Pro Sentret

In transit: Migrants who sell sex in Norway

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Content

Norsk oppsummering

Prostitusjonsmarkedet er i stadig forandring. Nye plattformer tas i bruk for kontakt mellom kjøper og selger mens andre, som for eksempel gateprostitusjonen, krymper i omfang. I løpet av de siste 20 årene har prostitusjon utviklet seg til å bli i hovedsak et migrasjonsrelatert fenomen. Hvilke grupper som dominerer, varierer over tid. For eksempel var Pro Sentrets største brukergruppe frem til 2015 nigerianske kvinner, men vi ser svært få som tilhører denne gruppen i dag. I dag er de største gruppene blant Pro Sentrets brukere personer fra Sørøstlige Europa (spesielt Romania og Bulgaria), Øst-Europa (spesielt tredjelandsborgere) og Sør-Amerika.

Pro Sentret har laget kartlegginger om enkelte migrantgrupper i løpet av de siste årene, men en større kartlegging som omhandler alle migrantgrupper har ikke blitt gjort siden 2006. Feltet har endret seg dramatisk siden da og behovet for helhetlig og oppdatert kunnskap om situasjonen for migranter som selger sex i Norge er derfor stort.

Mål med kartleggingen

Det overgripende kunnskapsmålet for kartleggingen har vært å få oppdatert kunnskap om de migrantgrupper som oppholder seg i Norge og selger sex i dag. Spesielt viktig er kunnskapen om graden av organisering og menneskehandel blant disse gruppene. For å oppnå kunnskapsmålene har vi sett på følgende temaer:

- Hvilke sosioøkonomiske forhold fungerer som push-faktorer for å migrere for å selge sex?
- Hvilke pull-faktorer finnes som gjør det å migrere til Norge for å selge sex attraktivt?
- Hvor utbredt er erfaringer av utnyttelse (menneskehandel) for seksuelle og andre formål?
- På hvilken måte har tredjepart (organisering) vært involvert i migrasjonsprosessen?
- Hvor vanlig er det å ha migrert til flere land?
- Har migranter som selger sex i Norge tidligere prostitusjonserfaring fra andre land?
- En oppsummering av nyere, relevant litteratur på området migrasjon, menneskehandel og prostitusjon (del II)

Metode og materiale

Utvalgskriteriene for informanter har vært migranter (av alle kjønn) over 18 år som selger sex i Norge. Noen av Pro Sentrets brukere med migrasjonserfaring har oppholdt seg Norge sammenhengende i svært lang tid, noen har midlertidig opphold og atter noen har permanent opphold/norsk statsborgerskap. Gruppen vi har kartlagt her derimot, er de tilreisende, det vil si de som oppholder seg i Norge i kortere og lengre perioder, men er bosatt i et annet land. Pro Sentrets erfaring tilsier at dette er den største gruppen på det norske prostitusjonsmarkedet i dag. Informantene ble rekruttert blant brukere av Pro Sentret og via oppsøkende arbeid på nett. Ingen informasjon om navn (inklusive aliaser), eksakt opprinnelsesland eller alder har blitt registrert, kun område (for eksempel «Latin-Amerika») og alderskategori (for eksempel «30-35»).

Vi har i rekrutteringen av informanter prøvd, så langt det har latt seg gjøre, å få et utvalg som gjenspiller Pro Sentrets brukere i henhold til alder, opprinnelsesland og kjønn. Totalt har vi intervjuet 41 personer i målgruppen: 22 kvinner, 11 transkvinner og 8 menn. Største alderskategori er 36-40 (11 personer) fulgt av 41-45, og største geografiske opprinnelse er Latin-Amerika (15 personer). Kun tre informanter var født i et vesteuropeisk land.

Geografisk opprinnelse	
Asia (sørøst)	6
Afrika	3
Sentral-Amerika	2
Øst-Europa, utenfor EU	6
Nord-Amerika	1
Latin-Amerika	13
Sørøst-Europa, EU	7
Vest-Europa	3
Total	41

Resultatene

Vi vet at mange av Pro Sentrets brukere har bodd og oppholdt seg i flere land enn Norge og hjemlandet. Mange av brukerne fra Latin-Amerika har for eksempel ofte hatt opphold i Spania eller Portugal, rumenske brukere har også ofte oppholdt seg i lengre perioder i søreuropeiske land. Bare seks av informantene har kun erfaring av å migrere til Norge, øvrige har lang migrasjonserfaring.

Dette korresponderer godt med funnene fra kartleggingen vår. Kun seks av 41 informanter hadde bare migrasjonserfaring fra Norge. 33 informanter hadde statsborgerskap/permanent opphold i et EU-land. De fleste hadde ikke en intensjon om å bosette seg i Norge permanent, men var fornøyde med sin situasjon der de var bosatt.

Grunner til å migrere

Med få unntak, oppgir de fleste informantene at de valgte å forlate hjemlandet på grunn av mangel på økonomiske muligheter og/eller fattigdom. I noen tilfeller, spesielt blant transkvinner, bidro også diskriminering på arbeidsmarkedet og i samfunnet til deres migrasjon.

Når det kommer til valget av Norge for å selge sex, varierte svarene. Noen ganger hadde informantene lite, eller ingen kunnskap om Norge og valget handlet mer om at venner som befant seg i landet oppga at inntjeningsmulighetene var gode. Andre hadde mer personlige grunner til å velge Norge, som for eksempel ren natur, og høflige innbyggere. Overraskede få nevnte spesifikt Norges rikdom som grunn til at de migrerte.

Prostitusjonserfaring

De fleste (29 av 41) informantene hadde prostitusjonserfaring fra før de kom til Norge. Noen hadde begynt å selge sex i hjemlandet sitt, andre hadde i landet de først migrert til, atter

andre reiste til flere land i EU for å selge sex, men solgte ikke sex i landet de hadde opphold i. Dette sammenfaller også med Pro Sentrets erfaring fra praksisfeltet, der opplevelsen blant ansatte er at relativt få har hatt sin prostitusjonsdebut i Norge. Informantene inkluderer både personer med erfaring fra gateprostitusjon og innendørsprostitusjon.

Organisering og menneskehandel

Vi har mange ganger mistanke eller kunnskap om organisering og/eller menneskehandel, men vi mangler en oversikt over hvor utbredt dette er i praksis. Vi ser også nye former for organisering. For eksempel oppgir ofte russiske og ukrainske brukere, en gruppe som har vokset i det siste, at de har kommet til Norge med bistand fra en såkalt «agency». Disse «agencies» arrangerer ofte reise og opphold i Norge, samt ordner med annonser og kundekontakt. Hvorvidt dette handler om organisering, det vil si noe som faller innenfor legaldefinisjonen av hallikvirksomhet, eller om det grenser opp mot menneskehandel er for oss ukjent.

I kartleggingen oppgir tre informanter, alle fra Latin-Amerika, at deres sexsalg ble organisert av tredjepart. En kvinnelig informant fra et øst-europeisk land utenfor EU har selv ikke opplevd å bruke en «agency», men oppgir at for kvinner (fra hennes hjemland) som ikke har nok oppsparte midler for å etablere seg med bolig og annonser, er det vanlig å bruke en agency.

I de fleste tilfeller oppgir informantene at de har fått hjelp via uformelle nettverk, for eksempel venner eller familiemedlemmer, med for eksempel å leie leilighet eller lage annonser på nett. Det lave antallet informanter som oppgir involvering av tredjepart gjenspiller ikke nødvendigvis virkeligheten. Grunnene til at personer ikke vil oppgi om de har blitt organisert kan for eksempel være redsel for represalier fra bakmenn, eller at de ikke opplever sin erfaring som organisering av tredjepart.

Tre informanter beskriver å ha blitt utsatt for menneskehandel, samtlige fra latinamerikanske land. For to av disse ligger erfaringen langt tilbake i tid (1990-talet) og for den tredje handler det om et østeuropeisk nettverk som organiserte hennes reise til Norge under pandemien da grensene var stengt. Ingen av disse befinner seg nå i en menneskehandelssituasjon. Også her finns det grunn til å tro at det er en underrapportering av menneskehandelserfaringer blant informantene.

Spesielt sårbare migranter

Seks av informantene, fem kvinner og en mann, er hva vi definerer som spesielt sårbare. Dette er personer som på grunn av flere faktorer er spesielt sårbare for utnyttelse. Disse faktorene kan være ekstrem fattigdom, manglende skolegang og analfabetisme eller ulike kognitive utfordringer.

Av disse informantene kom fire fra et sørøstlig EU-land og to fra et vesteuropeisk land. Fem hadde rombakgrunn og den sjette hadde annen minoritetsbakgrunn. Alle informantene beskrev en svært vanskelig økonomisk situasjon i hjemlandene. Blant de med rombakgrunn var samtlige analfabeter, og flere hadde begynt å selge sex ettersom andre inntektskilder som tigging eller

innsamling av pant ikke lenger var mulige. Spesielt tigging ble oppgitt som umulig ettersom bruken av kontanter i Norge har gått kraftig ned.

Veien fremover

Pro Sentrets kartlegging har til dels bekreftet tidligere, og til dels bidratt med ny kunnskap om migranter som selger sex i Norge. Fokus har vært på migrasjonserfaringen, ikke på sexsalg i seg selv, noe som gir verdifull innsikt i de push og pullfaktorer som foregår i valget om å migrere.

Behovet av kunnskap om migranter som selger sex, det vil si de som utgjør den store majoriteten av prostitusjonsmarkedet i dag, er stort. Få systematiske studier har blitt gjort i Norge og Pro Sentrets kartlegging er kun et lite bidrag. Vår kartlegging har dog store begrensninger, ikke minst fordi informantene i hovedsak har blitt rekruttert blant våre brukere. Det relativt lave antallet informanter som oppgir at de har vært utsatt for menneskehandel kan være en indikasjon på at vi ikke fanger opp de mest sårbare.

Kartleggingen har heller ikke hatt fokus på erfaringene fra å selge sex i Norge. Disse erfaringene kan inkludere opplevelser av vold, av myndigheter (for eksempel politi og utlendingsmyndigheter) eller hjelpetiltak. Pro Sentret vil derfor gjøre en oppfølgende kartlegging med fokus på denne tematikken.

Part I

Migration and the Norwegian prostitution market

Migrants have dominated the Norwegian prostitution market for over two decades. Among Pro Sentret's service users, the percentage of migrants has remained at 70 per cent and upwards since at least 2005.[1] Similarly, a mapping made by the research institute Fafo in 2008[2], estimated the migrant proportion to be around 80 % in Norway. This situation is not unique to Norway; in the EU and EES countries, migrants comprise 70-90 per cent of the prostitution market in "old" EU countries.[3] Suffice to say that prostitution is now a mainly migration-driven phenomenon in Western and Northern Europe. |

Although migrants have been in the majority among Pro Sentret's service users since the early 2000s, there have been changes in dominant national groups. For example, in the 1990s, Pro Sentret had few foreign service users. However, this changed towards the end of the decade with the arrival of Dominican women in the street prostitution environment.[4] By the turn of the millennium, women from former Soviet states started arriving in large numbers.[5]

From 2005 to 2015, Nigerian women were the largest group of all service users, making up about 50 % of all service users in 2013.[6] This group started arriving in 2004 and soon came to dominate street prostitution in Oslo for over a decade. This group mainly sold sex in the street environment, and the majority were victims of human trafficking. Due to increased activity from immigration authorities and the police, many Nigerian women were expelled or received a rejection of entry since many were in Norway illegally.[7] Others chose to leave of their own accord, experiencing the police activity as harassment.[8] The few Nigerian women who still use Pro Sentret's services have generally received residency in Norway based on being victims of human trafficking.

Today, Pro Sentret's migrant service users are diverse regarding their country of origin. The group includes women, trans-persons and men of all ages; however, an overwhelming majority are women. In addition, very few are from Western or Northern European countries, but rather from counties with substantially lower living standards, mainly South-Eastern European and Latin American countries.

[1] Norli, Bjørg. (2006). Utenlandsk prostitusjon i Oslo. Pro Sentrets kunnskap og erfaringer. Oslo: Pro Sentret.
[2] Tveit, Marianne & Skilbrei, May-Len, (2008). Mangfoldig marked: Prostitusjonens omfang, innhold og organisering. Oslo: Fafo
[3] Andrijasevic, R. (2013). *Sex workers and migration, Europe*. In The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration, I. Ness (Ed.). https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444351071.wbeghm481
[4] Norli, Bjørg. (2006). Utenlandsk prostitusjon i Oslo. Pro Sentrets kunnskap og erfaringer. Oslo: Pro Sentret.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Pro Sentret. (2014). Året 2013. En oppsummering av aktivitetene og erfaringer. Oslo: Pro Sentret.
[7] Pro Sentret. (2016). Året 2015. En oppsummering av aktivitetene og erfaringer. Oslo: Pro Sentret.
[8] Ibid.

Differences between Norwegian and migrant service users

Persons who sell sex tend to be viewed as *one* group rather than made up of different groups with different needs and aspirations.

The most significant disparity between nationals and migrants who sell sex is access to health- and social services. For Pro Sentret, a service user's residency lays the basis for what services we can provide as a service provider. Although Pro Sentret's health clinic, with testing, gynaecological exams and HIV-prevention treatment, are open to everyone who sell sex, referrals to specialist healthcare are limited by the patient's residency status. Likewise, for Pro Sentret's social services, nearly all welfare benefits and programmes are limited to membership in the Norwegian national insurance scheme (folketrygden), leaving social workers with a limited toolbox for migrant service users.

Norwegian service users generally tend to sell sex to supplement other income, usually some form of state benefits (especially disability benefits). Thus, they are not necessarily relying on income from selling sex to meet basic needs. Migrants, on the other hand, are more often dependent on their income from selling sex to meet their own and often their family's basic needs. Some of the informants in our sample combined selling sex with regular work in their countries of residence. In these cases, informants treated selling sex as seasonal work, something they did for a few weeks or months per year, only to return to their regular employment for the rest of the year.

Migrant service users tend to work (selling sex) as much as possible in Norway, leaving little room for other activities. For example, Pro Sentret has previously offered various courses, such as in self-defence and yoga. Whilst courses such as these could benefit migrant service users, few participated. For migrant service users, investing time in something other than working means less income. Further, short stays in Norway also make following a course that runs over time difficult.

In sum, although making up the vast majority in Norway, migrants who sell sex have minimal access to welfare benefits and programmes that could improve their situation and provide viable economic alternatives to prostitution. Moreover, although Norway offers extensive welfare services and aid, services are conditional since they generally require Norwegian national insurance scheme membership.

Transient and settled migrants

Pro Sentret's migrant service users can be divided into transient and settled migrant categories. By transient, we mean migrants who are in Norway temporarily. Settled migrants are persons who live permanently in the country. Among those who are settled, some migrants have formalised their residency, either by a permanent residency permit or citizenship. Others have stayed in Norway clandestinely for extended periods, often years. Persons in this category may have come to Norway to sell sex, whilst others have migrated for other reasons, such as marriage with a Norwegian national.

The largest group of Pro Sentret's service users, which this report deals with, mainly belongs to the transient category. Persons within this group stay in Norway for a few weeks or months at a time, after which they return to their country of residence. Unlike the settled group, which often (but not always) has the right to welfare services, the transient group may have minimal access to said services.

Aim of the mapping

This mapping aims to provide updated knowledge for service providers and authorities on migrant groups that sell sex in Norway. Along with demographical data, such as age, origin and gender, we have looked into the following themes:

- What are the socio-economic drivers for migration?
- What makes Norway attractive as a destination?
- In what way have third parties been involved in the migration process?
- Do they have experience with human trafficking?
- Have they migrated to countries other than Norway?
- Do they have prostitution experience from other countries?

Method

Informants were recruited among Pro Sentret's service users and through outreach on platforms used for advertising sexual services. In addition, informants were recruited to provide a representative sample of Pro Sentret's migrant service users regarding the geographical origin, age and gender.

A guide was developed for the interviews, and they were conducted by Pro Sentret's staff in English, Spanish, Swedish and Romanian. Unfortunately, our budget for the mapping did not allow for the use of external interpreters. So, instead, we relied on language proficiency among staff. Unfortunately, this means certain groups were excluded, mainly Russian or Ukrainian-speaking ones not proficient in the languages covered by staff.

Staff mainly worked in pairs during the interviews, one asking questions and the other taking notes. No interviews were recorded, and notes were stripped of identifying characteristics. We conducted forty-one semi-structured interviews between late May and September 2022, and all participants received a gift card of 750 NOK for their participation.

Geographical regions and demographics

In 2022, Pro Sentret registered 516 service users, of which 75 % were registered as non-Norwegian. However, service users registered as Norwegian can also include migrants with Norwegian citizenship or permanent residency (especially Thai women who have come to Norway through marriage migration). Thus, the number of Norwegian-born users is lower, possibly substantially lower.

Geographical origin

In 2022, the largest migrant categories among Pro Sentret's service users were persons from South-Eastern EU countries (mainly Romania and Bulgaria), followed by Latin-American countries (mainly Brazil and Colombia). The third largest category was persons from South-East Asian (mainly Thailand). In addition, a relatively large group is registered as Swedish; however, these are mainly persons of Thai origin.

For privacy issues, we have decided to list informants' national origin by region, not by country. The exception is Ukrainian informants, a group discussed in a later section. However, the variety in countries within these regions is relatively small. For instance, nearly all informants listed as "Eastern Europe, Non-EU" were either from Ukraine or Russia, and all listed as "Western Europe" were Spanish nationals.

Geographical region	
Asia (South East)	6
Africa	3
Central America	2
Eastern Europe, non-EU	6
North America	1
South America	13
South Eastern Europe, EU	7
Western Europe	3
Total	41

Citizenship and country of origin

Eight informants did not hold EU citizenship: Five from Eastern Europe, non-EU countries, one from Asia (South-East) and one from North America. However, Pro Sentret was aware that many migrant service users held EU citizenship before this mapping, and this sample affirms this.

Among the thirty-three informants who held EU citizenship, a majority (twenty-one) held Spanish citizenship. Three of these were born in Spain; the others had migrated from primarily Latin America, the Philippines and, to some degree, Eastern Europe (outside of the EU) and Africa. In the case of Latin-American informants, choosing Spain as the first country to migrate to was often related to language. In addition, although not mentioned explicitly by informants as a migration driver, Spain also has universal healthcare that covers migrants, including undocumented ones.[9]

The twelve informants who held other EU citizenship than Spanish included Romania, Belgium and Italy. Those with Romanian citizenship were all born in the country; the others were born in West Africa and Latin America, respectively.

Holding EU citizenship grants some rights in Norway. Prostitution is not considered work[10] in Norway, so the EU citizen staying in the country will need to have sufficient means (minimum 158 621 NOK/ year) to finance their stay.[11] The EU citizen will need to be able to document this through bank statements. Further, the EU citizen will need private health insurance that covers all expenses related to illness, including pre-existing conditions.[12]

[9] https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lanpub/article/PIIS2468-2667(18)30133-6/fulltext
[10] However, the majority of Pro Sentret's migrant service users are in Norway as tourists, hence not registering with tax authorities.
[11] https://www.udi.no/en/want-to-apply/residence-under-the-eueeu-regulations/eueeu-national-who-has-their-own-funds/?c=esp
[12] Ibid.

The citizen is not entitled to free healthcare, financial assistance, or aid from Norwegian authorities.[13] EU citizens who want to apply for a job may stay in Norway for up to six months if he or she reports their stay to the police within three months.[14]

It is unlikely that the informants with EU citizenship met all of these criteria. However, few had experienced any dealings with authorities related to this. In some cases, if they had been subjected to control by authorities, showing their passport had been sufficient. A Latin-American trans-woman, who held EU citizenship, had been taken aside at the airport and questioned. She had stated that she was in Norway to sell sex and was released shortly after.

Gender

A report by research institute FAFO in 2008, estimated that 3057 persons sold sexual services in Norway in 2008 and that 93% were women, 2 % men and 4 % transgender.[15] A 2009 report by the sex worker-led network TAMPEP on the other hand, estimated that, on average, 7% of sex sellers in Europe were male in 2009.[16] A report by the Swedish Gender Equality Agency estimated that among those who advertised sexual services online, 80 % were women, 15 % were men, and 5 % were trans-persons.[17] Though the report used Swedish data, the situation is comparable to Norway's and corresponds with Pro Sentret's experience from outreach work on platforms that advertise sexual services.

In 2022, Pro Sentret registered 410 women (this includes trans-women), 64 men and 42 service users with unknown/unspecified gender. In this mapping, we have strived for a sample representative of our service users regarding gender. The informants are cis-women (women who are born and identify as women. Hereafter women), cis-men (men who are born and identify as men. Hereafter men) and trans-women (women who were born as men, but identify as women). There are no trans-men in our sample. Although there are trans-men among Pro Sentret's service users, they are nationals and, therefore, beyond the scope of this mapping.

Gender	
Cis-woman	22
Cis-man	8
Trans-woman	11
Total	41

[13] Ibid.
[14] https://www.udi.no/en/want-to-apply/work-immigration/duty-to-report-for-job-seekers-who-are-eueea-nationals/?c=esp
[15] Tveit, M & Skilbrei, M. Mangfoldig marked: Prostitusjonens omfang, innhold og organisering. FAFO: 2008.
[16] TAMPEP. Sex work in Europe: A mapping of the prostitution scene in 25 European countries. 2009.
[17] Jämställdhetsmyndigheten. 2021. Prostitution och människohandel. Slutredovisning av uppdrag att stärka arbetet mot att barn och unga respektive vuxna utnyttjas i prostitution och människohandel, samt kartlägga omfattningen av prostitution och människohandel. Jämställdhetsmyndigheten, Göteborg, januari 2021. Rapport 2021:23. Dnr: ALLM 2020/10

Pro Sentret has recently experienced an increase in transwomen, primarily from Latin America. However, our records cannot substantiate this since we register all feminine-identifying persons as women. All trans-women in our sample were either from Latin America or South-East Asia.

Age

As in the previous section, we have chosen not to disclose the exact age of informants but rather age categories.

Age category	
18-24	6
25-30	3
31-35	4
36-40	11
41-45	9
46-50	3
51 +	5

The chart above shows that the largest age category is 36-40, followed by 41-45. This corresponds with Pro Sentret's experience: relatively few of our service users are in the youngest age group. However, the majority first migrated before age thirty, with the largest group migrating before age twenty-five.

Age, the first migration	
0-11	1
11-17	6
18-24	18
25-30	7
31-35	7
36-40	2

The age of first migration indicates that Norway rarely is the first destination in one's migration journey for persons who sell sex, which corresponds with Pro Sentret's experience.

Prostitution debut

In Pro Sentret's experience, most migrant service users have, often substantial, experience selling sex before they come to Norway. As shown below, seven informants debuted when they were minors, the youngest at eleven years of age.

Prostitution debut, age group	
11-17	7
18-24	9
25-30	8
31-35	4
36-40	2
41-45	4
46 +	5

Although twelve informants made their prostitution debut in Norway, most had sold sex in other countries before arriving in Norway. Most also had prostitution experience from other countries: Out of the forty-one informants, only twelve had only sold sex in Norway. Most informants started selling sex from their late teens to late twenties.

Transient migration

Thirty-five of the forty-one informants in our sample had migrated to more than one country. Most can be defined as *transient* migrants in Norway, i.e., have not settled and or do not intend to do so. Among the informants, the majority travelled back and forth between the countries they were settled in, with the amount of time spent in Norway varying between a few weeks to months. The majority did not express wanting to settle in Norway permanently.

The majority of the informants in our sample can also be defined as *transmigrants*:

> Transmigrants are immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state.[18]

Most held a solid connection to their home country via family and other networks and withheld financial obligations through remittances. Several informants aspired to return to their home country eventually, after saving enough money or investing enough in property, even if they had stayed upwards of twenty years abroad. There was no correlation between the time spent abroad and the wish to return to the home country.

Though many of the informants held strong ties to networks in their home country, many also had family and other networks in their country of residence. In some cases, family members had migrated before them, such as among informants who had migrated on the basis of family reunification with parents. This was particularly the case among the South-East Asian and some Latin-American informants. For example, one South-East Asian trans-woman had migrated to Spain at age thirteen to reunite with her mother. Another South-East Asian trans-woman had first left her home country for Taiwan at eighteen. Then, at twenty-eight, she migrated to Spain for family reunification as her mother had residency there.

Siblings could also migrate ahead: A woman from a Central African country described how her brother received a scholarship to study in Spain in the early nineties. Since the family did not have enough for the brother's airfare, she and her mother worked to save money. After two years, when she was twenty-two, she joined her brother in Spain.

Vulnerable migrants

To some degree, being a migrant who sells sex places an individual in a vulnerable situation regardless of the resourcefulness of the migrant. The clandestine nature of prostitution, the documented high levels of violence persons who sell sex are subjected to[19]A lack of access to welfare services places all migrants who sell sex in a vulnerable and precarious situation. We would, however, suggest distinguishing between the general precarity and vulnerability that affects all migrants who sell sex and the particular individual and structural factors that

[18] Schiller, Nina Glick, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc. (1995). *From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration*. Anthropological Quarterly 68, no. 1 (1995): 48–63. https://doi.org/10.2307/3317464. P. 48

[19] Bjørndahl, Ulla & Norli, Bjørg. (2008). Fritt vilt. En undersøkelse om voldserfaringene til kvinner i prostitusjon. Oslo: Pro Sentret.

renders an individual *especially vulnerable*. In a previous report[20] We defined these characteristics as financial destitution in the home country (or country of residence), lack of education/illiteracy, minority background and reduced cognitive ability. Whilst many of the informants in our sample had experienced, e.g., financial destitution in their home country, a factor that indeed informed their decision to migrate, only six had most or all of the characteristics described above.

Of the six vulnerable migrants, five (all women) came from a Roma background; four came from a South Eastern EU country and one from a Western EU country. The Roma are Europe's most significant minority, with about 70 % residing in Central and South-Eastern Europe.[21] The Roma are a heterogenous group; however, marginalisation and poverty are rife within the population, with 80 % living below the poverty line in Bulgaria and Romania.[22] Pro Sentret has documented Roma persons who sell sex in two previous reports.[23]

Although one of the Roma informants came from a Western EU country, all Roma described precarious living conditions and a lack of employment opportunities in their home countries. In addition, all of the Roma informants were illiterate and had minimal education. The South Eastern European informants also described discrimination and racism in their home countries.

The sixth informant, whom we identified as particularly vulnerable, was an eighteen-year-old man from a Western EU country. He, too, came from a minority background; both parents had migrated from a North African country and could not provide for him financially. He had done "criminal things" but preferred selling sex to doing this. He started selling sex in his home country at age fifteen. He had placed ads on the MSM app Grindr in Norway as an experiment. As he received much positive feedback on the app, he decided to come to Norway to sell sex (at the time of the interview, he had only been in Norway for a few days). His girlfriend in his home country was pregnant, and he wanted to provide for her and their child.

Of the six informants we identified as especially vulnerable, four had only ever migrated to Norway. This starkly contrasts most informants, who often had substantial migration experience. Whether this is coincidental or an indication of a pattern among vulnerable migrants who sell sex in Norway, we do not know. However, it should be investigated further by Pro Sentret or other actors.

Facilitators in migration

Apart from the three informants whom we defined as victims of human trafficking (this will be discussed in another section), most of the informants described informal, rather than organised, networks as instrumental in facilitating their migration.

[20] Kock, Ida. (2017) Vulnerable persons from Bulgaria and Romania who sell sex sexual services in Oslo. Experiences from Pro Sentret and other actors in Oslo.Oslo: Pro Sentret.
[21] Ringold et al. (2005). Roma in an Expanding Europe: Breaking the poverty cycle. Washington DC: World Bank.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Kock, Ida. (2017) Vulnerable persons from Bulgaria and Romania who sell sex sexual services in Oslo. Experiences from Pro Sentret and other actors in Oslo. Oslo: Pro Sentret., Kock, Ida. (2018). Between a rock and a hard place. The unseen category of young Roma men selling sex in Oslo and beyond. Oslo: Pro Sentret.

Most commonly, friends and, in some cases, family members already in the country helped with practical information, finding accommodation and other practical assistance.

However, some had had involvement by third parties. One informant, a Latin-American woman in her late thirties, described a situation that qualifies as organised third-party involvement. She started selling sex in Denmark in 2018. She had been recruited by a Russian woman (whom she described as a "madam"). The Russian woman helped her set up and took 50 % of her earnings. She only worked for the Russian woman for fifteen days to determine if she could tolerate the job. She returned to Denmark and the madam later that year, but now she only paid the madam for rent. She has worked independently since 2019 and came to Norway without third-party involvement.

While few in our sample had come to Norway using organised facilitators, Pro Sentret is aware of using so-called "agencies", especially among women from Russia and Ukraine. A woman from an Eastern-European, non-EU country stated that she had come independently to Norway but needed around 5000 euros (which she had) to establish herself with an apartment, telephone number and advertisements. For girls who did not have the funds for this, the only other option was to come via an “agency”. In Pro Sentret’s experience, using an agency is most closely associated with women from Eastern European countries, especially Russia and Ukraine. Pro Sentret has been aware of the use of agencies, often located in Russia, for some years. These agencies offer to arrange travel, accommodation and bookings with clients in exchange for a percentage of earnings (often 50 %). These businesses fall well within the Norwegian legal definition of controlling and facilitating prostitution, however,[24]Pro Sentret has seen few indications of the use of force and threats by so-called agencies to control the women working for them. Instead, service users have described using an agency as a practical way of establishing themselves, only to return and work independently on their second visit to Norway.

In some cases, informants had received help migrating to one country but not others. For example, a young woman from a South-Eastern EU country described how she had first gone to Germany to sell sex and that it was "easy" to start, so she needed no help. However, when she decided to go to Norway, she received help establishing herself from a friend who had already worked in Norway. She likely refers to working in a brothel in Germany (where they are legal), making it "easy" to start working since she did not need to place advertisements and find a place to work from.

A Latin-American woman in her early thirties had a friend who suggested they should both go to Norway. They did not know anything about the country but came in contact with a man who rented out rooms to escorts in Oslo. He also helped set up ads and transfer money abroad. The man charged them for the room and did not take a percentage of their earnings, but he swindled them with money transfers. She soon decided to cut contact with this man.

[24] https://lovdata.no/NLE/lov/2005-05-20-28/§315

Human trafficking

In the sample, three out of forty-one informants were identified as victims of human trafficking: Two transwomen and one woman. All were from Latin American countries. None of these informants were currently in a trafficking situation and, in most cases, had not been since the 1990s. Two informants had been trafficked outside their home countries, and one had been internally trafficked.

Two of the informants had been trafficked as children. One described how she grew up in an impoverished household and wanted to provide for her family. A trafficker recruited her at age thirteen in the early 1990s. She was lured to Spain by the trafficker under the pretence of a regular job. In Spain, she was put to work immediately. She was installed in a house in a wealthy part of a city in Catalonia. She had no previous sexual experience and was forced to serve several clients during her first night. In addition to being in debt to the traffickers for plane tickets and documents, she had to pay for housing, food, clothing and medical care. She had to make a certain amount of money each day; otherwise, she was beaten. She contracted several STDs and had to pay for her treatment. Since she could not work during her treatment, her debt increased tenfold. Some girls were forced to have back-alley abortions, for which they had to pay for themselves. Others tried to escape by jumping from the third floor. She was in this situation for a year when a client, 30 years her senior, fell in love with her and "bought her out" for the equivalent of about 7000 euros. She married the client soon after when she was fifteen. The client did not know her actual age, and after she told him, they stopped having sex. He later died and left her an inheritance. She expressed that this type of trafficking is no longer common for women from South America. Most are now older and work independently (i.e., no pimp) in, for example, flats (in Spain).

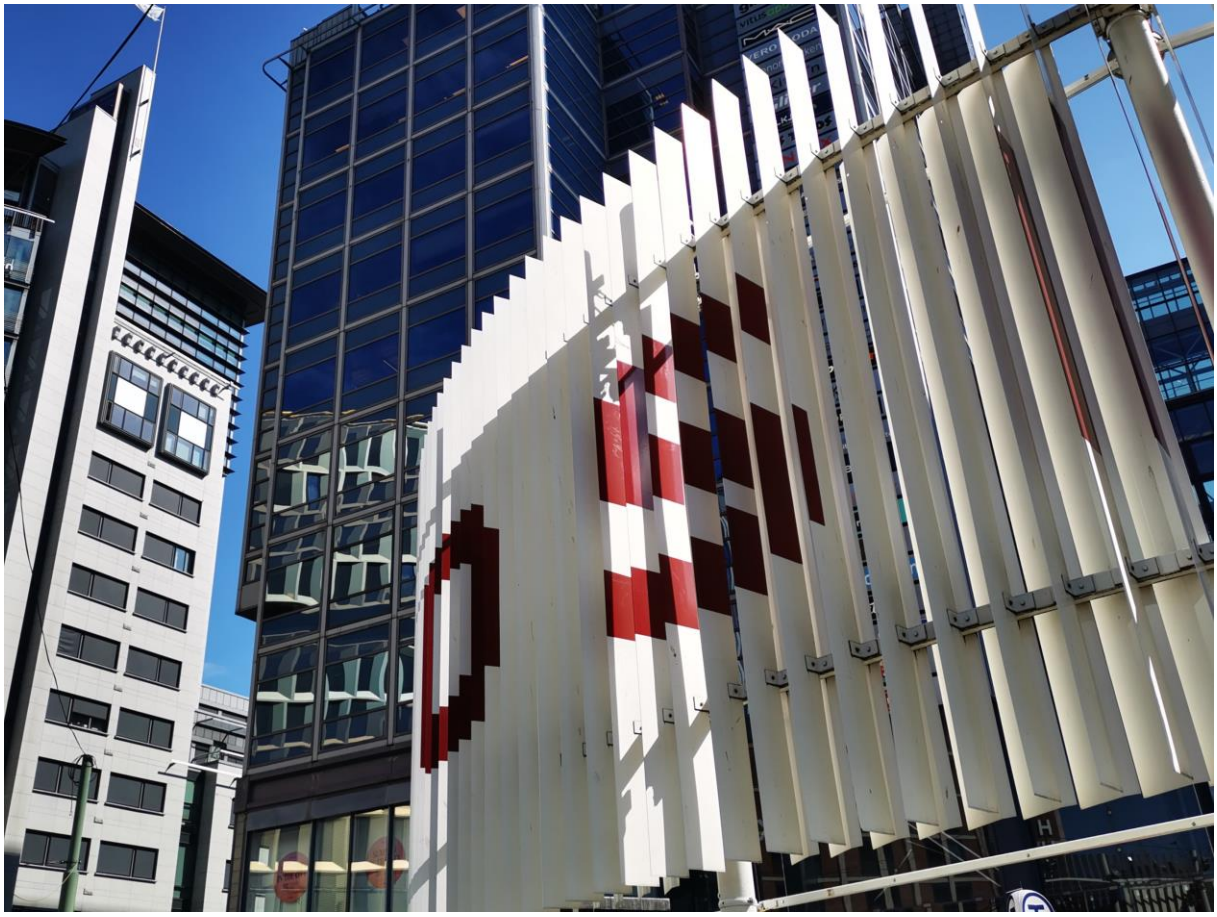
A transwoman described how she had been forced to start selling sex at age eleven and was "forced" by another person. This informant provided very little detail, as she was severely traumatised. However, based on her age and the fact that she was forced to sell sex, we identify her as a victim of internal trafficking.

The third informant, in her early forties, whom we identified as a victim of human trafficking, had a more recent experience. She had been in Belgium during the pandemic and got a tip from some other girls that there was a forum/chat group on Telegram. Here she came in contact with a "mafia group from Russia/Ukraine/ Belarus. These people facilitated transport and provided flats in several cities. She was instructed to meet a liaison in Warsaw to be transported to Norway with other (Eastern European) girls, and she entered Norway illegally. She worked for these people in several apartments around Oslo for a month, after which she contacted Pion[25] and Pro Sentret and received aid in leaving the situation. She is now receiving assistance from ROSA[26].

The relatively low number of informants that we identified as victims of human trafficking does not necessarily provide an accurate estimation of the actual number of victims in our sample.

[25] A Norwegian sex worker organisation. http://www.pion-norge.no/
[26] An organisation that provides aid for victims of human trafficking. http://rosa-help.no/om-rosa/

The level of detail the informants provided about their migration journeys varied significantly. Although most informants mentioned friends and/or family members as facilitators, this does not necessarily mean exploitation did not occur in these cases. We did, however, not see many indications of organised trafficking in our sample.



Migration drivers

Most migrants from poorer countries do not end up selling sex. However, most persons selling sex in Western and Northern Europe are migrants. Nearly all of the informants in our sample are from countries with a substantially lower standard of living than Norway. Although some left their home countries to sell sex, others left to find regular jobs. Entering prostitution came after a loss of employment or finding the regular job too stressful or poorly paid. There is a tendency to view migrants who sell sex as a separate migration group. Our sample shows that migrants who sell sex are part of a global migration of persons seeking better living conditions in countries with higher living standards and more economic opportunities. There is nothing inherently *different* between migrants that sell sex and other migrants that leaves their countries to improve their economic situation.

Although relative or absolute poverty is the main driving factor for individuals to enter prostitution globally, our sample shows that poverty or economic impairment may interact with other, more individual factors. These factors may include discrimination (based on gender or sexual or other minority statuses) and more individual factors such as wanting to experience other cultures. Nearly all informants in our sample stated financial reasons for migrating, but

other factors may influence the decision to migrate. Below, we will present some of the often-interacting reasons for migrating.

Lack of (economic) opportunity

Many of the informants described a financial situation that was characterised by a lack of economic opportunity rather than extreme poverty. In many cases, they had held regular jobs (mainly in the service industry) either in their home countries or in the country where they first migrated. Although basic needs were met, working conditions were often unsatisfactory, and wages were low.

One informant, a woman from a Central African country, described how she, even with a university degree in administration, could not make ends meet in her home country. So she left for Spain when she was twenty-one and worked in the hotel industry, where she developed back problems. She started selling sex in Norway when she was forty-one to pay for private medical treatment, something her wages from the hotel business would not cover.

A transwoman from a South Eastern Asian country had first migrated at 18 to Taiwan to work. Then, in her late twenties came to Spain for family reunification with her mother. She worked as a restaurant manager in Spain for 11 years before leaving for Norway to sell sex in her early fifties. She described her work as a restaurant manager as brutal, with extended hours. She planned to sell sex for a year to save money.

A South American woman had worked as a secretary for an insurance company in her home country and sold sex in the evenings and weekends for extra income. However, the financial situation was difficult, and she needed money for her family, so she left for Spain in her late twenties.

A woman in her early fifties from an Eastern-European, non-EU country described her situation as challenging in her home country. However, she was financially well off working as a hairdresser. She wanted to divorce her husband, but he refused. Further, after the fall of the Soviet Union, it had become easier to travel to other countries. She first migrated to Spain in 2000 because she had heard that it was easy to make a lot of money picking grapes. However, things were not as she thought; she did not make much money and had problems with her identity papers. She had promised her mother and daughter she would come back with enough money to buy an apartment. She says she "fooled herself" into believing it would be easy to make money. She became depressed, but she also started to like it in Spain. She was an illegal immigrant until 2006 when she got residency. She worked as a hairdresser in Spain between 2007 and 2017, even owning her salon for a few years. However, she felt she was not appreciated for her work (describing the physical toil, servicing clients, constantly updating her technique etc.) and only making about 1000 euros per month despite her labour. Some hairdresser friends sold sex in Norway and did well financially, so on their recommendation, she tried it. She described how she could earn three months' wages (in Spain) in one month selling sex in Norway.

Extreme poverty

Some informants described either growing up or living in extreme poverty in their home countries. This was the case for several African and Latin American women and transwomen.

A West African woman in her early fifties describes living in extreme poverty in her home country. She describes how polygamy, which she strongly dislikes, contributed to her family's financial hardship; her father had four wives and twenty-one children. In order to support her family, she started selling sex in her home country at age seventeen or eighteen. She describes the experience as terrible and that she "was ugly" because she had a shaved head, as her family could not afford hairdressers. Nevertheless, she managed to get a visa to travel to Italy to buy goods to sell in her home country. She eventually migrated to Italy permanently, where she worked as a carer for the elderly as well as in domestic work, but it eventually became difficult for foreigners to find work. A friend recommended she go to Norway to find work, but she has not found regular work outside of selling sex.

Belonging to a minority group, ethnic, sexual or other, may severely affect one's financial outcome. Pro Sentret has previously written reports on Roma people who sell sex (insert ref). All informants with Roma identity described extreme poverty and destitution in their home countries. A Roma woman from a South-Eastern EU country in her late forties described how she first came to Norway 10 years ago. She first came to Norway to beg and collect bottles, but she described this as impossible now as people no longer carry cash. She started selling sex two months prior to the interview. Her financial situation in her home country is challenging; she supports her children, aged seven and twelve, and her elderly parents. The parents, who are illiterate like herself, have no pension and no formal employment experience. She has a heart condition that she needs medication for, and causes pain in her legs, something that makes sleeping rough or in the Salvation Army's shelter extremely hard. Her children are in school and are doing well, but she misses them greatly. She has not seen her children in four months. It costs her 3000 NOK to travel and return to her home country, and she would rather the children have that money: "A mother does everything for her kids; the alternative is that they go to children's home."

Another Roma woman from a South European EU country first came to Norway 17 years ago. She describes her childhood as one of abject poverty, and she was married at seventeen. In her home country, she did seasonal agricultural work. The first time she came to Norway, she stayed begging on the streets for four months. She then returned to her home country to live with her mother and siblings. Conditions were terrible; it was winter, and they slept on the floor. There and then, she decided to return to Norway to sell sex. She was then 23 years old.

Although most of the Roma-identifying informants in our sample are from South-Eastern EU, a Roma woman from a Western-European country described similar conditions; poor household, no education (she is illiterate) and only work experience from agricultural and domestic work. When she could not find work in her home country, she migrated to Norway with her boyfriend to find work. Unable to do so, she slept rough on the streets; she started selling sex to support her and her boyfriend.

Unfortunately, having no knowledge of sexual or reproductive health, such as how to use a condom, she contracted an STD. After first migrating in 2012, she had been commuting between Norway, Sweden and her home country.

Sexual minority status and gender as a migration driver

Out of eleven transwomen in our sample, eight came from Latin- American countries. All the Latin-American transwomen were in their late thirties to mid-fifties, but most had a long history of migration and sex work. While the three transwomen who were not Latin-American (all from a South-East Asian country) did not specifically mention discrimination because of their gender expression, nearly all Latin-American transwomen did.

One transwoman in our sample was kicked out of her parental home due to her gender expression, forcing her to fend for herself on the street at sixteen. Another informant, who had come out as trans at an older age, described being shunned by her family, including her children. Other transwomen described extreme discrimination, including violence. One informant was forced to leave her home country due to threats from criminal gangs for being an LGBTQ activist.

Many mentioned the lack of job opportunities for transwomen in their home countries; selling sex or being a hairdresser were often the only options. One informant, who had worked as a hairdresser for many years, saw no (financial) future in her business. That, in combination with discrimination and harassment of transwomen, made her leave her home country to sell sex in Europe. She was then thirty-six years old. Another trans-woman described how training to become a hairdresser was not an option, as she was living on the street and needed money to survive there and then.

Three of the transwomen had started selling sex as teenagers or children. In one case, the informant was forced by a pimp to sell sex at eleven years of age. Another informant, now in her mid-forties, needed to support her poor, single mother and therefore started selling sex at age thirteen or fourteen. She had observed other trans-women selling sex on the street in her hometown and realised she could make money from selling sex. At fifteen, she migrated to Belgium. She stressed that she used her money without third-party involvement in her migration. She described arriving in Europe as extremely stressful; she was alone in a new country, missing her mother, and the only way to communicate with her was by using payphones (which was very expensive). When she started working on the street in Belgium, a mafia (or gang) demanded money (around 1000 Belgian francs) from the trans-women daily; otherwise, they would be beaten. After a while, the girls got fed up and reported the gang to the police. The gang was eventually convicted, and the problem was resolved.

The men who were gay/queer did not mention sexual orientation as a migration driver. Two of the eight men in the sample specified that they defined themselves as straight (but they sold sex to men).

Remittances

Being able to provide for a family is a significant migration driver. Only five informants stated that they do not send remittances to family members. The size of remittances varied greatly, from small contributions (such as gifts) to having one's family entirely economically dependent on oneself. There are no discernible differences in gender, geographical origin or age regarding remittances. Parents, own children and siblings were the family members most commonly mentioned as beneficiaries of remittances, but also nieces and, to a degree, friends.

Several family members were often wholly dependent on informants' remittances. For example, a transwoman in her late forties supported her mother and sisters living in Spain. The mother and sisters were unemployed. Her family had shunned her because of her gender expression, and although the conflict was not resolved, she felt obliged to help them. She also supported her four children; one was biological, and the other three were her sisters' children, whom she had guardianship over.

A trans-woman from a South-East Asian country helped her sister, a single mother who lived in the UK, by sending around 1000 GBP per month. The sister knew she was selling sex, but her parents did not. She described how she would treat her parents to restaurant meals but did not give them money directly as they would be suspicious of where she got them.

A West-African woman supported her parents as well as her children. Although she was critical of her parents, particularly her father, she still supported them with basics and medical expenses, exclaiming: "They would die otherwise!"

Some informants had previously supported family members. For example, a Latin-American woman stated that she used to support her siblings and paid for their (private) university education. However, they now have jobs and can support themselves. Although she now only supports herself, she is still generous with gifts for her family. A transwoman from Latin America described how she used to support her parents when they were alive but still helps her nieces. When she was little, she never got any gifts or celebrated her birthday, so she started a tradition in her hometown where she buys 100 gifts for children that are distributed at Christmas.

Other migration drivers

Whilst all in the sample had financial reasons for migrating to sell sex, some informants had more clear financial goals. These informants tended to view selling sex as a temporary endeavour, often to save up for a specific goal, such as financing university studies or setting up a business goal outside of prostitution. Neither of these informants came from extreme poverty, and they tended to be better educated.

A Latin-American man in his mid-twenties was studying to become a dentist in his home country. The five-year programme was expensive, so he had been coming to Norway since 2020 to sell sex. He stayed for three months at a time in order to not overstay his tourist visa. He never sold sex in his home country, and nobody, especially not his family, back home was

aware that he was selling sex in Norway. He described his life back home as "completely different". He was from a middle-upper-class background.

A woman in her early twenties from a South-Eastern European EU country had started selling sex in Germany at age twenty. She did this to finance her studies in nursing. By the time of the interview, she had graduated and planned to stop selling sex when she got a position as a nurse. Since she liked Norway, she planned to apply for nursing jobs here.

Another woman, also from a South-Eastern European EU country, described how she used to work in accountancy for a firm, but that pay was poor, and she was expected to work much overtime. Her mother had died when she was still at university. She started selling sex in several European countries in her late twenties for the financial benefits and security it provided. Selling sex had enabled her to invest in rental properties in her home country, and she had a goal of starting a transport business in future.

A North-American man in his early thirties used selling sex to finance travelling around Europe. He had never sold sex in his home country but had started doing online porn on OnlyFans in 2020. Eventually, his patrons asked to meet him in person. He went to Norway to sell sex after hearing clients paid well here.

A woman in her early twenties from an Eastern European non-EU country had recently finished her training as a hairdresser. She had been selling sex for a few years to save money to open a hair salon. Another woman, in her early thirties, originally from a South Asian country but with EU citizenship, combined working as a receptionist with selling sex as a *sugar baby* in order to improve her lifestyle back home. Being a sugar baby enabled her to treat herself to shopping and hotel stays and provide extra income (she received "pocket money" from her client).

A South Eastern Asian man in his early forties first visited Sweden twenty years ago to visit relatives. There, he met and married a Swedish man. His motivations for leaving his home country included wanting to travel and experience other cultures and a love of nature and cold climates. He had a vocational degree in marketing from his home country and had held various jobs in Sweden, including in elderly care, shop assistant and as a waiter. He spoke English when he arrived and later learned the local language fluently. After losing his job during the COVID-19 pandemic, he decided to migrate to Oslo, where he had a friend, describing this as a chance to "try something new". In Oslo, he started working in a massage parlour that also provided sexual services. He had no previous experience of selling sex.

A note on the war in Ukraine

Concern has been raised about whether the war in Ukraine will make women and minors vulnerable to human trafficking and exploitation in Europe. It is, however, worth noting that Ukraine had a large sex industry prior to the war. In total, thirty-one service users were registered as Ukrainian in 2022 in Pro Sentret's records, an increase of only four persons since 2021. Thus, we did not see a significant increase in Ukrainian service users during the first year of the war, but that may change as the conflict rages on.

Out of the handful of Ukrainian women in our sample, only one had started selling sex as a direct result of the war. A well-educated woman, she had a high-paying job in her home country. She had been on a business trip in an EU country when the war broke out. She decided to go to Norway, as she had been there for a holiday in 2019. Due to the conflict, she was now in the process of applying for asylum. Her mother did not want to leave home, and her sister did not want the leave her mother. Although she had no previous experience selling sex, she now felt that she had to do so to support her mother and sister back home. She worked independently, with no third-party involvement.

The other Ukrainian women in our sample all had experience selling sex prior to the war. The war in itself had not been a driver to migrate to sell sex, but all of them were now in Norway under the collective protection status[27] granted to Ukrainian refugees in Norway.

A woman in her mid-thirties started selling sex in the Emirates when she was in her mid-twenties. She had been introduced to the work by a friend who sold sex there. She worked for the royal family in the Emirates as part of a "harem". The girls of the harem were paid per day, and the job did not necessarily involve sexual activities. She first came to Norway to sell sex in 2020. She had returned several times since then and had been in Norway for around a year in total at the time of the interview. She now stayed more permanently because of the war and her refugee status, something she had wanted to do before the war. Before the war and receiving refugee status, she had found it extremely difficult to rent an apartment and open a bank account as a non-EU citizen.

A Ukrainian woman late thirties had worked in seasonal work in Russia since 2014, but she had returned home regularly. Most of her family lived in Russia but held Ukrainian passports. As her parents were Ukrainian citizens, their situation in Russia was immensely dire, which was a great source of stress for her. In addition, her nineteen-year-old son remained in Ukraine since men over 18 were not allowed to leave the country (due to being drafted). She started selling sex in Asian countries (she did not specify which) three years ago, but never in her home country or in Russia. She chose to come to Norway because she had been here before (she had had a Norwegian boyfriend), but she did not plan to settle. Instead, she wanted to migrate to the US and reunite with her son.

Why Norway?

The most common reason for choosing to migrate to Norway was having a friend who described good earning potential in the country. The informants often had little to no knowledge of Norway before coming. Thus, the choice to migrate to Norway was related to informal networks instead of actively seeking out information themselves. With their knowledge of how to set themselves up, the friends in Norway made the migration process less precarious.

Not all of the informants had a network in Norway. For example, an eighteen-year-old man from a Western European EU country described how he placed ads on Grindr (a dating app for

[27] https://www.udi.no/en/information-ukraine-and-russia/situation-in-ukraine/

men who have sex with men that are also used for advertising sexual services) in Norway whilst he was still in his home country. Since he received positive responses, he decided to come to Norway by himself, despite not knowing anyone here. A woman from an Eastern-European, non-EU country had heard that Norway was a friendly country but did not have much knowledge. However, she stated that she loved the tv-series "Vikings" (which was set in Norway during the Viking age), which contributed to her coming here.

Although their experiences of the country were often positive (clients tended to be respectful, earnings), only a handful of the informants expressed a desire to migrate permanently to Norway.

Adverse experiences in Norway

The Norwegian language was described as a challenge for informants who did not speak English. Many of the Latin-American informants spoke only Spanish, making communication difficult. Others described difficulties adapting to the cold climate and generally high prices. Some informants described how they intended to find regular work in Norway. However, due to a lack of language skills and formal work experience, selling sex was often the only option to support oneself.

Very few informants had had adverse experiences with the police or immigration authorities. The majority held EU passports, which could partially explain this, but interestingly none of the non-EU citizens described having such experiences either.

A West-African woman with EU residency had a bad experience with a police officer. She tried to help a woman from another African country who was unwell and sleeping at the central railway station. She bought her some food, but the woman was in a terrible state. She located a police officer to aid her, but the officer was only interested in the informant's residency status, ignoring the unwell woman. Though she does not explicitly mention it, there is reason to assume that some degree of racial profiling played a part in the police officer's treatment of her.

Some informants had experienced problems with the police in other countries. For example, a woman from a South-Eastern European EU country had an experience with the police in Stockholm, Sweden. On her second day, the police raided her apartment and charged all her clients. The same thing happened again when she moved into a hotel a few days later. However, she described the police as respectful, and they only asked her about trafficking/pimping. Norwegian police seemed much less interested in charging clients, so she found it easier to work here.

Conclusions and the way forward

The main aim of this mapping has been to look into the specifics of the migration journey for persons who sell sex: What acts as a push factor to leave one's home country, and what pulls people to start selling sex in Norway?

Our sample shows that for most, Norway is not the first destination in informants' migration journeys or the first country informants sold sex in. A majority also held EU citizenship. In some cases, especially among persons from South-Eastern Europe, they were born in an EU country. Most had, however, migrated to an EU country from Latin America, South-East Asia or a non-EU Eastern European country. Only a handful of informants expressed a wish to live in Norway permanently.

Not surprisingly, the main driver for leaving one's home country was a lack of economic opportunity or poverty, in some cases extreme poverty. In addition, especially among Latin-American transwomen, gender-based discrimination and harassment were migration drivers. Finally, for some informants, financing studies, wanting to travel, or saving up for a specific goal were drivers to migrate to sell sex.

Six informants were identified as especially vulnerable. Five of these identified as Roma, all EU citizens. In the case of the Roma informants, several had turned to selling sex after other income streams dried up, namely begging. Begging was described as no longer feasible since people in Norway had stopped carrying cash. The drive towards a cashless society in Norway, exacerbated during the pandemic, has negative implications for extremely vulnerable migrant groups, including driving persons into prostitution.

A majority had sold sex in other countries before arriving in Norway. In some cases, informants had had their prostitution debut in their home countries, others in the country where they first migrated. Others still had sold sex in several European countries but never in their countries of

residence. Most had started selling sex between the ages of eighteen to thirty. Many had experience from regular work, particularly in the service or beauty industries.

Most informants described relying on private networks, mainly friends, to receive information and aid in migrating. Though we saw little indication of exploitation within these private networks, further studies are needed on this subject.

Very few informants stated they had been victims of human trafficking or other types of organised crime during their migration journeys. However, this does not necessarily reflect the reality. Informants may have withheld information or did not view the “facilitators” as exploitative. The use of so-called "agencies" described by an Eastern-European informant needs to be monitored closely in future, especially in the wake of the Russo-Ukrainian war.

As mentioned in this report, prostitution is now mainly a migration-driven phenomenon in Norway. The report has shown how most informants sold sex in Norway on a seasonal basis, with informants typically staying for a few weeks or months. This fact has implications for service provision for persons who sell sex. In order to ensure the safety of persons who sell sex, service provision for the group must be focussed on providing services outside of regular health and welfare services, not on services mandated by a person's membership in the Norwegian national insurance scheme (folketrygden). Pro Sentret, and other service providers, who provide specialised health and social services for persons who sell sex, regardless of residency status, are crucial in reducing harm and identifying exploitation (including trafficking) among persons who sell sex.

There is a need for updated knowledge on migrants who sell sex in Norway. Unfortunately, few systematic studies have been carried out; this mapping is only a small contribution. Moreover, the mapping has limitations, primarily since informants were mainly recruited among Pro Sentret’s service users.

The focus of this mapping has not been the experience of selling sex in Norway but rather on the informants’ migration journeys and experiences during migration. A follow-up study on migrants’ experiences with Norwegian authorities, service providers and experiences of violence in Norway will need to be carried out in future.

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Part II

Migration, human trafficking, and prostitution: An overview

International migration

Over the years, the socio-economic aspects of international migration have given rise to national and international policy. Almost every country in the world receives other nationals into their territories, whilst their nationals also leave their shores for other countries for varied reasons (IOM, 2020). Systematic research has shown that the number of people living outside their country of birth has been on the rise. As a result, the number of international migrants has increased from 84 million in 1970 to 272 million in 2019 (UN DESA, 2020). Although an estimated marginal decline was recorded in 2020 due to the COVID-19 travel restrictions, which affected international travel in most parts of the world, the 2020 volume of international migrants increased to 281 million from 272 in 2019. In the same vein, the rate of international migration also rose from 3.5 per cent in 2019 to 3.6 per cent in 2020. The 2022 projections of the World Migration Report further revealed that there are 146 million male international migrants against 135 million female international migrants. This trend indicates persistent male domination in migrant data. However, there are variations in regional and country-specific data on the sex disaggregation of international migrants (UN DESA, 2021).

Another critical feature of international migration is the Global South–North movements, mainly wrought by geographical, developmental and economic disparities. This occurs because the primary motivation for North–South migration is usually to enhance personal economic well-being. The stream of international migrants tends to be dominated by labour migrants (UN DESA, 2021). The number of international labour migrants was estimated at 169 million in 2019. In 2020, the proportion of international migrants of working age (15 to 64 years) was 78 per cent. The data over the years shows that from 1990 to 2020, there has been a decrease in the proportion of international migrants aged 19 years and younger from 18.9 per cent to 14.6 per cent, whilst the proportion of international migrants older than 64 have remained steady at around 12.2 per cent (UN DESA, 2021).

The 2019 data on international labour migration also indicates that the majority (67 per cent) of international migrant workers lived in the high-income countries of North America; the Arab States; and Northern, Southern and Western Europe (ILO, 2021). Current analysis of the international migrant stock shows that Europe is the preferred destination for migrants migrating for various reasons. European countries host about 87 million (30.9%) international migrants. Migration into OECD Countries has also been rising since 2000. The 2018 OECD migrant data shows a 10 per cent increase in permanent immigration into member countries. However, the COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent global imposition of restrictions on international travel halted international migration for a significant part of the year (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). A common feature of international labour migration is its propensity to bridge the economic disparities between countries by transferring resources from high-

income to low-income countries (Ratha et al., 2020). This is the usual view of the proponents of international migration.

Even though most of the world's population reside in their country of origin, issues of livelihoods, human rights and responsibility of the 281 million international migrants have raised global, regional, sub-regional and even national concerns. These concerns have also informed policy formulation at various levels to address the causes of immigration, especially from less developed to more developed countries. Causes of international migration can be voluntary reasons (work, health, family, studies), often associated with economic migrants, or involuntary reasons (conflict, persecution, and disaster), typically involving forced or displaced persons. However, regardless of the reasons for migrating, international migrants may face challenges of rights violation, exclusion, or marginalisation, in the countries of their destinations. As a result, international migrants require individual and institutional advocacy and other forms of assistance and support in destination countries (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021; UN DESA, 2021). Unfortunately, while immigration policies in some destination countries aim to address these issues and maximising the benefits of migration, other migration policies tend to be more repressive or obstructive to immigrants' activities. An entrenched negative conception could probably inform this national position about migrants. One such misconception is that migrants threaten national cohesion and peace (Zappettini & Krzyzanowski, 2019).

Migration to Europe

High-income nations in Europe continue to be the top destinations for international migrant workers from European and non-European countries. In 2019, for instance, 67.7 per cent of the 169 million migrant workers in the world were employed in high-income nations (Strey et al., 2018; UN DESA, 2021; ILO, 2021; Ruiz-Burga, 2012). Immigrants in Europe work in the white and black economies of their destination countries. These studies affirm Europe as a major destination and the region with the largest concentration of immigrants from all parts of the world. Thriving nationals and common markets with high demand for employment have contributed to increased international mobility to and within Europe (Strey et al., 2018; UN DESA, 2021). In 2020, the region hosted about 87 million international migrants; 44 million were born in Europe and currently reside in another European country, while the remainder were born in non-European countries (UN DESA, 2021). Migration within the European countries is significant, as many Eastern European countries, including Romania, the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Poland, have some of the region's highest emigrant populations. Since 1985, the European Union Schengen agreement has further improved and facilitated mobility within Europe (European Commission, 2020). This agreement contributed to the rise in the population of European countries with vibrant economies. For instance, close to 16 million immigrants from other European countries migrated to Germany in 2020, making it the region's most prominent destination for European emigrants (UN DESA, 2021). Many of these immigrants are nationals of low-income countries, and are thus motivated by employment opportunities and relatively high income. Non-Europeans' migration into Europe has also featured immensely in international migration discourses. Emigration from Latin America and the Caribbean into Europe has also increased in the last three decades. Most of these migrants move into countries within the European Union (EU), especially the northern, southern and

western parts of Europe. This attracts migrants from low-income countries who are frequently motivated by employment and higher wages.

Migration to the Nordic Countries

Akin to European migration patterns and trends, migration to the Nordic region (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden) is no different. Migration within and from outside the Nordics has been a source of population transformation in the region. Immigration contributes significantly to the population dynamic of most of the Nordic countries, especially Sweden and Denmark (Heleniak, 2018; Simic et al., 2018). Historically, the region's population diversified since it started attracting higher inflows of immigrants from the Nordic zone, other European countries, and different parts of the world, especially low-income countries. The main drivers of migration into the Nordic region are numerous, but commonly cited reasons include family reunification, employment, and studies (Heleniak, 2018). Other internal factors, including agreements among some regional countries, have also boosted migration within the Nordic area. The introduction of free movement has enhanced migration within the region through the opening of national borders of member countries to their nationals. The immigration of people with varied nationalities, skills, education and motivation has the propensity of transforming the population dynamics in the region and effecting the redistribution of labour from countries with excess labour to those with scarce labour (Karlsdóttir et al., 2018). The increase in the immigrant population in the region has also been attributed to the expansion of the EU in 2000 and the rising influx of asylum seekers and refugees (Heleniak, 2018). Most of the refugee inflow is due to civil conflicts in low-income countries. Most of these inflows are received mainly by Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland and Iceland. Apart from Norway, which has been recording higher labour migrants, many Nordic countries attract lower volumes of labour migrants due to lower demand (Heikkilä & Wilkman, 2008). Recent studies have, however, postulated a higher demand for immigrant labour in the region due to a rise in the overaged labour force. The number of persons in the labour force who are 65 years and over has been on the surge (Heleniak, 2018; Simic et al., 2018). Heleniak (2018) called for adoption of social labour migration programmes to increase the immigrant population to augment the ageing labour population.

The gender composition of migration flows is an essential feature of the patterns of labour immigration in the region. The labour requirements in the Nordic countries have varying demands for jobs traditionally occupied by either men or women. However, over the last decades, job requirements have favoured males over females. Because of this, males accounted for the larger share of labour immigrants in Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark since 2000. In addition, male net migration into Norway, Sweden and Finland has been higher than female net migration (Heleniak, 2018).

Immigration into Norway

Until the immigration of nationals from other Nordic countries into Norway in 1970, Norway was predominantly a white Christian population. This hitherto unadulterated country, in terms of its population structure, has since then recorded net immigration except for the year 1989. The consistent net immigration has been further augmented by the admission of new members

and the successive expansion of the EU in 2004. National data from Statistics Norway show that aside from the influx of immigrants from the Nordic area into Norway, the country has also witnessed a growing inflow of non-Nordic immigrants who are primarily refugees and voluntary immigrants migrating for reasons connected to economic and family reunion (Longva, 1998). A 2020 summary of immigrant data from Norwegian immigration has revealed a decline in the number of immigrants into Norway. The number of immigrants officially admitted into Norway in 2020 was 38,100. This figure represents a 27 per cent decrease from the number of immigrants officially admitted into the country in 2019. In addition, the general net immigration recorded in 2020 also fell short of the 2019 net immigration figure. The drop in net immigration in 2020 was largely attributable to the COVID-19 restrictions on international travel. Despite the reduction in the rate of general immigration into Norway in 2020, labour migration was not affected. A critical and nuanced analysis of the 2020 immigrant data indicates increased labour net immigrants who entered Norway. This increase accounted for nearly 46 per cent of the total net immigration in 2020.

Regarding migration from other European countries into Norway, 84 per cent were nationals of the European Union, with Poland accounting for 28 per cent. Lithuania and Romania constituted the second and third largest groups, respectively. Syria and Eritrea constitute the developing countries outside the EU with the largest immigrant population in Norway (Statistics Norway, 2021).

Motivating factors for immigration into Norway

For many decades, migration scholars have focused on the question of why people migrate. Thus, understanding the determinants and motivations of migration – precisely why, when, where and how only a fraction of the world's population is motivated or forced to migrate outside their home countries – has become more important in current political and public discourse. Generally, the primary drivers of international migration are structural (Ruiz-Burga, 2021). The nature of economic developments in migrants' home countries, the social networks of migrants, and demographic trends influence the migration decisions of many migrants. These factors are frequently interrelated with broader global socio-economic development patterns, population distribution, and resources (Migali et al., 2018). Several factors account for why immigrants are attracted to the Nordic region and Norway in particular. First, Norway attracts immigrants primarily due to its strong economy and immigrant admission policies. The economic development, coupled with a strong labour market in the country, acts as a significant pull factor for immigrants (Lindahl, 2017). The conducive labour market conditions in Norway, combined with the demand for skilled and unskilled labour, attract labour migrants from many lower-income countries (Migali et al., 2018). In addition, about half of the authorised residence permits are granted to refugees and people seeking family reunification (Heleniak, 2018).

Social networks, including kin ties of immigrants in Norway, have also been significant pull factors for migration into the country. Since migration is not a one-off event, migrants maintain and sustain ties with their families in the sending countries. Coupled with the fact that Norway has policies that permit family reunification, its immigrants with ties in developing countries use these policies to invite their networks into Norway.

Irregularities in international migration and third-party organisations

A significant proportion of international migrants enter host countries irregularly. Nationals of low-income and insecure countries are more likely to use risky and irregular migration routes, which exposes them to exploitation (UN DESA, 2021; Triandafyllidou et al., 2019). Irregular migration often puts migrants in a vulnerable situation and predisposes them to exploitation by criminal gangs. These gangs often include human traffickers and smugglers who seize the opportunity to exploit vulnerable voluntary and involuntary migrants to achieve their aims. Although irregular migration often occurs through unofficial migration routes, criminal gangs in the migration industry can aid these migrants using approved routes. As revealed by the Counter-Trafficking Data Collaborative (CTDC), transnational trafficking gangs may rely heavily on official border control points, trafficking over 80 per cent of their victims through official border control points such as airports and controlled land borders (Triandafyllidou et al., 2019).

The intricate semblance between migration and human trafficking regarding migrant flows tends to explain why the various attempts at combatting human trafficking have failed. According to the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women [GAATW] (2010), victims of trafficking are often construed as regular voluntary migrants rather than being coerced or deceived to move. Bauloz and McAdam (2021) note that regular and irregular migrants are vulnerable to human trafficking when immigration and border regulations are compromised to favour transnational syndicates. Thus, all migrants become vulnerable under circumstances where authorities of states and society cannot protect them because of inadequate capacity, not enforcing applicable laws and neglecting them (David et al., 2019). Events of this nature create a conducive environment for human traffickers who rely on the services of third-party organisations to accomplish their trafficking operations. Data from the National Human Trafficking Hotline Report (NHTH) reveal that third parties in human trafficking may include family members and intimate partners of migrants and other people working for both formal and informal organisations, such as criminal gangs and networks, small business owners and corporations, labour brokers, brothels, factory owners and corporations, employers of domestic servants, growers and crew leaders in agriculture, and pimps (NHTH, 2020). The NHTH adds that human trafficking thrives because traffickers and their networks exploit the formal services provided to all regular migrants. Unfortunately, most formal organisations and institutions that help facilitate migration processes are unaware that traffickers are using their services. Some businesses are aware, but choose to do nothing, as they also generate more profits for their businesses. Some services provided during migration processes that traffickers exploit include airlines and public transportation networks; the hospitality industry; financial institutions, money transfer services and informal cash transfer services; travel and passport/visa services; recruitment agencies and labour brokers; online and print advertising businesses; and landlords, to name but a few. (Anthony et al., 2017; NHTH, 2020).

Human trafficking

According to the UN Office for Drugs and Crime (UNODC), human trafficking is as harmful as trafficking drugs and firearms. These transnational criminal activities are considered the top three global crimes (UNODC, 2017). Women, young girls and children continue to be the core

victims of human trafficking. These victims endure various forms of exploitation and abuse, including prostitution and child labour (McAdam, 2019). This phenomenon occurs in almost all regions and countries, be they origin, transit or destination countries. Like other crimes, human trafficking is a clandestine act. Without robust data, the available data suggest that trafficked victims represent a negligible percentage of the current 281 million international migrant population (UNDESA, 2020). Despite a relatively small number of trafficked victims among migrants, trafficking in humans has a severe impact on its victims, their families and communities of origin and destination. Human trafficking has negative economic and social impacts, affects long-term mental and physical health, and has human rights implications. The phenomenon is consequently considered a developmental challenge in the 2030 global Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals. The implications of human trafficking are evident in low-income and high-income countries, since the two locations usually serve as the source and destination points correspondingly (Kotiswaran, 2019). Nationals of developing countries with border challenges are targeted to recruit human beings for forced exploitation, whilst developed countries provide the conditions for exploiting these victims. Human trafficking will remain a developmental issue as long as factors such as poverty, gender inequality, decreased opportunity for decent work, conflict and injustice persist (Kotiswaran, 2019). Human trafficking also poses a challenge to attaining the aim of the Global Compact for international migration in ensuring safe, orderly and regular migration in the global migration process (Triandafyllidou & McAuliffe, 2018). This is the case because, even though target 7 of the 10th Sustainable Development Goal aims to achieve safe, orderly, regular and responsible migration and mobility for all migrants and even potential migrants (UNGA, 2018), the inability to find a lasting solution to human trafficking continues to be a threat to this goal.

Human trafficking has made alarming headlines in the past and in recent years. The international media frequently report victims' stories of exploitation, including being sold at slave markets, tortured for ransom, and abused in various ways. Notwithstanding all these incidents, the counter-trafficking measures adopted globally, regionally and nationally are yet to fully realise their objectives (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). In almost every country today, organised crime syndicates traffic migrants for exploitation. Certain groups of people are especially vulnerable to human traffickers. Most victims of human trafficking come from low-income families, rendering them vulnerable and prone to exploitation. The different types of human trafficking tend to be highly gendered. In response to gender-specific global market demands, women and girls are often trafficked for sexual exploitation, forced marriage and domestic servitude. Meanwhile, men and boys are more likely to be victims of trafficking for labour in the fishing and mining industries (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021).

CTDC and UNODC reports on recent trends in human trafficking also reveal that minors are more likely to be trafficked outside of country of origin than adults. Trafficking is typically accomplished through debt bondage, threats and restrictions on freedom of movement. Victims' travel documents are sometimes confiscated and destroyed to conceal their identity and limit their movements. These reports also reiterate that most victims are exploited throughout their journeys and successfully trafficked through the aid of officials compromised by traffickers (CTDC, 2020; UNODC, 2021).

A closely related concept to human trafficking is human smuggling. Current demand for international border controls, closure, border securitisation and requirement for valid travel documents have resulted in increased smuggling of humans. In some cases, smuggling (although voluntary) results in trafficking at transit points when migrants run out of funds needed to pay for the rest of their journey to their final destinations.

Human trafficking in Europe

The EU Anti-Trafficking Directive defines human trafficking as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring, or reception of individuals, including the exchange or transfer of control over those individuals, through threats or use of force or other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability, or the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to obtain a person's consent" (EU Directive, 2011, p. 36). The EU Directive establishes definitive guidelines for determining certain acts as human trafficking, which are also criminal offences, and of sanctions applicable to these offences to both prevent and protect trafficked victims. Trafficking and smuggling of human beings are part of the most common illicit operations within organised crime groups in Europe. As a result, human trafficking is regarded as one of Europe's most lucrative illegal enterprises. Globally, criminal networks earn approximately USD 3 billion annually (UNODC, 2016).

In recent times, human trafficking has become increasingly multifaceted in Europe. Decades ago, most trafficked victims were women from poor EU countries to wealthier EU countries for prostitution. In recent times, however, the flow of victims from Eastern Europe to Western Europe has been replaced by newer and more complex transnational routes, including those outside the EU. In terms of criminal actors, types of exploitation and victims, this type of crime looks more multifarious, making it difficult for authorities to track their activities (UNODC, 2016). There have also been some changes in the profiles of the victims compared with previous decades. The number of recognised male victims of human trafficking has increased in recent years. It is, however, unclear whether the increase is because of a shift in human trafficking activities that target male victims or an increase in police efforts to rescue male victims. Although women continue to make up most of the identified victims, children and young men are now closing in on the number of women. Children account for 28 per cent of all confirmed victims, while men account for 21 per cent in Europe. The same pattern has been witnessed worldwide (UNODC, 2016; NCIS, 2017).

Migration and human trafficking in Norway

Migration is a topical issue in Norway, which has received large numbers of asylum seekers and refugees over the years (Aarebrot & Jakobsen, 2019). The Norwegian government has developed policies to manage migration flows, including supporting refugees and asylum seekers and promoting integration (Aarebrot & Jakobsen, 2019). However, there are also challenges related to the integration of migrants, including language barriers, discrimination and social isolation (Aarebrot & Jakobsen, 2019). The country is both a destination and transit point for migrants. As a result, human trafficking is a concern in Norway, with many victims being migrants trafficked into the country, mainly from Eastern Europe and Africa (Skilbrei & Tveit, 2017; Kotsadam & Jakobsen, 2018). While the country has developed policies and laws

to combat human trafficking, there is still a need for greater awareness and co-operation among the government and other stakeholders to prevent and address this issue (Kotsadam & Jakobsen, 2018). The nexus between migration and human trafficking is also a concern in Norway, because most migrants are predominantly vulnerable to exploitation and abuse (Noll & Skilbrei, 2019). This is especially common among women and children trafficked for sexual exploitation (Noll & Skilbrei, 2019). Therefore, there is a need for greater awareness and co-operation among stakeholders to support migrants and victims of human trafficking (Noll & Skilbrei, 2019).

There has been insufficient official data on the trends and patterns of human trafficking in Norway since 2016. Despite the inadequacy of official data on victims of human trafficking, data from non-governmental organisations working with victims of trafficking indicate that Norway is a destination for victims of human trafficking. Women form the bulk of these victims, primarily sexually exploited in prostitution. Data from KOM further illustrates a persistent increase in the number of assisted victims of human trafficking over a four-year period, except in 2018. According to KOM'S data, the number of assisted victims of human trafficking was 144 (121 women, 21 men and 2 transgender persons). This number declined to 106 in 2018 and then increased to 238 and 254 in 2019 and 2020, respectively. Although most identified victims were women, nearly 40 per cent were male.

Regarding categorisation by place of origin of the victims, the proportion of victims of Nigerian origin declined. In contrast, victims from Eastern Europe, especially Bulgaria and Romania, and from South America have increased. (GRETA, 2022). In 2015, trafficked victims from Romania and Bulgaria were the second and fifth most common nationalities among identified victims of human trafficking in Norway, respectively. Many are of Roma descent, Europe's most marginalised and vulnerable group. Vulnerability factors, including poverty, illiteracy and low-income family support systems, increase the risk of falling victim to human trafficking (Kushen, 2011; Europol, 2015; D'arcy & Brodie, 2015; KOM, 2015).

The GRETA Report reveals that since 2017 the number of victims of child trafficking cases brought before the Norwegian Child Protection Boards has been on the rise. Many children (victims) were from East European countries, primarily females, who were exploited for prostitution and begging. Norway has made several efforts to counter human trafficking. Among these are the ratification of many international and regional conventions against human rights violations. These instruments include the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime 2000, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and Children, the UN Convention on Women, the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence, and the Council of Europe Convention on Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse, which is yet to come into effect. At the national level, Norway has implemented several legal regulations, including the Norwegian Penal Code, to combat human trafficking (NCIS, 2017). In addition, several measures are being implemented to combat human trafficking, ranging from addressing root causes to apprehending traffickers and protecting victims (Kiss & Zimmermann, 2019) Missing in the the reference list!). Detection of victims of trafficking is critical not only for the criminal prosecution of traffickers

but, most importantly, for victim protection. Considering the variety of actors who may encounter prospective victims, referral procedures must be in place so that victims can receive the assistance to which they are entitled as soon as possible (Liu, 2017). Additionally, efforts are being made to combat human trafficking in Norway through international co-operation and partnerships with NGOs (Skilbrei & Tveit, 2017). The Norwegian government has also established a fund to aid trafficking victims, and several organisations provide support and services to victims of trafficking.

Drivers of trafficking in Norway

Human trafficking is a complex issue with a multitude of driving factors. Research has identified several drivers of trafficking in Norway, including demand for cheap labour, increased migration, and globalisation (Fossland & Skilbrei, 2014). Norway's strong economy and labour market, combined with its strict immigration policies, create a demand for cheap labour in the agriculture, construction and hospitality sectors. This demand leads to the exploitation of migrant workers, who may be forced to work in illegal and unsafe conditions. Increased migration, mainly from Eastern Europe and Africa, has also been identified as a driver of trafficking in Norway. Migrants are more vulnerable to trafficking due to their lack of legal status, language skills and access to support services (Fossland & Skilbrei, 2014). This vulnerability predisposes migrants to be exploited by traffickers who promise them jobs and a better life in Norway, only to force them into labour or sexual exploitation. The NCIS Report (2017) showed that the existence of well-resourced criminal actors who intend to traffic human beings into the country is the primary driver of human trafficking in Norway. However, another significant driver is shortcomings by state authorities with the mandate to fight trafficking.

Criminal actors operate within assigned networks in different locations (origin, transit and destination countries) and perform a chain of synchronised roles from recruitment in the country of origin and transportation to receiving the victim at the destination for exploitation. These criminal actors utilise fake fraudulent and legitimate documents and procedures to secure entry and residence permits for their victims in EU countries (Europol, 2017). They frequently employ unscrupulous intermediaries from different industries and professions, such as banking and legal institutions. These facilitators act as responsible third parties, allowing the criminal organisation to avoid control measures against, for example, money laundering (Europol, 2017). They also take advantage of the weaknesses in the legislation of EU countries to acquire genuine residence and work permits for their victims. They frequently use the services of fronts and third parties who provide them with falsified medical certificates and work-related documents by recruiting victims who already have residence permits in other EU nations (Europol, 2017).

Gender inequality and discrimination are also significant drivers of trafficking in Norway. Women and girls are disproportionately affected by trafficking for sexual exploitation, while men are often trafficked for labour exploitation (Skilbrei & Tveit, 2017). Marginalised and vulnerable groups such as refugees, asylum seekers, and undocumented migrants are also at a higher risk of being trafficked due to their limited access to legal protection and support services.

In 2016, men constituted 70 per cent of people suspected of human trafficking in Western and Southern Europe, but the few women engaged also play vital roles. Female traffickers leverage the mutual trust between women and act as effective bait to their fellow women. Hence, they often recruit victims in the place of origin, collect revenues from victims, schedule flights or place internet advertisements, and are in charge of controlling younger victims (UNODC, 2016; NCIS, 2017). Traffickers identify vulnerable persons, including children, in financially and socially disadvantaged circumstances, people with mental illnesses or physical disabilities, and people who are addicted to alcohol or drugs.

A common feature in the human trafficking landscape manifested in Norway is shared nationality, ethnicity or language between the perpetrators and victims. These commonalities often generate initial trust. In 2016, the officially recognised victims of trafficking in Norway were nationals of 42 different countries. The most common nationalities were Nigeria, Romania, Pakistan, Bulgaria, the Philippines, Morocco and India (KOM, 2017).

Globalisation has also been identified as a driver of trafficking in Norway, with the growth of international trade and communication creating new opportunities for traffickers to exploit vulnerable individuals (Fossland & Skilbrei, 2014). Institutional structures and agreements, such as the Schengen Agreement and the European Economic Area Agreements, that enable visa and passport-free movement of goods and services, have created a conducive environment for traffickers to move their victims within European countries. In other words, structures meant to ease free movement for human development are being used by criminals to perpetrate international crime (NCIS, 2017). Furthermore, increasing use of technology and social media has made it easier for traffickers to recruit and exploit victims, and the global nature of the trade makes it difficult for law enforcement to track and prosecute perpetrators ((Fossland & Skilbrei, 2014). In addition, technological developments in Norway and the use of internet facilities for communication have eased modes of transnational communication. This has also aided traffickers who rely on the internet to reach their potential victims and bring them to Norway (NCIS, 2017).

Attempts at and challenges of stemming human trafficking in Norway

Research has shown a strong link between migration policies and human trafficking in Norway. Restrictive immigration policies have been found to increase the vulnerability of migrant workers to exploitation and trafficking (Tveit & Skilbrei, 2016). This is because strict immigration policies make it difficult for migrants to obtain legal status and access to employment opportunities, which forces them to work in illegal and exploitative conditions. Human trafficking for labour exploitation occurs in different sectors of the national economy, including construction, fishing, cleaning, agriculture, waste collection, hospitality, restaurant and industry. People are also trafficked for organ harvesting; however, exploitation for sexual purposes is among the most common type of exploitation detected in Norway (GRETA, 2022). Thus, many people who sell sex in Norway are possibly victims of human trafficking.

Selling sex is legal in Norway; however, buying sex is not. As a result, human traffickers who coerce, exploit or lure their victim into prostitution may be operating on the blindside of this law. They also operate without the knowledge of the Norwegian police and other relevant

authorities (NCIS, 2017). Most importantly, since the activity of commercial sex workers is becoming more sophisticated, coupled with its online (Pajnik et al., 2016) and indoor-based nature, anti-trafficking law enforcement authorities find it challenging to identify commercial sex workers who are victims of trafficking and curb human trafficking. (NCIS, 2017).

Nevertheless, there have been several prosecutions of perpetrators of human trafficking by Norwegian authorities. In addition, many convictions were dispensed or confirmed during the reporting period for trafficking in persons for sexual exploitation, involving victims from several countries, including Bulgaria, Romania, Thailand, the Philippines, Afghanistan, Somalia, Uganda and even Norway (GRETA, 2022). However, the focus on the prosecuting authorities for trafficking and sexual exploitation with less or no focus on other sectors of the economy has attracted some criticism. Various civil society organisations have, therefore, questioned why the police and other authorities have instead prioritised the swift deportation of foreigners engaging in prostitution in the framework of the COVID-19 pandemic, whilst limiting the possibility of discovering victims of human trafficking being exploited in other equally inhumane sectors of the economy (GRETA, 2022).

Migration and prostitution

Migration and prostitution are interconnected phenomena that have significant implications for the well-being of migrants, particularly women. However, the relationship between migration and prostitution is complex and multifaceted. For example, some researchers argue that migration can increase prostitution, as migrants may have limited access to legal employment and face discrimination and social exclusion in their destination countries (Weitzer, 2015). This, in turn, can lead some persons to enter the sex trade to earn a living. By contrast, others argue that migration can also decrease the supply of prostitutes by reducing the number of women available for sex work (Duff, Deering & Gibson, 2017). This is because migration can provide women with alternative economic opportunities and the means to escape situations of poverty and vulnerability that may have led them to enter the sex trade in the first place.

Furthermore, the relationship between migration and the concept of prostitution-sex trade is complicated by the issue of trafficking. Some women who migrate may be vulnerable to trafficking, which can involve forced labour in the sex trade. In such cases, migration and prostitution are not voluntary choices, but result from exploitation and coercion (Berman, 2019).

Prostitution or selling sex is a complex phenomenon subject to much debate and controversy in Norway. One aspect of this debate is the categorisation of prostitutes and sex sellers, which can have significant implications for their legal rights and social status. A standard categorisation is between those who engage in prostitution voluntarily and those who are forced or coerced into it (Doezema, 2018)). This categorisation assumes that some women enter the sex trade because of poverty, lack of opportunities, or other forms of exploitation, while others do so voluntarily to earn a living.

Another categorisation is between indoor and outdoor prostitution. Indoor prostitution is often associated with brothels or other types of controlled environments, while outdoor prostitution

typically takes place on streets or in public places (Sociological Research Online, 2017). This categorisation has implications for the legal status of prostitution, as indoor prostitution is often more tolerated and regulated than outdoor prostitution. Burgio (2017) introduces two main categorisations of the sex trade: high prostitution (escorts, call girls, indoor prostitution, etc.) and low prostitution (at the street level).

Prostitutes or sex sellers may also be men, transgender individuals and people who identify as LGBTQ+ (Doezema, 2018). In this vein, Castaneda (2013), who studied male sex sellers in Germany, distinguished between sex sellers by using the terms professional and nonprofessional male sex workers. According to Castaneda, professional male sex sellers tend to be more financially secure, independent, and able to exercise more agency in choosing their clients. Further, they are likelier to use the internet to solicit clients. Nonprofessional male sex sellers, by contrast, tend to enter prostitution because of poverty and other socio-economic difficulties, are unable to exercise decision power over clients, and are inclined to solicit clients in streets, bars or clubs, and to have sex work as a temporary strategy. Street-based sex workers are typically the most marginalised group of people working in the sex industry and suffer from the interplay of various discrimination based on country of origin, residence status, lower-class background, lack of education and professional skills, as well as a history of family or sexual abuse and/or drug addiction.

Migrating out of one's country to sell sex is often a result of economic hardship. Studies have shown that for migrant sex sellers, selling sex is often not a first choice, but a last resort, since finding a relatively well-paid job is difficult or impossible. In addition, the inability to meet their financial obligations to family members back home and difficulty in securing accommodation may drive migrants into prostitution (Castaneda, 2013; Mai, 2015; Burgio, 2017; Kock, 2018). Burgio (2017) attributed the socio-economic cause of migrating to sell sex to transformations in the labour market systems and commercialisation of private household services such as cooking, cleaning and care work. According to Burgio, sex work, a private service, has become part of the new labour market system and created a larger market that demands more commercial sex workers. However, local sex sellers cannot meet this increased demand, hence the demand for immigrant sex sellers.

While some sex sellers started in their countries of origin before migrating, others entered prostitution after migration. Pro Sentret's study of men who sell sex in Oslo revealed that their initial intention for migration was not to sell sex (needs reference). However, destination challenges forced them into selling sex to earn a living whilst trying to meet their financial aspirations and staying out of trouble with the police and other authorities (Kock, 2018). In a UK study, Ruiz-Burga (2021) found that some of the men who sell sex in his sample started at a younger age to support their families in their countries of origin before they migrated to the UK. Others were forced by poor financial circumstances into selling sex for the first time after leaving their countries. Most sex sellers from Latin America first engaged in prostitution after arriving in the UK due to economic hardship and a lack of access to everyday work. However, sex sellers from Eastern Europe usually sold sex in their home countries before migrating to the UK. Overall, most of the commercial sex workers from Europe had sold sex in multiple countries before finally settling in the UK. These transnational movements were made possible

through their networks of friends and family who lived in the countries they transited. These networks were also very influential in their decision to go on selling sex aside from economic reasons (Ruiz-Burga, 2021). In Vuolajärvi's (2019) work, most immigrants selling sex in Sweden, Finland and Norway in her study were highly mobile, travelling between their home countries and countries of destination in the Nordic region. The EU nationals who moved from one country to the other to sell sex took advantage of the free movement agreement within the region since they were seldom granted permanent residency in other EU countries and the Nordic regions.

Regulation of prostitution: General perspectives in Europe and the Nordic Region

A country's physical entering and exit points no longer define borders in Europe. Borders now include all formal and informal structures that impose varied restrictions and discomfort to the everyday life of immigrants (Diatlova & Näre, 2018). Studies show that state and non-state actors' implementation of regulatory practices marginalises immigrants by categorising them by gender or geographical origin (Diatlova & Näre, 2018; Vuolajärv, 2019; Altay et al., 2021; Lang et al., 2021). These regulations often restrict immigrants' freedom, while denigrating their identity through geopolitical mechanisms (Farley et al., 2017; Diatlova & Näre, 2018; Yuval-Davis et al., 2019; Altay et al., 2021). The regulations regarding trafficking, immigration and sex work have created intersectional processes in which the meanings of gender identity, nationality and heterosexism are simultaneously constructed (Diatlova & Näre, 2018; Altay et al., 2021). Furthermore, these regulations tend to impact the livelihood activities of particular groups of people positively or adversely.

Most European countries have enacted legal frameworks for regulating prostitution and its related activities. As a result, these countries have a basis for deeming certain aspects of the sex trade as legal or illegal. According to Farley et al. (2017), for instance, Lithuania and Romania have legal instruments that ban prostitution, prohibiting both selling and purchasing sex. By contrast, countries such as Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain have a partial ban on prostitution. In these countries, some activities related to prostitution are prohibited, including pimping, operation of brothels, and living off the proceeds of prostitution. Selling and buying sex is, however, legally permissible. Sweden used to be the only country in the EU where purchasing sexual services is a crime, with offenders risking up to a year in prison. Similarly, France, Norway, Iceland and Scotland have made purchasing sex illegal through legal amendments. Other countries are exploring similar legislation in response to a call for the prohibition of the purchase of sex. It is also interesting to note that in the EU countries where prostitution is illegal, it is not people who buy sex who are punished, but rather the people who sell sex. Conversely, in Finland, France, Ireland, the UK and Romania, sex sellers only risk a prison sentence or fines for solicitation of sex in public places (Farley et al., 2017).

The legal reforms in the UK and other European countries are more targeted at curbing the practice of exploiting trafficked victims in prostitution. The 2009 legal reforms in the UK made it illegal to pay someone who is being exploited for sexual services, even if the buyer was not aware that a third party was exploiting the person. The law also forbade soliciting in public

areas. The German Prostitution Act requires mandatory registration of sex workers for identification purposes and regulation of their activities. This policy has been condemned by various policymakers and sex workers' rights activists, who see this as a way of criminalising and stigmatising sex workers (Hunecke, 2019). Others believe that the state is deliberately finding subtle ways of outlawing prostitution by enforcing laws that immigrant sex workers cannot comply with, thereby making them illegal migrants (Lafleur & Mescoli, 2018; Vuolajärvi, 2019). In most literature on migration, trafficking and sex work, it is proposed that states use these legislations to suppress migration and prostitution rather than to protect sex sellers and victims of trafficking.

Since the last century, prostitution has persisted in Norway, Sweden and Finland; but with social and societal transformation, modernisation and technological advancements, street prostitution is now less tolerated in these countries (Vuolajärvi, 2019). The emergence of sex workers' advocacy groups instigated the legal regimes that criminalise the purchase of sex. According to Vuolajärvi (2019), women who sell sex are less likely to engage in prostitution when they perceive it as violating their human rights. This viewpoint is supported by observations made in countries where the "Nordic Model" of combating prostitution is used, such as Sweden and Norway. Given the Nordic position on commercial sex, Sweden was the first to employ feminist logic to change its anti-prostitution laws, making it illegal to purchase sexual services, while not penalising people who provide them. The Sex Purchase Act was enacted in Sweden in 1999 and Norway in 2009. There are several reasons for this, but one is the shift in the prostitution markets in Norway, from being dominated by native Norwegians in the late 1990s to being dominated by immigrants (Jahnsen & Skilbrei, 2018).

Historically, prostitution has been tolerated by Norwegian authorities as long as it does not violate the social norms of law and order or cause a disturbance to public order or local authorities. Several laws, including a combination of criminal and vagrancy laws, have been used to regulate the commercial sex industry. Until 2000, instead of a total criminalisation of commercial sex, the introduction of regulations to sanitise the industry excluded some categories of people like the homeless and alcoholics from selling sex. Thus, the selling of sexual services has been regulated through administrative authority, by-laws, ordinances, and penal law regulation of third-party involvement. Legal sanctions still have an exclusionary effect on people who sell sex or are suspected of selling sex (see Vuolajärvi, 2019). The Vagrancy Act and the Penal Code, for example, permitted the authorities to prohibit specific individuals from selling sex even though they were neither destitute nor intoxicated (Vuolajärvi, 2019). While the Vagrancy Act has important historical implications, contemporary methods of policing prostitution mostly rely on provisions in the Immigration Act, where several statutes are employed in conjunction with penal law restrictions to exercise identity and territory control. In addition to these rules, zoning regulations govern evictions from neighbourhoods and the expulsion of unauthorised immigrants. Vuolajärvi (2019) is critical of the concurrent application of immigration and criminal law, which harms migrants who sell sex. According to Palumbo & Sciurba (2018), migrants who sell sex in Norway are typically treated like other migrants and possible trafficking victims. When Norway ratified the UN Trafficking Protocol in 2003, it concurrently outlawed trafficking in several sectors, including prostitution. To ensure that this did not contradict the current provision against pimping in the

Penal Code, the Norwegian government changed the Pimping paragraph simultaneously to remove the requirement of exploitation or profit. Norway now prohibits any participation by third parties (Jahnsen & Skilbrei, 2018).

Many feminist and anti-trafficking activists believe that making buying sex a crime is the best approach to end sex trafficking and prostitution in general. The ideology behind the law aims to end prostitution by placing responsibility on the (male) perpetrators instead of the sellers, who are often in a vulnerable situation (Di Ronco, 2020). It is, however, crucial to examine how immigration policies interact with the ban on buying sexual services, since between 70 and 80 per cent of sex sellers in the Nordic region are migrants.

The Sex Purchase Act, also known as the Nordic Model, has only had limited impact. It has made immigrants the targets of punitive regulation through immigration and third-party, or so-called pimping, legislation. Nationals are the focus of social welfare initiatives that encourage people to stop selling sex through social support. Migrants are excluded from these resources and dealt with through punitive measures, including expulsion and denial of entry. Norwegian police focus on immigration or criminal law infractions rather than uncovering presumed victims of human trafficking who might be able to provide evidence against traffickers. If they give a witness statement and give the police crucial information, presumed victims may qualify for permanent residency in Norway. A temporary residence permit might also be issued for victims of human trafficking (Vuolajärvi, 2019). According to (Vuolajärvi, 2019), the Sex Purchase Act, the fight against trafficking, and a growing willingness to use immigration law to control prostitution have all altered the dynamic between public and private institutions in charge of prostitution, policing and social assistance delivery. In addition, studies by Palumbo & Sciurba (2018) and Jahnsen & Skilbrei (2018) found that people who sell sex in Nordic nations typically feel abused and mistreated by social services and society at large. They reported instances of assault and harassment to the police in Sweden, had negative experiences and thought the police were partly to blame for their problems when selling sex because of how hostile the culture is to commercial sex workers in these countries (Vuolajärvi, 2019).

Many factors influence the experiences of male and female migrant sex sellers in the Nordic region. Adopting the Nordic Approach as a model for curbing human trafficking may be counterproductive because of its previous outcomes. Implementing this Act may have adversely affected sex sellers in Sweden and Norway (Vuolajärvi, 2019). Scholars in this area have explicitly argued that laws controlling immigration, trafficking, sexual exploitation and prostitution are more punitive towards sex sellers than sex buyers (Diatlova & Näre, 2018; Vuolajärvi, 2019). Other authors have demonstrated that these laws further marginalise immigrant sex workers and impede their enjoyment of EU citizenship (Lafleur & Mescoli, 2018; Altay et al., 2021). Research on the effectiveness of the Sex Purchase Act has, therefore, been mixed, with some studies suggesting that the Act has reduced demand for prostitution, while others suggest that it has had little impact on its objectives (Diatlova & Näre, 2018; Vuolajärvi, 2019; Altay et al., 2021): police enforcement and third-party regulation harm sex sellers' safety. According to Vuolajärvi (2019), the strict application of this regulation discourages sex sellers from reporting experiences of violence or abuse to the police for fear of eviction. In the

same vein, sex sellers who do not have legal residence permits may also avoid the police due to fear of deportation. Sex sellers without permanent residency are excluded from the Nordic region's welfare services, including social benefits, housing and public healthcare (Jahnsen & Skilbrei, 2017). Generally, the sex sellers in Vuolajärvi's (2019) study described constant police harassment as routine checks.

Conclusion

International migration is always on the increase. Many people migrate across international borders for a myriad of reasons. With growing border controls and securitization, not all potential migrants are able to migrate regularly. This has also resulted in rising trends and patterns of irregular migration mostly from poor to rich countries. Irregular migrants are among the most vulnerable people and predisposed to exploitation. There is a common connection between international migration, human trafficking, and prostitution. Europe happens to be one of the most cited migration destinations where human trafficking, exploitation and prostitution of both women and men is common. Several measures have been put in place to control sexual exploitation of both voluntary and involuntary migrant of men and women in Europe and more specifically in Norway. However, these measures have their own challenges hence the reason why migration, human trafficking and prostitution in Norway is still a topical issue. There is an urgent need for an equitable and a more humane approach to deal with this issue.

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