Prostitution and Race

An Intersectional Analysis of a Black Woman’s Experiences in the Swedish Sex Industry
Abstract

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Prostitution, arguably one of the world’s oldest profession has become a current and growing business across societies today. In Sweden, there has been an increasing recognition of the constant exploitation and abuse of women who are in the business of selling sexual services. As a majority of the sex workers in Sweden are non-ethnic Swedes, it has become increasingly difficult to distinguish the misogyny from the racism or exotification experienced in prostitution. This qualitative study explores if the intersection of race, misogyny and exotification has given rise to different kinds of vulnerabilities amongst women in prostitution in the Swedish sex industry. The purpose of this study is to examine the experiences of a black woman who has been prostituted in the sex industry in Sweden. The aim is to provide knowledge of intersectionality in prostitution and the complex effects it has on an individual woman’s experiences. The authors made use of case study as research design and relied on a semi-structured interview with a black woman who has been in prostitution and her experiences. The results of the study, with comparison to the literary review showed the different intersecting factors that affect a black woman, and how it, with the use of intersectionality as an analytical framework, can be argued that these factors give rise to a distinct experience in a woman with multiple marginalised identities. The study does also suggest the need for further research in the field with a larger selection of respondents that aims at acquiring national data as well as research on prostitution that focuses on power structures and the intersecting identities of persons with multiple dominant identities.

Keywords: Intersectionality, prostitution, exotification, misogyny, sexism, racism

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1. Introduction
In a world, that is constantly moving forward, patriarchal structures are still an issue and the world’s oldest profession is still thriving. Prostitution has, ever since ancient times, been a way for some men to sexually dominate and meet their promiscuous sexual needs. The structure of prostitution was built upon the male-dominant society which was at large during ancient history, and is still an issue all over the world, today (Sanger, 2015, p.13). Even though efforts have been made and laws have been set (Government Offices of Sweden, 2015), the sex industry is continuing to flourish.

Equality is a concept that has been brought up a lot over the past few years, especially the equality between genders. A country which is taking pride in its gender equal society, but still has issues with sexual services where women are constantly being exploited and abused, is Sweden (Swedish Institute, 2018). In the end of the 20th century, Sweden introduced a law that would criminalise the act of buying sexual services but legalise the act of selling them. This was motivated by the discussion of equality and the goal was to decrease the number of customers, exploiting sex workers, while still not targeting the people in prostitution who were already in a vulnerable position (Government Offices of Sweden, 2015). The women working in the Swedish sex industry are both of Swedish nationality and trafficked women who are in the country temporarily. The prostitution in Sweden is based mostly on the internet where the women’s characteristics are lined up for people to choose their preferences. Nationalities or ethnic background can sometimes be described as different to the reality in order to attract customers who are looking for someone of a background that they perceive to be erotic and exotic (Mujaj & Netscher, 2015, p. 10).

Women of colour, who are, discriminated in society are accordingly the most vulnerable group of women in the sex industry (Razack, 1998, p. 339). Sweden, a country described as one of the whitest nations, is thereby often exotifying women of colour (Sawyer, 2008, pp. 90-95), and the customers, who can pick the woman based on ethnicity or other characteristics, can live out their fantasy and experience something new and “exotic” (Mujaj & Netscher, 2015, p. 10).

Internationally, the structural discrimination that women of colour face has affected their financial conditions. The economic struggles have, thus, made them even more vulnerable and have, for some, led them into the path of sexual services (Razack, 1998, p. 339). However, in this paper, the researchers aim is to focus on, not the struggles that are leading the way to prostitution, but the struggles and judgement that women of colour might face within the industry itself.

The aim and research questions in this study is, therefore, focused on experiences that can arise when being prostituted in the Swedish sex industry as a black woman. The subject is motivated by the fact that there are not a lot of previous research on this subject within the borders of Sweden and that it is an issue that needs to be highlighted.
1.1 Purpose and Research Question
The purpose of this study is to analyse the experiences of a black woman who has been prostituted in the sex industry in Sweden.

- Which factors affects a black woman’s experiences in the Swedish sex industry?
- How are these experiences described?
- What identities, and how do identities intersect to explain her experiences?

The argument of the study is that the intersection of race, misogyny and exotification has given rise to different kinds of vulnerabilities amongst women who are being prostituted in the Swedish sex industry due to power structures that are related to ethnicity and sex. Thus, through an analysis of an individual case, the study also provides knowledge of intersectionality in the Swedish sex industry and the complex effects it has on an individual's experiences.

1.2 Disposition
Chapter one commences with an introduction to the study and the topic. The purpose of the study and the research questions are also presented in this chapter.

Chapter two presents relevant background information regarding prostitution in Sweden and the racial environment in Sweden that is needed to understand the results as well as the analysis of this study.

Chapter three details the methods that are utilised in the study. The research process, in terms of data collection and processing is reviewed and ethical considerations and limitations and difficulties encountered are considered.

Chapter four discusses previous research and theories that are related to the study and relevant for the result and analysis.

Chapter five introduces the analytical framework that is used in the analysis. A critique of the framework is also discussed. In addition, definitions of terms that are made use of in this study are also explained.

Chapter six details a description of the respondent’s life, factors that led to her being prostituted, her experiences within prostitution as well as factors that contributed to her decision to leave the prostitution industry. In this chapter, the results of the data are also presented, as well as discussed in relation to previous research. Furthermore, the results are also analysed, in this chapter, with the use of the analytical framework.

Lastly, chapter seven summarises the purpose, method, results and the analysis of the study, the limitations of the study are highlighted and arguments for the new knowledge generated from the study as well as suggestions for further research is presented. The final chapter does also include the summary of the study.
2. Background
The following section introduces the background needed in order to understand the prostitution-scene in Sweden. Information on prostitution in Sweden as well as racism and exotification will be presented.

2.1 Prostitution in Sweden
In 1999, Sweden introduced a ban to buy casual sexual relations. The ban is applicable both to the people who pay for sexual relations, and the people who use a person for casual sexual relations paid by someone else, and can lead to a fine or imprisonment of maximum one year (Government Offices of Sweden, 2015). The ban was initiated in order to fight prostitution. The proposal of the ban of purchasing casual sexual relations stated that the ongoing prostitution with men buying sexual services from women is unacceptable and shameful in a gender equal society (Regeringskansliet, 2010, p.13).

Prostitution is, in Sweden, believed to be a source of serious damage both to individuals but also to the entire society since it is often connected to other criminal businesses such as human-trafficking and drug-dealing. The legislative prohibition is targeting the buyers of sexual services but not the sellers. This was a new way of fighting prostitution which considered the fact that the majority of people working with prostitution are doing it because of difficult social circumstances. The aim with the prohibition was, therefore, to make the number of purchasers decline which, consequently, would make less people work in the sex industry. Another goal with the legislative prohibition was to increase the difficulties of groups or individuals in other countries to create organised prostitution in Sweden. Ten years after the prohibition was introduced, an evaluation was made in order to examine how the ban had influenced the prostitution scene in Sweden. The evaluation revealed that the ban had had the envisioned outcome and that it is an important tool in fighting and preventing human trafficking and prostitution for sexual services (Government Offices of Sweden, 2015).

The dispersion of prostitution in Sweden has been challenging to estimate due to difficulties with tracking it over time, as well as troubles with the unknown population in Sweden. The Swedish county administration “Länsstyrelsen” in Stockholm mapped out and gathered information about prostitution in Sweden. Despite the abovementioned difficulties of the data collection, the county administration managed to collect data and map some of the prostitution in the country (Mujaj & Netscher, 2015, p. 9).

The number of individuals who have been buying or selling sexual services in Sweden seems to be relatively constant. There are, however, a gendered difference of the customers of sexual services, where men seem to represent the entire number of people buying sex in Sweden. About 7.5 percent of Swedish men between the ages of 18 and 65 years old state that they have, at some point in their life, bought sexual services. Compared to other countries in Europe, the 7.5 percent is a relatively low percentage. During the data collection, it was also indicated that the proportion of men who have sold sexual services is higher than the proportion of women. This can, nevertheless, be explained by the unknown population of women of other nationalities who are staying temporarily in Sweden and working in the sex industry. These women are
comprising a high number of the sex workers in Sweden but are not included in the Swedish mapping of prostitution due to their nationalities. The sellers of sexual services are most commonly between the ages of 18 and 30, while the age of the customers is varying amongst men in most ages (Mujaj & Netscher, 2015, pp. 9-10).

The majority of sex workers in Sweden are from a non-Swedish nationality which is mostly due to human trafficking. Most of the women working in the street prostitution are originally from Romania or Nigeria while the advertising on internet shows different nationalities. When using the internet to reach customers, the sex workers are often advertised through a marketing strategy where they are using nationalities that are most likely to attract possible customers (Mujaj & Netscher, 2015, p. 10).

2.2 Exotification and Racism of Black People in Sweden

Sweden has ever since the second World War been in the forefront for advocating for universal human rights. Sweden did for instance take an anti-colonialism stance in the 1960s and has spoken up against colonialism and Apartheid in the General Assembly of the United Nations. Sweden has also been a major financial contributor and supporter of the ANC and other liberation movements in South-Africa in the early 1990s. Furthermore, Sweden did also support de-colonialization initiatives, development and self-determination of newly independent states. Race in Sweden has therefore not been regarded as a social problem in the country. The term race was even removed from its antidiscrimination law (McEachrane, 2018, pp. 1-9). Paradoxically, Sweden has today, seen the rise of social media accounts on Twitter and Instagram such as “Svart kvinna” (Black Woman) and “#NoStranger” which have acquired a massive following. These social media accounts where created by first- and second-generation migrants with the aim of raising awareness of the racism, exotification and sexism encountered by people of colour in Sweden (Britts, 2014).

Sweden has since World War II constructed a self-image of being a “country without race” (Sawyer, 2008, p. 90). A country where much effort has been made to ascribe itself as a country of solidarity, internationalism and colour blindness. Racism within the Swedish context has therefore been understood as the violence perpetrated by extremists such as skinheads and a problem that only exists in other nations and places, with Sweden being the exception to the rule. Paradoxically, Sweden is globally regarded as “the whitest of nations” (Sawyer, 2008, p. 90), or at least a country that is populated by a lot of white people. This has subsequently resulted in a racialized as well as a gendered national construction of whiteness that is associated with blond hair, blue eyes and fair skin. These features have also become exemplary attributes of female beauty. Such racialized and gendered characteristics are rooted in racist and sexist conceptions that surfaced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that positions Swedish as well as Scandinavian/Nordic ancestry in hierarchical position to that of African ancestry. This understanding of gendered race did not only derive from Swedish depictions abroad, but also from the nation itself with the establishment of a social engineering project that aimed at a eugenic social transformation through the sterilisation of over 60,000 women with “deviant sexualities” between the years of 1935 and 1974. These included women who had
mixed ethnicities, who were single mothers with multiple children and “travellers” (Sawyer, 2008, pp. 90-91).

Images of black people in Sweden have expectedly been limited and stereotypic. This is mainly a result of the scarce number of Swedish citizens with African heritage prior to the 1960s. Depictions of African and black people in Sweden were therefore only reflected in the findings as well as writings of missionaries, travelogues, children’s books and the Swedish international development aid discourses which contributed to the paternalistic and later masculine and heroic understandings of Africa. Writings about Afro-American artists and musicians such as Josephine Baker and Louis Armstrong did also result in a primitive, exotic and sexual discourse of Africa and blackness. Thus, this imagery of Africa and black people subsequently lead to a stereotypical image of a racial as well as sexual “other” where the Swedish femininity and masculinity was the norm (Sawyer, 2008, p. 91).

Due to the colour-blind image that Sweden had of itself, discourses regarding skin colour came to be a taboo topic. Citizens of African heritage growing up during the 1960s and 1970s have recounted that the taboo of skin colour resulted in that specific aspects of black women’s bodies, such as hair, became symbols of racial, gendered, and sexual difference. Touching a black woman or a child’s hair became a practise of marking physical differences. This practise has in retrospect been compared to being harassed, as it sends a message that it is allowed to touch a black woman’s body without permission. In this case, the violation was made acceptable due to the person’s age. Hair, therefore, came to be a more tolerable as well as loaded symbol of racial, gendered and feminine difference. Furthermore, these bodily symbols have also come to be understood as non-white and therefore exotic by men. The consequence of being labelled as exotic has resulted in the suggestion of sexual promiscuity, and a lack of respect which challenges a black woman’s status as Swedish (Sawyer, 2008, pp. 92-95).

The period of colour-blindness did nevertheless change with the migration of the second-generation of migrant adults and their children who entered Sweden during a recession which gave rise to an anti-immigrant rhetoric and violence. During this time, migrants were subjected to discrimination, and racism where derogatory terms such as invandrare (immigrant), svartskalle (black skull) and blatte (no specific translation to English but a derogatory term used towards black people and non-European people) were used in an insulting manner. Migrants were, during this period, also exposed to discrimination in the workplace in regard to low-wage, low-status and insecure employment, as well as structural/institutional discrimination in housing, education and political participation. The arrival in Sweden for migrants, Africans in particular, did therefore entail losses of educational status, class as well as structural/institutional discrimination. Expressions of concern in regard to the lack of positive images of black communities in Sweden did also arise during this time. With the emergence of musicians of first- and second generation African heritage such as Dr. Alban, Timbaktu and Jaquee the national and international understanding of Swedishness began to change and skin colour and racism within the Swedish context became a topic of discourse (Sawyer, 2008, pp. 97-99). This discourse has today evolved, and people of colour are, as aforementioned, currently working to raise awareness of how they are facing a discrimination,
that in society today, bases itself upon an interplay of racism, exotification and sexism (Britts, 2014).

3. Methodology
The following sections explains the methodology used in the study. It argues why the particular method, strategy and design was used and how the data was collected and processed. It also includes sections of ethical and methodological considerations of the study.

3.1 Qualitative Research
The research strategy used in this paper is a qualitative study. A qualitative study focuses on words and interpretations while a more quantitative study focuses more on quantification, which means that the aforementioned is more suitable for this research subject. When using a qualitative study, the approach is interpretative and it emphasizes how individuals interpret and perceive their social reality based on their own context of life (Bryman, 2015, pp. 40-41). A deeper knowledge and understanding of a research objective can arise with this research strategy, which is what this paper aims towards.

Qualitative researchers are often trying to perceive the social reality as the people living in it, in order to understand the individuals that are subject to their research. Some researchers are therefore, basing their reflections on the opinions and perceptions of the study subject (Bryman, 2015, p. 362). In this paper, the researchers will gather information on an individual’s own perception of her reality and experiences, and thereby try to understand her social reality in order to generate reflections and analysis based on the respondent’s interconnected identities.

3.2 Case Study
The research design chosen for this study is a case study. The basic form of a case study holds one specific case, which is detailed and thoroughly studied. With this type of research design, the research aims to touch upon the specific context and complexity of the chosen case. An idiographic approach to knowledge is used when the researcher aims to illustrate and create understanding of a unique phenomenon, which is what separates a case study from other kinds of research designs (Bryman, 2015, pp. 73-76).

A “case” is a study conducted on for example, a specific organisation or a certain place, or as in this paper, a person (Bryman, 2015, pp. 73-74). As mentioned above, the case of this study will be a black woman who has experience of being prostituted in the Swedish sex industry. By using a qualitative case study, focusing on one specific case, the researchers in this paper aim to explain the interplay between different factors that are characterizing and affecting the research subject and her experience of being a black woman in the Swedish prostitution scene. Even though generalisation of a case study is not in question, an important prospect of using this design is that by studying and analysing a specific case, the researchers can still acknowledge and create deeper knowledge on a general and bigger issue.
3.3 Semi-structured Interviews

With the research method chosen, the researchers strive to receive a deeper understanding of the experiences presented by a black woman that has been prostituted in the Swedish sex industry. A semi-structured in-depth interview will be utilised when gathering the empirical material.

A semi-structured interview is an interview form used when researchers want deeper knowledge in an area. What separates a semi-structured interview from a structured interview is that the answer-options are not fixed, which allows the interviewee to choose how in-depth the answer will be. On the other hand, it differs from unstructured interviews since in the semi-structured form, the researcher has more control over the interview (Hjerm, et al., 2016, p. 150). The researchers have considered the different forms of interviews, and have come to the conclusion that, with a sensitive subject as this, the respondent had to be able to decide for herself, how in-depth answers she wanted to respond with. It was, therefore, the semi-structured interview that was the most useful and appropriate tool in this setting. It was also of importance that the respondent would receive questions that were structured and easy to understand which is why an interview guide (see appendix 2 and 3) was followed.

3.4 Data Collection and Processing

Before conducting the interview, a gathering of previous research and background information on the subject was made. It was important to be familiar with the subject, especially since it was a subject that touched upon a lot of sensitive aspects that had to be taken into account. An interview invitation was written to the respondent where the researchers explained who they were, what the purpose of the study was, what was expected from the respondent and how the data was going to be used (see appendix 1). Before the interview started, the respondent signed an informed consent, which explained the terms of the interview, and that the respondent had the right to withdraw from the interview participation at any time without specific reasons and without receiving any negative consequences. It also clarified that the interview would be recorded if accepted by the respondent and that she would be anonymous in the research paper (Hjerm, et al., 2016, pp. 161-162).

The interview made, was conducted in a place of the respondent’s suggestion, in order to create a space where she would feel comfortable. The interview lasted for about 75 minutes. Even though the study is written in English, the researchers chose to conduct the interview in Swedish, which is the first language of both the researchers and the respondent. This was done in the interest of all parties of the interview to be able to express and explain their thoughts in a language with which they were completely comfortable.

The semi-structured interview followed an interview guide which was used to make the researchers ask clear and relevant questions and in order to not forget any important aspects (Hjerm, et al., 2016, p. 151). The interview guide also included a couple of different follow-up questions, if necessary. The questions asked were based on information written in previous research, to secure the capturing of all different themes. The guide was initially written in English, which can be seen in appendix 2, but was then translated into Swedish when the
decision of conducting the interview in Swedish was made. This can be seen in appendix 3. With the consent of the respondent, the interview was audio-recorded and then transcribed.

The first section of the interview was dedicated to background question, to gain understanding of the context and social reality of the respondent (Hjerm, et al., 2016, p. 156). The following sections were divided into the themes of experiences in the industry, misogyny and racism and exotification. The interview was concluded with further questions were the respondent was given the opportunity to repeat or add anything supplementary that she believed to be of importance.

Following the transcription of the interview, the analysis process of the data began. The analysis method used was a qualitative content analysis. This analytical method, includes searching for underlying themes in the data (Bryman, 2015, p. 505). The analysis process was carefully undertaken by both researchers in order to ensure complete understanding of the data. The transcribed interview, which was the unit of analysis, was then categorised into different relevant codes based on what had been said in the interview. The codes were then divided into different broader themes. The researchers used the different themes to compare with each other and with the previous research in order to target the aim of the study. Finally, the themes were also compared with the analytical framework, intersectionality.

Even though the interview questions were primarily based on previous research, the researchers had the analytical framework of intersectionality in mind during the entire process. The themes that were brought up in the interview, such as misogyny, exotification and racism, can be connected to the respondent’s different identities of being a black woman living in Sweden. The results of the interview did, however, also include other identities, that the researchers did not know about beforehand, which were also analysed by using intersectionality. The coding of the gather data was not made with predetermined codes and themes. The themes that emerged were, nevertheless, easily connected to intersectionality since the themes in the conducted interview also were connected to the respondent’s multiple identities. The choice of using intersectionality to analyse the results was made due to the fact that the researchers wanted to examine how multiple identities can affect someone within prostitution and to understand how everyone’s experience is unique. This can also be connected to the research questions of different factors affecting the experience.

3.5 Ethical Considerations
Throughout the research process, ethical considerations were taken into account. In his book, the author Alan Bryman explains that there are four different ethical principles that must be taken into consideration (Bryman, 2015, pp. 131-132).

The first principle is the information requirement which states that the researcher must inform the participants of the aim of the study, that their participation is voluntary and that they have the right to withdraw their participation if they would like to. They should also be informed of the different elements of the study (Bryman, 2015, pp. 131-132). The information requirement has been carefully completed, as stated above, through an interview invitation where all these elements were included (see appendix 1). We also repeated some of the most important
information orally and the participant got to sign an informed consent which states that all the above-mentioned information had been given.

The second principle is the one of consent. It states that the participant has the right to decide of their participation themselves. If a participant is a minor, the consents of a parent or guardian must be given (Bryman, 2015, pp. 131-132). When starting off this research, the researchers decided that no possible respondents were to be under the age of 18, due to the sensitive subject and regarding ethical principles. The respondent in this case study was, therefore, over the age of 18 and could thereby give consent to participate in the interview.

The third principle, the confidentiality requirement, points out that all information about the participants in the study will be handled with utmost confidentiality. Personal data must be stored so that no unauthorised people can reach it (Bryman, 2015, pp. 131-132). The information of the respondent in this case study is stored on personal devices and are being carefully handled. The audio-record and further information will be deleted when it is no longer needed for this research paper.

The last principle, considered the use of gathered data. This principle states that the information that is gained about an individual can only be used for the research purpose (Bryman, 2015, pp. 131-132). The participant of this case study has been informed that her statements will only be used to examine the purpose of this study.

Furthermore, the researchers considered additional ethics due to the delicate research purpose. As mentioned previously, a lot of research were made beforehand to ensure the understanding of the experiences of the respondent. The researchers also decided that the respondent in the case study had to be someone that was no longer working in the sex industry. This was considered due to the fact that the respondent would feel safer and that she would have created a distance to her previous life in order to talk more in-depth about the subject. In the beginning of the interview, the researchers asked the respondent which term she was most comfortable with using since the terms prostitute or sex worker may imply different meanings for different individuals. The researchers made it clear to the respondent that the purpose of the interview was to learn and create a deeper understanding by listening to her story and recognise her perspective on the issue.

3.6 Methodological Considerations
The interview was conducted and analysed by both researchers to ensure that all aspects during the interview were studied. Due to the sensitive subject, difficulties regarding finding respondents occurred and the study is, therefore, only exploring one respondent’s experience. This has led to a more profound analysis on this respondent’s case with in-depth information and quotations from the interview. The quotations were used in order to illustrate the respondent’s experiences and to highlight how she described and explained these experiences. Brackets were sometimes used within quotations to clarify the meaning of the respondent’s words. A limitation with the study is that the interview was conducted in Swedish, but the results of the interview is written in English. When this is done, there is always a risk that
important words are lost in translation. However, by having both researchers present at the interview and listening to the audio-record several times, the researchers have translated her words and expressions very carefully.

There were some distractions during the interview that might have affected the respondents line of thought. The researchers gave the choice of deciding where to conduct the interview to the respondent, as they wanted to create a relaxed atmosphere for her. The interview was therefore, conducted at a café which can affect both the researchers and the respondent as the place is constantly in motion. The respondent also brought her child due to having no baby-sitter. This was, however, a distraction that the researchers were indulgent too and respectful of.

Validity implies how well the researchers examine what they are meant to examine in their study (Hjerm, et al., 2016, p. 94). The validity in this study was improved by considering and choosing the most appropriate method of gathering data. To use an interview with and interview-guide created a higher validity since the interview questions were considered beforehand and therefore, included questions suitable in order to answer the aim of the study as well as the research questions.

Reliability measures the quality of a study. If a study can be done another time and the outcome would be the same, the reliability would be high (Hjerm, et al., 2016 p. 94). If this study were to be conducted another time, with the same respondent, under the same conditions and following the interview-guide, the outcome would, most likely, be the same, which increases the reliability of this study. Due to the fact that the researchers in this study listened to the audio-record several times in order not to misinterpret the results, the reliability in also improved.

Furthermore, difficulties occurred when trying to find respondents in this study which resulted in one of the studies limitations of only conducting one in-depth interview. This is due to the fact that the respondent in a study like this is a part of a “hidden population”. A hidden, or hard to reach, population are oftentimes groups of people or individuals who are facing stigmatisation and discrimination in society and are, therefore, not willing to identify themselves as part of that specific context (Choubak, et al., 2015, p.1). Even though the researchers tried to reach out to this hidden population by both using snowball sampling, reaching out to activists and organisations working with helping sex workers, no further respondents were willing to participate. The researchers also made use of different recommendations when recruiting respondents such as anonymity and by avoiding the use of discriminating or stigmatising language in the letter of invitation (see appendix 1) (Choubak, et al., 2015, p. 8). The respondents were also given the possibility of being interviewed over phone or internet, in order to be even further anonymous. The letter of invitation also explained that the researchers wanted to learn from them and their experiences and that the respondents could choose if they did not want to be recorded (see appendix 1). Despite all these difficulties, the researchers chose to stick with the aim of the study and the data of the presented respondent as they believe that this is a subject that must be discussed in order for this population not to be further stigmatised or discriminated.
4. Previous Research

In Sweden, there is an absence of scholarly research on intersectionality in prostitution. This following section will therefore outline scholarly articles that have been written about intersectionality in prostitution within an international context. Identified themes and theories from previous research on prostitution will also be presented. These themes are: Racism, Sexism and Class, Domination and Subordination, Violence and Representation.

4.1 Racism, Sexism and Class

A theme that is identified and is re-occurring in the previous research is the one of racism, sexism and class. A text which is bringing up issues with sexist and racist stereotypes is the article *Human Trafficking and Sex Industry: Does Ethnicity and Race Matter?* by Natividad Gutiérrez Chong. She argues that the male customers are often aware of the ethnicity and race of the woman that they buy since this is a factor that they have in mind when picking out their preferred woman. Male customers’ wishes of experiencing and buying an “exotic” girl has its foundation in stereotypes. The demand of women is correlating with sexist and racist stereotypes. The stereotypes are a prejudice result of different social groups having fixed ideas of other groups of people, who then are expected to carry out or represent these stereotypes. This can be seen as a continuation of discrimination of people who have already been very vulnerable, historically. In the past, racialized women have been deprived of their human rights, experienced violence, been ridiculed and further discriminated. These factors have influenced the stereotypes that still exist about racialized women and who are putting them in a submissive position compared to white women or, more noticeable, men in general, and white men in particular. The domination that is obtained by the male customer is playing an important role in the sexual exploitation of black women in the sex industry. Natividad Gutiérrez Chong also points out the racist and sexist stereotypes that are found in popular literature, films, video games, advertisements etcetera and how these platforms depict black women as very eager and promiscuous when it comes to sex (Natividad Gutiérrez Chong, 2014, pp. 199-200).

The theme of racism, sexism and class is explored in the article *Prostitution and the Invisibility of Harm*. The author Melissa Farley argues that prostitution is connected to poverty, racism and sexism. This is caused by the fact that prostitution as an institution where a person, in most cases men, purchase another person, and through social and economic power, transform the person being prostituted into a physical embodiment of their fantasy. This has subsequently resulted in a formalisation of women’s subordination by gender, race and class, where women are turned into objects and thus exposed to immense violations. Farley continues to argue that racism in prostitution has been made invisible, when in reality, women that are being prostituted are purchased due to their appearances which include their skin colour and characteristics based on ethnic stereotyping. Racism in prostitution is therefore not a new phenomenon as women throughout history have been prostituted due to their race and ethnicity as well as gender and class. Farley went on to compare today’s purchase of African American women by Johns in the US, to the abduction of black women by slave owners (Farley, 2003, pp. 251-253).

According to Farley, it is within the colonialist roots of prostitution where the intersection of racism, sexism and class is apparent. Farley argues that colonialism does not only result in the
exploitation of natural resources, as it objectifies the inhabitants of the land being colonised. For instance, the colonialization of countries in Asia and the Caribbean and the sex-tourism that arose as a result, did also subsequently lead to an image of women of colour as “natural-born sex workers”, “immoral by nature” or “sexually promiscuous”. This view of women of colour has over time, resulted in a stereotype as an “hypersexual” and “exotic other” that basis itself upon race and gender (Farley, 2003, p. 254).

Additionally, Farley found that the intersection of racism, sexism and class in prostitution has resulted in barriers to escape for women of colour. It is however, important to note that all women that are prostituted face barriers in escaping in terms of lack of services such as shelters, treatment of addiction and disorders to accommodate their needs. Nevertheless, the differences women of colour face are that there is a lack of advocacy services that are culturally sensitive in the US. Farley ultimately concludes that prostitution could not be combated and ended without the elimination of gender inequality, race discrimination and poverty (Farley, 2003, pp. 255-272).

4.2 Domination and Subordination

An article in which the theme of subordination and domination emerged is Race, Space and Prostitution: The Making of the Bourgeois Subject by Sherene Razack. The article explores the hegemonic masculinity that “stabilizes a structure of dominance” and that is secured by prostitution (Razack, 1998, p.339). Razack also aims to explain how hierarchies amongst women are a system which helps the upholding and sustainment of prostitution. She argues how the race, class and gender are all included in the continuation of prostitution. Women who are considered to be more submissive in the context of white, male hegemony are the most vulnerable to sexual exploitation and violence in the sex industry. In order to solve the issue of subordination, the hierarchies amongst women must also be addressed (Razack, 1998, p.340). Middle-class white women are being benefited from prostitution when the men in their surroundings use their aggression, violence or other expressions towards the prostitutes, instead of their families, friends or other women in their lives (Razack, 1998, p.363).

The theme of hierarchies and domination is echoed in the article Feminist Voices on Sex Work: Implications for Social Work written by Lacey Sloan and Stephanie Wahab. With an analysis of black feminist thought on prostitution, authors Sloan and Wahab found that experiences within the sex industry cannot be understood without an examination of how societal issues related to racism impacts a woman of colours experience in the sex industry (Sloan & Wahab, 2000, pp. 464-465).

Black feminists thought argue that women of African heritage in the US have historically been and continues to be degraded due to their social, political or economic position. Black feminist thought, therefore, stress the importance of investigating the interconnection of race, gender and class issues and how these are used in the creation of a “matrix of domination” when examining the lives of people who have and are experiencing oppression. Black feminists thought continues to argue that racism, sexism and classism together create different
dimensions of oppression where domination is at core which has an immense effect on the lives of black women (Sloan & Wahab, 2000, pp. 465).

Furthermore, the black feminist thought, similarly to the above-mentioned article conducted by Farley, argues that race, gender and class intersect with prostitution. This system of the intersection of race, gender and class oppression is sustained through commodified sex such as pornography where the black women continually are depicted as hypersexual beings. The investigation of black women in pornography is therefore essential when analysing prostitution as it explores how the sexual manipulation of the image and treatment of black women is utilised to uphold the political economy of domination within and across hierarchical system of racism, sexism and classism. Black feminist thought ultimately concludes that commodified sex is harmful as it is appropriated by the powerful, as it implies to dominant white men that all women can be bought (Sloan & Wahab, 2000, pp. 465-466).

The article, previously mentioned, by Natividad Gutiérrez Chong also points out the patriarchal culture in the scene of the sex industry. She mentions how this culture has brought about the stereotyped submissiveness and passivity amongst females and explains how women, who are brought up in traditional, patriarchal macho cultures are raised to be obedient of their men and to remain silent in case of some kind of violence, or similar event, were to occur in the family. This cultural feature is something that is making women vulnerable to sexual exploitation and violence in the sex industry (Natividad Gutiérrez Chong, 2014, p. 208).

4.3 Violence
A theme that was identified in previous research, which has previously been touched upon, is violence. According to Natividad Gutiérrez Chong and Razack, violence is a commonly found aspect in the sex industry. Natividad Gutiérrez Chong writes in her article that ethnicised and racialized people are vulnerable to involvement in all the forms of violence, including sexual exploitation (Natividad Gutiérrez Chong, 2014, p. 196). As abovementioned, the theme of sexist and racist stereotypes is offering a negative depicting of black women, including in, for example, video games where the player is supposed to rape indigenous women for fun. These kinds of elements in the entertainment and media- world as well as the previously mentioned submissive role of women and people of colour are a contributing factor to the use of violence for the customers to secure their male dominance (Natividad Gutiérrez Chong, 2014, p. 209).

Throughout the article by Razack, she argues that prostitution is not work, but a form of violence. She problematizes the issue, since most people are understanding this violence as being mainly about gender relations. Razack means that the violence that occurs in the sex industry in not only about gender, but also class and race, since these statuses is placing people in different positions in the hierarchy of prostitution, where poor, racialized women often are placed at the bottom and therefore experiences increased amounts of violence (Razack, 1998, p. 340). Using women for sexual intentions – objectified sex or “eroticized hierarchy” is an enjoyable experience for the men while women are being abused. Razack means that the women often are being dehumanised. In the article, Razack writes that men are using violence in order to secure and understand their own identity and that it is essential to use violence in the
procedure of objectification (Razack, 1998, p. 353). As aforementioned, the violence of men is often being directed at the women on the bottom of the social scale which helps other women to escape this aggressiveness (Razack, 1998, p. 363).

4.4 Representation
An article that explores the depiction and representation of black women in the sex industry is the article *Duet: Prostitution, Racism and Feminist Discourse*, where authors Vednita Carter and Evelina Giobbe investigated historic depictions of black women and found that black women’s representation in visual images and/or writings have been negative. Though many of the portrayals of black women such as the black mammy carrying white people’s families, the female slaves only valued for “breeding” or the black woman, whose children are taken from her are descriptions of their reality, there are nevertheless negative socially constructed images of black women that have had an immense impact on their experiences in the commercial sex industry (Carter & Giobbe, 1999, p. 40).

The authors Carter and Giobbe also outlines how female slaves during the slave era constantly suffered from brutal sexual exploitation and rape by slave masters, overseers or the master’s sons. On the plantations, some female slaves had to provide for the sexual needs of white men which they in return was given nicer clothes, food and even decent homes. This implicitly sent the message to female slaves that their submission to sexual exploitation would raise their standard of life and that they therefore were better than other slaves. During this era, it was also not unusual for white men to purposely impregnate black women with the objective of producing female children that could be sold to a fancy house. That is, a place where young mixed raced girls were prostituted (Carter & Giobbe, 1999, p.42).

Carter and Giobbe continues to argue that the traces of the experiences of female slaves is distinguishable in today’s sex industries. Black women in pornography are often depicted as a hypersexual wild animal, incapable of self-control, sexually depraved, unclean, impulsive and not deserving of human affection. Pornography portrays black women as inviting rape by white men which is unfortunate as it promotes sexual violence that is motivated by racist stereotypes and thus creates an environment that not only targets black women for recruitment into prostitution, but also targets them for violations and abuses by johns. In other words, prostitutes are caricatures of women depicted in pornographic films and magazines. Johns later make use of these characteristics to act out their fantasies (Carter & Giobbe, 1999, p.45).

The sex industries in the US today are also, oftentimes, situated in neighbourhoods where a majority of the inhabitants are black or poor. Thus, these communities have come to be zones where prostitution is visible and easily accessible for Johns as well as for young women and men to be prostituted. The depiction of black women in pornography as well as the location of sex industries are harmful as it sends a message that all black women are prostitutes and that it is right to purchase women and girls for sex. The implicit message to black women is that this is who they are, how it is and what black women are here for. This image of black women as hypersexual wild animals is, according to Carter and Giobbe, continually perpetuated by white men as an excuse for their continued sexual exploitation. This systemic abuse of black women
has subsequently resulted in the assumption that sexual exploitation by white men is inevitable (Carter & Giobbe, 1999, pp. 40-43).

As Carter and Giobbe notes, it is also important to understand that the patriarchal and heterosexual structure within the US does also contribute to sexual harassments of women as well as the justification for prostitution due to the belief that men’s urges cannot be controlled and if these urges are not fulfilled, it will be an incentive for them to rape women. Racism does nevertheless further contribute to the dominance that men have over prostitutes (Carter & Giobbe, 1999, pp. 45-52).

5. Analytical Framework and Definitions
This section includes a description and critique of the analytical framework used for this study. Definitions that are relevant and used in this study are also presented.

5.1 Intersectionality
Intersectionality refers to the study of the interaction of an individual’s multiple identities and their significance and meaning on an individual’s experiences. The aim of intersectionality is to predominantly highlight unilateral power within social practices, cultural ideologies and institutional arrangements by revealing the disadvantageous symbolic and material consequences that arises for persons whose identities intersect with various other identities (Atewologun, 2014, p. 280; Davis, 2008, p. 68).

The idea of intersectionality has been acknowledged and researched on since the early 1980s. An historical review on the driving forces for the emergence of intersectionality is provided by researchers McCall (2005), Prins (2006) and Davis (2008). In their texts, the researchers demonstrate how the conceptualisation of intersectionality derived from extensive theoretical and empirical studies on finer intersections of categories by feminists of colour.

Davis found that the term intersectionality was originally coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw with the aim of acknowledging differences amongst women within white and western feminist scholarship as the experiences, as well as the struggles, of marginalised women of colour had been excluded in both feminist and anti-racist discourse (Davis, 2008, p. 68). For instance, as McCall notes black women’s experiences could not be understood from previous studies of gender and race as gender studies had a tendency to focus on white women, whilst studies on ethnicity had a tendency to focus on black men. Thus, there was a need for a new field of research that explains the distinct and oftentimes conflicting dynamics that impact the experiences of the people within these categories (McCall, 2005, p. 1780).

In recent years, the focus on intersectionality has nevertheless gradually shifted from exploring the vulnerabilities, marginalisation and the subordination that arises with multiple categories of inequality to the interaction of race, class and gender in women’s social and material realities and lives in the production and transformation of relations of power (Davis, 2008, pp. 68-70). McCall has nevertheless, continued to argue that traditional categories such as gender and
ethnicity are of great importance and must be researched and discussed. However, these categories do not determine the complexity of an individual’s day-to-day life of the social group being studied as they do not take the interaction of class, race and gender into account in their analysis (McCall, 2005, p. 1782)

In an article conducted by Parent, DeBlaere and Moradi, the authors note that multiple minority identities and their impact on individuals can be employed and captured in three approaches which include the additive, multiplicative/interactionist and intersectionality perspective. It has been proposed that each of these perspectives can be utilised to explain how multiple identities may be experienced. The additive perspective derives from the experiences of ethnic minorities, African American women in particular. This perspective refers to the independency of minority identity statuses such as ethnicity and gender. Though, when combined additively, they shape a person’s experiences. The term “double jeopardy” has been utilised by researchers to describe the additive effect. The multiplicative/interactionist perspective does similarly to the additive perspective recognise the distinct nature of various categories of identity. That is, their ability to be conceptualised as separate dimensions in study terms, however, according to the multiplicative/interactionist perspective these identities function multiplicatively where one minority status or related experience aggravates the effects of another. In contrast to the additive and the multiplicative/interactionist perspective, the intersectionality perspective suggests that multiple identities result in the construction of “new” experiences that are different and distinct that cannot be detached into their separate or component identities or experiences (Parent, et al., 2013, p. 640).

This overview of intersectionality as well as the additive, multiplicative/interactionist and the intersectional perspective suggests that it is vital to have an understanding of the traditional categorisation of identities and how these categories function together in an individual’s complex lived experience. As Prins notes, intersectionality is important to utilise as a theory as it constitute a critical alternative to identity politics as it takes into account differences within groups and not merely between groups. Thus, Prins proposed that categories such as gender, ethnicity and class can numerous be re-constructed depending on social, historical and symbolic factors (Prins, 2006, pp. 288-289).

5.2 A Critique of Intersectionality as a Framework or Theory

The conceptualisation of intersectionality has been met with critical acclaim from many researchers. For instance, in his text, McCall claims that intersectionality is “the most important theoretical contribution that woman’s studies, in conjunction with related fields, has made so far” (McCall, 2005, p. 1771). Though it has been regarded as the leading innovation in contemporary feminist theory, theorists have found many aspects about intersectionality to contend, one being the ambiguities that has emerged concerning intersectionality as some suggest that it should be regarded as a framework/theory, whilst other view intersectionality as a concept or heuristic device. There are even others who still consider it to be a reading strategy for feminist analysis. Debates relating to whether intersectionality should be conceptualised as an “axes” of difference, a crossroad or a dynamic process have also emerged. Scholars are in a continuing debate regarding whether intersectionality ought to be restricted to an in-depth
understanding of an individual’s experiences, to a theorisation of an individual’s identity or if intersectionality ought to be related to social structures and cultural discourses (Davis, 2008, pp. 68-69).

Furthermore, another aspect of intersectionality that has been criticised is the use of categories. Intersectionality was originally conceptualised to highlight the fluidity of identity and thus demolish the exclusivity that oftentimes is inherit in the act of categorisation. However, the use of black women as an example to demonstrate their fluidity within the race and gender categories and the insufficiency of categories has resulted in the conception that a black woman’s identity solely is constituted by race and gender, which excludes the impact that for instance class, sexuality or nationality might have on a black woman’s experiences (Nash, 2008, p. 7). The emphasis that is put on black women’s experiences of oppression and prejudice when demonstrating intersectionality has also raised questions of whether all identities could be intersectional or if only persons with multiple marginalised identities has an intersectional identity. This has resulted in theoretical disagreement on whether intersectionality is a general theory of identity or if it is a theory of marginalisation (Nash, 2008, p. 10).

Though there are many challenges that comes with the usage of intersectionality, scholars, have paradoxically argued that the challenges, in terms of the vagueness of intersectionality, “may be the very secret to its success” (Davis, 2008, p. 69). As a framework, intersectionality could be very fruitful as it questions homogeneity of identities and generalisability of experiences. In this paper, the researcher’s standpoint on intersectionality as a framework is similar to that of Warner and Shields who suggest that intersectionality is applicable to all identities and that the notion of an intersectional position that only experiences privilege or oppression is non-existent (Warner & Shields, 2013, pp. 807-804). The researchers will therefore utilise intersectionality as means to analyse how multiple marginalised identities may result in the construction of unique experiences of a woman of colour in the Swedish sex industry.

5.3 Prostitution
The definition of prostitution by Swedish standards is described as: “When at least two parties buy or sell sexual services for compensation (usually economically); which constitutes a prerequisite for the sexual service” (Mujaj & Netscher, 2015, p. 15).

5.4 Racism
In this paper, racism is defined as a theory which places races in a hierarchy where the race that is considered to be superior ought to dominate the races that are considered as inferior. Racism can also be defined as negative attitudes towards another ethnic groups and as a violent aggression directed against a social group (UNESCO, 2017). It is however important to note that racism is also institutional. As detailed by Giddens and Sutton, racism permeates all social structures. Meaning, institutional racism is systematic, it does therefore not necessarily have a distinguishable offender. This is caused by the fact that institutions such as the healthcare system, police force and educational system through law, customs and practices benefits groups of people that are considered to be superior and discriminates against groups that are viewed as inferior (Giddens & Sutton, 2013, p. 442).
5.5 Exotification/Othering
The researcher’s standpoint on exotification and othering is similar to that of Root and Said. Edward Said argues that, othering is when European or Western cultures are regarded as normal in comparison to the cultures and lives of other people that are viewed as abnormal or “other” (Williams, et al., 2014, p. 28). In the article *Cannibal culture: art, appropriation & the commodification of difference*, author Root argues that exotification can also be defined as a form of cannibalism, where cultures that are regarded as different to western cultures become appealing and desirable objects as they represent an escapism from their reality. Exotification according to Root, can be viewed as a process of fragmentation, which is problematic as there are particular individuals who determine which fragments of the culture that are of interest or considered to be questionable or taboo. This, subsequently, results in that fragments of a culture have come to represent the whole, as these qualities then are projected onto other persons in order to access them. Root further argues that the exotification of cultures can be viewed in terms of “tropes” where violence, primitiveness, savageness, sublime, passivity and timelessness are the dominant ones (Root, 1996, p. 1).

5.6 Misogyny
In this paper, the definition of misogyny is similar to that of the Oxford Dictionary of Sociology which argues that misogyny is the literal hatred of women. That is, a hatred that has been organised, institutionalised and normalised in society. A practice is considered to be misogynistic when it degrades, constraints and oppresses women. According to the Dictionary of Sociology, existing patriarchal power has resulted in a sexist society where politics that are inherently misogynistic have resulted in women’s oppression in both the private realm such as infant care in the household and within social institutions such as the education- and class system. According to this definition, it is also argued that misogyny is correlated to men’s sexual violence that is subjected to women. In this paper, the cultural practice of prostitution is argued to be misogynistic as it degrades women and put women in situations where they are vulnerable to violence (Scott, 2015).
6. Results and Analysis
This section examines different factors that affect a black woman’s experiences being prostituted in the Swedish sex industry, and how she described these experiences. This section commences with a review of the case study and the respondent’s experiences in comparison to the abovementioned literary review of intersectionality and prostitution. Furthermore, this section also provides an intersectional analysis of the respondent’s experiences in correlation to the literary review.

6.1 A Description of the Respondent’s Life
The respondent in this case study was born in 1985 in the slum of Cali, Colombia. In 1986, one and a half year later, she was adopted and moved to Sweden. Due to her short time-period in Colombia as a baby, and her little experience of the culture and language in the country, she did not keep any of these cultural aspects when moving to Sweden.

At thirteen years old, she experienced her first sexual experience, with a five-year older boy. After the occurrence, the boy started to tell people what they had experienced together which led to the respondent receiving a lot of comments, harassment as well as bullying. This resulted in her self-esteem being completely crushed. During the summer when she turned fourteen, she was raped and the little perception that she had left of what was hers and what should have been hers, was gone. Following this incident, the respondent spent a lot of time at the place of a woman living close to her school and was, later on, pressured to pay rent. The woman did not ask to receive the money from the respondent’s parents, but came to the conclusion that the respondent had to sell her body in order to earn money for rent. Consequently, the initial occurrence of the respondent selling her body for money was under a kind of coercion of guilt. Following this, the respondent clarified that she did not want to practice selling sexual services again. This was, nevertheless, not an option since the woman started to threaten her, declaring that she would expose her to everyone. Due to these threats, the respondent felt forced to get in to the prostitution scene. The respondent detailed that her experiences of selling sex became her “own terrible everyday life”.

During her time in the Swedish sex industry, the respondent only encountered male customers and have worked independently, with pimps and on a brothel. Some of the pimps were more violent than others. However, when the drugs came into the picture, the relation to the pimps changed to being different and simpler. Due to the drug addiction, the respondent felt as if she had a goal. She wanted to earn money for drugs and create a new reality for herself.

In 2008, following a near-death experience in the industry, the respondent decided to quit. She felt disappointed in herself and in her life. She recognised how people in her surroundings studied or had a job with a safe income. She believed that she had been lucky and had to stop working as a prostitute before worse things would happen. She felt fortunate that she had never had to experience being stabbed, or having a stroke due to extensive violence and realised that, even though, she had been through considerably much, she could still turn her life around. This led to her getting out of her drug addiction and leaving the frequent work in the sex industry.
The respondent received an education and only continued to work for customers when she had financial troubles. In 2015, she quit working with everything regarding sexual services.

6.2 Misogyny
Throughout the interview, the respondent presented misogyny and patriarchal structures as very significant aspects for the industry to keep going. She stated that “the entire industry is based on misogyny [...] were they [men] take advantage of a vulnerable situation”. According to her experience this is an issue that, perhaps, can be identified as a male problem, which is consistent to the white male hegemony which is discussed in the previous research section (Razack, 1998, p.340). The respondent experienced different types of belittling and power structures based on difference of the origin of the customer. There were, however, a common ground where the customers often showed little or no respect towards her body or feelings and where “it was very clear that… I was not worth anything”. The global issue that this is constituting where white men or white-passing men bought her, she thought, might be based on men’s “conception of themselves, in their identity and culture [...] where they imagine themselves as dominant”. As in the previous research, Razack explores how prostitution is securing the hegemonic masculinity that “stabilizes a structure of dominance” (Razack, 1998, p.339). According to the respondent's experience of selling sex to men “it was almost as if they felt that they had won [...] and that, if anything, is misogyny... and a stereotypic thought that men, somehow, win when they penetrate a woman”. The dominance and lack of respect towards women is also understood in a quote by the respondent where she states that:

Absolutely a majority of those I have had, have been white men who, without any guilt and shame, bought sex and committed gross abuse. And this is a group that is not ashamed of the fact that they are exercising this violence on this other group [black women] of people whose rights are being violated.

The examined case reveals consistency with the theme of violence in the section of previous research. There, it is mentioned that prostitution is a form of violence where women are used for sexual intentions (Razack, 1998, p. 340). During her time in the Swedish sex industry she encountered sexual violence many a time, which she believed to be connected to misogyny since the entire sex industry is based on that. The violence was expressed in physical harm but also verbally. The violent was utilised by the customer to ensure his dominance. The respondent also expressed situations where the man felt that his urge to get what he needed and to diminish the woman by using violence was more important than the life of the woman that he bought to abuse and practise these things on. On this note, the respondent also explained the sexist stereotypes against women that were explained to her and how men felt the need to buy her since “those stuck-up bitches at the pub are just fooling you and they feel deceived. They feel that they are… they should get laid and they are not…” Sexist comments that the respondent heard, she explained, were all based on negative stereotypes saying that “women are not very bright, liars [...] and generally stupid”. There are similarities with previous research since, as explained above, one group of people is expecting something from another, based on negative stereotypes (Natividad Gutiérrez Chong, 2014, pp. 199-200). This is what seems to be occurring between men and women in this situation, where women are expected to represent the negative
sexist stereotypes. Furthermore, the sexist comments can also be seen as another way for the man to secure the patriarchal power structures, where diminishing the woman can help putting her in a subordinate position (Razack, 1998, p.339).

The belittling, above mentioned, was a re-occurring theme in the interview since, according to the respondent, men use this as a mechanism to break down the sex worker, so that she may feel as if she is drowning in her own shame and guilt. Customers were treating her like as if she was not good for anything, and that she was lucky to have a job in the sex industry. Another mechanism that was explained by the respondent, that entails belittling but in a different way is described as: “But then, above all, they raise your self-esteem in one second but only to the level where they can continue to take advantage of you.” The belittling experiences in the sex industry can be connected to the previously mentioned domination and subordination. Hierarchies in the sex industry is essential for the sustainment of prostitution and is an aspect that is brought up both in previous research and in the conducted interview (Razack, 1998, p.340).

Lastly, according to the previous research and the empirical data gathered it seems as if the misogyny is an issue that follows the sex industry and overall society in many parts of the world, including Sweden. “I see the misogyny in everything that they do and I also see the misogyny in the structures that actually don’t help women.” Based on this quote, the misogyny is not only an issue when it comes to the climate in the sex industry, but also a problem in the entire Swedish society and its social structures.

6.3 Exotification

The respondents case appears to be consistent with the already established research on prostitution, racism and sexism. In the abovementioned articles conducted by Natividad Gutiérrez Chong, the author argues that male customers oftentimes are aware of the ethnicity and race of the woman they are purchasing and that a woman’s ethnicity and race is a factor that they have in mind when selecting their preferred woman as they wish to experience an “exotic” woman (Natividad Gutiérrez Chong, 2014, pp. 199-200). This notion is echoed in the article conducted by Melissa Farley who continues to argue that the purchase due to appearances is based on ethnic stereotyping, which overtime has resulted in the view of Black women as an “hypersexual” and “exotic” other (Farley, 2003, p. 254). This is evidenced in the conducted interview as the respondent expressed that:

The customers that came to me, partly to appraise me, not in terms of human value but in terms of the value they acquired through the purchase of a black woman. Black people become so… you become non-human.

The respondent continued to describe that she often experienced feeling dehumanised yet also “magical” due to the colour of her skin. She compared this experience of hearing comments in much the same way as if a person were to stroke their hand on a car. It was for instance, not unusual for the respondent to hear comments such as: “I have never tried a black one before” or “wow! Your labia are pink!”. Furthermore, the respondent continued to detail her experience
of exotification from white men as “specific and verbal” as the respondents continuously were posed questions such as “can I touch you?” or “how does it feel?” The latter question was nevertheless more directed towards the customers themselves.

It is important to note that the view of women as “hypersexual” and “exotic” has had an immense impact on their experiences in the commercial sex industry. As argued in the literary review by the authors Vednita Carter and Evelina Giobbe, this depiction of black women is harmful as it sends an implicit message to black women that this is who they are, how it is and what black women are here for. This existing sexualised image of black women is also, according to Carter and Giobbe continuously perpetrated by white men as an excuse for their continued sexual exploitation (Carter & Giobbe, 1999, pp. 40-43). As expressed by the respondent: “When you are in this profession, there is already a sexualisation surrounding you” and due to the fact that the respondent was a black woman, this sexualisation intensified because of the existing representation of black women in media.

During the interview, the respondent also pointed out that she has never experienced having skinheads or other right-wing extremists as customers, but she did also not have the experience of anti-racist customers. Thus, as argued in other research, on the basis of the respondent’s experiences, it could be argued that racism is inherent in prostitution. The respondent continued to detail her experiences with racist customers. During the interview, she stated that: “there would be... very racist opinions that they [the customers] wanted to ventilate and get validated by me, because I was supposed to sit and agree”.

Furthermore, the respondent also experienced that many of the racist comments expressed to the respondent from customers was against other racialized or ethicised groups. It was not uncommon for the respondent to hears comments such as: “you are a lot prettier than those other eastern girls and they have a lot of diseases”. There were also derogatory comments expressed to black people, one being that black people are sluggish. However, when customers express racist and derogatory comments about black people, the respondent would always be the exception. She became the “other”, someone who belongs to the people who the customer perceives to be primitive and monstrous, yet she is different enough to justify male customers desire and wishes of experiencing and purchasing an exotic girl.

6.4 Racialized Violence and Class
During the interview conducted, the respondent stated that due to her skin colour, she became racialized and thus subjected to verbal violence in the form of racist, derogatory terms. It was for instance, not unusual for the respondent to be called “N-word whore”. The respondent pointed out that she in the beginning did not comprehend that such derogatory terms should not be uttered during any form of sexual intercourse. She stated that: “whether you have met the guy at a bar or if that guy is a customer, you have the right to not hear it”. The respondent continued to detail how she, in her adds, never wrote that it was acceptable for the customers to call her whatever they wanted, she expressed that: “the customers took for granted that it was okay, or also that… that it was not okay… [but] that I deserved to hear those words”. This experience detailed by the respondent is consistent with the abovementioned literary review
where author and researcher Natividad Gutiérrez Chong, in her article, argued that ethicised and racialized people are vulnerable to all forms of violence when in prostitution (Natividad Gutiérrez Chong, 2014, pp. 199-200). This notion is also mentioned in the article conducted by Razack who claimed that men are making use of violence in order to understand and secure their own identity. With the use of violence, men are able to objectify women for their own identity, which means that the women oftentimes are dehumanised for the enjoyable experience of men (Razack, 1998, p. 353).

The dehumanisation that occurs with the purchase of women is disadvantageous, especially for women of colour. This is caused by the fact that the sex industry, as argued by Razack is not only about gender, but also class and race. This places people in different positions in the hierarchy of prostitution where poor, racialized women oftentimes are placed at the bottom and therefore experience increased amounts of violence. The violence of men is commonly directed towards the women at the bottom of the social scale (Razack, 1998, pp. 340-353). However, as evidenced by the respondent’s experiences, her experience of racialized violence was intensified with the increase of her purchasing price. During this period, the respondent detail experiences of more sadistic clients and more violent, racist words such as: “your black bitch” directed towards her. The respondent continued to detail her feeling of subordination especially in the presence of wealthy men, as she felt that she was placed at a lower position in comparison to men on the social scale due to her gender and because of the colour of her skin, she described being in an even lower position on the social scale. The respondents stated that: “I could not do anything. I was, I mean… a goose in their judgement”

Furthermore, another experience of racialized violence that the respondent detailed was when she went on an “outcall”. An outcall is when a woman that is being prostituted come to the home of the customer as opposed to when a customer goes to them. The respondent described:

It was a customer that had called. He was… he sounded like a nice person. The area I was going to, I was told by my maid1, because I was not from there, that it was a very nice area, you need not worry. So, I went, but I did not expect that they would be two […] it became quite violent immediately […] I would not say that it was like twisting the neck of a deer […] but they discussed, in a rather sociopathic way how worthy it would be to let me live and it is a conversation that I overhear somewhere as I am lying on the floor and they decide that I was … I was really just ‘a black slut’. […] to them, it would not have mattered like that’s it, [we] can let her live, ‘it would be a bit more troublesome if we kill her’.

The respondent’s experience of an outcall is in accordance to other research where the interconnection of race, gender and class creates different dimensions of oppression where

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1 According to the respondent, the maid is a woman working at a brothel who is responsible for answering phone calls and assisting the women in the brothel.
domination is at core which has an immense effect on the lives of black women (Sloan & Wahab, 2000, p. 465). Thus, as Natividad Gutiérrez Chong points out in her article, the submissive role of, in this case, the respondent’s racial, gender, as well as socio-economic status were factors that contributed to the use of violence for the customers to secure their male dominance (Natividad Gutiérrez Chong, 2014, p. 208).

6.5 Age and Physique
In the literary review, it was found that customers oftentimes utilise violence as a means to secure domination (Razack, 1998, p. 353). This, violence is according to the literary review based on racism, sexism and class, which is evident in the respondent’s case. However, another theme discovered from the conducted interview that also cannot be found in the previous research conducted by the researchers, is the theme of age and physique. That is, how the respondent’s age and physique contributed to the violence and belittling she was subjected to. During the interview, the respondent expressed that: “when you were younger, it [the violence] had to do with age more”. Thus, the respondent was not merely exposed to a violence that bases itself upon race, exotification, misogyny and class, but also her age. In the interview, the respondent also detailed how the customers were very aware of the fact that she was a very young woman and that her young age was a reasoning behind their purchase of her. The respondent stated that “I was a child and therefrom, you [the customer] could get this, I believe power you have over a child”. The young age of the respondent did also contribute to her submissiveness as she, as a “child” was expected to be obedient to the customers. Furthermore, during the interview, the respondent detailed the difficulty she had to control a violent situation due to her age as well as her physique, as she stated that:

The violence that I have experienced has […] especially when I was younger. The less I could influence the situation in any way. I was also not cocky when I weighed 60 kilos […] 60 kilos and going against someone that weighed 120 kilos that had decided to be violent.

Thus, the violent occurrences were also often connected to the respondent’s age and small physique, where the customer often also could ensure his dominance by age and physique. In the respondent’s case, due to the fact that she was petite and young, she felt that she was less able to influence the situation, which was advantageous to the clients as they because of their older age and physique had a power over the respondent. A power similar to that a parent has over their child, which the men could utilise as a tool to fulfil their sexual satisfaction (Razack, 1998, p. 353)

6.6 An Intersectional Analysis of the Respondent’s Experiences
This section of the chapter provides an intersectional analysis to the respondent’s experiences within prostitution in correlation to the literary review and the respondent’s identities and the effect the intersection of these identities has had on her, and how they explain her experiences within the Swedish sex industry.

The respondent’s experience can be explained by using intersectionality. As previously mentioned, intersectionality as an analytical framework, proposes that multiple identities that
are carried by one person intersects and affects the person’s experiences (Atewologun, 2014, p. 280). In this case, when the respondent initially became prostituted, she was young, black and female. The respondent therefore had multiple independent identities that affected her experience in prostitution.

In society, women have for centuries oftentimes been put in a subordinate position compared to men. This vulnerability of being subordinate to men is correlated to the respondent’s experience in the sex industry as her customers were all of the opposite sex. It is important to note that the subordination of women due to gender and the violence that it often brings is not a new phenomenon - it is a situation that women of all colours can experience in the sex industry. It is nevertheless, important to highlight all the vulnerabilities that the respondent faced due to her different identities and how these various identities gave rise to a distinct experience in prostitution. As abovementioned, the customers make use of violence and belittling as a tool to secure domination and obtain their sexual satisfaction (Razack, 1998, p. 353). In the respondent’s case, she encountered violence and belittling based on misogyny many times during her time in the sex industry. She also experienced negative comments and stereotypes based on her gender. However, due to her young age, the respondent was in an even more vulnerable position. As previously mentioned, the men did not only want to ensure their dominance by gender, but also by age. This notion was evidenced by the respondent during the interview who expressed that when she was younger, the violence she faced was a result of her age. The respondent also detailed the difficulty in controlling a violent situation when she was young and small as the respondent being a young woman weighing 60 kilos could not combat a customer who weighed 120 kilos and who had become violent. Thus, through the purchase of a younger, petit girl – the respondent, the customers were in a greater advantage. As found in the results, the respondent also expressed that the men were “not ashamed of the fact that they are exercising this violence on this other group [black women] of people whose rights are being violated”. The customers did not seem to care that they choose to exploit someone who were already discriminated due to her multiple identities, which all were factors that placed her in a vulnerable position in the Swedish sex industry.

The intersection of being a black female prostitute does also, according to the abovementioned section on violence in the literary review, position women in prostitution even further down in the hierarchy (Razack, 1998, p. 340). In the respondent’s case, the fact that the she was black, and a woman resulted in the experience of vulnerability to all forms of violence including verbal, racial derogatory terms such as “N-word whore” and “your black bitch” in combination with the physical violence that men utilise as a means to objectify and dehumanise women for their own identity (Razack, 1998, p. 353). Thus, due to the respondent’s multiple identities as a young, black woman, her experiences within prostitution was shaped differently to the experiences of other persons in the industry who are not racialized as the respondent was not only subjected to violence based on her gender. Customers did not verbally abuse her by only calling her a “whore”, she was a “N-word whore”. The colour of the respondent’s skin became a distinctive feature and therefore another means of violence utilised by the customers. The respondent was therefore a victim of two different forms of violence, one that bases itself upon gender, and another on race. These intersecting identities are revealed to be disadvantageous
because of the dehumanisation and disrespect it is creating in the setting of the Swedish sex industry.

As found in the literary review, the historical representation of black women has resulted in a stereotypical image of a racial as well as “hypersexual other” (Carter & Giobbe, 1999, p. 40). This image is also constantly perpetuated by white men as an excuse for their continued sexual exploitation of black women (Carter & Giobbe, 1999, p. 43). In the respondent’s case, by being black, the white men in Sweden did also find her interesting, as she was commonly exotified and objectified as she was described as being magical and subjected to comments such as: “I have never tried a black one before”. The dehumanisation that follows the exotification and representation of black women, is thereby also a contributing factor to further vulnerability for the respondent. The fact that she never experienced having anti-racist customers and with the knowledge of the customers choosing her based on racialisation or ethnicity is further proof of her ethnic identity playing a major part in her experience of being prostituted.

When analysing a black woman’s experiences being prostituted, it is important to also consider the aspect of class and economic violence. In this case, the respondent experienced an increased amount of sadistic, violent clients with the increase of her purchasing price. The increase in purchasing price did also come with wealthier clients. In the respondent’s case, she was not only vulnerable to violence due to her age, the colour of her skin and her gender but also because of her class. The combination of the respondent’s race, age, gender and economic status in relation to the customers placed her in a lower position in a “hierarchy of prostitution” (Razack, 1998, p. 340). The abovementioned experience the respondent had during an outcall is a perfect example of how her multiple identities and the violence that it often brings, almost resulted in her death. As detailed above, the respondent’s experience during the outcall quickly turned violent. The customers were also in a rather sociopathic manner discussing if it is worth to let her live. To them, murdering her would not have mattered, it would have merely been troublesome as the respondent was simply a “black slut” in the eyes of her much wealthier customers. Thus, the respondent’s submissive role in terms of her racial, gender and socio-economic status were as Natividad Gutiérrez Chong argues, factors that contributed to the use of violence for the male customers to secure their dominance (Natividad Gutiérrez Chong, 2014, p. 209).

The current case study illuminates the violence as well as the power structures that are embedded within prostitution. In the abovementioned article conducted by Melissa Farley, it is argued that the mere purchase of another person can through social and economic power, result in a formalisation of a woman’s subordination by gender, race and class where women are turned into objects and exposed to gross violations (Farley, 2003, p. 263). Thus, as evidenced by the respondent who expressed that: “because of the fact that the act [of prostitution] is misogynistic and racist, that is the violence you will face”. That is, a racialized and sexualised violence that is justified through economic and social power. Due to the respondent’s multiple marginalised identities as a young, black woman, whose economic status was low in relation to her customers, her experiences in prostitution can be explained with the use of the aforementioned intersectionality approach. The intersectionality approach suggests that
multiple identities result in the construction of “new experiences” that are different and distinct, and which also cannot be detached into their separate or component identities or experiences (Parent, et al., 2013, p. 640). Thus, according to intersectionality as an approach, the combination of the respondent’s age, race, gender and class status created a unique and different experience, as the respondent were exposed to a violence that bases itself on a mixture of her multiple identities of age, race, gender and class and not on one single, independent category. factors that lowered her position in the hierarchy of prostitution. This also increased her vulnerability as the violence, aggression and fantasies of men commonly are directed towards the women at the bottom of the hierarchal scale, as a means to secure their dominance, instead of their families or friends (Razack, 1998, p. 363).

With the use of intersectionality as an analytical framework, the unilateral power within the practise of prostitution has also been highlighted (Atewologun, 2014, p. 280; Davis, 2008, p. 68). That is, how the interaction of the respondent’s race, gender, class, age and physique when she was in prostitution, resulted in a transformation of her power in relation to her customers (Davis, 2008, pp. 68-70). The respondent was due to her multiple marginalised identities, placed at the bottom of the hierarchy of prostitution. The low status of the respondent did simultaneously transform and increase the power the customers had, as the mere purchase of the respondent resulted in her subordination and in the social and economic power, and therefore, domination of the customers. The power of the customers did also expand due to the hegemonic masculinity inherit in prostitution (Razack, 1998, p. 339), which places men in a dominant position as women are regarded as more submissive. If the customers were white men, it further increased their power as the respondent, in the context of white, male hegemony, was placed in an inferior position due to the colour of her skin. Lastly, as discovered in the interview conducted, the age of the customers and their physique in comparison to the respondent did also amplify the power held over the her as she, because of her young age and small physique, felt that she was less able to influence the situation. This gave the customers a power similar to that a parent has over their child. Thus, the customers had a unilateral power over the respondent as result of her multiple marginalised identities which placed her at the bottom of the hierarchy of prostitution.
7. Concluding Discussion

This qualitative case study examined the experiences of a black woman who had previously been prostituted in the Swedish sex industry. The results were based on both a semi-structured interview as well as previously written research on the subject. This data was compared in order to create new knowledge of the factors which affects a black woman’s experiences and how these were described. With this as a starting point, the data was then analysed to enrich the discussion of intersecting identities of the women working in the Swedish sex industry. This subject was explored due to the fact that there are not a lot of research of the subject based in the Swedish context, which the researchers aimed to highlight. Though this study has generated deeper knowledge on the interplay of multiple identities of a woman’s experiences in the sex industry, it did also have its limitations.

7.1 Limitations

Although the researchers in this study aimed to create a thorough understanding as well as highlighting the intersectionality of the respondent and her experiences, the data cannot be generalised. There are limitations in the method due to only having one respondent. Additional respondents might have had even more multiple identities which intersected and different experiences and characteristics which affects the results of the study. Due to the sensitive nature of the subject, it was, however, hard to find respondents to fit the criteria and who wanted to take part in an interview as the subject might be very difficult to talk about due to trauma and violent experiences. When using other methods, such as a questionnaire, the even further anonymity might have led to more respondents in the study. A questionnaire can, however, not go as in-depth as an interview, which was the aim of this study and the reason for choosing to use a semi-structured interview. The qualitative case study, did only aim to explore the perspective of the woman working in prostitution and did not acquire any data or intel by the people buying sex. A versatile image of the issue was, therefore, not presented in this study. Further versatility could have been studied if the factors of getting in and out of prostitution were also included in the aim of the study. This was considered by the researchers who came to the conclusion of focusing on the factors within the industry. A description of the case was, nevertheless, included in order for the reader to develop a further understanding of the respondent. Another factor that may have limited the study was the researchers’ inexperience of conducting an interview. In other studies, the researchers might use a pilot study in order to practise and make sure that all relevant questions are asked. This was, nevertheless, not an option since, as mentioned above, the shown interest by respondents was very limited.

7.2 Future Research

Interviewing, collecting and analysing the respondent’s experience within prostitution has proven to be an effective strategy in studying intersectionality within prostitution. The use of this methodology has enabled the researchers to provide the readers with a deeper perspective of a woman who has been made invisible in society and how her intersectional identities have affected her experiences within prostitution. Use of a case study as methodology has as abovementioned, come with limitations as it is not generalizable across Sweden or internationally. Thus, in future research, especially in terms of acquiring national data, it would be beneficial if a qualitative research on intersectionality in prostitution was made with a larger
selection of respondents and with women of various ethnicities in order to compare their experiences and generate shared and differing characteristics of their experiences within prostitution. Furthermore, this research has focused on a black woman’s experiences of oppression, prejudice and violence when demonstrating intersectionality in prostitution and due to the fact that intersectionality has been criticised for focusing on the intersectional identities of persons with multiple marginalised identities, it would be beneficial if additional research on intersectionality in prostitution focused on power structures and the intersecting identities of persons with multiple dominant identities. Additional research is therefore needed from the perspective of men who purchase sex and how their intersectional identities as for instance male, white, rich, poor and so forth may impact their behaviour and treatment of prostitutes.

7.3 Summary
The purpose of this study was to analyse the experiences of a black woman who has been prostituted in Sweden. With the use of intersectionality as an analytical framework, the researchers aimed to provide knowledge on how the intersection of race, misogyny, exotification, age and physique have given rise to distinct experiences of violence and vulnerability in women who are being prostituted. The ambition of this study was also to provide knowledge on factors that affect a black woman’s experience in prostitution, how these experiences are described and what identities and how identities can be used to describe these experiences.

Prostitution is a sensitive topic to research due to the stigmatisation and traumatisation of the persons who are in or have been in prostitution. Thus, the difficulties in finding respondents resulted in the examination of one respondent’s experiences. The examination and analysis of this current case has given rise to an understanding of how social structures such as racism, class and sexism are embedded within prostitution. These social structures are in turn expressed through violence by customers who justifies this violence through economic and social power.

With the use of intersectionality as an analytical framework, this study argues that the respondent’s multiple marginalised identities as a young, black woman, whose economic status was low in relation to her customers, as well as factors such as age, physique, exotification and representation, resulted in a different kind of vulnerability in the respondent’s experiences within prostitution. This unique kind of vulnerability is caused by the fact that the respondent was not only a victim of sexualised violence but also racialized violence as well as violence that bases itself upon exotification, class and age. The violence and sexual exploitation of black women in prostitution has also been perpetuated by white men as an excuse because of the historical representation of black women. Thus, the respondent’s multiple marginalised identities placed her in a lower position in a “hierarchy of prostitution”, and as the violence of men commonly is directed towards the women at the bottom of the hierarchal scale, the respondent’s low position increased her vulnerability.

Lastly, this case study has contributed to a deeper understanding of the experiences of a black woman in prostitution. This study has also provided knowledge on the violence that women in prostitution face. With the use of intersectionality as an analytical framework, this paper does
also provide insight on the prevention efforts needed to combat prostitution as it not only focuses on one particular aspect but also on how all aspects such as poverty, gender inequality and race discrimination need to be eradicated in order to eliminate prostitution.
References


Available at: https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article18651468.ab [Accessed 4 April 2018].


Hej!
Vi heter Mary och Matilda och är två forskare från Jönköping University. Vi är 21 år och studerar sista året på programmet Internationellt arbete och ska nu skriva vår C-uppsats. Syftet med vår uppsats är att studera och analysera kvinnors erfarenheter och upplevelser som etnisk minoritet i den svenska sexindustrin.
Om du är intresserad av att medverka kommer du att få skriva under ett samtyckesformulär där du ger ditt samtycke till medverkan.

Vi hoppas att du skulle vilja dela med dig av dina erfarenheter till oss.
Med Vänliga Hälsningar
Mary Bagenda och Matilda Rizkallah
Appendix 2 Interview Guide (English)

Background:
- Age (How old are you?)
- Ethnic background (Tell us about your ethnic background? Are you born in Sweden?)
- Childhood (Where did you grow up?)

Experiences in the industry:
- Why did you become a prostitute? How did it begin?
- How long did you work as a prostitute?
- Could you describe your experiences working in the sex industry?
  - Do you have any examples?
  - You stated that …… could you elaborate?
  - Do I understand you correctly when you say that…?
- Were there only male customers?
- Why do you think customers came to you instead of anyone else?
  - Do you have any examples?
  - You stated that …… could you elaborate?
  - Do I understand you correctly when you say that…?
- Did you experience feeling protected, in terms of police and other authorities?
  - In what way?
  - Do you have any examples?
  - You stated that …… could you elaborate?
  - Do I understand you correctly when you say that…?
- Did you think there are any misconceptions about prostitution?
  - Do you have any examples?
  - You stated that …… could you elaborate?
  - Do I understand you correctly when you say that…?
- When did you stop working as a prostitute? How did it end?

Misogyny:
- Did you ever experience belittling from a customer?
  - In what way?
  - Do you have any examples?
  - You stated that …… could you elaborate?
  - Do I understand you correctly when you say that…?
- Did you experience any violent or hostile situations?
  - If yes, do you believe it has anything to do with your sex?
    - In what way?
    - Do you have any examples?
    - You stated that …… could you elaborate?
    - Do I understand you correctly when you say that…?
• Were there any situations that made you feel uncomfortable or that you believe is connected to misogyny?
  o In what way?
  o Do you have any examples?
  o You stated that …… could you elaborate?
  o Do I understand you correctly when you say that…?
• Did you ever hear any sexist comments?
  o In what way?
  o Do you have any examples?
  o You stated that …… could you elaborate?
  o Do I understand you correctly when you say that…?
• In today’s society women are often norms and stereotypes that situated men in superior position to women and people of color.
  o As a woman, did you experience that these norms and stereotypes were practiced by customers?
    ▪ Did you experience feeling being inferior due to your sex?
    ▪ In what way?
    ▪ Do you have any examples?
    ▪ You stated that …… could you elaborate?
    ▪ Do I understand you correctly when you say that…?

Racism and Exotification:
• How did you experience to be (ethnicity) and a prostitute?
  o In what way?
  o Do you have any examples?
  o You stated that …… could you elaborate?
  o Do I understand you correctly when you say that…?
• Did you experience any violent or hostile situations?
  o If yes, do you believe it has anything to do with racism and ethnic background?
    ▪ In what way?
    ▪ Do you have any examples?
    ▪ You stated that …… could you elaborate?
    ▪ Do I understand you correctly when you say that…?
• Were there any situations that made you feel uncomfortable or that you believe is connected to racism or exotification?
  o In what way?
  o Do you have any examples?
  o You stated that …… could you elaborate?
  o Do I understand you correctly when you say that…?
• Did you ever hear any racist comments?
  o In what way?
  o Do you have any examples?
o You stated that …… could you elaborate?
o Do I understand you correctly when you say that…?
• In today’s society women are often norms and stereotypes that situated men in superior position to women and people of colour.
o As a (ethnicity), did you experience that these norms and stereotypes were practiced by customers?
  ▪ Did you experience feeling being inferior due to ethnicity?
  ▪ In what way?
  ▪ Do you have any examples?
  ▪ You stated that …… could you elaborate?
  ▪ Do I understand you correctly when you say that…?

Further questions:
• What do you think needs to change about the current views on prostitution?
o In what way?
o Do you have any examples?
o You stated that …… could you elaborate?
o Do I understand you correctly when you say that…?
• Is there anything else you would like to add/say?
Appendix 3 Interview Guide (Swedish)

Bakgrund:
- Ålder (Hur gammal är du?)
- Etnisk bakgrund (Berätta om din etniska bakgrund? Är du född i Sverige?)
- Barndom (Vart växte du upp?)

Erfarenheter i industrin:
- Korrekt term - prostituerad/sex arbetare?
- Hur kommer det sig att be hamna i sex industrin? Hur började det?
- Hur länge blev du prostituerad?
- Kan du beskriva dina erfarenheter av att jobba inom sex industrin?
  - Har du några exempel?
  - Du sa att …… kan du utveckla?
  - Har jag uppfattat dig rätt när du sa…?
- Var det bara manliga kunder/klienter/köpare?
- Varför tror du att kunder/klienter/köpare kom till dig och inte någon annan?
  - Har du några exempel?
  - Du sa att …… kan du utveckla?
  - Har jag uppfattat dig rätt när du sa…?
- Upplevde du att du kände dig säker eller skyddad av polisen och andra myndigheter?
  - På vilket sätt?
  - Har du några exempel?
  - Du sa att …… kan du utveckla?
  - Har jag uppfattat dig rätt när du sa…?
- Tror du att det finns några missuppfattningar om prostitution?
  - Har du några exempel?
  - Du sa att …… kan du utveckla?
  - Har jag uppfattat dig rätt när du sa…?
- När slutade du arbeta som prostituerad? Hur slutade det?

Kvinnohat:
- Har du någonsin känt dig förminskad av en kund/klient/köpare?
  - På vilket sätt?
  - Har du några exempel?
  - Du sa att …… kan du utveckla?
  - Har jag uppfattat dig rätt när du sa…?
- Upplevde du någon våldsam eller fientlig situation?
  - Om ja, tror du att det har någonting att göra med ditt kön?
    - På vilket sätt?
    - Har du några exempel?
    - Du sa att …… kan du utveckla?
    - Har jag uppfattat dig rätt när du sa…?
• Var det några situationer som gjorde att du kände dig obekväm eller som du tror är kopplat till misogyny?
  o På vilket sätt?
  o Har du några exempel?
  o Du sa att …… kan du utveckla?
  o Har jag uppfattat dig rätt när du sa…?
• Fick du någonsin höra någon sexistisk kommentar?
  o På vilket sätt?
  o Har du några exempel?
  o Du sa att …… kan du utveckla?
  o Har jag uppfattat dig rätt när du sa…?
• I dagens samhälle finns det ofta normer och stereotyper som placerar män i en överlägsen position jämfört med kvinnor och POC
  o Som en kvinna, upplever du att dessa normer och stereotyper utövades av kunder/klienter/köpare?
    ▪ Upplevde du att du kände dig underlägsen pga. du är kvinna?
    ▪ På vilket sätt?
    ▪ Har du några exempel?
    ▪ Du sa att …… kan du utveckla?
    ▪ Har jag uppfattat dig rätt när du sa…?
Rasism och exotifiering:
• Hur var din upplevelse som (etnicitet) och prostituerad?
  o På vilket sätt?
  o Har du några exempel?
  o Du sa att …… kan du utveckla?
  o Har jag uppfattat dig rätt när du sa…?
• Upplevde du någon våldsam eller fientlig situation?
  o Om ja, tror du att det har någonting att göra med rasism eller din etnicitet?
    ▪ På vilket sätt?
    ▪ Har du några exempel?
    ▪ Du sa att …… kan du utveckla?
    ▪ Har jag uppfattat dig rätt när du sa…?
• Var det några situationer som gjorde att du kände dig obekväm eller som du tror är kopplat till racism eller exotifiering?
  o På vilket sätt?
  o Har du några exempel?
  o Du sa att …… kan du utveckla?
  o Har jag uppfattat dig rätt när du sa…?
• Fick du någonsin höra några rasistiska kommentarer?
  o På vilket sätt?
  o Har du några exempel?
  o Du sa att …… kan du utveckla?
I dagens samhälle finns det ofta normer och stereotyper som placerar män i en överläggen position jämfört med kvinnor och POC. Som en kvinna upplever du att dessa normer och stereotyper utövades av kunder/klienter/köpare?
- Upplevde du att du kände dig underlägen pga. din etnicitet?
- På vilket sätt?
- Har du några exempel?
- Du sa att ...... kan du utveckla?
- Har jag uppfattat dig rätt när du sa…?

Övriga frågor:
- Vad tror du behöver förändras angående synen på prostitution?
  - På vilket sätt?
  - Har du några exempel?
  - Du sa att ...... kan du utveckla?
  - Har jag uppfattat dig rätt när du sa…?
- Har du någonting att tillägga?