss the need and formation of a new provision that would involve specific possibilities for foreigners who are victims of human trafficking to be granted permanent residency, one should first analyze which interests could justify these increased possibilities. According to our way of viewing this, there are two purposes that could lead to a change in the regulations. The first interest can be attributed to the foreigner and is intended to ensure that he or she, in the context of having been a victim of trafficking, can stay here to (for example) receive protection, go through rehabilitation or build up a new existence, while the other is attributable to the state’s interest in being able to investigate human trafficking crimes (SOU 2008: 41 141)

Shortly prior to the release of this document, parallel work was being done by the Department of Integration and Gender Equality to establish an action plan that would detail measures that could be used to combat both prostitution and trafficking. Here too, the contrast with earlier government initiatives was striking. Rather than predominantly address the way in which police and prosecutors could be assisted by shifts in the legislation, the action plan spelled out a broad array of measures intended to assist those individuals (chiefly women and girls, but also men and boys) who were involved in the sex trade. These measures, designated as actions to “protect and support” included providing minors involved in the sex trade with knowledge of their rights, providing education about the sex trade for those employed in social services, providing special protected residencies for victims of trafficking, rehabilitation opportunities, and (notably at odds with the parliamentary committee’s work) “safer repatriation” for victims of trafficking (Skr. 2007/08:167). While security ideas are thus present in both documents, the shift is clear: gender equality norms, periodically nested in human rights norms, are increasingly a component of the policy

discussions over the legal rights and conditions that should be granted to victims of trafficking.

In lieu of a conclusion...

This paper has highlighted the way in which two sets of ideas – those having to do with securitization and those having to do with gender equality – have contributed to the formation of Sweden’s anti-trafficking policies and programs. As we have shown, securitization ideas have chiefly had an impact in the emphasis that has been placed on developing and implementing policies ensuring that Swedish police and prosecutors will have the necessary tools at their disposal to combat trafficking in human beings for sexual purposes. However, gender equality ideas have increasingly been visible in the discourse of policymakers as anti-trafficking policies have been reformed, most notably in claims as to the sources of the international sex industry (male demand), the lack of a distinction between prostitution and trafficking for sexual purposes, and measures to ensure the physical and psychological safety of trafficking victims.

Yet, rather than concluding with an examination of how our findings should be situated in ongoing scholarly debates over the potential for ideas to gain in currency with policymakers over time, we opt for a different route. Rather, we use this brief conclusion to explore the possibility that our analysis of Sweden’s anti-trafficking policies and programs ought both to be expanded and re-organized. Doing so would not challenge the main argument of this paper, in that *domestic policies* would still be seen as having been affected largely by securitization ideas. However, it may be the case that anti-trafficking *programs*, particularly those attempting to export the “Swedish model”, have consistently afforded a much more prominent role to gender equality ideas.

Specifically, one potential criticism of how the analysis has proceeded could center on our decision to bundle the discussion of the “Football – Yes, Prostitution – No!” campaign together with the formal domestic policies adopted by Sweden to combat trafficking. Should domestic legislative initiatives be treated as the equivalent of programs whose aims are to target public opinion abroad? Whereas the former is the authoritative expression of the state (codifying legally acceptable behavior within national borders), the latter chiefly involves exerting normative influence, even if a long-term ultimate aim is to see targeted policies reformed. While there is little question that the debate from 2006 to the

present over granting permanent residency to trafficking victims has increasingly been influenced by a gender equality frame, what would happen if we were to make a distinction between Sweden's *domestic anti-trafficking policies* and its *foreign anti-trafficking initiatives*?

While such a restructuring is clearly a task for a future iteration of this paper, we believe that this represents a potential way forward. Limited to the current data, it is clear that the “Football – Yes, Prostitution – No!” campaign is distinct in terms of its ideational character from all other instances examined in this paper. Unlike earlier legislation, it did not have an exclusively securitization frame, and unlike the later debate over permanent residency, gender equality ideas did not share equal billing with claims as to the importance of fighting transnational crime. Rather than write this campaign off as an outlier when compared to policies, we think that it may be beneficial to reconsider it as part of a broader bundle of international initiatives in which the Swedish state sought to export its view regarding trafficking/prostitution. Indeed, the nature of other activities by the Swedish state to shape public opinion (and governmental policies) on trafficking would seem to lend initial support for such a strategy.

Two very brief examples are in order: First, as a result of a Swedish initiative, a joint Nordic-Baltic action plan against trafficking was first established in 2001, and then later extended in 2003. The seven key priorities put forward by Sweden in 2003 emphasized, in no uncertain terms, the significance that gender equality ideas would have in structuring the continued direction of the campaign. Indeed, the two Social Democratic ministers who announced the revised plan stressed that “all efforts against trade in women and children are to have a gender perspective” (Winberg & Bodström, 2003). Second, in the 2000s, the Swedish government financed a number of campaigns in which the movie *Lilja 4-ever* (a fictionalized account of a 16 year-old Lithuanian woman who was trafficked to Sweden in 2000), was shown across Eastern Europe. The horrors depicted in this movie meshed well with a portrayal of the international sex trade as a singular phenomenon, in which innocent young women were tricked into coming to Western Europe, where promises of employment turned out to be nothing more than a ruse, and where a reality of “sex slavery” waited. The *Lilja 4-ever* campaigns, in particular, warrant further investigation, as scholars have pointed to the way in which efforts to highlight the horrors of trafficking essentially mask policies intended to halt migration (Andrijasevic, 2007).

As such, there is much left to be explored when it comes to the importance of ideas for shaping the anti-trafficking policies and initiatives of the Swedish state. While there is evidence to show that securitization and gender equality increasingly co-exist in the discourse of those framing the need for new reforms, there is also the possibility that the domestic sphere of formal policies has traditionally favored ideas having to do with security (fighting crime), while the foreign sphere of influencing public opinion and the policies of other states has primarily been a setting in which gender equality ideas have held sway.

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