

THE LEGAL RESPONSES TO THE SEX TRAFFICKING FROM FORMER SOVIET BLOC COUNTRIES: THE CASES OF TURKEY AND SWEDEN

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Abstract

As the modern day slavery, human trafficking occurs in almost every part of the world. Many women from the former Soviet Union and Eastern European Countries are sex trafficking victims. Turkey and the Sweden are some of the destination countries. This study focused on the sex trafficking from these source countries as well as the legal responses. In particular, it examined the cases of Turkey and Sweden. Sweden criminalized the purchase of commercial sex whereas Turkey has the opposite policy. Using secondary data, this study revealed the magnitude of this problem relating these source and destination countries. Moreover, it conducted some analyses allowing comparison between these two opposite policies. This study suggested that sex trafficking has exploded in these source countries, since the collapse of the former Soviet Bloc. Furthermore, criminalizing the buying of sex may cause the reduction in the supply of the sex market as well as the sex trafficking. This study makes a framework for this spatial and specific problem and policies addressing the supply side of the sex trafficking. Thus, further research can focus on different countries to replicate this study. Thereby, it may allow finding conclusive results in the effectiveness of criminalizing the purchase of commercial sex on the sex trafficking.

Keywords: Sex Trafficking, human trafficking, transnational crime, Turkey, Sweden

Introduction

As a transnational crime, human trafficking occurs in almost every part of the world. Victims of trafficking are thus found all over the world.

The U.S. Department of State estimates that 600,000 to 800,000 people are victims of human trafficking across international borders annually (US Department of State, 2004 as cited in Newman, 2006). Some traffickers transport humans across international borders for forced labor, while some of them transport humans for the sex trade. Usually women are victims of sex trafficking. “The modern day slaves” (Hughes, 2000a), trafficked women for the sex trade are always from Asian, East European, South American, or some African countries.

Former communist bloc countries such as the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries are some of main source countries as well (Hughes, 2000a). After the collapse of the former Soviet Bloc, women facing unemployment and poverty have sought to be free of these problems and achieve a better life. Therefore, the wealthy and modern western lifestyle has been attractive for them (Hughes, 2004b). The U.S. has been one of the best options for them in terms of making a move (Raymond & Hughes, 2001). These deceiving expectations have made them vulnerable to sex trafficking. In particular, organized crime groups have exploited them and forced them into the sex market after recruiting them (Newman, 2006).

Sex trafficking is a crime committed against human dignity, because these victims become sex slaves (Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2008). Traffickers limit their freedom by isolating them from the outside world and using some forms of physical, psychological, or sexual violence to coerce them (Richard, 1999).

Moreover, sex trafficking boosts other crimes such as drug use, prostitution, or money laundering. To control trafficked women, some traffickers are addicting them to drugs. On the other hand, due to sex trafficking, plenty of women are in the sex market place as prostitutes. In addition, organized crime groups are making more money from sex trafficking, and laundering money as a result, and this leads to the strengthening of these crime groups (Hughes & Denisova, 2002).

Supply and demand are two of the most important contributing factors in determining the sex market. The sex industry controls the supply and demand. The demands of using women for sex motivate traffickers or pimps to recruit women (Hughes, 2000a). Yen (2008) also claims that the sexual desires of buyers influence the sex trafficking and prostitution processes. For instance, in 1960s, during the influx of American soldiers in Southeast Asia sex trafficking increased rapidly. Because of the increasing sexual demand of soldiers, traffickers started to kidnap women and girls from various countries and regions to fill the supply needed for the commercial sex industry. This indicates that the extent of the male demand directly impacts sex trafficking and prostitution in many areas (Yen, 2008). Moreover, by seeking different sexual experiences with exotic females such

as Eastern or Central European women, male customers trigger the need for sex trafficking (Yen, 2008). However, Yen argues (2008) that educational and legislative measures addressing the demand for commercial sexual services can reduce the crime of sex trafficking, because this crime depends on economic gain. If the demand is reduced, sex trafficking may be reduced (Yen, 2008).

In this sense, criminalizing the purchasing of commercial sex is one of the policies used to address the prostitution and sex trafficking. Two countries, Turkey and Sweden, are worth examining as they have chosen two opposite policies to fight against sex trafficking. Sweden criminalizes the buyers of commercial sex, while Turkey legalizes prostitution and the purchasing of sex. Hence, analyzing the two policies allows us to compare these and understand if the criminalizing of buyers does work.

Study Design

Turkey and Sweden have different policies addressing sexual crimes such as prostitution and sex trafficking. Admittedly, sex trafficking differs from prostitution. However, sex trafficking victims and prostitutes are part of the supply side of the sex market. Therefore, a reduced supply leads to a weakened sex market. Likewise, the reduced demand of commercial sex causes a reduction in supply for the sex market as well as the end of the sex industry.

This study explored the effectiveness of the criminalizing the purchase of commercial sex on the sex trafficking by comparing two opposite policies adopted by Turkey and Sweden. This inquiry allows us to develop policies to address sex trafficking. Therefore, we analyzed these two opposite policies by using multiple sources of data. Thus, this study focused on the following research questions:

- 1- ***Are there any significant reductions in prostitutes after enacting law criminalizing the purchase of commercial sex in Sweden?*** This information aims to understand the impact of this law on the number of prostitutes, which is the supply side of the sex industry.
- 2- ***Are there any differences or similarities between the rates of prostitutes in Turkey and Sweden?*** This question allows us to compare the prostitution rates in these two countries.
- 3- ***Are there any differences or similarities between the rates of sex trafficking victims in Turkey and Sweden?*** This information is crucial for understanding the effectiveness of the process of criminalizing the purchase of commercial sex on the rates of sex trafficking victims.
- 4- ***What is the trend in the number of the deported foreign women having sexually transmitted disease or having been involved in***

prostitution in Turkey? This information is crucial for understanding the effectiveness of the decriminalizing process as regards the purchase of commercial sex on the sex trafficking trade in Turkey for the period of 1998 to 2011.

In addressing these questions, these were the stated hypotheses:

- 1- In Sweden, criminalizing the purchase of the commercial sex, in 1999, causes a reduction in numbers of prostitutes. Therefore, it also causes the reduction in the supply for the sex market.
- 2- Turkey has higher rate of prostitutes than Sweden because Turkey legalized prostitution.
- 3- Criminalizing the purchase of commercial sex reduces the number of sex trafficking victims as well as the numbers of sex trafficking crimes.
- 4- The increasing trend of deportation numbers of women from the former Soviet bloc countries means that decriminalizing the purchase of commercial does not work to reduce sex trafficking.

Literature Review

The Nature of Sex Trafficking

Sex trafficking has commercial, hidden, exploitive, transnational, and organized crime characteristics (Raymond & Hughes, 2001). Its commercial nature motivates traffickers to prey upon lots of women. The sexual industry is so huge a market that the value of the global trade in this area is estimated as being between seven and twelve billion dollars annually (Hughes, 2000a).

One of the characteristics of sex trafficking is the hidden nature and the result of the victim's fear. Victims are scared of being abused, raped or engaged in violence by traffickers. Likewise, they are afraid of being deported or placed in jail by law enforcement. Because of this fear, victims are reluctant to seek help or report their victimizations. Victims are always under surveillance by traffickers or pimps in private houses and they are isolated from the outside world (Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2008).

As part of the nature of sex trafficking, there is exploitation which is the process forcing women into prostitution and using some methods to control women in prostitution. As soon as victims reach the destination country, traffickers confiscate their travel documents, use violence against them, intimidate them or hold them in debt bondage (Hughes, 2000a).

Traffickers transport victims from source countries to destinations countries. This transnational character of trafficking requires the collaboration between the originating, transitional and destination countries. This collaboration indicates the organized structure of traffickers. It is also indicates that sex trafficking is a worldwide problem (Richard, 1999).

The Global Magnitude of Sex Trafficking

It is difficult to obtain accurate statistic on trafficking due to its hidden nature. There are insufficient systems to measure the prevalence of sex trafficking unless law enforcement agencies recognize trafficking offenders or victims (Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2008). However, there are some numbers of victims estimated by some international or national institutions such as the UN, and the U.S. Department of State, International Labor Office, etc. (Richard, 1999).

The U.S. Department of State estimates that between 600,000 and 800,000 persons were trafficked internationally between April 2003 and March 2004. Eighty percent of them were female and 70 percent of those females were sex trafficking victims (US Department of State, 2004 as cited in Newman, 2006).

On the other hand, International Labor Office estimates that at least 12.3 million people are victims of forced labor in the world, and 20 percent of them are victims of human trafficking (International Labor Office, 2005, as cited in Farrell, McDevitt, & Fahy, 2008).

Sex Trafficking: from former Soviet Bloc Countries

As modern day slaves, many women from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe Countries are victims of sex trafficking (Hughes, 2000a). Seeking a better life, and trying to get rid of poverty, women were very vulnerable to traffickers or organized crime groups after the collapse of Soviet Union and communism. Since this collapse, trafficked women from those countries are found in the sex industries in over 50 countries (Hughes, 2004).

The beginning of this problem: The Collapse of Communist Bloc

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 was the beginning of this problem. The political and economic system collapsed, and corruption was common in government (Hughes, 2000a).

Due to the economic and politic gaps, organized criminal groups began to control the economy and administration causing an end to the social welfare and health care systems. In Russia, for instance, organized crime controlled almost half of private businesses, and state enterprises in 1996 (Hughes, 2004b). Because of those weaknesses, states could not pay the salaries and many employees joined the criminal networks. Under these conditions, growing organized crime groups began to operate prostitution rings and pursued trafficking throughout Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and North America. Economic conditions and the illusion of prostitution and the western lifestyle made this illegal process easier (Hughes & Denisova, 2002).

Glamorizing the Prostitution and Western Lifestyle

Before the collapse of the communist bloc, women had to work in the

former Soviet Union because of the constitutional obligation. After the collapse, however, women were the first to face unemployment and poverty. There was a dramatic rise in unemployment for women and men. Most women were unemployed and desperate so that traffickers could recruit them easily with promises of jobs and good incomes on the outside. Because women had to look after their children or families, they were ready to be exploited (Hughes, 2004b).

Seeking the western lifestyle, women knew the risk of becoming a prostitute. These women thought that if they went to the western countries and found a good job or western husband, they would be free of these problems (Hughes, 2004). Hughes (2004b) suggests that the media has a big role to play in creating this illusion. It glamorizes the western lifestyle and prostitution. In Russia, for example, “Interdevochka” (1990) was a popular film in which a woman works as a hard currency prostitute. During this time, a survey of 15 years old school girls indicated that 70 percent of these girls wanted to be prostitutes. Ten years earlier, however, 70 percent of them preferred to be cosmonauts, doctors, or teachers (Hughes, 2004b).

The Magnitude of this Problem

Since the collapse of former Soviet Bloc, traffickers have trafficked hundreds of thousands of women from former Soviet Bloc countries into prostitution throughout the world (Hughes, 2000a). For instance, The International Organization for Migration estimated that between 1991 and 1998 500,000 Ukrainian women had been trafficked to the western countries (Hughes & Denisova, 2002).

Lindstrom suggest that annually around 400,000 women are trafficked into Western European countries via the Balkan countries whereas around 170,000 women are trafficked into the Balkan countries (Lindstrom, 2004).

On the other hand, European Network for HIV/STI Prevention and Health Promotion among Migrant Sex Workers (TAMPEP) estimated that in Italy 90 percent, in Austria 85 percent, in Netherland 68 percent, in Germany 47 percent, in Spain 50 percent, in Belgium 45 percent, and in Sweden 25 percent of the immigrant women are in sex market (Tavcer, 2006).

Factors of Sex Trafficking

Newman (2006) counts the economic conditions, supply and demand, sex industry, and organized crime groups or traffickers as factors of sex trafficking.

After the collapse of the economic and political systems of the former communist bloc countries, women faced unemployment and poverty. Facing unemployment and poverty, women sought new ways or solutions to combat this. Finally, to look after their families and get rid of poverty, many

desperate women were readily exploited by traffickers (Hughes, 2004b).

Since the collapse of the communist bloc, those countries have been able to supply plenty of women wherever it is profitable (Hughes, 2004b). Facing unemployment and poverty, women in the former Soviet bloc countries became the potential supply for supplying the demand for commercial sex in the sex market. This concept of supply and demand is one of the most important contributing factors in fostering the sex trafficking trade, because it triggers the recruitment of women for the sex market (Hughes, 2000a).

On the other hand, the sex industry controls the supply and demand. Not only the demands of women for commercial sex jobs, but also the value of this sex market motivates traffickers to recruit women from these source countries (Hughes, 2000a). The sex industry provides such huge market that the value of the global trade is estimated to be between seven and twelve billion dollars annually (Hughes, 2000a). Pornographic magazines and videos, phone sex lines, the Internet, massage parlors, escort services, sex tours, brothels, and strip clubs are some parts of this industry (Raymond & Hughes, 2001).

The last main influencing factor in the context of the sex trafficking trade is the organized crime groups and traffickers themselves (Newman, 2006). Richard (1999, p. vii) defines the organized crime groups and their role in the sex trafficking as follow: “An organized criminal group is a structured group of three or more persons existing for a period of time and having the aim of committing a serious crime in order to, directly or indirectly, obtain a financial or other material benefit. This definition encompasses a broader spectrum of crime affiliation encompassing smaller crime groups, loosely connected criminal networks, or large organized families, and more appropriately describes organized crime involvement in trafficking.” (Richard, 1999, p. vii).

According to Europol, offenders are either organized groups or individuals. Large scale networks are highly organized from the recruitment to the exploitation stages and they are well connected. Medium scale networks traffic women from a particular country to a particular destination country. Individuals also traffic women individually (Newman, 2006). For instance, almost all of Russian organized crime groups existing in the U.S. are involved in trafficking women to the United States. Those organized crime groups transport women from Russia, Ukraine, the Baltic States, and Central Europe for the sex industry, specifically for stripping, escort services, and prostitution (Richard, 1999).

Stages and methods of sex trafficking

Newman (2006) states that there are four stages in the sex trafficking

process. The first stage is the recruitment stage. Traffickers convince the victims by promising good work and well paying jobs, and provide passports and visas. For the first stage, they sometimes kidnap the victims or approach women as a friend (Newman, 2006). The second stage is the transportation and entry to the country stage. After entering the country, traffickers hand the victims over to the purveyors or pimp. In the third stage, traffickers offer the victims to the sex market. In this stage the purveyors or pimps or traffickers force them to have sexual intercourse with the clients, and isolate them from the community. The last stage is the exploitation (Newman, 2006). Many trafficked women do not know their rights and are fearful of seeking assistance from police or other service agencies. Some of the victims are often in debt to the traffickers. As a result, traffickers have enormous control over the victims. So victims are turning into slaves. Under these circumstances, victims may refuse to cooperate with the police (Richard, 1999).

For the first stage of the sex trafficking, Newman (2006) suggests that kidnapping or selling of women are some of the recruitment methods. Apart from those methods some agencies such as advertisement, travel, or marriage agencies deceive women in order to recruit them. Those agencies deceive them by promising good employment or a wealthy western spouse (Richards, 1999; Kelly, 2002). Traffickers recruit women by deceiving them through victims' friends, boyfriends, or their own families (Hughes, 2002). Additionally, advertising, travel, or marriage agencies use these various methods to recruit women (Kelly, 2002). In order to recruit women, for example, newspaper advertisements promise some good employment opportunities in the destination countries. Some research also supports this point by estimating that traffickers recruit twenty percent of women through media advertisements (Hughes, 2002).

Some travel agencies are also effective for the recruitment of women for sex trafficking. Handing over their documents to travel agencies, women believe that those travel agencies solve their logistics and legitimate work permits problems. This easily leads to the control of these women. In tandem with traffickers, these businesses provide people with legal documents such as work permits, visas, and passports for the destination countries (Richard, 1999).

Marriage agencies play a big role in recruiting women as well. Seeking better life conditions, young girls or desperate wives often look for opportunities to go to western countries. In trying to rid themselves of poverty, these women look to get married and for a wealthy life and sign up with these agencies. Most of these agencies are web-based and almost 15 countries of the former Soviet Union have access to these web sites. These agencies offer escort, pornography and prostitution services as well as tours

for foreign men (Hughes, 2004). According to Hughes` research (2004), 219 Web-based marriage agencies have a total of 119,649 women listed on their sites. The largest numbers of women are from Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Belarus (Hughes, 2004).

Though there is widespread consensus that kidnapping is a rare recruitment method, some countries have higher rates of this form of recruitment for sex trafficking purposes. An IOM/ICMC study suggests that 10 per-cent of women of the observed sample were kidnapped. In some countries, however, these rates are higher. In Albania, for instance, sex trafficking offenders kidnapped 18 percent of detected Moldovan and Ukrainian women (Kelly, 2002).

The second stage of the sex trafficking process is the transportation stage (Newman, 2006). Here victims rely mainly on traffickers to get them to their destination because they have inadequate information about the routes and countries they have to pass through (Richard, 1999). Newman (2006) states that traffickers use airways to bring victims into the United States, and usually use travel agencies. Traffickers may transport them across borders. The use of forged or stolen passports and visas is common.

The third stage of the sex trafficking process is the marketing phase. Before or after a woman has reached the destination country, they can find themselves in the sex market through internet chat rooms, bulletin boards, and the many web sites offering matchmaking services (Newman, 2006). Moving women into the destination country, traffickers usually prefer to exploit victims in big cities containing huge sex industries. The movement of the women continues among the brothels. Traffickers move the women again around the country to offer a variety of women for clients, to hide them from law enforcement, and to hinder the relationship with a client who may try and assist them (Richard, 1999). For example, in Manhattan and surrounding boroughs of Brooklyn, Bronx and Queens, there are many sexual activities for exploited victims to become involved in such as street prostitution, strip clubs, peep or fantasy booth shows, massage parlors, bars, private apartments and escort services (Raymond & Hughes, 2001).

The last stage of the sex trafficking process is the exploitation phase (Newman, 2006). Newman (2006) suggests that trafficked women are extremely vulnerable for three reasons. First, victims are scared of law enforcement and do not seek help because they are illegal aliens. Second, women are always in debt to the traffickers. Third, they cannot go back to their home because of their family`s honor. They think that they damaged their family`s honor by working in the sex trade. Therefore, traffickers have enormous control over these women.

Hughes (2000a) adds the confiscation of travel documents, and violence to control victims, strategies used particularly to control women

from the former Soviet bloc, where traffickers confiscate their passports, travel or identity documents as soon as they reach the destination country (Richard, 1999). These conditions lead to the exploitation of trafficked women forcing them into prostitution in brothels, private houses, nightclubs, hotels, massage parlors, or bars (Hughes, 2000a).

Debt bondage is one of the most common coercion methods used by the traffickers. Women deceived by traffickers by false job promises are in debt to traffickers for the cost of their travel, accommodation, other necessities and traffickers' commission. The other way debt bondage occurs is that traffickers sell the victims to another trafficker and the women are in debt to a second trafficker because of the price that second trafficker paid for them. Thus, the second trafficker forces the women to have sex with customers until she has earned enough money to pay back the amount of the debt (Richard, 1999).

Violence is also an important method used to force women to prostitution. There are several kinds of violence against victims such as sexual, physical, or psychological abuse, threats of violence. Moreover, their freedom is severely limited and often they are isolated from outside. In these cases, women cannot resist their traffickers. Therefore, traffickers force them to work anywhere from sixteen to twenty hours per day (Richard, 1999).

Legal Policies influencing sex trafficking in Turkey and Sweden

Turkey and Sweden are the two of the destination countries for the trafficked women from the former communist bloc countries (Ekberg, 2004 & Hughes, 2004b). These two countries developed some responses to the sex trafficking. On the one hand, these two countries enacted laws addressing the human trafficking. On the other hand, Sweden adopted the policy of criminalizing the purchase of the commercial sex, while Turkey decriminalized this.

Turkey

Until 2002, there was no legal regulation addressing directly the sex trafficking in Turkey. Instead, such sections of Turkish Penal Code as 313, 435, 436 and the articles of Passport Law related to prostitution were used to address sex trafficking. The Passport Law prohibits prostitutes, pimps, and traffickers from crossing into Turkish borders whereas Turkish Penal Code addresses such crimes as forcing women into prostitution, pimping, and organized crimes (Erder&Kaska, 2003). On 9 August 2002, Turkey enacted some changes in the Penal Code including two amendments addressing the human smuggling and trafficking. Since then, Turkish authorities have named this crime human trafficking and smuggling (Cicekli, 2005). Likewise, they have dealt with the sex trafficking victims. However, before enacting the regulations on the human smuggling and trafficking, Turkey

enacted the Law Against Criminal Organizations for Profit (No: 4422) and enforced this in 1999. This regulation allowed law enforcement officers to investigate the trafficking in human beings as organized crime. The new changes in the Turkish Penal Code enabled authorities to punish traffickers with up to 5-10 years imprisonment (Erder&Kaska, 2003). In 2004, the Turkish government renewed the Turkish Penal Code. The new code allowed the justice authorities to sentence smugglers with up to 3-8 years imprisonment as well as traffickers with up to 8-12 years imprisonment (Cicekli, 2005).

The trafficked women and prostitutes are in the same sex industry. Therefore, policies and legislation addressing the prostitution influence the sex trafficking trade. In respect of the prostitution, since 1961 Turkey has allowed licensed brothels and prostitutes to control the prostitutions and sexually transmitted diseases as well as to protect the public morals and health. The law enforcement officers were enabled to arrest persons involved in covert prostitution for the benefit of public morals and health. However, this was an administrative sanction subject to a fine rather than a crime sanction. If the law enforcement officers arrested a foreign woman, then those women were deported immediately (Erder&Kaska, 2003). Until 1998, adultery committed by women was a criminal offence. The man arrested with a married woman could be punished the same way. However, this old Turkish Penal Code was punishing only married women. If married men were found to live together with another women in the same house like a family, then they could be punished. In 1998, the Constitutional Court removed these articles related the adultery from the Penal Code due to the infringement of the code on the principle of gender equality. In 2004, the new Turkish Penal Code also decriminalized prostitution. However, procuring remained a criminal offense, whereas prostitutes and buyers of sex were decriminalized (Renk&Demir, 2011).

Sweden

In 1999, Sweden enacted the "Act Prohibiting the Purchase of Sexual Services" and became the first country to exclusively criminalize the buyers of commercial sex. This was expected to eliminate sex trafficking and prostitution by regarding prostitution and sex trafficking as equally harmful practices; thereby targeting the male demand for commercial sex. Therefore, Sweden initiated a nationwide public awareness campaign on sex trafficking to inform citizens and warn potential commercial sex buyers about the new law. Since the Prohibition Act was passed and implemented aggressively, the conviction rate for buyers increased and the number of buyers fell sharply. The number of female prostitutes also dropped (Yen, 2008). The main consideration to criminalize the buying of commercial sex was that prostitution involves a serious oppression of women (Hughes, 2004).

Additionally, in Sweden, the principles of the political, economic, and social equality reject the idea that woman's body can be sold like merchandise. Likewise, prostitution is harmful to the society as well. Therefore, the Sweden authorities wanted to criminalize the purchasing of sex. Thus, the man buying commercial sex can be punished under the Swedish Penal code for at most six months imprisonment or a fine (Ekberg, 2004).

On the other hand, in 2002, Sweden enacted a new law against the trafficking in human beings. Before this new law was put into effect, Sweden was prosecuting the human trafficking cases under its procuring or kidnapping provisions. According to the US Department of State, Swedish police estimate that 400 to 600 persons are trafficked annually into the Sweden compared to 600,000 to 800,000 annually trafficked persons in the entire world. Since the enacting of the law, the conviction rates of traffickers have been increased (Ekberg, 2004).

Data Collection

This study is based on a secondary data set collected by examining the official statistics, reports, and articles. In order to answer the research questions, this study, first of all, needed data representing the numbers of prostitutes counted by years in Sweden. Thus, the data illustrating the prostitute numbers in Sweden was constructed based on Ekberg's (2004) study. The number of prostitutes' data for Turkey was collected from the Ankara Chamber of Commerce (ATO) Report (2004).

The data regarding the sex trafficking victims in Turkey was obtained from the Turkish National Police. On the other hand, the data regarding the sex trafficking victims in Sweden was constructed from various reports (Trafficking in Persons report, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009) published by the U.S. Department of State. The number of victims from 2004 to 2009 was combined to represent the desired sex trafficking victims' data.

In order to calculate the rates of prostitutes and sex trafficking victims, data concerning the population of Turkey was retrieved from the website of The General Directory of the Population and Citizenship Affairs (NVIGM) whereas the population of Sweden was retrieved from the website of Statistic Sweden.

Additionally, to support this study, data illustrating the deportation numbers of the foreign women having sexually transmitted diseases or having been involved in prostitution for the period of 1998 to 2011 was used. Women from former Soviet bloc countries were separated from other foreign women. This data was obtained from Turkish National Police.

Finally, in order to give an example to discuss the results, two investigation reports regarding the prostitution, organized crime, and human

trafficking were provided from the Mardin City Police.

Methodology

This study has operationalized the collected data in four steps in order to understand the trends in the number of prostitutes in Sweden, the differences among prostitutes' and sex trafficking victims' rates between these two countries, and trends in the deportation numbers of foreign women having sexually transmitted diseases or having been involved in prostitution.

First of all, by using data from Ekberg's (2004) study, this research has conducted a trend analysis of the number of prostitutes in Sweden for the years of 1998, 2002, and 2004. This allows us to understand the effectiveness of the law that criminalizes the purchase of commercial sex on the supply side of the sex market.

Secondly, the other measure of the effectiveness of criminalizing the purchase of commercial sex is the comparison of the prostitute rates in these countries. These prostitute rates are calculated by standardizing the number of prostitutes by the population of each country (per 100,000 population) as of 2004. The difference between the prostitute rates allows us to understand whether criminalizing is effective on the supply side of sex market as well as the sex trafficking trade.

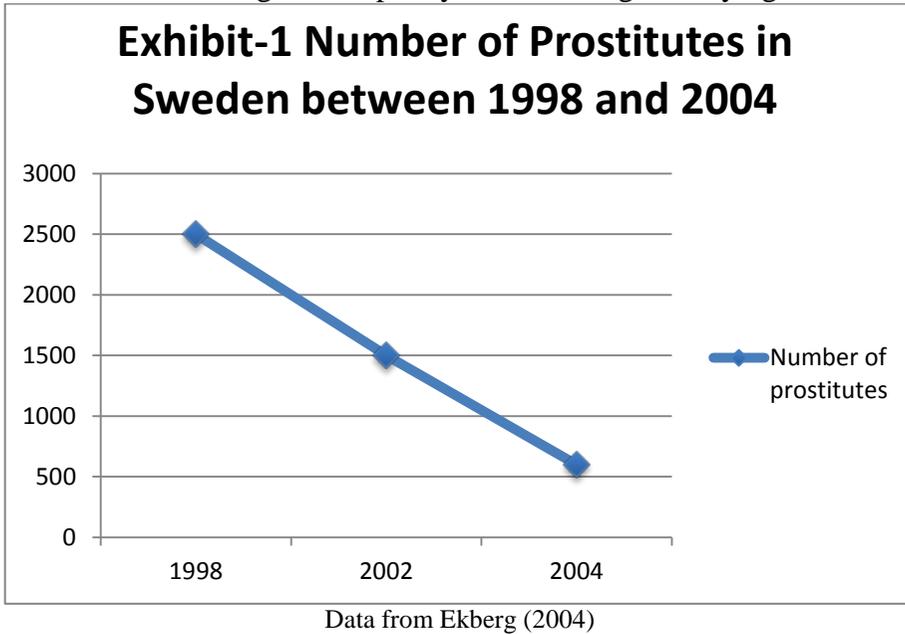
Thirdly, victims of sex trafficking rates are also used as a measure of the effectiveness of the process of criminalizing the purchase of commercial sex. These rates are also calculated by standardizing the number of sex trafficking victims of the six years period (2004-2009) by the population of each country (per 100,000 population). The difference between the victim rates also allows us to understand the effectiveness of the criminalizing process on sex trafficking.

Lastly, this research has conducted a trend analysis of the deportation numbers of former Soviet Union, Balkan, and Eastern European women having the sexually transmitted disease or having been involved prostitution over a fourteen years period (1998 to 2011) in Turkey. This trend analysis helps us to understand if the decriminalizing the buying of commercial sex has any effect on these deportation trends.

Results

Exhibit-1 indicates the trend of the estimated numbers of prostitutes in Sweden. In this analysis, the year the analysis started is 1998. This was the pre period of the beginning of new policy criminalizing the purchase of the commercial sex in 1999. Therefore, this time period allows us to better understand the number of prostitutes at the start of the period when the new law was enacted. Thus, the number of prostitutes in 1998 shows the existing number of prostitutes when the new law prohibiting the purchase of the

commercial sex was enacted. Data showing the estimated numbers of prostitutes in 2002 and 2004 also illustrates the trend of the prostitute numbers after the change of the policy criminalizing the buying of sex.



The time series shows the dramatically decreased numbers of prostitutes over this time period. While the number of estimated prostitutes was 2500 in 1998, it decreased significantly in 2002. Then their estimated number was 1500. This dramatic reduction in the number of prostitutes continued in 2004 where the number was 600.

Similarly, Table-1 compares the pre and post time period as regards the new policy in Sweden. Therefore, it indicates the rates of prostitutes per 100,000 people in three separate years: 1998, 2002, and 2004. According to Table-1, in 1998, there was a very high rate of prostitutes with 28 prostitutes per 100,000 people, while the lowest rate occurred in 2004 with 7 prostitutes per 100,000 people. In other words, since the new law was enacted, the ratios of prostitutes in Sweden have been reduced almost two fold in 2002, and four fold in 2004. Therefore, these analyses suggest that the criminalizing the purchase of the commercial sex is associated with the significant reduction in prostitutes who are the supply of the sex market.

Years	Population*	Estimated number of prostitutes**	Prostitutes per 100000
1998	8861426	2500	28
2002	8940788	1500	17
2004	9011392	600	7

* Data from Statistic Sweden

** Data from Ekberg (2004)

The Table-2 also shows the rates of prostitute numbers per 100,000 people in both countries. Because of the availability of data the year 2004 was selected for comparing the rates of prostitutes in these two countries. Turkey mainly differs from Sweden as regards criminalizing the purchase of commercial sex. Therefore, the comparison of these prostitution rates may give us an idea about the effectiveness of the different policies, that is, which is the more effective policy? As displayed in Table-2, the rate of prostitutes is very high in Turkey with 138 prostitutes per 100,000 people compared to 7 prostitutes per 100,000 in Sweden. The greater ratio of prostitutes in Turkey compared to the ratio of that in Sweden shows that these two opposite policies dealing with prostitution have different effects on the sex market. Thus, this significant difference in the estimated number of prostitutes in both countries suggests Sweden is more successful than Turkey in reducing numbers of prostitutes as well as the supply of prostitutes to the sex market.

Table-2 Rates of Prostitutes in Turkey and Sweden in 2004

Country	Population*	Estimated number of prostitutes**	Prostitutes per 100000
Turkey	72357300	100000	138
Sweden	9011392	600	7

* Data from NVIGM and Statistic Sweden

** Data from Ekberg (2004) and ATO (2004)

The ratio of sex trafficking victim numbers in both countries (Table-3) permits comparison of these two countries to serve as a discussion point for the influence of criminalizing the purchase of commercial sex on the sex trafficking trade. This table includes the average population for years 2004-2009 as well as the aggregated numbers of sex trafficking victims for each country. Therefore, the rates of sex trafficking victims are calculated by standardizing these aggregated numbers of sex trafficking victims by the average population of each country (per 100,000 population). According to Table-3, sex trafficking numbers are higher in Turkey than in Sweden. In Turkey, the ratio of sex trafficking victims is 1.5 per 100,000 people compared to 1 per 100,000 people in Sweden. However, the difference is non-significant, and suggests in the sex trafficking case there may be other factors influencing these rates. In fact, rates of sex trafficking victims are low in both countries compared to their rates of prostitution.

Table-3 Rates of Sex Trafficking Victims in Turkey and Sweden for years 2004-2009

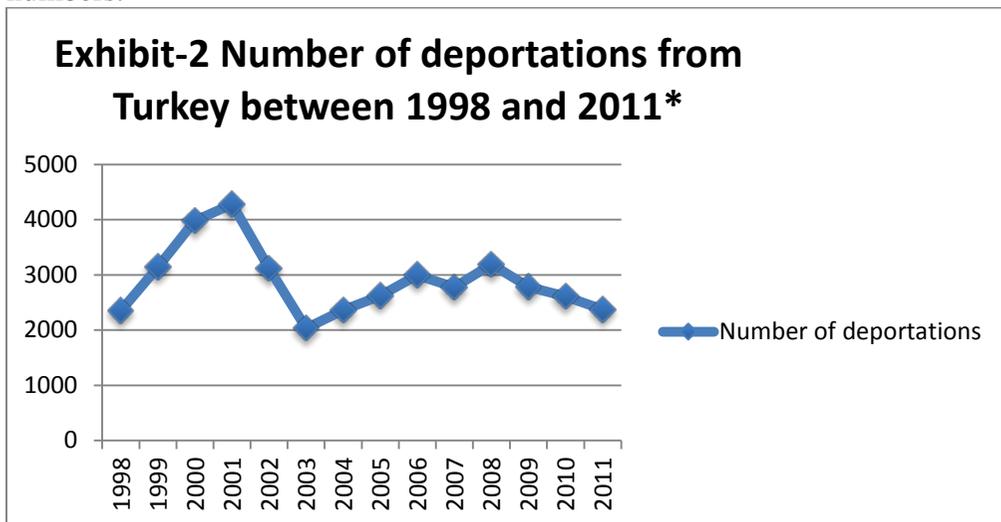
Country	Population*	Victims of sex trafficking**	Victims per 100000
Turkey	74172454	1109	1.5
Sweden	9158726	99	1

* Data from NVIGM and Statistic Sweden

**Data from U.S. Department of State and TNP, 2004 to 2009

As suggested by Karakus and McGarrell (2010), there is an association between migrant prostitution and trafficking in women. Therefore, the trend analysis (Exhibit-2) of the deportation numbers of the former Soviet Union, Balkan, and Eastern European women having sexually transmitted diseases or having been involved in prostitution for a 14 year period (1998 to 2011) allows us to understand the trend in the numbers of foreign women who are in the sex market in Turkey. In addition to this trend analysis, the comparison of the numbers and proportions of the sex trafficking victims and the deported former Soviet Union, Balkan, and Eastern European women having the sexually transmitted disease or involved the prostitution between 2004 and 2008 (Table-4) may allow us to see if there is a difference between the numbers of sex trafficking cases and deported women although all of those women are in the sex industry.

The Exhibit-2 shows the time period between 1998 and 2011. For the first span of four years (1998 to 2001), the numbers of deported women dramatically increased while for the next 2 years (2002 to 2003), their numbers sharply decreased. After 2003, the numbers of deported women fluctuated and almost remained constant. In other words, there was no significant increase or decrease after 2003. The highest number of women was deported in 2001 while the lowest number of them is deported in 2003. Therefore, this time series analysis suggest that the enacted law addressing sex trafficking in 2002 may have the opposite effect in the deported women numbers.



Data from TNP

*In this exhibit, the deported women are from former Soviet bloc countries

On the other hand, Table-4 indicates that the numbers and proportions of the deported women between 2004 and 2008 differed

significantly from the numbers of sex trafficking victims. For the span of the five years (2004 to 2008), the numbers of deported women are almost ten times greater than the numbers of sex trafficking victims. Between 2004 and 2008, the proportion of deported women is higher than 90 percent while the percentages of sex trafficking victims are lower than 10 percent. It also suggests that there may be another factors masking the extent of any sex trafficking. In other words, there may be many sex trafficking victims among the deported women.

Table-4 Numbers and Percentages of the Sex Trafficking Victims and Deported Women by Years

Years	Number of sex trafficking victims	Number of deported women	Total	Percentage of sex trafficking victims	Percentage of deported women
2004	239	2364	2603	9.2	90.8
2005	256	2624	2880	8.9	91.1
2006	246	2994	3240	7.6	92.4
2007	148	2776	2924	5.1	94.9
2008	118	3193	3311	3.6	96.4

Data from TNP

Discussions and Limitations

This section has discussed the effect of criminalizing the purchase of the commercial sex on the supply side of the sex market. The discussion then continued to illustrate the association of prostitution and sex trafficking. Thus, we can discuss the effect of criminalizing the purchase of commercial sex on sex trafficking process.

First, this study suggests there is a significant reduction in the prostitute numbers in Sweden. Sweden prohibited the purchasing of sex in 1999. This time period, 1999, is also the beginning of this dramatic reduction. In the pre-policy period, it is estimated that there were 2,500 prostitutes, whereas in 2004 the estimated number of prostitutes was around 600 in Sweden. On the other hand, the comparison of the ratios of the prostitute numbers for the years of 1998, 2002, and 2004 found a significant reduction in the prostitute numbers after the law prohibiting the buying of sex was enacted in 1999.

Moreover, when we compare the ratios of the prostitute numbers in Turkey and Sweden, then it is obvious that in Turkey the ratio of the prostitute numbers is significantly higher than that in Sweden. Therefore, this study suggests that in Turkey, the prostitute numbers are so high because the decriminalizing of the buying of sex may cause this high rate. The trend analysis of the deported migrant prostitutes also supports the suggestion that the number of the migrant prostitutes almost remained constant. In other

words, since 1961, there has not been any change in policies addressing the sex market, except the enacting laws addressing human trafficking in 2002 and 2005 in Turkey (Erder&Kaska, 2003). The sharp increase of the rates of deported women began to decrease dramatically in 2002. Since then, it has fluctuated but almost remained constant. Therefore, we can simply conclude that the prostitute numbers are very high in Turkey despite the enacted laws addressing human trafficking. Furthermore, the sharp decrease in 2002 shows that the law enacted in 2002 may have the opposite effect in reduction of the supply side of the sex market.

Apart from this comparison of Turkey and Sweden, the comparison of the prostitute numbers in Sweden and Denmark show that criminalizing the buying of sex causes a reduction in prostitution numbers. These two countries also have opposite policies as regards criminalizing the buying of sex. In Denmark (with 4.5 million population), around 2000 women were involved in street prostitution in 1990, while this number of street prostitutes was around 5,500 to 7,800 in 2004 (Ekberg, 2004). The Swedish government published a report in 2010 evaluating the ban against the purchase of sexual services (SOU, 2010). According to this report, the magnitude of street prostitution in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden was almost the same before Sweden enacted the law prohibiting the buying of sexual services. However, the street prostitution rates increased sharply in Norway and Denmark while it decreased in Sweden after criminalizing the buying of sex. In fact, in 2008, in Norway and Denmark, the numbers of the street prostitutes were around three times higher than that in Sweden (SOU, 2010).

The other Scandinavian country, Finland also legalizes the buying of sex. Finnish Criminal Intelligence Division of National Bureau of Investigation reported that annually around 10,000 to 15,000 women from Estonia, Russia, Latvia, and Lithuania are coming to Finland to be involved in the sex market (Ekberg, 2004). Netherland is also one of the countries decriminalizing the purchase of the commercial sex. Carrigg (2008) suggests that in 2000, there were 25,000 prostitutes in Netherland (with the around 16 million population) compared to the number of prostitutes with less than 2,500 in Sweden at the same year. Therefore, we can conclude that the main difference in policy between those countries and Sweden is the policy of criminalizing the buying of sex. Thus, criminalizing the purchase of commercial sex may cause a reduction in the supply side of the sex industry.

In order to discuss the effect of criminalizing buying sex on the sex trafficking, we need to understand the association of prostitution and sex trafficking as well as explanations of the comparison of the sex trafficking victim rates in Turkey and Sweden. In this sense, Hughes suggests that as regards the demand of commercial sex manages the sex market; the demand side of the sex market consists of men purchasing commercial sex, while the

supply side consists of traffickers, pimps, and women (Hughes, 2005). In other words, men demand the commercial sex from the sex industry including the prostitute or trafficked women. Dempsey (2009) also argues that the buying of sex creates a sex market. Therefore, this sex market needs prostitutes so this motivates traffickers to recruit women. Thus, traffickers or pimps control women to keep increasing their profits (Dempsey, 2009).

As this study examined the rates of sex trafficking victim numbers in Turkey and Sweden, there is no significant difference between the ratios of sex trafficking victims in these countries, although the ratio of the sex trafficking victims is higher in Turkey than in Sweden. However, a significant difference was found between the rates of prostitute numbers in both countries. Therefore, the association of prostitution and sex trafficking may allow one to conclude that criminalizing the purchasing of sex may reduce overall sex trafficking rates. Karakus and McGarrell's (2010) study found an association between human trafficking and migrant prostitution due to the same spatial concentration of these crime types. Apart from this special concentration the following arguments try to explain this association.

Firstly, the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Trafficking found that prostitution is a general form of trafficking (Waltman, 2011). Thus sex trafficking mainly differs from prostitution in terms of the degree of threat and violence. However, 70 per cent of 200 prostitutes reported that buyers raped them on average 31.3 times in San Francisco. Likewise, 84 per cent of the 55 prostitutes in Portland faced violence on average 103 times a year, while 78 per cent of them were raped 49 times a year as well as 53 percent of them were subject to torture in every week (Waltman, 2011). Therefore, even if they are named as prostitutes, in reality they are trafficked women. In fact, before the new legislation addressing sex trafficking, in Sweden, law enforcement officers were investigating traffickers under the banner of the procuring, rape, or assault code (Ekberg, 2004; Waltman, 2011).

For example, the Mardin City Police in Turkey investigated an organized crime group of prostitution in 2011. According to the telephone interceptions, law enforcement identified the three Georgian and one Turkish prostitute as victims because they were subjected to violence such as torture, beating, or restricting of their freedom as well as pimps were transporting and selling them to each other. This investigation was carried out under the organized crime code, although it had indicators of sex trafficking (Mardin City Police Investigation Reports, 2011).

Secondly, some of the regional traffickers or crime groups organize integrated trafficking and prostitution businesses. For instance, Chinese traffickers move victims into brothels and control them at all times. Likewise, Balkan Crime groups recruit women and exploit them in brothels in Western European countries. These victims are assumed to be prostitutes,

because they are under control of their trafficker or pimps as well as the fact they cannot report their victimization (Hughes, 2005). Therefore, in many kinds of brothels, prostitutes and trafficked women are integrated.

In Rhode Island, for example, prostitution is decriminalized. Moreover, until 2007, sex trafficking was not a crime. Therefore, Asian massage parlor brothels are common there as well as sex trafficking being common (Shapiro, 2009). Shapiro (2009) observed 33 Asian massage parlor brothels and found substantive proof indicating sex trafficking was going on such as the traffickers restricting women from going outside and having surveillance cameras to control them. Thus, the women's freedom is restricted, and they are forced to live on the premises and are constantly moved into different massage parlors. Shapiro also found that women in these brothels couldn't resist while engaging in sex acts. She finally concluded that decriminalizing of prostitution leads to an expanded sex market as well as sex trafficking (Shapiro, 2009).

The researcher of this study had also many experience regarding the prostitution and sex trafficking while working in Mardin City Police as a deputy chief of the Crime Investigation Unit between 2007 and 2010. The researcher's experienced showed that many foreign and local women were mixed in the sex market. Furthermore, they were sex trafficking victims despite investigations under the prostitution or organized crime codes. Although pimps or prostitutes stated that there were not any violence or exploitation, telephone interceptions and investigations were proving the violence and exploitation that are the indicators of sex trafficking. For example, in 2011 Mardin City Police, Crime Investigation Unit investigated seven pimps and traffickers procuring ten Georgian and two local women. One of these suspects was a Georgian woman. Likewise, this unit also investigated five suspects in the same year. In this case, one of these suspects was also Georgian as well as there were one local and four Georgian victims. These two cases were investigated under the prostitution and organized crime codes. Police officers assessed prostitutes as victims because the telephone interceptions indicated some violence and exploitation indicators. However, they investigated these two cases under the prostitution and organized crime codes in spite of the sex trafficking indicators (Mardin City Police Investigation Reports, 2011). Thus, these two examples of investigation reports shows that trafficked women and prostitutes are integrated in the same market as well as prostitutes, in reality, may be sex trafficking victims even if they are reported as prostitutes.

Thirdly, the existence of foreign prostitutes increases the likelihood of sex trafficking because these foreign women would need some document such as passport or visa to travel as well as the support to live in a foreign country. In Norway, for example, after 2001 the Norwegian prostitutes began

to decrease, instead foreign women (especially Eastern European women) began to increase to form two-thirds of the sex market. In Denmark, half of the women in prostitution are foreigners and it is estimated that 50 per cent of the 5,500 to 7,800 prostitutes have been sex trafficking victims as of 2003 (Ekberg, 2004).

On the other hand, in the Netherlands, for example, it is found that eighty per cent of women in brothels were trafficked women (Raymond, 2003). Finnish Criminal Intelligence Division of National Bureau of Investigation also reported similar results about the number of foreign prostitutes (Ekberg, 2004). However, this is not conclusive because many of these trafficked women are in the same sex industry with prostitutes in sites such as brothels, sex clubs, street or indoor prostitution sites, and massage parlors (SOU, 2010). Due to the hidden nature of sex trafficking and fears of many victims, law enforcement personnel struggle to identify victims and sex trafficking cases (Richard, 1999). It is the one of reasons why human trafficking victims, cases, or convictions numbers do not match up with the real magnitude of human trafficking. Therefore, it is difficult to figure out the exact scale of human trafficking (Hughes, 2000a; SOU, 2010).

Fourthly, the victims' testimonies show that in order to make more money, pimps and traffickers prefer to move women into the big sex industry in such countries as Denmark, Germany, Netherland, and Spain, which decriminalize the buying of sex (Ekberg, 2004). According to the National Criminal Department, their telephone interceptions indicate that traffickers and pimps do not want to participate in the sex market in Sweden due to the small sex industry. Moreover, when law enforcement personnel investigate brothels because of related criminal activities like sex trafficking, they may find three or four prostitutes in a brothel compared to 20-60 prostitutes in the rest of Europe. The testimonies from prostitutes and police reports also confirm the small sex market in Sweden due to the fears of customers of being arrested and the concern of traffickers or pimps (Waltman, 2011).

As explained above, many prostitutes are actually sex trafficking victims even if they are under reported. Similarly, the same sex market integrates prostitutes and sex trafficking victims in the same facilities such as brothels or massage parlors. Therefore, the official statistics regarding the sex trafficking do not represent the totality of the problem. Hence, the other studies allowed us to indicate the association between the prostitution and sex trafficking leading us to measure policies addressing the sex trafficking. The other studies also allowed us examine comparisons the Sweden and other countries decriminalizing the buying of sex. Thus, these studies allowed us to understand that many prostitutes are actually sex trafficking victims. However, many of the prostitution related crimes are not reported as the human trafficking crime. In order to measure the magnitude of this

problem, we have only the reported human trafficking cases, victims, and offenders, however. Yet, there are many human trafficking incidents, which are not reported. Therefore, data related prostitution or the sex market might allow us to measure the magnitude of sex trafficking. Thus, the comparison of the prostitute rates between Turkey and the Sweden indicates that criminalizing the buying of sex may reduce the sex trafficking.

One of the reasons why the ratio of the sex trafficking victims in Turkey does not differ significantly from the rate of these victims in Sweden might be that both these countries enacted laws addressing and criminalizing human trafficking. These both countries chose to adopt policies to fight against human trafficking. Therefore, they might reduce the number of sex trafficking victims by adopting the policy to fight against human trafficking. However, the main reason of the low number of sex trafficking victims is the hidden nature of that crime and unreported sex trafficking cases instead of the law criminalizing the human trafficking.

On the other hand, when we compare the proportions of the sex trafficking victims and migrant prostitutes, we found significant differences between them. Therefore, this study simply suggests that there may be more human trafficking victims who are not able to report their victimization among the deported migrant prostitutes. Thus, in spite of the unreliable data of human trafficking victims, the above explanations allow us to suggest that criminalizing the purchase of commercial sex may cause a reduction in sex trafficking.

In respect of limitations, data availability was main limitation for this study. The prostitutes' numbers by years in Turkey, for example, limited us to analyze the trend of prostitution in Turkey because we have the number of prostitutes only for 2004. On the other hand, the case of Sweden allowed us to conduct the time series analysis whereas the case of Turkey did not. Due to the change of the policy in Sweden we could analyze the pre and post period of this intervention. However, in Turkey there is no any legal change like in Sweden. Therefore, we could not conduct any analysis for a pre and post period. Thus, we could not compare the effectiveness of criminalizing the purchase of commercial sex for these two countries.

Moreover, data regarding the sex trafficking do not represent the totality of the problem, thus it did not allow us to directly compare the Turkey and Sweden. Due to the hidden nature of sex trafficking, many sex trafficking victims are under report. Similarly, prostitutes and sex trafficking victims are integrated in the same sex market. Therefore, law enforcement struggle to identify the sex trafficking victims. Hence, we cannot access the conclusive data of sex trafficking victims.

Additionally, the migrant prostitutes' numbers does not allow us to compare these two countries because policies of these countries does not

match up each other. We could analyze the trend in the number of deported women only for Turkey because Sweden does not have the same policy to deport foreign women having being involved in prostitution.

Lastly, we do not have any opportunity to analyze the pre and post period of the legal intervention criminalizing the human trafficking. There is no data regarding the human trafficking prior to enacting laws addressing the human trafficking because there was no such crime as named human trafficking. Then, human trafficking crimes were investigated under the procuring, pimps, or violence codes. Therefore, we cannot access these kinds of data for the pre period of this legal intervention to compare the pre and post periods.

Conclusion

In drawing attention to sex trafficking, this study reviewed the literature. First of all, the literature reviewed focused on the descriptions of the human trafficking documented by the UN, the U.S. Department of State, and the Council of Europe. Then, the characteristic of the sex trafficking was defined. The review continued to describe this sex trafficking problem by focusing on the case of the former Soviet Bloc countries as the source countries. Then it argued the factors, stages, and methods of the sex trafficking as well as the legal responses by taking into consideration the cases of Turkey and Sweden.

After reviewing the literature, this study conducted some analyses by using data from NVIGM, Sweden Statistic, TNP, ATO, and Ekberg (2004). First of all, it analyzed the prostitution trend for the pre and post period of the legal change in Sweden as well as the rates of prostitutes by years. Secondly, it compared the rates of prostitutes in both countries as of 2004. Thirdly, the comparison of the ratios of sex trafficking victims was analyzed. Lastly, this study conducted a trend analysis in the deported women from the former Soviet Union bloc countries as well as a comparison of proportions of the deported women and sex trafficking victims.

Finally, the results show that Turkey significantly differs from the Sweden in the prostitute's numbers. Thus, this study suggests that criminalizing the buying of sex may cause the reduction in the supply for the sex market. However, we could not see the same results in the comparison of rates of the sex trafficking victims. Admittedly, the existing data of the sex trafficking victims did not allow us to conduct an analysis properly due to the unreliable data of the human trafficking. Therefore, the study examined the other studies comparing the Sweden and the other countries decriminalizing the purchase of commercial sex. Similarly, it examined the studies indicating the association between the prostitution and sex trafficking. These examinations found that many prostitutes are actually sex

trafficking victims. However, they are under reported. Likewise, the same sex market integrates prostitutes and sex trafficking victims in the same facilities such as brothels or massage parlors. Therefore, data related prostitution or the sex market might allow us to measure the magnitude of sex trafficking. Thus, the comparison of prostitute ratios between Turkey and the Sweden shows that criminalizing the buying of sex may reduce the sex trafficking.

Additionally, one of the main reasons why the ratio of the sex trafficking victims in Turkey does not differ significantly from the rate of these victims in Sweden may be that both countries enacted laws addressing and criminalizing human trafficking. Thus, both countries chose to adopt policies to fight against human trafficking. Therefore, they might reduce the number of sex trafficking victims by adopting the policy to fight against human trafficking. However, when taking into consideration the under reported human trafficking cases as well as the significant difference in numbers of the migrant prostitutes and sex trafficking victims in Turkey, we can suggest that the low numbers of the sex trafficking victims are caused by the hidden nature of the sex trafficking instead of the enactment of laws criminalizing the human trafficking.

In conclusion, this study suggests that the main reason of the reduction in the number of prostitutes may be the law prohibiting the buying of sex. In addition to that, we can conclude that criminalizing the purchase of commercial sex may reduce the prostitution as well as the sex trafficking by minimizing the sex industry.

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