

Modus Operandi of Organised Crime Groups Involved in the Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation of Hungarian Women – A Case Study on the Hungary-Netherlands Transit

Jorn Johannes Marinus van Rij

Senior Lecturer, Inholland University of Applied Sciences

Human trafficking, especially with the aim of sexual exploitation of women, has been at the centre of political debate for decades now. This has resulted in new legislation and approaches and perspectives on how to react to this type of transnational organised crime, out of a European as well as from a national level. Exact numbers of victimisation are unclear but on the basis of the Dutch data an annually top five representation of native Hungarian speaking women, out of both Hungary and Romania who have fallen victim to human trafficking and sexual exploitation, can be recognized. Beside these numbers, little is known on the circumstances surrounding the trafficking and sexual exploitation of these women. Most research, due to a too small or biased sample, is commonly not representative. This research sought to fill this void in such a way that the known scientific pitfalls surrounding research on the topic of the sexual exploitation of women were being avoided. The data gathered was analysed and partly confirmed other primary and secondary data on the modus operandi applied in the Netherlands by transnational operating organised crime groups. Next to this it also provided insight on the start of the exploitation of the women, the methods used and trafficking routes followed by organised crime network structures and it provided in-depth background information on the women and the situation they found themselves in.

Keywords: Organised Crime, Human Trafficking, Sexual Exploitation, Ethnographic Research, Roma Minorities, Prostitution Carrousel

1. Introduction

While researching the phenomenon of human trafficking combined with the sexual exploitation of women by forced prostitution the researcher finds himself confronted with having to operate in a grey sub-system of society which in nature which would rather not reveal itself and therefore holds a lot of secrets and ambiguities. Despite wider interest still little scientific ethnographic research has been done on the topic and the research that has been done often has a (too) limited sample to be valid and reliable. This article uses first hand information and aims to give more insight in the parties involved, the stories behind the persons and by doing so prove the value of doing ethnographic criminological fieldwork.¹

¹ For Dutch ethnographic contributions see D. Siegel & F. Bovenkerk *Crime and manipulation of identity amongst Russian-speaking immigrants in the Netherlands*, in: Contemporary Criminal Justice, 2000, 16(4);

D. Siegel & Y. Yesilgoz *Natashas and Turkish men: new trends in women trafficking and prostitution*, in: D. Siegel & H. van de Bunt & D. Zaich (eds), *Global Organised Crime. Trends and developments*, Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2003; D. Siegel, *Recent*

Usually the more common and theoretical orientated research focuses on the issue of explaining the *who* and *why* by using the limited available ethnographic work done by others or by using practical examples from the news or court cases. This is undesirable as prostitution, especially when trafficking and sexual exploitation is involved, is highly flexible, diversified and both the nature and extend of the crime committed within this context tend to change almost daily.² Because of this it is near impossible to avail oneself of existing knowledge and experiences which makes measuring the volume, scope and patterns of trafficking and sexual exploitation a difficult and time consuming process.³

In order to avoid the well registered pitfalls the research has a longitudinal design and the actual fieldwork started in 2009 and ended in 2013 and took place in both the Netherlands as a destination country as well as Hungary as a source country for victims of human trafficking. It was designed in such a way that it uses both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis in order to guarantee validity and reliability of the research, on the basis of saturation as basic criterion. This triangulation of methods is a necessity considering the clandestine nature of the research topic and the vulnerability of the persons involved. According to Tyldum⁴ research involving victims of trafficking can be performed on three stages. The first stage is orientated towards persons at risk, the second stage focuses on current victims and the third stage looks at former victims of trafficking. Tyldum states that only the third group would make for a desirable sample even though this group also has its practical objections and representational errors. This group however is still a better option than the other two groups because of sampling difficulties and the intrusive elements of the research.⁵ Within the research conducted this assumption was put to discussion as this research identifies criminal structures by researching the second group, involving current victims as a main source of information which has proven possible and successful while taken into account the common restrictions and limitations.

2. Sampling and Methodology

For the research an ethnographic bottom-up approach using an empirical victims-perspective has been applied to correctly address the issues regarding human trafficking and forced prostitution. In order to do so it was necessary to establish entry through and with the help of the persons directly involved within prostitution. As it is impossible to contact traffickers directly, the option for a current victim

trends in women trafficking and voluntary prostitution: Russian-speaking sex workers in the Netherlands, in: Transnational Crime, 2005, 4 (1); H. Dekker & R. Tap G. & Homburg *Het bordeelverbod opgeheven, de sociale positie van prostituees*, Amsterdam: Regioplan Beleidsonderzoek, 2006; S. Biesma & R. van der Stoep, R. Naayer & B. Bielemans, *Verboden bordelen. Evaluatie opheffing bordeelverbod*, Groningen: Intraval, 2006; M. Janssen, *Reizende sekswerkers: Latijns-Amerikaanse vrouwen in de Europese prostitutie*, Amsterdam: Het spinhuis, 2007; D. Siegel & S. de Blank, *Vrouwen die in vrouwen handelen. De rol van vrouwen in criminele netwerken*, in: Tijdschrift voor criminologie 50(1), 2008.

For other contributions see: L. Agustín, *Sex at the margins: migration, labour markets and the rescue industry*, London: Zed Books, 2007; B. C. Oude Breuil, *Precious children in a heartless world? The complexities of child trafficking in Marseille*, in Children and Society 22(3), 2008; A. Brunovskis & R. Surtees, *Agency or illness- the conceptualisation of trafficking: victim's choices and behaviours in the assistance system*, in Gender technology development journal 12(1), 2008; J. Davies, *My name is not Natasha. How Albanian Women in France use trafficking to overcome social exclusion*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009; M. Roguski *Occupational health and safety of migrant sex workers in New-Zealand*, Wellington: Kaitiaki Research and Evaluation, 2013; H. Wagenaar & S. Altink & H. Amesberger, *Final Report of the International Comparative Study of Prostitution Policy: Austria and the Netherlands*, The Hague: Platform 31, 2013.

² G. Tyldum, *Limitations in Research on Human Trafficking*, in International Migration 48 (5), 2010.

³ N. Lindstrom, *Regional Sex trafficking in the Balkans. Transnational Networks in an Enlarged Europe*, in Problems of Post-Communism (51) 3, 2004.

⁴ G. Tyldum, 2010.

⁵ G. Tyldum, 2010.

approach, as mentioned in the introduction, was selected.⁶ The research therefore started by examining the working areas of the women involved in sex work, as prostitution in the Netherlands is very much identifiable and recognisable in designated areas. The population of Hungarian women was selected as main research group as Hungarian women are one of the most frequently reported nationalities to have fallen victim of trafficking and sexual exploitation in recent years.⁷

For representative purposes larger Dutch cities which hold one or more red light district were selected. The assumption was that these window areas, which are relatively cheap and profitable, harbour a lot of trafficking victims. The selected cities were Amsterdam (Old Church area), The Hague (Hunse-, Geleen- and Doubletstraat, Groningen (Nieuwstad) and Utrecht (Zandpad). It is well known these cities are composed of a multicultural population and therefore could provide sufficient social capital⁸ which exists out of '[t]he possibilities that individuals have to mobilise resources out of social networks to which they belong'⁹ and the amplitude of the city itself provides anonymity and sufficient possibilities for cheap accommodation and living, so costs can be kept low and in the case of human trafficking and the exploitation of its victims, profits high. This list of cities was supplemented with the city of Rotterdam, which despite the absence of a red light district has a very active prostitution scene. Rotterdam, a few years back, issued at or near 100 licenses for brothels to conduct business on a legal basis. Led by the mayor and city council this number is currently being reduced down to less than 25 by natural decay which means no new licenses are being issued and if a brothel closes down the permit is automatically expired without change of renewal. The ideology behind this method is that both prostitutes and facilitators will choose a different profession or relocate and leave the municipality when no legal options to conduct business remain. This is commonly known as the waterbed or wrinkle effect.¹⁰ This idea of dejection, has first been implemented in the red light district of Amsterdam in 2009 under the work title; 'project 1012' and the results of this policy show signs of the wrinkle effect as prostitution has moved into illegality.¹¹ Notwithstanding this example, the city of Rotterdam, continues its course and continues ignoring the transition effects as pointed out by Van Wijk *et al.*¹²

Despite the absence of a red light district and the ongoing limitation of brothels etc., Rotterdam has a very active online prostitution scene which is used by women to place advertisements for men to view and which they can use to contact them. In practice this usually means that the women who offer themselves are working without a license and operate out of a private flat or only conduct out-call (escort) services.¹³ It is assumed that this method of work makes the women more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse by both pimps and punters¹⁴, as regulation and control is difficult and limited.

In March of 2013 the Regional Information and Expertise Centre (RIEC) conducted an explorative study on the status and extend of internet advertisements by prostitutes and facilitators in the region of

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Bureau Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel (BNRM) (2015) *Mensenhandel in en uit beeld Update cijfers mogelijke slachtoffers 2010-2014*.

⁸ N. Mai, *Migrant Workers in the UK Sex Industry. Final Policy-Relevant Report*, London: ESRC/London Metropolitan University, 2010.

⁹ J. Burgers & A. Komter & G. Engbersen, *Het cement van de samenleving*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000.

¹⁰ M. Goderie & H. Boutellier, *Prostitutie in Rotterdam*, Utrecht: Verwey Jonkers Instituut, 2006.

¹¹ Rodney Haan in Nieuwsuur 29 March 2016 <http://nos.nl/nieuwsuur/artikel/2095831-prostitutie-anno-2016-in-de-schemerwereld-van-de-illegaliteit.html?title=prostitu%20tie-anno-2016-in-de-schemerwereld-van-de-illegaliteit> (3. May 2016).

¹² A. van Wijk & A. Nieuwenhuis & D. van Tuyn & T. van Ham & J. Kuppens & H. Ferwerda, *Kwetsbaar beroep. Een onderzoek naar de prostitutiebranche in Amsterdam*, Amsterdam: Beke, 2010, p. 214.

¹³ M. Goderie & H. Boutellier, 2006.

¹⁴ M. Farley & E. Butler, *Prostitution and Trafficking-quick facts*, 2012, accessed via: <http://www.prostitutionresearch.com/Prostitution%20Quick%20Facts%2012-21-12.pdf> (3 May 2016).

Rotterdam-Rijnmond. They analysed different websites on which sex ads can be placed.¹⁵ The researchers looked at the websites Kinky.nl, Sexjobs.nl and Speurders.nl. They found 338 women working as a licensed prostitute and 369 women who were offering their services through the internet but did not have a license to work as a prostitute. The researchers give warning that the number of the latter group is presumably much higher as there is a presumable (relatively high) dark number.¹⁶

Even though this ad-hoc research by the RIEC is methodologically quite weak, due to the choice of cross-sectional sampling and the absence of the option of verifying the data by contacting the women, it nevertheless gives a glimpse of the issues as they exist within a system of online supply of sexual services.¹⁷ Over half of the women try to evade costs and the paperwork which is needed to legalise the means of income by prostitution. The sampling as used by the RIEC researchers was comparable with that of this specific study. The difference being that for this research, internet was seen as a way, the means so to speak, to select the contacts and respondents while for the RIEC the internet review was the main topic for the research itself.

This research used the internet for sampling to make a selection out of the numerous women who advertise their services via different online channels. The first selection made was on the basis of a specific region or city, in this case Rotterdam. Other cities out of the sample have been looked at to compare numbers of and women advertising while the women themselves were selected on basis of working in a red light district and therefore approached as such. Secondly a selection was made on age and gender. This research looks only at trafficked women who are forced into prostitution with the specific age range of 18 till 30 as this age group is most likely to exist out of women who presumably would have fallen victim to trafficking.¹⁸ It is necessary to take into consideration the situation that Hungarian women could also have travelled (either under force, deception or out of their free will) as a prostitution virgin directly to the Netherlands while others could have been working as a prostitute (either forced or out of free will) before travelling over to the Netherlands. Next to this age criterion a selection was made on services offered. Women who are forced to work in prostitution usually do not have the luxury to be picky and therefore have to accept and offer all forms of sexual services and accept all clients. Due to this large target group of possible clients, the costs can be kept low which is necessary as they will have to compete with other women. By lowering the price and offering other (more extreme) services like anal sex, anilingus or sex without a condom, they can attract more clients. This is necessary for them to meet the minimum expected daily amount of money as demanded by the pimps casu quo traffickers. After the selections were entered in and the results of the search made visible, the texts of the different ads were compared on word usage and mistakes made in spelling and general use of language. Finally the pictures of the women were examined to see if the girl was Caucasian and if she broadly matched the general physical outward appearance as what to be expected of someone from the European region to which Hungary belongs and/or general descriptions fitting to people from Roma origin. On a more longitudinal basis the internet advertisements of the women were monitored to learn more on the travel of the women within the Netherlands.

¹⁵ See for similar research in Utrecht: A. Mein & R. Verwijs & L. Drost & M. Goderie, *Verborgene prostitutie in Utrecht. Kenmerken en hulpverleningsbehoefte van 'verborgene prostituees'*, Utrecht: Verwey Jonker Instituut, 2011.

¹⁶ Regionaal Informatie en Expertise Centrum (RIEC), *Onderzoek naar aanbieders van commerciële seksuele dienstverlening op internet*, (non published confidential research), 2013.

¹⁷ R. H. J. M. Staring, *Human trafficking in the Netherlands: trends and recent developments*, in *International review of law, computers & technology*, 26(1), 2012.

¹⁸ Bureau Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, *Mensenhandel. Zevende rapportage van de Nationaal Rapporteur* Den Haag: BNRM, 2009, p. 37.

As a final and extra check, the selected women were searched for on the website Hookers.nl. This website offers punters, who call themselves travellers on this online forum, the possibility to review, and grade the women they visited as well as leave comments. These comments usually contain relevant details on the girls like confirmation of age and appearance but also ethnicity/nationality as this is frequently discussed during the interaction between prostitute and client. This review and grading of women can best be certified as a cattle fair, but for research purposes it provides useful additional information and therefore has proven its worth as a sample confirmation method. After this the women from the ads were contacted by telephone.

Brothels were also contacted but this was not successful as out of the 24 contacted brothels none had any native Hungarian women working for them at that moment in time. Two brothel owners gave information on the fact they have had Hungarian women working for them in the past but that these employments had ended a few years back.

Women working in the red light districts were approached directly after a certain period in which trust was gained and some sort of familiarity was established. This usually took several weeks to win their trust and required multiple visits and a lot of small talk. This way of operating has proven its worth and successfully limited the number of non-response. In comparison: the online sample had a 85% non-response against a 25% of refusals in the red-light districts.

Besides these visits, the retrieval of primary data was initiated by using the method of ethnographic observations in the red light districts of Amsterdam, The Hague, Groningen and Utrecht. The aim of these observations was twofold. Firstly, they were necessary to get an idea of the reality as exists in the specific red light districts and to assess the characteristic of the situation of legalised prostitution in the Netherlands. Secondly, to get in contact with relevant persons *i.e.* prostitutes, pimps and punters who could function as gatekeepers. These first observations were conducted on a non-structured, direct and concealed basis with help of the method of time sampling. Out of a safety perspective all observations were carried out by the author while being accompanied by a second person. The observations were structured in such a manner they took place at different days during the week as well as in the weekends and always on different times of the day. All of this to get an understanding of the working conditions, the amount of women present at a certain period in time, the type and amount of clientele etc. As more insight in the situation and the social sub-system in which the concept of prostitution existed, was obtained, the observations became more open and were used to get in contact with gatekeepers in the person of prostitutes who have been working there for a longer period of time and who are present on a regular basis. Beside these women, volunteers of the salvation army, who regularly talk to the women and on occasion also bring them drinks and nibbles, were also contacted and deployed as gatekeepers. Eventually trust was gained with the help of prostitutes who would fit the profile of the research group¹⁹ and of whom was to be expected they could function as gatekeepers. By investing time by talking with the women on all sorts of things, instead of just talking to them on behalf of the research, and by occasionally bringing them some snacks and drinks, these women gained confidence and eventually opened up. In the end these investments in gaining trust have proven to be of great value as it both resulted in respondents and gatekeepers willing to cooperate and give their support.

The participating women were asked, on different occasions ranging from short five minute talks to in-depth interview settings lasting several hours, on their work experiences, their personal feelings towards their work, clients and facilitators etc. as well as their entry into prostitution, taking into account the

¹⁹ W. Huisman & E. Kleefmans, *The challenges of fighting sex trafficking in the legalized prostitution market of the Netherlands*, in *Crime, Law and Social Change* accessed via Springerlink.com, 2014.

who, when, and why, their travel routes and methods, earnings and their possibilities on exiting prostitution. These indicators were used to determine if there was a situation of trafficking and sexual exploitation and by doing so helped tackling the points of discussion as raised by Tyldum²⁰ on the impossibilities of researching the nature and extend of forced prostitution.

The observations, once they provided entry, were followed by a combination of semi-structured and in-depth interviews.²¹ These interviews were set up with just the topics to keep the interviews as objective as possible.²² As mentioned before, saturation was initially used as a criterion for validation but this prove to be insufficient due to the unique content of the stories of the women so no correlation was significant recognisable.²³ Eventually set time frames were selected to conduct the interviews and all relevant interviews within that specific period of time were processed. After a fair amount of refusals due to a lack of trust or situations concerning pimps who prohibited the women to speak, a lot of the women were willing to cooperate when asked a second or third time usually in the absence of their pimp. This refusal conversion²⁴ is emphatically present when you can convince the respondents of your incentives. Eventually, over the period of January 2010 till February 2013, (N=)222 women working as prostitutes at several well know red lights districts in the cities of Amsterdam, The Hague, Utrecht and Groningen as well as women working in a private surrounding in the city and area of Rotterdam were interviewed. Of these women (of whom the majority were interviewed several times), N=137 held the Hungarian nationality and did actually came from Hungary, more specific Szeged and the surrounding villages, the Budapest region and the Balaton region (mostly Siófok), 63 of the women belonged to the Hungarian minority in Romania, and would usually originate from the regions of Szatmár Megye and Bihar. One girl belonged to the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. The other N=23 interviewed women came from Lithuania (N=2), Bulgaria (N=7), Romania (N=8), Poland (N=4), Greece (N=1) and Estonia (N=1). Even though these women did not meet the characteristics of the research group they were interviewed nevertheless as they functioned as a control group and on occasion were friends with women from the research group, which made them function as gatekeepers as well. Almost 35% of the women interviewed belonged to a Roma minority out of one of the specific countries.

In addition to these interviews with the women working in prostitution, (N=) 23 pimps were interviewed. This group had the following specifications;

N=	2	2	3	2	3	4	4	3
Ethnicity	Albanian	Surinamese	Curacaos	Bulgarian	Hungarian	Romanian	Turkish	Moroccan
Age	33 & 34	37 & 39	21,24 &27	41 & 43	36, 38 & 44	29, 29, 34 & 54	25, 27, 39 & 43	23, 28 &31

Beside these men working as pimps, multiple experts working for the police, the public prosecutions' office, judges, sex work aid organisations and scholars were asked on their knowledge, experiences and views on prostitution policy, forced prostitution and organised crime. Each interview addressed the following topics in regards to prostitution and the women working as a prostitute: (knowledge of) personal situation and background, (knowledge of) working position, (knowledge of) working

²⁰ G. Tyldum, 2010, p. 9.

²¹ C. Bijleveld, *Methoden en Technieken van Onderzoek in de Criminologie*, Den Haag, BJU, 2007, p. 213.

²² J. Arsovska, *Researching Difficult Populations: Interviewing Techniques and Methodological Issues in Face-to-Face interviews in the Study of Organised Crime*, in L. Gideon (ed.) *Handbook of Survey Methodology for the social Sciences*, New York, Springer, 2012.

²³ H. Askola, *Legal Responses to Trafficking in Women for Sexual Exploitation in the European Union*, Oxford: Hart Publishers, 2007, p. 7.

²⁴ C. Bijleveld, 2007 p. 213.

conditions, the possibility to exit prostitution, nationality, travel *i.e.* the prostitution carousel,²⁵ perceptions of safety and feelings of trust towards the police and aid workers. Schematically the entire sample is as follows²⁶:

N=	Amsterdam	Groningen	Rotterdam	The Hague	Utrecht
Prostitutes Research group Hungary	24	18	37	47	11
Prostitutes Research Group Other	10	2	16	28	7
Prostitutes Control Group	4	3	3	11	2
Pimps	5	0	8	9	1

Eventually, the interviews, on average, lasted about an hour and a half depending on the situation. In many occasions the interviews with the prostitutes needed a second or third session to retrieve all the in-depth information needed. The first sessions were used to get basic personal background information and to increase the women's trust even more and to make the women feel (more) familiar with being interviewed. Increasing the self-esteem of the women and reinforcing the idea and feelings of being a person instead of a mere utility during the interviews seemed to be an important way to retrieve the more confidential and relevant information.

During the time that the interviews with the women and their facilitators took place, punters who were present at the red light districts out of the sample, except for the city of Rotterdam, seen buying sex, were asked on their presence and them buying sex. The men were asked, with the help of a structured questionnaire with mostly closed answer options, on their motivations for being a 'walker' and what their general feelings towards prostitution were, the perceptions they have towards the prostitutes and how they feel about them buying sex. Next to these feelings, questions addressing their general knowledge of human trafficking and sexual exploitation through prostitution and their conciseness of buying sex as facilitation for prostitution and/or contributing to this type of criminal behaviour were asked. Finally, the men were questioned on, their reactions in the case they would come across an exploitative situation of one of the women and their willingness to report this to the authorities. In the end, the data of (N= 437) punters was analysed with the help of SPSS.

Finally the research focussed on Hungary as a source country. For this approach a questionnaire was set up in English and which were conducted by telephone. The questionnaires were translated in Hungarian which was necessary as even though a lot of women in their ad mentioned they spoke English or German, in practice any knowledge of these languages was limited or even absent. These questionnaires were

²⁵ This is an important element as it makes it difficult for law enforcement agencies and social work agencies to help women and successfully combat the trafficking and sexual exploitation (Bokhorst *et. al* 2011, p.45).

²⁶ The Hague was, due to the proximity factor, visited more often and therefore it was easier to contact the women and gain their trust as regular visits took place. The same applies for Rotterdam in so far it relates to the proximity and possible overrepresentation.

conducted over the period of March 2013 till December 2013 by trained students from the University of Pécs and the Inholland University of Applied Sciences. These students were all native Hungarian speakers who, after a training, were able to act as interviewers.

As prostitution is more or less still a taboo and thoughts surrounding the topic are usually based upon prejudice²⁷, the research group was more difficult to locate and to get in contact with. In order to establish contact an internet search was conducted and websites like Videkilany.hu, Rosszslányok.hu and Szexmost.hu were applied in a similar way as had been done in order to contact the women working via the internet in Rotterdam. Women working in the cities of Budapest, Debrecen, Győr, Pécs, Szeged and Nyíregyháza were selected and contacted.²⁸ They were asked on their work, experiences, personal background and willingness and possibilities to work abroad. Because of the high number of non-response within a three day pilot, the sample criteria were adjusted and only the criterion of location was used to get a valid and representative sample. Eventually, after still having to accept a non-response of nearly 65%, mostly by predominantly young women who would fit the target group perfectly, as women between the age of 18 and 25 years are most likely to fall victim of trafficking,²⁹ 93 questionnaires were returned as being valid. Beside the information gathered, just as interesting were the notes made by the interviewers in the cases of non-response. These notes in itself gave insight into working conditions regarding caretakers as many young women felt the need to ask a man present with them, for permission to participate. Both the tone of voice and the way of responding gave reason for the interviewers, on several occasions, to make specific notes with references to this moment. In regards to the ads posted on the websites, these shown a lot of similarity to those seen in the Netherlands. Similarities in the use of sentences and recognisable mistakes in the use of language and similarity in picture backgrounds could be an indicator in Hungary as well, as it gives sign of some sort of an existing relation between the women advertising themselves or either it gives awareness of the presence of some sort of facilitator. Anyway, this raised the idea of the presence of some sort of (criminal) organisation behind the facilitation of the women.

The sample for the Hungarian fieldwork was composed as follows (figure 3):

N=	Budapest	Debrecen	Győr	Pécs	Szeged	Nyíregyháza
Prostitutes	39	22	9	11	6	6

3. The Concept of Organised Crime

While discussing the concepts of human trafficking and prostitution one comes across different narratives,³⁰ the concept of organised crime within the exploitation of women by forced prostitution also holds a narrative. This narrative is partly based on news coverage³¹ and shaped by many authors who aim to discuss the role of organised crime in the sexual exploitation of women. These authors frequently

²⁷ J. Salt & J. Hogarth, *Migrant trafficking and human smuggling in Europe: a review of the evidence with case studies from Hungary, Poland and Ukraine*, Geneva: International Organisation for Migration, 2000.

²⁸ It is worth mentioning that conducting a similar search strategy on these websites show similar results as to the situation in Rotterdam and in the case these websites are monitored over a longer period of time patterns in representation of specific locations as well as movement by the women across the country can be witnessed.

²⁹ Bureau Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel, *Mensenhandel. Negenderapportage van de Nationaal Rapporteur*, Den Haag: BNRM, 2009.

³⁰ J. van Rij, *Human Trafficking and Prostitution Policy: A European Issue?*, in: PJIEL 2014/I, 2014.

³¹ E. Denton, *International News Coverage of Human trafficking Arrests and Prosecutions: A content Analysis*, in Women and Criminal Justice (20), 2010.

conclude that the role of organised crime is highly overrated and perhaps even purposely exaggerated.³² To assess this presumption and react on this narrative it is necessary to examine the concept of organised crime, as shaped within the legal contexts of the European Union and the Netherlands.

The concept of organised crime emerged first in the United States in the 1920s. Not soon after the term was used internationally and is used to describe serious crimes, which denotes a set of criminal actors as well as a set of criminal activities,³³ which are difficult to research and even harder to control. It is defined as: ‘*the ongoing activities of those collectively engaged in production, supply and financing for illegal markets in goods and services*’.³⁴ Organised crime is not a homogenous type of crime conducted by a specific more or less stereotype criminal, but rather a term used to explain a diversity of criminal actions with a transnational character which are conducted in specific circumstances.³⁵

This involves the mutual provision of services and entrepreneurial promotion between legal and illegal enterprises, both on a material and symbolic level.³⁶

Article 2 of the United Nations Transnational Organised Crime Convention states that “*organised criminal group* shall mean a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a longer period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit; *serious crime* shall mean conduct constituting an offence punishable by a maximum deprivation of liberty of at least four years or a more serious penalty; *structured group* shall mean a group that is not randomly formed for the immediate commission of an offence and that does not need to have formally defined roles for its members, continuity of its memberships or a developed structure.”

The topic of organised crime gives ground for discussion as is shown by examining the differences between the legal orientations of I. the United Nations, which upholds the more ‘classical’ shaped ‘act’ approach and II. the European Union, which in general uses an actor-centred logic with a focus on some specific key indicators as reinforced by the Serious Organised Crime Threat Assessment (SOCTA). These by the European Union wide applied key indicators are³⁷:

A situation of international cooperation between non-indigenous groups or between an indigenous and non-indigenous group, or as international operations carried out directly by an organised crime group.

- Group structures which involves co-offending etc.
- Use of Legitimate Business Structures.
- Specialisation; organised crime groups recruit people with specific criminal skills.
- Influence and corruption in order to lower risks and costs.
- Violence; both deployed as an internal and external control mechanism.
- Counter measures to avoid detection.

³² L. Sandy, *Commentary: Thaddeus Blanchette and the Ana Paula da Silva’s Myth of Maria*, in *Dialect Anthropol*, accessed via Springerlink.com, 2013.

³³ A. Cohen, *The concept of criminal organisation*, in *British Journal of Criminology*, 1977, (17).

³⁴ P. Gill, *Organized Crime*, in E. McLaughlin & J. Muncie, *The Sage Dictionary of Criminology*, London, Sage, 2008, p.280.

³⁵ C. Fijnaut & F. Bovenkerk & G. Bruinsma & H. van de Bunt, *Organised crime in The Netherlands*, The Hague, Kluwer, 1998.

³⁶ L. Paoli, *The paradoxes of organised crime*, in *Crime, Law & Social Change*, 2002, (37).

³⁷ A. Edwards & M. Levi, *Researching the organisation of serious crimes*, in *Criminology and Criminal Justice* 8, 2008, p. 379.

In general these key indicators match the eleven European Union criteria to define organised crime. These eleven criteria of which the first four are mandatory but which need to be supplemented by at least two criteria out of the remaining seven optional criteria in order to complete the conceptualisation of organised crime, are³⁸:

1. Collaboration of more than two people.
2. Taking place over a prolonged or indefinite period of time.
3. Suspected of the commission of serious criminal offences.
4. Having as its central goal, the pursuit of profit and/or power.
5. Having a specialised division of labour.
6. Utilizing a system of discipline and control
7. Using violence and other means of intimidation
8. Having a commercial or business like structure.
9. Involved in money-laundering.
10. Operating internationally, across National borders.
11. Exerting influence over politics, judicial bodies, media and economy.

Based upon these key indicators, Europol's Organised Crime Threat Assessment (OCTA)³⁹ is able to classify all criminal crime groups. Focus here lies on their origins Europol narrows the groups down into three categories:⁴⁰

- Traditionally indigenous organised crime groups or EU-based groups.
- Traditionally non-indigenous or non-EU-based groups.
- Intermediary situations including both second generation organised crime groups and groups combine aspects of both non-EU and EU-based groups.

Within these three categories, four types of organised crime groups can be distinguished.⁴¹ These groups are:

- Principally territorially based, indigenous organised crime groups, with extensive transnational activities; especially with possibilities to shield their leadership and assets, even inside the European Union.
- Mainly ethnically homogenous groups with their leadership and main assets abroad.
- Dynamic networks of perpetrators, whose organizational setup is less viable to attack from a law enforcement perspective than their communications and finances.
- Organised crime groups based on strictly defined organizational principles without an ethnic component, coupled with a large international presence.

Another point of interest is the term transnational, which implicates that the cooperation in or facilitation of these serious crimes, takes places over different territories and jurisdictions. Because of this an international instrument is a must in order to effectively combat these types of serious crimes committed

³⁸ M. Levi, *The organisation of serious crimes*, in M. Maguire & R. Morgan & R. Reiner *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 882; T. Newburn, *Criminology*, Devon, Willan publishing p. 406.

³⁹ Europol, *EU Organised Crime Threat Assessment*, 2008, p. 13., accessed via: [http://www.europol.europa.eu/publications/European_Organised_Crime_Threat_Assessment_\(OCTA\)/OCTA2008.pdf](http://www.europol.europa.eu/publications/European_Organised_Crime_Threat_Assessment_(OCTA)/OCTA2008.pdf) (27 December 2013).

⁴⁰ W. Kegö & A. Molcean, *Russian Speaking Organized Crime Groups in the EU*, Stockholm: ISDP, 2011, p. 22.

⁴¹ A. Edwards & M. Levi, 2008, p. 379.

by these organised crime groups. The United Nations focuses on the need to regulate the type of act orientated crime as a global threat.⁴² Article 3 Sub 2 of the United Nations Transnational Organised Crime Convention states that an offence is transnational in nature if: It is committed in more than one State; it is committed in one State but a substantial part of its preparation, planning, direction or control takes place in another State; it is committed in one State but involves an organised crime group that engages in criminal activities in more than one State; or it is committed in one State but has substantial effects in another State.

There are currently over 3600 Organised Crime Groups active within the EU and most of them are operating on a network-style basis. Of these groups 70% are composed of members of multiple nationalities and over 30% of them are considered to be poly-crime groups.⁴³ The latter meaning that these organised crime groups do not have a specialism but that they rather operate there where the money is to be found.⁴⁴ This requires flexibility, knowledge of and a large (both social and business orientated) network. Based on these facts and findings by Europol it is to be expected that the percentage of active crime groups operating out of a network approach will only increase while the set criteria on defining and legally dealing with these groups mostly still focuses on a structured organisational approach based upon an Italian mafia style lay out as for many policing and security institutions within the European Union consider this Mafia/Godfather myth attitude towards organised crime as more workable than the idea of organised crime being a camouflaged octopus with tentacles grappling all fields of criminal behaviour⁴⁵ and extending its reach onto the area of everyday life and transcending the boundaries between this criminal underworld and socially crime free environment. This standpoint is a logic deduction as the visualisation of organised crime as a pyramid with a set structure, modus operandi, appointed expertise and membership based upon kinship or clan loyalty/alliance is comprehensible. While thinking of organised crime groups to be operating on a much smaller and less intimate level with highly flexible relationships, changing modus operandi, shifting expertise and contacts between networks during the course of criminal careers⁴⁶ which frequently are being established by independent third parties as they were crime agents, is off course a policy and investigative nightmare as bridges between networks, as created by third parties, are temporary in nature and insight in the nature and extend of the criminal acts is obtained, not before, a set period after the act itself. Therefore, what happens is comparable to viewing a stars' light. While seeing the stars' light shining bright, at the same time you are aware of the possibility that the star itself could have died out years ago, as the light we see in the present is actually looking into the past considering the thousands of years it took for the light to travel the distance to earth. For that a network approach can be compared to a set of stars/planets in the Galaxy, called a Milkyway.

In criminal concepts it can be displayed as follows, with planetoids being networks and the stars being crime agents creating bridges;

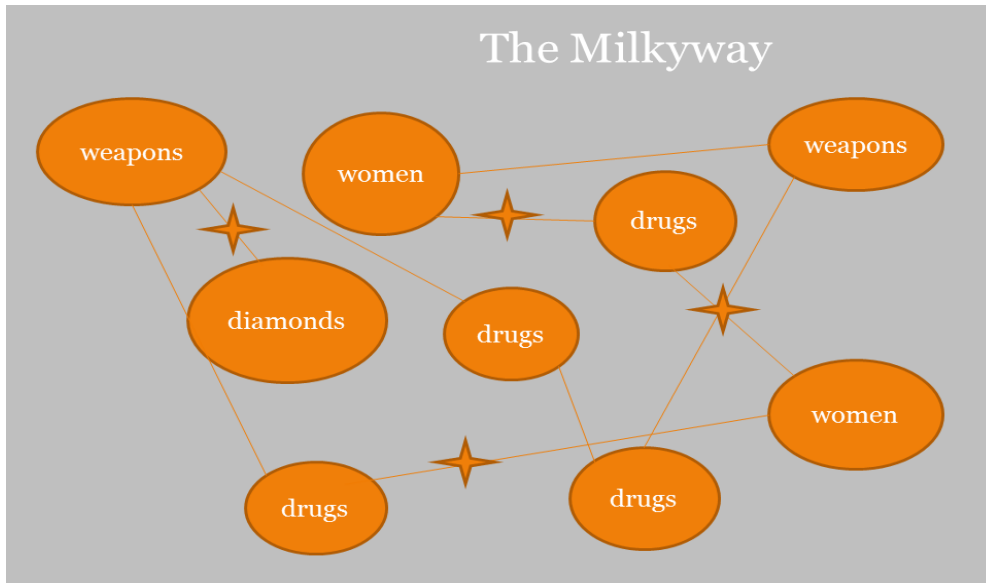
⁴² M. Levi, 2002.

⁴³ Europol, *EU Serious Organised Crime Threat Assessment*, 2013, accessed via: <https://www.europol.europa.eu/sites/default/files/publications/socta2013.pdf> (27 December 2013) p. 32.

⁴⁴ A. Chang Lee, *The United States Experience in the Investigation and Prosecution of Transnational Organized Crime*, in International training course visiting experts' papers (134) 73., 2007, p. 3.

⁴⁵ K. von Lampe, *Measuring organised crime. A Critique of current approaches*, in P. C. van Duyne & M. Jager & K. von Lampe & J. L. Newell, *Threats and Phantoms of Organised crime, Corruption and Terrorism* Nijmegen, Wolf legal publishers, 2004.

⁴⁶ J. D. de Jong, *Kapot moeilijk. Een ethnografisch onderzoek naar opvallend delinquent groepsgegedrag van 'Marokkaanse' jongens'* Amsterdam, Aksant, 2007.



This does not mean that it is not possible that on each star a set group of people could be working together as it were a miniature copy of the pyramid like structure as discussed previously. In that a situation the pyramid like basis of the cooperation would only be on a much smaller scale than it were the case in mafia like organised crime groups.

4. Organised Crime and the Trafficking of Native Speaking Hungarian Women

As mentioned before, organised crime in its legal concept is present in a vast majority of criminal operations. This is not different within the trafficking and sexual exploitation of native Hungarian speaking women to and in the Netherlands. In order to arrange travel, stay and formal work consent by the authorities, the women need to rely on others to help them. Because of the nature, the persons involved and as a result of this, the operations consisting out of the long term internationally orientated cooperative actions can legally be defined as criminal based on art. 273f WvSR and these actions include aggravating circumstances due to their nature and the collaborative context in which the crimes take place. This context in turn should be orientated towards the exploitation of the women as Dutch policy also offers a legal ground for foreign women to work in prostitution.

Many of the female respondents stated they have started work as a prostitute in the country of origin. The following *modus operandi* were used to 'force' the women into a life of prostitution.

First the story of a girl named Victoria, she is the one respondent out of Slovakia. Victoria her story starts the moment she was kidnapped by a man from her village, both the village and man's name were not mentioned during the interviews. When Victoria was 16 years of age and while going to school, the man lured her in his van and starts expressing his feelings towards her. He told her, he wanted to marry her. When she refused, he became violent, raped her and she was held in his house for several days. After this time she was brought to Prague and sold to another man. Victoria witnessed this transaction and after this moment she was sold and exchanged several more times, eventually ending up in the Netherlands. The second type of *modus operandi*, next to kidnapping, is family pressure. Many of,

predominantly, the Roma women were prostituted by family members.⁴⁷ The women told stories about parents who needed money and forced the women, usually on a very young age,⁴⁸ to solicit themselves on the streets. They were expected to go with men, so-called kerb crawlers⁴⁹ in their automobiles and have some sort of sexual relation/encounter with them. Usually this included unprotected sex as this paid more and potential hazards were not (yet) recognised or they were deliberately not communicated to the girls. In many occasions the brothers and male cousins were the ones who would force the women to start working⁵⁰ and by doing so acting as pimps and in that role, in charge of setting up meetings with clients, function as a driver/protector for out-call services, provide the women with condoms etc. One of the women, named Katarina, told me she was raised by her grandmother. This grandmother had worked as a prostitute in the past but when she became too old, she forced her granddaughter, at the age of eleven, to have sex with a neighbour for no more than the sum of four euro's. From that moment one Katarina has been working as a prostitute, travelling across Europe, being exploited by numerous men in different settings, conditions and encounters.

Other women told stories which show a lot of similarity with conditions surrounding the operations of the Dutch PUP's.⁵¹ This involves a selection process during which a vulnerable victim is selected, usually in the age range of 18 to 24,⁵² who after the moment of getting in contact with the PUP unknowingly gets lured into a process of grooming which usually would last a couple of weeks up till a few months and which includes the stages of seduction, pampering and binding. This will most certainly lead to a romantic relationship, sexual contact during which the PUP searches for the girls boundaries. Once these boundaries are established the women get confronted with a situation involving problems for their 'boyfriends' which is the beginning of the next stage during which the girls were 'persuaded' to help their partners/boyfriends by working as a prostitute.⁵³ This usually starts as a onetime action but not soon after they will find themselves in such circumstances they cannot escape the situation as the grooming changed into violence and the initially voluntary action of prostitution itself became a with the violence enforced obligation. It is noted that the actions by Romanian men usually involve more frequent and severe use of violence, both verbally and physically and the same can be said for men from the Roma population in Hungary in comparison to indigenous Hungarian men.

While men are usually the ones responsible for the crimp of women, others were willingly or unwillingly lured into prostitution by girls, the so-called PERF's⁵⁴ of who they thought them to be friends or

⁴⁷ See for similar practices: V. Bekteshi & E. Gjermeni & M. van Hook, *Modern day slavery: sex trafficking in Albania*, in *International journal of social policy*, 32(7/8), 2012, p. 485.; S. Finger, *Ungarische Sexarbeiterinnen in Zürich zwischen Marginalisierung und Selbstbestimmung*, in B. Filep & M. Váradi & M. Walter & R. Wastl, *Grenzüberschreitende Nachbarschaften*, Festschrift für Doris Wastl-Walter, Klagenfurter Geographische Schriften, Heft 29' Klagenfurt, Institut für Geographie und Regionalforschung, 2013.

⁴⁸ M. Smit, *Trafficking in human beings for labour exploitation. The case of the Netherlands*, in *Trends Organised Crime* (14) accessed via Springerlink.com, 2011.

⁴⁹ R. Matthews, *Prostitution, Politics and Policy*, Oxon: Routledge Cavendish, 2008.

⁵⁰ S. Poucki & N. Bryan, *Vulnerability to Human Trafficking among the Roma Population in Serbia: The Role of Social Exclusion and Marginalization*, in *Journal of Intercultural Studies* (35) 2, 2014.

⁵¹ As there has been a lot of discussion on the concept of loverboys as the word would have a too positive annotation. Former Dutch minister of Justice Hirsch Ballin introduced the concept of a 'pooierboy' (pimping boyfriend) which almost immediately was criticised as this word would have too little in common with the methods applied by the perpetrators.⁵¹ A better description with a less positive annotation is the acronym PUP which in Dutch stands for 'Prostituerende Uitbuitende Partner'⁵¹ and translates in English to 'Prostituting Utilizing Partner'.

⁵² N. Lindstrom, *Regional Seks trafficking in the Balkans. Transnational Networks in an Enlarged Europe*, in *Problems of Post-Communism* (51) 3, 2004.

⁵³ M. Smit & M. Boot, *Het begrip mensenhandel in de Nederlandse context*, in: *Justitiële Verkenningen* 33(7), 2007.

⁵⁴ The role of female victims who start out as being a victim of trafficking and sexual exploitation but who after a while become active in recruiting of other female victims themselves, was researched and described by Verwijs *et. al* in 2011. These women nowadays are known as lovergirls, which again is a misplaced annotation to describe the operations of these

acquaintances. Some of these friends were open about the work they were getting involved in and what they had to do and the role they themselves played. This while others tricked the women by telling them lies or giving a misrepresentation of the work itself or the conditions or circumstances surrounding it. Only four of the interviewed women stated to have shown initiative to start work within prostitution and actively commit acquisition. In those cases the women became victimised while working as a prostitute during a time they were in need of assistance which could only be provided to them by pimps which then forced them into a commitment involving involuntary support and help by the same or other pimps or organisations facilitating the men acting as a pimp.

The division of native Hungarian speaking women on how they entered prostitution is as follows:

Type	Total N=200	Nationality and N=	Roma N=69
Family related	63	HU: 41 RO: 22 SK: 0	41
PUP	88	HU: 64 RO: 23 SK: 0	17
PERF	38	HU: 31 RO: 7 SK: 0	10
Self-initiated	4	HU:2 RO:2 SK: 0	0
Kidnapped	1	HU:0 RO:0 SK: 1	0
Other (not specified)	6	HU:5 RO:2 SK: 0	1

The types of crimp shown prior, involve a lot of different and specific methods and one of the most striking elements is the involvement of the amount of persons and their influence on the process in general. The initial element of luring the women into a life of prostitution is only the first step as after this, the transportation and all arrangements which are necessary to enable the travels of the women *i.e.* facilitate travel, work and housing need to be arranged and this involves many persons and both a significant amount of social and financial capital.

Almost all of the exploitative situations brought forth in this research started in the country of origin and after a set period the women would travel abroad were they continued, frequently by force, their activities. What is interesting to see is that one of the key elements in combating human trafficking is to make trafficking visible⁵⁵ on all levels with a centralised role for the official authorities and more

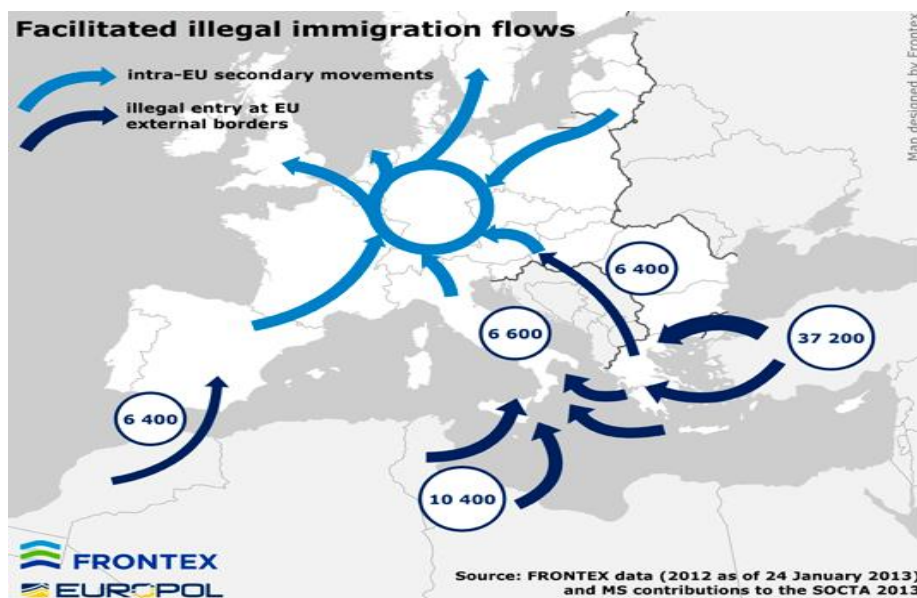
women as in these cases the concept of love is absent completely. Better it would be to make use of the acronym PERF which stands for 'Prostituting Exploiting Recruiting Friend' and tackles all the aspect of the applied modus operandi and will therefore is used.

⁵⁵ Bureau Nationaal Rapporteur Mensenhandel (BNRM), 2012.

specific, the municipalities⁵⁶ as they can most easily and at an early stage detect the signals related to trafficking. As exploitative situations can also start in the Netherlands in those cases the traffickers, trafficked the women directly from abroad or let the women come over and start work as a prostitute voluntarily before the process surrounding exploitation begins.⁵⁷

In the mid-nineties the International Organisation of Migration (IOM) called for an increase of awareness of Hungarian women falling victim to trafficking as they estimated 6% of the Hungarian women was willing to travel abroad and engage in sex work⁵⁸ as by the women this was and is increasingly seen as the least bad among no great options.⁵⁹ The awareness raising campaign which followed was not effective as it offered little advice on legal means of travelling abroad and engaging in sex work, leaving the women dependent on and vulnerable to trafficking and further exploitation.⁶⁰ The fact these women found their way to the West is evident reviewing their numbers of involvement in sex work in, amongst other Western European countries, the Netherlands.⁶¹

Reviewing the patterns and routes travelled by the women as well as reviewing the persons supporting these travels it is possible to identify Germany, because of its centrally situated location between East and West Europe as the trafficking cross-road of Europe. This is confirmed by Europol which distinguishes the following migration flows:⁶²



This overview however shows little specified information on the actual nationalities, groups, countries etc. involved. The UN stated that people from 136 nationalities fall victim to trafficking and these men, women and children have been detected in 118 countries worldwide,⁶³ 79% of whom are trafficked with

⁵⁶ Bureau National Rapporteur Mensenhandel (BNRM), 2012.

⁵⁷ M. Kromhout & H. Wubs & E. Beenackers, *Illegaal verblijf in Nederland. Een literatuuronderzoek*, Cahier 2008-3 Den Haag: WODC, 2008.

⁵⁸ IOM, 2012.

⁵⁹ M. Tolson, *Sometimes, Sex Work is the Least Bad*, in: IPS 24/10/2013 accessed via <http://www.globalissues.org/news/2013/10/24/17687> (3 May 2016).

⁶⁰ J. Davies & B. Davies, *How to Use a Trafficked Woman. The Alliance between Political and Criminal Trafficking Organisations*, in *Recherches sociologiques et anthropologiques* (39)1, 2008.

⁶¹ Bureau National Rapporteur Mensenhandel (BNRM), 2009; Bureau National Rapporteur Mensenhandel (BNRM) (2012).

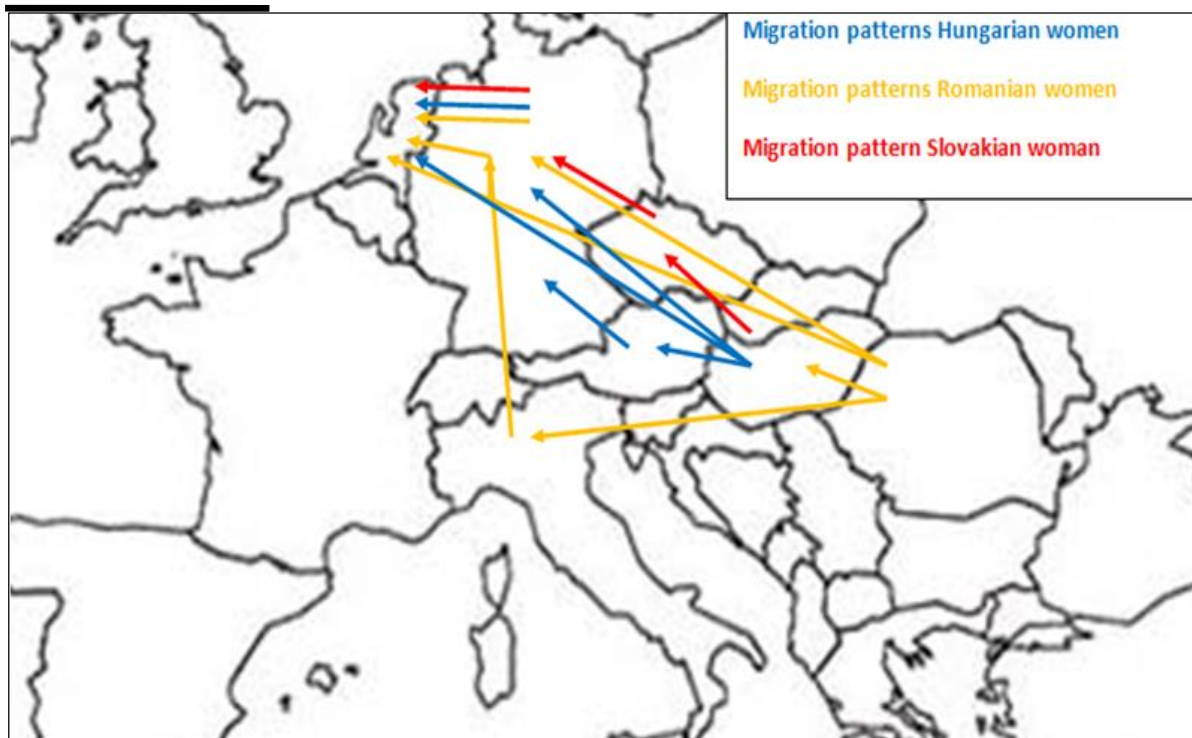
⁶² Europol, *EU Serious Organised Crime Threat Assessment*, 2013, p. 24.

⁶³ UNODC, *Global Report on Trafficking in Persons*, New York, United Nations publication, 2012.

the purpose of being sexually exploited.⁶⁴ Assessing the trafficking routes from Eastern Europe to Western Europe, two main routes are identifiable. The first one runs from the Ukraine and Moldavia, crossing Romania, the Balkan and then into Italy. A second route runs from Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary into Greece.⁶⁵ The routes documented within this research show difference as they are more orientated on Western Europe, presumably as the borders of fortress Europe have been expanded further to the East over the last couple of years. In both routes as described by Davies and Davies⁶⁶ an absence of Hungarian women is detected while both routes cross Hungary and or Hungarian speaking areas in the surrounding countries. This suggests that the trafficking of Hungarian women is a more autonomous venture not following documented trafficking routes and networks. The question is why?

Reviewing the data gathered within this research, identifications can be made in regards to the travels of the women across Europe. The women from Romania tend to travel different routes than women from Hungary. The Romanian women from the South-Western border regions will frequently travel through Hungary via Szeged or Budapest, to Italy. More frequently the women would travel directly to Northern Italy. This is a well-documented migration route⁶⁷ based upon historical relations and language similarities.⁶⁸ All respondents out of this research who undertook these routes, after having worked for several months in Turin and Milan have travelled directly onwards to the Netherlands or Belgium. This while women from the North-Western Romanian border regions more frequently would travel the Czech Republic, Germany or via Debrecen and Budapest further West.

This research identifies the following patterns in migration/trafficking routes from Hungary/Romania to the Netherlands:



⁶⁴ UNODC, *The Globalization of Crime. A transnational organized crime assessment*, New York, United Nations Publication, 2010, p. 40.

⁶⁵ J. Davies & B. Davies, 2008, p. 123.

⁶⁶ J. Davies & B. Davies, 2008.

⁶⁷ UNICEF & UNHCR & OSCE-ODIHR, *Trafficking in Human Beings in South-Eastern Europe*, Belgrade, UNICEF, 2002.

⁶⁸ R. Andrijasevic, *Trafficking in Women and the Politics of Mobility in Europe*, Utrecht: University of Utrecht, 2004.

The Romanian and Hungarian routes show great similarity on a European level but the question is if this also the case reviewing Hungarian internal migration? The Hungarian women started working in prostitution after they either moved from their villages/towns themselves or after they were relocated by their handlers in one of the bigger cities of Hungary. The most heard of cities at the start of this research for the women working in Amsterdam and The Hague, were Budapest and Szeged. During the research and while supplementing the sample with other Dutch cities, the cities of Debrecen, Győr and Pécs were mentioned more frequently as the towns women came from or started their work as a prostitute. At the end of the fieldwork, cities in the Balaton region as well as Nyíregyháza were mentioned more frequently in the areas of Amsterdam and The Hague. This shift is a significant signal that the people involved in the trafficking of women in the Netherlands change or that these persons remain the same but that they change suppliers or the people responsible for crimp change area. In general the following features can be recognised:

- The women travel frequently and over set patterns;
- Once the Romanian women entered Hungary their trafficking/migration routes show a lot of similarity to those of the Hungarian nationals;
- There is a significant division in Northern and Southern routes;
- Győr is an important source city while none of the women mentioned had been brought to Győr before travelling abroad;
- A majority of the women travelled directly North to Germany while others took a detour and went to Austria and or Switzerland first;
- Budapest is a central point from where the women would be gathered and prepared for departure.

This way of moving the women around is not specific for Hungary as the phenomenon, called the prostitution carrousel, is a business implementation.⁶⁹ Men who buy sex desire new faces and exploiters prevent the women to establish relations or get involved in some sort of social network outside of the one for them and the women are allowed to participate in. Beside this, they also avoid situations in which clients get to attached which can result in numerous problems. Therefore women are frequently moved around. This planning takes place on different levels. The first level is that of the city they start work. The women usually reside here for a longer period of time but they will have different locations they work out off. Examples were given by a girl, named Zsuzsanna from a town called Békéscsaba after she was forced by her brother. First she was forced to walk the streets in and outside Békéscsaba and after a year, her brother took her to Debrecen where she was engaged in all sorts of prostitution like practices including participating in sex cam role-playing and acting in adult movies. After her brother, handed Zsuzsanna over too one of their cousins she was taken by him to Budapest. While in Budapest she resided and worked out off no less than 14 houses in a time frame of four months. The work in Budapest included on-street prostitution but also working in clubs as a waiter/dancer as a cover up for prostitution like practices inside the establishments and finally, she provided in-call services in flats and out-call services to hotels and clients homes. After this period she was send to Zürich with another member of her extended family who forced her to work in the red light district on Sihlquai. After two months she was informed that from there they were going to Stuttgart and after Stuttgart, she went to Dusseldorf and then on to Amsterdam. The family line of control and exploitation was cut in Stuttgart after she had worked in service of some vaguely related 'uncles' and cousins who handed her over to a Turkish care taker, called Yasin or Boğa (Bull) who was responsible for the rest of her travels. Their cooperation

⁶⁹ M. A. Verhoeven, *Slachtoffer, heldin of hoer; net hoe het uitkomt*, Apeldoorn: Het Spinhuis, 2007.

ended in Groningen when a Turkish acquaintance of Yasin, called Semih who by Yasin and other Turkish men without exception was addressed as Abi (brother⁷⁰). On average she worked at each location no longer than six months in end and during these months she always resided and worked from different locations. The moment she was interviewed, she was working in the city of Groningen where she started less than a week ago, after she had been working in Amsterdam for three months. In total she had been working in prostitution just shy of three years now and she just turned 18 a few months earlier. This means that when she was forced to start work she was under aged and exploited by her own family. She also mentioned working with other victimised female family members in both Hungary and Switzerland.

In general the following travel routes have been detected and reported within this research⁷¹:

For the Romanian women (N=62):

- The Romania – Hungary – Austria – Switzerland – Germany – the Netherlands transit (N=2)
- The Romania – Hungary – Austria – Germany – the Netherlands transit (N=6)
- The Romania – Austria – Germany – the Netherlands transit (N=9)
- The Romania – Hungary – Switzerland – Germany - the Netherlands transit (N=2)
- The Romania – Hungary – Germany - the Netherlands transit (N=23)
- The Romania – Hungary – Italy – Germany- the Netherlands transit (N=2)
- The Romania – Italy – Germany – Belgium – the Netherlands transit (N=1)
- The Romania – Germany – the Netherlands transit (N=14)
- The Romania – Hungary – the Netherlands transit (N=3)

For the Hungarian women (N = 136):

- The Hungary – Austria – Switzerland – Germany – the Netherlands transit (N= 4)
- The Hungary – Austria – Germany – the Netherlands transit (N=45)
- The Hungary – Switzerland – Germany – Belgium – the Netherlands transit (N=1)
- The Hungary – Germany – Belgium – The Netherlands (N=2)
- The Hungary – Germany – the Netherlands transit (N=57)
- The Hungary – Belgium – the Netherlands transit (N=6)
- The Hungary – the Netherlands transit (N=21)

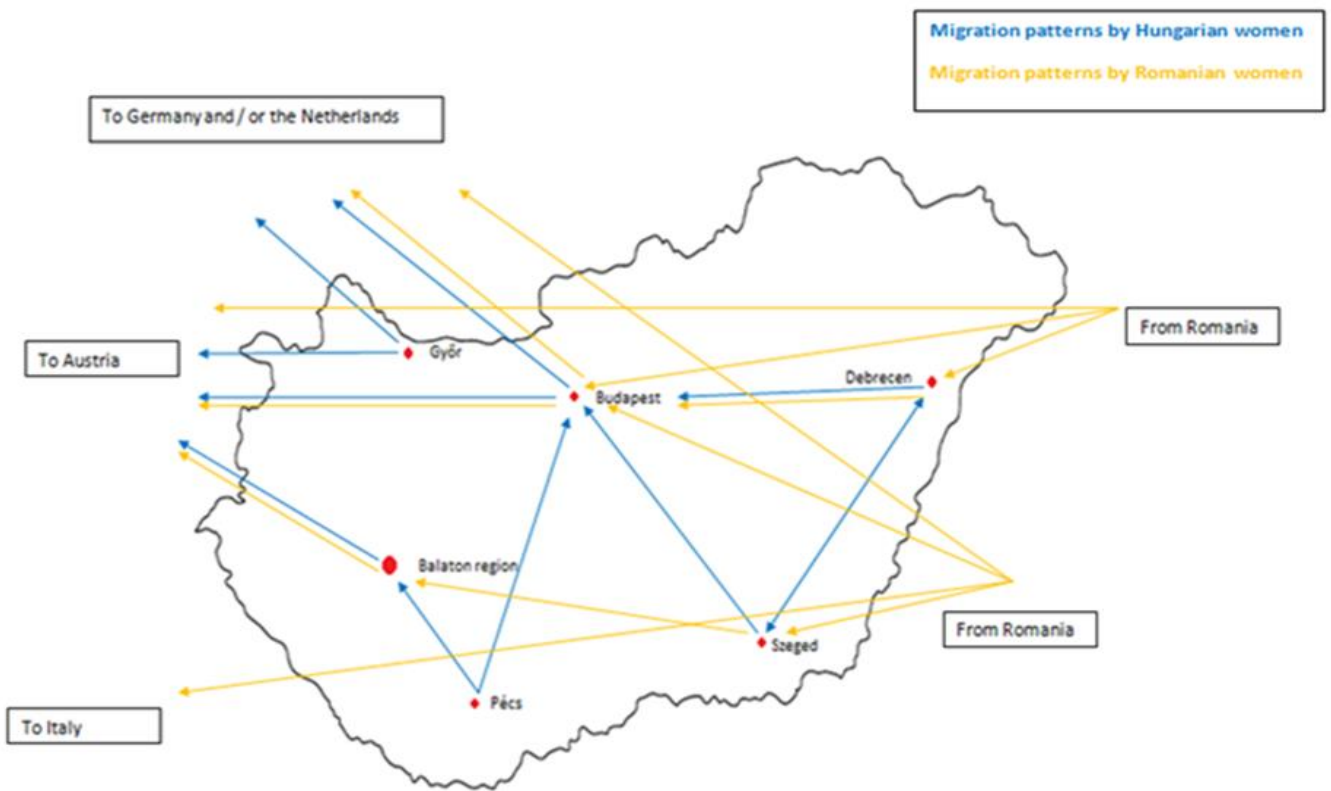
As supported by the figures both Romanian and Hungarian women most frequently make use of routes through Germany as is supported by Europol data. Striking within this comparison is the overlap of cities the women worked in. In Germany, the cities of Munich, Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Dusseldorf are frequently visited by the women while in Austria, Vienna is heard of almost exclusively and the same applies to Zürich in Switzerland.

A remarkable fact is in the situation of those women who mentioned to work without care- takers, pimps or otherwise supportive people as they tend to travel more frequently directly to the Netherlands. The ways of transportation however remain the same as they usually make use of the budget flights from Budapest to Eindhoven or the even cheaper available bus charters. The women who travel, while being accompanied by their care- takers will more frequently travel by auto and in some occasions by train or

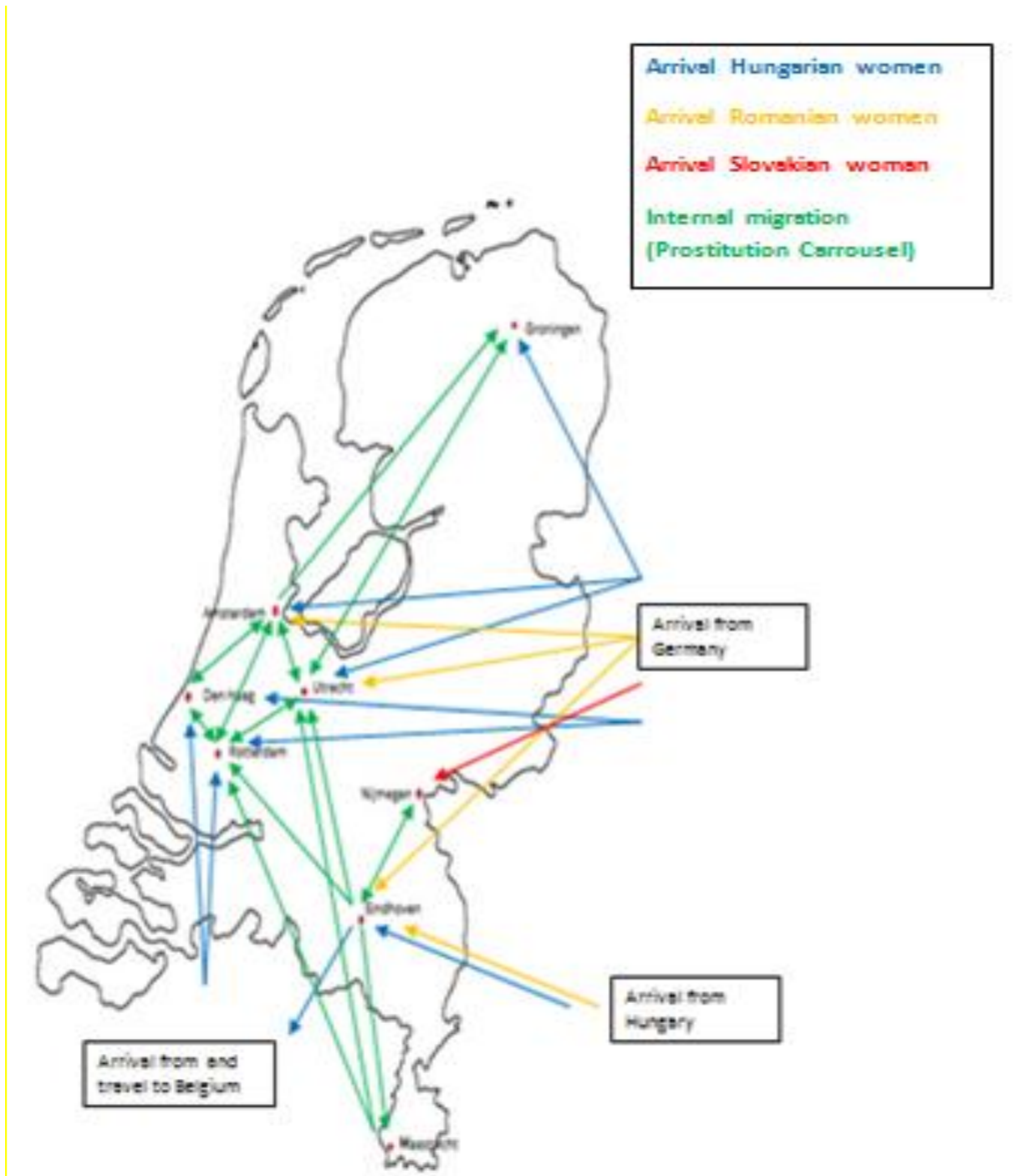
⁷⁰ Within Turkish culture it is normal to address an elder respected person with the term Abi. This does not necessarily mean the person is an actual brother but it also applies to cousins or no familial relationship at all.

⁷¹ The Slovakian route is not included as this transit and the circumstances surrounding it was already described previously .

bus when they are being re-located. While travelling back and forth from the Netherlands to Hungary or Romania, airplanes are more frequently used while they travel either individually or accompanied by others, depending on the autonomy given to them. The map below shows the internal movements by the women to, in and from Hungary.



The prostitution carousel is not just reserved for migration and the trafficking of women outside of the Netherlands, as many of the women show patterns of frequent travel between the red light districts in cities in the Netherlands. These routes are shown in the map below:



This map shows both the main entries into the Netherlands as well as the internal movements of the women. It needs to be mentioned that those women travelling more frequently and who reside for a shorter period of time at one specific city or location within a city, can usually be classified as being trafficked and exploited by others. While assessing the internal migration routes, reciprocity can be identified. As mentioned before, traffickers have reasons to rotate the women around, but they will need to have sufficient means to do so. In order to make this rotation possible a lot of traffickers, being organised criminals, will make use of their networks. On more than one occasion the names of persons involved in the sexual exploitation were mentioned by the women, while the women never to have been in contact with one and other. Because of this, the patterns were examined more precisely and

similarities in the *modus operandi* and routes could be identified. Most of the women have followed specific migration patterns. One of the most recognisable patterns is the diamond between The Hague, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Utrecht, as a lot of the women have worked in all of these cities. Striking is the fact there was no direct travel between The Hague and Utrecht. Another point of interest is the city of Eindhoven as Eindhoven airport is a main entry into the Netherlands for native Hungarian speaking women. Beside this, Eindhoven also has an active prostitution sector but none of the women who entered the Netherlands via Eindhoven indicated to have worked there.

During the interviews, the men responsible for the exploitation of the women shared information on the way they operate and the roles they fulfil. The interviewed men appeared to be of low or middle hierarchy proven by the lack of necessary knowledge, presumably due to the fact they are regionally bound. This meaning they only operate out of a specific area/region but they are still able to make use of their contacts in order to frequently attract, change or buy women, from outside their own region to work for them. During the talks different men mentioned the internet as the future for their work as this medium provides them with possibility of online advertisement of the women to clients. However some also hinted on the existence of an online women's market place where they offer the women who are currently working for them, for exchange or sale. Others mentioned using their colleague competition contacts' network in order to have a steady flow of new women. These network related contacts also crossed borders and extended into Germany and Belgium. Only the Hungarian and Romanian pimps, as is to be expected, had contacts running all the way back to Hungary and Romania and they would usually bring the women over directly to the Netherlands⁷², showing similarity with the facts expressed in the court case of Máté Puskás in the United Kingdom⁷³ and the more recent arrests made in France.⁷⁴

As a majority of the interviewed women meet the legal and social qualifications of being a victim of trafficking⁷⁵ and sexual exploitation by organised crime, they continuously refuse to see themselves as victims. This makes it hard for the police to get a victim statement and a filed report in order to start an investigation. As this is increasingly becoming the case, this leads to an insufficient supply of cases to bring to court⁷⁶ and in the wake the possibility to rescue the victims and end the exploitative situation.

The Stockholm Programme extends on the existing European strategy on trafficking which focuses on two interrelated solutions which need to be implemented simultaneously. This bifocal idea includes, on the one hand the strengthening of law enforcement capabilities while on the other hand, the goal is to improve social and economic conditions of women in source countries.⁷⁷ The question will be if this will be sufficient as strengthening alone will not be effective if applied wrongly. Just like a crocodile is a creature with one of most bite force, this force is only effective when a crocodile's mouth is open and ready for biting down on something. When a crocodile has its mouth closed a small person with limited strength can easily hold the mouth of the crocodile firmly closed and by doing so avoiding any danger. The same could apply for law enforcement initiatives. The operations and instruments of law need to be strengthened with an open mouth to bite down. In order to do so a new way of operating with new structures and *modus operandi* and set goals is necessary. These, to be effective on the long run, need to

⁷² See *i.e.* ECLI:NL:RBAMS:2015:1441.

⁷³ Ben James, News 31 November 2013 accessed via

http://www.theargus.co.uk/news/10775463.Hungarian_sex_gang_who_allegedly_ran_brothel_based_on_University_of_Sussex_campus_in_court/ (3 May 2016).

⁷⁴ <http://www.ouest-france.fr/europe/hongrie/hongrie-demantelement-dun-reseau-de-prostitution-operant-en-france-4111625> (3 May 2016).

⁷⁵ R. Andrijasevic, 2004; H. Wagenaar & S. Altink & H. Amesberger, 2013.

⁷⁶ Respondent Roger Lambrichts (28 November 2013).

⁷⁷ N. Lindstrom, N., 2004.

be focussed on prevention and victims' human rights protection rather than being oppressive and intrusive.⁷⁸ Still this remains difficult as all agencies involved in combating trafficking tend to approach the issue of trafficking in different ways. These ways can be distinguished into four, interrelated approaches. The first one is the Migration approach which conceptualises human trafficking as a 'normal' process of unregulated or irregular type of economic migration. The second one is the Law Enforcement approach and this approach sees human trafficking as a serious crime, not unlike smuggling drugs. The third is called the Human Rights approach and frames the human trafficking process as a process of continuing violation of fundamental women rights and emphasises on the violent and coercive nature of the trade. The final approach is Structural and shifts the emphasis from intention-based understandings of trafficking to a focus on its structural roots, knowingly global and regional inequities in the distribution of jobs, resources or wealth.⁷⁹

As human trafficking is a specialisation within the range of serious organised crime and as it has a transnational component it is necessary for member states to join forces if they want to be able to effectively fight organised crime. As shown in the previous maps, the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation is usually not organised in such a way that the women are being trafficked abroad and once abroad, the exploitation begins. The organisation, takes place over a longer period of time and it includes numerous methods, routes and persons⁸⁰ -here only mentioned the criminals leaving out of the equation corruption of officials etc.⁸¹

Europol directed by international guidelines⁸² should take a leading positing as this organisation is the first to receive information from different channels and on the basis of this information can start an European wide investigation by informing national police agencies. In before, the OCTA and now the SOCTA, Europol works on estimating the extension of trafficking in Europe as well as the groups involved.⁸³ This information is being shared with national police agencies which in turn can make proper use of this information. This however is still not enough as the networks and modus operandi are flexible and many of the police agencies of source and transit countries have too little expertise or possibilities to act timely and effective. As mentioned previously cooperation is sought after with the help of so-called Joint Investigations Teams (JIT). These JIT's involves cooperation for the investigation of serious crimes, including human trafficking. Goals therein are defining offenses, gathering evidence, start prosecuting, stop networking and increase possibilities of seizure and confiscation. Hungary and the Netherlands have set up several of this type of cooperative structures⁸⁴ under the European Multidisciplinary Platform Against Criminal Threats (EMPACT).⁸⁵ These co-operations have proven to be successful in the past⁸⁶ and could be a useful way in which human trafficking and the organised criminals behind the exploitation could be more effectively stopped.⁸⁷ Even though these initiatives are

⁷⁸ M. Ditmore & J. Thukral, *Accountability and the Use of Raids to Fight Trafficking*, in *Anti-Trafficking Review* (1), 2012.

⁷⁹ N. Lindstrom, 2004, pp. 48-49.

⁸⁰ M. Lehti, *Trafficking in Women and Children in Europe*, in HEUNI paper (18), 2003.

⁸¹ L. Kőhalmi, *A büntetőjog alapproblémái*, Pécsi Tudományegyetem Állam-és Jogtudományi Kar Gazdasági Büntetőjogi Kutatóintézet, Pécs, 2012.

⁸² S. Scarpa, *Trafficking in human beings: Modern Slavery*, Oxford Scholarship online, 1(09), 2008.

⁸³ Europol, 2013.

⁸⁴ Respondent Warner ten Kate (2 July 2013).

⁸⁵ BNRM, 2013.

⁸⁶ Politie, *Hongaars mensenhandelnetwerk aangepakt*, 2014,

<https://www.politie.nl/nieuws/2014/oktober/23/06-den-haag-hongaars-mensenhandelnetwerk-aangepakt.html> (3 May 2016); Openbaar Ministerie, *Verdachten in bewaring gesteld in onderzoek mensenhandel*, 2015,

<https://www.om.nl/actueel/nieuwsberichten/@90443/verdachten-bewaring/> (3 May 2016).

⁸⁷ BNRM, 2013.

and should be welcomed, a more in-depth longitudinal cooperation will prove to be necessary as trafficking routes need to be described as well as the structures and modus operandi of the people involved in the trafficking and sexual exploitation of women in Europe. This however is and will remain intensely difficult and holds no guarantee for success.

5. Conclusion

This article examined the trafficking and sexual exploitation of native Hungarian speaking women to and in the Netherlands. The main purpose was to provide insight in way this was controlled by organised crime groups. Reviewing the way these transnational and locally active criminal organisations are structured and what the applied modus operandi exists out of, the primary data gathered within this research gives insight in the modus operandi of these criminals and provides prove of the existence of crime structures. A majority of the interviewed women have fallen victim to human trafficking and in a legal sense are being sexually exploited even though clear distinctions need to be made between legal and illegal prostitution as well as voluntary and involuntary situations. However this is very difficult and frequently not taken into account in empirical ethnographic research. Most of the exploitative situations did not show resemblance with the violent manners usually portrayed by (respected) journalists, non-scientific writers or the more dangerous “chick lit” authors who tend to make stories up.⁸⁸ Many of the women left out of the sample found themselves in situations where they merely did not uphold Dutch conditions to work in prostitution or they had no regards for Dutch labour law making it not automatically trafficking but rather a violation of labour law as the Dutch decriminalised prostitution in 2000. In these cases some of them were in depriving and dangerous situations which they wanted to escape, but in the end they felt unable to so due to different circumstances ranging from a lack of knowledge to extortion and the threat of violence. Most of the women however were under the assumption not to have fallen victim to trafficking as they felt to have started in prostitution voluntarily, which in turn can be discussed as this is part of the applied modus operandi within the crimp of women, and they perceive the situation they are in as acceptable as they are able to make enough money to support not only themselves but also family back home. The women perceive themselves, and the circumstances surrounding their position within Dutch society, as socially integrated which in turn makes it difficult to recognise exploitation. All perpetrators who do not uphold the legal standards of any Dutch or European law need to be dealt with on by criminal/penal law. They need to be punished for their abusive behaviour, but this involves more than simply depriving them of their freedom by sending them to prison as it also means establishing a change in attitude etc. This enforcement of legal standards by the proper authorities must also include an economic factor as this is predominantly the reason for people to start and conduct their criminal activities. The illegal profits must be taken away and given to the victims of the exploitation in order for them to have sufficient means to start a new life after and free of exploitation and abuse while at the same time the perpetrator must also be given the opportunity to learn from the mistakes made and rehabilitation, under set conditions, must be made possible.

Concretised and completed the points of interest are:

⁸⁸ E. Snajdr, *Beneath the master narrative: human trafficking, myths of sexual slavery and ethnographic realities*, in *Dialect Anthropol*, accessed via Springerlink.com, 2013; J. Lindquist, *Beyond anti-anti-trafficking*, in *Dialect Anthropol*, accessed via Springerlink.com, 2013.

	Primary prevention (General)	Secondary prevention (Risks)	Tertiary Prevention (Problems)
Perpetrator	Recognition of general indicators that show proof of the possibility of crime and act accordingly to the situation.	Individual risk indicators reveal themselves and so-called early life interventions need to be deployed. These actions need to address all single determinants.	Perpetrators are active and action by the authorities is required. These actions need to address both punishment and rehabilitation in line with individual needs.
Situation	Make use of innovative measures for the universal implementation of preventive measures to reduce opportunity.	Dutch policy towards prostitution creates a legal option for exploitation. As the boundaries between sex work and sexual exploitation are diffuse and hard to distinguish.	Prostitution areas usually have weak social control and poor planning to increase both formal and informal social control.
Victim	Raising awareness with the public and informing on the risks and their actuality. By doing so the public opinion can be altered and indifference avoided.	Victimisation is imminent. Women with elevated risks i.e. low SES, self-esteem issues etc. should be made aware and helped to avoid victimisation.	Victimisation is a fact. Victims need to be helped out of the exploitative situation and need to be kept safe and be prepared for a life after victimisation

In order to be more successful in the protection of (future) victims of human trafficking it is necessary decisions with far going consequences are made. These changes should be guided by the EU and enforced by legislation on a national level. One of the possible first steps could be to have a European approach towards prostitution policy under the condition this consensus for a single European policy is based upon data out of validated scientific research. A second step would be to increase cooperation with Europol and perhaps let Europol become a more proactive organisation with a specialised task force on human trafficking composed out of national experts who work solely on data gathering using to be developed more preventive tools. Finally the aim of the actions should always place the victim at the centre providing her or him with the help and support needed in the present, near and further future. This includes psychological help, financial and legal support, a safe referral and the acceptance of the entitlement of lost income which was taken from the victim by the trafficker which is guaranteed and provided by the government of the country the person fell victim in.