

# BETWEEN CRIMINALITY AND VICTIMHOOD

A research on how Danish NGOs navigate the border struggles that stem from the Danish national border and the social borders.

Master's Thesis

MSc Global Refugee Studies

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## Abbreviations

CoE Council of Europe

CMM *Center Mod Menneskehandel* (Danish Centre Against Human Trafficking)

DIS Danish Immigration Service

EU European Union

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

UN United Nations

## 1. Introduction

Trafficking in persons has gathered momentum on the international agenda since it was first defined as a crime in 2000 by the UN ‘Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in persons Especially Women and Children’. There is an ongoing increase in focus upon the importance of borders and their effects on migration, yet the focus has been mainly on the effects produced by the externalization of the European borders (cf. Moreno-Lax & Lemberg-Pedersen, 2019; Andrijasevic, 2003).

This thesis will employ the concept of ‘border struggle’ as defined by Mezzadra and Neilson (2013b) to investigate the effects of both the Danish national border and effects of the social borders. In addition, I will draw upon critical anti-trafficking scholars, these will be used to analyse the conflictual field of trafficking in persons, in which notions of agency, victimhood, sex work and gender intertwine. Subsequently, I will employ a critical approach towards the NGOs, specifically the understanding of the organizations within the wider neo-liberal economic framework.

The goal is to analyse how Danish non-governmental organizations (NGOs) navigate the sites of border struggles. The use of the verb ‘to navigate’ refers to the ways in which the NGOs carry out their practices: sailing, stirring and if needed changing direction in the ‘tumultuous waters’ of the border struggles.

Employing a reflexive thematic analysis on the material collected from four semi-structured interviews, I analyse the effects that are experienced beyond the moment of crossing the geographical borders and the effects of the social borders to understand how the NGOs navigate the border struggle sites that emerge from them. As the analysis is built upon interviews with employees of the NGOs, the findings reflect the NGOs interpretations of the situations and of the events. This interpretation is coherent with the epistemological perspective of social constructionism, as the concern is to understand the everyday life and reality that is constructed through the language of the NGOs.

## 2. Legal Framework and Danish Action Plan

This thesis will focus upon non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working in the field of trafficking in persons in Denmark, hence I consider crucial to provide an outline the main legal instruments that define trafficking in persons and the importance of their adoptions for the legal context in which I situate my thesis. Thus, in this chapter the United Nations (UN) ‘Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in human beings, especially women and children’, the Council of Europe (CoE) ‘Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings’ and the Danish ‘Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings’ will be presented as they are a relevant background for this thesis.

### UN Palermo Protocol

The UN ‘Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children’ (also referred to as the ‘Palermo Protocol’ due to the city it was adopted in), adopted in November 2000, is the first international legal instrument to provide a definition of trafficking in persons. The definition of trafficking in persons can be found in article 3, comma (a):

*“Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.*

The inclusion of the Palermo Protocol as supplementing the UN ‘Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime’ should not be left unproblematic as it addresses trafficking as a form of transnational crime. Accordingly, Segrave (2009) points out that the Palermo Protocol understands trafficking as a “law and order issue, as first and foremost a crime, whereby the state plays a critical role in ‘eradicating’

this practice” (p. 253). As stated by Brunovskis (2012), the focus on the criminal nature of trafficking is also reflected by the incorporation of the Protocol in the ‘Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime’ and not in the ‘Human Rights Convention’.

Trafficking in persons has been addressed by scholars with several labels as ‘trafficking of women into sexual servitude’ (Segrave, 2009), ‘trafficking in human beings’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018), ‘international human trafficking’ (Lobasz, 2009), ‘human trafficking’ (FitzGerald, 2012; Spanger, 2013) and ‘women with experience with selling sexual services’ (Bjønness, 2011). Although I understand that the different naming reflects the cases investigated by the authors, I chose not to focus on the female migrant sex workers, but on the NGOs working with them, thus I decided to employ the term ‘trafficking in persons’ (also referred to as ‘trafficking’) as per Palermo Protocol.

## CoE Convention

The CoE Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (hereby CoE Convention) adopted in 2005, reaffirms the definition of trafficking contained in the Palermo Protocol. The relevance of the CoE Convention for this thesis is that it includes the ‘recovery and reflection period’, mentioned for the first time in a 2004 EU Council Directive, in a binding legal instrument. The definition of recovery and reflection period in the CoE Convention is:

*Each Party shall provide in its internal law a recovery and reflection period of at least 30 days, when there are reasonable grounds to believe that the person concerned is a victim. Such a period shall be sufficient for the person concerned to recover and escape the influence of traffickers and/or to take an informed decision on cooperating with the competent authorities. During this period it shall not be possible to enforce any expulsion order against him or her. (Article 13, comma 1).*

The CoE Convention, thus the recovery and reflection period, according to Brunovskis (2012) is “held to be stronger on victims’ rights than the Palermo Protocol was. However, this must be seen in light of the Protocol’s notorious weakness in this area” (p. 23). It is interesting to notice that despite this period being an obligation for the signatory states, countries have decided to employ divergent models of the



recovery and reflection period (Brunovskis, 2012). Yet, as this is not the focus of this thesis, suffice to say that the Danish model of reflection period does not enable the identified victim of trafficking to reflect upon “whether they will cooperate with the police on investigation of traffickers, but whether they will cooperate on their return” (Brunovskis, 2012, p. 9).

## Danish Action Plan

Following the above-mentioned international obligations, in 2002 Denmark launched its first four-year national action plan called ‘Action plan to Combat Trafficking in Women 2002-2006’. The title of the action plan changed in 2007 to a more inclusive title, namely “Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings” and remained the same up to the ongoing one (2019-2021). Three provisions of the Danish Action Plan are relevant for the current thesis, the first one is the process of ‘identification of victims, the second one is the ‘reflection and recovery period’ and the third one is the ‘prepared repatriation and reintegration’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018). These three offers are described here as they will be used in the analysis to explain the practices of both the police and the NGOs within the border struggles.

The process of identification of victims of trafficking is the mechanism through which a person is assessed as an official victim of trafficking employing indicators such as “ways of recruitment, personal documents of the potential victim, freedom to move, violence and threats, working and life conditions” (CMM, 2010 in Spanger, 2011). As per National Action Plan, before a police operation, the police reaches out to the CMM if there is a chance of encountering a potential victim of trafficking, which “allows CMM or possibly an NGO to be present at the police station to advise and support those detained and to help with identification” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018, p. 10).

Once a person is identified, they are entitled to assistance and support. In Denmark, the body in charge of the identification process is contingent to the residency status of the potential victim of trafficking (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018). The “Danish Immigration Service assesses whether an asylum seeker or a foreign national without legal residence in Denmark is a victim of human trafficking.

If the person has legal residence in Denmark, CMM [Danish Centre Against Human Trafficking - Ed.] will usually carry out the assessment” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018, p. 13).

As regards the second provision, the reflection and recovery period, the Danish Action Plan states that “victims of human trafficking are to receive assistance and support in the reflection and recovery period so that they can recover and regain their physical and mental strength to come out of the exploitation situation and move on with their life” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018, p. 14). Nonetheless, as mentioned previously, in her comparative research across countries on reflection periods and residence permits for victims of trafficking, Brunovskis (2012) sets forth that the reflection period’s purpose in Denmark is to facilitate the undocumented victim of trafficking’s repatriation. In this regard, Spanger (2011) asserts that problematizing victims of trafficking as being foreigners passively deceived into sex work in a foreign country, has “given rise to a proposal to remove the ‘victims’ from sex industry by repatriation and reintegration programmes” (p. 527). In the Danish Action Plan, there is a curious distinction of the type of accommodation offered during the reflection period, based on the person’s residency status: “[those – Ed.] who are legally in Denmark are offered suitable and secure accommodation, including food. Victims who are unlawfully in Denmark are offered accommodation in the asylum system or an alternative to this, for example at a shelter, if this is deemed appropriate” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018, p. 14). Although this is not going to be analysed further, it is an interesting distinction.

The third provision that is relevant for the current research is the ‘prepared repatriation and reintegration’ program. The prepared repatriation is available for “foreign nationals who are victims of trafficking, and who must or want to leave Denmark” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018, p. 15). This offer includes an individual plan for the reintegration in the country of origin or previous residence and “depending on the need it is possible for them to receive support, for example for somewhere to live, to start a small business or education, to cover minor expenses, for food and school fees for any children, etc” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018).

### 3. State of Art

This chapter's goal is to present the state of art of academic research around the topics I was interested in, namely borders and trafficking in persons. These topics are central to my research question in so far as they compose both my field of interest and my research question.

The first part of this chapter will present some themes that I found while I was searching for relevant literature. This following is not a comprehensive account of the literature on the topics, rather some insight on the literature I reviewed before starting to write the current thesis. The last section of this chapter, 'Development of the Research Question', will briefly present the process of development of the research question and how this thesis contributes to the debates highlighted in the review of the literature.

#### Relation Between Borders and Migration

Many recent studies have focused on the relation between borders and migration. A way of understanding this relation, from a migrant-centred perspective, is presented in Casas-Cortes, Cobarrubias, and Pickles' (2015) work on a distinct way of approaching border control mechanisms and mobility management, what they call 'Autonomy of Migration'. Though speaking of border externalization, the expansion of the EU's border management practices beyond the EU territorial limits, the authors claim that the externalization policies of the EU border regime are driven by the "autonomous practices of migrant lives" (Casas-Cortes, Cobarrubias, & Pickles, 2015, p. 909). Their point being that "border management regimes must constantly adapt to the diversities and excesses of migrant flows even as they consolidate and extended new technologies and practices of regulation and control" (Casas-Cortes, Cobarrubias, & Pickles, 2015, p. 909). On the other hand, Moreno-Lax and Lemberg-Pedersen (2019) illustrate how the distance "between the locus of power and the locus of surveillance" (p. 5) interposed by the externalization of the EU borders contributes to what they call the 'border-induced displacement'. The absence of viable routes for a safe and legal migration, "traps migrants in a 'vicious circle' of more control, more danger, and more displacement, where they must rely on facilitators to escape life-threatening perils" (Moreno-Lax & Lemberg-Pedersen, 2019, p. 32). Hence, 'border-induced displacement' conveys that the processes of border externalization "function as a second order-type of

(re-)displacement, produced precisely via (the violence implicated in) the border control” (Moreno-Lax & Lemberg-Pedersen, 2019, p. 7). Second order-type as opposed to the first order original reasons for migrating.

While these scholarly works have been key in highlighting how the movement of the migrants affect the borders and the effects the externalization of the EU borders on the migrants’ movement opportunities. Though, they both only take into consideration one side of the relationship. As Scheel (2013 in Tyerman, 2019) states “borders and bordered subjects are mutually constitutive and only exist to the extent they are performed in specific encounters between people on the move and efforts to control this mobility” (p. 469).

## Trafficking in persons and Migration

An interesting perspective of trafficking in persons as part of labour migration, has been brought forward by Bastia’s (2006) research on gender and migration in Latin America. The scholar’s starting point is noticing similarities in the lives of the migrants she was observing and the trafficking discourse (Bastia, 2006). These similarities “related to the contexts within which migration was taking place for the women and men [...] interviewed, at times the mode of their migration, as well as the working conditions related to the jobs they found in their place of destination” (Bastia, 2006, p. 23). Looking at trafficking in persons through the lens of migration, allowed Bastia (2006) to find that the protection of potential victims of trafficking is not appealing for migrants as they lose their main source of employment and income. There is therefore a need for researchers to investigate trafficking as part of labour migration (Bastia, 2006). Doing so will enable a gender-aware framework that goes beyond the discourse of the innocent (woman) victim of trafficking and the guilty (man) economic migrant (Bastia, 2006). Pointing out that the attributes of labour migrants and potential victims of trafficking has important resonance when analysed in a gender-aware framework. However, I contend that borders matter for labour migration, especially when it comes to the distinction between the innocent (woman) victim and guilty (man) economic migrant. As mentioned by Andrijasevic (2003) “presenting one’s self as a victim is indeed indispensable if an undocumented migrant woman is to use the legal immigration apparatus to her advantage and obtain

the right to remain in Italy”. Understanding the migrants’ strategies around the borders is essential to include them in the analysis.

## Gender Perspective on Trafficking in Persons and Borders

The combination of the topics of borders and trafficking in persons has brought to interesting insights as regards bringing forward a gendered perspective. Andrijasevic’s (2003) work, on casting the accounts of eastern European women trafficked to Italy against the political and mediatic discourse on the recruitment and transportation phase of trafficking, sheds light upon interesting points. First, “when the categories of irregular migration, border and crime are brought into focus, a gap between the interviewee’s accounts of migration and the dominant rhetoric of trafficking becomes visible” (Andrijasevic, 2003, p. 253). Secondly, that the political and mediatic “re/presentation of trafficking is highly gendered and re/produces stereotypical narratives of femininity and masculinity” (Andrijasevic, 2003, p. 265). These narratives reinforce the idea of gendered victimhood and criminality, which conceals the imbalance of the power relations in the European Union (EU) (Andrijasevic, 2003). Therefore, the author invites researchers to include the issues of migration, the effects of the border control regime and the EU expansion towards east when investigating trafficking (Andrijasevic, 2003). Thus, there should be a shift from the understanding of trafficking as a crime to trafficking as an effect of the strict European border regimes (Andrijasevic, 2003).

On the other hand, Jennifer K. Lobasz’s (2009) work highlights the feminist contribution to change of focus from a traditional border security framework to “considering instead the security of trafficked persons, recognizing the manner in which both traffickers and the state itself pose security threats” (Lobasz, 2009, p. 321). Thus, according to the author, feminist approaches have made two key contributions: broadening the analysis of trafficking to encompass the accounts of the exploited people and paying attention to “how the concept of human trafficking is socially constructed in the first place” (Lobasz, 2009, p. 323). The focus on the exploited people arose from the feminist quarters sheds light upon the referent object of security; if this is the State, “countertrafficking will focus primarily on border control policies and therefore will consider trafficked persons to be criminals rather than victims” (Lobasz, 2009, p. 343). The construction of trafficking reproduces gendered stereotypes, in which

“women and children upholds stereotypical perceptions of men as autonomous actors and women as passive victims” (Lobasz, 2009, p. 339). The stereotypes of women lacking agency conflicts with how the trafficked women have perceive themselves (Lobasz, 2009). Despite these important findings, Lobasz (2009), the borders are still only considered in a traditional security approach, hence their effects are discounted when approaching the construction of trafficking.

### Beyond ‘victim/empowered’ and ‘forced/voluntary’ dichotomies

The concept of agency, and victimhood as the lack it, in the field of trafficking in persons has been approached by numerous scholars. Stemming from a poststructuralist feminist approach, Marlene Spanger’s (2012) fieldwork among Thai migrants selling sex in Denmark, sheds light upon how different subject positions are negotiated depending on space and times, as well as gender, race, nationality of the person they engage in conversation with. Thus, “this reflects how they construct and negotiate various subject positions that transgress and disrupt the fixed subject positions of the ‘victimised prostitute’ or ‘the empowered sex worker’” (Spanger, 2012, p. 160). These fixed subject positions simplify the everyday life of the Thai female migrants and do not take into account the perceptions of the subjects themselves (Spanger, 2012).

An important contribution to the topic of agency and the prominence of the dichotomy voluntary/forced model in sex work is Doezema’s (1998) work. The author highlights how whilst there is a new fragmented perspective on prostitution on an international level, “international actors and agreements are rarely as vocal about promoting prostitutes rights as they are in condemning forced prostitution” (Doezema, 1998, p. 41). The author continues affirming that not only the abolitionist model has been replaced by the distinction between ‘voluntary’ and ‘forced’ prostitution, but that this “reproduces the whore/madonna division within the category ‘prostitute’” (Doezema, 1998, p. 47). Hence, this reproduction, brought forward amongst others by the Human Rights Watch, disqualifies the human rights considerations of those that fall into the ‘voluntary’ category (Doezema, 1998). Which confirms the tendency to be satisfied that “governments trample on the rights of sex workers, as long as the morals of ‘innocent’ women are protect” (Doezema, 1998, p. 46). Continuing with this idea, Lobasz (2009), adds

that “the definition of trafficking victims as naïve and innocent is tied up in a stereotyped assumption of the purity of white women and the impurity of women of colour” (p. 342).

## Development of the Research Question

The themes comprising the literature I reviewed for this thesis composed the topic of my interest and set the foundation for my research question. The aforementioned literature has been essential to foreground the importance of the migrants’ lives in shaping the border externalization, the EU external borders as an engine of further displacement, the gendered discourses around trafficking and their effects on reproducing dichotomic narratives of victims and empowered women. Despite these contributions, I found that firstly, most of the research on trafficking in persons revolves around discourses, such as feminist discourses and discourses of victimhood. While I do not discount the importance of analysing the discourses, I was interested in unfolding what happens in the sites in which the effects of the borders are experienced. This brings me to my second finding, the approach towards borders. The literature I reviewed, whilst acknowledging the importance of borders, does not investigate their temporal component. Specifically, the effects that the borders have beyond the moment of crossing and that these effects are constantly experienced by those who crossed the borders. Along with this I also wanted to investigate the border struggles from the perspective of the Danish NGOs’ perspective.

Given these findings and interests, I decided to develop my thesis following the research question:

*How do Danish Non-Governmental Organizations working within the field of trafficking in persons navigate the sites of border struggle?*

## 4. Theoretical Framework

The main theoretical approaches that inform this work revolve around a broad approach to borders, a critical approach to anti-trafficking and a critical approach to the work of the NGOs. Firstly, I will borrow Mezzadra and Neilson's (2013b) notion of "border struggle" as a lens through which I analyse the practices of the Danish NGOs working in the field of trafficking in persons. Secondly, I will draw upon critical anti-trafficking scholars, these will be used to analyse the conflictual fields of trafficking in persons, in which notions of agency, victimhood, sex work and gender intertwine. Lastly, I will employ a critical approach towards NGOs, specifically the understanding of the organizations within the wider neo-liberal economic framework.

### Critical borders framework

In his well-known book *Politics and the Other Scene*, Balibar (2002) asks "What is a Border?" (p. 75). The author explains how the attempt itself to define what a border is "absurd [...] as the very representation of the border is the precondition for any definition" (Balibar, 2002, p. 76). However, Balibar (2002) warns that "their hypothetical or fictive nature, do not make them any less real" (p. 76).

Despite Balibar's stance on the definition of border, I will explain here what I understand as border. Firstly, I consider borders as "complex social institutions which are marked by tensions between practices of border reinforcement and border crossing" (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013b, p. 3). In other words, "borders and bordered subjects are mutually constitutive and only exist to the extent they are performed in specific encounters between people on the move and efforts to control this mobility" (Trier-Bieniek, 2012, p. 469). Hence, borders are a process that is always "done somewhere by someone against some other" (Trier-Bieniek, 2012, p. 469). Borders perform functions of "demarcation and territorialization – between distinct social exchanges or flows, between distinct rights, and so forth" (Balibar 2002, p. 76 in Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013b) and have several meanings and connotations (in Balibar's (2002) words "polysemic" and "heterogeneous"). The complexity of borders has been to some extent concealed by the image of the border as a cartographic line or with their representation as a wall (Mezzadra & Neilson,



2013b). However, these representations oversimplify the many appearances borders have, such as symbolic, linguistic, cultural, economic, and urban boundaries (ibid).

Furthermore, “no political border is ever the mere boundary between two states” (Balibar, 2002, p. 79 in Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013b), instead these geographical divisions have been the result of the European colonial and imperialist expansion scheme, an attempt to arrange an “already global” (Schmitt, 1950 in Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013b) space. Borders are also tools of inclusion, insofar as they are the sites where people are filtered and selected, yet whilst including they exclude by the same means (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013b). Borders define taxonomies of movements and their definition is essential to the cognitive processes (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013b), and as any cognitive process, once a definition is implemented, elements are included, and others are excluded. Alongside, borders “function to allow passage as much as they do to deny it, they work to increase or decelerate the speed of movement as much as they do to prevent or reverse” (Casas-Cortes M. , et al., 2014, p. 57). While not underestimating the importance of the geographical borders of the state-nations system, I agree with Neilson and Mezzadra (2013) when they assert that the nation-state is still maintaining an important position as regards the power configuration.

In this thesis the concept of border is applied mainly in two ways: to describe the Danish national border and to describe the social borders. The first one, is the cartographic, geographic border between Denmark and the other countries. Although aware of its apparent exclusion role, this border produces real effects that constitute the border struggle.

With regards to the social border, the concept of border will be used in a different way. In their opening of the chapter *The proliferation of borders*, Mezzadra and Neilson cite the work of Biju Mathew (2005 in Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013b) documenting the events that brought to the New York cab drivers fare rise in 2004. The authors claim that Biju Mathew’s (2005 in Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013b) work is in fact a book on borders. They state that the author highlights “not only the linguistic borders that separate these workers but also the urban borders they routinely cross as part of their working lives, the international borders they cross to reach New York City, and the social borders that divide them from their clients and the owners from whom they lease the cabs” (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013b, p. 1). From this cue, I decided to use the idea of social border as a border to analyse. Hence, I understand the social

borders as the demarcation lines that compose the social order, the boundaries that arrange people in social groups by including some and excluding others. Another opening to this idea of social border is given by Balibar (2002) description of the polysemic character of borders, where he explains that “the fact that borders never exist in the same way for individuals belonging to different social groups” (p. 79). This led me to presume that the geographical borders Balibar (2002) refers to have different meanings for different social groups, on the grounds that the different social groups have other inherent boundaries that brings them to experience the geographical borders in a different way. I will employ the social border as the boundary that divides those who have agency and those who do not, between what Spanger (2011) called the ‘The Third World Woman’ and ‘The First World White Woman’.

I consider the borders as a constructed site, although producing real effects that persist throughout time, from which arises a complex space in which various actors carry out their agendas, often paradoxically and in conflicting ways. The notion that best describes this idea and that informs the rest of the thesis is ‘border struggles’, which is the manifestation of the “relation between the two poles of border reinforcement and border crossing” (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013b, p. 9). Or in Tyerman’s (2019) words, the two poles are the “borders and bordered subjects” (p. 468). Furthermore, according to Mezzadra and Neilson (2013b), the notion of border struggle should include also “the set of everyday practices by which migrants continually come to terms with the pervasive effects of the border, subtracting themselves from them or negotiating them through the construction of networks and transnational social spaces” (p. 13). They continue stating that “when the subjective dimension of border crossings and struggles is introduced, the border acquires a temporal thickness and diversity that is not fully discernible within an analysis that systematically privileges spatial qualities” (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013c, p. 133). Time matters, as in the case of the geographical borders the effects of the borders are experienced beyond the moment of border crossing. Secondly, a temporal understanding of borders us allows to understand how the effects, both geographical border and the social borders, are experienced continually. This insight would be lost with privileging only the spatial quality of the borders.

I apply the notion of border struggle as the site in which the female migrant sex workers come to terms with the effects of the borders. I call the border struggle site the scene in which the border reinforcement subject and the border crossing subject interact. In the Analysis chapter, I will present two types of border

struggle, one stemming from the effects of Danish national border and the other one stemming from the effects of the social borders.

Within scholars there has been a general agreement as regards states implementing a (gendered) border-oriented law-and-order response to trafficking in persons (Segrave, 2009). As the Palermo Protocol is a supplement of the Convention Against Transnational Crime, it was clear from the 2000s that trafficking in persons is one of the forms of transnational crime, hence “privileging national and international legal responses and outcomes” (Segrave, 2009, p. 253). Given this assumption, the state and its criminal justice system play a key role in ‘eradicating’ this practice (Segrave, 2009). Moreover, the author, in her analysis on how two ‘countries of destination’ of trafficking respond to the phenomenon, highlights how the crime of trafficking differs from other ‘traditional’ crimes, not only because of its cross-border nature, but also because of the victims of the crime (Segrave, 2009). This is the case for Australia and Thailand, but it can be extended also to Denmark, the victims are “often found to be in breach of the border regime” (Segrave, 2009, p. 254). For example, non-citizens overstaying their visa, working without a work permit or in breach of their visa prescriptions (Segrave, 2009, p. 254). Therefore, “border-oriented law and order framework identifies women first and foremost in relation to their citizenship” (Segrave, 2009, p. 256). To the point, trafficking in persons “marks a disruption to social order at two levels – the external (the border regime) *and* the internal (the domestic legal regime)” (Segrave, 2009, p. 254). Circling back to borders, the two mentioned levels of disruption represent few of the multiple borders that affect the subjects that are navigating the field of trafficking in persons. However, two levels of disruption of the social order can be seen as a way of defining what Mezzadra and Neilson (2013b) call border reinforcement and border crossings, from the relation of which stem the border struggles.

### Critical anti-trafficking framework

When researching the topic of trafficking in persons, the so-called “contemporary feminist battleground” (FitzGerald, 2012, p. 227) cannot be left unmentioned. Despite both sides of the battleground agreeing on the need to protect the human rights of the victims of trafficking (Lobasz, 2009), the main contentious of this debate revolves around polarized and conflicting views on prostitution. On one side, the “feminist abolitionists” (Lobasz, 2009) argue that prostitution is an evidence of the patriarchal oppression of

women's bodies and a gender-based violence, and as such, must be abolished (Hughes, 2000 in FitzGerald 2012). On the other side of the spectrum, the "neo-regulationist/sexual libertarian" (Segrave, 2009) feminists, view sex work as a "legitimate labour option for women" (ibid, p. 253). The neo-regulationist feminists therefore advocate for same labour rights for sex workers (ibid). Despite the importance of this feminist debate when researching on the topic of trafficking in persons, this thesis will not engage in this controversy, despite acknowledging its importance. Moreover, the above summary should not be considered exhaustive of the debate, instead as a brief reference to an ongoing discussion. This debate will be used to analyse one of the social borders, namely the effects of the social borders. This discussion will be used to provide an insight into the social borders that arise when taking a position in this debate. Whilst having divergent views on the topic, the feminist debate has helped bring forward the "gendered relations of power in the study of migration" (Andrijasevic, 2003, p. 257).

Regardless of one's position in the aforementioned debate, Bjønness (2011), in her report on the relationship between women with experience selling sexual services and the social system in Denmark, claims that "it seems that it is generally difficult for people outside the prostitution arena to regard the sale of sexual services as something women can choose" (p. 49). Furthermore, her research highlights a correlation between defining "prostitution as a social problem and prostitutes as victims, and the ways in which women with experience selling sexual services are described and met in the social system, as well as the ways in which they themselves describe their own experiences" (Bjønness, 2011, p. 3). However, Bjønness' (2011) research will be applied in this thesis to understand how the Danish NGOs are navigating the border struggle that stems from the effects of the social borders. Specifically, to analyse how the NGOs perceive the female migrant sex workers.

The topic of agency in the field of trafficking in persons has been investigated by numerous scholars. In her work on challenging the main discourse on trafficking of women in prostitution in Italy, Andrijasevic (2003) questions the dominant rhetoric and representation of trafficking, by providing accounts of women's narratives that challenge the "accepted notions of victimhood" (Andrijasevic, 2003, p. 253). The author claims that the "official re/presentation of trafficking is highly gendered and re/produces stereotypical narratives of femininity and masculinity" (Andrijasevic, 2003, p. 265). This representation is to the detriment of the "women's awareness of the necessity to cross the borders secretly"

(Andrijasevic, 2003, p. 259). The notion of “accepted notions of victimhood” will be used to analyse an effect of the social borders in the Analysis chapter, namely the effect of ‘Victimization regardless of the situation’. The contribution will be applied to understand how the NGOs portray the female migrant sex workers and if they reproduce their representation as victims. This perspective will help to understand what type of borders are set up when notions of victimhood are accepted and reproduced.

As highlighted in the Legal Framework and Danish Action Plan chapter, this thesis is not written in a void, reference to the discourses surrounding the topic of trafficking in persons needs to be done. In her discourse analysis on the Danish prostitution policy field, Spanger highlights how the meaning assigned to trafficking in persons has been a battlefield for competing discourses carried out by various actors (Spanger, 2011). Her work, taking the point of departure of Bacchi’s (2009 in Spanger 2011) ‘problem representations’, highlights how the Danish Action Plan is the result of a specific problem representation of trafficking in persons (Spanger, 2011). The problem represented in the Danish Action Plan as being the “presence of ‘foreign’ prostitutes” (Spanger, 2011, p. 527). Adding to this, in the “context of human trafficking we must be alert to any governmental attempt to deploy discourses of trafficked women’s vulnerability to sexual harm to pursue other political interests” (FitzGerald, 2012, p. 229). Indeed, the discourse on trafficking in persons, as highlighted by FitzGerald’s (2012) work, intersects with other political agendas such as, in her case, the UK’s government plan to “enhance border and immigration control” (FitzGerald, 2012, p. 242). To the point and referring to the Danish context, Spanger (2011) claims that the problematization of trafficking in persons “has given rise to a proposal to remove the ‘victims’ from the sex industry by repatriation and reintegration programmes” (Spanger, 2011, p. 527).

In the succinctly mentioned scholarly works above, the policy responses towards trafficking in persons have been the result of the intersection of several discourse and framing efforts and should be contextualized in the broader national and international (im)migration governance sphere. I am well aware that the terrain in which my thesis is situated is deeply marked by several discourses, by power configurations and that the NGOs are one of the subjects in this complex field, carrying on their agenda. The goal here is to understand how the NGOs navigate the sites of border struggles and not to understand if they align with the mainstream discourse. This said, the acknowledgement of the existence of framings and discourses is still deemed necessary.

## Critical NGO framework

NGOs, and their actions, should be placed in a wider neoliberal context, in which they are supposedly fulfilling spaces (humanitarian and social-justice oriented) that used to be a terrain of state intervention (Thorpe & Rinehart, 2012). Despite neo-liberalism's many definitions and usages, it can be generally summed up as a tendency to seek "cutting expenditures of public goods such as education, health care, and income assistance in order to enhance corporate profit rates" (King, 2006, p. xxv in Thorpe & Rinehart, 2012). According to Lacey and Ilcan (2006 in Thorpe & Rinehart, 2012), as the new millennium approached, the tendency towards the privatization of humanitarian and social justice organizations reached its peak as "governments absented themselves from providing social needs" (Thorpe & Rinehart, 2012, p. 118). Thus, the "boundaries between the state and the corporate world are increasingly blurred" (King, 2006, p. xi in Thorpe & Rinehart, 2012). In this context, Thorpe and Rinehart (2012) caution that NGOs are also bound by neoliberalism, as their survival in an already NGO-saturated market could be jeopardized by stands that are too progressive. Indeed, it is those organizations that present "a more compromising, apolitical stance" (Klee, 1998, p. 50 in Thorpe & Rinehart, 2012) that have the best survival rates. Along with the neo-liberal economic framework, NGOs insert themselves in a hegemonic system. Thorpe and Rinehart (2012), in their critical research on action sport-related NGOs' strategies to survive and to legitimize their presence in a neo-liberally ruled world, pinpoint that the actions of western NGOs come from a "hegemonically privileged position" (Thorpe & Rinehart, 2012, p. 120). Lastly, the authors (2012) assert that in order to understand the numerous forms of power that operate "on, through and within" (p. 134) NGOs, the broader neo-liberal context needs to be investigate, to understand NGO's strategies are used to "extend the powers of the already powerful" (p. 134). Thorpe and Rinehart's (2012) work on positioning sport NGOs in the wider neo-liberal context allows me to better understand the portrayal that the NGOs I have interviewed carry out of themselves, as their apolitical and neutral portrayal of themselves is connected to their involvement in the Danish Action Plan. The NGOs' description of their practices fits the apolitical and neutral position, as this is a way they navigate the border struggle that stems from the Danish national border. Yet, whilst acknowledging that the NGOs stand in a position power and privilege compared to the female migrant sex workers, I will not employ this theoretical approach as my intent is to understand how the NGOs navigate the border struggle sites

and not how their position of power and privilege allows a hierarchical position compared to who they work with.

## 5. Methodological framework

The aim of this chapter is to clarify the methodological framework I applied to collect and engage with the material, how I coded it, prioritized it, clustered it and which method I used to enable the analysis.

First, I will present social-constructivism and discuss its relevance for this thesis. Secondly, I will present the interview guide, the process through which it was prepared, the questions it contains and briefly discuss the limitation that this has entailed. Thirdly, I will present the method I deemed the most relevant to answer my research question, namely Clarke and Braun's (2020) reflexive thematic analysis. Following the presentation of the method, I will unfold the process of applying this method to the data. Fourthly, I will present the limitations, ethical considerations, and my positionality. In the fifth section, I will present the results of the method, meaning a summary of how the codes that I grouped into sub-themes and themes. Lastly, I will present my analysis strategy. This section will present how, given the division of the material in themes, I will carry out the analysis.

### Social Constructionism

In this section, I will present social constructionism as this is my epistemological stance. First, I will provide some background information on Berger and Luckmann's (1991) social constructionism and then I will position both myself and my thesis within this perspective.

According to Burr (1995 in Andrews, 2012) the leading influence in the development of social constructionism is Berger and Luckmann's (1991) work *The Social Construction of Reality. A treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. The construction trait of social constructionism is given by the understanding that knowledge and truth are constructed and not discovered by the mind (Schwandt, 2003 in Andrews, 2012). The social attribute, on the other hand, develops from Berger and Luckmann's (1991) concern "with the nature and construction of knowledge: how it emerges and how it comes to have the significance for society" (in Andrews, 2012).

To understand Berger and Luckmann's (1991) social constructionism, one of its main components, language, needs to be unravelled. For the authors, language is a system of human produced vocal signs



and signs are the most important example of objectification (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Objectivation is the manifestation of human expressivity in products that “are available both to their producers and to other men as elements of a common world” (Berger & Luckmann, 1991, p. 49). In other words, the objects proclaim the subjective intentions of others (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Hence, language makes a subjectivity real to others, whilst making it real also for the person talking (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). It follows that a semantic field is the aggregate of linguistic objectifications that pertain to a specific field. For example, “my occupation constitutes another semantic field, which meaningfully orders all the routine events I encounter in my daily work” (Berger & Luckmann, 1991, p. 56). Experiences are then objectified, maintained, and accumulated within a semantic field. Accordingly, the accumulation of individual’s and society’s experiences, selected within the semantic fields, is what Berger and Luckmann (1991) call the ‘social stock of knowledge’. Indeed, language is understood as an assortment of meanings that helps a person order their social experiences (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Therefore, “it is language that makes thoughts and concepts possible and not the other way around” (Andrews, 2012). Nonetheless, this does not mean “that nothing exists beyond language” (Bury, 1986 in Andrews, 2012). Oppositely, Berger and Luckman’s (1991 in Andrews 2012) confine themselves in a social constructionism of knowledge, bound to epistemological claims only, hence no ontological ones.

The other important component of social constructionism is the interaction between people. To understand how Berger and Luckmann (1991) interpret the interaction between people, we need to acknowledge that the world consists of multiple realities, with the everyday life being the reality *par excellence* (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Yet, our reality is shared with other people’s reality, as one cannot exist without the continual interaction and communication with others (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). This interaction involves a correlation between one person’s meanings and the other’s meanings of the world (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). According to Berger and Luckmann (1991) these shared understandings are ‘common-sense knowledge’, as they are in common with others’ everyday life. We interact with others by means of “typificatory schemes” (Berger & Luckmann, 1991) which help us apprehend others. For example, I apprehended the interviewees as being ‘white’, ‘women’, ‘working in an NGO’ and ‘working in Denmark’, which has affected my initial behaviour towards them. Typification schemes pattern our face-to-face encounters as long as they are unproblematic (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). When an interaction becomes problematic, the typificatory scheme will have to be adapted and

changed (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). These typificatory schemes are patterns that individuals employ in the face-to-face situation and are naturally reciprocal and “enter in an ongoing negotiation in the fact-to-face situation” (Berger & Luckmann, 1991, p. 45). So, taking a social constructionist epistemological stance, means placing “great emphasis on everyday interactions between people and how they use language to construct their reality” (Andrews, 2012).

The use I make of the social constructionist perspective regards the focus of my thesis, being to understand how the NGOs navigate the border struggles sites. Hence, my concern is to understand the NGOs’ reality, the border struggles they work within and their practices, through their language. Also, I wanted to “understanding the world of lived experience from the perspective of those who live in it” (Andrews, 2012). This means that I wanted to understand how the NGOs construct their everyday reality, which is what I call the sites of border struggles, through how they speak about it.

What is also important to highlight is that my interaction with the interviewees meant that not only I apprehended them as a type, following (Berger & Luckmann, 1991) typificatory scheme, but they also apprehended me as a type. Hence both parts involved played a role in shaping the material I collected, as our typificatory schemes entered in a situation of negotiation. This brought me to choose the reflexive thematic analysis, as the reflexive component would, at least partly, reflect the emphasis of the role I played in this thesis. In addition to understanding the NGOs reality, I wanted to shed light upon their common-sense knowledge. Knowledge that is shared between the people working in the field of trafficking in human beings, but that could have another meaning for other people, such as me.

## Interview Guide

In this section I will illustrate the reasons for choosing to conduct semi-structured interviews, the process that brought me to develop the interview guide, the choice of the questions and the process that I underwent to get in contact with the four interviewees.

## Semi-structured interviews

A semi-structured interview is a type of interview that is in between a structured interview, with fixed questions, and an unstructured interview in which generally questions arise spontaneously and are not prepared beforehand. To carry it out, an interview guide with the list of the topics that may be relevant is developed, questions around the topics are open-ended, and their goal is to start a conversation. I chose the semi-structured interview for these features, as my intention was to start a conversation about the NGOs' practices. Therefore, the possibility of enabling the interviewees to share their experiences and to "elicit data you cannot anticipate in advance" (Galletta, 2013, p. 47). Likewise, the choice to collect material through semi-structured interviews was based on the qualitative nature of my research question. Indeed, I considered the semi-structured interview to be the best tool to collect the qualitative data needed, whilst keeping in mind the focus of my thesis. Specifically, as the focus of this thesis is centred around how the NGOs navigate the border struggle sites, I considered the websites as providing little insight in the NGOs practices, still they raised concrete questions that I could ask the interviewees. Therefore, the semi-structured nature of the interview allowed me to ask questions that were relevant to my research question, while allowing the interviewee to develop their experience and thoughts. Likewise, this type of interview allowed me to return to topics that the interviewed mentioned if I wanted them to expand on the point.

The semi-structured interviews were held remotely via Microsoft Teams (a Microsoft workspace application that allows users to call and have videoconferences) and via phone, meaning that I did not meet physically with the informants. This choice was made because of the security rules and guidelines in Denmark after the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic at the time the interviews were held, and to collect the material in the safest possible way, the virtual meetings were deemed the best available option. Furthermore, even though the interviews were held virtually, both my camera and the interviewees' cameras were turned on, to allow for a setting that best simulated face-to-face interviews. The interviews were recorded, with the consent of the interviewees, which allowed me to transcribe them verbatim when the interview was over. Knowing that I was recording the interviews, allowed me to take notes during the interview on the things that I wanted to return upon with other questions and to write down initial topics the interviewee mentioned and that could be used in the analysis. In addition, knowing that I would

have the recordings allowed me to focus more on what was currently being said by the interviewees, instead of having to take notes of their answers.

All the interviewees are women, and the interviews were held in English, which is a second language both for me and for the interviewees. I tried to keep this in mind as much as possible when carrying out the analysis, thus trying to avoid using single words to understand the underling meaning, but rather understand the meaning of sentences.

I chose to anonymize both the interviewee and the NGOs. The process of anonymization involved replacing with *[name of the NGO]* every time the interviewee mentioned the name of their NGO, when using quotes from the interviews I tried to omit any information that could identify either the person or the NGOs' activity. An example is when an interviewee mentioned a specific activity that her NGO may be the only one offering, I omitted that part of the quote by using *[...]*. In addition to this, I gave all the interviewees pseudonyms, to camouflage their name, hence their identity.

A limitation is related to the reduced amount of semi-structured interviews carried out. Indeed, this does not allow me to infer general conclusions about all the Danish NGOs working in the field of trafficking in persons. This thesis sheds light upon some of the sites of border struggles encountered and navigated and does not have the ambition of presenting a comprehensive representation of all the Danish realities.

Lastly, when interviewing experts on the topic, who are accustomed to being interviewed there is a risk of the interviewees answering the questions with what they think the interviewer wants to hear them say. Yet, I consider this a risk that is common when carrying out an interview and sharing the topic of interest.

### Preparation of the interview guide

To prepare the interview guide, I went through the NGOs' websites thoroughly. The NGOs' websites contain different types of information such as pages in which they describe their vision and mission, pages where their activities and contacts are listed, as well as links to additional material from the Danish Centre Against Human Trafficking (CMM), pages in which they explain their work through cases, information on the Danish law on trafficking in persons, additional literature, and videos.

As the goal of this thesis is not a comparative analysis of the NGOs' work, but an investigation on how they navigate the sites of border struggles through their practices, I decided to use the material gathered from their websites to compile the interview guide and for the analysis. The material collected from the websites revolves mainly on the activities the NGOs carry out, who their target group is and statistical and legal information on the Danish system as regards trafficking in persons. The material was then grouped in topics, which helped me to formulate the questions. In addition, by going through the website material, I tried to formulate more specific questions, although still open-ended, for which I could not find answers on their websites.

The NGOs' website material allowed me to understand the wording they use to describe the phenomenon of trafficking in persons and how they label the people they help. The relevance of this being that I could use their wording to formulate the question, so the interviewees felt more familiar with the words and avoided applying my own labels that could be misinterpreted. Furthermore, I am aware that the websites play a key communication role for the NGOs, meaning that their websites are catered to present the NGOs in an appealing way for potential funders and as such should be taken critically.

### Interview guide and limitations

In this section I will present the interview guide that I used when carrying out the interviews.

All the groups of questions presented below, reflect the topics I thought might answer my research question based upon exploring the NGOs' websites. That being said, the semi-structured interview allowed me to ask different questions based on what the interviewee was sharing.

I started the interviews with a brief presentation of myself and my thesis project, as well as some concrete information about how the interview was going to be held. This is presented in the box below.

My name is Tanya Tierney, I come from Northern Italy, and I am currently writing my thesis for the master's program Global Refugee Studies. My thesis will focus on the intersection between migration control, borders, trafficking in persons and the work of NGOs in Denmark.

- All the information that will be gathered and shared in this interview will be used solely for academic purposes.
- Both you and your organization will be anonymized.
- Do you agree with me recording this interview?
- If a question is not clear, do not hesitate to tell me and I will reformulate.
- If you do not wish to answer a question, just let me know and we will move on to the next question.
- Do you have any questions for me before we start the interview?

Following this I decided to introduce a first generic question on who they were and the work they carried out for the organization. This question was introduced mainly to create an initial comfortable opening from which I could “learn about the participant and his or her experience” (Galletta, 2013, p. 48). This first question was very important as it provided me with some insight on which I could return later in the interview.

The second group of questions revolved around the outreach activities and the target group of the organization. These questions were intended to enable the interviewees to share the work their NGOs carry out and to provide me with suggestions to return and expand upon. The goal was to gain deeper insight in their practices and activities. Guidelines of the questions that I asked are provided below:

- Could you describe what you do during your outreach activities?
- Who do you reach out with these activities?
- Who visits your facilities?

The third set of questions revolved around the residency status of their target group and if this entailed a difference in the activities they could carry out. The aim with these questions was to understand if practices were different based on residency status, as this was not clear in their websites. Specifically, the guidelines were:

- What is your practice if one of the persons at the *[name of the service they provided]* tells you they do not have a residency permit?
- Are there limits to the support you can provide given the residency status of the person?

The fourth topic I engaged with revolved around contact with the authorities, specifically if the NGOs had concrete examples in which they would consider contacting the police. My intent was to understand the relationship with the border reinforcement subjects and have concrete examples of when and how this happened. The question was formulated as follows:

- Could you think about any cases in which referring a person to the authorities was the best option for the person's wellbeing?

The last set of questions revolved around trafficking in persons and the Danish Action Plan, the reason for these questions being an NGO perspective of the identification process of a victim of trafficking. These were initially formulated as follows:

- Could you describe what you do when you think that a woman you meet during your outreach activities is a potential victim of trafficking?
- In your opinion, have the offers under the Action plan changed throughout the years? If so, how?

While compiling the interview guide, I reflected at length on the wording used for the questions - as I did not want the NGOs to speak on behalf of the female migrant sex workers. My goal was to understand the NGOs' practices and not the lived stories of the people they support.

Nevertheless, the material collected still reflects the NGOs' narrative and the way they portray the experiences they share. For example, the analysis section regarding the encounter with the police in the streets reflects their interpretation of the events. This interpretation could be different from the one of other actors. Lastly, the ways in which the NGOs interpret events, affects them. In the example above, portraying the police as criminalizing a female migrant sex worker, allows the NGOs to portray themselves as protecting the same people.

### Getting in contact with the interviewees

The choice of the NGOs, hence the interviewees, was based on a preliminary research of Danish NGOs that worked in the field of trafficking in persons. I then reached out to the Danish NGOs using contact information I found on their webpages. In my email, I explained who I was, the overall idea for my thesis and I asked about a possible interview on the topic. When I reached out to the NGOs, I did not have a

defined research question, hence in my first email I told them that I was writing a master thesis on the intersection between border control, borders and Danish NGOs working in the field of trafficking in persons. I further specified that the interview was going to be qualitative and regarding their practices, so they did not need to prepare in advance. I had to specify this, as some of the interviewees asked to have the list of questions beforehand, hence the reassurance that there was no need to prepare beforehand.

Most of my initial requests were re-routed to the people who I eventually interviewed. Many of the NGOs chose who I would speak to. A result of this could be that the persons I interviewed were accustomed to giving interviews and were very careful with the choice of words. Moreover, I consider the person the NGOs re-routed me to, as being a person that the NGO perceived as trustworthy, hence reiterating their familiarity and their ability to handle the interview. This could be disadvantageous insofar as their answers could have been rehearsed, they could be used to answering similar questions and their answer could be staged to match to the already publicly available material. However, given my research question, I was interested in understanding the NGOs' fields of operations, their practices, their target groups and expand on topics they brought up within the theme of borders and trafficking in persons. The fact that they were chosen by the NGOs, played in my favour as they are familiar with the activities that the NGOs carry out and they could share them with more details and concrete examples.

Further, I selected which NGOs to reach out to and subsequently to interview, and this entails an issue of representativity of the broader field of NGOs working with the phenomenon of trafficking in persons in Denmark. Choosing which NGOs to interview based on a preliminary and superficial research on the Danish NGOs working in this field, means that I may have chosen NGOs that are more established and not organizations that are more informal or less known.

Lastly, the NGOs were very interested in participating in the interviews and did not dismiss my request. This could mean that they were eager to share their narrative on the topic with a student writing her master's thesis,



## Reflexive Thematic Analysis

The material collected for this thesis was engaged using Braun and Clarke's (2020) reflexive thematic analysis. The reflexive thematic analysis is one of the many approaches within the wider cluster of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2020). The choice of this analytical method relies on the generation of themes, which I consider relevant as I will use them to shed light on the sites of the border struggle. I consider this generation of themes the best way to highlight the effects of the border, and from there the efforts the NGOs carry out to navigate the border struggles. Additionally, the wide range of theoretical frameworks within which it can be applied and its reflexive nature, made this method relevant for the scope of this thesis.

A thematic analysis involves the "generation of codes and then themes from qualitative data" (Clarke & Braun, 2014, p. 1948). The themes in this thesis being 'Effects of the national border' and 'the effect of the social borders'. In a later work, the authors stressed how the themes and codes are 'generated', as opposed to 'discovered' or 'emerged' (Braun & Clarke, 2020). The use of 'discovered' or 'emerged' "denies the active role the researcher always plays in identifying patterns/themes, selecting which are of interest, and reporting them to the readers" (Braun & Clarke, 2020, p. 16). The understanding of 'generation' of themes is relevant in this project as I acknowledge my role in finding the themes within the data, thus that these themes are not objectively built, instead they are a consequence of both the theories that I am informed of and my positionality. I will return to this issue in the 'Positionality' paragraph.

The significant role of the researcher is highlighted in the reflexivity component of the reflexive thematic analysis. Indeed, "it emphasises the importance of the researcher's subjectivity as analytic *resource*, and their reflexive engagement with theory, data and interpretation" (Braun & Clarke, 2020, p. 3). Likewise, Braun and Clarke (2020) emphasise that the coding and theming, when employing a reflexive thematic analysis, should not be based on consensus coding among multiple coders. Since "coding reliability and the avoidance of 'bias' is illogical, incoherent and ultimately meaningless in a qualitative paradigm and in reflexive TA [Thematic Analysis - Ed.], because meaning and knowledge are understood as situated and contextual" (Braun & Clarke, 2020, p. 7).

Codes and themes are distinct terms in reflexive thematic analysis, codes are the analytical tools and units that are adopted by the researcher to implement themes (Braun & Clarke, 2020). To the point, “codes can be thought of as entities that capture (at least) one observation, display (usually just) one facet; themes, in contrast, are like multi-faceted crystals – they capture multiple observations or facets” (Charmaz, 2006 in Braun & Clarke, 2020, p. 13). For example, a code I used during the coding process is ‘police’, however the theme is ‘Effects of the national border’. Furthermore, the work of the researcher using reflexive thematic analysis is to interpret the findings informed with the theory. In the previous example, the ‘Effects of the national border’ theme, is seen as a site of border struggle. Indeed, I understand this theme as comprising several situations and social interactions that provide concrete examples of the effect of the national border. For example, the lack of guarantee that the police will not check the potential victim’s documents, the police calling the NGOs when potential victims of trafficking are in their custody, the NGOs emphasising to the female migrant sex workers that they are not the police, the NGOs reminding the female migrant sex workers that they allowed to a phone call when in police custody. Taking the standpoint from the theory, this theme allows to understand how the NGOs navigate this border struggle site, which is the representation of the relation between border reinforcement and the border crossing of the female migrant sex workers.

Braun and Clarke (2014, 2020) provided a non-prescriptive guidance with the intent of “democratising access to qualitative methods” (Braun & Clarke, 2020, p. 4), specifically to reflexive thematic analysis. This means that they tried to provide a structure to learn the skills needed for a qualitative analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2020). The guidance unfolds a “six-phase process for data engagement, coding and theme development” (Braun & Clarke, 2020, p. 4). The most recent articulation of the phases is: “1) data familiarisation and writing familiarisation notes; 2) systematic data coding; 3) generating initial themes from coded and collated data; 4) developing and reviewing themes; 5) refining, defining and naming themes; and 6) writing the report” (Braun & Clarke, 2020, p. 4).

This six-phase guidance was used to generate the two themes of the analysis and will be expanded upon below.

### Data familiarisation and writing familiarisation notes

This phase requires the researcher to become familiar with the material and to take notes. I familiarized with the interview material by manually transcribing the semi-structured interviews verbatim from the recording. Then, to be confident about the transcription I checked them again against the recordings. Following the transcriptions, I added my interview notes as comments in the transcriptions and made new notes on interesting points and “potential avenues for further exploration” (Clarke & Braun, 2014, p. 1950). The first set of notes revolved mainly on the words that I perceived as needing more insight during the interviews, whereas the second set of notes provides more summarization and titles to the interviews’ paragraphs.

### Systematic data coding

The systemic data coding was carried out firstly by using words and sentences from the interviews that I perceived as recurring. The codes I used were both single words that were repeated, this is the case of ‘police’, and small sentences that captured a broader meaning, such as ‘Legal and administrative field’.

In some cases, this approach was revealed to be misleading as some of the codes I thought would help me arrange the data, turned out to be not fully relevant. An example is the code ‘residency’ that was used to code material that included the word ‘residency’ and ‘stay’. I perceived this code as being helpful when coding several quotes and perspectives from different interviewees; however, the interviewees spoke seldomly about residency per se and when it was mentioned, it was in connection to the work permit. If I had kept these two codes separate, I would have had a partial sub-theme, at the most descriptive instead of multi-faced.

Subsequently, I started also looking at the words in isolation, rather than trying to understand the whole sentences and then going back to the sentence to investigate the use of the single word. This allowed me to make inferences; for example, in one interview, an interviewee mentioned the ‘name of their NGO’ when she was referring to how well their network knows them, hence coding this data with the code ‘Familiarity between NGO & target group’.

## Generating initial themes from coded and collated data

After coding all the interviews' transcripts, I proceeded to collate all material that I identified as fitting in specific codes. This was done by grouping all the coded material in a Microsoft Word document per code, then the quotes were moved around and grouped again under sub-topics, with the goal to find a theme that would describe the grouped data. For example, the passages that were coded with the code 'police', were then rearranged in sub-topics such as 'Police custody', 'The person chooses if they want to report to the police, not the NGO', 'What the police do/do not do', 'The NGO is not the police' and 'No guarantees the police will not check the person's papers'. These sub-categories helped me assign an initial theme 'Navigating the sites of police enforcement' to this set of data. The theme itself reveals the multi-faced aspects, represented by the sub-themes presented earlier, that are included in it and that will be presented in the analysis.

As shown in the example above, the generation of the (initial) themes combined inductive and deductive approaches to the coded material. Inductive meaning "grounded in' the data" (Braun & Clarke, 2020, p. 4), whereas deductive meaning that "existing research and theory provide the lens through which we analyse and interpret data" (Braun & Clarke, 2020, p. 4). This is relevant insofar as some codes were brought forth by a question I asked. This is the case of the code 'police' introduced by my question on the NGOs' encounters with the police. Whereas other codes, such as the code 'money', was found through an inductive process. The code 'money' included quotes revolving around the funding of the NGOs, the funding under the Danish Action Plan, the private funding, the issue of lack of resources and the higher amount of money female migrant sex workers earned in Denmark compared to somewhere else.

At this stage, I prioritized codes and decided not to employ some, as they were not relevant for the current thesis. An example of a code that I prioritized as low would be 'health' - as it coded information regarding the health care related services that the NGOs provide. Another code that was low on the priority list was 'concrete help', which was used to code all tangible support that the NGOs provide the female migrant sex workers, for example: food and condoms. However, some of the material coded using this code has been used in the analysis. Specifically, when talking about the "small things" that the NGOs provide to navigate the border struggle stemming from the national border.

### Developing and reviewing themes

Once the initial generation of themes was carried out, I turned back to the theories to understand what the selected theories would allow me to shed light upon given the initial themes. Specifically, what can be inferred about the themes using borders as a lens. Taking the standpoint of border struggles “open[s] a new continent of political possibilities, a space within which new kinds of political subjects, which abide neither the logics of citizenship nor established methods of radical political organization and action, can trace their movements and multiply their powers” (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013b, p. 14). For instance, engaging with the theme ‘Navigating the sites of police enforcement’ sheds a light upon how concrete and simple actions, such as telling the person in police custody that they are allowed a phone call, as the police sometimes forget to, the NGO positions itself as an actor that contrasts the ‘border reinforcement’, an actor that through actions that they talk about as neutral, navigates conflictual sites.

### Refining, defining and naming themes

The fifth step in Braun and Clarke’s (2020) guidance was carried out by reviewing the initial themes and looking at them through the lens of the theories. Specifically, this meant that for every sub-theme I identified as composing the theme, I wrote a summary of the codes included, what they meant and their value for the theme. An example of this is provided below.

Code (Initial theme)	Initial sub-themes	Summary of the coded data
Police (Navigating the sites of police enforcement)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- No guarantees the police will not check the person’s papers.</li> <li>- The person chooses if they want to report to the police, not the NGO.</li> <li>- The NGO is not the police.</li> <li>- Police custody.</li> <li>- What the police does/does not do.</li> <li>- More contact with the police and more training for them.</li> </ul>	<p>Any mention of the police and how the NGOs work with them, the relationship they have with them and how they interact with them.</p> <p>The NGOs do not rely on the police as there are no guarantees they will not check the female migrant sex worker’s documents. On the other side, they are called by the police when a person in custody is a potential victim of trafficking.</p>

This allowed me to grasp better the relationship between the codes, the sub-themes, and the themes. Hence, this brought me to rename the themes to connect them better to both my research question and to the theories employed. Therefore, the theme provided above as an example, became “Effects of the national border”.

At the beginning of this stage, I had grouped the coded data in four different themes, named ‘Effects of the national border’, ‘Effects of the social borders’, ‘Effects of the cultural and linguistic border’ and ‘Effects of the everyday borders’. However, going back to the interview guide and the codes I had, I realized that my questions, hence the answers, were pointing mainly at two of the themes, and that the other two themes had material, but not enough to help me answer my research question. Consequently, I decided not to utilize the ‘the effects of the cultural and linguistic border’ and ‘the effects of the everyday borders’.

### Writing the report

The last step on the six-phases guidance from Braun and Clarke (2020) coincided with laying out the analysis strategy and then carrying out the analysis, both of which will be presented later.

## Limitations, Ethical Considerations & Positionality

In this section I will highlight the limitations that stem both from the theories and from the analytical method that I chose, the ethical considerations and my positionality in carrying out this thesis project.

### Limitations

The first limitation regards the target group the Danish NGOs work with. I decided to refer to this group as ‘female migrant sex workers’ and label the crime as ‘trafficking in persons’. Nevertheless, this group is heterogenous as it comprises EU and non-EU citizens, sex workers with valid work permits, sex workers without valid work permit, potential victims of trafficking and victims of trafficking that have been identified by the competent Danish bodies. This entails that the ‘female migrant sex workers’ I refer to are dissimilar and present different characteristics, demographics, needs and vulnerabilities. Nonetheless, this was a choice as the research question revolves around the NGOs everyday practices as opposed to the persons benefiting from their services and activities.

The reflexivity component of the reflexive thematic approach conveys that the codes, themes and findings of this thesis depend on me and that if another person reflected on the material, the codes, themes and findings could be different. This is an attribute that is shared both by the reflexivity and by the qualitative nature of the analytical method.

My position, the interviewees' positions and our encounter played a fundamental role in shaping the material I was able to collect, and this will be explained in the Positionality paragraph.

### Ethical Considerations

The main ethical considerations that I struggled with is the choice of interviewing employees and volunteers of the NGOs dealing with trafficking in persons and not interviewing the female migrant sex workers that are affected first-hand by this phenomenon. This ethical consideration has been kept into account when formulating the research question and when carrying out both the semi-structured interviews and the analysis. Concretely this meant trying to take distance from asking questions revolving around the persons' life and migration stories, how they experienced trafficking and rather focusing on the practices the NGOs carry out and how they experience the border struggles. I was very careful and mindful of avoiding using the material to make the NGOs speak on behalf of the female migrant sex workers. Still, I am aware that this could happen as it is part of the narrative that the NGOs carry out.

The anonymity of the interviewees also raised some ethical considerations. The ethical considerations arose when some interviewees wished to remain anonymous whereas others did not. The consideration revolved around which request I should follow. I chose to anonymize all the interviewees, to prioritize the wishes of those that did not want their name and position in the NGO to be revealed. This was done to the detriment of those that were adamant in wanting their name, and the one of the NGOs, to be disclosed. The reason for their request was the differences between the NGOs and the will to distance themselves from the other ones. However, reflecting on my research question I considered that these differences were not fundamental to answer it, hence the anonymization of all interviewees and NGOs.

Moreover, by anonymizing the NGOs, specific attributes and differences between them are concealed. Indeed, the NGOs could have various and often contrasting positions: some of them may be religious

organizations, they could present divergent stands on sex work (namely abolitionist or regulationist), they could also present differences in their sources of funding (private donors, governmental donors, national or international donors, faith-based donors) which could influence their actions and the type of services they offer. Their political position could also affect their type of advocacy and lastly their level of collaboration, if any, with Danish governmental organizations could affect their work. All these differences have been obscured by anonymizing the NGOs, however this was deemed necessary to understand the practices the Danish NGOs employ to navigate the border struggles sites without referring to the implemented practices of one specific NGO.

Lastly, I was asked to share the transcript of the interview with the interviewees. I complied with this request as I deemed it fair; still I acknowledge the risk of doing so, as the interviewees could have subsequently asked me not to use their interview in my thesis. This did not occur even though it was a risk I was aware of.

### Positionality

I am aware that I am writing this thesis from a position of privilege that comes from the intersection of various privileges such as my European citizenship, identifiable as white, my higher education, and my class in society. Additionally, while carrying out the semi-structured interviews and the analysis I avoided as much as possible any interference on my opinions about sex work as being a valuable professional option, on the bias I have around the role and behaviour of the police and my critical position towards the Danish approach to specific types of migrants.

However, this has had influence on the codes, themes, and findings of this thesis. Specifically, the theme ‘Effects of the national border’ stemmed both from the theory but also from my critical approach to law enforcement actions.

Lastly, I consider that my position as a university student identifiable as female has played a role in the type of material I was able to collect during the interview. Indeed, as the interviewees were also women, I perceived that they were more comfortable talking about gendered topics, such as gynaecological health visits, because of the assumption that a person my gender would understand. In addition, being a national



of the country where many of the female migrant sex workers have residence in, created, in my opinion, bridges between me and the interviewee. Furthermore, being a non-Danish student positioned me in a lower position compared to the interviewees, as they assumed that I was not familiar with the topic. On several occasions I felt that the interviewees were approaching the questions as if they were educating me on the topic, rather than just answering with their experiences.

Likewise, understanding the interviewees as ‘white’, ‘women’, ‘working in NGOs’, ‘working in Denmark’ and ‘working within the field of trafficking in persons’ are what Berger and Luckmann (1991) call ‘typificatory schemes’, which have affected my interaction with the interviewees. For example, my apprehension of the interviewees as ‘working in NGOs’ meant I considered them as having a higher level of integrity merely because of them working in an NGO.

## Result of method

In this section, I will present the result of applying the reflexive thematic analysis on the interview material I collected. Specifically, I will list the codes that brought me to the sub-themes and finally to the themes.

### Codes

The codes that I identified and used to code all four interviews’ transcripts are listed below.

Arrest	Danish Action Plan	Illegal work	Outreach
Birthday	Decision	Legal and administrative field	Police
Care	Documents	Lawyer	Prostitution
Choice	Familiarity between NGO & target group	Money	Residency
Concrete Help	Health	Name	<i>Rigspolitiet</i>
Court	Identification of victims	Nationality	Rumours
Cultural Work	Illegal Stay	No guarantees	Target group

## From Codes to Sub-themes

In this section, I will present how I grouped the quotes that I coded with the above codes. Once all the transcripts were coded, I divided them by code and after moving them around, I tried to group them based on the topic they were handling. This grouping effort is given here with a description of the quotes that were included.

- Code ‘Choice/decision’

- Sub-theme ‘Female migrant sex worker decides’.

This code contains any mention of the agency of the female migrant sex worker, how they are the ones deciding on what should be done and which path to follow.

- Code ‘Money’

- Sub-theme ‘NGO financial aspect’.

This code includes the discussion about the financial aspect of the NGOs, the funding under the Danish Action Plan, the private funding, and the issue of lack of resources.

- Code ‘Police’

- Sub-theme ‘No guarantees the police will not check the person’s papers’, ‘The person chooses if they want to report to the police, not the NGO’, ‘The NGO is not the police’, ‘Police custody’, ‘What the police do/do not do’ and ‘More contact with the police and more training for them’.

This code contains any mention of the police and how the NGOs work with them, the relationship they have with them and how they interact with them.

The NGOs do not rely on the police as there are no guarantees they will not check the female migrant sex worker’s documents. On the other side, they are called by the police when a person in custody is a potential victim of trafficking.

- Code ‘Illegal work & illegal stay’

- Sub-theme ‘Importance of documents’ and ‘Arrests based on “illegal work” and “illegal stay”’.

This code includes comments on the importance of having the correct documents and how the female migrant sex workers do not know what they need. Includes comments on the encounters with the police and the risk of being arrested for illegal work and illegal stay.

- Code ‘Legal/administrative field’

Discussion about the legal and administrative work the NGOs carry out as regards the identification of victims of trafficking and the legal processes they encounter. Includes hardship of supporting the female migrant sex workers and the judicial system.

- Code ‘Name and birthday’

- Sub-theme ‘Name and birthday for medical files’, ‘Name and birthday to call the person back’, ‘Issues with names’ and ‘Counting the population’.

Includes the discussion about collecting the personal information of the female migrant sex workers. The name and birthday of the female sex worker is functional to the medical files, to call them back if they are in prison. Includes discussion on the amount of people that use the facilities and keep an eye on the new tendencies.

- Code ‘Familiarity between NGO & the girls’

- Sub-theme ‘They know us’, ‘We know them’ and ‘They heard rumours about us’.

This code includes comments about the female migrant sex workers knowing the NGOs, the NGOs knowing the female migrant sex workers and rumours that the people may have heard about the NGOs. Also, a discussion about network, connections, and familiarity.

- Code ‘Health’

- Sub-theme ‘Gendered health approach’, ‘Reasons to have a health clinic’ and ‘The female migrant sex workers prefer the NGO clinic to their own doctor’.

This code includes the gendered services the NGOs offer, meaning the presence of midwives and gynaecologists. Also mentions of the type of health services the NGOs provide such as sexually transmitted diseases (STD) testing and trauma therapy and how there is no limit to who can access these services as some female migrant sex workers prefer the NGO clinics to their own doctors. Lastly, NGOs provide a linguistic bridge between doctors and the female migrant sex worker.

- Code ‘Care’

- Sub-theme ‘Showing the female migrant sex workers that the NGOs care’.

This code includes quotes from the NGOs stating that they want the female migrant sex workers to know that they care and that they see them.

- Code ‘Outreach’
  - Sub-theme ‘How do the NGOs do outreach’, ‘Outreach = health’ and ‘Rumours and mitigation via outreach’.

This quote includes examples of what outreach means for the NGOs. Outreach mostly means health care outreach with either midwife or a nurse. Includes also the tentative of mitigating possible rumours of the NGO working with the police, using outreach activities.

- Code ‘Concrete Help’
    - Sub-theme ‘Counselling and trauma therapy’, ‘Material help’ and ‘Health help’.
- Includes examples of what types of concrete help the NGOs provide, including material help, counselling, trauma therapy and medical help.

- Code ‘Prostitution’
    - Sub-theme: ‘Prostitution and sex work’
- This code a discussion around labelling the target group, about the hierarchy of places of sex work and the moralities of the topic of sex work. Contains also mentions to pimps and violence.

- Code ‘Target group’
    - Sub-theme ‘Target group’ and ‘Nationalities’.
- This code includes comments on the most common nationalities, the distinction on places of encounter and which types of people compose the target group. There seems to be a connection between places of encounter and nationality. Target is vulnerable migrant people and potential victims of trafficking; however, it is difficult to know who they will meet and often the services are open door.

- Code ‘Peer group/Cultural worker’
- This code includes comments on having in the team a worker that understands the culture and the language of the target group and a worker that was formerly trafficked. The presence of this worker as a bridge between culture and language, but also social groups.

## From Sub-themes to Themes

In this section, I will unfold how I grouped the sub-themes; this grouping was made around initial topics that I found relevant. These foregrounded my initial themes:

Themes	Sub-themes
<b>Border Struggle 1: The National Border</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Importance of documents</li> <li>- Arrests based on “illegal work” and “illegal stay”</li> <li>- No guarantees the police will not check the person’s papers</li> <li>- The person chooses if they want to report to the police, not the NGO</li> <li>- The NGO is not the police</li> <li>- Police custody</li> <li>- What the police does/does not do</li> <li>- More contact with the police and more training for them</li> </ul>
<b>Border Struggle 2: The Social Border</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Female migrant sex worker decides</li> </ul>
<b>Border Struggle 3: The Cultural and Linguistic Border</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Target group</li> <li>- Nationalities</li> </ul>
<b>Border struggle 4: Everyday struggle while providing of services</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Gendered health approach</li> <li>- Reasons to have a health clinic</li> <li>- Service offered</li> <li>- The female migrant sex workers prefer the NGO clinic to their own doctor</li> <li>- Show the female migrant sex workers that the NGOs care</li> <li>- How do the NGOs do outreach</li> <li>- Outreach = health</li> <li>- Rumours &amp; mitigation via outreach</li> </ul>

Having grouped the sub-themes in themes, I decided that based on the data available, I was going to keep and use only the first two themes. After revising this and reassigning the sub-themes, I renamed the two themes as ‘Effects of the national border’ and ‘Effects of the social borders’. The sub-themes were hence distributed as follows:

Theme 1: Effects of the national border	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Importance of documents</li> <li>- Arrests based on “illegal work” and “illegal stay”</li> <li>- No guarantees the police will not check the person’s papers</li> <li>- The person chooses if they want to report to the police, not the NGO</li> <li>- The NGO is not the police</li> <li>- Police custody</li> <li>- What the police do/do not do</li> <li>- More contact with the police and more training for them</li> </ul>
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	- Legal/Administrative work
Theme 2: Effects of the social borders	- Female migrant sex worker decides - Target group - The person chooses if they want to report to the police, not the NGO - Prostitution and Sex work

## Analysis Strategy

In this section, I will present the analysis strategy employed to develop the two themes of the following Analysis chapter, the “Effects of the national border” and “Effects of the social borders”. The goal is to present how I developed the analysis; specifically, I present my understanding of national and social borders, who are the border crossing and border reinforcement subjects and what I mean by border struggle in relation to these borders. In the analysis I speak about female migrant sex workers as I consider this wording the closest to comprise the people the Danish NGOs work with. The gender component is a consequence of the gendered health services the NGOs provide, which led me to assume that the majority at least of the people they work with are female. The migrant attribute is due to the NGOs working with people that have a citizenship other than the Danish one and that have moved to Denmark from somewhere else. The sex workers component was also chosen based on the interviews with the NGOs.

Before unpacking the first theme, ‘Effects of the national border’, I will need to clarify what is a national border and how I use this notion. In this thesis, the terms national borders and geographical borders are used in this section as interchangeable, as both are understood as the lines of demarcation that Denmark has established in relation to other countries. In addition, when I refer to the Danish national border, I refer to the system of borders that defines the geographical limits of Denmark.

Indeed, the first thematic section will focus upon the border struggles that arise around the effects of the national border. As highlighted by Mezzadra and Neilson (2013c) “dissonances, interferences, and interruptions [...] resonate well beyond the moment of border crossing” (p. 133). In this case, the female migrant sex workers experience the effects of the border kilometres from the location of the national border and way after they crossed it. Examples of what is understood here as the geographical location

of the national border are the international airports (for example the Copenhagen airport in Kastrup and the Billund airport), the international ports where ferries from other countries arrive (such as Rødby or Frederikshavn) and the border between Jutland and the German Schleswig-Holstein. Hence, these are the elected locations where the Danish government border control activities, such as visa inspections, are carried out. However, the female migrant sex workers are continually coming to “terms with the pervasive effects of the borders” (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013b, p. 13). The effects of crossing these borders are experienced by the female migrant sex workers during their encounters with the governmental actors such as the police. With these controls, specifically the examination of the documents needed to access, to reside and to work in Denmark, the police are reinforcing the national border away from the geographical location of the Danish national border. Recalling Mezzadra and Neilson (2013b), border struggle is the manifestation of “the relation between the two poles of border reinforcement and border crossing” (p. 9). In the theme ‘Effects of the national border’, the Danish law enforcement agents and other Danish governmental agencies are seen as the national/geographical border reinforcement subject. On the other hand, the female migrant sex worker is seen as the border crossing subject and is subjected to the effects of the national border. The site where these subjects interact is the border struggle site. The Danish law enforcement will refer mainly to the police, whereas other Danish governmental agencies refer to the Danish Immigration Service (DIS) and the Danish Centre against Human Trafficking (CMM).

Given this border struggle site in which the Danish governmental actors and the female migrant sex workers interact in conflictual ways, the Danish NGOs also play an active role, despite not fitting in any of the two poles that constitute the border struggle. These NGOs play a role as their field of operation is trafficking in persons in Denmark. Hence in the analysis I will analyse the effects of the national border and then how the Danish NGOs working in the field of trafficking in persons in Denmark are navigating the sites of border struggle. These sites stem from the effects of the Danish national border.

From the sub-themes that I identified and presented previously, I selected four that I deemed the most relevant. These sub-themes, hence, examples of the effects of the national border, are ‘Border control in the streets’, ‘Detention for illegitimate residency or work’, ‘Removal from Denmark of undocumented victims of trafficking’. Consecutively, the border struggle happens when the female migrant sex worker

comes to terms with the effects of the national border. In other words, when the border crossing subject encounters the border reinforcement subject the border struggle manifests itself.

To unfold the second theme, 'The effects of the social borders', the concept of social border will follow the explanation provided in the Theoretical Framework chapter. The relevance of this border is due to my understanding of the field of sex work as a highly contested social space. In this space opposite feminist approaches, moral and religious views and social works interact assembling a conflictual site defined by several social groups.

The stance regarding the sex work debate is reflected in the understanding, hence grouping, of the people carrying out this work. Therefore, if sex work is seen as a patriarchal gender-based violence, those that are selling sex services are considered victims of gender-based violence. On the other hand, if sex work is considered as a viable labour option, those that practice it are considered workers whose rights must be upheld. I consider this different understanding of sex work and those that carry out this activity, as defining the social borders. These social borders in fact, demarcate groups based on assumptions about sex work and separate them from those that are included from those that are not. I understand this as what Balibar (2002) called the 'polysemic nature' of borders which means that they "do not have the same meaning for everyone" (p. 81). These different understandings of sex work demarcate various groups, such as 'sex worker', 'prostitute' and 'victim'. Every group is composed by drawing lines between inclusion and exclusion. Indeed, as any cognitive process, once a definition is carried out, elements are included, and others are excluded. I understand this relation of inclusion and exclusion as an effect of the social border, and border struggle as the site of the encounter between inclusion and exclusion.

Recalling Mezzadra and Neilson's (2013a) explanation of border as method, namely that the "border [is – Ed.] not only as a research 'object' but also as an 'epistemic' angle" (p. ix); differently from Mezzadra and Neilson's epistemic angle, I attempt to describe what happens when looking at the effects of the social borders from the social borders, meaning I will use the borders as a lens. Hence, in the first part of the theme 'The effects of the social borders', I present the border struggles that arise from the relation between the female migrant sex workers and the social borders.



The border crossing subject is, as in the previous border struggle, the female migrant sex worker. On the other hand, the identification of the border reinforcement subject is less obvious. I contend that the border reinforcement subjects are the NGOs themselves, as they define their target group. As well as defining some of the borders, namely their target group, they also reproduce representations of female migrant sex workers as having, or lacking, agency. As the social borders are not normative, but performed and negotiated, I will highlight in the last part of this border struggle, how the NGOs navigate the border struggle that originates from the same boundaries they set up.

In the second part of the analysis, the 'Effects of the social borders', I will present three of the many concrete examples of the effects of the social border. These effects are the 'Exclusion from the NGOs' services and support' and the 'Victimization regardless of the situation'. After the description of these three components, I will present the findings of how the Danish NGOs navigate the border struggle that stems from the encounter of these effects and the female migrant sex worker.

## 6. Analysis

The aim of this chapter is to present the effects of two borders, the national border and the social borders, consequently understanding how the NGOs navigate the border struggles sites. The effects presented are not to be intended as an exhaustive list, but rather they are concrete examples that will enable me to present the border struggles and answer my research question.

The effects of the borders are, in the case of the ‘Effects of the National Border’, not only experienced beyond the moment of border crossing (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013b), but also continually by the female migrant sex worker. In the case of social borders, because of the lack of a physical demarcation of the border, the effects are experienced as soon as a social border is defined and crossed.

The analysis will focus on the effects of the borders only insofar as being a component of the border struggle. Indeed, the border struggle arises when the female migrant sex workers experience the effects of the borders. In Mezzadra and Neilson’s (2013b) words: “the relation between the two poles of border reinforcement and border crossing manifests itself in border struggles” (p. 9). Hence, the site in which the female migrant sex workers encounter the effects of the borders, through the border reinforcement subjects, is what I call the border struggle site. This conflictual site is the focus of this analysis as it sets the scene to understand how the NGOs navigate these sites.

It is important to mention that the analysis is based on interviews I held with the NGOs’ employees, hence represents the NGOs’ interpretation of the effects of the borders, accordingly the reality they construct. Furthermore, it is important to notice that this interpretation benefits the NGOs themselves. Particularly, the NGOs narratives about the criminalization of the female migrant sex workers benefits them insofar as it enables and legitimises their narrative of victimhood as a contrasting account.

### Effects of the National Border

In this section I will present three concrete examples of the effects of the Danish national border beyond the geographical location of the border and how they affect the female migrant sex workers, which are considered here to be the border crossing subjects. However, these effects are deduced from the NGOs’

interviews, hence they present the NGOs' gaze towards these effects. I will demonstrate later in this analysis, that the NGOs' representation of these effects serves to legitimize their representation of the female migrant sex workers as victims.

### Border control in the streets

This effect is relevant for the overarching theme as it showcases one of the components of the border struggle that stems from the national border. Indeed, one of the ways in which the female migrant sex worker comes to terms with the effects of the national border, is in the shape of border control in the streets.

During my interviews with the NGOs, a recurring conversation topic was the reasons the female migrant sex workers are arrested. The topic of female migrant sex workers being arrested due to their lack of the correct documents to stay or to work in Denmark appeared repeatedly during the interviews, both when encounters with the police were mentioned and when I asked about the NGOs work with female migrant sex workers in police custody. Below, an interviewee describes the common encounter between the police, a female migrant sex worker and her customer.

*“When the policeman in the streets sees this deal between a sex worker and a man who wants [pause] or a buyer, then they arrest her and then they asked her for a work permission and stuff like that [...] I [pause] I saw it myself where a policeman is like ‘OK the clock is this and this and you are arrested’” (Charlotte).*

The quote above reveals that a police officer witnesses a transaction between a female sex worker and her customer, and one would assume after confirming the lack of correct documentation, they proceed and arrest the female migrant sex worker. Notably, the above is the interpretation of events by the NGO and does not necessarily reflect the facts that occurred.

What is not explicitly stated in the above quote, is that the police officer did not carry out any inquiry regarding the possibility of the female migrant sex worker of being a potential victim of trafficking.

To the point, another interviewee said that:

*“When they are caught, primarily the police are looking at incorrect documents and why do they have incorrect documents. So, law enforcement goes first and foremost to criminalize for not being [pause] [or for being - Ed.] incorrectly in the country and having incorrect documents” (Emma).*

In this second quote the interviewee deliberately states that the police look for incorrect documents when encountering a female migrant sex worker. Hence, treating the female migrant sex workers first and foremost as criminal migrants needing to prove their innocence by showing their documents. This is particularly the case for non-EU citizens in Denmark as in most of the situations they “must obtain a residence and work permit for Denmark in order to take employment” (Ministry of Immigration and Integration, 2019, p. 43).

Additionally, talking about rumours that the NGOs work with the police, the interviewee hinted at the reasons for which a female migrant sex worker would find herself in police custody.

*“If they arrest somebody for illegal work and illegal stay in Denmark we will go to the police and have a talk with them [the female migrant sex workers - Ed.]” (Melanie).*

This quote is interesting because it was mentioned while talking about a different subject, and the way it was brought up, was completely ordinary for the interviewee. This suggests that the interviewee considers this as an obvious fact, a common knowledge.

The following quote was taken from an answer to my question on possible situations in which the NGOs would advise the female migrant sex worker to engage with the police.

*“If they’re EU citizens there are no problems [pause] I would have no problems advising them to call the police [...] I mean, even though I called the police, and they say, ‘We’re not interested in that woman’s document but we just [pause] I mean there’s no guarantees that maybe another officer won’t ask’ so it like it’s just a problem” (Sophie).*

This quote provides an insight on two aspects: the lack of guarantees from the police and the importance of the nationality of the female migrant sex worker. The lack of guarantees that the police officer will

not ask the female migrant sex worker for the documents is another recurring topic. There are no guarantees of this not happening, even if the police officer says they will not and even in the case of a member of the NGO calling the police. The lack of guarantees confirms that the police are more interested in identifying migrants, markedly migrants that do not have the required documents to stay and/or work in Denmark, rather than solve or help their situation.

The second aspect revealed by the extract is the difference between EU and non-EU citizens. As described Balibar (2002) this difference is an example of the overdetermination of borders, insofar as even if EU citizens have crossed the national border, they still remain “less foreign than aliens” (p. 79). This discrepancy is not surprising. However, if an issue that required the police intervention, for example a violent situation, arose, the NGOs would have to consider the situation before advising to involve the police. This could mean that there are different thresholds of situations that could potentially require the NGO to request a police intervention based on the female migrant sex worker’s citizenship.

Another relevant aspect connected to the above, is the lack of guarantees that police will not control the documents is that not being able to rely on the police as a potentially useful resource, is upsetting as presented below.

*“We would like to have more contact with [pause] with the police regarding the violence against the women or yet but [pause] but the women do not want to like report to the police and often they can't because there are no guarantees that they won't look at their document, so that's quite sad actually” (Sophie).*

This passage unfolds how the lack of guarantee that the police officers will not check the female migrant sex worker’s documents is perceived as a sorrowful disadvantage, as they could be a suitable resource, especially regarding episodes of violence against the female migrant sex workers.

Taken together, the excerpts from the interviews demonstrate that the encounters between the police and the female migrant sex worker commonly result in the documents of the latter being checked by the police officers. These familiar experiences also influence the practices the NGOs carry out towards non-EU female migrant sex workers, as there are no guarantees that the police will not check their documents. The common understanding that the female migrant sex workers are in police custody for irregular work

and/or residence permit, encourages the mistrust and the scepticism towards the police. Lastly, the female migrant sex worker is approached by the police officer primarily as a criminal migrant and not as a potential victim. On the contrary portraying the female migrant sex worker as a victim, as I will demonstrate later in this analysis, is a way for the NGOs to navigate the border struggle sites that stem from the Danish national border.

The effect 'Border control in the streets' is connected to the effect, the "Detention for illegitimate residency or work", as they have a causal and chronological sequence. In fact, when border control subjects encounter an (undocumented) female migrant sex worker, the outcome could be the arrest of the latter.

#### Detention for illegitimate residency or work

This effect is relevant for the current theme as it is another concrete example of the effect of the Danish national border. Finding oneself in police custody is in fact, as briefly highlighted, one of the possible outcomes of the encounter with the border reinforcement subjects, namely the police. While the first effect revolved around the encounters the female migrant sex workers have with the police, the current one will analyse the detention of the female migrant sex worker as an effect of the national border.

Firstly, I will present two of the ways in which the NGOs get in contact with the female migrant sex workers in police custody. Secondly, I will shed light upon the reasons I consider this to be an effect of the national border.

One of the ways the NGOs get in contact with female migrant sex workers is by being called directly by the police. Some of the NGOs are part of the identification process of victims of trafficking under the Danish Action Plan. In some cases, the NGOs are consulted to assess whether the person in police custody is a potential victim of trafficking. This consultation does not relate only to female migrant sex workers, as it could also involve male migrant workers that are identified as potential victims of trafficking to labour force.

The following quote sums up this path of getting in contact with people in police custody.

*“If the police in our part of Denmark [pause] is the police take somebody in, arrests somebody who is maybe working illegal and the police would have to call us and we would have to go to the police station, and it is also our job to talk to the people who have been brought in and have a conversation about human trafficking to see if they have been [pause] a victim of human trafficking” (Melanie).*

In the excerpt the interviewee mentions the “illegal” work as one of the possible causes of the person being in police custody. This has already been brought forward in the previous effect; however, it is a recurring feature worth highlighting. Another piece of information that is provided in this quote is that the police will contact the NGOs to assess whether the person in custody is a potential victim of trafficking.

When a person in police custody meets the NGOs for the first time in prison, the person may have difficulties distinguishing the work of the NGOs from the work of the police. This tension and potential misunderstanding are presented in the following passage:

*“Make sure they know that we are [pause] to tell them that we are the NGO [...] that we are not police” (Melanie).*

The above quote refers to the situation in which the person in police custody is not familiar with the NGO and their work. However, it highlights how the NGOs must actively explain to the person in police custody that they are not representing the police and that the aim of the NGOs differs from the work of the police. This misunderstanding could jeopardize the identification process of a potential victim of trafficking, as the person in police custody could not trust the NGO worker with their story. Ultimately, this could jeopardize their possibility of accessing the services a potential victim of trafficking is entitled to, as they could be convicted for not possessing the valid documents.

The issue with trust towards the NGO approaching people in police custody, even though from another standpoint, is presented in the quote below.

*“The first two times I visited her there [in prison – Ed.] and she basically wouldn’t say anything, almost just sat there [...] I go in [prison – Ed.] and do trauma therapy with her and then she tells me the story. But because of the legal system here [in*

*Denmark – Ed.] and the way things are set up, the fact that she hasn't told the story to anyone else, is because they never approached her as a possible victim that needs a particular kind of interview technique to prevent her to be retraumatized" (Emma).*

This fragment highlights how the type of approach towards the person in police custody is also very important to assess if a person is a potential victim of trafficking. The person needs to trust the NGO to share their story with them. To build this trust, the NGOs need to separate themselves from the police and the person in police custody needs to understand the different roles of the different actors they meet while in police custody. The NGOs then must create an environment that enables the person in police custody to share their story, through appropriate interview techniques. All the above takes time, as pointed out in the previous quote by the numerous meetings the interviewee has had with the person in custody. Yet time is not necessarily available. To the point, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2018) admits that time could be an issue considering that “foreign nationals detained by the police usually undergo identification within 72 hours. This leaves only a short time to assess whether a person is a victim of human trafficking” (p. 13). Hence, with an average of 72 hours to identify a potential victim of trafficking, building trust with the person in police custody could be challenging.

On occasion, the NGOs are required to share fragments of the person's story to prove that the person in police custody is indeed a potential victim of trafficking. Adhering to the Danish Action Plan, normally the police would contact the CMM, but NGOs could be engaged in the support and identification of potential victims of trafficking in police custody (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018).

*“We have to fill out also some papers or formula to [pause] to send in to the immigration service and then we tell them [the person in police custody – Ed.] that and we have [pause] we have different questions we need to ask and we [pause] but it's all of course depending on what they are telling us [pause] sometimes it can if they [pause] if they don't have anything to tell at all it can be difficult to [pause] and it can feel like [pause] can sometimes feel a little pushy because you have [pause] we have to ask them different questions (Melanie).*

The fragment above highlights the other tensions within the border struggle. Indeed, the NGOs could be, depending on the situation, required to compile material that will then be sent to the DIS. The material



the interviewee is referring to is the assessment if a person is a potential victim of trafficking that is sent to the DIS in the event the person is an asylum seeker or a foreign national without legal residency in Denmark (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018).

As previously stated, this information requires a setting in which the person in police custody trusts the NGO employee with their story. The trust for the person in police custody to share their story, could be jeopardized by the short amount of time available and this could result in the NGO employee having a “pushy” behaviour.

Another way the NGOs get in contact with people in police custody is through the network that they built with the female migrant sex workers.

*“The police would also ring to us particularly when clients asked to speak to us when they were arrested. This is changed [...] the police no longer ring to us as an NGO, even when the client wants to speak to us. They only ring to the Centre Against Human Trafficking, who are a government organization” (Emma).*

The above quote conveys two main points that are useful in this analysis. The first one demonstrates the importance of creating a network within the target group, in fact thanks to the familiarity with the NGOs and their work, the person in police custody can proactively get in contact with the NGOs. This action counters the time restrictions discussed before, as it implies a pre-existent degree of trust in the NGOs. The second element from the quote is the shift towards a more governmental to governmental procedure. The reasons for this shift and if this shift is effectively happening is not the focus of this thesis. The importance of this shift being mentioned is to understand the components of this border struggle in which the NGOs are working, thus taking their perspective into account. Restricting the proactive contact that the person in police custody with the NGOs circles back to the tensions the NGOs must navigate in order to carry out their work.

## Removal from Denmark of undocumented victims of trafficking

This last effect is relevant for the current theme as it is experienced because of the (irregular) crossing of the national border. This effect can be seen as following chronologically the other two effects of the national border.

I consider this effect of the national border important as it exemplifies another effect of the national border away from the geographical location of the border. Hence, I see the reflection period and prepared repatriation as parts of the border reinforcement efforts, consequently the removal from Denmark as an effect of these efforts. As argued by Segrave (2009), the “restoration of order [through the process of prosecution and repatriation – Ed.] within this narrative is state-focused, rather than victim-focused” (p. 255). Furthermore, the “status of potential/actual victim does not render their irregular/irregular migration status redundant. Rather, it may be more accurate to describe as being suspended” (Segrave, 2009, p. 255). Confirming that the (undocumented) victim of trafficking is still treated as a criminal migrant, as demonstrated in the effect of “the border control in the streets”.

It is worth mentioning that the identified victim of trafficking is free to leave the reflection period programme if they no longer want to partake in it.

*“The ladies stay there [in the shelter during their reflection period – Ed.], yeah of course you are also welcome to leave if you're not interested” (Charlotte).*

In connection with the opportunity of leaving the programme, the CMM noticed a strong propensity of leaving the repatriation programme, “50 victims (51%) of the total number of 90 victims in the programme in 2017 had left the programme and disappeared [...] 24 of the 90 victims in the repatriation programme were Nigerians who already once or several times had been identified as victims and previously left the programme” (in Rømer, 2018, p. 3). This points towards a discrepancy between the border reinforcement discourse on repatriation and the practices carried out by the victims of trafficking.

I see this as the site in which border struggle unfolds.

The next quote embodies the complexity of this effect.

*“In some cases, the actual sending back [the repatriation – Ed.] can be very like confused. Someone can first be in reflection period, then they can be rearrested because they run away [from the shelter where they were spending their reflection period – Ed.], then for example they can end up in prison” (Emma).*

The last quote provides an example of the relationship between border crossing and border reinforcement, of how beyond the geographical location of the borders, the female migrant sex workers experience the effects of the Danish national border whilst actively partaking in the border struggle.

### Navigating the border struggle

The effects presented above are only three of the many effects of the national border and by no means do they provide an exhaustive list. However, the intent was to present which effects the national border has on the female migrant sex worker. By presenting the effects of the border, I intended to highlight the border struggle sites that arise when the border enforcement subject, seen as the manifestation of the effects, encounters the border crossing subject, hence the female migrant sex workers.

To the point of this analysis, I ask myself how do the Danish NGOs navigate the sites of border struggle that stem from the Danish national border? The answer is hardly straightforward due to the relational nature of the border struggle. In fact, according to Mezzadra and Neilson (2013b), the border struggles are the manifestation of the relation between border enforcement and border crossing. Following the relational understanding of these sites, I will present here some of the ways in which the NGOs navigate these border struggle sites. As mentioned previously, I understand the NGOs as navigating the site of border struggle, hence implying a constant movement and change of direction depending on the intensity and type of conflictual relation they work within.

The first practice the NGOs carry out to navigate this conflictual site relates to their efforts to set themselves apart from the police. These efforts are implemented, besides underlining that they are not the police when meeting people that are not familiar with the NGOs' work, carrying out what I call caring activities. These caring activities are those that I found under the code 'care' and 'concrete help' employed for coding the interview material. Examples of caring activities are provided in the excerpts

below, which were taken from the answer an interviewee provided when asked about the work they do in prison:

*“We are here only [pause] here [in prison – Ed.] to make sure things are OK for them and they are OK in the situation [police custody – Ed.]” (Melanie).*

*“We also make sure for example that [pause] that they can make a phone call because sometimes the police forget and so that's also one of the things that we make sure that they will be able to have a phone call to their families to tell them if they want [pause] why they cannot call the following weeks because they will be in prison. We also ask about ‘Do you have any clothes? Do you need anything’ and if they don't [pause] if they didn't bring any or if they need new underwear, we will go to the closest shop Føtex or Rema [Danish grocery chains – Ed.] and just buy a few things and toothbrush and so on so trying with small things to do with them [pause] to show them that we care about them” (Melanie).*

The above encompasses some of the everyday practices of care that the NGOs carry out, specifically for those people that are in police custody. Showing interest in how the person is doing, caring and the commodities that are provided, such as toothbrushes or underwear are portrayed by the NGOs as being neutral. However, I contend that even if the NGOs talk about them as ordinary, they “‘proclaim’ the subjective intentions” (Berger & Luckmann, 1991, p. 50) of the NGOs. In fact, I understand these gestures as giving an active position to the NGOs within the border struggle. This subjectivity is acquired when understanding the border struggle in which the Danish NGOs operate. Therefore, the “small things” such as a phone call, toothbrush, and underwear, allow the NGOs to navigate through the tensions that compose this border struggle. Caring for the female migrant sex workers is a way for the NGOs to navigate in the conflictual border struggle that stems from the Danish national border. Caring is also what distinguishes them from their interpretation of the work of the police. From the quote above, the police sometimes forget to tell the person in police custody that the female migrant sex workers are allowed to a phone call. The NGOs’ reality, constructed through their interviews, reveals the antithetical position of the NGOs and the police in the current border struggles. The first one caring for the person in police custody, the second one not caring.

Likewise, because of the how the NGOs speak about the “small things” as ordinary and everyday things, the NGOs present themselves as having “a more compromising, apolitical stance” (Klee, 1998, p. 50 in Thorpe & Rinehart, 2012) which Thorpe and Rinehart (2012) have revealed to be the recipe for survival for NGOs in an already NGO-saturated market. While I agree with this perspective, especially as, for most of the NGOs, partial funding comes from the Danish Action Plan, I would contend that the compromising approach is only apparent. In my opinion, the apparently neutral practices, such as the catering of “small things”, the provision of information that the police forget, the caring, asking if the person in police custody is ‘OK’, position the NGOs as subjects in the border struggle. As subjects, they are actively working within the border struggle site without being neither the border crossing nor the border reinforcement subject.

Another way the NGOs navigate this border struggle is through efforts to repatriate victims of trafficking to another European country under the so-called Dublin Regulation, instead of their country of origin. According to the Danish Action Plan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018) “victims of human trafficking who have also been negotiated under the Dublin Regulation are not offered prepared repatriation as they never come into a deportation situation. These people are just transferred to the responsible Member State” (p. 12). In brief, the Dublin Regulations define the criteria and mechanisms to determine which Member State is responsible for the examination of a person’s asylum application. This means that if a victim of trafficking, identified as such in Denmark, has already been registered in another Member State as an asylum seeker, the victim of trafficking should be transferred to the latter instead of to their country of origin.

However, this process is challenging as presented in the quote below.

*“So, a woman who was identified as trafficked and originally was going to be involved in the voluntary return [prepared repatriation – Ed.], which we said right from the beginning ‘No, no, no don’t involve her in a voluntary return [prepared repatriation – Ed.] to Nigeria because she actually has the right to be returned to Italy’. So, where we are, we would ask the client ‘Where do you want [pause] What do you want? Do you want to go back to Nigeria?’ and they always look at you and go ‘No, I don’t’. ‘Alright. Well, as an NGO we write that you wish to return to Italy and the shelter or*

*the authorities involved in your case now, they [pause] this wish of yours is established [pause] that you wish to return to Italy' [...] Italy also don't always have all their records in order to actually prove that someone has been in Italy. This is also for multiple reasons; it can be they come in and they had their fingerprints taken and they had not told correct name or age. Or they may even have forged documents given by their traffickers'' (Emma).*

This passage reflects the NGOs' interpretation of the several challenges that arise when trying to apply the Dublin regulations on victims of trafficking. The first one refers to the lack of involvement of the identified victim of trafficking in the decision to repatriate them to their country of origin. This is countered by the NGOs directly asking the identified victim of trafficking where they want to go, whilst already knowing that they have a residency permit in another member state, hence being entitled to a transfer under the Dublin regulations. The quote also presents the issue of coordination between member states and the challenges faced when trying to prove that a victim of trafficking has already been registered in another member state.

I consider this quote relevant as it illustrates another way in which the Danish NGOs navigate the border struggles that stem from the Danish national border. The reason being that Danish NGOs try to navigate the border struggle sites arising from the effects of the national border, in this case the prepared repatriation programme, by searching for legal alternative paths. Indeed, I see the efforts of including a victim of trafficking in a Dublin regulation transfer, rather than in a repatriation, as a navigation attempt. Shifting the focus from a state-centric restoration of the order (Segrave, 2009) to a more migrant-focused approach.

The effects of the national border highlighted in this section demonstrate how the NGOs interpret and present the police as an actor that criminalizes the female migrant sex workers, that does not care about them and that does not involve the female migrant sex worker in the discussion about her repatriation. I presented some of the ways the NGOs navigate the border struggle sites that arise from the effects of the national border, such as the provision of "small things", a phone call, toothbrush and underwear, such as caring for the female migrant sex worker and asking the female migrant sex worker about her repatriation. Another way of navigating the border struggle sites is countering the restrictive time limits, the 72 hours

mentioned previously, with outreach activities. The outreach activities are carried out to meet and to familiarize with the female migrant sex workers, so that in case the latter find themselves in situations of need, they can, or someone they know can, proactively get in contact with the NGOs. This network based on familiarity of the NGOs' work demonstrates that the NGOs try to expand the reach of the people they can provide support to.

The picture that emerged from this section is that the NGOs' portrayal of the police with the attributes just mentioned is needed to legitimize themselves and their practices. Indeed, their narratives about the police as criminalizing the female migrant sex workers, opens up for them to work within the border struggles as the caring subject.

In the next section, I will present the effects of the social borders, as I understand the social border as being an important point of view when analysing how the NGOs navigate the sites of border struggle.

## Effects of the Social Borders

In this paragraph, I will present two of the many effects of the social borders that cross and that are crossed by the female migrant sex workers. The effects presented here are constructed by the NGOs' language, hence reflect their reality. I find it relevant here to recall that the social borders, and borders in general, are "are always *done somewhere by someone against some other*" (Tyerman, 2019, p. 469). In this case, the borders are done by the NGOs, when they talk about the female migrant sex workers and they are done against those that do not fit their labelling.

The effects that I will unfold are the 'Exclusion from the NGOs services and support' and the 'Victimization regardless of the situation'.

### Exclusion from the NGOs services and support

Grouping the NGOs target groups means that a line is drawn between those that are included and those that are not. In this case, it means drawing a line between those who can benefit from the services

provided by the NGOs and those who cannot. I will describe the efforts the NGOs put in place to define who their target group is and consequently, the effects that this definition entails.

The first quote for this effect illustrates the challenges the NGOs go through when defining who their target group is:

*“With this area both with sex work, prostitution, foreigners there are no good words for anything [pause] so we try to manage with the best we can and the best we could come so far is saying that our [pause] our target group is foreign women that work in prostitution or [pause] or sell sexual services” (Sophie).*

In this passage, the interviewee also presents how she reflected upon labelling and its challenges. I see this challenge as deriving from the will to include as many people as possible, whilst trying to remain neutral. Neutrality alludes here to their wish to use the good and right words. Another element that emerges from the quote is that the interviewee is aware of the consequences in mislabelling the female migrant sex workers. Indeed, because of the topic of female migrant sex workers, mislabelling someone could entail being misunderstood, excluding someone that instead should be included or sounding offensive or patronizing towards someone. For example, distinguishing between prostitution and the sale of sexual services, constructs a divide whilst acquiring meaning. The meaning is acquired because language matters, as it constructs reality.

This will of not being misunderstood or better, the will to ascertain that I understand what the interviewee means, is confirmed in the quote below.

*“Actually, when I say women a lot of [pause] some of them are transgenders” (Sophie).*

This offers an insight on how, if the interviewee had not included transgenders in her definition of women, I could have assumed their target group as only including people assigned female at birth. I find this relevant for the current sub-theme, as it showcases that the NGOs are constantly negotiating the label of those they provide services to.



Another example of this effort to expand as much as possible the range of people to include in their operations is presented in the following passage.

*“Vulnerable, exploited, undocumented or persons with documents coming in from Italy and Spain, who may as well be trafficked from other third world countries, persons who got permanent, semi-permanent papers in other countries” (Emma).*

This last quote demonstrates the difficulties in applying labels to the female migrant sex workers. I will explain in the last section of this theme, how these labelling efforts are only conceptual and that in the everyday practices the NGOs do not use them to distinguish who can access their services and is entitled to their support. The wording must fit multiple different situations the female migrants find themselves in and the paths they have chosen without ignoring the exploitation component they may experience. I will come back to the exploitation/violence component in the next effect.

The effort of labelling entails that the NGOs are trying to define who can access their services and who is entitled to their support. According to the accounts provided earlier, the beneficiaries of the NGOs' services seem to be women, including transgenders, who are foreigners, potentially trafficked from third world countries, that work in prostitution or selling sexual services without documents or with documents from other European countries. This definition of target group, while broad, still excludes those people that do not perceive themselves as fitting the characteristics.

The next section will present another effect of the social borders, namely the “‘Victim’ label without the official identification as a victim”. This effect is relevant insofar as the topic of agency, victimhood, consent, and coercion are always present when discussing the topic of trafficking in persons.

### Victimization regardless of the situation

The effect of “Victimization regardless of the situation” was grouped as I deem it a necessary issue when approaching the topic of trafficking in persons. This is an important topic that has emerged from the interviews and revolves around the NGOs talking about the female migrant sex workers as victims, regardless of the situation in which the female migrant sex workers. The following section will present

some of the features of the topic of victimhood, understood here as the lack of agency, and how this topic is relevant for the border struggle that stems from the social borders.

The effect of “Victimization regardless of the situation” is relevant for this border struggle as I see the division between victimhood and agency as a social border, hence the portrayal of the female migrant sex worker as a victim, its effect. Specifically, as the delimitation between what Spanger (2011) defined as “‘The Third World Woman’, associated with a passive and unaware woman who needs to be rescued, is produced in relation to another stereotypical notion: ‘The First World White Woman’” (p. 533). I also understand the site in which victimhood and agency are negotiated, as constituting one of the border struggles that stem from the social borders.

The first important topic that I found in the interviews regards violence, which appeared across interviews, as presented below.

*“We also talk to them about violence because there is a lot of violence going on, special in these places [where the NGO carries out their outreach activities – Ed.] because [pause] well we don't really know why but it has increased we think and a lot of them they just take it for granted they just take it like “This is something we have to put up with” and we don't think they should put up with anything” (Melanie).*

*“We would like to have more contact with [pause] with the police regarding the violence against the women” (Sophie).*

The two selections above are examples of the NGOs’ depiction of the possibility of violence towards the female migrant sex workers. These accounts of violence probably refer to specific occasions or stories that the NGOs have experienced or heard of, hence as part of what Berger and Luckmann (1991) call ‘social stock of knowledge’. I do not doubt that episodes of violence occur; I am rather trying to understand how the topic of violence relates to the way the NGOs navigate the current border struggle. Indeed, I consider violence, or the possibility of it, as being the main engine of the portrayal of the female migrant sex workers as victims. Violence defines the border between what the female migrant sex workers should and should not put up with, so between agency and victimhood.

Another characteristic of the current effect is the NGOs' portrayal of the female migrant sex workers as not knowing the Danish laws as regards employment or residence, which feeds into the idea that the female sex workers should not be blamed, as they are unaware of their surroundings.

*“They [the female migrant sex workers – Ed.] are people that potentially do not understand the strictness of the laws and the rules, they think that they can travel from Italy, for example because they have some kind of passport, come into Denmark [...] They don't realize that the work permit procedure here [in Denmark – Ed.] requires that you have to apply for the work permit when you are outside of the country and the employer has to have very strict rules about that” (Emma).*

This portrayal of naive female migrant sex workers, who do not grasp the complexities of the Danish laws and regulations, encourages the idea that “women selling sex are irreproachable and beyond denunciation” (Spanger, 2011, p. 534). Therefore, they are innocent victims of circumstances, and as such in need to be rescued and helped by someone else. This idea that the female migrant sex workers do not know what to do when events unfold around them, further reappears in the next quote.

*“A policeman is like “OK the clock is this and this and you are arrested” [pause] you know, and this is just this yeah [pause] young woman who doesn't know what to do” (Charlotte).*

This passage presents of a situation in which, according to the NGOs' interpretation, the female migrant sex worker is about to be arrested for incorrect residence or work permits, and she does not know what to do. Hence, the female migrant sex workers are represented as clueless victim, at the mercy of the events and not as active subjects.

In addition, in the NGOs' reality there is a need to approach the female migrant sex workers as victims, as this enable them to share their story and not be re-traumatized.

*“They [the police – Ed.] never approached her as a possible victim that needs a particular kind of interview technique to prevent her to be retraumatized” (Emma).*

I tried to describe effects of the social border between the female migrant sex worker and the “The First World White Woman” and how the latter portrays the victimhood of the first. This portrayal enforces social borders, some of which I described here such as the topic of violence that divides the female migrant sex workers from their abusers, the depiction of the female migrant sex worker as a clueless victim of circumstances, who does not know what to do, separates them from the NGOs employees and from other social groups in the Danish society, who would know how laws and regulations work. Moreover, this representation bears hierarchical positions and racial undertones. Indeed, as pointed out by Spanger (2011), this approach to the female migrant sex workers could “produce a legitimization of the social rescue efforts that leaves the racialized premises of the rescue efforts unquestioned” (p. 535).

### Navigating the border struggle

The effects presented are only some of the many effects that arise from the several social borders that are continually crossed by the female migrant sex workers. In this section I will present the ways in which the Danish NGOs navigate the border struggles that stem from the social borders.

As stated in the Analysis Strategy paragraph, I consider the NGOs as being the border enforcement subjects. By reason of them both reproducing the social borders and defining them. This is done through the ways in which they portray and refer to the female migrant sex workers. However, I will try to demonstrate here that the NGOs not only define, reproduce, and enforce the social borders, but they also navigate the border struggles that arise from them. Hence, I see the NGOs as navigating the border struggle sites, whilst being the border reinforcement subjects.

A way the NGOs navigate these border struggles regards the ‘Victimization regardless of the situation’ effect. As I described earlier, the NGOs reproduce the notion of the “Third World Woman” as clueless and passive. However, when talking about the NGOs practices, the interviewees mentioned that they can never decide on behalf of a female migrant sex worker as presented below.

*“It's always up to the person itself to [pause] we cannot decide what is best for the person. Of course, we can have our thoughts about it and our ideas about it but it's never up to us to make that decision for an adult” (Melanie).*

This shows that the NGOs, although pursuing the “accepted notions of victimhood” (Andrijasevic, 2003, p. 253), do not reflect in their practices. The NGOs are not entitled to take any decision on behalf of an adult. The ultimate choice, being made by the female migrant sex worker, is further echoed in the following quote.

*“The way we could help her was that she went to the police but of course I gave her this information and it was her decision [pause] yeah but other than that is [pause] we also [pause] we always leave it up to the person itself” (Melanie).*

In her report on the relationship between women with experience with selling sexual services and the social system, Bjonness (2011) highlights how “it seems that it is generally difficult for people outside the prostitution arena to regard the sale of sexual services as something women can choose” (p. 49). The following excerpt shows how, on the contrary, the NGOs speak about the female migrant sex workers as rational human beings that make choices.

*“I see them [the female migrant sex workers in Denmark – Ed.] as rational human beings that [pause] that had [pause] many of them had like [pause] they decided this sort of work in Nigeria. I [pause] you know I recognize that, and I acknowledge that, [...] but then again they are trafficked and many of them experience violence and I'm completely against that” (Charlotte).*

This quote shows how the idea of female migrant sex workers being deceived into sex work is challenged, as the interviewee acknowledges that some of the female migrant sex workers may have chosen this occupation in their country of origin. However, the trafficking and violence elements seem to recall the topic of violence mentioned in the effect ‘Victimization regardless of the situation’. Whilst acknowledging the active choice of the female migrant sex worker, the NGOs also are aware of the element of coercion and violence that could arise and cannot omit it when talking about the female migrant sex workers. I see this as a tentative of navigation within the border struggle, the recognition of the female migrant sex worker as a rational being, able to choose sex work as an occupation, while still backgrounding the possibility of violence.

Despite the account of the female migrant sex worker as a rational person, the following quote still insists on the presence of pimps, or in Andrijasevic's (2003) words, "'foreign men' joined in organized criminal networks" (p. 265).

*"On one hand they [pause] they see it a bit as a problem but they want to work with something else, but on the other hand most of them are also like 'OK finally we got to [pause] we went to Denmark and we [pause] we got a salary that is as high as we never dreamed [pause] dreamed of before' but then again they also have these actual traffickers, the pimps that you know they are in control of almost everything they own"*  
(Charlotte).

This quote offers an opening towards the idea of the female migrant sex workers having chosen sex work as a source of economical income. Hence taking into consideration that travelling to Denmark could be a part of a bigger migration project, brought forth by the female migrant sex worker. However, as mentioned previously, the notion of the presence of a pimp, a man in charge, remains. This is not to discount the possibility of there being a man exploiting a female migrant sex worker, my point is to present the ways in which NGOs navigate in the sites that arise from the effects of these borders. The victimhood/agency social border and the tension between these two poles is showcased in the two previous quotes. On the one hand, the NGOs acknowledge that the female migrant sex workers are rational human beings that make choices and that their migration to Denmark could have been chosen because of the higher earnings. On the other hand, they cannot discount the possibility of the female migrant sex workers being trafficked and victims of violence.

Another interesting navigation mode regards the effect of "Exclusion from the NGOs' services and support'. As described above, the NGOs go to great lengths to define who is their target group. Nevertheless, this definition of the social boundaries between who is included in their target group and who is not, is just apparent. As a matter of fact, when I asked the NGOs if they recorded the female migrant sex workers' information, they generally answered that they do not. The information they store is the name and birthdate of the person and most of the time this is in relation to the health services provided.

*“We ask for a name and we also ask for birthday, but we also tell them that it doesn't have to be a real birthday it just [pause] it just needs to be a birthday that you use when you are with us because we have to put something in the in the computer, in our database” (Melanie).*

As shown in the quote above the name and birthdate are not necessarily the correct ones but are used by the NGOs in case the female migrant sex worker needs a follow up. This is displayed better in the next passage.

*“It's also a good idea for example, if they are referred to blood tests that [pause] that it's a name that corresponds with some ID [pause] but it doesn't have to be, I mean that's up to them. And there's also [pause] we write it [the name and the birthdate the female migrant sex worker has given to the NGO – Ed.] down on a small paper [...] so it's like “keep this [pause] this small paper and say this next time because the doctor can't find you or your file” (Sophie).*

Anonymity is key for most of the NGOs, according to whom this allows the female migrant sex worker to feel safe. However, this also means that the NGOs do not and cannot separate those to whom they provide services based on their residency, choice of occupation or nationality. Clearly, this does not neglect that the NGOs potentially know more information about the female migrant sex workers, but it shows that the NGOs provide services regardless of the residency or work status of the female migrant sex worker. Hence, the NGOs do not accurately follow their own distinction of their target group. Nonetheless, it is still worth mentioning that whilst they do not follow their own definition of target group, they still go through the effort of explaining who their target group is.

Another account that provides insight into how the NGOs are navigating the boundaries of their target group is given by the following quote.

*“Some [the female migrant sex workers – Ed.] of them have health [pause] social security number here in Denmark and in the beginning, we were a little bit like “oh you could go to your own doctor” [pause] but we quickly found out that sometimes they didn't feel comfortable using their own doctor” (Sophie).*

Here the NGOs explain how a service that was initially thought for undocumented female migrant sex workers, is being used by people that had the Danish social security number, which requires a valid residency permit. The reworking of those that are entitled to a service carried out by the NGOs, proves that the NGOs navigate the social borders of inclusion and exclusion, based upon their interpretation of the needs and requests of the female migrant sex workers.

The NGOs are navigating the current border struggle sites by using anonymity which challenges the borders that they set up for their target group and by attempting to include a consideration of the multiple reasons that could have brought the female migrant sex worker to engage with sex work in Denmark, when they speak about the female migrant sex workers. However, the NGOs reiterate that violence is an element that occurs often, which draws the line between a rational human being and a victim of trafficking, who loses her agency because of violence.

These tensions between agency, violence and victimhood do not take place in a vacuum. The interaction between the border struggle that stems from the Danish national border and the border struggle that stems from the social borders is presented below, to showcase how these border struggles are connected and how the NGOs navigate them.

### The interaction between the border struggles

In the previous sections of the analysis, I described the border struggles and I presented how I see the Danish NGOs working in the field of trafficking in persons, navigate the border struggles that stem from both the national and the social borders. In this section I introduce the practices of the NGOs when the borders, thus the border struggles, intersect. Borders “overlap, connect, and disconnect in often unpredictable ways, contributing to shaping new forms of domination and exploitation” (Mezzadra & Neilson, Preface, 2013a, p. vii), just as the border struggles that happen because of them. Border struggle includes “the set of everyday practices by which migrants continually come to terms with the pervasive effects of the border” (p. 13). I will argue here that the NGOs, though their practices, portray the female migrant sex worker as a victim to contrast their perception of the police portraying them as a (criminal) migrant. Furthermore, the NGOs portrayal of the female migrant sex workers as victims allows them to



carry out practices that contrast the national border effects, whilst reinforcing the social borders effects, specifically the effect of ‘Victimization regardless of the situation’.

The NGOs’ work is carried out in a context, the Danish one, in which “ethnocentric immigration stances” (Spanger, 2011, p. 536) such as prepared or voluntary repatriation, unfold to rescue undocumented female migrant sex workers. Therefore, in the case of identified victims of trafficking that do not possess a residency permit in Denmark, the effects of the national border trump the effects of the social borders. Hence, the identified victim of trafficking is first and foremost a migrant, who will be ‘offered’, using the words of the Danish Action Plan, the prepared repatriation if they do not have a valid residency permit. The perception of the (undocumented) identified victim of trafficking as a (criminal) migrant, is reiterated by the Danish Action Plan’s understanding of the reflection period, as “repatriation is prepared in the reflection and recovery period” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018, p. 14). Yet, as presented in the Legal Framework and Danish Action Plan chapter, the reflection period pursuant to the CoE Convention is intended to “recover and escape the influence of traffickers and/or to take an informed decision on cooperating with the competent authorities” (Article 13). Therefore, if an identified victim of trafficking does not possess a residency permit in Denmark, their status of (undocumented) migrant is foregrounded to the detriment of the status of identified victim of trafficking. Indeed, “foreign nationals who come to Denmark as the victims of human trafficking, and who reside in Denmark unlawfully, must leave Denmark. However, the DIS allows victims of human trafficking to have a longer departure deadline, a so-called reflection period, of 30 days with a possible extension for up to 120 days” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018, p. 12). Hence, the reflection period delays the repatriation process in the case of an identified undocumented victim of trafficking.

It is interesting to notice how the NGOs portray themselves as countering the effects of the national border summarized above. They do so by navigating the border struggles that arise from the effects of the national border, through distancing themselves from the police, with caring activities for the female migrant sex workers, providing them with “small things” and finding alternative routes to their repatriation, such as the Dublin procedure. Nevertheless, to legitimize this navigation, they portray the female migrant sex workers as victims of circumstances, who do not know what to do and are frequently victims of violence.

These accounts of the female sex worker compose part what Berger and Luckmann, (1991) call the ‘social stock of knowledge’. From a social constructionism perspective, I understand these characteristics associated with the female migrant sex worker as pertaining to the semantic field of victimhood. As explained earlier, semantic fields compose the ‘social stock of knowledge’, which is then filtered, accumulated, and shared through generations (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). This means that the portion of ‘social stock of knowledge’ on victimhood constructs the reality in which the female migrant sex workers have those features and are victims. This is the result of the previously mentioned dichotomies between voluntary/forced prostitution and the stereotypical ideas of femininity/masculinity which have composed a great deal of ‘social stock of knowledge’ on trafficking in persons up to recent years. Recalling Berger and Luckmann (1991), “the validity of my knowledge of everyday life is taken for granted by myself and by others until further notice, that is, until a problem arises that cannot be solved in terms of it. As long as my knowledge works satisfactorily, I am generally ready to suspend doubts about it” (p. 58). Thus, I would argue that the acknowledgment that a victim of trafficking needs protection, is shared between the police and the NGOs, hence is part of the common ‘social stock of knowledge’. However, what is problematic, hence not part of the common ‘social stock of knowledge’ between the Danish authorities and the NGOs, is the process that leads to being officially identified as a victim. This is highlighted in the quotes below:

*“The judges, five of them, saying ‘the person did not inform the police immediately when they were arrested of the story that is now presented. There is no evidence of what she presents. We therefore throw out this case and we punish her as a person that has committed a crime. We do not accept the non-punishment clause as if she was a trafficked person’” (Emma).*

*“Human trafficking by definition is a crime which is committed by people who do not reveal themselves and their identity to the victims. So, it’s very very difficult to prove, for example money is not paid to the traffickers by sending, you know, checks to their banks or sending through Ria or Western Union, Money Transfers. This is provided [pause] this is sent cash and picked up by other members of the criminal network. The identities of the persons who have trafficked them along the line and the original people*

*who are the madams or the bosses in country of origin are pretty untraceable”*  
(Emma).

Therefore, not informing immediately the police of their condition of exploitation and the lack of evidence is not part of the Danish governmental bodies’, in this case the judges, social stock of knowledge on victimhood. While the same characteristics appear to be part of the ‘social stock of knowledge’ of the NGOs. Therefore, to overcome this gap in knowledge, the NGOs portray the female migrant sex worker as lacking agency and as not knowing who the members of the criminal network are, as they are these characteristics fit the ‘social stock of knowledge’ that constructs a victim also in the judges’ realities. By doing so, the NGOs reinforce the social borders, with the effect of ‘Victimization regardless of the situation’, to contrast the effects of the national border. Thus, if the identification of the above mentioned female migrant sex worker as a victim of trafficking is successful, she will be entitled to the reflection and recovery plan under the Danish Action Plan. This means that the effects of ‘Victimization regardless of the situation’, are the ‘lesser evil’ used by the NGOs to navigate the border struggle sites and contrast the effects of the Danish national border.

As mentioned by Andrijasevic (2003) “presenting one’s self as a victim is indeed indispensable if an undocumented migrant woman is to use the legal immigration apparatus to her advantage and obtain the right to remain in Italy” (p. 264). Thus, in the Danish context, the NGOs efforts of portraying an (undocumented) female migrant sex worker as a victim could be the only means to counter the effects of the Danish national border. However, this portrayal of victimhood goes to the detriment of those that do not benefit from being identified as a victim of trafficking. Likewise, it does not consider the understanding the female migrant sex workers have of themselves.

Lastly, the portrayal of the female migrant sex workers as victims by the NGOs manifests when the female migrant sex workers experience the effects of the Danish national border and does not extend in their practices. To the point, when navigating the sites of border struggle that stem from the social borders, the NGOs do not stand by their own definition of their target groups, as anonymity is key, and they do not request the female migrant sex workers’ documents. They speak about the female migrant sex workers as rational human beings that may have chosen sex work as a labour option in Denmark because of the economic potential. They provide support to the female migrant sex workers with the

information needed, but they leave the ultimate decision to the female migrant sex worker. On the other hand, when confronted with, hence navigating within, the border struggle that stems from the national border, the NGOs portray the female migrant sex workers as victims, to, according to their interpretation, provide alternative routes and contrast the effects of the Danish national border

## 7. Conclusion

In this thesis I attempt to answer the question *How do Danish Non-Governmental Organizations working within the field of trafficking in persons navigate the sites of border struggle?*

Whilst being a reality constructed through the NGOs' language (cf. Berger & Luckmann, 1991), my analysis sheds light upon how the Danish NGOs working in the field of trafficking in persons, navigate the sites of border struggle that arise from the effects of both the Danish national border and the social borders.

The analysis interprets this navigation as being carried out mainly by depicting the female migrant sex workers as 'victims', as it counters the police's approach to the same people as '(criminal) migrants'. I claim that the effect of 'Victimization regardless of the situation' is the 'lesser evil' as, in the cases of (undocumented) female migrant sex workers, it can be a useful way for the NGOs to contrast the effects of the Danish national border. However, this depiction is implemented only when the female migrant sex workers experience the effects of the national border, as it is not reflected in the NGOs' everyday practices outside of this border struggle.

While the above findings do not allow for a generalization, this approach provides an interesting insight into the border struggles that arise from borders, and it offers a temporal understanding of the complexities that could be otherwise hindered if the borders were taken as an object of study.

## 8. Discussion

The current thesis focused on understanding the ways the NGOs navigate the border struggles, through the interpretation of the NGOs themselves. The main limitation of this thesis is that the analysis is built upon the co-constructed reality between the interviewees and me. Hence, I played a great role in this thesis which is both its strength and its biggest limit. The collection of material, the coding, the theming, and the analysis are subjective, insofar as they are valid for me, but does not provide generalizations.

The practices carried out by the female migrant sex workers have not been included as it was not the focus of this research. However, it could be interesting to pursue this thesis and analyse if and how the effects of the borders are experienced by the female migrant sex workers through their narratives.

Another topic of investigation that is out of the scope of this thesis, is to which extend the concept of victimhood is a Eurocentric legacy idea that has meaning only in our culture, as we share parts of the ‘social stock of knowledge’ and how the female migrant sex workers struggle and strategize to fit into it.

Lastly, there are few interesting openings for further investigation in the Danish Action Plan. One is the photographic representation of the Danish Action Plans. While reviewing the plans, I could not help noticing that the Danish Action Plans’ cover images have changed throughout the years, from outlining a female silhouette in the early years to portraying movement more recently. The second interesting note on the Danish Action Plan is the constant distinction in wording that is used when referring to EU and non-EU citizens. For example: “[those – Ed.] who are legally in Denmark are offered suitable and secure accommodation, including food. Victims who are unlawfully in Denmark are offered accommodation in the asylum system or an alternative to this, for example at a shelter, if this is deemed appropriate” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 2018, p. 14). Does this mean that the accommodations for the non-Eu citizens are not secure? I see this as an interesting prompt that could be analysed further.

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