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Nicholas Mastron
The Swedish-Ukrainian Addiction: Sex Trafficking’s History, Prevalence, and Potential Solutions

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Introduction

The current estimate for those being trafficked internationally including both labor and sexual exploitation is approximately twenty-seven million persons (“The Promise of Freedom” 2012: 1). Countries attempt to craft national policies that specifically target sex trafficking to counter the illicit industry’s mobility and operational speed. Nonetheless, sex trafficking remains a shadow industry with a broad definition. This paper shall briefly summarize the development of international sex trafficking to provide contextual support that is crucial to comprehending the magnitude of more recent societal and political actions. Examining discourse about the issue, three factors emerge as leading to the exponential increase in sex trafficking in the last half-century. These are 1) integration of national and international markets, 2) the expansion of communication devices, and 3) the shortage of knowledgeable law enforcement, and can best be combated through the political use of policy and issue framing. In developing the central argument of framing, the paper’s primary methodology consists of discourse analysis, so as to better contextualize both the histories and subsequent policy results.

Regarding framing as a governmental and societal mechanism, this paper uses the individual national laws in Sweden and Ukraine as its case study. Chiefly, policy framing will be the methodology used in assessing the strengths and weaknesses of each country’s policies, but issue framing will function to best elaborate on prior societal norms and discourse on the subject. The rationale for selecting these two cases centers on the fact that the two states are at opposite ends of the sex-trafficking spectrum. Sweden represents the modernized and more developed governments that possess all available resources to properly address this issue. Furthermore, Sweden also stands as the first state that utilized the women’s rights movement as impetus for crafting new policies to address sex trafficking, possibly suggesting a revolutionary tool that other developed economies could employ. A final reason for Sweden’s selection involves its protection of the sex industry’s women both physically and financially, which has subsequently been adopted by countries such as Germany and Canada. Ukraine represents the issue within a less developed economy and government. Moreover, Ukraine’s lack of economic opportunity for female employment constitutes the most common issue facing newer economies that cause women to emigrate to other countries, creating major susceptibility
to sex trafficking. Another facet to Ukraine that makes it an excellent case study is the prolific opposition to governmental actions that severely limit the effectiveness of any government policies. Sweden can be historically characterized as hosting an environment conducive to prostitution and the sex industry, whereas the Ukrainian government had not, until the predominance of a criminal subculture. As previously discussed, the industry’s prevalence in each country constitutes major divergences.

Moreover, the rationale for selecting a national-level case study to address sex trafficking is based upon the classification of countries and their markets by participants in the illicit industry as either source or destination countries. The following national factors are indicative of a sex trafficking source country (listed in order of significance): government corruption, infant mortality rate, population under the age of fourteen, food production index, population density, and conflict and civil unrest (Bales 2007: 272-273). Several national factors also suggest a destination country: male population over the age of 60, governmental corruption, infant mortality rate, food production, and energy consumption (Bales 2007: 276).

What constitutes sex trafficking as opposed to indigenous prostitution? The best answer lies in international consensus, in this case the United Nations General Assembly’s 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others. Correlating with Article One and Article Two of this convention, sex trafficking shall be defined within this paper as the unwarranted kidnapping, forced sexual commercial exploitation, and the shadow transportation of persons (1). Indigenous prostitution will be considered the willing participation of persons in acts of commercialized sex, in which the acting persons are compensated for services and retain those compensations individually. Distinction between these two forms of commercialized sex acts must be maintained with respect to the critical analysis of both Sweden and Ukraine.

So, what is the difference between issue framing and policy framing? Although closely related, issue framing refers to the methodologies and attitudes that the society at large has previously employed to address a given issue and the current communication between relevant actors on the given issue. In short, issue framing reflects the historical and current discourse on the issue itself. Conversely, policy framing is the methodology behind the creation, implementation, and communication of governmental
actions on the issue. For purposes of this paper, the issue frame is obviously sex trafficking and the policy frames are those actions of Sweden and Ukraine.

A Brief History of Sex Trafficking in Relation to the Case Study

Regarding the evolution of commercialized sex, the globalization of prostitution’s traditional community-based courtesan structure was altered and constructed modern sex slavery. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, governments adopted policies aimed at forcing women into sex as a mechanism of “progress.” During the Second World War, for example, Japan forced 300,000 of its own women and children into military brothels for soldiers’ pleasures. At the conclusion of World War II, an international trend developed that sought to reexamine existing forms of governance and structure, to reflect on what is best for states’ individual citizens. Many persons felt as though nationalism had failed, that government should be held responsible. Additionally, economic isolationism became archaic, and global markets reopened. Furthermore, a radical shift in socio-economic thought occurred: that individual concern should trump that of community. Herein lies the duality trap that would eventually evolve into the proliferation of modern day sex slavery: first, a breakdown in community cohesion; second, a shift toward the individual and his or, in some cases, her rights. Sex became a worldwide-accepted commodity for the first time (Frank, et al. 2010: 870). The shift toward rights of the individual contributes to sex trafficking’s rise because considering the individual constitutes the methodology for organizing societal structures. The groups promoting sex trafficking perverted this interpretation to isolate specific characteristics in women in identification of “perfect” slaves to trade. This shift from class distinction to individual assessment within society helped to make the pool of victims easily identifiable, a challenge earlier groups had faced. Sex had always been available as a domestic service to acquire, but now with this special emphasis of individual control prevailing, sex became a good, a human good, that could be as tradable and buyable as televisions or groceries.

Sex trafficking is and always has been a form of “hidden prostitution” (Laanemets: 7), but now it stands along with internet-based prostitution and escort services and is obscured further. Many different organizations, such as the CNN Freedom Project and the United Nations, have concluded through evaluation of trafficking statistics and patterns
of sexual enslavement that countries in which prostitution is legal tend to have higher populations of individual persons being sex trafficked and exploited. However, Sweden’s semi-legalization appears to effectively defeat the industry, suggesting the need for deeper analysis into which causal mechanisms are being employed. Three identifiable economic factors promote the modern sex trade: a large supply of victims to be exploited in source countries, a seemingly endless demand in destination countries, and organized criminal enterprises that facilitate the trade itself (Bales 2007: 277-278).

As can be surmised from basic geographic locations, Sweden and Ukraine’s relative proximity enable a potential economic relationship, including the shadow market relationship of sex trafficking. This potential sub-economy may facilitate a human trafficking relationship if policies fail to be enacted and adhered to by the citizens. To a certain extent, the illicit global political economy, like the legitimate economy, follows the standard neoclassical model, though this shadow market has no limitations as to prices, quantities supplied, or quantities demanded. Although these factors technically are dependent upon the others, there are massive deviations within the sex trade due to shifting legal and illegal markets and policies. In regards to Ukraine and Russia, “the territory is a major source of young women in a worldwide market and that the United Nations estimates that at between $7-billion and $12-billion annually” is made through sex trafficking (MacWilliams 2003: 2). Most individuals who become part of the international sex trade are tricked by both legitimate and illegitimate immigration services in the countries that serve as transit or source countries.

The Kingdom of Sweden is considered a destination, source, and transit country, based upon the U.S. State Department’s 2012 Trafficking in Persons Report, while Ukraine is considered a source and transit country. However, for the purpose of analyzing the reasons for Sweden’s proclaimed successes and Ukraine’s policy failures, Sweden is seen predominantly to be a destination country, and Ukraine as a source country. Reasons for Sweden being considered a predominantly destination country include the small percentage of Swedish citizens that are trafficked, the few institutions active in Sweden that formalize victim identities, and the legal history of reflection periods being granted by Swedish governments. Reflection periods are legal time allowances that governments such as Sweden and Spain grant to women within the sex industry to encourage
psychological and financial recovery. Ukraine is considered a source country because of its high percentage of college students who enter into the trade, its lack of governmental oversight and enforcement, and the existence of a well-organized criminal enterprise that facilitates the trade.

However, one of the key problems with identifying the extent of human trafficking in any country is that sex trafficking and forced prostitution continue to be seen as two different variables by both nations, with forced prostitution being less punishable than trafficking. The argument for forced prostitution as a separate activity is founded in the view that women knowingly select to engage in prostitution to earn money that is then handed over to their controlling parties, under a supposed “repayment” plan for certain actions, that are then not reciprocated, constituting an economic disservice rather than necessarily a physical one. The argument against this notion, however, is that women are controlled throughout this entire process and have been violated through economic and physical manipulations.

The Issue’s Terminology and Approaches

Due to the complexities of sex trafficking and the multi-disciplinary approach one must take to fully engage this topic, this paper focuses on how each factor and country frame the outcome policies and measures of combatting sex trafficking. The impact that frames have upon the societal discourse regarding sex trafficking – and possibly systemic flows of successful public policy outcomes – changes through shifts in the discourse. Discourse analysis, as made popular by Michel Foucault in his *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, refers to the consultation of words to uncover a meaning that may then be manipulated and disseminated to a wider audience to convey a specific message or political stance. As Maarten A. Hajer states, discourse analysis refers to “the examination of argumentative structure in documents and other written or spoken statements as well as the practices through which these utterances are made” (Hajer 2006: 66). This type of analysis engages the present but varying perceptions as well as past public policies of a given societal issue while providing a background analytical framework for analysis that is independent of those societal perceptions and policies in order to fundamentally measure the true effectiveness for measuring the society’s addressing of that particular issue. One example of using discourse theory could be the current Syrian Civil War; the researcher would analyze (a) the war itself, (b) the political,
social, and economic context of the conflict both nationally and regionally, (c) the written and verbal agreements that preceded and are developing within the war’s progression, (d) the communication aspects of both sides’ efforts and propagandas, and (e) the instrumentalities that precipitate changes in the issue as well as the discourse (in this Syrian case, perhaps bombings or state seizure of communication networks).

Framing is a methodological approach suitable for examining policy agendas and possibly mobilizing a cause or public policy. As stated previously, this paper is primarily concerned with policy framing as opposed to issue framing. As explained by Daviter, “students of policy framing ask how frames influence the way issues are processed, how they affect which interests play a role during policy drafting and deliberation and what type of political conflicts and coalitions are likely to emerge as a result” (Daviter 2007: 654). So issue framing is used, within both the Ukrainian and Swedish case studies, as an approach to comparatively examine historical progression in order to provide clearer insights into aspects of sex trafficking as they relate to particular countries. The frames constructed allow the individual the ability to isolate key features that particularly distress the society in terms of the issue of sex trafficking and determine the rationale behind the policies enacted. For example, one frame used by Sweden is that of reframing the national issue from an economic problem to a human rights problem. By doing so, Sweden has seen drastic changes in the amount of human trafficking over the last decade, as its message of being a human rights issue resonated within its citizenry that often is praised for its high Human Development Index score. Conversely, Ukraine continues to exacerbate the problem through its public recognition of the issue at the national level as a major illicit industry. The presence, though, of a well-developed Ukrainian mafia and the abject poverty reduces the impact of governmental social initiatives severely. Later sections of the paper more closely analyze the styles of framing in both states as well as individual effectiveness.

In discussing the historical aspects of the issue in both Ukraine and Sweden, issue framing will be used to dissect the issue more broadly in the international and national context of discourse analysis, chiefly to provide relevant information that could aid in policy construction. However, to understand the effectiveness for which Sweden’s laws and Ukraine’s laws can be analyzed, a more precise definition of policy framing must be established. As indicated in the introduction, policy framing refers to the pro-
cess by which an individual or a society’s perspective on issues is changed through the construction of key phrases that alter that entity’s original understandings and associations with the issue(s) at hand. One example of effective policy framing is the European Union’s decision-making process. Although the European Commission has a mandate to create and implement legislation for the European community, the perceived levels of openness within the European Union lessen the dissidence of citizens, enabling for a much more cohesive governing system (Daviter 2007: 655). Essentially, framing is more effective within this political structure because the frames themselves are now independent of direct citizen support, which in the case of illicit activities (including sex trafficking) may be opposed by certain regions—therefore citizens and assemblies directly—as it functions as an economic actor or even sub-economy in areas.

The analysis of policy framing in both Sweden and Ukraine examined here will focus on four key factors: The first will be governmental actors’ perceptions of the issue; the proposed policies should be considered the immediate source of analysis, as their discourses during the policy implementation ultimately frame the subsequent sources of debate and discourse. Second, I will examine the media’s perception of sex trafficking factors—a key role prior to policy action and post-policy actions—as this role is to provide widespread change and evaluation of the issue. A third focus is that of academic research and contextual positioning on the subject. This focus area factors into the initial proposition that exists within the populace. Finally, since human trafficking is a multilateral engagement, the international community’s response to the policy is the fourth discourse considered.

Returning once again to the central argument, the push and pull factors that affect each country characterize their general ability to propose and implement policies. Push factors are those societal norms and environmental states that enable a country to exhibit tendencies to have mass emigration, while pull factors are those societal norms and environmental states that attract immigrants into their jurisdictional bounds, perhaps even illicitly. This “push and pull” as roughly identified by the Bales (2007) research, incorporates specific factors and variables. This paper’s discussion of framing and discourse analysis will focus on the historical and policy implications of this issue in the Kingdom of Sweden and Ukraine. The independent variables are evaluated through those variables charted and recorded nature of aiding either the emigration or immigration of persons.
within the sex trafficking industry.

If a country is identified through regression analysis to have multiple factors that push persons, that state is said to be a potential source country in terms of sex trafficking, and given Ukraine’s tested variables and the prolific nature of the “Natasha trade,” this paper has identified it as a source country. If a country is identified as having pull factors, then it is considered as a destination country. The Kingdom of Sweden, as shown in the case study has been identified as a destination country for the sex industry. Countries that experience both push and pull factors within the context of the sex industry are functioning most likely as transit countries.

**Sweden’s “Problem Prostitution”**

In the regions of Scandinavia, social acknowledgement of “problem prostitution” has been in place since the 1500s (Laanemets: 2). The legal recognition of the prostitution industry can be traced to a 1734 law, which was the first penal law ever instituted within the country. The law prohibited sexual relations outside of marriage. Speculation on the reason that Sweden implemented this regulation of the prostitution industry varies, but most scholars agree that the regulation was created as a method of reducing the spread of various diseases rather than for moral or religious reasons. Furthermore, in 1812, the Kingdom of Sweden passed a law that allowed police to investigate and examine individuals who were suspected of having contracted a sexually transmitted disease. This early form of government intervention was rooted in the individual municipalities’ actions of tracking prostitutes and suspected prostitutes to restrict the spread of venereal diseases such as gonorrhea and syphilis. Moreover, the emphasis upon the restriction of prostitution reflected merely a prevention of disease being spread rather than a disdain for prostitutes themselves, establishing a primitive form of what would eventually become an egalitarian policy.

Upon further looking into the 1812 law for foundations of issue framing, a major historical trend is laid within Sweden’s objective in its regulating the sex industry. The police during this early period of Swedish regulatory systems examined women who they believed to be prostitutes and forced medical examinations and documentation to be archived to ensure a lessening of sexually transmitted diseases. This situation was unique in multiple ways: the women were controlled by the police rather than by any bureaucratic or governmental institution; second, there existed
a strong bond between the prostitutes, the police, and the medical workers de facto through the law’s implementation. These simultaneous features would eventually lead to perhaps the most significant social law ever passed in Europe by the Swedish government.

In 1837, the Swedish government, in response to the movement to ban prostitution, opened a state-run brothel. This brothel was very short-lived, and there was a general trend to proceed to make brothels illegal throughout Sweden, shifting the discourse and issue frame to more conservative outlooks to commercialized sex. Most brothels were illegal by 1847, but they persisted under tolerance from the Swedish government and police (Svanström 2000: 142). Most municipalities subsequently adopted restrictions on prostitutes’ clothes (Svanström 2000: 24), which were the first in a continuous grouping of gender-based laws against female prostitutes.

Additionally, two specific laws were introduced that dealt with the dual problem associated with the Swedish sex industry in the early 20th century. Lex Veneris was a law that addressed the public health concerns of prostitution. The Vagrancy Law of 1885 addressed the unemployment associated with prostitution. The law specifically defined a vagrant as an individual who moved consistently without any means of earning a living. The law additionally held a moral component in that those who did not earn an “honest” living were treated as vagrants, thereby creating a class rather than actually managing the unemployment factors (Svanström 2006: 144). Commissions within the Swedish legal system were established that first constructed prostitution as a psychological void that needed to be conditioned. Yet, by the 1950s and 1960s, the addressing of prostitution by various other commissions refocused prostitution as a social issue in society. In 1964, the process in changing this course of thought is evident by replacing the Vagrancy Law with the Antisocial Behavioral Law of 1964, shifting the issue frame as well as the policy frame to a slightly more liberal interpretation. These commissions and laws defined the issue frame and evolved into what would become known as the Kvinnofrid Law of 1999.

**Sweden’s Approach**

What has now commonly been referred to as the Kvinnofrid Law, the Kingdom of Sweden passed in 1999 the first law that criminalized the purchasing of or attempting to purchase sexual favors, creating an entirely new policy frame. This abolitionist model is gender-neutral, which means
that buyers and sellers of those providing sexual services can be either male or female, incorporating a very egalitarian approach to combatting the Swedish demand side of the economics of the sex trade.

However, an interesting facet to this law is that these prostitutes, themselves, are not criminalized. Prostitution is legal in Sweden, but the purchase of sexual acts from prostitutes is illegal. Essentially, through this law, the government of Sweden is attempting to substantially decrease the consumption of sex through a policy focusing only on the demand of sex being sold. The effects of using this technique to counter the demand from a market standpoint are incredibly more profound than many models that attempt to regulate the supply side of the sex industry. These models construct legislation on the basis that the selling of prostitution should be the criminalized aspect of the industry. Despite many systematic efforts to curtail prostitution’s predominance, these efforts actually are countered by a growth in the organized crime industries that enable further illegalities (Robertson 2012: 4). Yet, the effects of Sweden’s approach are still being analyzed; the law and Swedish regulations roughly ignore the needs of trafficked women (Halley et al. 2006: 396).

Ukraine’s More Recent Plight

Though having a long existence within the Ukraine, the sex industry and prostitution were never fully acknowledged by the state or its predecessor in the Soviet Union. Therefore, a substantive frame, whether issue or policy, was never fully established. This failure to establish a direct issue framework causes all the weight of combatting sex trafficking to fall upon new policy framework. A very early inkling as to the persistence of this underground sex industry is depicted in Maxim Gorky’s drama *The Lower Depths* (1902). The play reveals the realities of Russian and Eastern European poverty, with multiple characters playing prostitutes.

Since the inception of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus in 1919, prostitution was formally illegal throughout all of the Soviet states, given the perception of female prostitutes as being an inferior workforce sector and a gendered profession (Shelley 2003: 233). Women were seen as egalitarian participants in the typical male occupations, those such as bridge construction, metallurgy, railroad industries, and infrastructural engineers. “Although the socialist ideology of equality for women existed as propaganda rather than an institutionalized reality, tremendous resources were invested to ensure equal
access to education for women and significant state funds were spent to guarantee childcare for working mothers” (Shelley 2003: 233). Therefore, the egalitarian commitment that Soviet women should provide for country rather than individual gain monetarily protected the predominance of the sex industry in the Soviet Union to a large extent. In short, the issue frame in this stage of Ukrainian development involved ignoring the issue for the progression of society.

In the Soviet Union, so in the Ukraine de jure, the state enabled social protections on women to a great degree from being trafficked. Again, though this belief does not reflect much of the reality, the protections granted through communism did provide assistance to women who needed to turn to the sex industry in order to survive. Furthermore, the limits on privatized industries enabled enforcement of many of the Soviet policies on an individual level. This facet, coupled with the equality of Soviet women to men, created a disincentive to propagate the sex industry.

Although the incentives were naturally weak to expand the sex industry, mafias within Ukraine developed during the Soviet Union era as a response to the state-controlled economy. The mafias originally facilitated basic market operations outside of Soviet regulation. The Ukrainian mafias were also stratified into three roles: black market criminals, market mafias, and political mafias. The multi-tiered effect of this structure enabled sex trafficking to begin in Ukraine.

The explosive rise of Eastern European and particularly Ukrainian prostitution as well as sex trafficking came through the decline and eventual fall of the Soviet Union. However, the method in which the explosion in the illegal industry came into being reflects a distinctive difference. The Soviet Union’s loss of control provided an international attraction to develop business opportunities in the former Soviet states. This increased international tourism then constituted a rise in the sex tourism industry. Given the weakening ability of the government to protect its populaces directly from a perverse form of foreign direct investment, the infrastructure of the sex industry in both Russia and Ukraine saw a formidable stronghold by the actual time of the fall of the Soviet Union. Between 1991 and 1998, according to the International Organization for Migration, it is estimated that approximately 500,000 women were moved from Ukraine to Western Europe.

As a study by Donna Hughes demonstrates, many girls are recruited for “wedlock” through “marriage agencies,” with Ukrainian women
being second in recruitment behind the Russian Federation (Hughes 2004b: 52). These marriage agencies have a long history of falsifying information to women in order to force them into the sex trade. Through these agencies, Ukrainian women inadvertently entered into dependency on the provider of the service sought, who then manipulated the situation. Ultimately, the women lost their individual rights and became basic commodities for sex.

Now, in recent years the sex trafficking statistics seem to be declining, but most of the decline is due to women’s acceptance of lost human rights and the adjustment to being career prostitutes. The most difficult aspect of containing the supply of sexually exploited Ukrainian women is that the women who have been dehumanized to a commodity are obscured by the prostitutes who willingly engage in being individual service providers. Many of the pimps in Ukraine are also quite friendly with law enforcement, so efforts in eradicating prostitution and sex trafficking are mostly left to charity workers (Shuster 2010: 2).

Another aspect of the rise of sex trafficking and prostitution in Ukraine is the explosion of HIV/AIDS cases. This historical increase demonstrates the continuation of disease contagion that has historically shown to accompany the increased proliferation of sex industries. The number of cases increased from 44 cases in 1994 to more than 15,000 in 1997, one of the world’s largest increases ever (“AIDS cases jump in former Soviet Union” 1998: 1). It should also be noted that within this time frame, Ukraine began to employ much more accurate measurements of tracking HIV/AIDS cases.

**Ukraine’s Plague**

In 1998, Ukraine was considered one of the largest suppliers of women into the sex industry. Coupled with the fall of the Soviet Union’s protectionist social and economic policies, the sub-economy of sex provided an attractive prospect of potential economic ability to many women, who then proved to be fooled and were trapped. Of the approximately 500,000 Ukrainian women who migrated to Western Europe directly after the fall of the Soviet Union, more than 100,000 ended up as sexually trafficked slaves (Karpacheva 1998: 1). Moreover, according to Karpachera (1998), as high as 80 percent of the women who left Ukraine in hopes of pursuing greater economic interests and debt repayment plans had no idea that they could be forced into prostitution.
In 2005, attempts at increasing the penalties of sexual exploitation, trafficking, and prostitution were successful on the governmental scale, but the limited enforcement of such policies saw very little change in the successful prosecution of traffickers (U.S. State Department 2007: 1). In fact, the more common name for the Ukrainian sex trafficking industry is simply “the Natasha trade.” This discourse characterizes the industry’s reference to the high percentage of those young women involved within the trade both as commodities themselves or even suppliers. Approximately twenty-five percent to thirty-five percent of all those Ukrainian women involved in the sex trade are college students (MacWilliams 2003: 1). These elements suggest that the Ukrainian government, despite having passed the 2005 law increasing the penalties of sex trafficking, is relatively ineffective in its sovereign ability to better regulate the shadow industry’s promulgation.

Two major cities have been identified as supply hubs for the international industry, however, so the ability of international organizations and multilateral efforts to combat the Ukrainian sex trade is greatly enhanced. L’viv, a western Ukrainian city, operates as a sex trade supplier to Western Europe, the Adriatic regions of Europe, and the Middle East. The problem in the Ukrainian city does not derive from a lack of public knowledge about the sex industry. Bryon MacWilliams, a reporter for The Chronicle, writes, “L’viv Polytechnic National University even allots space in one of its buildings to Women’s Perspectives, perhaps the most active anti-trafficking nonprofit organization in the former Soviet Union.” The issue facing L’viv and the Ukrainian sex industry relates to the poverty of the entire country.

With an estimated 46 percent living below the national poverty line, the ability to combat the industry’s proliferation is inadequate (MacWilliams 2003: 5). This poverty, combined with the scams being thrust at collegiate students and recent graduates, exacerbates the effectiveness of government policies towards criminalization of the Ukrainian sex industry. MacWilliams states in his article that the average amount of debt incurred through educational pursuits creates an incentive to leave the country during the holiday months for work, but many return either broken through the industry’s enslavement or never return at all.

Arguably the most potent problem that strengthens the Ukrainian sex industry is the Russian connection within political and economic subcultures, chiefly the Eastern European mafias (Hughes 2000: 626).
The second city that solidifies the predominance of both the Ukrainian sex trade and the global sex industry is the city of Khabarovsk, located in one of the easternmost provinces of the Russian Federation. This city serves to transport many sexually trafficked women into Japan, South Korea, and other Asian locales (MacWilliams 2003: 2).

**Case Study: Sweden’s Feminist Approach**

In the discussion of Sweden, a very different aspect of this global trade network is seen. Sweden’s internal population is not nearly as at-risk as those of countries lacking in strong central governments, such as those states more similar to the Ukrainian model. Sweden did not experience a central authority collapse, and many factors indicate it is a leading economy. These factors serve the argument that Sweden is a destination country for trafficked persons. Furthermore, what promotes Sweden as being a sex trafficking destination country and as well as a transit country are neighboring states who either have legalized prostitution or who have inadequate legal restraints on trafficking. When countries fail to separate the issue of sex slavery from that of the sex industry, economically illicit areas and economies are formed, forging a more ingrained destination country. One of these countries is Denmark, where the international sex industry has its capital city in Copenhagen’s red light district. By legalizing prostitution in 1999, the Danes increased the potential for Sweden, a neighbor just to the north, to become a major transit country for the Danish sex trade.

With the passage of the Kvinnofrid Law, the Kingdom of Sweden enacted the first law that attacked prostitution with a customer-demand side shock economically. What the law specifically did was make the buying of sexual services illegal, while allowing for the selling of sexual services. This effectively means that prostitution is legal but buying sexual services is illegal. Through this practice, the prostitutes, almost all of whom are female, are given the right to sell to criminal buyers, who are then potentially charged under this law. The prostitutes are given options of reflection periods, of cooperation with law enforcement, or of no interaction. These aspects constitute a feminist legal perspective. This law was passed in short to combat what Dr. Bales identifies as the second variable, an endless demand in destination countries. Sweden essentially linked prostitution and trafficking together as the same action. As identified by Halley et al., there were some issues through framing the two issues as
one, “Seeing prostitution and sex trafficking as one and the same delayed the treatment of trafficking as a separate phenomenon that requires special efforts and resources. Trafficking for the purpose of prostitution was criminalized as late as July 2002, and only in 2004 was a legislative amendment passed extending limited rights (residence permits, limited to the length of the trial, that include health care and some welfare rights) to trafficking victims willing to testify against their traffickers” (Halley et al. 2006: 396). Although the law seems to have been effective in curbing the amount of prostitution in existence in Sweden, the debate continues as to whether the sex trafficking industry is as curbed as forced prostitution. If a person is forcing others into prostitution, then some defense attorneys will plead that this is forced labor, which is prosecuted much less successfully and carries lower penalties than direct sex trafficking.

There are other variables that further distort the image that Sweden’s model should be adopted. Sweden’s approach, for instance, roughly ignores the needs of trafficked women (Halley et al. 2006: 396). The U.S. State Department’s 2012 Trafficking in Persons Report estimates that between four hundred and six hundred girls are still annually trafficked through the country.

Many aspects still have to be determined for there to exist conclusive evidence that the international sex trade is declining in the Kingdom of Sweden. Although the Kingdom of Sweden does comply with the international standards, often there is an absence of prosecution against those who are trafficking women and children. Sweden’s law, at least on the surface, has drastically cut down on the number of reported sex trafficking victims.

However, what many analysts are wary of is whether this decrease is merely that of framing this new policy approach regarding the sex trade within Sweden from sex trafficking into forced prostitution, which would fall under labor trafficking. The penalties and prosecution of those under labor trafficking are much less enforceable. Additionally, those 650 persons prosecuted under the Kvinnofrid Law before 2008 had not been sentenced to one day in prison, despite the possibilities of several years (Demsteader 2012: 1).

**Swedish Political Party Paradox**

The success of the 1999 Kvinnofrid Law ushered in unique and noteworthy election cycles, both in 1998 just before the passage of this
legislation, and in 2002 during the immediate aftermath of the prescribed 2001 implementation. In 1998, the second largest gain in the total number of seats within the Swedish parliament was the Left Party, which gained 21 seats. The Social Democratic Party, the predominant party in Sweden since it has incorporated democracy, lost an astounding 30 seats during this same election. What this shows in terms of the nature of the political power behind this initiative is the gain in feminist perspectives and other human rights-oriented special interest groups reaching out to the populated areas of Sweden to gain power politically to change major social climates.

What is more fascinating, as discovered through Christine Demsteader’s article, is the story of Marianne Erikkson, the first representative to propose this criminalization of the buyer not the seller of sex. Erikkson, who proposed this law first in the mid-1990s, was ridiculed by the Swedish parliament and regaled for not having the foresight to protect women from being trafficked. Yet Erikkson and the feminist movement did not budge, and soon they were able to convince a more hospitable Swedish parliament to pass the bill, calling upon the majority party in the Social Democrats and Liberal People’s Party to lead the charge in a major coalition attempt. So, the Swedish government did not usher in this new discourse. Rather, the media and the international community persuaded the issue-divided government to more readily adopt the proposed initiatives of the citizenry better Swedish society, which lends explanation to the drastic improvement of human trafficking accountability and elimination with the Swedish system.

Thirteen years later, the law has seen much success in decreasing the number of prostitutes on the streets, which has led to an inhospitable climate for sex traffickers. As Demsteader writes, “Financial resources have also been ploughed into arranging seminars abroad in conjunction with Swedish embassies” (Demsteader 2012: 1). Sweden’s continued monetary emphasis on fighting this issue of sex trafficking reflects a major shift socially and politically, given that in the most recent elections, the Left Party and the Liberal Party have continued to diminish in their power positions. Yet, funding for a feminist policy has defeated the political opposition forces, which constitutes the shift. Sex trafficking and violence against women have been selected as issues to be studied closely and combated by the Swedish political realm.
Framing Swedish Policies to Produce Discourse and Change

What is so unique about the Swedish and their approach is that they produced an example of policy framing, as identified earlier in the introduction of methods. Through this uncharacteristic approach, the citizens of Sweden have more wholeheartedly accepted the law, lessening the supply, and eventually even the demand, of customers. Many originally thought the policy approach to be rather fruitless in actually affecting the supply of willing consumers. However, more than a decade after the policy has been enacted, many within the European Union are considering Sweden as a model for how to frame future policies for the whole of Europe. The question remains, however: is the policy actually working or is this an angle upon which the Swedish society rests its “progress” upon the issue?

Along those same lines, the main aim under the Kvinnofrid Law and its 2004 amendments was to reshape how individuals in Sweden perceive the act of purchasing sex from someone who may or may not be selling sex of his or her own volition. To harken back to earlier statements, the law empowers female prostitutes by not criminalizing the act of selling sexual acts but by criminalizing the act of buying sexual services. This governmental policy shift to criminalizing the men buying sex acts was originally predicted to be grossly ineffective, but it has enabled Sweden to experience a major decline in reported sex trafficking. This government-sponsored feminism won over the respect of most in Swedish society because of an egalitarian (more than revolutionary) undertone in which discussions were held about women’s rights and roles in Swedish society were held in response to passing the Kvinnofrid Law in 1999. By using this framing and this governmental policy shift simultaneously, the success of the law becomes evident. As Christine Demsteader reports, “By 2008, nearly a decade after Sweden criminalized the buying of sex, the number of street prostitutes in both Norway and Denmark was estimated to be three times higher than in Sweden” (Demsteader 2012: 2). Moreover, the Palermo Protocol of 200 is a directly influenced international agreement to establish boundaries and methods for attacking sex trafficking that was strongly urged and supported by the Swedish government.

The Swedish and international media have made numerous comparisons to the transatlantic slave trade of past centuries publicly (Martin 2008: 1). By labeling this issue as modern-day slavery, most persons are
naturally repulsed and convinced about the negative societal and individual effects of buying forced sexual services. There is also an increase in monetary support, and given that the transatlantic trade was eventually dismantled, there is a better perceived chance of ending “modern-day slavery” than the “international sex industry.”

As a result, men who buy sex are increasingly seen as ostracized members of Swedish society. “They’re called a “cod,” a fish…We see it as a human right to have sexual integrity, physical integrity, and not to be forced to sell your body to strange men, 10 times a day. That’s human rights to us,” quotes Lise Tamm, a Swedish prosecutor of organized crime (Shubert 2011: 1). Women, at least publicly, are not considered as commoditized as before the passage of the law and the discourse that followed. This framing of the Kvinnofrid Law as an empowerment to women and a feminist approach in a somewhat feminist state reflects another major advantage that the Kingdom of Sweden has compared to Ukraine. The Swedish Government procured in 2009 a major publication that addressed many of the issues and concerns of trafficking, including the reintegration of former buyers within Swedish society through “groups [that] encourage potential and active purchasers of sexual services to change their behavior” (Sweden 2009: 12). This demonstrates another facet to the success of the Swedish frame.

Other countries that suffer from high numbers of trafficked persons globally, such as Cuba, have recently voiced their approval and stated an intent to manufacture their own versions of the Swedish frame. In The Local, an English newspaper for Swedish news stories, Mariela Castro, the daughter of President Raul Castro and the sexologist in charge of Cuban National Center for Sex Education, stated that the shift of punishment from women to men would provide an effective alternative to curbing the explosive trade that Cuba has witnessed since the fall of the Soviet Union (The Local 2011: 1). Norway and Iceland have since adopted laws, similar to the Kvinnofrid Law, that criminalize the purchase of sexual services. Summarizing the sex trafficking frames of Sweden, there are three distinct policy frames that effectively shift the issue frame. First, there is the legal criminalization and societal condemnation of the buyer of prostitution. The policy frame is criminalization through the Kvinnofrid Law, and the issue frame is the ostracizing of men who buy sex. Furthermore, the reintegration methods of former buyers are initially proving to have a profound benefit to Swedish society. Second, sex trafficking is seen as
the equivalent of both prostitution and brutal slavery. The Kvinnofrid Law itself treats the issue of sex slavery through the recognition of its direct correspondence with prostitution. Karen Bravo further analyzes the linkage between this policy framing through comparison to the trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, “The use of analogies is fundamental to human reasoning and analysis because it allows for the comparison of new experiences to old, categorization of the new, and decision making regarding how to deal with the newly encountered experience” (Bravo 2011: 562). And finally, these two frames become intertwined through the perception as a human rights issue rather than a “morality of work” issue. Sex trafficking violates an individual’s ability to choose a career as well as the security of the individual’s being. By arguing that both physical and economic enslavement of the women occurs, the society has acknowledged a sub-economy that could deride the legitimate public one. By creating this causal mechanism, the shift in public perception confirms the issue frame shift.

However, discourse analysis reveals noted shortcomings to this approach as judged by the success of the governmental action all together. For instance, there are many non-governmental organizations that operate within Swedish territory to provide assistance and reintegration into society for victims of sex trafficking, but the Swedish government itself, so often praised for its centralized structure, has yet to fully incorporate the history of human trafficking victims into its databases or adequately allow for functional programs that transcend different levels of government. So in essence, within the context of the Kvinnofrid Law of 1999, discourse analysis and framing act to sway the public’s perception of the issue, but not the total governmental implementation of prevention, protection, and prosecution methods in regards to Swedish sex workers. In this circumstance, discourse analysis is applied to obfuscate the true nature of sex trafficking in the Kingdom of Sweden. Changing the frame and even imposing stricter policies do not necessarily change the entire society, as each represents a stage in a causal mechanism that could remain inconclusive.

Granted, there has been a noted reduction in the numerical reports of those being trafficked, and public survey polls show that most Swedes are in agreement that the law should exist in its current form. “According to the Swedish justice ministry, more than 70% in recent polls supported the law” (Shubert 2011: 1). The amended law seems to show significant progress in curbing the “pull factors,” or the factors of opportunity that
attract sexual exploitation to destination countries (Bales 2007: 278). The major implication through the Kvinnofrid Law is that there has been such an increase in risk that the monetary gains that could potentially be had through the international trade into the Kingdom of Sweden are less than the incurred risk of the Swedish sex trade.

Furthermore, evidence of a changing nature in Sweden’s actual prostitution industry may also be reducing the relative demand for trafficked women. According to a study released by the Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs in April of 2013, 2.1 percent of Swedish men ages 16 to 25 stated that they had engaged in prostitution, compared to only 0.8 percent of women (The Local 2012a). So, given this market demand shift caused by the supply side shock of the Kvinnofrid Law, there may be significant data to suggest that the law was indeed effective at changing the entire market structure enough to protect women better. In addition, another major change in the industry’s foundation is the relative taxation changes that have recently taken place. In 2012, the Swedish Tax Agency stated in a report in The Local, that prostitutes are now offered sick pay through federal compensation benefits, given that prostitution itself is a legal enterprise (The Local 2012b). The incentive is once again created to protect women from perpetually being in a state of poverty and at risk for being trafficked either domestically or internationally.

However, worth noting is that of those who did report having prostituted themselves, 78 percent also stated that they had previously experienced sexual violence and assault (The Local 2012a). This leaves a significant factor still present in Swedish society that could foster the notion of sex trafficking, as it has been historically proven that societies in which violence towards women exists, there are more possibilities for capitalizing on the violence in a market-oriented structure.

So in reviewing the process of discourse analysis through various frames, there is a clear causation mechanism that can be established. First, each frame is created either directly through the policy or indirectly through the issue’s prior and current discourse. Second, discourse supplements the issue frame and its effects politically, economically, and socially. The final step is the assessment of progression and success that the policy frames are intended to focus on more broadly.
Case Study: Ukraine’s Stagnant Progress

In recent years the Ukrainian statistics show that sex trafficking seems to be declining, due ironically to the women’s acceptance of the lost human rights and the adjustment to being career prostitutes. Ukraine is considered by the U.S. State Department to be a Tier 2 country in terms of persons trafficked in a 2012 report. This system of ranking attempts to simplify the problems of trafficking globally by categorizing groups based upon their overall likelihood to experience either sex or labor trafficking within their societies. Tier 1 countries, such as the Kingdom of Sweden and most Western states, have a reduced risk of trafficking present. Tier 3 countries, such as Cuba, Algeria, and Sudan, are states where trafficking is not only prevalent but is a societal and cultural norm. Most of the Tier 3 countries incorporate labor trafficking as their primary method of trafficking.

This ranking indicates that globally, Ukrainian sexual and labor exploitation ranks in the middle range. The most difficult aspect in containing the supply of sexually exploited Ukrainian women is that the women who have been dehumanized to a commodity are obscured by the prostitutes who willingly engage in being individual service providers. Many of the control figures in Ukraine are also quite friendly with law enforcement, so efforts in eradicating prostitution and sex trafficking are mostly left to charity workers (Shuster 2010: 2). Furthermore, the longer individuals are enmeshed in international sexual trafficking, the less likely they are to seek aid. Additionally, they are more likely with each year to accept this lifestyle and even promote the illegal sex trade.

Ukraine’s most basic issue in their fight against the sex industry is that most of the progress made is not seen as governmental policy effectiveness. Although the government can afford to combat some aspects of human trafficking, the mafia within Ukraine has a larger money pool to continue facilitating than the government does in deconstructing the sex trade. Given the fact that Ukraine has a high poverty rate, currently an astounding forty-six percent living below the national poverty line (MacWilliams 2003: 5), the government’s primary aims reflect self-preservation and economic sustainability rather than social activism and human rights. This lack of governmental concern leaves charities and non-profit organizations the chief agents reducing the supply of young women and children.
through programs funded by donors from abroad. This destitution, specifically as women are lesser economic players in Ukraine, acts as a push factor, as discussed in the introduction section of this paper.

In 2005, attempts at increasing the penalties of sexual exploitation, trafficking, and prostitution were successful on the governmental scale, but the limited enforcement of such policies saw very little change in the successful prosecution of traffickers (U.S. State Department 2005: 1). The penalty, however, for selling sex is a very light fine, so this presents a second problem in enforcement: too little cost per individual in a cost-benefit analysis. A third issue within the definition of the law itself is that an age of sexual contact is established at 18, which is improbable and unenforceable by almost any government, let alone a corrupt Ukrainian one. The retention of policy further encourages citizens to not obey the government’s mandates in attempting to regulate sexual intercourse through age constraints as high as 18. In short, Ukraine virtually ignored framing this policy to its citizens and just passed it as a mere acknowledgement of another societal issue that needs further funding and implementation, yet without significant Ukrainian tax dollars.

The Ukrainian sex trafficking industry is so prolific and affects so many young women that it is simply referred to as “the Natasha trade.” This epithet reflects a failure in shifting the discourse within the sex trade. Once a person has been subjected to commoditization, there is nothing that framed policies can truly accomplish in prevention; only through recovery and reintegration can the government help. So, there exists a singular splintered frame that dictates the current Ukrainian societal response to sex trafficking. Prostitution is inevitable both economically and socially given the circumstances surrounding Ukrainian society. Furthermore, there is an absent linkage between sex slavery and the violation of human rights.

One approach that has to be implemented for Ukraine to reduce sex trafficking a shift from a policy frame to an issue frame. By specifically attacking the “the Natasha trade” as an enabling device for continued national poverty rather than a pseudonym for an illegal and inhumane economic activity, Ukraine could empower its governmental authority on this issue by changing merely its legislative and executive representatives’ attitudes towards women’s rights in this area.

Given that there still exists a great amount of corruption within the Ukrainian government, individual citizens are less likely to accept the government’s actions or its policy recommendations until the government
initiates the change that would shift the issue frame. The exact method in which this shift should be described, and essentially sold, to the public ultimately will define the success of the policy approach. One approach that has been successful because of the methodic presentation of the governmental policy shift is the Kingdom of Sweden’s Kvinnofold Law, but given the lack of perceived governmental legitimacy, implementing this same measure would most likely not prove effective in Ukraine.

**Push Factors Plague Ukrainian Progress**

Despite the January 2005 law that stiffened the already existing laws against prostitution, Ukraine remains a major hub of organized sexual exploitation and trafficking in the world. What Ukraine suffers from the most is a surplus of what Seo-Young Cho identifies as “push factors” or societal norms and actions that encourage the young women to take riskier ventures that often lead to sexual exploitation abroad (2012: 3). Reasons for policy failure involve 1) the lack of true governmental organization and 2) political corruption. However, these two push factors pale in comparison to the economic opportunities that the women are tricked into perceiving an opportunity abroad. As MacWilliams notes, many Ukrainian women are trying to fund their own educational pursuits in Ukraine, so when they hear of financial opportunities in neighboring northern European countries they naturally want to pursue them. “A student typically becomes ensnared after responding to an ad in which she is offered work abroad as a hostess, a model, an exotic dancer, or even as a caretaker for the elderly or a nanny” (MacWilliams 2003: 2). However, these advertisements are identified as false too late. The immigration company constructs the appropriate documentation for immigration, and once the transportation has occurred, it immediately demands compensation for the documents, despite whether a job actually exists or not. The company then identifies those who have not paid, and notifies the branches of enforceable gangs to use the girl as collateral until its services (and the gang’s services) are adequately paid for through sexual services.

In comparing the major factors that Bales identifies that enable a country to be labeled as a source country for sexual exploitation, Ukraine does not fare well. Government corruption plagues the current state. Ukraine’s food production index, although comparatively high in global standards, is merely average for the region, which could lead to the want of women to travel further from their Ukrainian homes, incurring more
risk of being sold into the global sex trafficking industry. Population density also remains fairly high within Ukraine, perhaps aiding the sex trade. In terms of conflict and civil unrest, Ukraine suffers from a large number of organized enterprises that facilitate sex trade transit across borders.

However, the infant mortality rate of Ukraine is relatively low, which remains a shining thread of hope in combating this issue. The population percentage under the age of 15 is also fairly low at only fourteen percent (The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation 2012: 1). These two factors, coupled with other recommendations could change the discourse about the issue in Ukraine. The nature of framing a new policy that would effectively shift political and social discourse on the issue of sex trafficking would most likely not take a feminist approach like Sweden, but rather an economic empowerment away from market-dominated oppression.

I argue that it would be disastrous to implement the same type of policy initiatives in Ukraine as there are in Sweden simply because the infrastructure of the Ukrainian political sphere is weak. The Ukrainian economy is infant capitalism, or capitalism that has yet to fully recognize societal boundaries and market construction. Ukrainian society has had to adjust to the dissolution of the Soviet Union and is still in the process of defining a new identity. In order to create an optimal recommendation for Ukraine to eliminate sex trafficking, the analysis of a singular event must be undertaken.

So, in returning to the discussion of linking frames with discourse, Ukraine’s push factors actually define the government’s policy frame, which is a recognition of the issue as existing but unavoidable and beyond the powers of the national government to address. The frame is enmeshed in discourse from both international and national media sources that seek to further alienate Ukraine from the world at large. In a statement about the Euro Cup, Prime Minister Mykola Azarov stated, “They were creating an atmosphere that Ukraine - a country where thrives racism, crime, prostitution - so much dirt poured on us, but all the same, people are coming to us and with one’s own eyes see that Ukraine - a beautiful country, and their myths are crashing against our reality” (Azarov 2012: 1). So, there does exist evidence that a link is present between the frame of impossibility and the discourse of Ukraine’s stagnant country on the issue of sex trafficking. In order for progression on the issue to occur, there would have to be positive reinforcement of both frames and discourse, and given that both the frame is dysfunctional and the discourse considered
antagonistic toward producing results, there is a failure of policy on sex trafficking.

**2012 Euro Cup: A Primitive Issue Frame for Ukraine?**

In 2012, Ukraine was selected as one of the host cities for the Euro Cup, the European continental championship competition. As with major sporting events, many girls are bought and sold during these events, which causes the sex trade to explode periodically in these areas. Such was the case with Ukraine. However, there were several protest groups drawing attention to the issue of sex trafficking.

In an article by Richard Balmforth of The Daily Maverick, there were many groups of women who were protesting women’s enslavement, most notably FEMEN (Balmforth 2012: 1). FEMEN is regarded as a feminist special interest group in Ukraine, and they are best known for their nude protests. Many have argued that this group really does not constitute a significant call for reform because the group does not implement successful strategies of political sphere shifting or any type of consolidated stance. They promote riots and do not hold much clout with the actual citizens of Ukraine in terms of effecting a true change in the treatment and status of women. Because they act in this destructive manner, they present a major obstacle in gaining women’s rights and women’s protection of violence in Ukraine.

Balmforth goes on to further state that the sheer number of Ukrainians predicted to play a part in the sex industry is staggering: roughly “1.5 million Ukrainians are involved in the sex industry and 20 percent of them are under 18, the legal age for sexual contact in Ukraine” (Balmforth 2012: 2). This fact again signifies the statistics compiled by Bales and Cho as a major indicator of the source nature of Ukraine.

In order to change the climate in Ukraine, there must be another major government response to the 2005 legislation, whether pressured by the international community through the United Nations or, more likely, the United States State Department. The framing of this future reform needs to be a major ad campaign, similar to that of Sweden, but beginning years before the actual legislation is proposed, so as to create within Ukrainian society a sense of necessity on this issue.

What needs to be simultaneously incorporated into this movement is an icon that Ukrainian men and women can memorialize and fixate upon that reflects the trafficked Ukrainian woman. The creation of this
image must counter that of the commodification picture of “Natasha” and those of self-centered egoism from FEMEN. This image must be readily adopted by not only the citizenship, but also by the political party leaders as a rallying cry for stability. This latter part will most likely prove to be the most contentious, given that most Ukrainian political organizations do not currently allocate it to women’s rights. If achieved, this information, which is being nationally sponsored by government revenue, would build trust among citizens towards the government. The process of stabilizing government begins with the sponsored de-commoditization of Ukrainian women, and during this time a major law should be proposed that bans buying prostitution and carries realistic penalties.

Through the alienation of FEMEN, women’s rights can now be seen as legitimate concerns, and particularly the lack of safety afforded to women can grow as a national concern. More political savvy organizations can be founded, and most likely, these groups might join the government’s efforts and multinational corporations in eradicating the sex trafficking industry within Ukraine. Furthermore, more business-oriented groups can argue that prostitutes should be able to receive the same rights as every other type of worker. In this sense, as is now the case for Sweden, women can potentially equal men legally.

So in relating this major event to Ukrainian sex trafficking policies, the international shaming placed upon Ukraine is a new characteristic in this issue’s history, suggesting the possible construction of an issue frame. Given that Ukraine’s neighbors not only supplement the continuation of sex slavery in the country but also obscure international pressure in most circumstances, the international attention given to Ukraine during the World Cup may cause an increase in governmental action, as noted by the reactionary response of Prime Minister Azarov. One of the contributing discourse factors on this issue is the discourse of illicit actors that were highlighted during the event and the weeks leading up to the match. This increased international awareness of Ukraine’s sex industry may prove to be a weapon to combat trafficking within the country domestically through the societal creation of a substantive issue frame.

Conclusions

In assessing the overall combatting of Swedish sex trafficking, the existence of an issue frame prior to substantive policy frames effectively gave Sweden a considerable advantage. Although there are still some
current policy weaknesses in the Kingdom of Sweden, the overall enactment, and more importantly, the policy framing of the Kvinnofrid Law in Swedish and international society have enabled a sharp reduction in reported incidents of sexual exploitation and trafficking. Even the nature of the label of Kvinnofrid is a frame, literally translated to mean “Of women.” The biggest challenge that the Swedish government now faces is the transition from sexual trafficking to labor trafficking in the form of forced prostitution, which is much harder to convict.

In recent years, Sweden’s prosecutorial rate on sex trafficking has risen, but what remains stagnant is forced labor, as the burden of proof necessary to convict remains high in the Swedish court systems. As of 2008, not one person of the 650 who had been prosecuted under the Kvinnofrid Law had actually served prison time (Demsteader 2012: 1). A possible examination of future policymaking might suggest a more statistical profile that individual firms would have to submit annually and that could be administered effectively by the Swedish government. In this way, the Swedish government could better document and isolate sex crimes and violence against women that could, if unchecked, lead to a more hospitable climate for this “easy and adaptable” industry to take root again.

The Swedish model is applicable to other countries that have both developed economies and previously established relevant issue frames on sex trafficking that result from consistent utilization of such frames in policymaking. Even if the issue frame is contrary to the proposed policy framework, it is crucial in rectifying the societal problem of trafficking. Furthermore, states that have truly republican governments have a greater chance of witnessing policy frame construction if adequate discourse is promulgated through not only governmental actors but also the media and community leaders. Now, the Swedish model would serve only as a potential tool rather than a total remedy for all countries, as each state bears various components in the international sex industry.

As for Ukraine, what needs to occur first is dramatic, government-initiated dialogue within the appropriate media outlets that addresses changing the public’s perception of the international sex industry through educating citizens, particularly young women, about the dangers associated with attempting to solicit money for sexual services provided. As Cho points out, “As expected, poorer countries tend to send more human trafficking victims. The positive impact of information flows is also in line with the migration literature, in that more exposure to outside information
tends to encourage people to migrate and therefore increases the pool of potential victims of human trafficking” (Cho 2012: 12). The first step in changing ineffective sex trafficking policies is to create an actual issue discourse rather than accept societal ignorance. Upon adoption of a cohesive discourse, the economic and governmental improvements within Ukraine would alleviate many of the push factors that facilitate the industry’s integration within the society.

There also has to be simultaneous economic reform to counter the poverty that enables such strong push factors. One proposed method is the governmental development of a strong food industry, as this may lead to more domestic opportunities for employment where otherwise there would not be. Another possibility is to increase the international community’s attention on Ukraine to force awareness and reactions to the national industries, including the illicit ones like sex trafficking. If the corruption within Ukraine, specifically toward the mafias can be reduced, the state can improve. Perhaps, the nature of economic development can hinge upon seeking out multinational corporations that could overpower the mafias and provide a more stable infrastructure. In return, Ukraine could commit to a more nationalized subsidization of these “protectorate” companies. This would enable Ukraine to better tackle the human rights issue of sex trafficking without necessarily having to directly confront the problem of organized crime.

In short, Ukraine has to improve its policies before it can adequately eliminate its domestic sexual exploitation issues. Methods for doing so involve attracting economic actors such as multinational corporations and creating a national icon of the reality that 60,000 Ukrainian women are trafficked annually. The Kingdom of Sweden, conversely, now has the ability to further deconstruct its once prolific sex industry by increasing the prosecutorial rate, expanding its reintegration programs, and boosting regional partnerships to develop an international coalition to adopt a feminist standard in approaching this issue.

Unfortunately, many countries exhibit the same problems of combatting and the symptoms of governmental illegitimacy as that of Ukraine. So, the Ukrainian model is what currently percolates the world’s current treatment of the trafficking issue. There is a lack of cohesive research on the issue broadly as well as a disincentive for many of these states to address regional and national sex trafficking issues. Rather than causal, the process is more cyclical, and Ukraine and synonymous states will not
resolve sex trafficking without concurrent improvements.

In closing, the three policy frames of the Kingdom of Sweden that were collectively caused through the passage of the 1999 Kvinnofrid Law represent the correct causal procedure in addressing sex trafficking. They first had political support; the media subsequently adopted the shift in the government’s attitude toward women; and finally, the public grew to accept the policies as genuine and just, creating an entirely new issue frame from the policy frame. In Ukraine, there are dysfunctional governmental and economic barriers that prevent a functional issue frame from existing. Again, issue frames create discourse, which creates policy frame shifts. However, hope exists through the economic improvement of states as well as the continuation of research on the issue.
Works Cited


