The Securitization of Sex Trafficking: A Comparative Case Study of Sweden and the United States

by

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Abstract

Sex trafficking is a form of transnational organized crime, which may pose security threats to nation states. This project examines the roles that Sweden and the United States (US) played as global leaders in securitizing sex trafficking. This comparative case study identifies and analyzes both states' securitization processes according to the Copenhagen School's securitization framework. This project argues that both states securitized sex trafficking in the early 1990s through to 2009 in a two-stage process, initiated by civil society groups. Sex trafficking was then adopted by each states' government, and re-framed as a threat to state sovereignty. Sweden framed the issue with regards to the social, political, and economic costs of sex trafficking. The US used frames to connect sex trafficking with terrorism, and declared a 'War on Trafficking'.

Keywords: Securitization; Sex trafficking; State Sovereignty; Sweden; Threat; United States.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this project to my family and friends, who have always stood by me, and have been a constant source of encouragement and support. I can honestly say I would not be where I am today if I did not have these wonderful people in my life.

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List of Acronyms

CATW	Coalition Against Trafficking in Women
EU	European Union
GAATW	Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PICW	The President's Interagency Council of Women
ROKS	Riksorganisationen för kvinnojourer och tjejjourer i Sverige
SEK	Swedish Krona
T-Visa	Temporary Permit Visa
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
TOC	Transnational Organized Crime
TVPA	Trafficking Victims Protection Act
UN	United Nations
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
US	United States

1. Introduction

Transnational organized crime (TOC) is a prominent moral and security threat that has gained international attention over the past two decades, and affects every state on a global scale. The growing concern that criminal networks are expanding and profiting, largely as a result of globalization[1], threatens the perceived security of nation states. As globalization increases opportunities for trade and communication, it also opens doors for criminal networks to develop and flourish. Human trafficking is one form of TOC that is becoming increasingly prominent on international political agendas. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2005) stated that "human trafficking has become one of the fastest growing and most lucrative criminal activities occurring both worldwide and in individual countries" (p. 1).

This project examines the securitization of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation (henceforth sex trafficking)[2] since the early 1990s in Sweden and the United States (US). Both Sweden and the US declared the eradication of sex trafficking as a political priority, and have successfully securitized sex trafficking. However, they did so through two different procedures. Sweden took a prohibitionist approach, different from any other state, wherein the state criminalized the demand[3] for prostitution and sex trafficking in 1999 (European Commission, 2011; n.p.). Referred to as the Swedish model, this approach has been widely praised by various scholars as a framework that

[1] This project uses the term globalization as defined by Cornell (2009): "to imply the quantitative and qualitative growth in communications and transportation, as well international trade and investments, which have been occurring at an even greater pace, especially in the past two decades" (p. 55).

[2] Sex trafficking is a form of human trafficking that has gained significant media attention. Majority of the focus is on women and girls falling victim to sex trafficking (Hanyes, 2007; p. 13). This project does not intend to imply that men and boys are excluded from the sex trade or that the sex trafficking is any worse or more important than other forms of human trafficking, such as labour trafficking or organ trafficking.

[3] In this project demand refers to individuals purchasing and/or obtaining sex in exchange for money or other goods or services.

should be adopted by other states[4]. Alternatively, the US took an abolitionist approach, criminalizing all acts[5] associated with sex trafficking, and creating the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) in 2000. The US also created a Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report in 2001, to monitor the progress of other states dealing with the issue, asserting itself as a global leader in securitizing sex trafficking (TIP Report, 2011; n.p.).

1.1. Defining Sex Trafficking

Sex trafficking falls under the crime of human trafficking, the definition of which has been extensively contested. In December 2000, the United Nations (UN) drafted the 'Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime' with a supplementing protocol, titled 'Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children'. This protocol defines human trafficking as:

> The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation[6] (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2004; p. 42).

This project examines human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation using the UNODC definition.

Sex trafficking is commonly associated with illegal smuggling[7], and although they are often related, the disparities between the two acts are important. Illegal smuggling is

[4] Using the Swedish model as a framework that should be adopted has been discussed by scholars such as Gould (2001), Ekberg (2004), and Perrin (2011).

[5] All acts include soliciting, purchasing, bribing, coercing and abducting people for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

[6] According to the UNODC definition, "[e]xploitation 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, 2004; p. 42).

[7] Smuggling is defined as "the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident" (UNODC, 2004; p. 54).

often the result of an agreement between the individual and the smuggler. Though smuggling can turn into trafficking and debt bondage, the process of illegal smuggling is generally initiated by the smuggled person with their consent, and ends once the final destination is reached (Department of Global Development, 2003; p. 10). The misconceptions of sex trafficking with other crimes are significant to highlight as they influence perceptions on the crime itself.

The terms prostitution and sex trafficking are very different, though often used interchangeably in public discourse. The primary difference between the two terms is that sex trafficking involves *force* and *coercion* for the purpose of *exploitation*. This means that the individual is unable to leave freely or claim financial earnings (Perrin, 2012; n.p.). Whereas prostitution, in the liberal perspective, is recognized as a legitimate form of work chosen by females referred to as sex work. The liberal view on prostitution is extensively disputed, as some individuals and organizations see prostitutes as being forced into the occupation by inequitable means, and therefore prostitution is seen as a form of exploitation that disproportionately affects women and children in poverty (O'Connor & Healy, 2006; p. 12). The different perspectives on prostitution, and the connection to sex trafficking in Sweden and the US, are explored further in this project.

The public recognition of sex trafficking as a moral issue dates back to the 19th century, when sex slavery was generally perceived as a racial problem (Desyllas, 2007; p. 61). The first international instrument created to address trafficking as forced prostitution was the 1949 UN Convention titled: 'UN Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and Exploitation of Prostitution of Others' (henceforth the Convention). This document was a model for future legislation (Desyllas, 2007; p. 60); however, due to a lack of pressure for implementation and support for the abolition of prostitution (henceforth the abolitionist frame), the Convention was not ratified by many states at the time. Outshoorn (2005) pointed out that following the Convention, "…trafficking faded from the public eye and prostitution ceased to be a major political issue" (p. 142).

Sex trafficking resurfaced as a prominent public issue in Europe and North America after the collapse of communism in the Eastern Bloc states. These states became popular sources for young girls, whose presence in destination states garnered

attention. The trafficking of foreign women and girls into Sweden and the US, in addition to sex tourism and the HIV/AIDS pandemic in the 1980s, fuelled growing societal concerns about sex trafficking in the 1990s (Outshoorn, 2005; p. 142-3, Gould, 2001; p. 439).

International civil society groups began advancing the issue of sex trafficking on a global scale in the early 1990s. As sex trafficking gained significance on an international level, this strengthened the justification for a political focus in Sweden and the US. The UN Vienna Declaration (1993), which only condemned forced prostitution and trafficking, was the first shift away from the abolitionist framework. In 1998, trafficking and forced prostitution became associated with the UN's battle to fight transnational organized crime. The UN produced initiatives to increase recognition of the issues of international trafficking and smuggling, in addition to TOC, on international political agendas (Outshoorn, 2005; p 149; Gallagher, 2001; p. 976).

Sex trafficking has been problematized in main three ways: as a human rights violation with moral implications for societies at large; as a criminal issue generating immense profits for illegal markets[8]; and, as a security threat often related to terrorism, money laundering, and drug and firearm trafficking (Cornell, 2009; p. 55). The involvement of diverse actors, and the connection of sex trafficking with other forms of TOC since the increase of globalization, has provided human traffickers[9] with new opportunities to expand their criminal activities.

[8] In 2005, the International Labour Organization (ILO) estimated that "the global profits made from trafficking into forced commercial sexual amount to US $27.8 billion annually" (Belser, 2005; p. 15).

[9] The term human trafficker is used in this project to refer to the individuals and groups involved in any part of the sex trafficking process, which can include but is not limited to: kidnapping, abducting, tricking, smuggling, holding, or selling of victims.

1.2. Research Question and Argument

This project examines Sweden and the US as "securitizing actors"[10] of sex trafficking. More specifically, it seeks to answer the question: *How do Sweden and the United States compare in their processes of securitizing sex trafficking?* A comparison of two different securitizing processes is useful to critically examine how securitization was accomplished, and what the implications of the processes are. A comparative case study of Sweden and the US has not been conducted in academic research on the securitization of sex trafficking. This study merits analysis, as both states are prominent global actors and can provide guidance for future anti-trafficking legislation[11].

This project adds value to the body of literature in the field of security studies, and applies the "Copenhagen School's securitization framework"[12] as outlined by Waever (1995) and Buzan et al. (1998). This project examines how both states have securitized sex trafficking according to the three steps outlined in the Copenhagen School's securitization framework: the "Speech Act", "convincing the audience", and implementing "emergency measures".[13] This project further argues that Sweden and the

[10] The term "securitizing actor" is defined as "actors who securitize issues by declaring something-a referent object- existentially threatened" (Buzan et al., 1998; p. 36). The securitizing actors that are explored within the two case studies include civil society actors and each state's government. Furthermore, "referent objects" are defined as "things that are seen to be existentially threatened and that have a legitimate claim to survival" (Buzan et al., 1998; p. 36). The referent objects identified in this project are human rights and state sovereignty.

[11] For examples of how Sweden and the US are useful see Perrin (2011), Ekberg (2004), and US Department of State (2011).

[12] The "Copenhagen School's securitization framework" is an analytical tool that focuses "not on what security is in reality, but on what is presented and successfully recognized as a threat". The Copenhagen School's securitization framework examines the use of language referred to as "Speech Acts" by securitizing actors to convince the audience of existential threats (Jackson, 2006; p. 301). This framework is applied in this project to examine the securitization processes of sex trafficking in Sweden and the US.

[13] In this project, "Speech Act" refers to the declaration, and use of language on sex trafficking as a security problem by securitizing actors (Waever, 1995; p. 54-5). "Convincing the audience" refers to the category of people the securitizing actors intend to convince. Securitization cannot be imposed but rather it relies on both coercion and consent for emergency measures to be accepted and therefore legitimized (Buzan et al., 1998; p. 25). "Emergency measures" refer to (in)actions that actors take that "break the normal political rules of the game (e.g. in the form of secrecy, levying taxes or conscription, placing limitations on otherwise inviolable rights, or focusing society's energy and resources on a specific task" (Buzan et al., 1998; p. 24).

US both securitized sex trafficking in two-stage processes from the early 1990s through to 2009, culminating in the issue being effectively securitized in both cases.

Civil society groups[14] initiated the processes by framing sex trafficking as a human rights issue, which was then adopted and later reframed by each state's government as a national security threat. The frames used to convince citizens that sex trafficking was a form of organized crime, which jeopardized national security, were different in each state. The Swedish government framed the issue as a cause of political, economic and social instabilities, and used nationalism to promote the need to secure state sovereignty. Conversely, the US government associated sex trafficking with war rhetoric and the current insecurities of terrorism. The frames used by both governments resulted in similar emergency measures including increased border security, and urging action beyond state borders. However, each state's actions had different implications due to the specific processes used to frame sex trafficking as a security threat.

1.3. Methodology

This research project employs a comparative case study to engage in a critical analysis of Sweden and the US, identifying the evolution of frames used by securitizing actors to successfully securitize sex trafficking by 2009. Using a constructivist lens, this project compares and contrasts the frames, and argues that they were used to securitize the issue in two stages, which resulted in the declaration of sex trafficking as a national security threat. Understanding security as a master frame[15] addresses questions of who the securitizing actors were, and what specific frames were used to convince the audience that sex trafficking is a security threat.

[14] Civil Society groups refer to Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) such as the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW), and Equality Now; as well as intergovernmental organizations such as UNODC, IOM, and ILO; and private sector actors.

[15] Master frames are described by Benford & Snow (2000; p 619) as broad in scope and often connected with, and sometimes encompassing, other meaningful frames to resonate with a given society. Security is used as a master frame in this comparative case study, which identifies how both states' governments combine frames used from the first stage of securitization (human rights frames) with that of security frames to resonate with society.

This project critically analyzes the discourse used to frame the issue to examine "how language constructs reality" (Hardy et al. 2004; p. 19). Identifying how key actors framed sex trafficking as a human rights issue, through analyzing the discourse used in their lobbying efforts, allows the role of civil society actors to be explored. Following this, an analysis of the discourse on sex trafficking used by each state's government in the media is conducted. This outlines the adoption of sex trafficking as a political issue, and how it is subsequently re-framed by each state's government as a threat to state sovereignty.

In addition, the Copenhagen School's securitization framework is used to analyze what language different actors used. This project borrows from, and builds upon, Watson (2012) and Rushton (2010). Watson (2012) demonstrated the compatibility of the Copenhagen School's securitization framework and "framing theory,"[16] as they share a focus on linguistic-grammatical composition. Furthermore, they both stress the power of language in relationships and structures, identifying meaning to the "audience, communicator, and culture" (p. 284). Rushton (2010) described how framing is used as a tool in securitization to socially construct the perception of an issue as a security threat, permitting emergency measures to then be implemented (p. 2). This project adopts Rushton's (2010) interpretation of framing an issue as a security threat to gain political prioritization, and applies it to sex trafficking[17]. The cohesion between the framework and theory allows for a comprehensive analysis of the securitization of sex trafficking.

Academic articles in addition to government documents, such as resolutions and publications, are analyzed in order to better understand the context of the securitization of sex trafficking in each state, as well as to examine the rhetoric used to frame the issue. This project analyzes media sources (including newspapers, mainstream films, and online news publications), civil society campaigns (particularly Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)), government statements, and nation-wide publications on the issue, within the time period of the 1990s through to 2009. These dates have been

[16] The basis of "framing theory" is that "an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations. Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue" (Chong & Druckman, 2007; p. 104).

[17] Rushton (2010) examined the use framing of HIV/AIDS as a security threat to gain political prioritization.

chosen because sex trafficking began to gain the attention of civil society groups in the early 1990s, and were successfully securitized by 2009 in both Sweden and the US.

1.3.1. Case Selection

Sweden and the US are ideal states for comparison since their approaches to combating sex trafficking are the two leading global strategies that influence the formulation of many other states' policies[18]. These two cases also provide critical insight into how the issue of sex trafficking gained momentum in the political sphere. As sex trafficking is recognized by the UN as a form of TOC requiring international action (UNODC, 2004; p. 41), these two cases are useful to analyze how securitization took place, and what the implications were for individuals and international relations.

The similarities between Sweden and the US largely surround their socioeconomic foundations. They both have democratic governments (allowing civil society to hold each government accountable), a strong civil society, and are high-income states with legitimate institutions[19], cultural norms and values. Sex trafficking is often perceived by high-income states as an issue that affects only low-income states (Desyllas, 2007; 64). The realization that both Sweden and the US have been source, transit, and destination states[20] for sex trafficking (TIP Report, 2001; p. 341, 372) has led to increased action by civil society and government officials. Although these states are vastly different in population size[21], and amount of trafficking[22], their leadership in

[18] For examples of the Swedish model affecting other countries see Ekberg (2004, p. 15-7) who discussed the adoption of the policy by South Korea in addition to other European states. For examples of the US approach affecting other countries see the TIP reports for 2001-2011. For example, Canada was particularly affected in 2003 when demoted to a Tier 2 level, and was only brought up to a Tier one after implementing the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act in June 2002 (TIP Report, 2003; p. 46).

[19] Legitimate institutions in this project are used to describe institutions within Sweden and the US that are socially accepted and serve a function in society, such as prisons.

[20] Source refers to the home state of the trafficked victim; transit refers to a state used to move a trafficked individual from one location to another; and destination refers to the state the individual is trafficked in. The destination state does not require a person to cross borders to be considered trafficked.

[21] As of 2011, the population of Sweden was 9,103,788 (The World Factbook, 2012a; n.p.); the population in the US as of 2011 was 313,847,465 (The World Factbook, 2012b; n.p.).

combating sex trafficking internationally, and securitization processes regionally, provide valuable data for future anti-trafficking initiatives.

1.3.2. Limitations

The main limitation of this project is overcoming the language barrier to access information written in Swedish. Despite this challenge, it has been possible to obtain data from academic-translated sources, and online Swedish newspapers published in English. Various Swedish activists and government publications are written in English or are professionally translated, therefore minimizing the impacts of this limitation. Furthermore, the validity and reliability of the research is verified through confirming data from various sources.

In addition, there are difficulties in measuring the level of acceptance of sex trafficking as a security threat by the audience (citizens). This has been highlighted as a significant challenge to the use of discourse analysis in securitization and framing theory (Watson, 2012; p. 299). This project aims to overcome this challenge by analyzing the measures that were used to convince the citizens in each state, such as the increase in media publications on the issue, and also secondary analysis which discussed society's backlash to media publications during the time period, and to the emergency measures taken. Overall, there is a general consensus among the data gathered in this project and other scholar's findings that the citizens in both Sweden and the US agreed that sex trafficking was a security threat.

1.4. Outline

The remainder of this project is divided into four chapters to carefully examine the processes of the securitization of sex trafficking in Sweden and the US. Chapter Two provides an analysis of the security literature focusing on the Copenhagen School's securitization framework, which is used to structure the argument of this project. As well,

[22] Data on amount of sex trafficking in a state is extremely difficult to gather given the clandestine nature of the topic, and must be recognized as a rough estimate. The US TIP Report of 2012 states "the Swedish police estimate that 400 to 600 persons are trafficked to Sweden annually" (p. 328). McCabe (2010) quotes suggestions that rates of sex trafficking in the US is lower than 50, 000 people per year (p. 147).

framing theory is used to identify how each securitizing actor framed the issue of sex trafficking to transform the public perception of the issue from a moral human rights issue to a national security threat. This chapter situates this project's argument within the academic discourse on sex trafficking and security literature.

Chapter Three analyzes the case study of Sweden and Chapter Four analyzes the case study of the US. Both of these chapters are divided into two stages. The role of civil society groups is assessed in the first stage by examining the discourse used, as well as efforts made to raise awareness and convince the government that sex trafficking is a political issue. In the second stage, the securitizing actor (each state's government), the referent object (national security), and the tactics used to convince the audience (framing through discourse) are analyzed using the Speech Act, convincing the audience, and emergency measures. Chapter Five concludes by providing a comparative analysis of the two states' securitization processes. This final chapter critically examines the similarities and differences between the two states, highlighting the overall implications of the processes, and making suggestions for future research.

2. Analytical Theory and Literature Review

This Chapter outlines the academic discussion on broadening the definition of security threats to examine the issue of sex trafficking. The argument of this project, that sex trafficking was securitized in a two-stage process in both states, is placed within the academic literature. The first section highlights the connection between sex trafficking and TOC, and applies it to the literature on the Copenhagen School's securitization framework. This project demonstrates how the securitizing actors in both cases identify the link between sex trafficking and TOC within their framing discourse of sex trafficking as a security threat. The following section examines the literature on framing theory and its application to the issue of sex trafficking in Sweden, the EU, and the US.

2.1. Copenhagen School Securitization Framework and A New Security Threat: Sex Trafficking

The Copenhagen School's securitization framework has traditionally focused on security threats to the state and involves military action. Since the Cold War, however, discussions have taken place about widening the security focus[23] to include a variety of threats to the state, but also to society and individuals, and including, for example, human security (Waever, 1995; p. 50). This project analyzes sex trafficking as a security threat in its classical form, as a threat to national security, though not with the traditional focus on military intervention against sex trafficking. A securitization framework outlined by Waever (1995) is used to characterize sex trafficking as a threat including: "[u]rgency, state power claiming the legitimate use of extraordinary means; [and] a threat seen as potentially undercutting sovereignty" (p. 51).

[23] For a critical analysis of the broadening of security see Waever (1995) and Buzan et al. (1998).

Several scholars found that sex trafficking by criminal networks has increased over the recent decades. Truong (2003) argued that there is an increase in the market for human bodies by criminal networks. She pointed out that, "[t]he sheer volume of goods, services, and people transferred across national boundaries due to the massive change in the global economy means that states are able to control at best about 3 percent of this transfer" (p. 66). Criminal networks have become increasingly involved in the transfer of people across borders as the international trade of goods and services has expanded (Truong, 2003; p. 67). Bales (2007), Makarenko (2009), and Haynes (2007) further highlighted that people, particularly women and girls, are a favoured product because, "[trafficking in persons] is high-profit and often low risk, because unlike other 'commodities' people can be used repeatedly, and because trafficking in persons does not require a large capital investment" (Bales, 2007; p. 1). Globalization provides a niche for criminal networks to pursue human trafficking to gain profits along with their other criminal activities.

Smith (2000) and Jamieson (2001) examined the enhanced complexity of organized crime and how this contributes to new forms of security threats. Smith (2000) compared transnational security to more traditional threats such as war. He highlighted that new challenges, such as TOC, commonly do not have a "crisis 'focal point' where policymakers and government leaders can direct their attention and energy" (n.p.). Jamieson (2001) further discussed the new forms of organized crime, highlighting the structure and adaptability of current criminal networks. Cornell (2009) supported this argument and claimed that human traffickers "have learnt from terror groups and have adopted a network structure" (p. 56).

This "network structure" can take various forms, though Sangiovanni (2005) identified three common characteristics: 1) criminal networks are usually decentralized using various and dispersed connections; 2) they are generally informal and based on voluntary participation; and 3) the networks are normally temporary and diverse groups aiming to achieve either individual or likeminded goals (p. 7). These attributes allow the structure to be easily adaptable to unexpected complications during their endeavours, and prevent disclosure of all actors involved if part of the structure is exposed. This project builds upon the security literature, highlighting how discourse used in Sweden and the US framed sex trafficking as a complex security threat to state sovereignty.

This project adopts Waever's (1995) conceptualization of the Copenhagen School's securitization framework: the process of using language as the mechanism to securitize an issue where "the utterance *itself* is the act" referred to as the "Speech Act" (p. 55). The securitized issue is then addressed according to the level of threat posed and defense deemed necessary by the state (Waever, 1995; p. 65). Buzan et al. (1998) further developed this framework by outlining: a) how an issue is securitized by the securitizing actor (who makes the decisions of what is termed a threat), b) what the referent object is (what is perceived to be an existential threat), and c) securitization (the move that takes politics beyond established rules and puts the issue 'above politics'). As Buzan et al. (1998) claimed, the Speech Act is the "securitizing move", but only when the audience accepts it as such can the threat be successfully securitized (p. 25).

The Copenhagen School's securitization framework is used as a structure for analyzing the two-stage processes of securitization where in both cases the issue of sex trafficking was re-framed from a human rights issue to a national security threat. Analyzing the Speech Act, convincing the audience, and the emergency measures taken, provides critical insight into the broadening perspectives of security and examines how securitization was successful. As explored in the next section, framing theory is used in combination with the Copenhagen School's securitization framework to examine how sex trafficking was framed in the two stages to achieve securitization.

2.2. The Application of Framing Theory: Sweden, the EU, and the US

Framing theory is often applied by scholars studying social movements (Benford & Snow, 2000; p. 612). It is used to examine the process of constructing reality where frames are formed and evolve through active effort to persuade people on a given topic, activity, or social movement (Benford & Snow, 2000; p. 614). Frames are interpreted in various ways and are often the result of extensive negotiation (Benford & Snow, 2000; p. 623). Frames evolve over time and are generally not mutually exclusive, as is demonstrated through the framing of sex trafficking by civil society groups and each state's government. Frames are often used to shed light on alternative ways of analyzing an issue and convincing people to mobilize or agree with the portrayed viewpoints

(Chong & Druckman, 2007; p. 106). There are various types of frames and strategies used to shape attitudes and opinions of both large and small groups of people (Chong & Druckman, 2007; p. 120). Framing theory is used in this project to examine how sex trafficking was portrayed, to whom, and how the frames helped to securitize the issue.

Entman (1993) described framing as a powerful tool used through communication to influence human consciousness (p. 51-2). He described the process of framing as follows:

> To select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem, definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman, 1993; p. 52).

In this sense, frames are used to define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies (Entman, 1993; p. 52). Frames highlight the power of communication in shaping people's attitudes. As cited in Farrell and Fahy (2009), Goffman (1974) stated: "frames lead people to notice particular aspects of an interaction, event, or phenomenon at a subconscious level, which ultimately shapes how they interpret what is happening around them" (p. 618). This is useful in analyzing how the Swedish and US governments re-framed sex trafficking as a national security threat in order to allow them to take emergency measures. Analyzing these frames highlights the way in which the audience was convinced that the issue was a security threat.

Few scholars have examined the frames used in Sweden to portray sex trafficking as a security threat. However, many scholars have analyzed the case of the EU, and raise important criticisms that are also pertinent for the case of Sweden, and the analysis of this project. Using the case of Sweden, Bucken-Knapp et al. (2012) explored whether securitization or gender equality are depicted more in government policies. Their findings suggest that security concerns played a dominant role in initial policies, and only more recently have reflected ideas of gender equality. They pointed out that "[a] gendered perspective may have achieved inroads, but it still holds a weaker position in terms of overall influence on policy" (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2012; p. 3). Berman (2003) supported this argument through examining the securitization of sex trafficking in the EU. She argued that the focus on criminalization is largely concerned with illegal migration

and securing borders, which subsequently harms victims of trafficking. She identified that this focus neglects victims' agency and needs, and disregards the original reasons that the individuals sought to migrate, which made them vulnerable to traffickers in the first place (p. 39). Andrijasevic (2007) analyzed the use of images in EU anti-trafficking campaigns and suggested that the representation of the violence is harmful to women as it conforms to stereotypes and disregards female agency. This project supports these findings and further explores criticisms raised by the scholars that securitization has negative implications for women and victims in Chapter Five.

Frames of the securitization of sex trafficking in the US have also been explored and critically examined. Farrell and Fahy (2009) analyzed the framing of sex trafficking in the US, finding that it evolved through three dominant frames: "a human rights frame, a crime and criminalization frame, and national security frame" (p. 618). They found that the change in public framing of sex trafficking coincides with the adoption of policies concentrating on "national security and the identification, apprehension, and criminal prosecution of trafficking perpetrators" (p. 617). In addition, Soderlund (2005) examined the rhetoric and practices used to combat sex trafficking by the US government before and after 9/11[24]. She argued that the anti-trafficking frames were used to gain political support after 9/11 and during the Afghanistan and Iraq invasions, and were also used as a tool to create a sense of national unity to address this modern form of slavery (p. 67). Weitzer (2007) criticized the politicization of sex trafficking and argued that civil society actors have operated as moral crusaders[25], bringing the issue to the forefront of politics by making unsubstantiated claims. This project supports Weitzer's analysis of the discourse used and social construction of sex trafficking in the US by civil society actors; however, this project argues that civil society actors were critical to the securitization process. In addition, Dysyllas (2007) provided a critical analysis of the implications caused by the trafficking framework under the administration of President George W. Bush (henceforth, Bush administration). This project supports the findings that the

[24] 9/11 refers to the terrorist attacks in the US on September 11, 2001. The suicide attacks hit the Twin Towers inside the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

[25] Moral crusades are defined by Ronald Weitzer (2007) as "one of the forces responsible for transforming such conditions into 'problems'…Moral crusades advance claims about both the gravity and incidence of a particular problem" (p. 448).

policies are harmful to both migrants and sex workers and these issues are further discussed in Chapter Five.

The analysis of framing sex trafficking in both Sweden and the US by various scholars highlights many implications of securitization. Analyzing the frames in both countries is useful to understand how the issue was portrayed and used to convince the general public that sex trafficking was a security threat. The literature on framing theory and the application of it to each of the cases provides valuable insight for this project to build on and incorporate into the comparative analysis.

To conclude, this project employs the Copenhagen School's securitization framework with framing theory to demonstrate the processes of sex trafficking becoming part of the security master frame that was prioritized and lifted 'above mere politics'. The new frame (sex trafficking as a security threat) incorporates aspects of the human rights perspective, which were put forth by civil society, to re-frame the issue in order to convince the general public that sex trafficking requires emergency measures. Employing this framework and theory adds to the securitization literature and identifies how sex trafficking was successfully securitized in Sweden and the US.

3. Case Study: The Securitization of Sex Trafficking in Sweden

This chapter is divided into two stages to analyze the securitization process of sex trafficking in Sweden, and demonstrate the shift in securitizing actors and referent objects. The first stage (approximately 1990-2002) examines discourse used by civil society actors to raise awareness of sex trafficking, and convince the Swedish government that sex trafficking is a form of violence against women that should be recognized as a political issue. The second section analyzes the discourse used by the Swedish government towards its citizens to explore the political adoption of the issue around 2002, and the re-framing of it as a national security threat. This is examined using the Copenhagen School's securitization framework, with the second stage divided by the Speech Act, convincing the audience, and the emergency measures taken. This chapter argues that sex trafficking was successfully securitized by 2009.

3.1. Stage One: Civil Society

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, key feminists in Sweden brought awareness to the idea that violence against women was a political issue. Particularly through their lobbying efforts, the issues of prostitution and sex trafficking began gaining political attention throughout the 1990s (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2012; p. 2). Although the issue of prostitution was largely brought forth by civil society efforts, the criminalization of prostitution and subsequently sex trafficking largely came about through collaboration between civil society and government actors. The frames used by these actors portrayed the issue as a form of violence against women and a critical inhibitor of gender equality.

The year 1994 was pivotal for bringing issues related to violence against women into politics. The 1994 federal election raised the membership of women in Parliament from 27 percent to 45 percent (Rain & Thunder Collective, 2008; p. 2; Friedenvall, 2003;

p. 4). Gunilla Ekberg[26], a former special advisor to the Swedish government on issues regarding prostitution and trafficking of women and children, stated in an interview that issues such as prostitution were becoming an increasing political priority. Ekberg noted this was a result of both the women's movement and lobbying by the Battered Women's Association to the Labour Party Women's Association (Rain & Thunder Collective, 2008; p. 1). In addition, cases of violence against women, such as the murder of the prostituted woman Catrine da Costa, gained significant media attention[27] (Rain & Thunder Collective, 2008; p. 1). Unsurprisingly, Sweden's strong focus on gender equality has been a driving force in their approach to, and process of, securitizing sex trafficking. This issue disproportionately affects women, and is considered a violation of women's rights by the majority of Swedish society[28].

The women's movement claimed there was an indistinguishable connection between prostitution and sex trafficking. Ekberg (2004) stated that "[i]n Sweden, prostitution and trafficking in human beings for sexual purposes are seen as issues that cannot, and should not, be separated; both are harmful practices and intrinsically linked" (p. 3). Statements expressing the issues of prostitution and sex trafficking often highlighted the issues as "another patriarchal tool of oppression that has deleterious effects on the women and girls, who are induced and kept in prostitution, as well as an extreme form of male violence used to control female beings as a class" (Ekberg, 2004; p. 4).

The method of criminalizing the demand for the commodification of sexual services was established by civil society. These feminists thought that criminalizing the demand would empower women and girls, believing that no one would willingly choose to work in the sex trade industry. In Sweden, as opposed to other European states and the US, the liberal perspective of prostitution as sex work and as a free choice for

[26] Ekberg currently holds the position of "the Co-Executive Director of the non-governmental international organization Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, which works to combat sexual exploitation of women and children in all its forms" (Rain & Thunder Collective, 2008; p. 1).

[27] For information on the Catrine da Costa case see Bindel, 2010.

[28] Ekberg (2004) stated: "The Law is supported by the majority of the population and is an expression of the current political will in Sweden. Buying women and girls for sexual exploitation and prostitution purposes is seen to be firmly against the basic tenets of Swedish gender equality politics" (p. 18).

women, was considerably weak. Instead, the case of prostitution was largely viewed as victim-oriented (Gould, 2001; p. 452). Criminalization was considered as an opportunity to counter the root cause of the issue (the demand), which was a driving force in the industry (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2012; p. 5). The intention of the law was to have a normative effect, changing the attitude of Swedish society to regard the commodification of women and girls as unacceptable in a gender-equal society (Ekberg, 2004; p. 2).

Some of the key actors working on the issues of prostitution and sex trafficking included radical feminist, activist and lawyer Gunilla Ekberg, the Deputy Prime Minister Margareta Winberg, the State Secretary Lise Bergh, and the Director for the Division on Gender Equality in the government Marianne Laxén (Rain & Thunder Collective, 2008; p. 1). In addition to individual actors, the umbrella organization Riksorganisationen för kvinnojourer och tjejjourer i Sverige (ROKS)[29] was very influential in organizing actors, lobbying governments, and presenting media campaigns. Although various other organizations were helpful in supporting the criminalization of prostitution and sex trafficking,[30] ROKS initiated various projects prior to the securitization of sex trafficking in Sweden. ROKS was a key leader in framing sex trafficking and prostitution in terms of gender inequality by identifying the vulnerabilities of women and children since the 1970s (Waltman, 2011; p. 450).

Beginning in 1998, the first initiative to combat trafficking focused on ending the sexual exploitation of children. This introduced a framework for a National Action Plan with a National Rapporteur focusing on children; the task was assigned to the National Police Board (Sweden, 2011; n.p.). In 1999, the bill prohibiting the purchase of sexual services was passed, and in 2000 the term trafficking became more publicized. Left Party MP Ulla Hoffman, Social Democratic Foreign Aid Minister Maj-Inger Kligvall, and Social Democratic Gender Equality Minister Margareta Winberg encouraged the urgent

[29] ROKS is a national Swedish organization, which translates to 'The National Organization for Women's Shelters in Sweden'. It is the largest member organization for women's shelters and young women's shelters in the country and works on women's rights, liberation, and equality on all levels (About ROKS, n.d.; n.p.).

[30] The organizations that Gould (2001) suggested supported criminalizing the demand for prostitution and sex trafficking include: "the Public Health Institute, the equality ombudsman, national local authority associations, an anti-pornography group, ROKS (the National Association for Battered Women's Shelters) and its competitor association, the Swedish Association of Women's Shelters and Sweden's first women's organisation, the Fredrika Bremer Association" (p. 442).

need for anti-trafficking measures. Working within the government system, these actors used gendered discourse. Publications generally highlighted the deception used to obtain trafficked victims, the root causes of trafficking as "patriarchy and poverty", and the main culprit of the issue being male demand (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2012; p. 9).

With criminalization in place, prostitution and sex trafficking were politicized[31]. The specific citation criminalizing sex trafficking was implemented in Sweden in 2002 in the criminal code, and was further amended in 2004 to include "all forms of trafficking in persons including trafficking within national borders" (European Commission, 2011; n.p.).[32] The discourse on the criminalization of these issues maintained the gendered human rights frame of violence against women.

3.2. Stage Two: The Swedish Government

The securitization of sex trafficking began in Sweden under the former Prime Minister Göran Persson (1996 to 2006), and was finalized by Prime Minister Fredrik Renfeldt's administration by 2009. The framing of sex trafficking began to shift from an issue of morality to one of security in an effort to protect Sweden's sovereignty and state borders from illegal migration, which was a concern within the EU (Hubbard et al., 2008; p. 140). The transition of the framing of sex trafficking was subtle, and initially involved language mirroring that of prostitution laws, highlighting the intimate connection of the two issues. For example, Bucken-Knapp et al. (2012) quoted the committee that established criminal penalties for sex trafficking stating to the Swedish Parliament: "…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" (p. 10).

This stage is divided into three sections to examine the securitization process according to the Copenhagen School's securitization framework. The first section analyzes the Speech Act where the Swedish government used discourse in the media to

[31] The terms Politicized and politicization in this project refer the issue becoming political (Oxford dictionary, n.d.; n.p.).

[32] For an unofficial translation of the trafficking law, see the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe [OSCE], 2012.

transition the framing of sex trafficking from a human rights issue to a security threat. Section two analyzes the perceptions from Swedish society and suggests they were convinced that sex trafficking was a security threat. Lastly, emergency measures taken by the Swedish government are discussed, with a particular focus on Sweden's role while holding the presidency of the EU in 2009, when the Swedish government extended emergency measures beyond their own state borders.

3.2.1. The Speech Act

The Persson administration initiated the transition from the human rights frame to the securitization frame of sex trafficking in the early twenty-first century through discourse emphasizing sex trafficking as a form of organized crime[33]. Although discourse (especially feminist discourse) continues to reflect anti-prostitution language, significant efforts have been made by government officials to highlight the national security threat caused by sex trafficking. A focus on the rates of trafficking, and the need for Sweden to take action became prevalent around 2001. Concerns of state sovereignty, immigration policy, and state prosperity were raised to highlight the security threat.

The discourse on sex trafficking is often related to organized crime, emphasizing the risk to state security politically, economically, and socially. The newspaper 'The Local' quoted a police spokesman who claimed that "[h]uman trafficking is profitable and less risky than other forms of organized crime. And indicators suggest that human trafficking is a crime that is on the increase in Stockholm county" (O'Mahony, 2007; n.p.). The increase in the seriousness of the issue can be attributed to there being both a stronger focus on the crime itself, therefore leading to higher rates of conviction, as well as a strategy of stirring fear in the public that sex trafficking is a prominent concern.

The Swedish government utilized a second strategy that focused on a 'nationalistic' angle with the need to protect state sovereignty. For example, Berman (2003) asserted that, "the violation of the body of the trafficked sex worker has become

[33] For example, Bucken-Knapp et al (2012) quoted a statement published in the Swedish Social Democratic Daily tabloid *Aftonbladet* stating: "The government and the parliament believe that prostitution is a form of men's violence against women...Human traffickers are well-organized and unscrupulous businessmen who earn enormous sums of money by exploiting women and children" (p. 13).

emblematic of the violation of the state's boundaries, reinforcing fears about the erosion of national and European security" (Hubbard et al., 2008; p. 140). Furthermore, Holmberg (2006) showed that the elite press coverage presented the Swedish perspective as the right view that is superior and should be adopted by other EU states (p. 17). Creating a sense of unity in the approach to combating sex trafficking and framing it as supporting a nationalistic perspective presents the issue as protecting state security, and also creates an 'us' versus 'them' divide through encouraging support for the Swedish model.

Media discourse portrays the issue in terms of illegal immigration and presents sex trafficking as a viable way to smuggle women and girls into the state and, therefore, increase the levels of violence against women within state borders. When describing victims of prostitution and sex trafficking, the media largely refers to women and girls coming from Eastern Europe (Homberg, 2008; Kulick, 2003; Hubbard et al, 2008).

Prior to the legislation, these fears were demonstrated in the media by two female social workers. Gould (2001) quoted women from the major newspaper *Expression* (1998) claiming,

> Without exaggeration, one can say that there is an invasion of foreign girls...They are exploited by pimps, mistreated by their clients and spread life-threatening sexual diseases...Girls from the East have no tradition of using protection. Condoms are simply too expensive in their own countries. They are used to unprotected sex and bring this tradition further into Sweden (Gould, 2001; p. 444).

This presented the threat of illegal migration harming society as well as highlighting the need for increased border security to protect the state. In addition, a popular film was produced in Sweden called *Lilya 4-Ever* (2002) further reaffirming this concern. *Lilya 4-ever* was about a young Russian girl with limited opportunities for success, who was drawn into prostitution and later trafficked to Sweden. The film revealed not only the tragedies the young girl had to endure, but also the ease of illegally immigrating to Sweden for purposes of prostitution and sex trafficking. The *Lilya 4-ever* film was used as part of an educational campaign in Sweden for students 15-18 years of age, and eventually reached an audience of over 65, 000 students of various ages. Accompanied by various other texts and interactive discussions, the film was used to

shape attitudes and raise awareness on the risks of the commodification of sex (Rain & Thunder, 2008; p. 3). This widely viewed film raised awareness of the issue of sex trafficking and its accessibility in Sweden, largely due to illegal immigration.

3.2.2. Convincing the Audience

As previously mentioned, the Speech Act was the first part of securitizing sex trafficking in Sweden, but as Buzan et al. (1998) highlighted, an issue cannot be fully securitized without convincing the audience (p. 25). Although measuring Swedish society's acceptance of the security frames is extremely challenging, this section suggests that there was a general consensus among citizens that Sweden had an appropriate approach. Swedish society's acceptance of the securitization of sex trafficking was evident in the increased media attention, the role of key actors, and the heightened political focus on dealing with the issue.

Starting in 2001, the media coverage of trafficking began to increase (Holmberg, 2006; p. 5). Following the implementation of sex trafficking in the Swedish criminal code in 2002, the majority of the media coverage consisted of political and policy dialogue on sex trafficking, and reporting of trafficking crime rates in addition to individual victim stories. Holmberg (2006) stated that "[t]he upsurge in 2001 and beyond can be largely understood in terms of the efforts by national leaders and officials to examine, assess, propose, debate and finally decide upon human trafficking legislation in Sweden" (p. 8). The increased media publications, which were generally written by elites, were influential in convincing the Swedish society that sex trafficking was 'above mere politics'. A study conducted by Theocharidou and Guigou (2006) gathered interviews regarding public and professional perceptions[34] of sex trafficking and the approaches to dealing with the issue nationally. Respondents consistently reported that sex trafficking was a large problem, though often hidden (p. 28). In addition, the majority of respondents "depict[ed] a strong belief on the Swedish approach concerning sex trafficking, as the right one for dealing with the problem" (p. 29).

[34] Professional perceptions for this interview included individuals and organizations working on anti-trafficking initiatives, particularly including those working directly with trafficked victims such as: "the Police, the Prostitution group, The Social Emergency Office, the Gryning Company, the Prosecution Office, the Migration Board and the KAST Project" (Theocharidou & Guigou, 2006; p. 27).

It is likely that the acceptance was accomplished with little hesitation due to the inclusion of key actors from the prostitution lobbying efforts throughout the 1990s, and a number of leading females within politics. Since there was general social agreement regarding the criminalization of prostitution, sex trafficking was considered interchangeable with prostitution, and the involvement of organized criminals was highlighted, the need for measures to protect state security was encouraged. In addition, the discourse on the securitization of sex trafficking, also motivated nationalism. This 'us' versus 'them' mentality can be extremely influential for the general public to create a common perspective and agreement on how to handle sex trafficking (Desyllas, 2007; p. 64). One interviewee from a study conducted by Theocharidiou & Guigou (2006) stated:

> I think we have a very good way to look at [sex trafficking] and also it is an issue which is being placed high on the agenda of the politicians and of different authorities. This priority in a way brings to us money or funds by the state so that we can work with the problem and I feel quite comfortable with the way the policy works (p. 32).

The general consensus and support for securitizing sex trafficking was strong among the Swedish population, therefore providing a suitable context for emergency measures to be implemented.

3.2.3. Emergency Measures

The emergency measures taken by the Swedish government between 2002-2009 reflected the perceived need to protect state borders in addition to the nation's sovereignty. As Lobasz (2009) indicated, "[t]raditional security solutions to human trafficking have focused primarily upon enhanced border security and swift deportation of trafficked persons, who are considered 'illegal immigrants'" (p. 320). In addition, Sweden situated itself as a dominant actor, particularly within the EU, even though the initial rates of sex trafficking in Sweden were comparatively low (Swedish Ministry of Justice 2010:49:37 [translated in Bucken'Knapp et al. 2012; p. 3]).

Sweden took various emergency measures, which targeted a broad and inclusive approach to combating sex trafficking. Some of the emergency measures included: the creation of the National Action Plan in 2008, spending over 214 million SEK on the implementation measures (Sweden 2011; n.p.), implementing harsher criminal penalties

(Lobasz, 2009; p. 326), strengthening border security, monitoring illegal immigration, deporting trafficked women if they failed to provide testament of their victimization (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2012; p. 2), championing the issue as a priority throughout the EU, and strengthening cooperation to combat sex trafficking (Sweden, 2011; n.p.). The role of Sweden's influence in the EU is explored in this section in order to analyze the security measures Sweden took within its own state, and extended to other states.

Sweden held the presidency of the EU from July-December 2009 during which time the government brought their priority issues forward, including sex trafficking. As the 'Group of Experts' in the EU claimed in their 2010 report:

> … action against THB [Trafficking in Human Beings] was developed and adopted in 2009 under the Swedish Presidency with the aim of promoting a proactive, coordinated and coherent EU approach in this field. This approach strengthens the Union's role and capacity to act in cooperation and partnership with non-member countries, regions and organisations to fight trafficking in human beings (p. 35).

Targeting sex trafficking through enhancing international cooperation, including within high- and low-income states, was a strategic move for Sweden. They aimed at targeting some of the root causes[35] of trafficking, while securing their own state borders and their role in the international security discourse.

The Swedish president of the EU initiated the EU Ministerial Conference 'Towards Global EU Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings' (henceforth the EU Conference) in October 2009. The purpose of this meeting was to address the need to strengthen the EU's partnership and cooperation with the international community, including less wealthy states, to improve the capacity to combat human trafficking focusing on prevention, protection, and prosecution through jointly pursued policy objectives (European Commission, 2009; p. 1). The EU Conference included over 600 participants from around the globe.[36] The conclusion of the meeting raised the concern

[35] Farrell and Fahey (2009) identified the root causes of trafficking as "poverty, gendered inequality, global economic policies, ethnic conflicts, and economies in transition" (p. 618).

[36] The EU Conference participants included: "EU Member States, candidate countries, countries with an EU-perspective, as well as many third countries, regional, and international organisations, inter-governmental organisations (IGOs), non-governmental organization (NGOs), as well as EU institutions and agencies" (European Commission, 2009; p. 1).

of human trafficking as a leading financial resource for organized crime, an immigration concern, and an important security issue requiring international cooperation. During Sweden's EU presidency, the Swedish government brought about the understanding of sex trafficking as a security concern and an international priority for all states.

The emergency measures taken in Sweden to securitize sex trafficking are evident in their strategies, policies, and discourse. States, NGOs, and individual activists have recognized Sweden's role as an international leader securitizing sex trafficking. The securitization of sex trafficking was successful in Sweden and continues to be discussed as a potential future model for other states to follow.

Overall, two securitizing actors successfully securitized sex trafficking in Sweden in a two-stage process. In the first stage, civil society actors framed the issue of sex trafficking to the Swedish government as a form of violence against women requiring political action. The issue was adopted as a political issue by the Persson administration and re-framed as a security issue through discourse in the media. The Speech Act used by the Swedish government declared sex trafficking as a threat to national security posing risks for border security, in addition to political, economic, and social threats that could undermine Swedish society. These measures were successful in convincing the audience, thereby creating a strong, united perspective indicating that sex trafficking was a priority issue to be dealt with using emergency measures. Various emergency measures were implemented, and Sweden played a significant role influencing other states by making sex trafficking a priority issue during their EU presidency in 2009.

4. Case Study: The Securitization of Sex Trafficking in the US

The US is another global leader in the securitization of sex trafficking. This section is separated into two stages to analyze the process of securitization. The first stage examines the role of civil society actors framing the issue of sex trafficking as a violation of women's rights, aiming to get the issue on political agendas in the 1990s during the former President Bill Clintons administration (1993-2001). The second stage explores the adoption and subsequent re-framing of sex trafficking as a national security threat by the Bush administration from 2001 to 2009. The second stage is further broken down into three parts using the Copenhagen School's securitization framework analyzing the Speech Act, convincing of the audience, and the emergency measures taken.

4.1. Stage One: Civil Society

In the 1990s, civil society groups in the US framed sex trafficking as a human rights issue with a particular focus on women's rights. Religious conservatives and feminist organizations joined forces to concentrate on violence against women (Soderlund, 2005; p. 68). The media was a useful means for civil society to raise awareness of sex trafficking to both the US government and the general public. The issue was largely framed as a moral obligation to convince American society and the Clinton administration that sex trafficking deserved political attention.

One of the main points of contention among civil society groups was the debate between pro- versus anti-prostitution. First wave feminism[37] during the latter half of the

[37] First wave feminism was largely concerned with "establishing in policy that women are human beings in their own right and not the property of men". They aimed to "dismantle discriminatory laws and exclusionary social norms". One of their accomplishments was achieving the right for women to vote (Gray & Boddy, 2010; p. 369).

nineteenth century had the goal of abolishing all prostitution, initiating the view that prostitutes needed to be *saved*, and that no women would *choose* to work in the sex industry. Referring to the original definition of trafficking in the 1949 UN Convention, sex trafficking was seen as intrinsically connected to prostitution. Trafficking in this perspective "[was] seen to be caused by prostitution, making the best way to fight trafficking the abolition of prostitution" (Outshoorn, 2005; p. 146).

Second wave feminism[38] developed in the second half of the twentieth century and created a divide among civil society feminists. While one group continued to protest for the abolition of all sex trade, the second wave group framed prostitution as sex work (Outshoorn, 2005; p. 145). The pro-prostitution group was generally linked to autonomous sex worker rights movements, and this perspective gained momentum in the US in the 1990s through their focus on harm reduction, particularly in their work to prevent HIV/AIDS (Soderlund, 2005; p. 71). Pro-prostitution groups largely viewed prostitution as a profession that should be respected, and instead pointed to the conditions and context of forced prostitution as the problem (Outshoorn, 2005; p. 145). The debate within second wave feminism was influential in the frames used by the US government. As the Clinton administration endorsed the frame that advocated for differentiating between prostitution and sex trafficking, the abolitionist frame resurfaced during the Bush administration, which is examined in the following section.

In terms of advocacy organizations, two organizations in particular, the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW)[39] and Equality Now[40], were prominent moral crusaders that raised awareness of sex trafficking, and focused on abuses suffered by women from low-income states (Soderlund, 2005; p 69). Promoting the victim subject was a common strategy, which often included compelling personal testimonies of

[38] Second wave feminism emerged near the end of World War Two and challenged "prevailing notions of women's role in the family, workplace, and society. [Feminists] highlighted the sexual division of labor and were instrumental in promoting women's equality in the labor market" (Gray & Boddy, 2010; p. 369).

[39] CATW, founded in 1988, was the first International NGO to focus on human trafficking, especially sex trafficking of women and girls (CATW, n.d.; n.p.).

[40] Equality Now, founded in 1992, is an organization that advocates for the human rights of women and girls around the world by raising international visibility of individual cases of abuse, mobilizing public support through global membership, and wielding strategic political pressure to ensure governments enact or enforce laws and policies that uphold the rights of women and girls (Equality Now, n.d.;n.p.).

trafficked survivors[41] (Soderlund, 2005; p 69-70). These stories were, and continue to be, used by the media and in campaigns to create a moral sense of the gravity of the situation. This began to resonate with US citizens with the fall of the Soviet Union, when white female victims from Eastern Europe, that resembled white women from the US, were found in brothels throughout Europe and the US (Farrell & Fahy, 2009; p. 620).

The framing of sex trafficking as a violation of women's rights became prominent in the media and gained recognition from political elites. In the late 1990s, the propaganda of sex trafficking gained traction in US politics through recognition by key political actors. Then-first lady Hillary Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright began advocating for women's rights and assisted civil society members in gaining institutional legitimacy for the issue (Farrell & Fahy, 2009; p. 620). The Clinton administration inaugurated the President's Interagency Council of Women (PICW), which was co-chaired by Hillary Clinton and Madeleine Albright (Farrell & Fahy, 2009; p. 621). PICW was established in August 1995, the night before the United Nations 'Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing', (PICW, 2001; n.p.) and was responsible for coordinating the implementation of the 'Platform for Action' in the US following the Beijing Conference, which focused on women's empowerment and gender equality. The issue of sex trafficking was raised with the objective to "eliminate trafficking in women and assist victims of violence due to prostitution and trafficking" and set forth actions to be taken within the US and on a global level[42] (United Nations, 1995; n.p.). The adoption of sex trafficking into the US political sphere initiated the response to criminalize the issue.

[41] For example, an article published in the *New York Times* (1993) presented a young woman Judith's story: "Judith's dream to travel West, and her descent into prostitution, fell together one night in September 1991, when a car arrived to take her and two other young Hungarian women to work as waitresses in Belgium. The heady drive across the heart of Europe took 20 hours, as planned. But the Crazy Cabaret in Ghent was no restaurant. "When the first man sat next to me and put his hands in my dress, I didn't know what hit me," said Judith, who is 24 and wants to hide her last name. "I screamed. When everyone stared and no one helped, I began to understand." For three months she was kept under guard in the brothel, she said, her papers seized, her earnings whittled away by "debts" described as agency fees, taxes and rent. She was "liberated," she said, when the police raided the brothel and put her in jail"" (Simons, 1993; n.p.).

[42] For further information on the 'Platform for Action' see United Nations (1995).

In 2000, the Clinton administration created the TVPA, subsequently also creating the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons within the State Department. This Act differentiated between forced versus voluntary prostitution (Weitzer, 2007; p. 461) as was predominant in the international trafficking framework (Soderlund, 2005; p. 68; Bucken-Knapp et al., 2012; p. 7). During this time, discourse surrounding sex trafficking labeled users of trafficked women as "sexual predators that brutalize women" and regarded traffickers as "predators, rapists, and kidnappers involved in organized crime and sexual slavery" (Weitzer, 2007; p 452). Civil society groups and the Clinton administration combined the frames of sex trafficking as a human rights issue, with criminalization frames. This maintained the moral obligation to deal with the issue on a societal and political level.

4.2. Stage Two: The US Government

During President George W. Bush's time in office from 2001 to 2009, the framing of sex trafficking shifted from a human rights issue underscored by moral obligations to a national security threat, largely correlating with key events. The efforts by abolitionist groups to link trafficking with prostitution, which had failed during the Clinton administration, resurfaced with momentum during the Bush administration (Soderlund, 2005; p. 74). The pressure from religious groups in particular proved to be influential and the anti-trafficking humanitarian initiative was taken up after 9/11. Bush used this period to re-frame sex trafficking as a national security threat that was connected to illegal migration and terrorism (Farrell & Fahy, 2009; p. 622; Soderlund, 2005; p. 75).

4.2.1. Speech Act

Waever (1995) claimed that through the Speech Act, a statement itself could initiate securitization (p. 55). This was completed by the Bush administration by declaring a 'War on Trafficking' (Payne, 2009; p. 161). The rhetoric used during the Bush administration regarding sex trafficking was largely related, not only to the previous frames of sex trafficking as a human rights concern and criminal issue (Farrell & Fahy, 2009; p. 617), but also to language associated with war, and the "unsanctioned movement of people" (Soderlund, 2005; p. 74). This discourse was shaped by the Bush

administration, and sex traffickers became framed as enemies of war within organized crime; sex trafficking became connected to terrorism and illegal immigration.

The efforts to combat trafficking were described by Attorney General John Ashcroft (2004):

> We will protect the victims, prosecute the perpetrators, and build partnerships to address, *attack* and prevent human trafficking. These steps send a clear message that America will repel aggressively *assaults on our core values of freedom and respect for human dignity…* it is critical that we work together to track down those who hide their *barbaric business* in the shadows, and to help their victims (n.p. [emphasis added]).

The discourse used by General Ashcroft reflects language used during times of war, when conventional notions of national security are at stake. Furthermore, sex trafficking was claimed to be a function of organized crime (Weitzer, 2007), which needed to be combated to preserve state security. The 'War on Trafficking' therefore identified the enemy as the organized criminals in terms of security for the US citizens as well as state borders.

A *New York Times* article in 2004 revealed a lack of awareness that sex trafficking occurred in local US neighbourhoods. In addition, the article described the instability of border control and the organization of criminal networks as some of the main barriers to overcome. For example, this article stated:

> Because of the porousness of the U.S.-Mexico border and the criminal networks that traverse it, the towns and cities along that border have become the main staging area in an illicit and barbaric industry, whose "products" are women and girls. On both sides of the border, they are rented out for sex for as little as 15 minutes at a time, dozens of times a day. Sometimes they are sold outright to other traffickers and sex rings, victims and experts say (Landesman, 2004; n.p.).

This language provoked fear and the need to increase border security for protection from organized criminal networks.

The discourse of sex trafficking during the Bush administration began to reflect the already present, fear inducing 'War on Drugs' and 'War on Terrorism'. The language

used by the Bush administration towards the US general public and in conferences such as the 'First National Training Conference to Combat Human Trafficking', which took place in July 2004, invoked the concept of national security threats (Soderlund, 2005; p. 77-8). Earlier, in November 2001, Leslie Wolfe[43], a keynote speaker at the conference 'Trafficking of Women and Children: Challenges and Solutions' expressed the connection between US fear of terrorism and sex trafficking. In her speech she stated:

> I come to you today from the other Washington, a city on high alert and fearful of what tomorrow will bring. I, too, am fearful -- but my fear is for our movement for women's human rights in the United States and around the world in the context of this new reality and the new war on terrorism that now is the central focus of United States policy, both foreign and domestic. But today, we are talking about a different war on terrorism -- the one we have been fighting many years, against the oppression of women and girls as exemplified by the horrors of sexual trafficking. In this most appalling violation of their most basic human rights, thousands upon thousands of our young sisters live in unspeakable conditions of sexual slavery throughout the world -- and in our country (Wolfe, 2002; n.p.).

These public conferences served to shape the discourse of sex trafficking, instigating a culture of fear around the topic. Given the recent situation of 9/11, relating the issue of sex trafficking to previous fears was a tactic that strongly shaped the discourse.

The discourse of sex trafficking in the US portrayed the fear of illegal immigrants entering the state for potentially dangerous reasons (terrorism), but also the increasing fear of US citizen's safety abroad. For example, the *Washington Post* (2005) presented an article titled 'Police Raise Awareness of Human Trafficking' where they stated:

> The State Department estimates that between 600,000 to 800,000 people are trafficked across national borders each year, many into the United States. Experts in the subject say thousands of trafficking victims -- people who are coerced into prostitution or other unreasonable forms of labor they can't easily escape from -- go undetected in the United States, especially in areas with large immigrant communities (Londono, 2005; n.p.).

[43] Leslie Wolfe is the president of The Center for Women Policy Studies in Washington, DC and is a leader in the fight against trafficking. She educates lawmakers and the public about the issues of human trafficking and was the keynote speaker for the Seattle conference (Wolfe, 2002; Editors Note.).

The difficulty associated with managing this clandestine issue, both within the US and abroad, raises concerns that anyone could be at risk of becoming a victim of sex trafficking. US citizens were portrayed as potential victims of sex trafficking in the popular Hollywood film *Taken* (2008). This film demonstrated the vulnerability of young women and ability of traffickers to force young girls of all backgrounds into the horrific crime. It also presented the need for the highest level of security to save the life of the victim. This film was widely viewed by the general public, therefore reaching a broad audience and raising awareness of the incidence of sex trafficking as well as the security threat to individuals and the state through the organization of these criminals, and their networks across state borders.

The rhetoric used during the Bush administration to address sex trafficking framed the issue as a security threat to state borders and citizens. The discourse used by the Bush administration through media publications portrayed the issue as connected to organized crime, terrorism, and illegal immigration. The discourse was used to heighten fear among general US citizens to convince them that sex trafficking was a national security threat, and to place America 'at war' with the issue.

4.2.2. Convincing the Audience

The declaration of the 'War on Trafficking' by the Bush administration was the first step in the securitization process, but the citizens still needed to be convinced that it was a threat. This project suggests that, although the definition of human trafficking and the way in which the US government addressed the issue received significant criticisms (Desyllas, 2007; Soderlund, 2005; Haynes, 2007), the general public was convinced that sex trafficking was connected to terrorism and illegal immigration, which posed a threat to national security. The US government used rhetoric from the frames used in the first stage (which were historically and institutionally embedded and already held public support), and also used political leverage to dictate financial distribution and dominate media coverage, which encouraged anti-trafficking initiatives to gain public support.

The framing of sex trafficking by civil society groups often presented trafficked victim's testimonies, which fostered a moral obligation to deal with the issue. The Bush administration employed this strategy and combined such testimonies with frames of sex

trafficking as a national security threat. This helped to legitimize the issue and heighten the sense of urgency to respond (Farrell & Fahy, 2009; p. 617). In addition, the devastating results of 9/11 were fresh in citizens' memories, and the US was in the middle of two wars (Afghanistan and Iraq). As Soderlund (2005) claims, combating sex trafficking was used as a "common denominator political issue, uniting people across the political and religious spectrum against a seemingly indisputable act of oppression and exploitation" (p. 67).

The US government fostered support for anti-trafficking initiatives largely from abolitionist groups and encouraged the abolitionist perspective. For example, as Payne (2007) indicated, for anti-trafficking initiatives to obtain government funding, it was required that they support abolition of prostitution and sex trafficking (p. 19). When groups attempted to resist the US initiatives, a moral imperative was invoked. For example, as cited in Soderlund's (2005) article, groups that insisted on concerns about health issues such as HIV/AIDS for prostitutes, were described by John Miller (TVPA enforcer) as "run[ning] the risk of being judged the same way as some of their 19th century predecessors: health reformers who sought to improve health conditions for slaves on ships while ignoring the slave trade" (p. 80). The abolitionist perspective and framing of sex trafficking as a national security threat largely dominated the media. Farrell & Fahy (2009) highlighted that there was a significant increase in news articles when the issue was portrayed as a national security threat in comparison to when it was framed as a human rights issue (p. 622). The presentation of anti-trafficking initiatives remained largely one-sided, permitting the framing of sex trafficking to overwhelmingly be portrayed as a security threat.

The reality that the US citizens were convinced that sex trafficking was a national security threat requiring emergency measures is mostly evident in the passive acceptance by key activists, and growing support for the abolitionist perspective. For example, Soderlund (2005) claimed that there were few traces of trafficking debates among the trafficking discourse, and Farrell and Fahy (2009) stated:

> Efforts by government officials to publicly reframe human trafficking as a national security threat were embraced by many anti-trafficking groups. Though reframing trafficking as a national security threat changed the conception of the trafficking problem, it significantly bolstered public

> support for anti-trafficking efforts and resources were more easily mobilized to address trafficking problems (p. 623).

The general acceptance of the Bush administration's securitization of sex trafficking permitted emergency measures to follow.

4.2.3. Emergency Measures

The Bush administration implemented a number of emergency measures to combat sex trafficking throughout the twenty-first century. Some of the various measures taken include, but are not limited to[44]: spending a significant amount of money (in the tens of millions of dollars)[45] (DeStefano, 2007; p. 128), creating temporary permit visas (T-Visa) for victims of sex trafficking[46] (Desyllas, 2007; p. 67), and implementing a zero tolerance policy for military personnel, criminalizing their use of prostitutes and requiring military commanders to be trained to help pursue law enforcement investigations related to sex trafficking (DeStefano, 2007; p. 142-3). Of the various emergency measures, the creation of the TIP report is examined here, as it is the most extensive measure taken; its main substantial focus is on combatting sex trafficking within and beyond the US national borders.

The TIP report is a momentous emergency measure taken by the US that continues to influence the international community, and asserts the US as a dominant securitizing actor of sex trafficking on a global scale. The Department of Defense described the TIP report as:

> The US Government's principle diplomatic tool to engage foreign governments on human trafficking. It is also the world's most comprehensive resource of governmental anti-human trafficking efforts and reflects the U.S. Government's commitment to global leadership on this key human rights and law enforcement issue (US Department of State, 2011; n.p.).

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[44] For more information on emergency measures taken by the Bush administration refer to Farrell & Fahy (2009); Koyama (2011); Desyllas (2007); and DeStefano (2007).

[45] For example, spending over $200 million through the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2003 (Desyllas, 2007; p. 70).

[46] The purpose of the T-Visa is to allow "'victims of severe forms of trafficking' to remain in the US provided they cooperate with law enforcement and assist federal authorities in the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking cases" (Desyllas, 2007; p. 67).

The annual report is conducted to rate the progress of each state's efforts to combat trafficking. Each state is rated on a scale of three Tiers, classifying their status according to compliance with the US laws of minimum standards in anti-trafficking efforts[47]. In 2003, the TVPA began to impose sanctions on states ranked as Tier 3. These sanctions involved "termination of non-humanitarian, non-trade-related assistance" (TIP Report, 2001; n.p.). This TIP report positions the US as a global securitizing leader, supervising every state's efforts to eliminate trafficking in persons.

The TIP report has been claimed as an effort to champion the humanitarian cause in fighting sex trafficking globally. This trafficking in persons strategy has the purpose of "…solv[ing] [sex trafficking] by establishing a well-defined mission, uniting all 'soldiers' under a common purpose, and providing a means by which to measure progress toward a specified timeline of goals" (Payne, 2009; p. 161). Measuring the efforts of states to combat sex trafficking is an aim to motivate states to strive for a Tier 1 and avoid Tier 3. Holman (2008) further expressed this point stating, "[t]he threat of losing aid, combined with the stigma associated with being listed as a Tier 3 nation, has created a climate in which countries are actively working to improve their response to international sex trafficking" (p. 113).

The emergency measures taken by the US are some of the most extensive on a global scale. The focus of this section on the TIP reports highlights how the US has taken a step beyond other nation states by placing restrictions on financial aid given to other states depending on their efforts to combat sex trafficking within their respective states. The US TIP reports present the strong focus and dedication to combating sex trafficking.

In conclusion, civil society groups initially framed sex trafficking as a human rights issue. The US government adopted sex trafficking as a political priority, and the Bush administration later declared a 'War on Trafficking'. Despite the controversy within the US on the definition of sex trafficking and lack of agreement on the appropriate measures to combat the issue, there was general public support that sex trafficking was a US priority and required emergency measures to secure national security. The US

[47] For descriptions of each of the Tiers requirements see US Department of State (2001).

securitized sex trafficking by 2009, and continues to be a dominant actor spearheading efforts on a global scale to eradicate the issue.

5. Conclusion

Both Sweden and the US are dominant securitizing actors of sex trafficking on an international level. The two individual case studies presented above, through the application of framing theory and the Copenhagen School's securitization framework, highlight the processes each state went through to securitize the issue during the time period of the early 1990s through to 2009.

This Chapter is divided into two sections to further compare the two case studies. The first section analyzes the similarities and differences between the two cases, demonstrating that although the each state used different frames, they both led to similar emergency measures which focused on state sovereignty and securing state borders. The second section analyzes the implications of securitization and highlights potential avenues for future research.

5.1. Similarities and Differences

The framework and theory used in this project examine the securitization processes of sex trafficking in Sweden and the US through a two-stage model. In the first stage, civil society raised the issue of sex trafficking in both states with a human rights frame concerning violence against women and women's equality. A critical difference in the securitization processes at the civil society level was the specific role of the actors in politics. Although actors in both states lobbied the government, the turning point for Sweden was in 1994 when a large number of key feminists were included into the political process. In the US, in contrast, key feminists principally functioned outside

the government[48]. The key actors in Sweden were involved in the securitization decisions, whereas in the US, although they played an important role in raising awareness, they were not as politically involved. In addition, the Swedish government formed a common public perspective to address the issue (which was largely a result of the unity already present on the position of prostitution) whereas in the US, many key civil society actors were more strictly divided on criminalization approaches.

The adoption of sex trafficking as a political priority in stage two took place differently in each state. In Sweden, Persson, the former Prime Minister, adopted the issue and began the transition, which was further embraced by his successor, Renfeldt, and securitized by 2009. In the US, however, although the issue was acknowledged by the Clinton administration and criminalized, it was not until the Bush administration that the issue was transformed into a security threat. Therefore, the transition in Sweden was more gradual, publicly debated, and generally accepted from the beginning by the key actors as well as the general public. The increase in awareness of the issue in Sweden, and acceptance of how to address it, came from a feminist perspective within the government. In the US, on the other hand, the securitization process correlated with religious perspectives of some of the population and key events, such as 9/11, that made the general public increasingly receptive to heightened security measures. Although both governments were successful in terms of convincing the audience, the processes of doing so were evidently different.

The emergency measures taken by both governments were quite similar as both states focused on sex trafficking as a political priority, expended significant financial contributions, and urged action beyond their own state borders. The role of Sweden as a member of the EU, and subsequently gaining EU presidency in 2009, provided an opportunity for the Swedish government to become a securitizing actor on an international level. As both Sweden and the US became dominant in influencing other states, Sweden focused on persuading other states to adopt similar measures and to strengthen cooperation. The US on the other hand, took a reprimanding approach

[48] Ekberg pointed out the difference between Sweden and the US concerning women in politics when she stated: “On the contrary in countries where there are so few women in public office like in the U.S, violence against women is rarely discussed, or if it is discussed, the need to implement necessary policies and measures is not taken seriously” (Rain and Thunder Collective, 2008; p. 2).

wherein states were punished with sanctions if standards were not met on an annual basis.

The frames used in both Sweden and the US illuminates the concerns that organized crime threatened border security, illegal migration, and state sovereignty. While Sweden framed the threat of illegal migration as undercutting the social, political, and economic security of the state, the US framed it in relation to terrorism and war. Both states were successful and reinforced societal fears to encourage national support to securitize sex trafficking. Though both Sweden and the US implemented frames that led to similar emergency measures due to the common focus of state sovereignty and securing their national borders, they used very different frames. The different approaches in turn lead to divergent implications for victims, nation states, and international relations, which is examined in the following section.

5.2. Implications

The implications of securitization can be attributed to both the processes, and also the costs of securitization itself. While the processes of securitization have normative effects (Ohlsson, 2010; n.p.), securitization, in general, affects the way the issue was handled, and what issues were prioritized (Rushton, 2010; p. 1). All of these implications affect the trafficked victims and local society in each state, as well as international relations.

The implications for the processes of securitization are largely normative. The rates of trafficking remain uncertain, although they are often claimed to be reduced, and perspectives on the success of securitization in terms of reducing sex trafficking are contradictory. For example, Hubbard et al. (2008) asserted that the Swedish approach is primarily symbolic for both prostitution and sex trafficking since although it may have become less visible, it also may have been pushed further underground rather than actually eliminated (p. 147). The Swedish model is largely recognized for having a normative approach, changing attitudes of men in Sweden and traffickers' perceptions of Sweden as an ideal destination state for sex trafficking. For example, it has been claimed that Sweden is less attractive to traffickers than other states (Department of

Global Development, 2003; p. 31). On the other hand, Jakobsson and Kotsadam (2010) found in their study examining the prevalence of sex trafficking in relation to prostitution laws that "trafficking of women for commercial sexual exploitation is least prevalent in countries where prostitution is illegal, most prevalent in countries where prostitution is legalized, and in between in those countries where prostitution is legal but procuring illegal" (p. 4). This implies that the US should have one of the lowest rates of sex trafficking, relative to other states. The implications of each process on actually reducing the amount of sex trafficking in their state remains uncertain and highlights a significant area in need of further research.

Securitization in general has implications in both cases, for trafficked victims and women. It is financially expensive and puts a significant focus on state security rather than human security. This has been criticized by many feminists[49] who often highlight that securitization has made sex trafficking more harmful for victims and disregards female agency in the decision to migrate in the first place. This may be true, as reports often state that victims are deported, regardless of their safety upon returning to their home state (Lobasz, 2009; p. 320; Friesendorf, 2007; p. 291; Desyllas, 2007; p. 68; and Bucken-Knapp et al., 2012; p. 2). In both Sweden and the US, victims can qualify for permanent residence visas; however, both states hold the condition that the victims must assist in the prosecution of the sex trafficker (Andrijasevic, 2007; p. 25; Desyllas, 2007; p. 67). Lack of security for the individuals is a major concern and highlights the need for further integration of a human security perspective in the prosecution processes (Lobasz, 2009; p. 323).

In addition to individuals, securitization of sex trafficking has implications for international relations. While Sweden has worked on building cooperation with other states, the US has created sanctions imposing necessary requirements for action. While both policies may have the positive effect of raising awareness and increasing political attention and priority to the issue of sex trafficking, it has also been a means for the US to gain international leverage over other states' actions. As Desyllas (2007) claimed, the US is a state that has "domineering policies and imperialistic frameworks and ideologies that are imposed upon the rest of the world" (p. 58).

[49] For examples see Lobasz (2009), Raymond (2003), and Piper (2006).

The implications of securitization in both Sweden and the US highlight positive and negative points of the processes and results[50]. This analysis adds to the literature on securitization, illuminating the effects of differing processes, and the need for further research, particularly the use of combining national security and human security perspectives to analyze sex trafficking. Sweden, more so than the US, has continued their gender perspective in framing the issue and aiming to help other states develop anti-trafficking campaigns. However, both states have sacrificed the focus on the victim, giving priority to state borders rather than individuals. This has been shown to have significant implications for gender migration, making it more difficult for women to travel legally across borders (Truong, 2003; p. 67).

Overall, both Sweden and the US securitized sex trafficking over the period of the early 1990s through to 2009. In both cases, security processes took place in two-stages, transitioning the framing from a human rights frame to a national security frame. Both states significantly related their processes of securitization to the way the issue of prostitution was handled, though the frames were different in each state. Both states enacted similar emergency measures in terms of increasing border security, immigration controls, and taking the lead in sex trafficking initiatives on a global scale. However the implications of each approach differed, both within each state and on an international scale. Sweden promoted securitization through cooperation with other states to change people's minds on the acceptability of this modern-day slave trade, targeting the root causes of the problem, namely demand, poverty, and globalization. The US on the other hand adopted a disciplinary approach reprimanding states, and forcing them to meet standards of securitization to protect its borders, increase awareness, and remain a significant security actor. Both states linked sex trafficking to organized crime concerns, highlighting the disadvantages that globalization poses for security.

This project concludes that sex trafficking is a form of TOC that has been securitized by Sweden and the US over two stages. These cases present two dominant routes for other actors to learn from in their anti-trafficking efforts. This project adds to the securitization literature through its application of the Copenhagen School's securitization framework and framing theory to examine two successful case studies.

[50] For additional information on implications see IOM (2012).

The implications of each of the processes highlight the need for future research on the issue of sex trafficking in both Sweden and the US, as well as on a global scale. The need for a human security perspective is evident, so as to integrate benefits to individuals and society as well as dealing with state security concerns. In addition, reliable quantitative data on rates of trafficking would be useful to gain a more comprehensive analysis on the amount of sex trafficking that is occurring, and which states utilize the most effective methods to minimize its pervasiveness. Sex trafficking continues to earn profits for organized criminals at the expense of individual lives and state security. The need for future research is evident as this issue continues to grow at an increasing pace and may continue to pose a threat to individuals as well as international peace and security.

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