

BETWEEN DEMAND AND SUPPLY

A regional analysis of four country studies on the supply and demand for sex services and trafficking in Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia

Prepared for IOM by

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This report is based on four national reports produced in 2006 with in this research project:

Anna Balogi, Viktoria Sebhelyi, Endre Sik and Dóra Szegő
Report on the demand side of sexual services in Hungary

Gabriel Bianchi, Miroslav Popper and Ivan Lukšík:
Research in Slovakia with the objective to assess the demand side of prostitution in order to learn more of demand for trafficking for sexual exploitation

Zbigniew Izdebski:
National report on the demand side of trafficking and forced prostitution in Poland

Mojca Pajnik and Urša Kavčič:
The Demand Side of Sex: Perspectives on Trafficking and Prostitution
(The Case of Slovenia)

While performing the meta-analysis and designing the text of this report, elements of the particular national reports were used in the original or paraphrased form.

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FOREWORD

Since late 1980s, when trafficking in human beings started to receive increasing international attention, the research on the phenomenon has predominantly focused on the supply side, i.e. the many stages of the trafficking process itself. The researchers have assessed the recruitment of the victims, the routes and the *modi operandi* of the criminals, the ways of exploitation, the professional and family background of the victims, social conditions in their country of origin and other root causes and the dire consequences of trafficking for the victimized individuals. Such efforts have produced recommendations for improved legislation and practical action in prevention, assistance, protection and law enforcement, health and many other fields.

In the last years, such research conclusions and other policy-oriented documents, including the Palermo Protocol on Trafficking in Persons, and the report of the EC Experts Group on Trafficking in Human Beings (2004) have included prompting to research, and educational and cultural measures to “discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation of persons” (Palermo protocol, Art 9, point 5).

In 2003, IOM published a report entitled “Is Trafficking in human Beings Demand Driven?” by Bridget Anderson and Julia O’Connell Davidson, which remains one of the few studies – either by IOM or more broadly - that addresses the demand side of sexual exploitation and trafficking.

Inspired by recent recommendations, in 2004 IOM’s regional office in Budapest proposed to the EC AGIS programme a research project to examine the characteristics of the demand of male clients for prostitution services in Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia and Poland, with the aim of developing new tools to address trafficking in human beings. The present report is a result of this research effort.

Bridget Anderson and Julia O’Connell Davidson concluded in their study that supply and demand interact very closely in the sex sector, and each has implications for the other. Thus, not only is the demand creating supply, but the supply is generating much of the demand, which, in turn, is a complex “socially, culturally and historically determined matter”.

In order to better understand the demand, this IOM research project first aimed to obtain a thorough knowledge of the sex industry in the participating countries. This background assessment of the sex sector found exploitation and degrading conditions prevalent in the sex industry in Central Europe, with health risks, violence and drug abuse common.

Moreover, this study gives a multidimensional projection of the interaction between supply and demand, and the thinking and behavioural patterns of both prostitutes and clients in different segments of the market. Prostitution turns out to be all too common exit strategy from poverty in the studied countries; and very often this sex work involves exploita-

tion, violence and abuse of power by the organizers, all characteristics found in the UN definition of trafficking. Recommendations for preventive interventions are given.

Prostitution is in the focus of the study, but this report should not be seen to offer a commentary to the discussion on the decriminalization, regulation, or legalization of prostitution. European governments have taken varying approaches to the legal status of prostitution, believing to some extent that their choices provide positive means of mitigating trafficking. IOM aims to combat trafficking in persons, which is a crime and a human rights violation, and is a very different criminal justice issue than prostitution although many trafficked persons are exploited as prostitutes. More research is needed on the impact that different legislative approaches to prostitution have on trafficking in persons.

IOM Regional Mission in Budapest wishes to extend its sincere thanks to Dr Gabriel Bianchi from the Slovak Academy of Sciences, and to his colleagues Dr Miroslav Popper and Dr Ivan Lukšik for compiling this regional report on the basis of the four national reports, including their own; to the other three national research teams for carrying out the national studies; to Peace Institute in Ljubljana for investing additional funding for the Slovene national research, that enabled the Slovenian complementary survey; to the Polish Government for its generous support and co-hosting of the concluding Conference in Warsaw on 11-12 October 2006; and to the European Commission for the AGIS grant that made the regional research project possible.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents a regional synthesis of the results yielded by four national studies conducted in Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and Slovenia with the objective to assess the demand side of prostitution in order to learn more of the demand for trafficking for sexual exploitation, and on that basis, develop counter-trafficking tools.

For the national studies, a common methodology was agreed in order to increase the comparability in the subsequent meta-analysis of the national reports. The focus of the study was to assess the demand side of sex-work which is notoriously overlooked from a research perspective.

The agreed methodology included a scenario for in-depth interview (all countries) and focus groups (Slovakia) and a set of survey questions addressing male population (Hungary, Slovenia). Additional research data from a large sample of prostitutes, as well as from the general public, were available in Poland.

The sample for the qualitative research covered sex-workers, clients (and potential clients); experts and persons involved in the management of sex business, all together 92 participants in the four studied countries. The samples for the quantitative survey consisted of a total of 783 males. The data collection was performed between April-August 2006.

Based on the national reports, this summary report and analysis present a comprehensive image of the current situation in the supply and demand side of sex business.

Even though the four countries in focus have a similar history concerning their sex-work policies and all lie in the same geographical region that also has a common recent history of joining the EU, the comparative analysis shows several differences and distinct patterns concerning the relationship between supply and demand in sex business, but mainly in relation to the risks of trafficking for prostitution.

The synthesis of the results of the four national studies produced a list of the main problems concerning the current situation in the supply and demand side of sex business and trafficking: confused legal regulation of prostitution which makes prostitutes even more exploited and vulnerable, harsh conditions in street prostitution where substance-use is common, large groups of extremely disadvantaged women, often Roma drifting to prostitution as the seemingly only way for survival, large economic differences across-borders creating an amplified supply-demand environment, low chances for successfully quitting sex work, insufficient political will for the essential regulations and actions, as well as the globalized consumerism culture.

Despite the various specificities of sex business in the four countries (Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia) several common recommendations for all the four countries aiming at the improvement of the situation of prostitutes and at the same time reducing

the trafficking in persons could be raised. They concern basic issues, such as sexual education, prevention campaigns, and transformation of the most risky forms of prostitution into safer ones, clearer regulations for the police, witness protection, expert and public discussions concerning policies and politics, and further research activities.

LEGEND AND LIST OF ACRONYMS

These are mostly used in this report in the context of the qualitative analysis of the material gathered with the interviews of various groups of informants that were interviewed.

HU	Hungary
PL	Poland
SK	Slovakia
SLO	Slovenia
C	Client
P	Prostitute, sex worker
E	Expert (from an NGO, police, etc)
B	Business owner in the sex arena
M	Business manager in the sex arena
PP	Pimp
MP	Massage Parlour



1. INTRODUCTION

What is prostitution and trafficking?

In general, two competing discourses on prostitution may be identified according to Kirsten Pullen (2005): One, where the prostitute is seen as a victim, with a denied sexual agency, voice, place in history and identity, and another one, according to which the prostitute can speak for and from the margins. In other words, the prostitute has a dual position as a victim and as a radical. The ambivalence that is inherent in the definitions of prostitution can be illustrated by the implicit contradictions of this concept. The 'whore' is often constructed through contradictory terms: she is perceived simultaneously as dangerous and pathetic. She is relegated to the fringes of society but always threatens to infect the middle class; she is free from moral constraints but is always a criminal; she is young and attractive, but is always diseased or addicted; she has a particular wealth and luxury, but is always lower class; she freely enjoys sexual activity, but is always at the mercy of demanding customers and pimps. Additionally, according to Pullen (ibid), being a whore may allow women a space for agency; performance is a strategy by which they can expand their position and thus offer alternative narratives of female sexuality, as well as of a broader life experience.

It is not only that there is no common definition of prostitution, but, in fact, prostitution is not at all defined by such institutions as the UN or WHO. Prostitution is the subject of many documents and declaration of international bodies, but still lacks definition. Instead, narrow concepts expressing specific relationship of sex-work to human rights and violence are being defined, e. g. forced sex, sexual exploitation, forced pregnancy, etc. Therefore we may cite here the commonsense definition of prostitution from the wikipedia (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prostitution>): „**Prostitution** is the sale of sexual services for money or other kind of return.” The English word **whore**, referring to (female) prostitutes, is taken from the Old English word *hōra* (from the Indo-European root *kā* meaning “desire”) but the use of that word is widely considered pejorative and *prostitute* is a less value-laden term. On the other hand, in Germany most prostitutes' organizations deliberately use the word *Hure* (whore) since they feel that *prostitute* is a bureaucrats' term and an unnecessary euphemism for something that is in no need of euphemisms.

Who are the prostitutes then? In law they are defined by their behaviour, most notably the act of soliciting money for sex. Any woman suspected of such behaviour is likely to acquire the social status of a “prostitute.” As Pheterson (2006) states, status makes the

prostitute vulnerable to legal controls and punishments and brands her the prototype “whore.” Prostitution for women is considered not merely a temporary activity (as it is for men who are clients and often for men who are sex workers), but rather a heavily stigmatized social status which in most societies remains fixed regardless of the change in behaviour. Often women who themselves view sex work as temporary and as part-time work are forced by legal and social labelling to remain prostitutes and to bear the prostitutes’ status in all aspects of their lives.

In relation to problems of trafficking the relevant term is also **sex trafficking**, defined by the US Trafficking in Persons Report (2006, p.25) as ‘*recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for a purpose of a commercial sex act*’. In sex trafficking a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion. A **commercial sex act** means ‘*any sex act on account of which anything of value is given to or received by any person*’ (ibid).

The recent international understanding of the concept of trafficking was designed in the so called Palermo Protocol of the UN (2000) *The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children*, supplementing the Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, also referred to as the Trafficking protocol, which was adopted in 2000. According to this document trafficking in persons “shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.”¹

Theoretical considerations of the actors, “supply”, “demand”, and communication

It is a question why the valuable concept of „gender” rarely appears in prostitution research. One answer is that being a “sex client” is not considered a social status but rather an activity of (male) dominant persons who are more or less free from medical, legal and social control. Logically, the sexual component of commercial sex is more obvious for the one who is paying for it and the economic component is more obvious for the one who makes money with it. At least on the surface (disregarding the psychodynamic levels of interaction), we can say that the customer wants sex and the prostitute wants the money (Pheterson, ibid.).

While there is basically an agreement on the factors stimulating the supply for sexual services (poverty, unemployment, war, lack of opportunity or a promising future, love and security, being eager for a Western type of lifestyle), opinions about the demand for

1 Anderson and Davidson (2003) point out that this document still fails to define many of the constituting elements of trafficking, e.g. sexual exploitation or exploitation of the prostitution of others, and the question who counts as a trafficked person is also „clouded by the fuzzy and unworkable distinction between trafficking, smuggling and migration“(ibid., p. 7).

sex differ significantly. Each effort to define the concept of demand for sex necessarily reflects a particular value orientation in relation to sex work as such. On the one hand, on the repressive side of the spectrum, there is for example the work of Donna M. Hughes (2004a, http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/demand_sex_trafficking.pdf, 2004b http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/demand_rome_june04.pdf , access Jan 29, 2007) who identifies four components that make up the demand for sex trafficking:

- 1) the men who buy commercial sex acts,
- 2) the exploiters who make up the sex industry,
- 3) the states that are destination countries, by tolerating or legalizing prostitution and
- 4) the culture that tolerates or promotes sexual exploitation – particularly the media which contribute to normalizing prostitution and the academia within which sex workers are represented as being empowered, independent, liberated women.

There are also efforts on the part of NGOs working in the field of sex work (e. g. the Sex Workers Project at the Urban Justice Center, New York <http://www.sexworkersproject.org/downloads/20050301TraffickingDemand.pdf>, access Jan 29, 2007) stating that demand is a current buzzword among some anti-trafficking activists who argue that demand for sex work drives trafficking in persons, and that arresting clients will reduce the problem. According to these NGOs, demand for sex work is not a major driving factor for trafficking, which is fuelled by poverty, ethnicity, and gender inequalities.

This discussion illustrates that the professional debate on the demand for sex work is strongly politicized and therefore it may be useful, instead of trying to reach an agreement on the definition of sex demand to focus on the various aspects of demand. This approach would then provide us with a more qualified analysis as well as an assessment of the range of dimensions that sex demand represents.

Demand for any given commercial sexual service can be met either by someone working independently in “good” conditions or by someone subject to abusive or slavery-like practice (cf. Anderson, Davidson, 2003). However, with the growing consumer demand for sexual services, there is a legitimate concern about the demand for commercial sex. Compared to other kinds of businesses (whether using trafficked/forced labour or not) where the demand concerns just the product - not the person her/him/itself (e.g. selling goods), commercial sex work involves an important specific aspect - the interest in the person herself (the prostitute). Thus, the consumers’ demand in the sex-arena involves directly the age, race, gender (sex) of the “supplying” subject.

Lyngbye (2006) also draws attention to the conceptualization of sexual “commodity”, playing an important role in the demand-supply interaction. Lyngbye (2006) has for example shown in his study of Danish clients, that while the *Danish PRO Centret* has been suggesting that “Asian and black women are commodities that are bought because of their particular looks” (approx. 20% of prostitutes operating in Danish massage parlours are non-Danish), Danish clients do not regard prostitute women as a commodity to be bought or sold. Most of the interviewed clients seemed to perceive interaction with prostitute women as a social situation and especially the not so young men expressed a need

to feel welcome, to be able to talk to the woman and to feel understood. Consistent with this finding, the ability to communicate in a common language **using shared cultural codes seemed to be of paramount importance**. Accordingly, the interviewed Danish clients preferred interaction with Danish prostitute women by a very large quantitative margin.

Another important aspect in the conceptualization of 'demand' is the social and cultural constructions (and their individual transformation) of what is "desirable" in sex. Anderson and Davidson (2003) have shown in their pilot study involving clients and non-clients of sex workers in Denmark, Thailand, India and Italy, that the initial decision to buy sex appears to be as much a public and social matter (having been arranged by friends or colleagues of the client), as a private and personal affair. Therefore, the individual's perception of the social demands of masculinity and peer pressure are integral parts of the demand for sexual services.

Anderson and Davidson (*ibid.*) remind also about the context and time specific nature of the status of a client. All possible aspects of the demand mentioned above, are to be seen in interaction with specific cultural values and norms, as well as influenced by ontogenetic stages in the individual's development.

This broad approach to the issues of demand for sexual services is of particular importance if we want to approach problems related to the supply-demand interaction in research.

Currently, in some countries there is a strong support for the policy of "ending demand for prostitution" saying that this can help women and promote their rights. The critics of such policies claim that they do not stop men from seeking sexual services, but they rather allow channelling hard won social service funding into policing efforts.

"End demand" programmes are referring to a range of efforts, such as diversion programmes in the court system and increased policing of men, often accompanied by the imposition of new laws. "John's Schools" (re-education sessions for men arrested for seeking sexual services) and public shaming campaigns (naming people caught for solicitation on billboards or on websites) are thought to deter men who might consider purchasing sexual services and thus "end demand." These programmes are also said to be often developed in tandem with heightened policing of poor neighbourhoods in order to enforce anti-prostitution laws.

Organizations working on behalf of sex workers argue that these programmes do not work (cf. The Sex Workers Outreach Project, <http://www.swop-usa.org/endeddemand.php>).² Police and organizations that participate in end demand style programming are

2 According to the SWOP USA NGO (<http://www.swop-usa.org/endeddemand.php>) the end demand programmes, such as "Johns' Schools," have little or no deterrent effect. One study found that before and after participating in the programme, 1 in 10 men said that they would be likely to seek commercial sex services again. This rate is 4 times higher than the officially reported recidivism rate of 2.4 per cent. Significantly, these programmes end up targeting and arresting clients who are low-income people of color and immigrants. These men plead guilty even though many of

adamant that they reduce prostitution without any harm to sex workers, deterring men from purchasing sexual services and helping women who are sex workers. The Sex Workers Outreach Project (SWOP) (<http://www.swop-usa.org/endeddemand.php>) however argues that evaluations of 'end demand' style programmes reveal a very different picture: prostitution in general is not reduced by "Swedish style legislation" and sex workers are made more vulnerable to violence.³ According to SWOP (ibid) an evaluation of Sweden's legal experiment concluded that it did not greatly reduce the number of women engaging in street sex work: figures from Stockholm show that the total number of women on the street has remained stable from 1999 to 2003. Significantly, the report found that during this period street sex workers became more fearful of violence, were pressured to reduce prices and were pressured to engage in unprotected sex. The Swedish style legislation has also its convinced defenders who state that the legislation has really diminished prostitution and trafficking. Quite obviously, more objective research is needed to assess the positive and negative effects of the Swedish type legislation.

Finally, the importance of communication in the context of demand-supply should be emphasized. In order to analyze the risk-potential of the client/sex worker interaction, Ahlemayer (1995) introduces a systematic approach to the intimate relations as well as

them may not have been doing anything wrong at the time of arrest and would have been found not guilty had they gone to court. End demand programmes rely on fear tactics that endanger women's safety. Researchers observing Johns Schools in action found that presenters cautioned participants that "drug addicted prostitutes... have stabbed their clients with AIDS infected needles" as a way of "scaring men straight." Consequently programme participants were less sympathetic towards women who are sex workers after they had completed the programme. These stigmatizing attitudes can fuel violence towards sex workers.

- 3 Sweden introduced legislation criminalizing the buying of sexual services that came into force on 1 January 1999. As part of a stated aim of seeking to reduce the numbers of sex workers, it targets clients and imposes penalties on them of a fine or up to six months' imprisonment if they are convicted in relation to massage parlour, brothel, or street prostitution. Due to an analysis of the New Zealand Government (<http://www.justice.govt.nz/pubs/reports/2005/sex-industry-in-nz-literature-review/part2.html>) to date there is conflicting evidence regarding whether this move has led to a reduction in the numbers of sex workers. What some observers are suggesting (for example, Pettersson and Sjogren, 2002, Final Report Sweden, 1 September 2000 to 28 February 2002, Stockholm, Europap) is that there has been a reorganization of the sex industry so that both workers and their clients are choosing less visible ways of making contact. Early assessments of the legislation considered it may be fostering greater communication between police and social service agencies, resulting in more sensitive approaches to sex workers, and that fewer young people were entering the industry (Pettersson and Sjogren, 2002). On the other hand, the police have said prostitution has not decreased since the Act was passed and that they need greater powers to enforce the legislation (Svenska Dagbladet 2001, cited in Gould, 2001, The criminalization of buying sex: the politics of prostitution in Sweden, *Journal of Social Policy* 30(3): 437-456). Concerns have also been raised that prostitutes in Sweden are now at greater risk of violence, pressure to engage in unsafe sex, and are under greater financial pressure resulting from reductions in income (Dagens Nyheter 2001, cited in Gould, ibid). The Swedish approach to law reform has attracted widespread international attention and support yet the overall impact of the recent legislation is unclear, with conflicting reports and comments. In relation to the question of other countries following Sweden's example, the point has also been made that Sweden may be unusual in at least two major respects. Firstly, it has a relatively small sex industry – approximately 2,500 prostitutes in a population of 8.5 million (0.3 per 1000), compared to the estimated 25,000 who work in the Netherlands (1.6 per 1000). Secondly, there is a long and well-established welfare system within Sweden generally, which also provides extensive social support structures for sex workers wishing to move out of the industry.

to the communication within such relations and distinguishes four types of intimate communication: romantic, hedonistic, matrimonial and prostitutive communication. According to his research results (based on 180 in-depth interviews) the prostitutive intimate communication significantly differs from all the three remaining types due to a higher potential for negotiating safer sex and an overall higher level of HIV risk management. Non-communication about risk issues seems to be an inherent, systemic trait of the romantic, matrimonial and hedonistic intimate communication. However, in the light of the assumption that a substantial share of the clients' motivation for purchasing sex comes from seeking understanding, acceptance, and receiving sexual pleasure, the communication between the client and the prostitute should be considered the significant weak point in the overall risk involved, and specifically in the health risk of sex business.⁴

Aim of this study

Despite the above mentioned importance concerning interaction between the demand and supply sides of sex business, there is little scientific data about it. Scientific research concerning male clients of female prostitutes is scarce (one of the reasons for this may be the difficulties encountered by researchers who try to contact and interview male clients; cf. Lyngbye, 2006). While commercial sex necessarily involves at least two parties - the seller and the purchaser - it is important to study (1) the "identity" of these actors, their motivations and behaviour, as well as (2) their communication and negotiation while they are engaging in various patterns of interaction, and last but not least, (3) the contexts in which they subsist and conduct their relationship, as well as the subjective meanings of relevant concepts, e.g. what is attractive, what is satisfying, what is risky, etc.

The research aimed to ascertain the cultural attitudes in the participating Central European countries towards using sexual services in general, and to trafficked persons in particular, as well as to gather data on the profile and motivations of the buyers of these services and the ways in which they can be dissuaded from purchasing them. Naturally, the study focuses on the business of prostitution, involving sex workers, pimps and managers as well as other persons involved in the sex business such as clients and potential clients and also various experts - both governmental and non-governmental. It was expected that the extrapolation of information provided by all these actors in the sex arena will provide an integral view on the supply and demand for sex work, their interaction and risk potential concerning trafficking in women. The aim of this study was to create an integral analysis of both the supply and demand for sex services in Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, with the purpose of identifying elements and factors of trafficking

in women driven by the interaction of supply-and-demand for sex work.

4 In concert with this finding is the result of a phenomenological analysis of the risk management among male sex workers where Bloor (1995, in Paicheler, 2000) found that unsafe sex was associated with client control, while safer sex denied clients the interactive initiative.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH



During the communist period there was almost no research conducted on sexuality and only sporadic research existed on prostitution in the countries of the former Soviet block and in the former Yugoslavia. Prostitution was ideologically considered as parasitism and its existence was kept strictly controlled and surveyed by the everywhere present police and regime authorities and it was accessible only to the political elite and its confidants. Thus there was “no reason” for conducting any kind of research in this field. And due to the existence of the iron curtain, there was also no reason to do research on the non-existing mobility of people.

After the fall of the iron curtain the first wave of research on sexuality was mainly motivated by the HIV/AIDS prevention and therefore it was strongly medically oriented. Prostitution was just in the focus of media interest. Even though there was some research conducted in the second half of the 1990s (e.g. in Hungary and Slovakia), a complete picture of the sex-business scene was still missing.

HUNGARY:⁵ ■ The first, not just medical surveys took place in the second part of the '90s. The field-work of the 'Quit with You Association' provided a collection of interviews and case-studies about the life of street-prostitutes (1997). Another research was done by the Hungarian AIDS Foundation in 1996-1997. While being provided AIDS-education, the prostitutes were asked to fill in questionnaires about their lives and information about the sex-market. There was a further research called the 'Bad Boys Project', which focused on male prostitute society. The sample covered all the affected districts of Budapest and gave useful information about the character of Hungarian prostitution at the end of the 20th century.

The number of prostitutes working in Hungary in the entire sex sector, including the street, the entertaining industry and every other form of prostitution was in 1999 estimated to be at least ten thousand by Lenke Fehér.⁶ A more recent internet source, containing web-essays in social issues, estimates that there are 20-25 thousand people in Hungary who make a living with some form of prostitution.⁷ According to a police commissioner of Budapest in 2004 there were about 1000 brothels functioning in the capital.

5 This review is taken from Balogi et al., 2006

6 Fehér Lenke: Bűnözés és prostitúció /Crime and prostitution/. In: Szerepváltozások. Jelentés a nők helyzetéről. Társi, Bp. 1999.

7 Szabó Fruzsina, Szocháló. 'Modern rabszolgaság vagy szakma? – a hazai prostitúcióról' 2006. június 28. /'Modern slavery or a vocation? –About Hungarian prostitution./

According to the surveys about street-prostitution conducted by the Hungarian AIDS Foundation and the 'Quit with You Association' the largest age-group among street prostitutes is the group of 18-24 year-olds (60%). About 20 per cent of street prostitutes are juvenile. The youngest ones are 14 years old. Boy prostitutes start the business earlier than the girls and they also get out of the business later. About 24 per cent of them are more than 24 years old. Prostitutes over the age of 30 form an insignificant minority. According to the case studies of social street-workers:

'The labour-supply of the profession is so high that the pimps can get as many prostitutes in the place of elderly or ill prostitutes, as they want. And that is a fact that prostitutes know as well, very well indeed'.⁸

This has two consequences according to the researches. One is that the average age of prostitutes is decreasing. The other is the devaluation of those who are actually in the business, which is accompanied with a constrained fight against getting too old and devaluated. Two negative results arise from this hopeless fight: (1) a higher risk-taking attitude and (2) bigger submission to the pimp.

Regarding the family status of the interviewed prostitutes a very high proportion, 90 per cent of men were single (independent). While only the 70 per cent of the women were single (independent), the other 30 per cent had a family. Those prostitutes who had a family, were generally members of very big families with 5 -10 siblings. Forty per cent of them grew up in state care either because of the alcoholism of the parents or because they were orphans.

These surveys have data only about the level of education of women. According to the results more than 80 per cent of women prostitutes finished elementary school but only a very low proportion, circa five per cent, had obtained higher education, mostly a vocational school degree. In spite of the school degrees only 11 per cent of them had a former job before becoming a prostitute.

Several patterns of living can be observed among prostitutes, which are notably different in the case of women and men. Women generally live with the pimps or live in common sublets according to the data. Quite a small number of them have their own flat (which can be a much more typical pattern among those women who are on a higher level of the hierarchy than the street-workers). Usually the working place and the living place are separated in all groups. It is however somewhat different in the case of men, who are typically combining the living and working spaces and relations. Some of them have a 'master' and give sexual services for him in exchange for residence. Other guys have common sublets, with more than one function: they live and provide their services in the sublet as well.

A high percentage of the women who were involved in the surveys had a past in state care, in boarding schools. Some of the interviewed people declared that there was an

8 Forrai-Lőrincz: Az utcai szociális munka a prostituáltak megsegítésének szolgálatában. ('Street-social work for helping prostitutes') p. 30.

institutionalized, well-built network with the aim of convincing orphan girls to join the sex-industry. There was, however, another group of women with a completely different motivation. They were typically those who had family-ties and who got into the prostitution-industry not because of the lack of connections, emotional ties and family background (as the previous group) but because of their bonds and engagements. They were members of unemployed families and were forced into the sexual industry by the family (mainly by the husband). Another group of women chose sexual work themselves, for the benefit of their families. They suddenly became the bread-winners in their family. A subgroup of this section is formed by those women, who had just lost their husbands because of a divorce or because of imprisonment.

Fluctuation is much bigger among men. Perhaps, this is in connection with the observation that men seem to be much less dependent economically or emotionally, and tend not to stay in this situation and form engagements. They usually treat this job as something temporary and in fact use it as a springboard towards a stable existence. There is another factor which helps male prostitutes: the Hungarian homosexual subculture established a very well-organized and accountable representation of interest. A large number of Hungarian male prostitutes consider themselves homosexual or bisexual. As a consequence, the interest representation of Hungarian homosexuals assumes responsibility for them and helps them.

POLAND: ■ Two extensive research projects relevant to the topic of this study were conducted after 2000 by the author of the Polish National Report, J. Izdebski. In 2002 it was a quantitative study called "Sexual behaviour and awareness of HIV/AIDS among women providing sexual services", including 400 sex workers across Poland and in 2005 a study "Sexuality in Poles in the HIV/AIDS era" conducted on 3200 Poles aged 15-49. According to the former one, for 60 per cent of the interviewed women the main reason to become a prostitute was the fact that they had to deal with harsh living conditions, while 17.3 per cent of the interviewed prostitutes were motivated by the opportunity to gain some profit. The third most frequent incentive to become a prostitute was the intention to improve one's standards of living (14.3%). Women decide to become a prostitute: on their own (55.3%), on their friends' initiative (36.8%), they are forced to do so (2.8%), male and female friends influence them (2%). Another reason for taking up prostitution is drugs and the need to make money to buy them. However, respondents pointed out that such situation does not happen very often. Women offering sexual services are often said to have additional sources of income, although there are also those prostitutes for whom prostitution is the only source of income.

SLOVAKIA: ■ Only few studies have been conducted in Slovakia so far concerning the issues of sex-business. In the early years, after the change of the political system, G. Bianchi reported in 1994 at the Conference: Sexwork, sextourism and trafficking in women: *A new reality in Eastern Europe?* in Prague (Bianchi, 1996), about the ignorance of the issues of sex business on the political level, as well as about the absence of awareness regarding the problems related to sex business among experts. The prevailing forms of sex work at that time were (1) hotel prostitution (2) sex work in massage parlours (MP) and (3) street prostitution - only on the outskirts of Bratislava. Additionally, in the border area of Bratislava, prostitutes frequently went on working trips (lasting form

one day to several months) to Austria where they took the risk of working illegally either in the street (Vienna) or in private sex-bars/parlours, frequently ending with deportation from Austria. The unrestrained (almost elemental) situation in the sex business in Slovakia was compared to the West-European countries, where, besides the legal regulation of the sex-work, a critical mass of work in favour of those who get into trouble, including counselling and temporary-housing assistance, is provided by self-help organizations of sex workers supported by municipalities (e.g. Hydra in Berlin).

In 2000 M. Kolenčik (Kolenčik, 2000) published a review of the situation in prostitution in Slovakia stating that the following types of prostitution exist in the country: (1) common prostitutes with regular clients (often foreigners), (2) occasional prostitutes in hotels and bars, (3) prostitutes in massage parlours (in Slovakia in 1994 there were about 50 MPs with legal permit; unofficial data point to a number around 100), (4) street prostitutes, constituting 90 per cent of all prostitutes (are of lower social status than their clients). Data from NGOs and police show that in Bratislava there are about 500 prostitutes.

Sejčová (1997) writes about the criminal aspects of juvenile homosexual prostitution (boys aged 15-18), highlighting the dominant drug-addiction aspect of this phenomenon.

A unique study of biographies of sex workers and strip-tease dancers was conducted by L. Takáčová (2006). The author points to the predominantly internal motivation for this type of work and analyses the personal gains, e.g. access to higher social strata and opportunity to perform “higher” kinds of work (lay counselling to their clients).

In the area of trafficking there was a study conducted on the potentials for trafficking among young Slovak women (Bianchi et al. 2000, 2003). Comparison of the repeated study in the time-span between 2000 and 2003 allowed a stronger assertion of some repeatedly noticed findings, as well as to point to some trends in the transformation of opinions and attitudes towards the risks of trafficking.

Some repeated findings:

- Girls attending secondary schools (not vocational schools) or those who have higher educational aspirations (aim for a university degree), show a high interest in working abroad if they are not accepted to the university or after finishing the university.
- Girls are aware of suspicious advertisements for jobs abroad which may indicate a risk of forced prostitution (e.g. promises of extremely high pay, dancing jobs, bar jobs, model jobs).
- The participants have not noticed any specific campaign aiming at the prevention of trafficking.

Some differences between 2000 and 2003:

- In 2003 more people thought that the overall life-risks related to the poor economic situation and a higher rate of unemployment in the respondents/families were higher.
- In the opinion of the respondents financial problems and poverty are still the most frequent motives for prostitution.

- In 2003 there was a significantly higher share of respondents who expressed an advanced stage of consideration of going to work abroad.
- In 2003 there was an increase of respondents who would have preferred taking a job arranged by an agency.
- The motivation to go abroad to work in order to learn a foreign language decreased between 2000 and 2003.

SLOVENIA: ■ In the period after the independence of Slovenia in 1991 no systematic research was done on issues of prostitution in the country. Lately, several articles emerged in research (Hrženjak, 2005a, b; Bezenšek, 2002; Pajnik, 2003; Leskošek, 2002), while prostitution also remains an interest for some investigative journalists (Popov, 2000; Modic, 2003). During the last years there is a noticeable increase of faculty diplomas in both Universities, in Ljubljana and Maribor, focusing on the topic of prostitution and trafficking in persons within the framework of social work, law, criminology and internal affairs and social sciences. A study was also published by historians (Cvirn, 1990; Kavčič, 1987; Radovanovič, 2001) who analyzed authentic documents from archives regarding the presence of prostitution around the turn of the 19th century.

Data available on the number of women working in prostitution, their working conditions, social and economic position were and still are even today most often limited to police records and information of other law enforcement officers. These data and estimates, although they serve as a basis for creating an approximate picture about prostitution, are insufficient from a research perspective because the information available to the police is usually held confidential; besides official reports relate only to those women in prostitution with whom the police had contacts. According to the Ministry of Interior about 100 women working in prostitution in 1996 were recorded, while estimates suggest many more were working as prostitutes, about 1,800 (Hrženjak, 2005b).

Hardly any official data exist on prostitution in Slovenia; however, some general remarks can be presented based on the information available from the above mentioned research and records of public debates:

- After the independence prostitution was on the rise; the number of night bars increased employing artistic dancers among whom some (but not all, as it was stressed by our interviewees) also worked in prostitution; similarly, there was an increase in the number of erotic massage salons.
- Prostitution was mainly understood as female heterosexual prostitution. In contrast, male prostitution is thought to be more individualized, temporary and hidden above all. It is also assumed that it mostly means homosexual prostitution although, again, not exclusively.
- There is no street prostitution in Slovenia. The most widespread form of prostitution is the so-called "mobile prostitution", and it is reported that it mostly engages women – many are students – from Slovenia. Other forms include hotel and bar prostitution, where, also women from abroad, from Ukraine, Russia, Bulgaria, Romania and the former Yugoslavia do the work. Again, the dividing lines are not clear and according to NGO reports there are many women from abroad who also work in the so-called "apartment prostitution".

- Little is known about clients. While some official data exist on prostitution, the police keep records on bars and night clubs and monitor working conditions in there, but they are not concerned with the clients.
- Owners of night bars, hotels and massage salons often operate as middlepersons and procurers who attract women to work in the sex business.

Finally, a current complementary view on the trafficking situation in the four countries in focus can be obtained from the 2006 report of the US State Department (TIP report)⁹ - including their categorization¹⁰ and a brief characterization. Except for Poland, which is in Tier 1, the remaining three countries covered by this study fall under Tier 2 in the TIP report of 2006, covering 149 countries and assessing them according to the US law.¹¹ Tier 1 encompasses countries whose governments fully comply with the Act's minimum standards. Tier 2 embraces countries whose governments do not fully comply with the Act's minimum standards but are making significant efforts to bring themselves into compliance with those standards. Slovakia is a country which recently made a step "up" the ladder. In 2005 it was located in the Tier 2 Special Watch List meaning that in addition to all what holds for Tier 2, Slovakia in 2005 lacked evidence of increasing efforts to eliminate severe forms of trafficking compared to the previous year, government victim assistance and protection efforts as well as trafficking prevention programmes remained inadequate. The Slovak Government formed an inter-ministerial expert working group on March 31, 2005, to develop a coordinated national action plan to combat trafficking; however, there has been insufficient time to gauge the working group's effectiveness.

9 Trafficking in persons 2006. Report of the Department of State of the USA

10 **Hungary** is a source, transit and destination country for women and girls trafficked from Ukraine, Moldova, Poland, the Balkans, and the P.R.C. to Austria, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, Italy, France, Switzerland, Japan, the United States, the U.K., and several countries in Scandinavia and Central America for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Hungarian women are trafficked primarily to Western and Northern Europe and to North America. There is also evidence that men and boys as young as 12 are trafficked from Romania to Budapest for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The majority of victims of sexual exploitation within Hungary are minors. **Poland** is a source, transit, and destination country for women and children from Ukraine, Moldova, Romania, and Bulgaria trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation. There were isolated reports of Vietnamese nationals trafficked to Poland for labour exploitation. Polish women are trafficked to Germany, Italy, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Japan, and Israel for purposes of sexual exploitation. The reported number of victims forced to work in the agricultural industry, sweatshops, and begging rings continued to increase in 2005. **Slovakia** is a transit and, to a lesser extent, a source country for women trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Victims from Moldova, Ukraine, and the Balkans are trafficked through Slovakia to the Czech Republic, Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy, Austria, the Netherlands, and Japan. Some women are exploited in Slovakia while in transit to their final destination in Western Europe. In one case, a man was trafficked to Japan for purposes of forced labour; evidence suggests recruitment of additional men may be ongoing. The Roma within Slovakia continued to be a vulnerable group targeted by traffickers. **Slovenia** is primarily a transit and, to a lesser extent, a source and destination country for women and girls from Ukraine, Romania, Moldova, and Bulgaria for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Some of these victims are trafficked onward to Italy, the Netherlands, and other Western European countries.

11 *Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, Div. A of Pub. L. No. 106-386, § 108 as amended.*

3. THE METHODOLOGY OF THIS STUDY



Both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis were used in this study. In **all four countries the same list of questions grouped by themes for semi-structured interviews was used to gather information for the qualitative analysis.**¹² With this schema both, individual in-depth interviews as well as focus group discussions were conducted. Additionally, quantitative research was conducted in Hungary and Slovenia, using an identical set of questions. Moreover, the study draws on previous national research projects that have been carried out in the area of sex business or are somehow connected to it (in Poland).

(1) Qualitative research

In particular, the following questions and topics were addressed in the interviews (for the full scenario see Annex 2):

- who are the persons offering sexual services for money (the profile of these persons) and who are brothel owners (the profile of these persons),
- the profile of the client, his motivations, attitude toward paying for sexual services (including persons buying sexual services in general and persons who have sex with prostitutes who are forced into prostitution),
- whether the clients are aware of the fact that they pay for sex with women who might be victims of trafficking,
- whether there is a special demand for the services of women who are victims of trafficking in the sex-business,
- the analysis of the legal situation of prostitution in the given country,
- major health threats resulting from prostitution,
- the future of prostitution in the country.

Issues which are the main focus of this study – identification of the demand for sex and its interaction with the supply – were gained predominantly by extracting from the discursive material obtained in the individual in-depth interviews (IDI). Thus individual and partly also social and cultural aspects of the demand for sex work were analyzed.

¹² Based on a scenario suggested by G. Bianchi. This interview scenario, or a semi-structured set of questions is presented in the Annex 2 of this report.

The broad range of questions asked let us gain a deeper understanding of the motivations and attitudes of clients of sexual services within a wider social context, also allowing to address controversial, personal and intimate issues in the best manner possible during the interview. The fact that the sample included different actors of the sex sector (clients, prostitutes, club owner, experts) enabled us to obtain information on the same topic from various, often opposing perspectives. At the same time this method enables us to cross check (triangulation) the data and therefore it increases its validity even when the data are collected from a relatively small sample.

All interviews were fully transcribed and analyzed with a thematic analysis. Quotations from the interviews are always indicated in italic.

Research sample in the common qualitative research

There were four target groups of participants for in-depth interviews in all four countries: (1) people from sex business (brothel owners, pimps, etc.), (2) sex workers, (3) clients of sex business and (4) experts including representatives of police and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The more detailed categorization of respondents is presented in a following table.

Categorization of the research participants in all four countries

Categories	Hungary	Poland	Slovakia	Slovenia	
Business	owners	1	1	1	
	pimps		5		
	other employers (driver, security)			2	1
	e-forum administrator (internet)				1
Sex workers	prostitutes	4	5	3	5
	gigolos*			3	
	web sex workers*			2	
Clients ¹³	10	5	8	6	
Experts	police			2	2
	NGOs	8	5	1	3
	others (journalist)				1
Potential clients (or "non-clients")			1 focus group (N=7)		
Total	23	20	29	20	

* Interviews with these participants were taken by L. Takáčová (2006). The analysis of the edited transcripts was, however, conducted by the authors of this study.

13 Since one of the main focuses of the study was to gather data on the demand side of the sex sector, and since the existing research reports that users of sexual services are predominately male, the present research design focuses on measuring attitudes of male individuals. This theme focus, however, does not mean there are no female users of sexual services.

The qualitative field research was conducted in all four countries between May and August 2006. The majority of in-depth interviews lasted from one hour and a half up to two hours. The interviews were recorded and then transcribed.

(2) Quantitative research (Hungary and Slovenia)

In Hungary and Slovenia there was also a quantitative research conducted within this research project, on the attitudes of men to trafficking and prostitution. The research sample consisted of 306 Slovenian and 477 Hungarian male participants (representative sample). Results of the research mainly concerning issues of punishment and legalization are available in national reports.

(3) Specific national researches

The **Polish** national report draws on the quantitative material based on the research conducted by the survey research company TNS OBOP. The first research, entitled "Sexual behaviour and awareness of HIV/AIDS among women providing sexual services", dates back to 2002. Another research, conducted in 2005, is called "Sexuality of Poles in the HIV/AIDS era".¹⁴ Making use of this research was motivated by the fact that its subject matter overlapped to some extent with the current research. Moreover, information obtained in the 2005 research, is added value to the data derived from the qualitative analysis.

14 Both studies were led by Zbigniew Izdebski. The brief characteristics of these research projects see above (chapter 2).



4. THE STRUCTURAL CONTEXT OF PROSTITUTION

4. 1. The legal status of prostitution and trafficking

Currently three main streams can be identified in the approach to the legal framing of prostitution. Fehér (1999) has assembled an overview, including the ideological aspects of each stream, its goals, nature of prostitution, roles of police, medical services, the sex workers and their clients.

Three main approaches to prostitution:

	PROHIBITIONIST	REGULATORY	ABOLITIONIST¹⁵
Ideologies (prostitution)	Tacit acceptance of it.	Acceptance of this social phenomenon as “necessary evil”.	Accepting it as personal behaviour.
Goals	Poses a threat to public morals and order. Prohibition of prostitution and its institutions.	Poses a threat to public morals and order. Legalizing prostitution in “houses” and “designated districts”.	Poses a threat to public morals and order. Accepting and permitting prostitution under certain circumstances and on an individual basis.
Venue of Prostitution	Prohibition.	Controlling illegal prostitution. Banning international trade Acceptance of “houses” and “designated districts”.	Banning organized prostitution. Banning international trade Accepting prostitution as an individual behaviour.
Police Registration	None.	Exists.	There are none in theory.

15 It should be highlighted that currently there exist at least two modes of usage of the term ‘abolition’ within the sex work and prostitution discourse. One is based on the meaning of promoting ‘eradication’ of prostitution itself, representing a strong anti-prostitution policy, the other is, in the opposite way, expressing the need to ‘cancel’ any regulation, thus being a liberal policy, used in this chapter in the criminological context. In this Report we are using ‘abolitionism’ only in this chapter, and referring to the second meaning.

4. THE STRUCTURAL CONTEXT OF PROSTITUTION

	PROHIBITIONIST	REGULATORY	ABOLITIONIST ¹⁵
Medical Check-Up	None.	Only for the prostitute. Supervision is the responsibility of the gynaecologists under the public morals dept. of police.	None in theory.
The Prostitutes	They are criminals.	Prostituting someone is a crime, the prostitute is a criminal.	Prostituting someone is a crime, the prostitute is a criminal.
Clients		Client is unknown, can escape any potential process.	Client is unknown, can escape any potential process.

Source: Fehér, 1999.

Fehér's categorization of policies referring to prostitution and trafficking can be applied to the current legal conditions of the EU member states. Transcrime (2005) however distinguishes four types of policies on prostitution in the 25 Member states of the EU:

Abolitionism: A country falls under this type if outdoor and indoor prostitution are not prohibited. The state decides to tolerate prostitution and not to intervene in it. Prostitution by adults is not subject to punishment, but profiting from another person's prostitution is, however, criminalized.

New Abolitionism: This type is a development of abolitionism. A country falls under this type if outdoor and indoor prostitution are not prohibited, but with reference to the latter the State intervenes in explicitly prohibiting the existence of brothels.

Prohibitionism: A country falls under this type if outdoor and indoor prostitution are prohibited. Parties involved in prostitution can be liable to penalties, including in some cases, the clients.

Regulationism: A country falls under this type if outdoor and indoor prostitution are regulated by the State and therefore not prohibited when exercised according to this regulation. Prostitutes are often registered by local authorities and are in some cases obliged to undergo medical controls.

The legal regulation regarding prostitution and trafficking is almost identical in the particular countries involved in this study, with the exception of Hungary. In Hungary, contrary to Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, prostitution falls under "regulatory" legislation with the requirement to designate zones for providing sexual services and also for prostitutes to be registered. In the remaining three countries the abolitionist model is applied with no state involvement into prostitution – not in the streets, brothels or in any of its form.

The legal regulation of trafficking is strict in all four countries, trafficking is considered a crime and is penalized.¹⁶

¹⁶ Detailed description of the legal framing of prostitution and trafficking in the particular countries can be found in the original National Reports; a short insight is presented also in Appendix 1 to this Report

REFLECTIONS ON THE LEGAL STATUS

It could be useful to look at the way in which the different actors (the prostitutes, business owners/ pimps, clients, and experts) reflect on the current legal situation.

	HUNGARY	POLAND	SLOVAKIA	SLOVENIA
Knowledge on status quo:	Clients are aware of current status.	Pimps most frequently think prostitution is illegal (because what THEY do is illegal). Others know about the legal status.	Clients are ambiguous whether prostitution is illegal or not. Over 44 % of adolescents are aware of the legal situation of prostitution – being not regulated by law (Kolenčík, 2000).	Current data not available (prostitution was decriminalized only recently - in 2003).
Wished legal status:	Clients support legalization - would be profitable for the state. Experts are divided between legalization and ceasing prostitution completely. Hungarian Association of Prostitutes advocates the legalization of brothels.	All types of interviewees are more-less against legalization. Pimps reject legalization because they fear having to pay taxes.	Clients and NGOs advocate legalization.	According to survey results nearly 63 % of respondents (males, general population) fully or partly agree that prostitution should be legalized (44+19 %).

In **Hungary**, due to a developed network of organizations involved in the issues of prostitution and a number of NGOs working in that field, there is an advanced experts' discourse with a variety of opinions. Therefore, the legislation on prostitution is criticized from many aspects. The movement for a prostitution-free Hungary warns that if Hungary legalizes prostitution, the country becomes by necessity a free-market for international women- and children-trafficking. They oppose the fact that neither the legislation nor the discourse in Hungary deals with the role of the clients and their responsibility.

There are two dominant ways of thinking among the experts in Hungary, regarding the possible scenarios to be expected in the future. One approach says that the aspiration towards creating designated zones for the women (within the regulationist legal status quo), and finally legalizing prostitution is the only way to solve the problems of prostitution. According to the other approach, setting up the so-called 'tolerated zones' would mean quitting the 1949 New York Convention that aims to eradication of prostitution; the only final solution for the problem would be to completely end prostitution.

4. THE STRUCTURAL CONTEXT OF PROSTITUTION

As far as the perception of the legislation in **Poland** is concerned, the interview-participants – clients, experts in this study believe that the current state of affairs is optimal.

“I suppose that no restrictions on this issue would be helpful, because the more something is restricted and banned, the more attractive it is”. (PL-C)

“For me this situation is good. It is the sphere of every person’s sexual life and everyone has the right to do it. For the time being, this legal situation in Poland is good”. (PL-E)

The current situation is optimal, because, as one of the respondents put it, *“no taxes need to be paid”*. (PL-P)

Interviewed women generally believe that the current legal situation regarding prostitution in Poland is acceptable. Still, the state should take responsibility for the protection and supervision of prostitutes regarding their health.

“It also seems to me, that they should be for sure, because now we have some sexually transmitted diseases”. [There should be] some routine tests, some control for sure” (PL-C)

As far as the changes in legislation are concerned, some respondents talked about the necessity to legalize all aspects of prostitution in Poland.

In **Slovakia** the attitudes of the actors in the field – the prostitutes, business owners/pimps, clients, and experts concerning the legal situation provide a wide range of reasons for accepting the current situation as well. Only few of them came up with suggestions aiming at a shift from abolitionism to the regulation of prostitution. Also, it is important to be aware of the confusion about what is legal and illegal in the understanding of the pimps, i.e. the ones who actually represent the only criminal subjects in the field. A public discourse on the problems of prostitution and its legalization, and trafficking is, however, almost non-existent in the country and the presence of these issues in the media is limited to the occasional presentation of “sensational” cases of violence and misery (Kolenčik, 2000).

In **Slovenia**, interviewed experts, NGO activists and interviewees working in the public sector, as well as clients frequently argue that legal regulations should foremost consider the situation of people working in prostitution, to provide them with the highest level of protection. In this context it is suggested that the legal environment should give more freedom for those women who choose this and are not forced to offer sexual services.

“Conditions should be arranged, it should be agreed where these environments [of offering sexual services] are, and not to set obstacles. Let it run where it runs freely. Possibilities need to be reassured to make this a normal business environment under normal business conditions. And to assure all the necessary, ... health insurance for women should be greater since they are more exposed.” (SLO-E)

Many of the respondents who support the legalization of prostitution opt for the organization of health insurance for persons working in prostitution which is a need most frequently addressed as the advantage of legalization.

“People should be conscious, preventive measures should be applied ... moralizing does a lot of damage, because it adopts a black-and-white perspective. [...] Legislation should put prostitution in certain regulative frames, to lower the level of illegal prostitution, to allow women who offer these services to be as protected as possible, to have health and social security.” (SLO-E)

The comparison between the reflections on the legal status in the four countries results in a divide between those countries on the one hand where there is a preference for the abolitionist model (non-regulation - Slovakia) or the minimal regulation of prostitution (Poland). If demand for regulation occurs, it concerns mainly the protection of prostitutes and the health of clients. On the other hand there are the countries heading towards legalization (Slovenia) and even the elimination of prostitution (Hungary).

5. THE SUPPLY SIDE OF SEX BUSINESS



In order to be able to understand and make the most of the findings on the actual demand for sexual services, we felt that first we should outline a thorough picture regarding the supply side, meaning the structure and workings of the sex sector itself. In this chapter, we introduce some research findings concerning the supply side of sex business in Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. We summarize results of data analysis concerning the geographical allocation of the types of services, the economic dimension of sex business, motivations for prostitution, prostitution of women coming from abroad, drugs and other risks of prostitution. These are issues that we considered important in order to understand the demand side of sex business and trafficking.¹⁷

5. 1. Geographical allocation and available types of services

Geographical allocation

In all the four countries prostitution is concentrated in cities and towns especially because of the anonymity of environment, the concentration of more solvent clients living there and going there (for business tourism, etc.). Despite this fact various services of sex business are also spread in the countryside, for example escort services can be found in the Slovakia. Due to the local economic differences these services are also concentrated near the borders; in localities nearer to clients (e.g. Polish and Russian clients along the border of Eastern Slovakia or Austrian and Italian clients near the Slovenian border). The particular countries also have some specific features. In Slovenia sexual business is widespread on the coast and in the tourist centres while in Hungary it can be found in the proximity of highways. A special, though not very well-known phenomenon, is the so called 'trans-border women' – women coming usually daily from poorer countries to the wealthier ones. Specific features of geographical allocation and the types of services are elaborated further.

17 The further results of studies concerning particular parts of the sex sector and the typology of women and men working in this sphere are not included in this part, but they can be found in the particular national reports.

Available types of services

The development of sexual services in the four countries is connected to the social changes in these societies. The development of prostitution in Slovenia, in the Yugoslav context after the World War II was uneven, following the development of political and economic recovery and the transformation of social attitudes towards sexuality in general (Pajnik, Kavčič, 2006). According to Balogi et al. (2006) changes which took place in Hungary from the 1970s, within the framework of the gradual democratic change, gave an expanding space for the various forms of prostitution. The so-called 'massage-salons' were emerging in the '80s, which offered medical massage in principle. But it was obvious for the affected, that in fact sexual services were provided in the background. During the transition (1989), street prostitution was already quite visible along the main truck routes or in certain city districts. At the beginning of the 21st century prostitution in Hungary became strongly hierarchical. There is a thin elite on the top, those call-girls who work mainly in their own flats or in luxury hotels, and earn ten times as much with much fewer clients than women at the bottom. The second group in the hierarchy is the group of night club women, below them are those who make the business in jointly-rented flats and usually work with an agent. Finally, there are the street-prostitutes at the bottom of the hierarchy. Group-sizes within the prostitute-society are inversely proportional with the hierarchy; the distribution is pyramid-like: elite, luxury prostitutes constitute a very small part with 1 - 5 per cent. The lowest rank, street prostitution composes 80 per cent of the whole.¹⁸ A basic change that occurred was that male prostitutes were also integrated into the sexual service industry (Balogi et al. 2006).

Prostitution in the four countries became tolerated (after decades of political control over prostitution, and declaring it officially as one form of social parasitism) by the public authorities and the rather free practice of sexual services quickly spread. The development of new technologies was also one of factors promoting the spread of these services. It is connected to the possibilities of advertisement and offering these services through the Internet. A mobile telephone as a tool is also very important for providing sexual services. Prostitution related to its use is, as the example of Slovenia shows, is labelled as "mobile prostitution".

From the point of view of health and the risk of violence the most threatened women are those prostitutes who come, - especially for economic reasons - from poorer parts of the country or from abroad, from the countryside to the cities or to towns and to the regions where there is a bigger concentration of clients (highways) and who work on the streets.

We have less information on some sectors of the sex business, because of the difficulty involved in obtaining it, for example some health related aspects of sex service in the parlours in Slovakia or regarding work relationships of "mobile prostitutes" in Slovenia.

18 Survey of the Hungarian AIDS Foundation, with the leadership of Judit Forrai, financed by the Swiss Hungarian AIDS Prevention Effort (SHAPE).

The following table presents the spreading of particular services in sex business in the four countries.

Main types of services available

	HUNGARY	POLAND	SLOVAKIA	SLOVENIA
street	yes*	yes	yes	no
parlours or massage salons	yes	yes	yes	yes
apartments****	yes	yes	yes	yes
private flats***	yes	yes	yes	yes**
bar and hotel	yes	no data	yes	yes
escort services	yes	yes	yes	yes
male prostitution	yes	no data	yes	yes

* bold services are more wide-spread

** so called "mobile prostitution"

*** Apartments are used solely for business purposes as opposed to private flats where people also live.

Specifics of geographical allocation and available types of services in the particular countries

HUNGARY ■ Amongst all interviewees (clients, sex workers and experts alike) there seem to be a perfect consensus on the structure of the sex sector in Hungary, regarding geographical distribution and the available types of services. After the transition, in the early '90s sex and porn-business was launched with a great speed, and a wide variety of sexual services became available in the country. All the participants agreed that the widest range of sexual services is to be found in Budapest. The rough end of sexual services is represented by the prostitutes who stand next to highways or freeways. They work next to the main highways, outside Budapest, near Lake Balaton and at the parking lots next to freeways. Typically they do their job hiding in bushes by the road or in the backseat of the car. It is also not exceptional to keep a little cabin somewhere near (e.g. for the time of the Formula-1 race near Mogyoród a lot of cabins are rented for prostitutes.). Moreover, there are also illegal brothels ("illegal red-light houses"), some of them are located in block-houses where the pimp owns a few apartments next to one another, and surprisingly neighbours have no idea about this activity. Via the Internet and magazines clients can order several kinds of sexual services. They choose a woman by picture, or on several websites testimonies of other clients are also available. There are also "peep shows" in downtown Budapest where clients have to insert several coins to be able to watch the women. If the client likes a woman, they would have to ask the pimp about her, and then he would lead the client and the woman to a secret room. At the highest end of sexual services are the so called "luxury-prostitutes" who work in expensive hotels; their pimps usually work in the hotel as well and receive a certain percentage from each deal.

POLAND ■ According to a research conducted in Poland in 2002 covering 400 women working in sexual services more than half of the interviewed women (54.5%) provide sexual services in an escort agency or in a flat. The second most frequently used place

is a car, in which sexual services are provided by 20.8 per cent of the women and 12 per cent of the women provide sexual services at a client's home.

SLOVAKIA ■ In Slovakia sex services are proliferated in parlours, in the streets, in towns, at important transport/communications facilities, in private houses/apartments, as escort services (a prostitute who is hired to spend time with the client as a companion in his house) and in swingers' clubs and hotels, which have their own prostitutes. The highest concentration of prostitutes can be found in the capital city of Bratislava, but it is also spread in other towns across Slovakia. The women come from Eastern and Middle Slovakia and the service is mostly offered in Western Slovakia, especially in Bratislava. The prostitutes move to Bratislava in the summer but the sex business increases also during bigger sports events, exhibitions, fairs etc., which are accompanied by an influx of foreign visitors. The street scene in Bratislava is thickening with an inflow of addicted women who go down with the prices. Generally, erotic services are promoted in Bratislava more overtly than in other parts of Slovakia. Some Slovak prostitutes compete with Viennese ones, - although their work in Vienna is illegal according to Austrian legislation, facing risks of fines and arrest - and probably also by enticing the Austrian clients to Bratislava and its surroundings. According to advertisement on the internet, escort services function in villages as well. Prostitution is also concentrated along the borders (the clients are the truck drivers) and in holiday resorts (the clients are the foreign tourists).

SLOVENIA ■ The analysis of the interviews shows that the overall possibility to obtain sexual services for money exists nearly everywhere in the country. The majority of respondents confirm that the frequency is higher in big cities, among which the capital city is on the top. It is reported that in winter prostitution can also be arranged in skiing resorts; it was also mentioned that prostitution potentially exists in all tourist places. Towns on the coast were frequently reported to be places where prostitution, happening also in hotels, is most common.

Answers to inquiries on the forms of prostitution in Slovenia, reveal various ways in which prostitution occurs. Several respondents mention the existence of night club or "bar prostitution" that they describe as a different "type" when compared to prostitution that is organized in private apartments, the so-called apartment or "flat prostitution." Apart from bar and apartment prostitution several respondents in the interviews refer to "mobile prostitution" that they relate to the use of mobile phone in order to attract clients. Telephone numbers are advertised in newspapers and magazines, and field work experiences show that it is difficult to obtain information on the working relations of women engaged in "mobile prostitution."

5. 2. The economic aspects of sex business

Prices for sexual services are created on a market principle, and they are very similar in the four studied countries. But there are some specific features. In Hungary and Slovenia, there are, for example higher prices in the capital city than in the countryside, due to the higher financial means of the clients. In Slovakia the prices are similar in the capital city and in the countryside which is probably due to a higher competition among

5. THE SUPPLY SIDE OF SEX BUSINESS

sexual service providers in the capital city. Additionally to this, the price for street prostitution is further lowered by prostitutes using drugs. Some of the service prices also have a seasonal character. From an economic point of view it is important to compare the prices in the countries where the services are provided with the ones from which the clients come from in order to set the potential for the migration of prostitutes, sex tourism and trafficking. The services of the Slovak street prostitutes are cheap for the Austrian clients, but the same is not valid for the sexual services in Slovenian hotels and apartments, where the prices are very similar to Austria and Germany. The services in private apartments in Slovakia can be rather “attractive”, because they are cheaper than similar services in Slovenia and Hungary. Although the revenues in sex business are higher in comparison to average wages, they are still lowered by the costs (rent, pimps take 50 per cent or more).

Economic aspects of the sex business

	HUNGARY	POLAND	SLOVAKIA	SLOVENIA
Street prostitution	Oral sex: 8–12 EUR, Vaginal sex: 4–18 EUR, extra 4 EUR without a condom.	Prices: 13–26 EUR.	Oral sex: 8 – 3 EUR, Vaginal sex: 13–18 EUR.	
Parlours			40–130 EUR*.	
Prostitution in rented or own apartments	32–60–100 EUR for an hour.		27–54 EUR for an hour.	
Bar, apartment hotel prostitution				63–104 EUR for an hour**.
Peep shows and night clubs	Oral sex with a condom: 20 EUR, Vaginal sex: 40–60 EUR***.			
Prostitutes in luxury hotels	200 EUR for an hour.			

* Divided among the parlours, taxi driver and the prostitute.

** Possibility to obtain cheaper services from drug users or homeless (8 EUR).

*** Paid to the pimps.

HUNGARY ■ The rough end of sexual services is represented by the prostitutes who stand next to highways or freeways, where oral sex costs 1500-3000 HUF (6-12 EUR) as the minimum. For about an extra 1500 HUF (6 EUR), the client can have an

intercourse, for another extra 1000 HUF (4 EUR) most prostitutes would do it without a condom.

“So the whole thing would cost 5000 HUF (20 EUR) and take 15 minutes at the most.”

Prostitutes on streets have to give a certain percentage of their income to the pimps, who regularly check how many clients they have a day. Some pimps take 50 per cent, while others take the whole 100 per cent and pay the rent for the women and buy them clothes, food, etc. What remains is usually spent on drugs, drinks, entertainment (parties), gambling (slot machines).

According to an interview with a prostitute, working in the most affected district of Budapest,¹⁹ about 20 per cent of street-prostitutes pay a so-called ‘place-fee’, about 5000 HUF (20 EUR) a day, for a space of 2-3 square meters. The price of an hour with a prostitute who rents an apartment varies between 8000 and 15000 HUF (32-60 EUR), the highest end is 25000 HUF (100 EUR).

POLAND ■ According to a research conducted in Poland in 2002 covering 400 women working in sexual services every third female respondent earned up to 50PLN (13 EUR) for her last sexual intercourse, while 41 per cent of the interviewed prostitutes earned at least 100PLN (26 EUR) for it. At the same time, most female prostitutes (59%) declare that they earn no less than 100 PLN on average for one sexual intercourse. Merely 13 per cent of the respondents earn not more than 50PLN for one sexual intercourse on average. The 20 per cent difference between average and real earnings may be explained by weather conditions. At the time of this research freezing weather caused a decline in the interest among potential clients to buy sexual services.

The clients claimed that the income of prostitutes was quite high and the amount of 3, 5, or 10 thousand zlotys (780-2 600 EUR) was often reported. It should be noted however that this is a sum that is left for a prostitute after returning part of the profit to her pimp or head of the escort agency (about 50-60 per cent). The majority of women treat prostitution as their only source of income. Some of them have an additional, fully legal job.

“In this beauty salon where I work, wages are at the level of the national minimum, so I work there for insurance”. “I did something else, but didn’t succeed so I took up prostitution”.

SLOVAKIA ■ The street prices in particular localities are agreed. Addicted prostitutes “spoil” the prices; they go even for 3 EUR. Because of them, the prices in Bratislava are purportedly lower than in other parts of Slovakia. Returning customers go sometimes free of charge. Those prostitutes who have pimps usually share 50 per cent of their profit with them. According to an expert they give all their earnings to their “partners” and then

¹⁹ Judit Forrai - Norbert Lőrincz: Az utcai szociális munka a prostituáltak megsegítésének szolgálatában. [‘Street-social work for helping prostitutes.’] p. 47. Wesley János Lelekész-képző Főiskola, Budapest, 2003.

they get something, maximum the half of it. Addicted prostitutes get the drug from their “partner” and some provision.

SLOVENIA ■ Interviewees report that the economic practices vary according to the specifics of sex business; sometimes women receive the money directly, especially when they work on their own, other times the middlepersons are the ones who get the payment and share it with the woman. Or, most commonly, women get the money and they give away some percentage of it. Then again economic arrangements are different if one compares prostitution in private houses with bar prostitution. It is reported by the respondents that in bars clients tend to pay for drinks and sexual services together, when they usually order expensive drinks and have sex later on.

Some respondents’ estimates of how much a person working in prostitution earns are limited to naming high sums of money. In these cases respondents only reflect on figures without reference to, for example, working conditions, working costs, relations with middlepersons etc. The effect of such answers is comparable to the example of media reports where figures without serious estimates are presented, showing prostitution simply as a profitable business (Pajnik, 2003). It is mentioned by some respondents, who argue from such a perspective, that women earn half a million SIT and up to one million and a half. Another respondent reflects on their earnings simply by comparing them with his own:

“When I talk to them, they say they earn SIT 25,000 to SIT 30,000 (105-125 EUR) per hour. And I’m working for SIT 400 per hour! It’s a good business ... although a risky one as well.” (SLO-C)

A linear, simplified understanding that lacks, if speaking from an economic perspective, at least the reflection on living costs, was presented by a middleperson who explains the situation of a woman, a single mother who responded to his advertisement to work in the escort service in the following way:

“She was a dressmaker before she became unemployed. She earned SIT 70,000 a month, and now she earns this amount a day. Differences are this big.” SLO-M)

5. 3. The main motives and reasons for sex work

Poverty, being wide-spread in several regions and parts of the countries in focus, has proved to be one of the main root causes for women ending up in prostitution. The material reasons – securing means for living – appeared in all four countries. These reasons were stated by women coming from those regions where there is a high rate of unemployment in the country (Hungary, Slovakia) or also by women from neighbouring countries (Moldova, Ukraine, Romania) with relatively low economic development (coming to Poland, Hungary and probably also Slovenia). Another frequent reason for doing sex business is the transitory improvements in the prostitutes’ living standard. It can lead, however, in the case of some women, to long-lasting prostitution (Poland, Hungary). Various personal motives were also stated for becoming a prostitute, as well as

an impulse from a friend or relative (foreign prostitutes in Slovenia). Drug use, which is more or less connected to prostitution, is also one of the causes why women stay in the sex business (to make money for drugs, dependence). The clients usually have a different point of view regarding the reasons why prostitutes do their job, they underestimate these reasons and do not usually take into consideration the material ones (Slovakia).

The main motives and reasons for sex work:

	HUNGARY	POLAND	SLOVAKIA	SLOVENIA
Material reasons – to make a living	Prostitutes from the countryside – “crisis zones” (possibly sold by their families for 100-300EUR).	Concerns mainly foreign workers from Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, and Lithuania.	Prostitutes coming from the countryside – East part of country, students and prostitutes on drugs.	Some respondents estimate that it concerns mainly foreign workers as well as bar and apartment prostitutes.
Additional income		Improving one’s standards of living.	Students, single mothers with a flat.	To improve standard of living (bar and apartment prostitution).
Employment		For 78% prostitution is the only form of income.	In parlours.	
Personal and social reasons	Personal tragedy sometimes combined with material needs (street prostitutes).	No data.	E.g. trauma in a partner relationships, interest in exciting life style (according to a client).	On the basis of invitation of friends and relatives concerns foreigners).
Drugs	Prostitutes who work on the highways, “this keeps them going”.	Alcohol and other drugs are used quite often (according to clients).	Earning money for drugs by means of prostitution.	Prostitution for drugs, performed both by women and men is reported as common.

HUNGARY ■ According to social workers who work with ‘street-prostitutes’, as a general rule it can be stated that all street prostitutes have unfavourable family backgrounds and many of them have their personal tragedies (orphan, childhood trauma, parents who used to beat them in their childhood, a father/brother in prison, divorced parents, etc.) sometimes combined with material needs and this is what brings them to the pimps. All of them decide to do this job for the money and only for a limited period of time, solely to earn the necessary money to overcome the difficulties (for a flat, for the bail for the boyfriend, etc.); and somehow all of them get stuck for a longer time. In fact only a very few

of them can actually quit the underworld – less than an estimated 10 per cent. According to a previous study they have to give 80-90 per cent of their income to the pimps.

POLAND ■ As far as the main reasons for becoming a prostitute are concerned, the financial aspect is the most decisive one. However, there is some distinction that needs to be mentioned here. For some women, financial problems are connected with the need to maintain a specific standard of living or the need to raise this standard, to obtain some goods.

“At the beginning, it was because I had no money. But at that time I was a student. I had one guy and then two partners at a time who helped me financially.”

Other reasons for taking up prostitution include psychological issues, heartbreaks, alcoholism, but also satisfaction derived from sex.

“I feel some satisfaction, because I have satisfaction from sex”. “Young, handsome. You know it feels good when you make love to him.”

SLOVAKIA ■ The most frequently declared reasons for working in sex business were economic ones. A manager from a parlour estimates that they represent 70 per cent of the cases. The kind of economic reasons given were as follows: this is the easiest job to get, they can be officially unemployed for a longer period of time, they have to support their families and they earn money for their studies. Among other reasons, drugs were also mentioned, especially in the context of escaping from home; joining gangs (e.g. in Bratislava) and finally earning money for drugs by means of prostitution.

SLOVENIA ■ Many informants report that women work in prostitution in order to survive or to improve their standard of living. It is estimated that prostitution for drugs, performed both by women and men is very common. It is also reported that there are many men working in prostitution for drugs. Responses given by clients mostly show prejudiced attitudes towards such practices. They tend to define prostitution for drugs as “the lowest type”; besides, they relate it to poor working conditions as well as to poor sexual services. Similar attitudes can be observed from responses given by middlepersons.

5. 4. Foreign sex workers

Data collected in the four countries show that there is no or only very little evidence regarding the number of foreign sex workers working in some parts of the sex sectors. The majority of prostitutes come from the East European countries situated next to the EU borders (Ukraine, Russia, Belarus), some of them have “Balkan origin”, but there are also some cases of prostitutes coming from exotic countries (Asia, South Africa in Hungary). Foreign sex workers can be found mainly in streets (Poland), next to the highways (Hungary), in the parlours (Slovakia) and in the bars and night clubs (Slovenia). Forced prostitution, drugs, the poor communication skills of foreign prostitutes have been revealed as one of the most serious risks in the sex sector.

The proliferation of foreign prostitution is helped by the language knowledge of the country, to which the prostitutes come to do their job (Hungary), by knowing those persons, who already work as prostitutes in the particular country (Slovenia), by the opening of borders, by the attractiveness of foreign prostitutes in comparison with local ones (younger and more educated prostitutes in Poland) and the possibility to work legally in the massage saloons (in Slovakia).

Foreign sex workers

	HUNGARY	POLAND	SLOVAKIA	SLOVENIA
Foreign sex workers in percentage	No estimates. 12% of street – prostitutes in Budapest.	25% of street prostitution.	Little information. 0.2% in the street (NGO estimates).	No estimates.
Country of origin	Romanians, Ukrainians and Moldavians in streets, Asian (Thai?) women in brothels.	19% Ukrainian 4% Russian 4% Belarusian.	A few Czech, Ukrainians, Polish, Hungarian and Slovenian but also some Chinese and Vietnamese women in parlours.	Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Romanians, from the former Yugoslav states, from South America.
Sex sector	Highways. Bars and parlours.	Street.	Street. Parlours.	Bars/night clubs.
Specificity	All prostitutes in the street speak Hungarian because of their Hungarian origin.	Younger and more educated women than the Polish prostitutes.	Mainly legal status.	Snow-ball recruitment of prostitution in their home country. "Daily prostitutes" coming for one day from Croatia, Austria.
Risks	Forced prostitution, drugs and poor communication skills of prostitutes next to highways.			

HUNGARY ■ There are no current estimates on the number of foreign women working in the sex sector in Hungary (an estimate from a previous study was 1000). However it can be stated that the majority of foreign women appear in two specific segments of the sector: women from the Far East (e.g. from Thailand) can be found in certain bars and massage parlours as their exotic look attracts clients. The other group of foreign women consists of forced prostitutes working next to the highways most of them coming from Ukraine, Romania and Moldavia. Many of them are of Hungarian origin. According to the information provided by a social worker working with street-prostitutes, foreign prostitutes are not frequent in the streets, mainly because of their poor communication

skills and secondly because this would give them a bigger chance for escape, if they are forced. Putting them into a confined territory is much more secure for the pimp. They are taken from the countryside, from the poorest rural areas and usually are under the strict supervision of the pimp. In many cases they are sold by their families for about 1000 EUR. They are given drugs and can be exploited in many ways. Usually a guy from their home town buys them from their families, often gets them pregnant and promises them help. Some of the foreign sex workers do not speak Hungarian, but learn a few necessary words or use a catalogue of the different services and the prices from which clients can choose.

POLAND ■ The respondents confirmed that apart from Polish prostitutes, there are foreign prostitutes, mostly from Bulgaria, Ukraine, Russia, Moldova, Lithuania and Belarus – mainly from the post-Soviet countries.

According to a quantitative research conducted in 2002 most women providing sexual services in Poland are of Polish nationality – they make up almost three-fourths (72%) of all interviewed women. Other respondents include mostly women from Eastern Europe: Ukrainians prevail (19%), while Russians and Belarusians each make up 4 per cent of all female respondents. The maximum age of women from the Eastern European countries is lower than that of the Polish prostitutes and ranges between 30-40 years of age. The respondents noted that the prostitutes from the post-Soviet countries are slightly better educated than the Polish prostitutes.

SLOVAKIA ■ There was very little information on foreigners working in the sex business in Slovakia. According to an NGO study (preliminary, unofficial results) only 0.2 per cent of street prostitutes are foreigners. There also exists a few cases of foreign women in parlours, especially Czech, Polish, Hungarian and Slovenian ones (who come especially for economic reasons), but there are also some Chinese and Vietnamese women. Ukrainians were also mentioned several times. It was said, that one parlour with the women from the Ukraine existed in northern Slovakia. Moreover, in the light of frequent police checks among street prostitutes, these women may have had the legal status of a migrant in Slovakia as they were allowed by the police to continue their street engagement. The massage parlour owners report absolutely no interest in employing foreigners – mainly due to legal complications to obtain a work permit. The massage parlours are under constant police oversight and it is simply not worth for the manager to risk being prosecuted for this kind of crime.

SLOVENIA ■ Some informants argue that “bar prostitution” mainly involves women who migrate to Slovenia from other countries, among them are: Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Romania, Hungary, also from the Balkans and South America.

“They come as dancers, striptease dancers, and potentially form a group of those who could, beside this primary activity [dancing], offer also sexual services, voluntary or under force.” (SLO-E)

Women who migrate to Slovenia for prostitution might come upon an official invitation. Some of them know in advance they will be expected to offer sexual services; others

are faced with the actual work and the working conditions on the spot. One owner of a night club reports that women who work for him usually invite other women they know, their friends or relatives from abroad to join them. “When they go home for holidays, I say, try to find me a woman, and they usually know [how things are organized].”(M) The organizer of apartment prostitution also mentions that women are often recruited via personal links. Another informant mentions women who migrate daily from the neighbouring Croatia to Slovenia, the so-called “daily prostitutes,” as he calls them, who come in the morning and leave in the evening. It is estimated that only a small minority of women are self-organized daily migrants, one or maybe two per cent. One of our respondents migrates to Slovenia from Austria, usually twice or three times a month, and works through a middleperson in an apartment.

Drugs and other risks:

	HUNGARY	POLAND	SLOVAKIA	SLOVENIA
Alcohol	Alcohol consumption (HP).	“Part of prostitutes’ daily life”.	Ordering drinks as part of the scenario (PP).	
Drugs	– Drug abuse, mostly amphetamines (HP). – Cocaine, speed or amphetamines (AP).	Pimps don’t tolerate drugs.	Heroin and pervitin (84.8% of SP).	Prostitution for drugs, performed both by women and men is reported to be common.
Other risks*	– Forced prostitution – submission to the pimps. – Low communication skills. – No medical care (HP). – Passive behaviour and ignorance of risk (concerns religious Roma women, 1997).	Aggression and physical violence used against prostitutes.	Aggression and seasonal fights for customers in the capital city (SP).	– Cheaper sexual services connected to exploitative relationships. – Stigmatization as a “non-national” worker (on the basis of research findings also from other countries).

* – except for trafficking

HP – highway prostitution, SP – street prostitution, AP – apartment prostitution, PP-parlour prostitution

5. 5. Drugs and other risks

The consumption of alcohol and the use of drugs in a sex-business environment are wide-spread in the studied countries and causes significant health risks both for prostitutes and clients. First of all it concerns the loss of self-control under the influence of drugs leading to unprotected sexual intercourse. The specifics of drug use in the particular countries are illustrated in the following table. The further risks are directly not con-

nected to trafficking, but can have some indirect impact on trafficking. These are: forced prostitution, submission to the pimps, low communication skills, the low level of medical care in highway prostitution in Hungary, aggression and physical violence used against prostitutes in Poland, aggression and seasonal fights for customers among street prostitutes in Bratislava, exploitative relationships due to low prices and stigmatization of non-national workers in Slovenia.

HUNGARY ■ Drug abuse (mostly amphetamines) and alcohol consumption is frequent amongst the prostitutes working on the highways, "this keeps them going". Women are often given drugs when they start working as prostitutes. According to a survey made among street-prostitutes by the 'Blue Point Drug Ambulance' 70-80 per cent of Hungarian prostitutes use drugs regularly. According to their survey report, the fact that every new woman in the market is an 'easy sale' has a strong correlation with the emergence of drug use. The inexperienced prostitute has a lot of clients who pay well for her bloom and innocence. But it is a trap, because the initial high income is going to be the expected standard, which the woman has to present for the pimp later on as well. For the sake of presenting the standard, the woman has to have sex with a gradually growing number of clients. That may be the key to alcohol and drug-use. Alcohol and drugs are aids for the prostitute to endure the process, in which she is obliged to receive a growing number of clients in order to present the expected amount of money.

In general, prostitutes in rented apartments do not consume alcohol when working, but many of them take drugs (mostly cocaine, speed or amphetamines) when a client offers it to them.

POLAND ■ The material from the interview may suggest that alcohol is present on a daily basis, and prostitutes are often under its influence. This impression may result from the fact that alcohol may be bought in escort agencies and clients usually drink alcohol with prostitutes. Drugs are a separate issue. Pimps are negative toward drugs and they do not allow prostitutes to take them.

"I mean no, I don't tolerate drugs. Alcohol definitely yes, clients drink alcohol and women must be relaxed, they like to drink sometimes. But drugs? No".

In the clients' opinion, alcohol and other drugs are used quite often by prostitutes. There are a number of reasons for this: first of all, such work affects negatively a woman's mind, so in order to cope with this situation, they turn to alcohol. Secondly, in escort agencies prostitutes often offer their customers a drink and they consume it together. So alcohol is, at least to some extent, part of prostitutes' daily life.

SLOVAKIA ■ One of the main problem of street prostitution concerns drugs. According to an NGO study 84.8 per cent of prostitutes are on drugs, especially on heroin and pervitin. The other problems mentioned were the following: prostitutes with younger clients, who are very demanding after having been to discos or when the client knows that some women work on their own in street thus it is possible not to pay them but simply kick them out of the car afterwards. Another risk comes from the fight for customers.

This exists in particular districts of the city, especially in the summer, when the number of prostitutes in Bratislava rapidly increases.

SLOVENIA ■ Prostitution for drugs performed both by women and men is very common. It is considered as “the lowest end”; of prostitution both from the point of view of working conditions and the quality of the service.

It is likely that cheaper sexual services are more frequently connected to exploitative relationships between the prostitute and the owner. Such findings however must not be generalized, as the consumer demand for cheap sex can also be met by free and individual sex workers. However, demand for cheap sex can also present the demand for vulnerable sex workers, who are often stigmatized as “non-national” and are at a greater risk of violence and abuse. A demand for cheap and vulnerable sex workers has been reported, but it is by no means clear that this kind of demand acts as a stimulus for trafficking. It could be equally true that the supply for cheap workers stimulates demand.

6. THE ANATOMY OF DEMAND SIDE



In this chapter we are presenting an integral analysis of all the findings concerning the demand side of sex business in Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. The data are structured into following areas: the typology of clients, their motivation or reasons for finding sex for money, favoured types of prostitutes, attitudes toward foreign prostitutes, meaning of sex for the clients, alcohol/drug consumption before sex, considerations of health and risky issues concerning paid sex, issues of refusal, problems and conflicts.

6. 1. The typology of clients

According to research data 15 per cent of the male population had purchased sex in Hungary, 12 per cent in Poland (including 8% out of deep religious believers regularly attending church), 14 per cent in the Czech Republic (extremely similar to the Slovak environment - a similar number can be expected also in Slovakia) (Weiss, Zvěřina, 2001) and according to one participant 10,000 cases are estimated in Slovenia. In **all the four countries** the population of users is very disperse; therefore no clear categories of clients can be set up. The age of clients ranges from 16-20 to 60-70 years; the majority of them are middle-aged men between 30 and 45. Their marital status is single, married, or divorced. Their education ranges from elementary to university level, with a prevalence of secondary education. Although the clients' job status varies and they belong to all social groups, they must all have some sufficient financial means, especially those who regularly visit parlours and night bars/clubs. One interviewee reports that in **Slovenia** there is an unpopular part of clientele that could be called as the "new yuppies" "*who have the money, who sort of masturbate with themselves, and think they can buy everything, women included. Even women tell me these new businessmen are their worst clients.*" (SLO - E)

6. 2. The motivation or reasons FOR clients TO FIND sex for money

The main motives and reasons for buying sex are as follows:

(A) Problems in partnership/marriage

In **all the four countries** the most frequently uttered reason for searching sex for money is related to the wife/family: misunderstanding with the wife; crisis in the marriage; family

problems; men want to have what they missed at home, namely oral sex or other experiences out of the ordinary. Clients frequently find the cause outside, i.e. in their partners when they argue that they “aren’t satisfied with their partner.” Justification for using paid sex in order “to upgrade their existing sexual life” was mentioned several times by the clients.

“Probably that, what he has at home, doesn’t suffice him, doesn’t satisfy him.”
SK - C)

“Most clients are people who are not having a steady relationship, or if they have one, sex became boring with their partners or they wish to try things they cannot with their partners.” (HU - C)

“They use sexual services because, for example, they don’t get at home all they fantasize about or it is easier for them to come and pay if compared to having a relationship.” (SLO - P)

(B) Entertainment, pleasure

Other common reasons for enjoying sex business in **all the four countries** are that: it is just fun, it is to amuse and entertain oneself, it is giving both adrenalin and good relaxation. Novelty, the wish “to experience something new,” excitement and curiosity are also mentioned as frequent reasons.

“You aren’t cool if you don’t try it. Today it is so, that you are just not cool not having another [woman] on the side, or, you have to show off saying you visited a prostitute ... Some also come for relaxation or to load their ego. [...] Some have complexes and they come to cure themselves, or they don’t have time for a serious commitment and it’s easier for them to pay for sex. I tell you, reasons really vary a lot.” (SLO - P)

“My friends do it like fun, just for a while, just to shorten the night. Or because of boredom.” (SK - C)

“I usually made up my mind, when I was a little drunk”,... “it was like, we were drinking, and suddenly – I mean men only – someone asked if we wouldn’t go there.”(PL)

“One boy called us, he was 19 years old, saying they had a birthday party, and the guy who organized the party, invited the women who were in fact prostitutes. This was the case of a group of young guys having a party. They don’t mean anything bad, and don’t think beyond their own nose, they only think of having sex.” (SLO - E)

„I tried it because I was curious, it’s like chocolate, one desires it. The idea of buying sex for money is very exciting, and comfortable.“(HU - C)

“What I find exciting about purchased sex is the feeling of power: the feeling that I can get anything I want for my money.”(HU - C)

(C) No obligation

Having no commitment was also quite often mentioned as a reason for paid sex:

“Nobody asks you for anything, nobody blames you for anything, the woman knows what she has to do, we finished, say adieu and that’s all. It does relax.” (SK - C)

“Get what they get, get exactly what they want and when they want it. They come, pay, get and leave. That’s it.” (SLO - P)

“It is noncommittal and if you have money, very easy.” (SK - E)

(D) Need to relate to someone, to be understood by someone

Surprisingly, lot of **Slovak** clients (*maybe one half of them* (SK - E)) go to parlours just because they need to talk to someone and do not need to have sex (SK - C, P). The same is true also in the **other three countries**, although we do not know the exact percentage of clients, who visit prostitutes “just” because of their need to talk with somebody.

“There is sometimes his need, to be honest – maybe it’s stupid – to open up and talk to somebody” (PL - C)

“It’s interesting that I talked to one prostitute who says she has a client who keeps coming to her, and mostly wants to talk to her. That this sexual part is not present, but mostly there is a conversation, and he gets some tenderness from her and he pays for it.” (SLO - E)

Among the other, less common reasons the following ones are mentioned: someone is lonely (SK, PL), divorced, has no time for a girlfriend or for family life (SK, PL), is ashamed or has no success with chatting girls up (SK, PL), works in construction sites far from home, is hiding his homosexuality, or just wants to show off, to be a dandy (SK, SLO). It may also be a reaction for the partner’s infidelity (PL), a way to overcome depression or stress (PL), a quick and easy way to satisfy one’s sexual desire without much effort (SK, PL, SLO). Some visit prostitutes because they want to practice fetishism, and do not want to do it at home (SLO). Furthermore, “non-social clients” are being referred to as people who *“don’t cope with commitments and whose relationships break apart even before they become sexually engaged”* (SLO – E). People with disabilities are also among the clients (SLO). Some clients use sexual services simply because they can afford them and perform plain consumerist practices (SLO). Sometimes men start to be dependent on commercial sex (SK).

“In striptease bars there are also desperados, when they get their salaries they immediately spend it there, they are gamblers.” (SK - C)

Sometimes entrepreneurs take their business partners into parlours after signing a contract. Yet another reason is to prove oneself showing that they can still manage a young woman. (SK - B)

6. 3. Favoured types of prostitutes

The taste of clients varies a lot thus it is not possible to specify the preferred or the ideal prostitute. What can be generally said is that in **all the four countries** clients prefer mostly younger (18-35 years old), communicative and at least a "little bit" clever/educated women. In Slovenia clients also place stress on choosing a prostitute who is able to ensure discretion. The respondents indicated that it is important that they could talk to a prostitute, and not just have sex with her.

The preference for visiting the same prostitute every time or going to different women is quite individual. Some clients report that they use services from many different women, still others say they end up visiting a few of them. Especially in **Slovenia**, both clients and prostitutes who were interviewed are in general inclined towards meeting the same people. Prostitutes say that they know what to expect from regular clients, they know them in advance, know about their habits, sometimes, as some say, it is also safer. If clients are satisfied when they come for the first time, it is usual that they would return, and will not take the risk by going somewhere else. Some argue that they tend to go to the same persons, where they feel good and where they do not have the feeling that she is in a hurry. Also, in the other three countries clients often develop affection for the women they already met and remember somehow. This could be so because they had a nice conversation or the woman was very attractive. Then they visit the same prostitute again. However, the clients usually do not go to the same prostitute for a long time but change them sooner or later. Concerning this, several different strategies can be found: The client can

(1) always change the prostitute:

"I am changing them; after all, I will not be always with one. It is necessary to try, is it? I will not go there because of one, if I can choose between eight or nine."
(SK - C)

(2) at the beginning change the prostitutes to get to know their different qualities and then choose the one that best suits him and regularly visit her:

"At the beginning he tries several (prostitutes in a parlour) and if he goes there regularly, then later he chooses one of them and visits only her." (SK - C)

"I've visited twenty [prostitutes] and from those, I came to a phase, when I like to talk, and then I go back, I don't know, to three or four of them. And I speak of a level of trust with these three or four. To other places, you go once and you don't come back ... it's not ... it just doesn't attract you. And you don't go back since the first feeling you have is usually the one indicating if a conversation could hap-

pen, or I don't know, a deeper contact ... because talking about feelings here is an illusion." (SLO-C)

(3) have a regular prostitute and if she is not accessible then choose another one:

"If a client is satisfied, he regularly comes back to the same woman... and if she is not by chance in the street, then he chooses another one." (SK - E)

(4) have a regular prostitutes but occasionally changes for another one:

"I have two regular prostitutes and I know for 100 per cent, that I can't catch anything from them. And then I try new ones as well. I look, whether they are clean and then decide whether to try them or not." (SK - C)

"Lately I visit the same, because they also change. They change year by year. But now I have an option for 5 [5,000 SIT], you know, you cannot generalize like in my case, but I have an option and I choose between two [prostitutes]. But I do make, from time to time, some change." (SLO-C)

(5) have one or two regular prostitutes:

"In the streets, it is quite risky, so I visit one or two regularly. I know where they are or I can contact them by phone." (SK - C)

"There are those, who would not take even Pamela Anderson, if she was there, they want just one (particular prostitute)." (SK - P)

(6) or, the client "keeps" a woman just for himself, which means that he gives the woman a certain amount of money every month for clothes and some travel:

"For this, she has to be ready any time I call her. She has to accompany me, and speak good English. I think this is a business between us, I don't always need her for sex, I also need someone to talk to... They have a good life. They can also have a boyfriend that they introduce to their families. I let them have a private life. ... Usually this kind of relationship lasts for one and a half years, and then we say good-bye. Otherwise they would get too attached to me and I wouldn't want a young, beautiful woman to leave me, when I love her..." (HU - C)

6. 4. Foreign prostitutes

None from the **Slovak** client respondents claimed that he is looking for a foreign prostitute. The same holds for **Poland**, where the clients see no difference whether a woman is Polish or not. However, two Slovak clients had experience with prostitutes from the former Soviet republics, which was very different; one assessed it as positive, while the other as negative.

"I knew (some prostitutes) from the former Soviet republics, they were more pleased, pleasant and receptive." (SK - C)

"I was once with a foreigner, with a Russian (prostitute). However, you are not able to speak with her, she understands you, but when she start to speak in Russian you have to think about it. I am not going to ask her three times, what she said." (SK - C)

Half of the interviewed **Hungarian** clients would be interested in having sex with exotic-looking, Asian women; however they did not express an interest in meeting women from neighbouring countries.

"I don't like foreign women from the East, Ukraine or Romania; they are quite simple, undemanding, and frustrated. I have a few experiences with them. But I can imagine that being with a foreign woman can be exotic. Not only the sexual act, but rather to find the common verbal and sexual language, the groping." (HU -C)

In Slovenia none of the interviewed clients expressed interest explicitly in looking for a foreign prostitute. However, one client explained how he looked for a prostitute while being on holiday abroad.

"In Bulgaria for instance, I was very satisfied... and I think I have to go to Romania as well, because I've heard, women there are even better...." (SLO-C)

In general it may be said, that the demand for foreign prostitutes is not very strong, probably much smaller than the supply. In Hungary demand seems to relate just to more exotic women and in Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia the demand for foreign prostitutes is almost entirely missing.

6. 5. The meaning of sex for clients

Most clients in **all the four countries** see a substantial difference between sex with a prostitute and sex with a stable partner/wife. This difference is determined by such factors as, affection for the partner, feelings higher than desire and the level of satisfaction when having sex with a prostitute and a stable partner.

"It is definitely different. When you are with a prostitute, your goal is a fast release. It has a certain feel to it. You go out with your friends and you feel like a real man because you had a couple of beers and then you went and fucked a few women. When you are with your love, there is an atmosphere of mutual love and respect. These two kinds of intercourses have nothing in common. With a prostitute it is fast and exciting, while with your wife it is intimate and wonderful. ... Of course a part of you wants to make fantastic love to a prostitute to make her yearn for you, but you realize that this is only an illusion."(HU - C)

"It's different when one has a girlfriend and he feels close to her: at the end this is better, if compared to this [paid sex], yes, this is also true ... Because there are no feelings here, nothing goes along with it. Definitely not." (SLO - C)

"With a girlfriend, it is better; however, in a parlour it is much more exciting." (SK - C)

"Sex is never so satisfying if compared to when there are emotions in between." (SLO - C)

„There is something like attachment... and evolution, so to speak, of a relationship. It's not about sex, meaning, the same like it was at the beginning. It's never the same thing, it evolves". Sex itself is very nice, but when you do it with a person you want and are even better with a person you emotionally relate to. Sure it's better. Because it's refined, so to speak. And this sex [with prostitute] doesn't mean anything at all." (PL - C)

On the one hand, sex with a stable, long-term partner or with their own wife is assessed as better by several respondents, since it is based on love and it is more about feelings than about physical attractiveness, and it has no strictly defined time interval. Making love to a woman they love is intimate, also gives emotional and spiritual satisfaction.

"With my wife, there is love." (SK - C)

"With a stable partner, it's more about feelings than physical attraction...these people (long-term couple) are also able to help each other." (SK - C)

"It is better with a girlfriend. She knows what I like, I know what she likes, and we do not have to rush." (SK - C)

"It is best with a long-term partner, because in the street it is just too quickly satiate and go away. It is also better with short-term (even one night) relationship than with a prostitute." (SK - C)

On the other hand, sex with a stable partner/wife is more about duty and a stereotype for some respondents and therefore does not satisfy them very much.

"With my wife, it's different, we know each other very much, and I know what she will do when I touch her hands or shoulder. It's a stereotype. In paid sex there is something new, therefore I am looking for it.... With my wife it is a duty, before there were feelings, we were in love, but now it's different." (SK - C)

"In the parlour, there is something mysterious, new." (SK - C)

Few people state that it is hard to compare stable partners with prostitutes because sex in both cases can be sometimes better and sometimes worse.

"It is very hard to compare, because with a stable partner, it is once super and other times useless, and the same holds for prostitutes. It depends on that particular moment, situation and mood." (SK - C)

One client, who has two long-term and "regular" prostitutes is satisfied that on the one hand he knows what to expect from them and on the other hand he feels free and not bounded to them.

"(With two regular prostitutes) we know each other for a longer time-period, so we both know what to expect from one another and therefore it is good, it suits me." (SK - C)

In general it may be said that while clients are able to find some sort of satisfaction either in a stable relationship, or in sex with a prostitute or in both of them, prostitutes are satisfied only in stable relationships.

6. 6. Alcohol/drug consumption before sex

In **Hungary**, alcohol and drug consumption seems to be common before visiting prostitutes. Some also take drugs (cocaine or speed) to the apartment of the women and take it together.

In **Poland** the respondents have observed that at places such as escort agencies, prostitutes are supposed to offer their customers drinks which are much more expensive than the ones in a shop or a restaurant. Prostitutes receive additional profit from alcohol that the clients buy and usually drink with these women.

"Under the influence - yes, because women offer drinking alcohol. Sometimes some of them just dip their lips in alcohol. But sometimes, they have one drink, and by the time the third client comes by, the whole alcohol is drunk. Both alcohol and intoxicants. I guess it happens often. First of all a woman must be in a drunken stupor, if she's at least a little smart. Besides, women often ask their clients if they don't have one thing or another, so they could have some drink together. So I guess it happens." (PL - C)

Several interviewees reported that in **Slovenia** wealthier clients usually seek sexual services in night clubs, where their encounter with a woman offering sexual services starts with buying expensive drinks, such as champagne. One owner of a night club reports:

"More or less those who have more [money] can afford to come to bars. This is a fact, because ... they don't always come only to look for services, right. Party and this, it takes longer. It's not a routine, only to go to the room, be there for half an hour, then go out. There is a party to it, and to make it final, the sexual act. But it's not mandatory, right. Not all of them come for ... some only come for company. He also knows there is a possibility, but he is just not interested." (SLO - M)

Concerning drug use and alcohol consumption in **Slovakia**, there are big differences between street prostitution and parlours. It is usual for street prostitutes to be under the influence of drugs; moreover, drug addiction is frequently the reason for street prostitutes doing their work. As clients looking for street prostitutes are often car drivers, they are not under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

“Hardly any street prostitute isn’t drug addicted...Almost everyone is drug addicted, so everyone knows that she is doing it for heroin.” (SK - P)

In parlours, it is just the opposite. Prostitutes do not use drugs there and they drink some small amount of alcohol with clients. Clients often go to parlours when they are under the influence of alcohol, as they feel more relaxed and free.

“Approximately 70 per cent of men (in parlours) drink alcohol. Then they are more released, they can afford more.” (SK - C)

“Women in parlours do not like if wiped out client enter (into parlour).” (SK - C)

“Junkies (in the streets) surely consume drugs, but not in parlours.” (SK - C)

6. 7. Health protection and THE risks of prostitution

From the research data it may be concluded that the main risks in the sex business are the STIs (sexually transmitted infections), alcohol, drugs and violence. According to an NGO study the spread of drug use among street prostitutes in **Slovakia** is more than 84 per cent and it is the combination of heroin and pervitin that has the highest occurrence. The reason for addicted prostitutes to be at great risk comes also from the fact that they often do not have any money for buying condoms or they do not provide them in advance. In contrast to street prostitution drug use occurs in the parlours rarely, brought in occasionally by the clients. However, there are some cases of stimulation drugs being offered to the sex-workers (ecstasy) by the manager.

“The parlour owner purportedly gives small amounts of drug to women in parlours, to keep up longer, to be “fresher”. (SK - C)

The women in **Slovak** parlours are trained not to have sex without protection, especially because of STIs (SK - B). It is, however, possible to have sex without a condom for an extra charge. Negotiating unprotected sex (mainly oral) is easier in the street than in a MP. Prostitutes, who are strict in refusing unprotected sex with the clients, do not even think of any protection in the sex with their partners/husband. (SK - P).

Although some of the clients declare that they are interested in the health status of their prostitutes, in fact they do it very superficially, e.g. by glance, or by asking a taxi driver.

“Just visually (I check her health status). If she is eczematous or dirty I don’t choose her.” (SK - C)

“Of course yes (I care about the health status of prostitutes), but not by asking them directly ... but before I speak with a taxi driver who is in a parlour and ask what they are doing there.” (SK - C)

“In fact I do not check [the medical status of a prostitute]... There is this feeling you know...the first impression, the person is tidy, she works in a settled environment, and there is a bathroom. You see the person wants to have a tidy customer, she has a nice, clean apartment and you can predict she is worried about her health care. Otherwise to ask her, I don't know: “Do you have a medical certificate?”, this I do not ask.”(SLO-C)

In **Poland**, the clients do not have any particular fears about the risk of getting infected with a sexually transmitted disease. There seems to be some assumption that women, especially those in agencies, often get examined, they are healthy, care about themselves in order to have a healthy body and be able to work.

Many clients in **Hungary, Poland** and **Slovakia** believe that condoms ensure that there will be no health problems arising from paid sex. In fact many clients justify their little or no interest about the health status of the sex worker by using condoms.

“I didn't ask her, because I always use a condom.” (SK - C)

One client says that in case he was infected by a prostitute, he would be violent and he would physically hurt her. It reflects the opinion that the responsibility for the health of the client is solely in the hands of the prostitute.

“In case I catch something I will go to break her head. I swear I will go there to break her head. I don't care too much [about her health status].” (SK - C)

The majority of client participants in **Slovakia** and **Slovenia** declare that they are willing to have and really do protected sex with condoms because almost everyone is aware of the risks of STI and HIV.

“I always use a condom, only once, when I had oral sex, I didn't. But I'm sure you can get sex without it. In my opinion women who offer such sex are those who urgently need money, for example they are drug addicted... I don't know why men look for such sex, I think there is something wrong in their heads, they are stupid, although we know sex without a condom represents bigger pleasure.” (SLO-C)

This is in concert with the experience of a parlour prostitute.

“Very few clients try to persuade me for unprotected sex.” (SK - P)

All interviewees from **Hungary** told that they thought that condom use with sex workers was extremely important, most of them would never do it without it. Despite this, few of them confessed not having used condoms a few times when they were under the strong

influence of alcohol or drugs. The situation is very similar in **Poland** where the respondents declared their awareness of sexually transmitted infections and that the only acceptable form of sexual intercourse with prostitutes is sex with a condom.

"I would never do it with a prostitute without a rubber. It's obvious that only with your wife you can make love without a condom. I guess they are healthy, but it doesn't matter. Just because. It's just the way it should be. She's a strange woman." (PL - C)

At the same time, they believe, similarly to respondents from Slovenia that for an additional fee the clients can have sex without a condom.

"I suppose some of them are taking the risk. Everyone of us is a psychologist to some extent, and can feel it somehow. Or maybe I'm going too far. I guess they accept it if you pay them more. Off the record. No-one knows about it, no pimp or brothel owners."(PL - C)

"Of course [there is a chance to pay for sex without protection], clients even pay more... They are not aware, they think this is not a problem, they think this is a problem of, as they say, "queers" and "junkies", or in Africa and America, not here in Slovenia. Sex without condoms represents bigger pleasure ... And women who offer such sexual intercourses are...negligent... We are just finishing a film about AIDS, about a patient who has told to his partners that he is HIV positive, but they had, regardless, slept with him without condom/protection." (SLO-E)

Street prostitutes in **Slovakia** say that the majority of their clients prefer unprotected sex.

"The majority of clients want to have unprotected sex." (SK - P)

"Mostly people from Austria would like to have oral sex for 10 Euro without a condom and complete sex for 20 Euro, even without a condom ... I am not sure whether they are aware of what they undergo." (SK - P)

Some clients prefer just unprotected oral sex and protected vaginal sex.

"If she is doing me oral sex, for sure I go without a condom, but vaginal sex without a condom is not taken into consideration." (SK - C)

Other clients in Slovakia, similarly to Polish clients, are sure that it is possible to negotiate unprotected sex for extra money. The easiest is to negotiate unprotected oral sex with street prostitutes, while the most difficult is to negotiate unprotected vaginal sex with a parlour prostitute. In parlours there is a strict rule for prostitutes to always use a condom, but nobody knows what she is doing privately in her room and the probability of negotiating unprotected sex partially depends on the amount of extra money paid directly to her, and partially on her perception of health risks.

“When you are buying sex it’s better with a condom, because you never know what you catch. In parlour oral sex is also with a condom, but you may pay extra money.” (SK - C)

“I don’t know, but I think there are also men, who don’t want protection and prefer to pay 3000 crowns [85 Euro] extra. I think it is strictly forbidden there for prostitutes ... however if someone gives her 3000 crowns extra it’s on her whether she wants to make money.” (SK - C)

The majority of Slovak clients say that they have never had STI and they have never been tested for HIV. Only two of them were on HIV tests and say the result was negative.

6. 8. Refusal

Reasons for refusing a client

The refusal of clients in **Slovakia** is possible both in parlours and in the streets, for example if a woman does not like the client who smells. However this is the typical attitude of a client when he ordered something:

“She simply has to do it... because they are chicks, who do everything... and if not, they would not earn.” (SK - C)

Prostitutes often refuse clients who do not want to use the condom.

“There are many clients who ask me why I do not offer [sex] without [condom]... I would say, half-half. There are of course many [clients] who express a wish to have [sex] only with a condom, some ask me if it is possible without, but I never go without because it is too risky ...” (SLO-P)

Other reasons for refusing clients are as follows:

“...they have to speak pure Slovenian, I do not receive foreigners... and they have to be clean...” (SLO- P)

“I would never have sex with a boozier or a violent person... otherwise... I’ve never had problems...” (SLO-P)

“Anal sex...some women offer it , some don’t. I, for instance, I would never agree to do it, I never do it and I rather renounce an extra bonus and stick to normal [sex].....and I reluctantly.. but what many clients want, is kissing.. I don’t want to do this with clients. I do it occasionally, but I’m very reluctant to do it...it is too intimate...” (SLO-P)

Reasons for refusing a prostitute

Although it is not very common, there are few cases in which clients also refuse prostitutes:

“Of course, I do not occupy myself with “junkies.” (SLO-C)

“It happened only once that I have changed my mind and refused the woman. She was neglected, her communication was on a low level and I inferred she was a drug addict.” (SLO-C)

6. 9. Problems, conflicts

Some clients (in parlours) are angry if they culminate before the agreed time, and the prostitute does not want to continue in a sequel.

“Sometimes there is problem that a man pays for some time period and if he finished sooner, the prostitute is not willing to continue with her job, especially in a sequel. Her approach is – ok, go out, it is finished.” (SK - C)

A more serious, however rarely occurring conflict arises in street situations when either the client or the prostitute steals the wallet or the money from the other one during sex, or a client wants his money back after the prostitute finished her job. In parlours clients sometimes behave in an ugly manner with the prostitute, or are too drunken, however no serious violence threatens there, as there are guards who quickly intervene in such cases.

Problems in the street occur when the client does not want to pay in advance or threatens to physically hurt the prostitute if she does not give him his money back. Moreover, clients in the street might want something that the prostitute does not want to do and then she has to get out from the situation somehow:

“Well, it happened to me, yes. So I told him to leave me alone, not to think of any tricks, because I have my pimp here, he follows me, so leave me alone, not to make troubles in vain, even I had nobody there. Mhm, sure! “ (SK - P)

Conflicts in the street occur also among prostitutes, when they go under the agreed price.

There are conflicts in Slovak parlours, although they are very rare, when the client wants his money back, because he was not satisfied, or when the woman does not keep the time.

7 VIOLENCE, CRIMINALITY, FORCED WORK AND TRAFFICKING



7. 1. Communication, Negotiation, Conflict, Violence, Forced Work, Organized Crime, And The Role Of Police

One central focus of this study was to look for and assess the indications of trafficking in the sex business. Therefore our aim was, after a partial analysis of the supply and the demand sides of sex business, to have a careful look at all the aspects of sex business which might point to signs of forced work and/or trafficking. Therefore, to the extent allowed by the collected material we analyzed communication patterns, negotiation and conflicts involved in the demand-supply interaction, signals of forced work, and looked at information on organized crime around sex business as well as the role of police. Direct data on violence, forced sex work and an analysis of negotiation patterns between sex workers, clients and other subjects involved, are available only from the Hungarian and Slovak national reports.

Empirical findings indicate different patterns of violence in the particular countries. Whereas in Hungary there are some indicators of forced work, slavery and/or restricting the freedom of (migrant) sex workers which can be expected in the night clubs (indoor facilities), in Slovakia violence indicators concern street prostitution – mainly groups of teenage “nouveau riche” clients. In general, the reporting of violent episodes by sex workers was, surprisingly, rare.

Communication with the client, negotiation and conflicts

According to the prostitutes the relationship with the client is just a business relationship. They offer and the clients buy the service and clients are the ones who can change their intentions:

“He pays me normally for the blowjob, says he wants the blowjob, and at the place always, or for sex, he gives me the money, but we come to the place and he wants something else, to speak only or to caress or something like that.” (SK- P)

7. VIOLENCE, CRIMINALITY, FORCED WORK AND TRAFFICKING

Negotiating in the street is about the price and the use of condom. Extra charge for not using the condom (in parlours) is justified by the fact, that *prostitutes can become pregnant* (SK-C).

In parlours (SK) when the man enters, women either come to his table, or they dance, then he chooses one of them, orders her a drink and they make a deal about the kind and the duration of service to be used. Then he pays in advance to the entrepreneur and goes with her to a room.

Although there are fixed prices and only condom-protected sex is officially accessible, sometimes it is possible to negotiate unprotected sex, if the client pays extra money directly to the prostitute. Even the fixed prices can be negotiated with the prostitute by meeting the client outside the parlour. In that case it is on the one hand cheaper for the client and on the other hand the prostitute earns more.

"I usually ask them for a phone number. She gives me a phone number, it is cheaper for me and at the same time, she earns more." (SK-C)

In the street (SK) mostly oral sex is the choice and it is quite usual, or possible to negotiate a lower price (300 crowns instead of 500 crowns – 8 and 12 EUR respectively) as well as to have unprotected oral and sporadically vaginal sex as well. Sometimes clients are too ashamed and they stop the car in the parking lot. In that case prostitutes take the active role and go to such a client and ask him whether he wants some service.

Usually, neither in parlours nor in the streets are there any serious problems during negotiating paid sex. The majority of smaller problems concern unprotected sex, some sexual practices, like anal sex, or sado-maso that prostitutes do not want to provide.

In most cases communication is restricted to making the deal between the sex worker and the client. Something extraordinary has to happen to include a third party:

"I had a conflict with a prostitute only once. She didn't do what we had agreed on earlier. I became upset and she warned me that she would call her 'boyfriend'. I left immediately." (HU – C)

It seems obvious to clients that there has to be some kind of agreement between the police and the pimps, club owners. Clients do not know about conflicts inside the sex sector. Some have heard of fights between rival sex workers.

"The main thing with the client is to be polite, graceful and tidy. You don't have to be very kind to your boss (owner of the club) because he traps you easily, for example if you had a kid, he could kidnap the child and you wouldn't see him anymore. There are two types (club/bar): one who beats the women or makes them pregnant or starts a sexual relationship, but they take the kids or "push the women out". The police have strange ways of thinking about it. There are those, who go to that kind of places, there are some who feel sorry about the women and there are some who convict them. Among the women there are big fights for

money and for the clients. ... Women are cross with each other whenever they can. There are some who take pleasure in it (they like it when the owner hits the women they don't like) others are helpful; there are kind women who stay together."

"Clients get into conflicts with security guards, because the owners are not there in the bars for security reasons. In general the subject of the argument is rape, cheating or theft. Guards pull off the clients and they make our work harder. I don't like this thing and I try to protect my clients. Police condemn bar owners and condemn some women too. Police don't disturb the clients." (HU – P)

Also according to a former club owner (HU) communication between the different actors of the sex sector is rather 'smooth'. Conflicts are solved 'in a material way'; it is every actor's interest to solve the issues 'as quietly as possible'. He never had any conflict with the police.

Violence and risk

The majority of prostitute-participants reported that they do not know about any examples/stories of violence, threat or risk – except in the case of the so called escort services, which is considered as a quite risky business among the prostitutes. In Slovakia a different kind of violence occurs in indoor and in outdoor prostitution. In massage parlours clients mention only cases of occasional and "soft" violence" (e.g. snapping).

Clients report rare episodes of prostitutes being slapped by the manager when refusing to go with a certain client. In street prostitution prostitutes/participants reported the theft of handbags by clients, the refusal to pay by the client and also some rare incidents of rape. Prostitutes are in particular scared of groups of young clients who represent a potential source of violence, rape or robbery. They definitely avoid going with customer that arrive in groups, and also are cautious with young clients. The recent, weekend visits of organized groups of UK tourists in Bratislava constitute a relatively violent subculture: These – predominantly young males – frequently visit MPs.

Indicators of forced prostitution/exploitation

The majority of the Slovak **clients**/participants made no recognition of any kind of forced sex work. Some (clients) doubt whether they would be able to recognize such a woman – without talking to her. Only exceptionally some of the clients reported having seen a woman who made the impression of being kept against her will by a "suspiciously looking" (from the Balkan?) male/s in a public place, or noticed some indication of violence (wounds on the face) on a street prostitute – however, of uncertain origin.

Awareness of the mainly "indirect" forms of forced prostitution was indicated. Some Slovak street **prostitutes** reported cases of pimps forcing women to continue their sex work. All these cases, however, include drug addiction and the woman is mostly exploited in order to make money for the drug (for herself as well as for the pimp).

One **MP owner** in Slovakia reported being from time to time approached by unknown people with an offer that a woman (sex worker) could be “brought” to the MP. She always refused because the context indicated that the woman may have been forced to do the sex work.

Organized crime in the context of sex business

Links between organized crime and sex business concern mainly indoor prostitution, in particular the massage parlours.

MP owners usually also run other businesses (restaurants, bars, etc.), belonging into the same “sector”. Contacts to prostitutes may, thus, be obtained in numerous restaurants from their managers “on demand”.

According to the Slovak police participants, the whole sector including restaurants, bars, and massage parlours is divided into zones between several “groups of interest”. These groups provide protection to the owner, and, of course, take their advantages. Leaders of these groups often visit MPs in their “zone”; have their business meetings in the MP, etc. This form is said to be different from the “traditional” extortion, usually based on a “geographical” principle. Disobeying this system usually has tragic consequences for the owner (burning down the MP or his house).

This information was confirmed by one MP owner, declaring that payment to the private security is actually a way of paying the “group of interest”.

Clients’ observation was that the Czech scene of the MPs is different from the Slovak one – it is not always necessarily connected to some kind of mafia as it is in Slovakia. The fact that mafia members are frequent clients in MPs was also confirmed by other clients.

Additionally to the “traditional” form of pimping and a transformed version of it into a drug-addicted duo (the pimp and the prostitute, both addicted, he is dealing drugs and she is making money with sex) there are occasionally “new” forms of pimping in Slovakia. For example a gang of boys from the nouveau rich environment trying to “colonize” some street prostitutes. These affairs usually end quickly due to the engagement of the police (informed by the prostitutes).

Observations of police activities in sex business in Slovakia

According to references from street prostitutes the involvement of the police is minimal: regular patrols in places where prostitution is conducted (Bratislava) or occasional checks of IDs. One participant reported having been tolerated by the police without an ID for several months (after the theft of her handbag). The police seem to know the sex workers one by one. The “supportive” attitude of the police is explained by their expectation towards the prostitutes to report occasionally about cars or persons.

MPs seem to be under permanent examination by the police: approximately once a year there is a big check, sometimes under quite dramatic circumstances and always by “secret” officers attending the MP. The checks concern either the search for a certain woman, drugs, illegal business, etc. (Surprisingly, according to information from the police, substantial amounts of drugs have never been found in the sex-business environment; just small doses – mostly with clients).

According to the information from an NGO working in street prostitution, the attitude of the police is in principle positive towards cooperating with NGOs, but in practice there is insufficient will to act. The police are sometimes seen as a body overstepping their rights (taking pictures of the prostitutes in the street, bringing them to the police, taking their fingerprints). The main reason for it is the insufficient legislation to regulate sex work.

In case of conflicts (problematic client in MP, client not willing to pay in the street, theft of a handbag), according to the information both from the clients and prostitutes, police is never called for support. Reporting to the police could as well be dangerous – inducing revenge from the managers. Overall, there is quite low trust in the police.

Several clients reported that the police was involved in some crime around prostitution – either as pimps in the street prostitution, or being arranged with MP owners, or abusing power (having sex with sex workers during a check in a MP). This information however, could not be verified.

7. 2. TRAFFICKING

Information revealed on trafficking in the four national reports is not precise enough for providing a systematic comparison. Sometimes information on whether trafficking was into, outside of, or within the country is missing. From Hungary, Slovakia and Slovenia there are reported cases of trafficking based either on police or court statistics, ranging between approximately 20-50 cases per year and country.

Trafficking overview:

HUNGARY	POLAND	SLOVAKIA	SLOVENIA
20–30 cases in court yearly. In 2005: 28 investigations against traffickers and 27 processes against them.	Data were not available.	12 cases of trafficking from Slovakia in 2006. 36–40 cases of accusation from pimping within 6 months in 2006.	Official figures are around 20–50 cases of trafficking, enslavement and/or pimping accusations yearly during the period from 2002 to 2004. 12–14 persons accused of trafficking were registered in 2005 (for trafficking 8 victims).

While trying to gain an overview on the potential for trafficking in the region, it may be worthwhile to look at information on the overall mobility of sex workers. As sex workers’ mobility may be facilitated by other actors, which can be linked to trafficking. Thus the following table should highlights data that is relevant to trafficking.

7. VIOLENCE, CRIMINALITY, FORCED WORK AND TRAFFICKING

Sex workers' mobility:

	HUNGARY	POLAND	SLOVAKIA	SLOVENIA
Outside the country – origin:	Presumably several cases to: Austria, France, Switzerland.	Poland used to be a country of origin in the early 1990s.	Small groups of Roma women and their relatives are transferred abroad (mainly to Czech Republic).	About 100 cases yearly to Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Germany.
Transit:	Hungary is mainly a transit country for sex workers. Trafficking is organized by medium sized groups of 20 people.	Poland is currently a transit country (mainly for prostitutes from Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine). No data were found on trafficking.	Several successful prostitutes from Ukraine move to Western Slovakia, or further to the EU.	1,500–2,500 women yearly on the Balkan route. Organization of trafficking has changed during recent years.
Into the country – destination:	Illegal parlours/ brothels employ women from Eastern Asia.	No indications of trafficking into the country were found. Prostitutes form Belarus, Moldova and the Ukraine are said to come “voluntarily”. Pimps declare “employing” and not trafficking them!	According to available data prostitutes come voluntarily (mainly from the Ukraine, but also from Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and Slovenia and occasionally from China and Vietnam).	According to available data prostitutes come voluntarily (from Russia, the Ukraine, Romania, Hungary, Balkans, South America).
Within the country:	60% of street prostitutes are from the countryside-“crisis zones” (could be sold by their families for 100–300EUR).	Not found.	Not found.	Secondary schools students (students with special needs) are trafficked via taxi services.
Pattern of mobility of sex workers:	Hungary is simultaneously a source, target and transit country for sex workers.	Poland used to be a country of origin and it is currently a transit country, and is gradually becoming a country of destination for sex workers.	Slovakia is simultaneously a source, target and transit country for sex workers.	Slovenia is simultaneously a country of origin and destination, and mostly a transit country for sex workers (the Balkan route).

Working abroad and trafficking

An important specific aspect of sex work potentially including several elements of trafficking is “voluntary” work abroad. Based on data from Slovakia, the main reason for working abroad (in Western European countries – mainly in Austria, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands) is a higher income compared to the income of a sex worker in her home

country. The absolute anonymity and the prevention of disclosure to the family also contribute to the decision of working abroad.

Working abroad in sex business is generally seen as risky. One of the participants (street prostitute) directly expressed her fear of working abroad because she might become the subject of trafficking and – also - might get the status of a “persona non grata” if the police caught her.

Working abroad almost always includes an element of exploitation even if it is not forced: the obligatory provision for the contact person is about 10 per cent of the income of the sex worker.

Selling women abroad does not always have transparent signs of trafficking. Eighty per cent of the women working abroad are of Roma origin (police information) around the age of 20. These women are aware of what kind of work they are going to do abroad.

There was also a “professional” opinion pronounced, meaning that women, who have experience of working abroad, constitute the top quality of sex workers in MPs in Slovakia. There is, however, a majority of “bad” examples of women going abroad for sex work (mostly to Western Europe), they get into trouble, have difficulties returning home and only rarely do they make a significant financial profit from their trip.

The social construction of trafficking

Beside the data indicating directly or indirectly the incidence of trafficking it is also useful to have some information on how trafficking is understood in the public discourse and how trafficking is being treated by the media. These “soft” aspects may be important for estimating the risk-context of trafficking in society and for setting up adequate preventive measures.

Data from the survey which was conducted in Hungary and Slovenia show that the prevailing majority of both Hungarian and Slovenian male population knows about the phenomenon of trafficking (92% and 85% respectively). Even though the Slovenian respondents revealed in comparison to the Hungarian sample a wider variety of possible connotations of the term ‘trafficking’, including also current trends like trafficking in human organs, the semantic connection to forced sex-work is in both samples very high (30% and 44% respectively). In the Hungarian sample the concept of trafficking seems to be predominantly and stereotypically bound to female persons.

7. VIOLENCE, CRIMINALITY, FORCED WORK AND TRAFFICKING

Meanings of the term trafficking in persons – Hungary and Slovenia:

Meaning of trafficking (multiple responses):	Response %	Response %
	Slovenia	Hungary
Someone is sold abroad	55,3	
Selling-and-buying of girls/women		44
Someone is forced to be a prostitute	30,2	44
Stealing girls/women from home		27
Someone is taken abroad against their will	18,6	
Bringing girls/women abroad by force		21
Someone is exploited, works for an extremely low salary	17,8	16
Slavery	7,2	
Someone is cheated with the false promise of a decent job	6,3	15
Earning money on someone else's account	2,9	
Trafficking in human organs	10,8	
Don't know	2,7	
No answer	0,4	
Other	28,2	
Total	180,4	167

The meaning of trafficking and its importance is strongly influenced by official statements and media presentations. This is well illustrated by the available data from Slovenia where trafficking is limited to trafficking in women for sexual exploitation and according to state officials and the media Slovenia is mainly a transit country. Analysis of media reporting where journalists most often cite governmental officials as sources of information, shows that trafficking is depicted as “a minor problem” for Slovenia that is “with no doubt a transit country” where “numbers [of trafficked persons] are not raising a great concern.” The best example for enforcing the idea of being just a transit country is presented by such newspaper headlines as “We are not trafficking people in Slovenia”, or “Trafficking in persons is not a big concern in Slovenia” (Pajnik, 2005).

Observations, experience and attitude to trafficking

From all the prostitute-participants involved in this study, only one declared openly her experience of having been trafficked. A few years ago, she was sold and was forced to work in a flat with some other prostitutes. She said that there was no point in reporting the case to the police.

“Personally nobody asked my permission, just sold me. ... These women come from the biggest poverty, they feel they can't find any other form of living and after they decided to do it, it is hard to quit it. ... I am a victim of trafficking because I trusted someone who victimized me; it broke my life in two. I know some cases where women are sold very often. With men it is totally different. They don't have to be forced; they start it by their own decision. The society's judgment is different about male prostitutes.

... In general they pick the women up in discos as they've done with me, too. Who is pretty enough and dances well, they get close to and more confidential. They stay together for 1-2 months with the woman and after they sell them. ... The guy was handsome and very kind. He became my boyfriend. We moved into a common flat and after a month he took me to a bar and left me there (sold there). I have never seen him again."²⁰

Among clients included in this study, there was almost no observation and experience with a trafficked sex worker in any of the four countries. The majority of client-participants, however, doubt whether they could recognize a trafficked women; if yes, so they mainly imagine her being depressed, silent, passive, possible wounded in the face. In the street, a trafficked woman would be "body-guarded", and sooner or later it would be revealed to the other prostitutes. In Slovenia it was, however, reported that there are victims of trafficking among migrants who are closed in the detention centre of Veliki otok near Postojna, as well as in the asylum seekers' home in Ljubljana.

The analysis of the Slovenian interviews shows that frequently, although with some exceptions, respondents make strong borderlines between prostitution and trafficking. Many believe that prostitution is the free choice of women, contrary to forced prostitution and trafficking in persons which are strongly linked to restricted work with slavery-like dimensions. Also in Slovakia attitudes to trafficking are frequently dominated by justifying trafficking with the initial will of the victim to get involved in the sex business and making the victim responsible for being trafficked. Similarly, Polish clients mostly neglect issues of forced prostitution:

"In Poland they are not forced to work as prostitutes, for sure. They come here to get some money. I got to know some of these women. Sometimes young girls come from small towns where they have no chance for anything. They come here, stay for three months and then come back."(PL-C)

"Sure, I read some article about some women being smuggled to Germany or Turkey, but for me these are women who are completely unaware of what they are doing, not intelligent, they are first promised to get some fortune only to end up as slaves. But in Poland I've never seen that. Here we have Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians, who simply make use of their situation out there. They earn money here just because they want to. They go to their children on vacation. I know such cases. They come back to work here – and their passports are not taken away for sure."(PL-C)

The fact that the trade in women is a marginal aspect of prostitution is also due to some experts:

"I came across some cases, when I supposed these women found themselves in escort agencies for reasons other than financial. Still, 99 per cent of these women do it voluntarily. It is simply their choice." (PL-E)

²⁰ Quotation from the interview made with a prostitute who works in a Hungarian provincial town..

7. VIOLENCE, CRIMINALITY, FORCED WORK AND TRAFFICKING

While admitting that trafficking in persons, when it implies force and slavery-like relations, is indeed a severe violation of human rights, one interviewee argued for the need to break with stereotyping claiming that all foreign women are victims or all women who work in apartments work on their own, and freely.

“When discussing such hidden phenomena as prostitution or trafficking, one needs to assume a lot, [...] and the sensitivity of the one who makes these assumptions are very important. [...] When judging these phenomena one is faced with a mixture of ten models where one verifies another, so that I’m able to establish whether I’m talking to a trafficking victim. Because many don’t recognize themselves as such.” (SLO-E)

One respondent who has experience in working in the asylum seekers’ home reported that she had contacts with persons whom she assumed were or were to become victims of trafficking. However, she stresses, **many didn’t recognize themselves as victims**. *“They didn’t recognize themselves as victims, and I also couldn’t identify them as such, although I’m almost certain they were” (SLO-E)*. While the clients assumed that trafficking **only relates to “foreign women”**, **some experts** pointed out the need to recognize that not only women from abroad are trafficked. Experiences show that there are also domestic women who work in prostitution and are trafficked (e. g. in Hungary or Slovenia).

In Slovakia an NGO representative expressed a strongly liberal attitude that is close to neglecting the issue of trafficking. According to her, all women know what they are going to do; they voluntarily enter the sex business arena. Only the conditions are sometimes very different (low pay, other kind of work) from what the woman was initially promised.

The experts’ view in Poland was focusing mainly on the transit between East and West. This is however slowly changing. At the beginning of the 90s, Poland was a country where women were sold to the West. Currently, Poland, as a place with a growing welfare, has become a transit country for smugglers from the East to the West, and has also become a country to which women are being trafficked. According to the respondents, another problem is that women are short-sighted when deciding to go abroad to work as prostitutes:

“She sometimes goes there voluntarily. There’s high demand for it, because sex is business. As long as there are women who more or less agree on that, then these situations will take place. It is often the case that women go abroad to work without having a job. Someone told them there is something: that some friend promised to find them some job. And the truth is, some of them agree on that voluntarily, being aware somewhere deep in their mind of what may happen when they go there.”(PL-E)

Preference for trafficked sex workers

Clients from all four countries in general reject and/or condemn “using” victims of trafficking in the sex business.

Some of them declared that they would not have sex with a prostitute who is forced into prostitution, but they would try to help her somehow:

“If she told me in any way, gave me some signs that she is forced to do that against her will, I would definitely not use her, and I would not even have doubts as to whether inform somebody about that and help her, because this situation is not comprehensible and acceptable to me.” (PL-C)

Similarly, experts also condemn the trade in women:

“I strongly oppose it. It is by all means the violation of human rights ... in some circumstances you can kill a man, but you can never sell a person under any human rights standards.” (PL-E)

The opinion of pimps is similar, in spite of the fact that they are aware of trade in women. As they admit, it is unacceptable and they declare not taking part in it, they do not force women into prostitution, and they would never do that. Besides, the opinion holds (e.g. in Slovakia and Poland) that it would be impossible:

“So what if take their passports? Police are coming here once or twice a month and the first question is about passports and IDs. They check the documents.”(PL-PP)

The pimps, however, differ in their detachment of moral responsibility for forced sexual work. The pimps expressed that they *employ women of other nationalities*:

“I know some of these women and they don’t look like they were forced to prostitution because they are happy to stay here and to be able to support their families at home.” (PL-PP)

According to the opinion of the Slovak police-participants, a significant role in the demand abroad is played by paedophile and homosexual/paedophile persons in Western-European countries and psychopathic foreign clients (from UK, NL, D) in Slovakia.

Reaction in a potential encounter

In Hungary, clients stated that if they had met a sex worker who was a victim of violence or trafficking, they would call a helping NGO (which would probably be NANE – Women’s Rights Association or the Hungarian Prostitutes’ Interest Association). Similarly, some of the Slovak clients expressed their distrust in the police – whether they would really act in favour of the victim. The distrust concerning the police is even higher among the sex workers (in the street) who would prefer to contact some NGO. None of them would turn to the police for help. The majority of the clients from Slovakia are scared because they are aware of the threats from the managers and/or the mafia. They would act only under conditions of keeping 100 per cent anonymity and are mostly willing to call a safe number.

8 THE DEMAND-SUPPLY DISCUSSION



A few reports that exist on the demand side reveal that the general demand for prostitution comes in a greater part from men. Despite that the face of clients always remains covered. Discourse about the issue almost never puts men in the focus. Not only the social-scientific discourse neglects clients, but also the Hungarian, Polish, Slovenian and Slovak legislation regulates, punishes, sentences or stigmatizes only the women and the pimps. There is no legal reference to any aspect of clients. Even considerations of health care and the obligatory health-certificate are limited to the prostitutes - leaving out of concern the potential actor, who practically can infect the prostitute.

Due to the lack of direct surveys about the client-side, we have to draw from research that deals more broadly with the changes that took place in attitudes towards sexuality, as well as from patterns of sexual behaviour. This information creates a frame in which the client-side is easier to understand.

Particularly, in Hungary a survey representative of the whole population was made in 1991 and 1996 about sexual attitudes and practices. It tries to give a theoretical analysis of demand, concerning the basic changes that took place in Hungarian people's minds with the regime change.²¹ The essay, which summarizes the results of the survey, introduces a notion, which is easy to import into the issue of the client-side of Hungarian prostitution. The notion is called: '**hamburger-sex**'. It means that there is a new, consumer mentality, which is spreading more and more in the various fields of Hungarian people's lives, also in the field of sexuality. The status-symbol of this mentality is the hamburger - according to the essay - because the hamburger reflects the new habit of "quickly buying, and eating something under unworthy circumstances, without even tasting it, and with a persistent demand for a new piece of it".

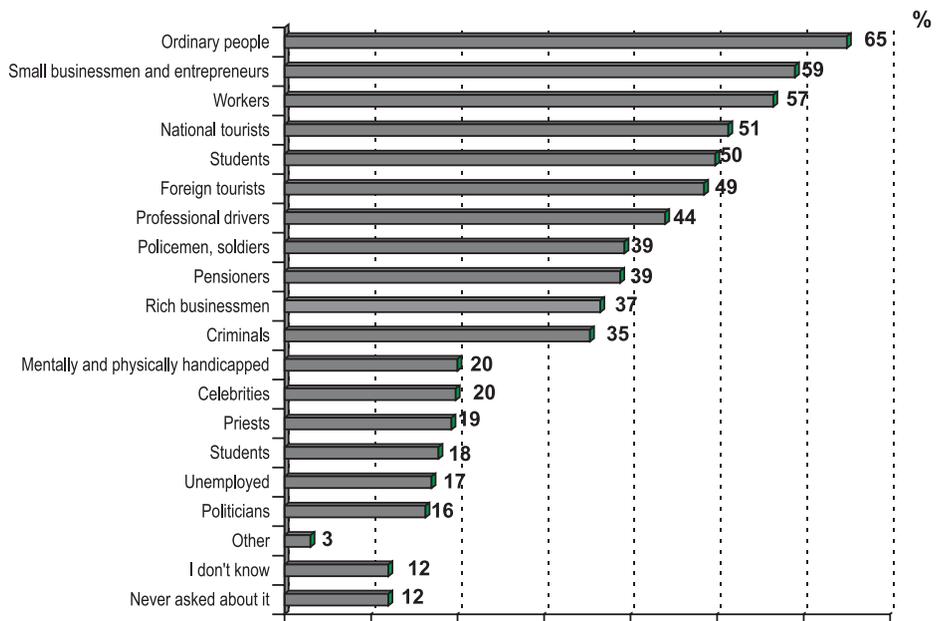
A similar practice takes place in the field of sexual customs, which affects mostly the youngest generation, but has an effect on the whole society as well. The essay demonstrates this change with setting up an explanatory model about the 'communicational

21 The survey was financed by the Ministry of Welfare and by the Hungarian National AIDS Commission, and was technically implemented by two big public opinion poll institutes, Szonda-Ipsos (1991) and Median (1996). Source of the results: Kritika, 1997/ 10. László Tóth: Sex – what happens with sexuality nowadays in Hungary?

content of sex'. The variable of the model contains two questions: one is the frequency of having sex; the other is the number of partners. In the model of the survey, 'high communicational content' means that sex is a social interaction. Practically it means that the respondent tends to have sex many times with one person, and has an intensive sexual life with a low number of partners. The communicational content of sex is treated as low, if the respondent has sexual intercourse with one partner only a few times, or if s/he has sex infrequently with only a few partners. The model shows that the sexual life of Hungarian people moved to the direction of 'low communicational content' during a half-decade long period (1991-1996). The tendency was notable in every age-group, but was extremely powerful within the younger age-groups of society. The essay summarizes the data with the statement: "Data shows that the society is moving towards sexual looseness, but in fact it means, that we started to follow the consumer model of sexuality."²²

When compared to the data collected in the current study, there are several indicators supporting the presumption of "hamburger sex". A thorough look at the different types of clients and their motives for purchasing sex, however, show a wide range of consumerism. Concerning the typology of clients, even though they come from all age- and educational groups (see chart below indicating the social structure of the prostitutes' clients, as mentioned by the interviewed 400 prostitutes in the Polish study), all are willing to spend a significant amount of money for consuming sexual pleasure.

Clients' background, (%), N=400, 2002 (Poland)



²² In: László Tóth: Sex – what happens with sexuality nowadays in Hungary? *Kritika*, 1997/10. p.17.

The importance of spending money in the sex business is best visible on the behaviour of the “new yuppie” clients and on the children of the ‘nouveau rich’ who, besides buying sex, show their attitudes openly towards the prostitutes. According to complaints of prostitutes/sex workers these clients behave as if the prostitutes were just goods; thus, these clients solidify themselves in their overall possessive urges.

From the point of view of the different motives of clients for purchasing sex, two groups can be distinguished. One with an open admittance of their search for (new) entertainment, pleasure and sex without obligations, and the other who neglects the consumer aspect of buying of sex and justifies it with various “psychological” needs, e.g. (sexually) dysfunctional marriage, missing relationship and/or understanding. Clients from this second group sometimes do not even have sex with the prostitute; just buy her time for talking. Such mode of behaviour still represents a consumer attitude to intimate relationships, supporting the thesis of a current “crisis of intimacy” (cf. K. Plummer, 2003).

Within the discussion on sex-consumerism, besides the specific types and motives of clients, the interest in the person herself (the prostitute), as highlighted by Anderson and Davidson (2002) may be another key issue factor in the discussion on **demand**. Results of this study confirm the findings of these authors concerning the preference for young and communicative sex workers. For the same reason Central European clients almost never search for foreign and/or exotic prostitutes who are not able to communicate fluently in the clients’ native language. Moreover, (mainly) in Hungary and Slovakia the “stratification” of prostitutes is reflected in the stratification of clients – with street prostitution being the most looked down.

Research findings of Anderson and Davidson (2002) confirm that clients may prefer prostitutes who are youthful, of a particular race (skin-colour), and have proper communication skills (speak their language). Indirectly, the ‘interest-in-the-person-herself’ is amplified by consequences for the client’s status resulting in his choice of a prostitute (level of the prostitute). Also, some clients prefer trafficked prostitutes because they are thought to be more helpful, less talkative and easier to control.

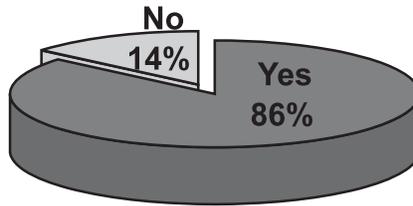
Their chances to find a satisfying job after quitting sex-work is, however, very low. The level of difficulty involved in getting out of the system is well illustrated by the following quotation from a previous research²³:

Concerning the “source” of **supply** in sex work, the results of this study show that it is predominantly driven by the economic needs of suppliers: on the one hand the extreme poverty of disadvantaged and marginalized groups in the so called hunger-valleys/poor regions within a country, and inter-regional and international inequalities in living standards. Within a demand-supply discussion it is, however, important to realize that despite the predominantly economic motives for providing sex work, the majority of prostitutes

23 Judit Forrai – Norbert Lőrincz: Az utcai szociális munka a prostituáltak megsegítésének szolgálatában. (Social street-work for helping prostitutes.) Wesley János Lelkészképző Főiskola. (János Wesley Theological Seminary). Bp. 2003. p. 47.

declare an interest to quit this work. The extent of this internal conflict is obvious from the following chart:

An intention to change the job, (%), N=400, 2002 (Poland)



“Betty is 23 years old. She started her practice in the industry five years ago. She came from the countryside. For the question, why she chose this job, she gives the answer: in the hope of an easier life, expensive clothes, a flat and a car - which would not have been available otherwise. First she worked under the control of a pimp. She earned a lot, but the pimp took away almost all the money. After a while she had enough of that, stole some money from the pimp (who was her boyfriend as well) bought some clothes and travelled home. As long as the money lasted, she was the ‘queen’ of the village. When she ran out of money, she decided to go back into the business, because she could not give up her costly way of life.”

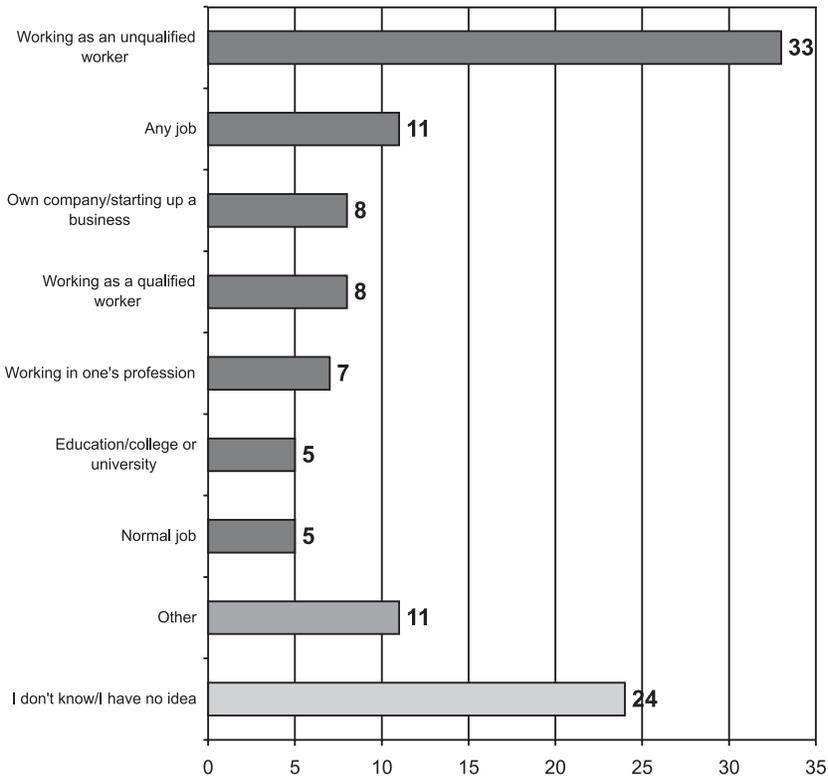
In the context of the **social and cultural reflection** of the demand-supply interaction in sex work, prostitution and trafficking, there are several elements which constitute a framework to which any consideration on a future development of the sex business arena have to be related. These include: the self acceptance of sex workers, the perception of sex business in general, the perception of people selling and buying sex and the perception of the gender balance of sex business.²⁴

²⁴ According to a prostitute, the gender difference (men buy sex and women sell it) is given by the fact, that men have more difficulties in finding a sex partner than women and that is why they have to buy it (SK-P). A client mentioned that there is no gender relationship; it is only a business matter (SK-C). An NGO worker subscribes to this, demonstrates a transparent liberal attitude to sex business and says that violence is not necessarily behind it, as the feminists interpret it. She would welcome an advocacy campaign for accepting sex work.

“There are prostitutes who did not resign to the fact of being prostitutes and are ashamed of it and then there are those who are willing to participate in advocacy and who do not consider it to be a shame if they work in the sex business. I understand that it is difficult to confess to parents, at home. Their partners mostly know about it... But the majority of them is accessible in some way to participate in some advocacy.” (SK-E)

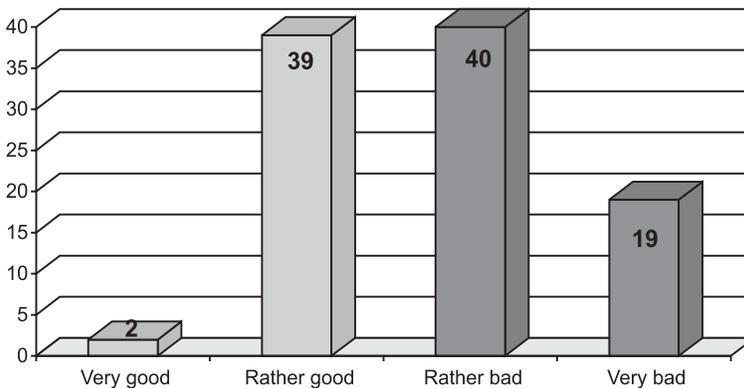
“My attitude is that it is all about free choice and I do not search for any gender aspect in it. In this business, there are women, men, transgenders, so actually gender issues are not relevant here... People from outside look at it from a gender perspective and I can imagine some feminist organizations who make a big case out of sex work, that it is the violence of women, and that men are pigs. But (for me) it is a regular business relationship, I do pay and you provide me a service. If somebody does not like it then that person does not need to do it. ..(So would you consider yourself a liberal?) Yes.” (SK-E) A widely spread opinion says that the imbalance between men and women resides in the fact that men are in economically and socially stronger positions and that the women are weaker and they do not know how to provide for themselves economically. Some opinions also surfaced, that it is easier for women than for men to sell sex,

Job opportunities after quitting prostitution, (%), N=364, 2002 (Poland)



From the point of view of prostitutes the acceptance/rejection of sex work in society may have a strong influence on their self-acceptance. Thus it is not surprising that more than half of the prostitutes in the **Polish** research (2002) had a negative attitude to their own work. Moreover, only a negligible share (2%) of them expressed a “very good” attitude.

Prostitutes’ attitude toward their work (%), N=400, 2002



also because they are more attractive (the men are all the same). It is also “given by the nature”, because the men can have sex without love (SK-C) or they are more aroused, they can not persist without sex (SK-C).

According to the utterances of **Slovak** participants the population differs substantially in their assessment of sex business. The borderline between negative and neutral (or positive) evaluation of sex business goes through religion, age, class and urban/rural area. Older and religious people from rural areas have mostly more negative attitude toward the sex business than the younger non-believers from the cities.

“Someone rejects it (sex business) completely; someone takes it as it is. It is rejected for example for religious reasons. (Religious people) don’t like it, they consider it as a sin, it is not acceptable for them, they are fogeys (old-fashioned)... Young people take it mostly as fun, not as something bad...”(SK-P)

“People don’t even want to hear about it (sex business), especially the older generations – they are advocating partnership – one woman, one man. In sex they see something bad, unclean, and perverse. Slovakia is a Catholic country.” (SK-B)

“Older people are conservative and the young are proud to be in parlours, they want to show off.” (SK-C)

“Some people disapprove of it (sex business); however, other people perceive it as cool. Mostly the older people disapprove of it, because it is not a normal way of making money, you are selling your body. The youngest take it as a component of fun, they go to sit for a while (in parlours) and if some woman attracts someone, he goes with her.” (SK-C)

“In Orava (rural part of Slovakia) people don’t speak about it (sex business). It is not as common as in cities, where people get accustomed to it.” (SK-C)

The parlours are mainly meant for the rich clientele and therefore middle-class people may have more negative attitudes toward them.

“Those rich people understand it (sex business), because it is normal for a lot of people to go there and the middle class disapproves of it, because they are not able to imagine that it is good fun. They are either at work, or at home.” (SK-C)

Some people are against sex business in public, but privately they like it.

“The society mostly disapproves of it (sex business). However, a lot of people, who disapprove of it, then use it, they use these services. But when speaking about in society, everybody disapproves of it, hardly anybody brags that he was here.” (SK-C)

Some of our respondents think that using sex business is not normal (SK-C), prostitutes are perceived as the last ignominy (shame) (SK-E), who humiliate themselves.

“All society looks at it as the last thing that can be done by human beings.” (SK-E)

Other people assess both, the positive and negative role of sex business. The negative side includes: STIs, HIV and the weakening of family; the positive side is that it helps those men, who have some somatic defect or are unable to find a woman for themselves. According to another opinion sex business was a taboo after the velvet revolution in Slovakia then it started to grow, but now the interest in it will be, after the satiation of curiosity, lower.

“It (sex business) becomes down-to-earth, I think that it will decrease slowly, people will search also purity and not just sex. Someone goes there just to abreact and then returns back home, your own wife is nevertheless the best.” (SK-B)

The majority of people engaged in sex business, either on the supply or demand side; do not speak about it openly in public. It is mostly some of their friends who know about it, while it is almost a rule that their families do not and should not know about this job or hobby.

“I have friends who are doing the same job, so I don’t have to explain why and how I am doing it. My family doesn’t know about it, my mother would not understand it for sure. She would not even believe that I am doing such a thing because I am not an exhibitionist.” (SK-P)

“Our acquaintances know (that we are the owners of the erotic club), other people don’t. It isn’t something to brag about ...there is a difference between a business and a business.” (SK-B)

“My friends know about it (that I am a client), we chat about it, but my family doesn’t know anything about it, they are not supposed to know it.” (SK-C)

However, quite strong differences exist between assessing a client and a prostitute. Prostitutes are disapproved of and sometimes felt sorry for (at least they think so).

“Of course, my family denounces me because of that (I am a prostitute). Some people denounced me and some are not able to reconcile with it, but are trying to understand it.” (SK-P)

“People in my vicinity, who know that I am a prostitute, treat me differently than before, they don’t like it, they are afraid that they catch something from me.” (SK-P)

“Other people look at me (street prostitute) in a very humiliating way... for example they shouted at me when I stepped out of a car... I think that sometimes people feel sorry for us and therefore they go with us ... because some of them sometimes do not even culminate, I do it with my mouth for a while and then he says, ok let it be and he goes away, or just speaks with me.” (SK-P)

Clients are not stigmatized, nor humiliated. Quite the opposite, they are perceived either as normal people capable of having fun, or “heroes” worth following, or a good company for getting together to have paid sex services.

“Few (friends) know (that I am a client), but majority don’t. I don’t have any problems with it, we laugh when they ask me whether I was there, I was, so what?” (SK-C)

“Not many friends know about it (that I am a client). I think that those, who know are impacted by it, maybe some of them would like to try it.” (SK-C)

“The attitude of my friends who are also having sex for money toward sex business is that it is just buying sex for money (to have fun, relax). It’s a normal thing nowadays. Fifteen years ago it was taboo, but not now.” (SK-C)

“My acquaintances take it normally, they were also there (in the parlour), speaking frankly, who wasn’t there? Maybe there are some (who weren’t there), but surely just a few.” (SK-C)

“Of course, my friends know about it. We are such a party; we are going to have fun there (in the parlour). We have our girlfriends, but when someone has a birthday, we make a joyride. Family surely doesn’t know about it, they would disapprove of it.” (SK-C)

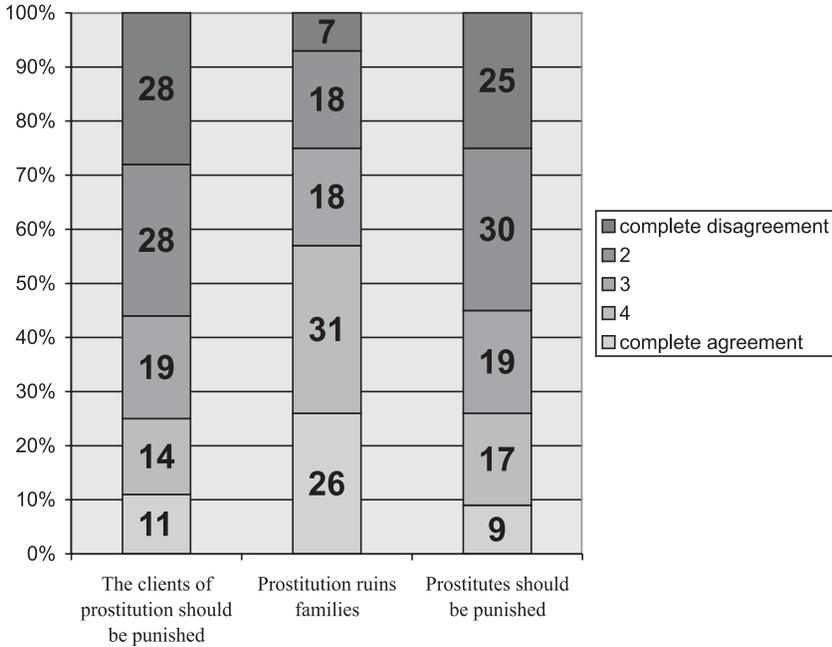
A comparison of the social and cultural reflection of prostitution presented in the preceding paragraphs and the reflections of violence, forced sexual work and trafficking for sex work (presented in Chapter 7) result in a substantial difference between the perception of these two areas. In the area of prostitution, demand and supply are “balanced”; participants of this study equally either accept or reject both the supply and (their) demand. The extent of this acceptance is higher among urban, younger, non-religious people.

In the area of violence, forced sex work and trafficking the social and cultural reflection is different. The supply side of it is either neglected or – if recognized - then principally condemned. The demand for forced and/or trafficked sex workers was consistently denied and rejected.

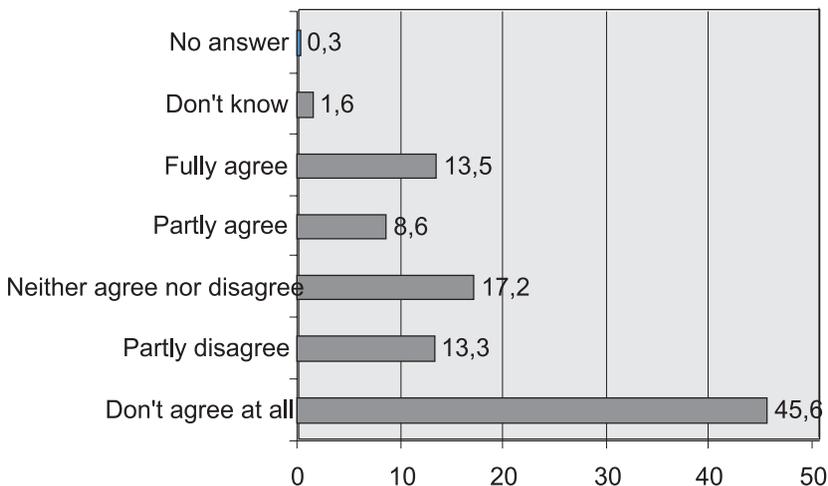
A specific aspect of the social and cultural reflection of sex business is the attribution of “**responsibility**” in the public discourse on prostitution. In the context of the demand-supply discussion it is interesting to compare figures advocating legal punishment of either the sex-workers or clients. In **Hungary**, the share of male respondents from the general public who disagree with punishing either the clients of prostitutes or the prostitutes themselves more-than-double those who agree with punishing them (56% and 55% versus 25 and 26%). The **Slovenian** data from a representative male sample show differentiation between clients and prostitutes as far as a possible punishment is concerned; while the opinion about non-punishing and punishing the prostitutes more-less equals the Hungarian data (59% and 22% respectively). In respect to clients of prostitutes the share of disagreement and agreement with punishing them is reversed (37%

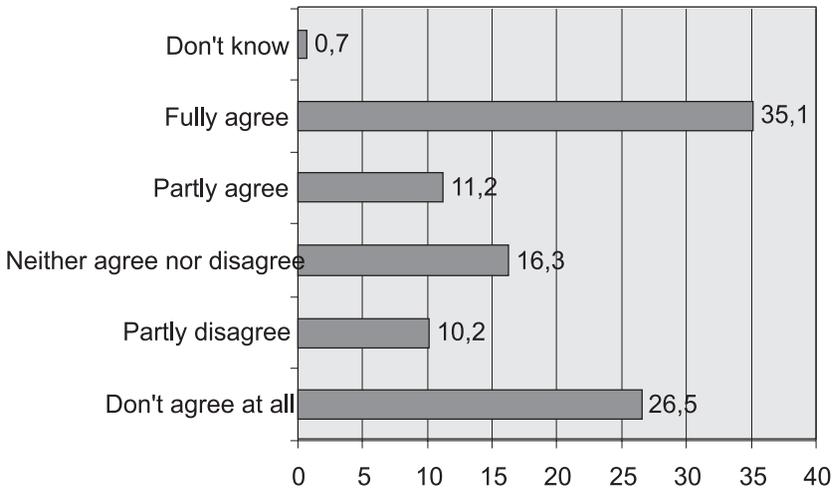
to 46%) indicating that in Slovenia men included in the survey attribute the responsibility in the sex-business much more to the “demand” side. This finding is also in accord with the difference between Hungary and Slovenia concerning the understanding of the term “trafficking” (see above). In Slovenia the structure of the possible connotations of trafficking was much more varied, covering a broader range of situations.

The distribution of the three intolerant items (%) (Hungary)



Prostitutes should be punished (Slovenia)



Users of prostitution should be punished (Slovenia)

This variety in opinions about “who is responsible” and “who should be punished” takes us back to the policies on prostitution and trafficking, with the concrete questions how prostitution in general, and trafficking for sex work in particular can be reduced. The questions arise how best to mount efforts aiming at the prevention of supply (especially the supply created through trafficking and exploitation) and on the other hand how to reduce demand.

Should policies (both preventive and repressive) address clients or prostitutes? Since both groups are driven, to some extent, by consumerist and materialist values and the desire to improve one’s living standards towards the globally spread “ideals”, it is hard, in the short term, to create changes to such widely spread values. In the longer term perspective, challenging consumerism per se in the value context is required. In saying this, we are still aware of the fact that a significant share of sex workers comes from extremely disadvantaged social environments. Addressing this part of the supply requires mainly governmental programmes against poverty, targeting disadvantaged women, systematically improving their conditions, providing education, occupation/jobs. Concerning long-term strategies aiming at diminishing the size of the sex business, both supply and demand sides need to be addressed in a coordinated approach.

On the other hand there is the distinction between prostitution and trafficking – even though sometimes it is hard to draw borders between them. While addressing prostitution is difficult – as we have argued above – addressing trafficking (including violence and forced sex work) can be done instantly, by a consistent application of law (law enforcement) and empowering all actors (police, prosecutors) and cooperation (mainly cross-national). Moreover, based on the generally negative attitudes of the public towards trafficking in human beings, preventive campaigns should provide citizens with instruments/skills allowing them a more active participation in the fight against trafficking.

From the research findings of this study we may conclude the following concerning the demand-supply discussion:

1. After the political changes in all the four countries bringing more freedom there is also a shift in opportunities of free entrepreneurship including sex business. This means that prostitution is predominantly tolerated as an inseparable component of this newly won freedom.
2. The clientele of the sex business is massive, distributed across all social classes/backgrounds, independent of any “majority” morals/religion, stratified due to income/solvency along with the stratification of sex services (from street prostitution to hostesses and luxury sex-bars), preferring kindness, empathy, understanding and beauty – not the exotic look.
3. The psychological motivation in the background of the demand for sex is amplified by the overall consumer life style resulting in a reduced interest and effort to form, develop and maintain long-term, intimate relationships with a partner. This new consumer mentality is aptly called “hamburger sex”, which expresses quickly buying and eating something under unworthy conditions. At the same time, in consistency with Anderson and Davidson (2003) the (initial) decision to buy sex appears to be not just private and individual, but also a public and social matter in situations where friends or colleagues arrange the joint visit to a parlour, or to use other sexual services.
4. The mobility and **trafficking** of the supply side (sex-workers) is driven more by the economic needs of suppliers and regional and international inequalities, than by the demand side. The empirical data provided almost no evidence on any requirements of clients for trafficked sex workers. On the other hand, the traffickers would hardly think that they want to specifically satisfy the demand for trafficked prostitutes; they just want their victims to make money for them no matter who the client is. The main social environments for the recruitment of sex workers are: hunger-valleys/regions within a country, poorer neighbouring countries, disadvantaged and marginalized groups.
5. In accordance with the findings on Danish clients (Lyngbye, 2006), clients from Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia also prefer native prostitutes, because prostitutes are not seen as just a commodity, but also as “social partners” with whom clients wish to communicate in a common language. This is in concert with the minimal demand for foreign prostitutes expressed by the majority of clients, including the rejection of “obviously” trafficked sex workers.
6. Although there is demand for cheap street prostitution as well, the persistence of the “lower” sector in sex business (mainly street prostitutes) is to a large extent driven by (the induced) drug addiction of sex workers.
7. Even though the demand and supply of sex business interact within an integrated market, they have their specific and strong roots. Thus, efforts to reduce

the demand not necessarily will reduce the supply and vice versa. Moreover, any one-sided approach aiming to cease prostitution by criminalizing activities either on the supply or demand side appears to be unproductive. Therefore, if risks resulting from the sex business are to be reduced, specific and targeted steps need to be made simultaneously on both sides.

9. MAIN PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS



9. 1. MAIN PROBLEMS IDENTIFIED

Hungary

- According to all sources of information, street prostitutes are (similarly to Slovakia) in the worst situation within the sex sector in Hungary. Drug or alcohol addiction is frequent among them, as well as infections and sexually transmitted diseases due to the lack of protection and regular medical check-ups. They are strongly attached to their pimps and often become victims of physical violence. Violence in most cases cannot be proved, because the prostitutes themselves do not report it to the authorities. Because of the strong underground ties of the pimps, sex workers are afraid of revenge. In several cases street prostitution is a family-run business (like in Tatabánya).
- Research on street prostitution shows that a great proportion of these women have had some **traumatic experience** during their childhood. This leads to a lack of consciousness in the relationship with their own bodies.
- In Hungary (similarly to Slovakia) there is a **significant relation between the price of certain sexual services and the health risk involved**, therefore clients from lower social classes face higher health risks.
- Many women end up being prostitutes because they see no other way out of their disadvantaged situation. There is an over-representation of Roma among sex workers. **Trafficking exists within the borders of the country**, women from the Eastern, poorer villages are the main target group.
- Sex workers have a significant **cognitive dissonance regarding why and how long they have been involved in prostitution**. Those, who have children, seem to be more conscious about their lives and about why they have to do sex work. The rest think that they do it presently but will give it up as soon as they have collected enough money.
- The first experience with a prostitute usually happens when the client is with a company of friends or colleagues, usually between the ages of 16-25. **Purchasing sex does not mean purchasing intimacy, but it means purchasing power.** *“First of all I buy time; secondly I buy someone, whose sovereignty from this point disappears. It is up to me what happens.”* There are several myths in the head of clients:

many think that prostitution is voluntary work, they try to ignore the dark side of the sex sector (e.g. exploitation, humiliation).

- **Clients do not want to get attached to sex workers.** The clients' close friends are aware of their activity; all of them have acquaintances who also do the same. Within their informal community it is accepted to purchase sexual services.
- **All interviewed clients** (similarly to Slovakia) condemn **trafficking in human beings** and have not mentioned any personal experience with victims of trafficking. Clients admitted that they would not report cases of forced prostitution to the police, because they are afraid of the consequences.
- **Clients claim to have only safe sex, but information from sex workers suggests quite the opposite.**
- **Clients are not aware of the details of the legal regulation regarding prostitution.** They have limited knowledge on the helping organizations related to trafficking and prostitution.
- Clients mostly think that prostitution is voluntary. According to case studies and the experience of social workers, a great proportion of sex workers are under the supervision of pimps. On one hand **strong external forces** (mostly economic and social reasons) make women choose prostitution as their work, but on the other hand as internal forces, there are **strong emotional bonds** between the prostitute and the pimp; this is why **prostitutes cannot leave the situation.**
- **Non-governmental organizations can do little to help in the sex sector**, since they do not want to get involved in the underground business. The employees and volunteers of these NGOs cannot really get close to their target groups, **because it is** (similarly to Slovakia) **against the interest of pimps and club owners**, who would not want any outsider to see what is behind the curtains. NGOs cannot afford visiting nightclubs. This way the activity of NGOs is restricted to harm-protection, distribution of condoms and leaflets, and to few-minutes-long conversations with prostitutes.
- **The attitude of police** patrols who meet prostitutes during their work **is controversial** – they often fine street prostitutes, but never the clients. This way the sex worker becomes even more vulnerable. There is a strong connection between pimps, owners of clubs, brothels, massage parlours and the police – mentioned by all actors in the sex sector. Corruption is said to be rather significant. This might be the reason why so few cases of trafficking and violence in prostitution reach the police and the courts.
- Regarding the legal environment, the main problem is the **confused legal regulation** of prostitution. The lack of knowledge of the relevant laws makes prostitutes even more vulnerable and prone to exploitation. Most men think it is acceptable to purchase sexual services. There is no consensus among experts about policy on prostitution. On the contrary, there are two, very remote views among them. Since there is no active communication between the two camps, a common ground and shared goals on prostitution and trafficking are difficult to define. Also, in the current political discourse the matter of prostitution is not of high priority.

Poland

- **The major factor** behind taking up prostitution **is the need for money**, although not always for reasons of insufficient means for living. This need is also driven by the

necessity to raise/ maintain one's standard of living. Another frequently expressed reason for women to become prostitutes is the satisfaction derived from sex.

- Prostitutes are of different ages. There are both “underage” prostitutes and elderly ones. An interesting point is that prostitutes remain in this job for a long time, which may imply that **quitting prostitution is hard**. It is, however, striking that the reason why prostitutes stay in this job is not their fear of retaliation from the pimps or brothel owners, but rather the fact there are **bad prospects** for them to **find other well-paid jobs**.

Slovakia

- There are **discrepancies between** on the one hand sexual **expectations of men and** on the other hand **possibilities to satisfy them** in partner relationships/marriages. This concerns mostly oral sex, experimenting and the urge for novelty/ stimulation.
- Street prostitutes are under the highest **threat of physical violence** – from clients (stealing purses, refusing to pay, threatening with violence, possibly rape) and from groups of teenagers (drunk, insisting on group sex and other “non-standard” services, occasionally also “playing the game” of pimps). An important source of violence is the frequent humiliation – mainly by passers-by on the streets.
- Street prostitution is to a large extent “contaminated” by the addiction to **substance use**. The motivation for remaining a street prostitute is often just to earn for the drug. Moreover, to get more money from clients, street prostitutes often accept unprotected sex, mostly oral, exceptionally also vaginal. If they are under drugs, they often fail to buy condoms and therefore they have unprotected sex also in situations when the client doesn't insist on it.
- Street prostitution is subject to an **extremely low hygienic standard**. Except for women who “work” rarely in their neighbourhood and return home for a shower, the majority do not use any hygiene between the clients.
- In the eastern and northern part of Slovakia, many clients, as well as prostitutes come from neighbouring countries, particularly from former Soviet republics, where the prevalence of HIV is much higher than in Slovakia. Due to the fact that unprotected sex is quite easy to negotiate the **risk of spreading HIV** in Slovakia is increasing.
- Due to **huge social differences** concerning mainly young women coming from families with 4-5 children and/or from regions with a high unemployment rate, women tend to take advantage of an “easy” and quick additional income as prostitutes. This can be observed mainly during summer holidays and weekends, when the women travel either to Hungary or Bratislava.
- There is a significant relation between the **economic level** of a particular sex service and the **health risk** involved in it (the lower the level, the higher the risk). Thus the “poorer” clients using street prostitution face higher risks.
- The **tabooing of sex work** even among the sex workers results in unpredictable behaviour where risk is neglected. Partners often do not know about the actual sex work of their partner and thus are under an increased threat of acquiring STIs and HIV.

- There is **insufficient cooperation between NGO(s) doing social work and the sex business** - the NGO(s) complain about the refusal to cooperate (from the part of the business - MP owners/managers).
- The **links between the owners of the facilities (MPs) and the “underground”** (“groups of interest” or mafia) reduce the transparency of the sex business, and make interventions of law enforcements or social workers more difficult.
- The **attitude of the police** is – according to the research data – equivocal, sometimes supportive and sometimes ignorant to risks and threats to the prostitutes. Some informants also reported of power abuse by the police.
- Police investigation of cross-border cases of **trafficking in persons** (Slovak women abroad) is mostly complicated by extremely **slow reactions from the target countries** (mainly Italy and Spain).
- The legal prosecution of crimes related to sex business (pimping, trafficking) frequently fails on **non-availability of witnesses** (because of fear of revenge from the offender/organized group).
- Currently, there is **insufficient political will** to analyze the legal position of sex work in Slovakia and get involved in any political negotiation concerning this issue. The missing awareness of experts as well as the ignorance of the political representation towards the problems in the sex-business, as highlighted by Bianchi (1996) persists even today in Slovakia.

Slovenia

- Information gathered via interviews in Slovenia with women in prostitution as well as with other interlocutors show that **the most common reasons for women to work in prostitution are financial**. Some want to earn additional money, while some avail this type of work because of unemployment and the need to support their families. For example, there are many women who have worked in factories and companies which mostly employ women (textile, shoe industry) and have become unemployed due to the closing down of companies.
- The widely accepted observation that all women working in bars and nightclubs are foreigners who are also forced prostitutes while women working in private apartments are locals and work there on their own will is an oversimplification. The interview analysis shows that women working in apartments also come from abroad, and they might be forced, or they also end up working on their own. In addition, it is reported that Slovenian women can also become victims of **trafficking within and beyond the national borders**. Cases of trafficking in minors have also been reported by the interviewees.

9. 2. Recommendations

The following list of recommendations was generated from two main sources. Some of the recommendations were given by the informants used for the qualitative study. Another source for the recommendations was provided by the Conference in Warsaw to conclude the present research project, held in October 2006, especially the three working groups that discussed the preliminary results of the national studies. However, the four national reports themselves and the analysis based on them constituted the main source of recommendations.

Despite the specificities of sex business in Slovenia, Poland, Hungary and Slovakia, several basic recommendations applicable to **all the four countries** can be raised, which could improve the situation of prostitutes and at the same time reduce trafficking in persons. These recommendations cover essential issues such as sexual education, prevention, transformation of the riskiest practices into safer ones, clearer regulation for the police, witness protection, expert and political discussion concerning policy approaches on prostitution, and further research activities.

A. Sexual education

- People in general, especially couples should be taught to speak openly about their sexual wishes and desires and to be open to try new sexual experiences.
- Prostitutes and clients need more targeted information on the higher risk of acquiring HIV if they have unprotected sex.
- Special educational programmes in secondary schools could provide an effective way to prevent boys from becoming (frequent) users of sexual services in the future. There should be much more education on sexuality, human rights and trafficking in schools, with a special focus on domestic violence. This could also help to break the pattern where trafficking, prostitution and sexuality are all taboos and to a large extent left to the people's imagination, prejudice and to the often aggressive and misleading mass media reporting.

B. Campaigns and prevention programmes

- In order to prevent and reduce the risks of trafficking in human beings, public awareness on prostitution, the situation of sex workers and trafficking should be raised through campaigns and a discourse in the media, especially on TV. Experience from earlier campaigns has shown that the content, the message and the visual imagery of the information campaigns should be carefully tuned, avoiding sensationalist and aggressive approaches, and not presenting victims of trafficking or prostitutes in a manner that is sexist or degrading, nor in a way that glamorizes the sex industry. Campaign content and methods should be tailored for different target groups.
- The information dissemination could include captivating TV-programmes with "real" victims and/or actors, awareness-raising advertisements in men's magazines, linked with such subjects as football and cars, advertisements on Web sites, in public toilets, at petrol stations, advertisements on matchboxes and lighters.
- Trafficking operates also within the national borders of a country; therefore information campaign for women from the most disadvantaged parts of the countries would be necessary.
- Prevention activities should target especially the economically disadvantaged and poor parts of the population, who are potentially at a greater health risk, improving their access to education and thereby empowering them in labour markets, other than in the sex sector.
- Governments should offer employment programmes especially for women who have lost their jobs in industry and in the sectors with predominantly female workforce, in order to avoid the accumulation of potential for forced labour.

- In order to prevent trafficking, more attention should be given to women who come from abroad and work either in apartments or in night clubs, parlours or in the streets.
- Awareness raising campaigns should target clients and potential clients who come from abroad.

C. Transformation of the riskiest practices into safer ones

- Awareness-raising on health issues and on alternative options besides prostitution (such as training programmes) would be crucial for street prostitutes.
- Syringes and condoms should be distributed on a regular basis to street prostitutes who are drug users, who also need to be assisted to undergo regular medical check-ups.
- Street prostitutes need support to get rid of their drug addiction with the help of methadone substitution therapy, and thus cut the vicious circle of doing prostitution for money for the drug.
- Instead of efforts aiming at either the repression of or the harm-reduction of street prostitution, facilitate the transformation of this kind of sex work into an indoor activity, which is independent of pimps and managers/owners (for security reasons at least two women in one apartment). Although there are voices raising questions regarding the restricted access of the police to indoor facilities and the limited possibilities for monitoring safety conditions, this solution would significantly lower the risks of violence, health and crime by excluding “third parties” (pimps, owners, exploiters).

D. Clearer instructions for the police

- The police should have clear instructions on how to proceed with prostitutes to create an atmosphere of transparent and supportive involvement and thus secure trust (both from the sex workers and the public).
- For police patrols and for those who get in contact with prostitutes, sensitivity-raising and tolerance trainings should be provided in order to avoid the ill-treatment of prostitutes.
- Bilateral agreements between national bodies of the police should be facilitated, to allow faster procedures, as a complement to European-level agreements.

E. Developing legislation on trafficking and witness protection

- The legislative provisions need to be broadened to all forms of trafficking in human beings and the national legislations need to be harmonized.
- Important EU documents such as the *Framework decision on combating trafficking in human beings* need to be translated into national legislations.
- Improved conditions for protected witnesses need to be introduced, including the possibility for hiding the witnesses abroad. The victims of trafficking and exploitation should be granted access to temporary residence permit independently of their willingness to cooperate with the justice system.

F. Social services and assistance

- Medical care and mental counselling need to be made available for both prostitutes and victims of trafficking.

- Legal counselling needs to be made accessible for prostitutes and victims of trafficking.
- Foreign individuals need special support to, to overcome obstacles to their support caused by language, lack of legal status, lack of formal right to social services, health insurance etc.
- General information on the availability of services should be made easily accessible with the help of fixed or mobile support and consultation units who can offer general counselling and also carry out a needs assessment and refer the individual to specialized services. These units should also be accessible through hotlines and the internet.

G. Expert and political discussion

- Public, democratic discussion needs to be initiated and encouraged among experts, politicians, national authorities, national and international organizations, social workers and prostitutes themselves, among all involved, on different legal approaches on prostitution, in order to clear ignorance of the current legislations, and their inconsistent implementation.
- Experts and assistance workers should discuss the topic among themselves in order to improve their own mutual cooperation and to reach over the polarized field. Their cooperation and lobbying should influence policy making and legislation.
- Expert and political discussions and cooperation between governmental and international organizations could enrich the political decisions made at national levels.

H. Further research activities

- Further research of the complex elements of the demand for sexual services through a **parallel assessment of the supply side**, its structure and dynamics would be useful. The demand influences the supply but it is also obvious that the supply side has a strong impact on demand.
- There is an urgent need **to break with stereotyping**, saying that all foreign women are victims, or all women working in apartments work on their own, and freely. There can be forced elements in the so-called voluntary prostitution, and also not all women should simply be treated as victims of sexual exploitation. Research results therefore point to the need to **avoid generalizations** when discussing the phenomena, and expose the need to **contextualized interpretation**.
- Studying the phenomena of prostitution and trafficking in persons and specifically exploring their relations to the demand for specific kind of labour has shown the complexity of subjects that need to be treated by taking into account their different forms and contexts of appearances. The phenomena should be discussed in diverse contexts and their multiple dimensions need to be taken into account, thus thematizing not only the problems of women being sexually abused and deceived by middlepersons and criminal networks, but also considering the context of gender relations, migration, border crossings, mobility and the various types of labour and exploitation in the labour market. The present study aimed at opening up the space for debating the demand side of trafficking and prostitution, phenomena that were so far mostly treated from the supply side. Field work experiences show that access to women who work in prostitution and would be willing to meet for the interview is difficult, not to mention access to male, homosexual, and transgender

prostitutes. There is a lack of data also on other forms of prostitution, the ones that are being practiced in jails, or of prostitution for drugs. These observations point to the need for a more **systematic research** that would monitor the different aspects of the phenomena and provide new data also on their most marginalized aspects, such as male prostitution, child trafficking etc. As concerning trafficking in persons, the few research attempts have so far explored trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation, and need to be supplemented by new data on the different types of trafficking, in its relation to other labour sectors, i.e. agriculture, construction, care sector, or child begging, illegal adoption of children, forced marriages and the like.

- Research on both prostitution and trafficking should receive more **attention in the domain of social sciences**, in order to deepen the understanding of both the root causes and the phenomena influencing the demand for sex services, and not just leave these issues to the narrow criminal field. Interest to support new research initiatives should also come from the state, to surpass the still frequent attitudes, according to which ideas are produced, such as “trafficking is not really a problem in Slovenia”.
- More research is likewise needed to measure and establish the impact of different legislative and other measures, especially those regulating prostitution, on the demand, and trafficking.

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ANNEX 1: THE LEGAL REGULATION OF PROSTITUTION AND TRAFFICKING IN HUNGARY, POLAND, SLOVAKIA AND SLOVENIA

HUNGARY ■ In Hungary, human trafficking as a crime was defined in 1998, in 175/B of the Criminal Code and has been in force since 1 March 1999. According to this law we talk about human trafficking if someone sells, buys, transfers, exchanges or acquires someone else. This can be punished for up to three years in prison. The punishment increases to one to five years if the person trafficked is under 18 years of age or his/her freedom had been taken away, or if the purpose of trafficking is labour, sexual services, perversion or the illegal use of human organs or if it is done in an organized manner and for profit.

Concerning prostitution, the most recent relevant law was adopted in 1999 (No. 75, the so-called “mafia law”), dealing with the “legal changes and the rules of combating organized crime and certain phenomena that are in connection with it” in one package. According to this law, so-called “tolerance zones” needed to be identified in each municipality having more than 50,000 inhabitants (smaller municipalities may also identify these zones) or in cases where prostitution seemed to be wide-spread. The law differentiated between so-called “protected” zones and “tolerance” zones. According to Balogi et al. (2006) **tolerance zones however have not been identified by local governments.** Some districts of Budapest have identified quasi tolerance zones, a couple of streets which prostitutes can use.²⁵ Thus the government itself has been violating the law for years by not identifying these tolerance zones.

In 2004 the Hungarian government formed a working group to fight human trafficking and created a department within the police for International Human Trafficking. In spring 2005 a protected shelter was opened to help the victims of human trafficking, those that will become witnesses against traffickers.

POLAND ■ According to the Penal Code of 6 June 1997, in case of the exploitation of prostitution with the consent of the wronged person the perpetrator of the crime shall be subject to the penalty of imprisonment of up to three years. In case of enticement or abduction of a person in order to induce them to prostitution, the perpetrator shall be subject to the penalty of imprisonment from one to ten years. Beside the above-mentioned legal regulations, an important role is played by Article 253 of the new penal code, according to which a trafficker, even in the case of consent, is subject to the penalty of imprisonment of no less than three years.

SLOVAKIA ■ The Penal Code of the Slovak Republic (Trestný zákon 300/2005 Z.z.) defines under §132 of General Concepts in the Explanation of Concepts under Head 5

25 This law is not in line with the New York Convention, because it puts local governments and citizens at an advantage, and while it does not persecute prostitutes, it fines them and thus decreases their status to that of a victim. According to the Convention it is prohibited to register prostitutes by the police or by health authorities, so only those can be fined who are caught in the act - which is basically impossible. According to critics of the mafia law, the state basically taxes prostitution through the fine. Currently there is no agreement in Hungary among experts whether the New York Convention should be applied or not, and the question of street prostitution is being raised in Parliament from time to time. Those who oppose the Convention say that it would be better to legalize prostitution and treat it as a business (taxable activity). Those who support it say that by denouncing it, prostitutes would become even more vulnerable.

prostitution as “satisfying the sexual needs of another person by coitus or another form of sexual [genital] intercourse or by another analogous sexual intercourse for reward.” Conduct of prostitution itself is, however, not subject to legal penalty, nor is it specifically regulated by the law in any way. The Penal Code defines trafficking in people under criminal acts “against freedom and dignity” (§ 179) and pimping under criminal acts “against other rights and freedoms” (§367).

SLOVENIA ■ In Slovenia prostitution was decriminalized in 2003 with the Act Amending the Act on Offences Against Public Order and Peace,²⁶ with the support of all parliamentary parties. Prostitution as such does not represent an offence anymore, but offering prostitution in public places with inappropriate behaviour was still – until recently – treated as an offence. At the end of 2005 the parliament discussed the new Proposal for the Protection of Public Order and Peace Act²⁷ which contradicts the decriminalization of prostitution. The supporters of the new act successfully inserted a new article 11, which foresees a fine from SIT 50,000 up to SIT 100,000 for offering or imposing sexual services in public places.²⁸ The argument was that they want to limit street prostitution (which hardly exists in Slovenia). A new Protection of Public Order and Peace Act has recently²⁹ been adopted, and the proposed article 11 was abolished.

The Criminal Code of the Republic of Slovenia³⁰ also deals with elements of prostitution. Punishment is foreseen in article 185 – “abuse through prostitution” - in case a person is in any way involved in the process of making another person become a prostitute against their will or by fraud. Such an abuse is fined by imprisonment from three months to five years. Furthermore, if a person, who is being forced to prostitution, is a minor, the punishment is higher. In the section concerning crimes against civil population a decree defines that anyone who violates international legislation in a war period by cooperating in and forcing to prostitution, will be punished with imprisonment for at least ten years or for the period of thirty years (Article 374).

Until 2004 trafficking in human beings in Slovenia was not defined as a criminal offence.³¹

26 Zakon o spremembah zakona o javnem redu in miru; Official Gazzete, 69/03.

27 Predlog zakona o varstvu javnega reda in miru; 52nd regular session on 7 December 2005.

28 1 EUR= 239,6 SIT.

29 21 July 2006.

30 Kazenski zakonik (KZ-UPB1), *Official Journal RS* 95/2004, SOP 2004-01-4208.

31 Some elements of trafficking as a criminal offence were partially addressed in the articles of the Criminal Code, namely (a) criminal prosecution for enslavement (article 387), (b) pimping (article 185), (c) procurement for prostitution, i.e. pandering by force, threat or deception (article 186), and (d) provisions on illegal crossing of borders, i.e. smuggling (article 311). Additionally, traffickers could be prosecuted under the following provisions: (a) the Law on Public Order, addressing minor offence against public order (article 10.5), (b) the Constitution, referring to the protection of human personality and dignity (article 21), (c) enabling freedom of movement (article 32), (d) guaranteeing dignity and security of the individual (article 34), (e) addressing prohibition of forced labor (article 48.4), and (f) the Law on State Prosecutor referring to the prosecution of organized crimes, including trafficking in women, pimping and pandering (article 10).

ANNEX 2: SCENARIOS FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS and FOCUS GROUPS

A	B	C	D	E	F
THEMES	TOPICS	Interview with Clients	Interview with Sex workers	Interview with Informants from “inside”: club owners, pimps, prosecutorS)	Interview with Experts (police, NGOs, prosecutorS)
<p>Socio-demographic background:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Education • Occupation • Family status • Children • Religion • Income • Housing (comfort, urban/rural) 	<p>The participant him/herself:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Education • Occupation • Family status • Children • Religion • Income • Housing (comfort, urban/rural) 				
<p>Assessment of the socio-demographic structure of “the other” players:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Education • Occupation • Family status: children • Religion • Income 	<p>Opinion about sex workers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Education • Occupation • Family status: children • Religion • Income 	<p>Opinion about clients:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Education • Occupation • Family status, children • Religion • Income 	<p>Opinion about clients and sex workers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Education • Occupation • Family status, children • Religion • Income 	<p>Opinion about clients and sex workers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Education • Occupation • Family status, children • Religion • Income 	
<p>Sex work, prostitution:</p>	<p>Structural context: legislation, roles of police, NGOs, health services.</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> What kind of sex-work services exist in your country? What is the price range for the different services? Geographic distribution in the country?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Who is running the businesses? How about foreigners working in the field? What are the conditions like – in which sex workers work?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about the legal status of commercial sex work?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about its relation to crime – any kind of crime?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Do you know what institutions are dealing with the issue of prostitution, trafficking, e.g. providing information, services, drafting legislation (governmental, NGO)? What do they do?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about access to health care?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> How often, where, how do sex workers visit institutions of health care?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about access to health care?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> How often, where, how do sex workers visit institutions of health care?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> What about access to health care?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> How often, where, how do sex workers visit institutions of health care?</p>

A	B	C	D	E	F
	<p>Lifestyle/Social and cultural context: Exploring the social construction of the demand for commercial sex (e.g. the role of machismo).</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Where does the "idea" of buying sex for money "come from"/why do people do it? (Where would you place the idea of arranging sex for money in a social context?)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> How is it related to gender-balance issues – relationships between men and women in general?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Where does the "idea" of buying sex for money "come from"/why do people do it? (Where would you place the idea of arranging sex for money in a social context?)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> How is it related to gender-balance issues – relationships between men and women in general?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Where does the "idea" of buying sex for money "come from"/why do people do it? (Where would you place the idea of arranging sex for money in a social context?)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> How is it related to gender-balance issues – relationships between men and women in general?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Where does the "idea" of buying sex for money "come from"/why do people do it? (Where would you place the idea of arranging sex for money in a social context?)</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> How is it related to gender-balance issues – relationships between men and women in general?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> How do people around you perceive your being a "client"? What do they know about it?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> How do people around you perceive your being a "pros-titute"? What do they know about it?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> How do people around you perceive your being an owner of a sex club? What do they know about it?</p>	

A	B	C	D	E	F
<p>Experience in sex business - about the "seller":</p>	<p>Opinion about the sex-workers' motivations:</p> <p>Work history:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motivation/reasons for becoming a sex worker: do you think it is voluntary or are they being forced? Why do you think women get involved in prostitution? (money, pleasure, no other choice..., they take delight in it) 	<p>Work history:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motivation/reasons for becoming a sex worker: was it voluntary or forced? Why did you get involved in prostitution? (money, pleasure, no other choice..., you take delight in it) - Social /economic background, family - Mobility (any relevance to current sex work) - Years in the business - Workplace - Number of clients per day - Alcohol/drug consumption - Money - prices, how much you earn, how much you give to the pimp - What does negotiation with the customer look like? What are the difficulties? - Identity as a sex worker: how do you feel, how far do you "accept" being a sex worker? - What do you think about your present, and about your future? 	<p>Work history:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motivation/reasons for becoming a sex worker: do you think it is voluntary or are they being forced? Why do you think the women get involved in prostitution? (money, pleasure, no other choice..., they take delight in it) 	<p>Personal history in sex business, motivation, profit, risks:</p> <p>Opinion about the sex-workers' motivations:</p> <p>Work history:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motivation /reasons for becoming a sex worker: do you think it is voluntary or are they being forced? Why do you think the women get involved in prostitution? (money, pleasure, no other choice..., they take delight in it) 	<p>Opinion about the sex-workers' motivations:</p> <p>Work history:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motivation/reasons for becoming a sex worker: do you think it is voluntary or are they being forced? Why do you think women get involved in prostitution? (money, pleasure, no other choice..., they take delight in it)
<p>What do you know about:</p> <p>Social /economic background, family of sex workers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mobility (any relevance to current sex work) - Years they spend in the business - Workplaces of sex workers - Number of clients per day - Money - prices, how much do they earn, how much is given to pimps - What does negotiation with the customer look like? What is it about? What are the difficulties? - Identity as a sex worker: how does she feel, how far does she "accept" being a sex worker? - What does she think about her present, and about her future? 	<p>What do you know about:</p> <p>Social /economic background, family of sex workers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mobility (any relevance to current sex work) - Years they spend in the business - Workplaces of sex workers - Number of clients per day - Alcohol/drug consumption - Money - prices, how much do they earn, how much they give to the pimp - What does negotiation with the customer look like? What is it about? What are the difficulties? - Identity as a sex worker: how does she feel, how far does she "accept" being a sex worker? - What does she think about her present, and about her future? 	<p>What do you know about:</p> <p>Social /economic background, family of sex workers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mobility (any relevance to current sex work) - Years they spend in the business - Workplaces of sex workers - Number of clients per day - Alcohol/drug consumption - Money - prices, how much do they earn, how much they give to the pimp - What does negotiation with the customer look like? What is it about? What are the difficulties? - Identity as a sex worker: how does she feel, how far does she "accept" being a sex worker? - What does she think about her present, and about her future? 	<p>What do you know about:</p> <p>Social /economic background, family of sex workers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mobility (any relevance to current sex work) - Years they spend in the business - Workplaces of sex workers - Number of clients per day - Alcohol/drug consumption - Money - prices, how much do they earn, how much they give to the pimp - What does negotiation with the customer look like? What is it about? What are the difficulties? - Identity as a sex worker: how does she feel, how far does she "accept" being a sex worker? - What does she think about her present, and about her future? 	<p>What do you know about:</p> <p>Social /economic background, family of sex workers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mobility (any relevance to current sex work) - Years they spend in the business - Workplaces of sex workers - Number of clients per day - Alcohol/drug consumption - Money - prices, how much do they earn, how much they give to the pimp - What does negotiation with the customer look like? What is it about? What are the difficulties? - Identity as a sex worker: how does she feel, how far does she "accept" being a sex worker? - What does she think about her present, and about her future? 	<p>What do you know about:</p> <p>Social /economic background, family of sex workers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mobility (any relevance to current sex work) - Years they spend in the business - Workplaces of sex workers - Number of clients per day - Alcohol/drug consumption - Money - prices, how much do they earn, how much they give to the pimp - What does negotiation with the customer look like? What is it about? What are the difficulties? - Identity as a sex worker: how does she feel, how far does she "accept" being a sex worker? - What does she think about her present, and about her future?

A	B	C	D	E	F
Clients:	Experience:		<input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about your clients? <input type="checkbox"/> Where are they from? <input type="checkbox"/> Why do they buy sex for money? <input type="checkbox"/> What kind of women do they prefer?	<input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about the clients' motivations? <input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about them?	<input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about the clients' motivations? <input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about them?
		<input type="checkbox"/> What was your motivation when you purchased sex for the first time? <input type="checkbox"/> Do you remember yourself purchasing these services the very first time? How old were you? <input type="checkbox"/> Were you alone or with your friends? <input type="checkbox"/> How often have you sought these services since that time? (exact time specifications, e.g. once a month) <input type="checkbox"/> Do you prefer visiting one girl or woman every time, or changing to different women? <input type="checkbox"/> Do you search for sexual services in your home country as well, or near your home? <input type="checkbox"/> Which places in particular do you visit? (the locations you go to, e.g. border regions, the capital...) <input type="checkbox"/> What makes you decide upon choosing a brothel? (price, location, quality and the range of services, the prostitutes' nationality or age – which one of these plays a part and how) <input type="checkbox"/> What attracts you to prostitution, what do you like about it? (is it entertainment, adventure or a part of your business trips?) <input type="checkbox"/> Under what circumstances do you use these services? (when you are alone, without a partner, joyriding with your friends?) <input type="checkbox"/> Where do you search for these services most often? (street prostitutes, brothels, private premises) <input type="checkbox"/> How do you seek them out? (by car, internet, advertisements in media – in which media in particular?, or do you try them randomly?) <input type="checkbox"/> Do you travel abroad for prostitution? If so, which countries? (do you go to Thailand? If so, why? – cheaper services, anonymity) <input type="checkbox"/> Can you make a comparison between foreign women and local girls? (difficulties: different behaviour – of what kind?, language barrier, exotic appearance) <input type="checkbox"/> What type of women do you like? <input type="checkbox"/> Do you prefer young ones or the more experienced? (be careful, he might feel threatened) Even the very young women who look so innocent? <input type="checkbox"/> Do you look for foreigners? If so, which nationality? Why? – Is alcohol/drug consumed before or during purchasing sex? Requirements from a sex worker: – How old should she be? Why? – How should she be...?	<input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about the clients' motivations? <input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about them?	<input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about the clients' motivations? <input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about them?	<input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about the clients' motivations? <input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about them?
		Also all questions below are applicable.	Also all questions below are applicable.	Also all questions below are applicable.	Also all questions below are applicable.

A	B	C	D	E	F
<p>Social and cultural context:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Do you have friends who purchase sex? <input type="checkbox"/> What are the attitudes of these friends to purchasing sex? <input type="checkbox"/> Do they know about you purchasing sex? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> What do you think about the opinions of people concerning prostitution and purchasing sex? <input type="checkbox"/> Why are they so? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> What do you think about the opinions of people concerning prostitution and purchasing sex? <input type="checkbox"/> Why are they so? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> What are the problems perceived in sex business? <input type="checkbox"/> What are the causes for these problems? <input type="checkbox"/> Whom do the problems concern? <input type="checkbox"/> What could be done to improve the current situation? – go to theme 	<p>“Recommendations”</p>
<p>Sex:</p>	<p>Personal experience:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – motivation – subjective meanings of sex – sexual partners they have – sexual satisfaction with every partner (stable, one-night, commercial and comparison) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Subjective meanings of sex: What does sex mean to you? Why? <input type="checkbox"/> Are there different meanings of sex for you? <input type="checkbox"/> With different partners? <input type="checkbox"/> Why are these differences? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Ask about sexual partners they have, – Ask about sexual satisfaction partner by partner (e.g. stable, one-night, commercial and comparison among them). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Subjective meanings of sex: What does sex mean to you? <input type="checkbox"/> Why? Are there different meanings of sex for you? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Especially the meaning of sex as business and – on the other hand – sex with other partners. – Sexual partners they have, – Sexual satisfaction partner by partner (in business, with stable partner, one-night, and comparison). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Do you have sexual intercourse with a sex worker? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> If yes, then ask: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Subjective meanings of sex for you? – Sexual partners they have, – Sexual satisfaction partner by partner (e.g. stable, one-night, with prostitute who is his partner, and comparison). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about the sexual partners of clients and sex workers, about the subjective meaning of sex for them – with different partners, and about their sexual satisfaction?

A	B	C	D	E	F
<p>Opinion about the sex/practices "of the other":</p>	<p>Opinion about the sex workers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subjective meanings of sex: <input type="checkbox"/> "In your opinion, what does sex with a client mean for the sex worker? Are there differences between sex workers? Why?" <input type="checkbox"/> "Does sex with their stable partner mean something different to them?" 	<p>Opinion about the clients:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subjective meanings of sex: <input type="checkbox"/> "In your opinion, what does sex with a sex worker mean for the client? Are there differences between clients? Why?" <input type="checkbox"/> "Does sex with their stable partner mean something different to them?" 	<p>Opinion about the clients' and sex workers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subjective meanings of sex: <input type="checkbox"/> "In your opinion, what does sex with a client mean for the sex worker/and vice versa? Are there differences between sex workers and between clients? Why?" <input type="checkbox"/> "Does sex with their stable partner mean something different to them? Why?" 	<p>Opinion about the clients' and sex workers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subjective meanings of sex for the client, 	<p>Opinion about the clients' and sex workers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subjective meanings of sex for the client,
<p>Communication and conflict:</p>	<p>Active communication:</p> <p>Ask about their communication with sex workers, owners of clubs, pimps, police:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> What is the nature of the communication? <input type="checkbox"/> What kind of conflicts do you or other clients have? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the relationship with those people like? How would you characterize it? (e.g. equality, humiliation, respect, partnership etc.)" 	<p>Ask about their communication with clients, colleagues, owners of clubs, pimps, police:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> "What is the nature of the communication?" <input type="checkbox"/> What kind of conflicts do you or other sex workers have? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the relationship with those people like? How would you characterize it? (e.g. equality, humiliation, respect, partnership etc.)" 	<p>Ask about their communication with clients, sex workers, owners, clients, among themselves (police-NGOs).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> What is the nature of the communication? <input type="checkbox"/> What kinds of conflicts occur? <input type="checkbox"/> What is the relationship with those people like? How would you characterize it? (e.g. equality, humiliation, respect, partnership etc.)" 	<p>Ask about their communication with sex workers, club owners, clients, among themselves (police-NGOs).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> What is the nature of relationships and what are the possible conflicts? 	<p>Ask about their communication with sex workers, club owners, clients, among themselves (police-NGOs).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sexual partners of the clients, - Sexual satisfaction partner by partner (stable, one-night, commercial and comparison).
<p>Assessment of others' communication:</p>	<p>Ask about their knowledge of communication and conflicts between sex workers, their colleagues, club owners/pimps, and police.</p>	<p>Ask about their knowledge of communication and conflicts between clients, club owners/pimps, and police.</p>	<p>Ask about their knowledge of communication and conflicts between sex worker/colleagues, and clients, and police.</p>	<p>Ask about their knowledge of communication and conflicts between sex worker, pimps, and clients.</p>	<p>Ask about their knowledge of communication and conflicts between sex worker, pimps, and clients.</p>

A	B	C	D	E	F
<p>Trafficking: Have you heard of trafficking, especially trafficking for sexual exploitation? What is your opinion on this issue?</p>	<p>Social and cultural context: Have you heard of trafficking in women and children – for sexual exploitation? If yes, what do you think of it? (you reject it, you are indifferent)</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Have you ever seen any indications of forced prostitution: E.g. refusal, looking “lifeless”, foreigner? What kind of?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Have you used services from such a person? Why?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Have you ever visited a club or a private flat where you found it somehow uncomfortable? If yes, try to recall why.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Has it ever happened to you that the women looked tired or lifeless? If yes, what did you think about it?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Do you have colleagues who are victims of trafficking?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Have you heard about some?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> What do you know about them?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> How does it happen that someone becomes a victim of trafficking?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Do you have personal experiences with being the subject of trafficking? What kind? How did it happen? Why?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Have you ever visited a club or a private flat where you found it somehow uncomfortable? If yes, try to recall why.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Has it ever happened to you that the women looked tired or lifeless? If yes, what did you think about it?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Have you ever visited a club or a private flat where you found it somehow uncomfortable? If yes, try to recall why.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Has it ever happened to you that the women looked tired or lifeless? If yes, what did you think about it?</p>
<p>Possible experience with (victims of) trafficking:</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Have you ever witnessed a woman refusing a client? Did this happen to you personally? Why?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Have you ever witnessed a woman refusing a client? Did this happen to you personally? Why?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Have you ever witnessed a woman refusing a client? Did this happen to you personally? Why?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Have you ever witnessed a woman refusing a client? Did this happen to you personally? Why?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Have you ever witnessed a woman refusing a client? Did this happen to you personally? Why?</p>

A	B	C	D	E	F
<p>Have you ever seen a prostitute who did not seem to be doing it voluntarily? If yes, what made you think so? How did she behave? How did she look? (tears, signs of physical violence, sad, tired, thin, or did she even ask for help) Can you guess whether she was Hungarian/Slovenian/Polish/Slovak or from elsewhere?</p>		<p><input type="checkbox"/> Has it happened to you that you used such prostitute's services? a) If yes, why? b) no, had no opportunity to c) I refused her services.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> For which reasons did you refuse her? (regrets, low attractiveness, it would be beneath my dignity)</p>		<p><input type="checkbox"/> Have you ever seen a prostitute who did not seem to be doing it voluntarily? If yes, what made you think so? How did she behave? How did she look? (tears, signs of physical violence, sad, tired, thin, or did she even ask for help) <input type="checkbox"/> Can you guess whether she was Hungarian/Slovenian/Polish/Slovak or from elsewhere? <input type="checkbox"/> Has it happened to you that you used such prostitute's services? a) If yes, why? b) no, had no opportunity to c) I refused her services. <input type="checkbox"/> For which reasons did you refuse her? (regrets, low attractiveness, it would be beneath my dignity)</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Have you ever witnessed a woman refusing a client? Did this happen to you personally? Why? <input type="checkbox"/> Have you ever seen a prostitute who did not seem to be doing it voluntarily? If yes, what made you think so? How did she behave? How did she look? (tears, signs of physical violence, sad, tired, thin, or did she even ask for help) <input type="checkbox"/> Can you guess whether she was Hungarian/Slovenian/Polish/Slovak or from elsewhere? <input type="checkbox"/> Has it happened to you that you used such prostitute's services? a) If yes, why? b) no, had no opportunity to c) I refused her services. <input type="checkbox"/> For which reasons did you refuse her? (regrets, low attractiveness, it would be beneath my dignity)</p>
<p><input type="checkbox"/> What did you do when you met a woman who did not seem to be doing it voluntarily? (nothing, went away, never entered the brothel again, confided to someone – whom?, contacted an NGO or the police – where and which organization?)</p>					

A	B	C	D	E	F
		<p>What would you do if you met such a woman? (you would act on your own and try to help her yourself? would you report it to the police, contact an NGO – which one in particular? who would you prefer to contact?)</p> <p>If you were previously informed of whom to contact, would you do it? If so, what would suit you best? (Would you anonymously dial a number of one of the organizations if you had it at your disposal? Would you contact the (Czech, German, Austrian) police? Would you contact an organization via email?)</p> <p>In case you wanted to help such women and looked for a guide of what steps to take, what would attract your attention most? (a leaflet, a call card, a stick-on label, or an object – box of matches, a lighter?)</p> <p>Where do you think you would probably notice such information? (public lavatories near borders, billboards, websites – which do you log on?, in papers, magazines – what sort? TV programme? Elsewhere?) Any other way?</p> <p>Have you ever seen a campaign to help these women? Where? What did it look like? Do you personally think something should be done about it? And what?</p>			

A	B	C	D	E	F
<p>Perception of risks and threats:</p>	<p>Limits of acceptance in sex work:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> What kind of sex work is not acceptable to you anymore? Why is it so? <input type="checkbox"/> Do you care about the health status of sex workers? Why? How? <input type="checkbox"/> Do you know her health (STI, HIV) status? <input type="checkbox"/> Did you have a STI? <input type="checkbox"/> Did you test for HIV? Result? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> What kind of sex work is not acceptable to you anymore? Why is it so? <input type="checkbox"/> Do you know your health (STI, HIV) status? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Does he know about the HIV status of sex workers? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> What risks related to sex business do they perceive, know of?
	<p>Condom use:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Do you negotiate safe-or-unprotected sex? <input type="checkbox"/> Do you use a condom when having sex with a prostitute? (yes, I always do; I don't when she agrees to it, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Do any of the prostitutes let themselves be talked into sex without a condom? (is it clubs, or certain women only, or private premises?) <input type="checkbox"/> Do you insist on condom use? <input type="checkbox"/> Is it possible to get unprotected sex? How? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Do you negotiate safe-or-unprotected sex? <input type="checkbox"/> Is unprotected sex performed? Why? How? <input type="checkbox"/> Do you insist on condom use? <input type="checkbox"/> Do you use a condom when having sex with a client? And with other partners? Why? Why not? Do you compare different partners and why there are differences? <input type="checkbox"/> Do clients try to talk you into sex without a condom? How? Why? <input type="checkbox"/> Do you "sell" unprotected sex? How? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Does unprotected sex happen? 	

A	B	C	D	E	F
	<p>Danger/threats/ violence:</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Did you face any kind of danger or threats or violence as a client in sex business? From whom? How? Why? How did it happen?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Did you face any kind of danger or threats or violence as a sex worker in sex business? From whom? How? Why? How did it happen?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Are you willing to work abroad?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Do you have any experiences working abroad?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> How was it – concerning risks and threats?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> What kind of danger/violence/ threats do you know about in sex business?</p>	
	<p>Work abroad:</p>				
<p>Recommendations:</p>	<p>Concerning prevention and reducing the risk of trafficking - specifically concerning clients(demand), and sex workers(supply side):</p> <p>Concerning the aspects of risk in sex business – violence, health threats:</p>	<p>Ask everyone.</p>	<p>Ask everyone.</p>	<p>Ask everyone.</p>	<p>Ask everyone.</p>
<p>Perspective:</p>	<p>In your opinion what changes or developments should be expected in sex work or the trafficking arena in the following 5-10 years?</p>	<p>Ask everyone.</p>	<p>Ask everyone.</p>	<p>Ask everyone.</p>	<p>Ask everyone.</p>

The structure of the interviews:

N.B.: Always ask “WHY” or “HOW”. These two questions will provide us with the best quantity and quality of information. The interviews should enable us to assess how the participants construct their opinion, attitudes, feelings and needs.

The structure for the analysis:

The aim is to create the following “products”:

1. Clients' profile.
2. Sex worker's profile.
3. Trafficking risks.
4. Individual and socio-cultural patterns for purchasing sex (involving both demand and offer side).