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Report on the demand side of sexual services in Hungary

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I. Research method

This report is part of IOM's regional pilot project entitled 'In-Depth Applied Research to Better Understand the Demand Side of Trafficking in Persons'. The aim of the project was to carry out research on the demand side of trafficking and forced prostitution. This means a shift moving the focus of attention from victims of trafficking to the users of sexual services.

In exploring the demand side of prostitution and trafficking in Hungary, both quantitative and qualitative research methodology was used.

For chapter II and III on regulation, history of and data on prostitution and trafficking in human beings in Hungary social scientific studies, other literature on the topic and articles of law were used as sources. In the monthly representative, so-called Omnibus survey of TÁRKI Social Research Institute Inc.¹ a set of questions on the knowledge of and attitude towards prostitution and trafficking of the male Hungarian population (N=477) was asked in April, 2006.

Besides, between May and July, 2006, 23 structured interviews² were carried out with four informant groups, half of them with regular clients of sexual services. The rest of the interviewees included sex workers, a former club owner and various experts of the field. All interviews were conducted in Budapest, the capital of Hungary. The clients were identified through internet forums and through 'snow-ball' method. All clients have been or were regularly buying sexual services for a certain period of time. The former club owner was approached through personal networks.

Four interviews were conducted with sex workers, three of them recommended by helping organizations who are in contact with these women. One of them was a victim of trafficking in Hungary.

Altogether eight experts were interviewed: Anna Bethlen, one of the main activists and publicist of an anti-prostitution movement³; Emma Csapó (Kiút Veled Association⁴) and

¹ www.tarki.hu

² We would like to thank our interviewers for their work: Viktor Gönczö, Anna Győr, Melinda Hazai, Attila Hímer, Tamás Német, Viktor Németh, Gábor Pankasz, Viktória Sebhelyi and Dóra Szegő.

³ Movement for a prostitution-free Hungary; www.prostitutcio.hu

⁴ 'Quit with You' - Kiút Veled Egyesület, Budapest

Krisztina Hoffman (Association of Street Social Helpers⁵), both social workers of aid organizations for prostitutes; Ágnes Földi, president of the Hungarian Prostitutes' Interest Association⁶; József Pörtl, police captain of the National Investigation Office, head of Department Against Trafficking⁷; a captain of the police of the 8th district, Budapest, where street prostitution is rather significant; Györgyi Tóth, activist of the NANE Women's Rights Association⁸; and Judit Juhász, researcher of the International Labour Organization⁹, where she recently conducted research on trafficking.

Table 1. Sample of interviews

Group	Number of interviews
Clients of sexual services	10
Sex workers	4
Inner informant (club owner)	1
Experts	8
Total:	23

Based on the number and choosing method of the interviewees, the sample is not representative, therefore results have to be handled with care. Questions of the survey and interviews did not cover the topic of male prostitution. Despite of the limited number of interviews, very similar patterns of the commerce of sex were found: interviewees seem to share the same knowledge of the sex sector in Hungary; most clients have similar motivations in purchasing sexual services. Quotations from the interviews are always indicated in italic.

Throughout the interviews, a previously developed structure and set of questions were used, that was also used by our research partners in Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. Interviewees were asked about their socio-demographic background; their relation to, knowledge of and opinion about the sex sector in Hungary; and finally their knowledge of trafficking and possible experience with victims. The broad range of questions allowed us to gain a deeper

⁵ Utcai Szociális Segítők Egyesülete, Tatabánya

⁶ Prostituáltak Érdekvédelmi Egyesülete, www.prostituáltak.hu

⁷ The department was established on 1 July, 2004, with 10 investigators who deal with cases of international trafficking.

⁸ Nők a Nőkért Együtt az Erőszak Ellen, www.nane.hu

⁹ www.ilo.org

understanding of the motivations and attitudes of clients of sexual services within a wider social context. The fact that the sample included different actors of the sex sector (clients, prostitutes, club owner, experts) enabled us to get information on the same topics from rather various, often opposed perspectives.

I.1 Socio-demographic background of client interviewees

In the qualitative part of the research, 10 interviews were conducted with regular clients of sexual services. They were reached through internet forums and personal networks with the so-called “snow-ball method” that is used to explore hidden or non-visible social groups (such as homeless or drug addicts). All interviews were conducted in Budapest. All interviewees are or were regular users of sexual services for a certain period of time. Although it is well-known that still several teenage boys have their first sexual experience with prostitutes and never go to prostitutes again, in order to better understand the demand side of prostitution and trafficking, we decided to conduct interviews only with regular, “more experienced” clients.

The age distribution of clients of sexual services interviewed is shown below in Table 5.

Table 5. Age distribution of client interviewees

Age group	Number of interviewees
18-25 years	2
26-35 years	7
36-50 years	1

Presently all of them live in Budapest. Their educational, occupational and personal background varies on a large scale. Two of the interviewees are freelance intellectuals, three of them work in catering trade, two are engineers, a further two men work for enterprises, and one person is a university student. Their educational background is shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Distribution of client interviewees by level of education

Level of education	Number of interviewees
Elementary school	0
Secondary technical school	5

Secondary school	1
University degree	4

The oldest interviewee (50) is divorced, one person was married in the time of the interview, three of them are in relationships and the rest is single. Only the divorced man has two children, the others do not have any. Most interviewees were baptized in their childhood (mostly Catholic), but presently none of them practices their religion.

One third of the interviewees refused to answer questions about their income. The rest earns between 100.000 and 180.000 HUF (400-720 EUR) net a month, while one of them earns 800.000 HUF (3200 EUR) monthly. The housing situation of the interviewees is shown on the following table:

Table 7. Housing level of client interviewees

Housing level	Number of interviewees
Lives with parents	1
Rents an apartment	4
Owens an apartment	2
Owens a family house	3

I. 1 Conceptualization

Throughout the report, the working definition of IOM International Organization for Migration is used for trafficking. “Trafficking occurs when a migrant is illicitly engaged (recruited, kidnapped, sold, etc.) and/or moved, either within national or across international borders; intermediaries (traffickers) during any part of this process obtain economic or other profit by means of deception, coercion and/or other forms of exploitation under conditions that violate the fundamental human rights of migrants.”¹⁰ This definition is based on the

¹⁰ Trafficking in Migrants: IOM Policy and Responses. “To curtail migrant trafficking and to protect the rights of migrants caught up in the practice.” www.iom.int

trafficking definition of the United Nations: ““Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.”¹¹

In the following, sex worker and prostitute are used as synonyms, without any negative or ideological connotation attached to either of the terms.

II. Legislation of prostitution and trafficking in Hungary

II. 1 Models of the regulation of prostitution

Prostitution (and its regulation) is not a new occurrence but it has become a mass phenomenon in the 20th century and the way it is organized has completely been transformed. Countries have come up with different answers to this new type of problem and are developing different models for the regulation of prostitution. We can differentiate among three systems and two sub-systems. All of them ban child- and forced prostitution.

According to the study of Lenke Fehér on prostitution and trafficking¹², the following models can be distinguished :

1. The prohibitionist system prohibits prostitution, persecutes those that live off it and the businesses making profit of it. This system treats prostitutes as criminals, increasing their vulnerability against clients and procurers. This system labels and stigmatizes prostitutes, as a result of which they fall in a double trap of both law enforcement and criminals. Their fate is

¹¹ Article 3, paragraph (a) of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, which supplements the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime

¹² Dr. Fehér Lenke: Prostitúció és emberkereskedelem. In:Prostitúció, emberkereskedelem, emberkereskedelemre kényszerítés. Nőképviselői Társaság, 1999.

woven together with the people who take advantage of them.

2. The regulatory system does not believe that prostitution can be ceased, so it tries to control it, creates brothels and tolerance zones. Thus prostitution as a business can operate with certain rules (age, health, regular check-ups) and can be controlled. This is the system that is closest to the legalization of prostitution and accepts the existence of prostitutes as semi-legal.

3. The neo-regulatory system differs from the regulatory one in not allowing the operation of brothels, but tolerating individual prostitutes who are officially registered and are regularly undergoing medical check-ups.

4. The abolitionist system wants to eliminate any regulation of prostitution. It considers prostitution as a private matter as long as it does not offend public morals or public order.

5. The neo-abolitionist system condemns prostitution as an unacceptable lifestyle. According to this view sexual services threaten healthy lifestyle. This system approaches prostitution not from a moral, but from a rational point of view.

6. The main characteristic of the Swedish system is that it is trying to influence the demand side through prosecution. This system criticizes tolerance zones, because according to their experience, these are hotbeds of organized crime that cannot be controlled by the authorities. The same goes for brothels where human trafficking is uncontrollable. In 1999, a law was passed in Sweden fining clients or punishing them to up to 6 months in prison. The system works: since the passing of the law, trafficking in human beings has been decreasing and street prostitution has practically stopped.

7. In the Dutch system prostitution is legal, the prostitute is an employee paying taxes and the prostitute, who provides the infrastructure, is the employer.

The table below shows the differences among the three main systems (prohibitionist, regulatory and abolitionist).

Table 2. Three main approach of prostitution

	PROHIBITIONIST	REGULATORY	ABOLITIONIST
Ideologies (prostitution)	Tacit acceptance of it	Acceptance of this social phenomenon as „necessary evil”	Accepting it as personal behavior
	Poses a threat to public morals and public order	Poses a threat to public morals and order	Poses threat to public morals and order
Goals	Prohibition of prostitution and its institutions	Legalizing prostitution in „houses” and „closed-in districts”	Accepting and permitting prostitution under certain circumstances and on an individual basis.
		Controlling illegal prostitution	Banning organized prostitution
		Banning international trade	Banning international trade
Venue of Prostitution	Prohibition	Acceptance of „houses” and „closed districts”	Accepting prostitution as an individual behavior
Police Registration	None	Exists	There are none in theory
Medical Check-Up	None	Only for the prostitute. Supervision is the responsibility of gynecologists 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

II. 2 International actions against forced prostitution and trafficking in human beings

- 1895: Paris: conference against women trafficking
- 1899: London: problems of prostitution
- 1899: Budapest: problems of prostitution
- 1904: International Agreement for the Suppression of White Slave Trade, Paris, 13 May 1904) signed by 16 countries
- 1910: International Convention for the Suppression of White Slave Traffic
- 1920: Geneva Convention on the Prohibition of Trafficking Women and Children (including male children)
- 1933: International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age - it does not matter whether the person consented to the trafficking, the trafficker is punished.
- 1949: New York: The No. 317/4 decision of the UN approved the International Convention on the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitutions of Others, which came to effect on 21 March, 1950.
- The abolitionist New York Convention (hereafter: Convention) was ratified by 66 countries that often face the challenge of implementing the requirements of the convention in an effective way to curb human trafficking. Many countries do not even live up to the word of the Convention. According to the Convention, the prostitute is a victim of a group of crimes (human trafficking, prostitution). The perpetrator is anybody who makes a profit from the activity of the prostitute. The Convention condemns human trafficking even if the trafficked person is consented. According to the Convention the laws should protect human dignity and prostitution harms the dignity of the prostitute. Therefore the Convention not only persecutes prostitutes or anybody making a profit of prostitution, but also requires ratifying states to reform social welfare, economic, educational and health systems that are in the background of this phenomenon, or at least do everything they can in order to improve the situation. One of the problems of the Convention is that it may have been progressive at its inception but has kept its static nature (i.e. does not consider the changes in the economy, mentality,

health risks and the organized sexual industry). Furthermore it mainly talks about the prevention of exploitation and human trafficking, not about prostitution itself.

In 1979 the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (UN, CEDAW) was signed and it requires all signatory states to implement all possible legal steps to curb sexual exploitation and women's trafficking. Hungary has signed this agreement.

The European Union (EU) has been dealing with human trafficking since 1996, when the STOP program was launched in order to develop programs and cooperation to improve law enforcement, assisting victims and preventing human trafficking. This has been followed by DAPHNE, a collection of prevention-type programs of NGOs to fight violence against children, youth and women. In 2002 the European Council issued a regulation for the control of human trafficking. In the same year the Palermo Protocol was issued in Brussels highlighting the importance of protection of victims. The Protocol's definition of human trafficking is now used in all international circles. The definition of the Protocol is the following: "'Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring 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."

Exploitation includes the prostitution of others, other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor and other services, servitude and practices similar to it and the illegal removal of organs. International agreements about human trafficking were originally developed to stop the recruitment and deportation of women, exploitation was only introduced later. First, actions without the victim's consent were punished, later human trade with the victim's consent as well. While earlier trafficking was the problem of the women, now it is treated as a human rights abuse. The concept of human trafficking has been expanded, first it meant the trafficking of women, now any recruitment into the informal or illegal sector is defined as trafficking.

In the EU there is no uniform regulation of prostitution (e.g. Swedish and German models).

II. 3 Combating trafficking in human beings and forced prostitution in Hungary

Prostitution became the symbol of „social diseases” in the 19th century. That is when the meaning of the centuries-old family and sexuality changed. State intervention was necessary, because only intra-marriage sexuality was accepted. Prostitution threatened the unity of the family by commercializing the relationship between men and women. Only the nuclear family was thought of as healthy, anything else meant diseases (Gyáni, 1999). Regulations were brought down about brothels and the prostitutes working in them. Prostitution fell under the jurisdiction of the police and the „moral policing” within it. There were two tools to control prostitution: imprisonment or covert acceptance. The department of public morals of the police could decide whether the woman prostituting herself was doing it according to regulations or not. Legalized prostitution was under close surveillance and led to isolation in brothels. Prostitution thus disappeared from the streets and retreated into privacy (or semi-privacy). From 1840 prostitution was managed as a public health issue as a result of the recognition of the health risks transferred through it. In 1867 the city of Pest approved a regulation which ordered prostitution into brothels. In its justification the regulation said that brothels were perfectly appropriate to take the prostitutes off the street and to avoid “public scandals stemming from their contemptuous behavior”. The regulation instructed that there cannot be more than 40 brothels in the city with maximum 5-15 girls -older than 17 - working in them. Police provided permits to open a brothels and also provided the girls with a “tolerance tally”. In the eye of the state, prostitutes were tax paying citizens. The owner of the brothel supervised the girls in cooperation with a doctor (who checked them ever four days and sent them to hospital if needed) and the girls could only go out on the streets once a week without permit. Prostitution outside brothels also flourished, but police clammed down on these severely, both by imprisonment and both by forced hospitalization. In the 1870s the so-called “prostitute settlements” came into being as well, despite the police sanctions. After a while they were also legalized, on the condition of medical oversight.

In 1893 the Ministry of Interior passed a regulation that required the regular health check-up of all pensions and hotels in order to control illicit prostitution, but the regulation basically treated all female employees as prostitutes¹³. Until 1907 women could not work as waitresses

¹³ *Forrai Judit: Kávéházak és kőjnők. Budapesti Negyed 1996. nyár-ősz 114.*

in coffee houses for the same reason¹⁴. Later on part-time prostitutes also received ID cards and were required to undergo health check-ups.

- 1908: Hungary ratified International Agreement for the Suppression of White Slave Trade
- 1913: As a result of the Convention there were departments created in the police for prevention and control.

During the Communist Republic (1919) the meeting places of prostitutes working outside the brothels were taken away and they could only walk the streets in front of certain coffee houses. These coffee houses were in the poorer districts of the city, far from the houses of the rich citizens. (This is when prostitutes began frequenting Népszínház street, and the area around Fiumei and Baross streets and Rákóczi square in Budapest.) In 1926 street prostitution became legal again, in certain places and certain times. At different times during the summer and winter, they could appear from evening until the morning.

After the second World War, in the new system of socialism sexual exploitation was not accepted, so in 1949 all brothels were principally closed down. Hungary ratified the New York Trafficking Convention (hereafter New York Convention) by its law of 1955 No. 34., so the earlier regulatory system gave way to the new abolitionist one.

Before 1993 legal difficulties forced authorities to charge women caught in the act for „dangerous avoidance of work” or crimes related to currency.

II. 4 The regulation of trafficking in human beings in Hungary

Human trafficking as a punishable crime was only included in the Criminal Code in 1998. The Hungarian state, as signatory to the UN Convention against Organized Crime is responsible for the criminalization of human trafficking and the protection of victims. Human trafficking as a crime was defined in 1998, Criminal Code 175/B.§ and has been in force since 1 March 1999. According to this law human trafficking means if someone sells, buys, transfers, exchanges, acquires someone else - and 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

¹⁴ Nagy Beáta: Nők a kávések és a kávéházi alkalmazottak között. Budapesti Negyed 1996. nyár-ősz 100.

of age or his/her freedom had been taken away, or if the purpose of trafficking is labor, sexual services, perversion or the illegal use of human organs or done in an organized manner and for profit.

- Punishment is from two to eight years in prison if the person trafficked is under their care; or if it is done through violence, fraud, coercion for the purpose of labor, perversion, sexual services or the illegal use of human organs.
- Punishment is from five to ten years if the above is done to a person younger than 18, or if it is done with the purpose of making illegal pornographic materials.
- Punishment is from five to fifteen years if the above is done to a person younger than 12.

The current regulation punishes the preparation for human trafficking with up to two years in prison. It does not differentiate between trafficking within the country or international trafficking. After that the law of 1999 No. 75 (the so-called „mafia law”) was passed, dealing with „legal changes and the rules of combating organized crime and certain phenomena that are in connection with it” in one package. According to the law, so-called „tolerance zones” needed to be identified in each municipality with 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. 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. 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 as victims. According to the Convention it is prohibited to register prostitutes by the police or by health authorities, so only those can be fined that 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.

There is a typical case¹⁵, which illustrates well the real, actual practice behind Hungarian legislation. Two journalists wanted to test the Hungarian authorities' relation to prostitution and the treatment of tolerant zones. They took a prostitution permit, and started to sell sexual services. They tried to comply with the law in every sense: although they chose one of the most frequented districts of Budapest (which was part of the provocation), they chose very consciously a place, which is out of the protected zones. In spite of that, they were taken into the police station and a legal proceeding was conducted against them. They did not uncover their aims and identity, to show how hostile the Hungarian authorities' relation to the issue was. The authorities tried to play with the confused and unstable legislation, and find back-stairs. They wanted to prove at any means that the journalists sold their services in a protected zone, and they violated the law. Leaving out of consideration from the procedure that the government itself has been violating the law for years with denying the identification of tolerance zones.

In the past human trafficking could only be persecuted as „auxiliary facts” such as violating the other's personal freedom or kidnapping (from 1993).

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.

In Hungary the following agreements are in force in relation to human trafficking:

- **Protocol to Prevent, Suppress & Punish Trafficking in Persons** (UN agreement signed in December 2000 in Palermo). This protocol extends the definition of human trafficking to cases where women consented to their transport and for their prostitution. Hungary signed it in 2000.
- **ILO Convention 182, Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labor** (Immediate and effective action must be taken to prohibit and eliminate these forms of child labor which include prostitution, pornography, forced recruitment for use in armed conflict and use of children in illicit or hazardous activities for all those under 18 years of age.). Hungary ratified this in

¹⁵ In: Szilvia Varró - Éva Vajda: Magyar Hírlap, 02. 07.2002

1999.

- **Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography** (This agreement is the first step in the criminalization of the selling of children. If children become victims of human trafficking, their interests, needs and rights have to be of prime importance.). Hungary signed this protocol in 2002.
- **Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child in Armed Conflict** (Children (all human beings under the age of 18) are born with fundamental freedoms and the inherent rights of all human beings. Many governments have enacted legislation, created mechanisms and put into place a range of creative measures to ensure the protection and realization of the rights of those under the age of 18. Each government must also report back on children's rights in their country.). Hungary signed it in 2002.
- **Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women** (In addition to established forms of trafficking, there are new forms of sexual exploitation, such as sex tourism, the recruitment of domestic labor from developing countries to work in developed countries, and organized marriages between women from developing countries and foreign nationals. These practices are incompatible with the equal enjoyment of rights by women and with respect for their rights and dignity. They put women at special risk of violence and abuse.). Hungary signed in June 1980 and ratified it in December 1980.

II.5 General knowledge of the Hungarian male population on prostitution

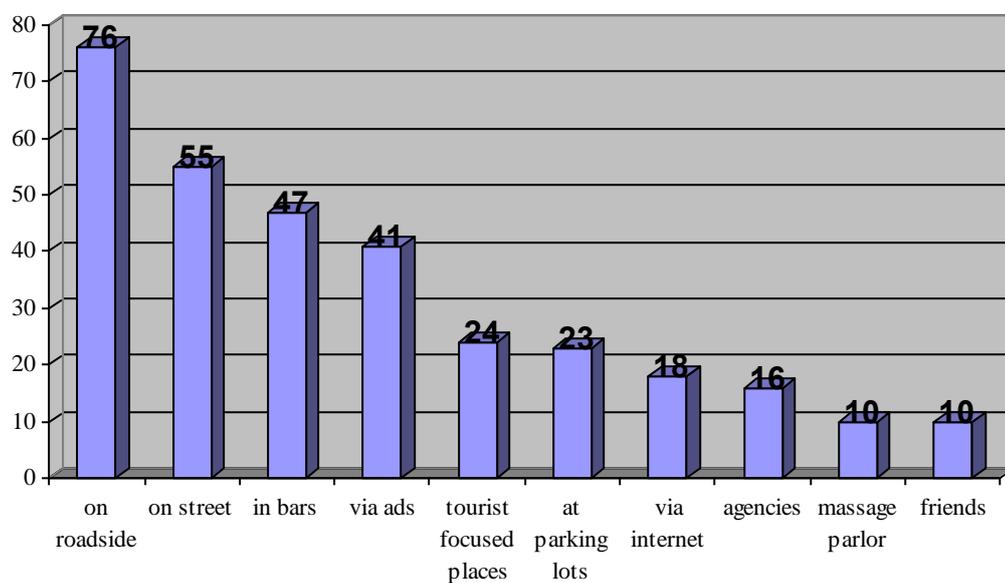
In this section, we present and summarize the knowledge and attitudes of Hungarian adult males of prostitution on a representative¹⁶ sample (N=477) and analyze the influence of some selected socio-demographic factors on these phenomenon.

Figure 1 illustrates the knowledge that Hungarian men have on the various forms of access towards prostitution. The overwhelming majority of Hungarian males are convinced that one

¹⁶ Representative for age, place of residence, and level of education.

can find prostitutes on the roadside (76%). About half of the males assumes to find hawkers on the streets (55%) and in bars, discos, clubs, etc. (47%), and a somewhat smaller proportion (41%) knows that the service of prostitutes is available through ads. Other forms of accessing prostitutes (such as prostitution at gas stations, truck parking lots or where the tourist industry is focused (e.g. Formula 1 race, lake Balaton), via internet or through specialized agencies, in massage parlors or by the help of friends) are less widely known.

Figure 1. The sources of prostitution (%)¹⁷



Map 1. Regions of Hungary¹⁸

¹⁷ Since respondents were allowed to give many answers, the sum of the figure may exceed 100%.

¹⁸ Source: <http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/maps/regio.gif>. Budapest belongs to Közép-Magyarország region.



The familiarity with the possible access to prostitution is closely related to the everyday milieu the person lives in. This conclusion is quite obvious when the data shows that above the age 68, familiarity with the prostitution business significantly drops. As to the specific areas of prostitution, the option of finding prostitutes

- on the side of the road (76% in the sample) is significantly better known for those living in the Észak-Alföld region (89%) and for the small group of unemployed (87%),
- on the streets (55% in the sample) is especially obvious for the inhabitants of the Dél-Dunántúl, Észak-Magyarország regions and Budapest (77%, 76%, and 70% respectively) as well as for the small groups of unemployed and students (64% and 61%),
- in bars, clubs, discos, etc. (47% in the sample) is significantly more possible for those who can afford it, i.e. those with at least college degree (60%), who feel to belong to the upper-middle class (60%), in the age cohort of 38-47 (56%), living in the Dél-Alföld region (56%) and being entrepreneur (54%),
- in newspaper ads (41% in the sample) is more frequent in those social groups who more regularly use this medium, i.e. Budapest and Közép-Magyarország region inhabitants (57% and 50%), educated above college level (53%),
- via internet (18% in the sample) and friendship networks (10%) again those who are the most familiar with the everyday use of these media, i.e. in the

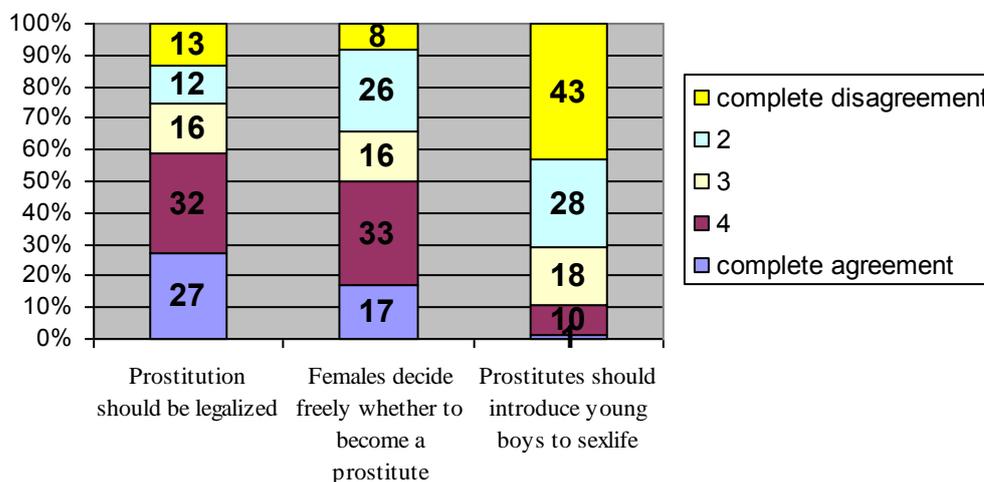
first case 28-37 years old (32%), at least with college education (32%), Budapest inhabitants (31%), in the second case 18-27 years old (24%).

The knowledge – and assuming that this knowledge is positively associated with the practice of the respondents – is rather individualized. We came to this conclusion from the fact that only 5-9 per cent of the respondents knows somebody who used the service of prostitutes in any of the previously mentioned forms in the past twelve months.

II.5.1 Attitudes towards prostitution

To analyze the attitudes of the Hungarian male population towards prostitution we developed three positive and three negative items, i.e. six items¹⁹ of which three expressing tolerant and three intolerant attitudes toward prostitution. Figures 2 and 3 show the distribution of the answers of the total sample.

Figure 2. The distribution of the three tolerant items (%)

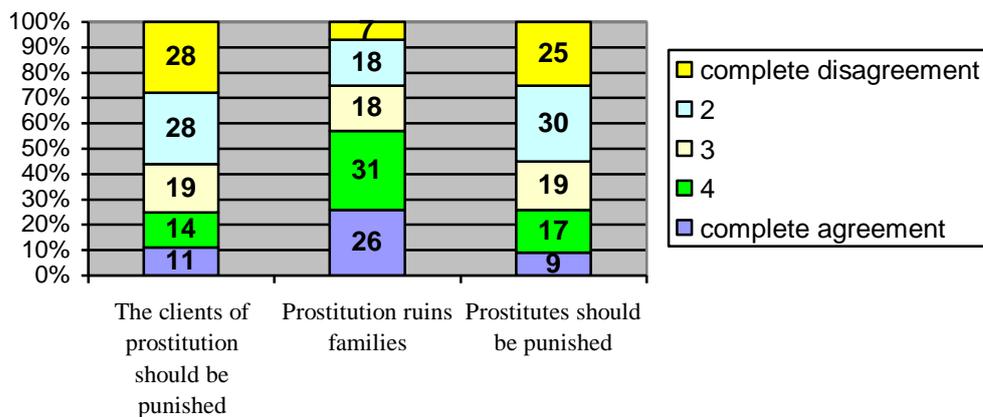


About 60 per cent of the male population agrees with the legalization of prostitution. There is less agreement (50%) with the rather ambiguous – since underneath this tolerant surface there

¹⁹ All six items were asked using an identical Likert-scale, i.e. five categories where 5 expressed complete agreement, 4 approximate agreement, 2 approximate disagreement, and 1 complete disagreement. The midpoint (category 3) means the lack of any firm opinion („do not know”).

is a male chauvinist attitude to neglect the forced forms of prostitutions – item that describes prostitution as free decision on behalf of females. This ambiguity is well illustrated with the fact that both extremes, i.e. full agreement and disagreement, are significantly less frequently chosen than in the first case. The tolerant “educational” – with some pedophilic overtone – option is rejected by the overwhelming majority (71%) of Hungarian males.

Figure 3. The distribution of the three intolerant items (%)



Hungarian males are against the criminalization of both forms (the client or the agent) of prostitution. Approximately one fourth agrees with it, while more than half of them disagrees with such a regulation. On the other hand, more than half of the males feels that prostitution ruins the family.

As the following table demonstrates, there is strong and positive correlation (level of significance $p=0,05\%$) between the three toleration and the three intolerance items, which proves that despite the ambiguities mentioned before, the dichotomy items were properly developed. It is also telling that the positive correlation is much stronger among the three intolerant than among the three tolerant items. This indicates that intolerance has a more coherent belief system than tolerant behavior has. The association is especially significant between the two punishment-oriented items (0.60) which indicates that those who agree with the concept of criminalization of prostitution, would do it for both actors irrespective of their role in the act. The correlation between the tolerant and intolerant items is usually negative, again proving the dichotomy between the two belief systems.

Table 3. The correlation among the six items

	Tolerant items			Intolerant items		
	Prostitution should be legalized	Prostitution is a free decision	Prostitutes should help boys to sexlife	Clients should be punished	Prostitution ruins family	Prostitutes should be punished
Prostitution should be legalized	X	0.31	0.20	- 0.31	- 0.18	- 0.39
Prostitution is a free decision		X	0.16	- 0.17	-	-
Prostitute should introduce boys to sex			X	- 0.16	- 0.19	- 0.22
Clients should be punished				X	0.40	0.61
Ruins families					X	0.37
Prostitutes should be punished						X

- = No significant correlation

As to the socio-demographic basis of the tolerant and intolerant attitudes, we focus on the three items that directly and unambiguously express the attitudes of respondents about the issue of legalization of prostitution.

Table 4. The attitudes toward the legalization of prostitution by socio-demographic groups (average point on a scale 5 (agree) to 1 (disagree))

	Prostitution should be legalized	The clients of prostitution should be punished	The prostitutes should be punished
Hungarian males	3.5	2.5	2.5

Age cohort			
18-27	3.6	2.5	2.5
28-37	3.7	2.3	2.5
38-47	3.5	2.3	2.1
48-57	3.6	2.4	2.7
58-67	3.2	2.7	2.9
68 -	3.0	3.1	3.0
Education			
Primary	2.9	2.9	3.0
Vocational school	3.7	2.4	2.4
Secondary	3.8	2.4	2.3
College	(3.5)	(2.6)	(2.6)
University	(3.4)	(2.0)	(2.0)
Economic activity			
Employed	3.7	2.4	2.4
Entrepreneur	(3.3)	(2.1)	(2.8)
Unemployed	(3.9)	(2.3)	(2.3)
Pensioner	3.1	3.0	2.8
Student	(2.7)	(2.7)	(2.7)

() = The number of cases in the cell is between 20 and 50

In comparison to the average of the total sample the more pro-and anti-legalization (pro-criminalization) social groups are as follows:

- young age groups are not more pro-legalization, but the two elderly groups are significantly more anti-legalization than the average,
- the least educated social group is more in favor of anti-legalization and less of pro-legalization but the opposite is not the case, i.e. it is the mid-level education groups which are the most pro-legalization and only those with university degree are strongly against the non-legalization of prostitution,

- pensioners and the small group of students are conservative (against legalization as well as strongly favor criminalization), the opposite is true for the employed and the small group of unemployed.

II.6 General knowledge of the Hungarian male population on trafficking

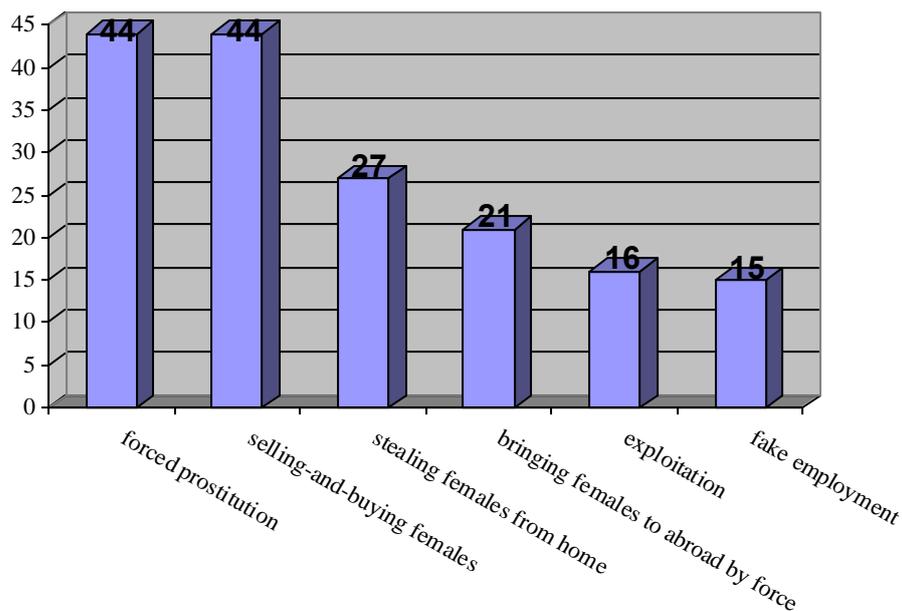
Besides questions on the knowledge and attitudes towards prostitution, we also asked respondents about what they know or have heard about trafficking in human beings.

Almost the entire sample of Hungarian males (92%) has heard the concept of trafficking. It is the group of 38-47 years old males who shows the highest proportion (99%) of being familiar with this concept. The case is the opposite among the overlapping groups of elderly, uneducated pensioners who consider themselves as part of the lower classes. Still, however, in this group about three fourth of the population has heard about trafficking. All in all, we can conclude that the Hungarian male population in general is familiar with the concept of trafficking.

As Figure 4 illustrates, Hungarian males associate trafficking most often with forced prostitution (44%) and selling-and-buying females (44%). Somewhat less spread is the opinion that trafficking means stealing the female from home (27%) and bringing her to abroad by force (21%). About one sixth of the male population associates trafficking with exploitation (low wage) and tricking the subject into this position by fake recruitment (16% and 15% respectively).

Figure 4. The meaning of trafficking (%)²⁰

²⁰ Since the respondents were allowed to give many answers the sum of the figure may exceed 100%.



Those who associates trafficking with forced prostitution (44% in the sample) are especially frequent among

- students (60%),
- those who have secondary and vocational education (56%),
- those who live in smaller cities (55%) and in the Nyugat-Dunántúl region (55%).

The “business-like” (selling-and-buying) characterization of trafficking (44% in the sample) is significantly more widely spread in the Észak-Alföld region.

Stealing the subject of trafficking from home (27% in the sample) is more widely known in the Észak-Magyarország region (44%).

Exploitation as a relevant characteristic of trafficking (16% in the sample) is especially frequently mentioned among the most educated (28%) and among the inhabitants of Budapest (22%).

Finally, the emphasis on the fake nature in the course of recruitment process (15% in the sample) is significantly more often mentioned by those who characterize themselves as conservative (24%), those who do not belong to any denomination (22%), and are not religious (20%).

III. Data and research on prostitution and trafficking

III. 1 Previous research results

Principally prostitution, as a form of sexual exploitation was not accepted by the communist leadership, and all brothels were closed down. The communist government made a retrain to prostitutes for other vocations, financed by the state. In spite of that prostitution did not cease, only retired to illegality and invisibility. The notability of this part of sub-economy started to grow in the seventies, in parallel with the growth of tourism. Changes which took place in Hungary from '70s, within the framework of the gradual democratic change, gave an expanding space for the various forms of prostitution. 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 took place in the background. During the transition (1989), street prostitution was already quite visible along the main routes of trucks or certain city districts. Based on citizen initiative regulation was drafted. As a first step, prostitution was downgraded to offence from felony according to the law of 1993 No.17.

It was a two-sided social phenomenon, because exactly the democratic process carried problems, wastes and negative byproducts, which could be related to prostitution. The transition created several new patterns of disadvantaged social situations that were not experienced before in the social history of Hungary. The change of the regime was the ground of free thoughts and free choice on one hand, but on the other hand it was the ground, where a special manpower grew up, a group of people for whom prostitution seemed to be the only way out of a hopeless social situation: poverty, isolation or unemployment. Sexual industry turned to an explosive growth only after the change of the regime, as a consequence of growing polarization of the society, and expansion of Eastern drug-markets. Hungary became a target country for drug-, weapon- and human traffickers. After the transition, massive migration started from neighboring - former socialist – countries, from Romania, Ukraine and the former-Yugoslavian states. Poverty, lack of opportunities, marginalization of women have lead to a massive migration movement, which made women even more vulnerable. The existence of sex tourism lured women towards prostitution with the promise of getting wealthy.

Political surroundings of the regime-change were not favorable for scientific effort and research on prostitution. Leaders and decision-makers of the newly-imported social order did not want to face the negative byproducts and wastes of the new democracy; and confront the society with the anomalies. They searched for positive impulses and means to strengthen the order and not to disintegrate it. That explains why research on prostitution was not supported. Researches, which wanted to deal with the intensive changes in the sexual industry of Hungary, were realizable only behind the curtain of 'AIDS prevention'. That is why the first, scientific researches on Hungarian prostitution after the transition were restricted to medical surveys, or they were at least masked as medical surveys²¹.

There was no scientific research directly focusing on social and psychological dimensions of prostitution in the first period after the transition. There was a reflection to the issue only by newspapers. The first, not only medical surveys took place in the second part of the '90s. Such as the field-work of 'Quit with You' Association²², which resulted a collection of interviews and case-studies about the life of street-prostitutes (1997). There was an other research, made by the Hungarian AIDS Foundation in 1996-1997. They gave AIDS-education to the prostitutes and also questionnaires were filled out about prostitutes' lives and information about the sex-market. There was a further research, called 'Bad Boys project'²³, which focused on the male prostitute society. The sample could not be representative, regarding the character of the observed social group, but it covered all of the affected districts of Budapest, and gave a bunch of useful information about the character of Hungarian prostitution in the end of the 20th century.

According to researches, prostitution has a substantially different structure in the end of the '90s and beginning of the 21st century, than it had before. A basic change is that male prostitutes were integrated to the sexual service industry. Another change is that prostitution became strongly hierarchical, modeled on the Hungarian society structure. There is a very weak elite on the top, those call-girls who work mainly in own flats or in luxury hotels, and earn ten times as much, with much less clients than girls at the bottom. The second group in the hierarchy is the group of night club girls, under them are those who make the business in

²¹ The first was made by Hungarian National Institute for Healthcare (Nemzeti Egészségvédelmi Intézet -NEVI) in 1992-1993.

²² Kiút Veled Egyesület, Budapest

²³ Made by the association called 'Óvegylet'

jointly-rented flats, and usually work with an agent. Finally, street-prostitutes are 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 part, street prostitution composes the 80 per cent of the whole²⁴. Place in the hierarchy determinates a various kind of attributes: the existential status, the extent of dependence, the scope for action, etc.

According to the surveys, the prostitute society is not only very hierarchical, but the structure is very rigid and stable as well. Upwards mobility between the groups is not usual, while downwards mobility exists. 'Blue Point Drug Ambulance' conducted a survey²⁵ on intravenous drug use among prostitutes. They described case studies of Hungarian prostitutes who performed a forceful downward mobility in the prostitute-hierarchy, because of heavy drug use.

As much as getting out of the structure is very difficult and infrequent. An interview - example from a research - made by social street-workers²⁶ - reflects the complexity of this problem very well: "Our interviewee, 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 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 traveled 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."

The number of prostitutes working in the aggregate of the sex sector, involving the street-field, the entertaining industry and every other forms of prostitution can be at least 10 thousand, according to the estimation of a researcher, Lenke Fehér – who wrote about this

²⁴ Survey of the Hungarian AIDS Foundation, with the leadership of Judit Forrai, financed by Swiss Hungarian AIDS Prevention Effort (SHAPE)

²⁵ www.kekpont.hu

²⁶ Forrai Judit – Lőrincz Norbert: Az utcai szociális munka a prostituáltak megsegítésének szolgálatában. Wesley János Lelkészképző Főiskola. Bp. 2003. page 47. /Social street-work for helping prostitutes/

issue in an essay about women crime²⁷. An internet resource, which contains web-essays in social issues, declares that there are 20-25 thousand people in Hungary, who make a living with any form of prostitution²⁸. According to the police commissioner of Budapest, there were about 1000 brothels functioning in the capital in the year 2004.

The biggest age-group within street prostitution is the group of 18-24 years old (60%) according to the surveys about street-prostitution, made by the Hungarian AIDS Foundation and the 'Quit with You Association'. About 20 per cent of street prostitutes is juvenile. The youngest are 14 year 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 is more than 24 years old. Prostitutes over 30 years old form an insignificant minority. According to the case studies of social street-workers, 'the labor-supply of the profession is so high that the pimps can get so many prostitutes in place of elderly or ill prostitutes, as much as they want. And that is a fact that the prostitutes know as well, very deeply.'²⁹ 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 come from this hopeless fight. First, the higher risk-taking attitude, second is the bigger submission to the pimp.

According to the estimations of social workers, who do field work and harm-reduction with prostitutes, 70-80 per cent of the Hungarian street prostitutes belongs to a pimp. They are much more subservient and dependent than the other part. They have to give 80-90 per cent of their income to the pimps. The other part, circa 20 per cent is 'quasi-separate' - they are not under the comprehensive control of the pimp, they only have to pay money to the pimps for the space where they work. There are a few girls, who paid a huge amount of money (circa 1000 EUR) for a persistent space, for working and for protection from a pimp in case of emergency, but these girls are very few in number.

At the time of the surveys, there was a very huge proportion, about 40 per cent of male

²⁷ Fehér Lenke: Bűnözés és prostitúció /Crime and prostitution/. In: Szerepváltozások. Jelentés a nők helyzetéről. Társi, Bp. 1999.

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

²⁹ Forrai- Lőrincz: Az utcai szociális munka a prostituáltak megsegítésének szolgálatában. Page 30.

prostitutes were from Romania among the street prostitutes of Budapest. That was a much lower proportion among girls, only 12 per cent. The majority of Hungarian girls, 60 per cent was from the countryside, and only 20 per cent was from Budapest. It is notable that the majority of prostitutes from the Hungarian countryside came from the few, so called 'crisis-zones', which are Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén and Hajdú-Bihar counties, the North-East part of Hungary. The geographical distribution of boys was much more balanced. 30-30 per cent of them came from Budapest and from the Hungarian countryside.

60 per cent of the girls, while only 44 per cent of the boys working on the street defined themselves as of Roma origin. It is notable that the majority of the trans-border girls and boys considered themselves also as Hungarian Roma.

A very high proportion, 90 per cent of boys was independent. While only the 70 per cent of girls was independent, the other 30 per cent had a family. 20 per cent of those girls, who had a family, lived within traditional family conditions, with a husband and with children. It is also interesting that their children derived typically from their first, few sexual acts. The big proportion-difference regarding the social circumstances foreshadows is that there may be notably different causes and motivations behind the prostitution of men and women. Those prostitutes, who had a family, were generally members of very big families, with 5 -10 siblings. 40 per cent of them grew up in state care, because of the alcoholism of the parents, or because of orphanage.

These surveys have data only about the school qualification of women. According to the results, more than 80 per cent of women prostitutes graduated in elementary school, but only a very low proportion, circa 5 per cent had a higher degree, which is mostly a vocational school degree. The most typical vocations among that small group are dressmaker, nurse or other medical worker and chemical industrial worker. In spite of the school degrees, an overwhelming majority of them never had a former job or work place. Only 11 per cent of them assigned a former job before prostitution.

There are several patterns of living conditions, notably different in case of girls and boys. Girls generally live with the pimps, or live with common sublets according to the data. A quite small part has an own flat (which can be a much more typical pattern among those girls,

who are on a higher level of the hierarchy than the street-workers). It is general in all groups, that the working place and the living place are separated. The scenes of the business, which were mentioned by the questioned street-prostitutes were bushes, back-streets, telephone booths or clients' cars. It is completely different in case of boys, who are typically combining the living and working fields, spaces and relations. Some of them has a 'master' and gives sexual services for him, in exchange for residence. Other guys have common sublets, with more than one function: they live, and make their services in the sublet as well.

There are some data in the surveys about prostitutes' motivations as well. A high percent of the girls, who were involved in the surveys, had a past in the state care, in boarding schools. Members of the samples declared that there was an institutionalized, well-built network, with the aim of convincing orphan girls to join the sex-industry. There was another group of girls, 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, who were forced into the sexual industry by the family (especially by the husband). The researchers mentioned exact cases, when poor families in the countryside sold women for a sum of money between 100-300 EUR to a merchant. Another group of women chose the sexual work herself, in favor of her family. They suddenly became to the family sustainer. A subgroup of this section is those, who had just lost their husbands because of divorce or because of imprisonment, and that was the specific event, which came all of a sudden, and forced them to the sex industry.

Fluctuation is much bigger among boys. Perhaps this is in connection with the fact that they are much less dependent, either economically, or emotionally, and tend not to stick into the situation because of any engagements. They usually treat this job not only principally as a temporary status, but also use in fact 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 huge amount of Hungarian male prostitutes considers themselves homosexual or bisexual. As a consequence of this, the interest representation of Hungarian homosexuals assumes responsibility for them and helps them.

III.1.1 Surveys on awareness in health-care

There was a comprehensive survey regarding prostitute's attitudes and information about AIDS, conducted by the Hungarian AIDS Foundation, in 1997. The survey was part of an AIDS-prevention program³⁰. The Foundation trained seven, volunteer taxi-drivers for the task of making the AIDS-prevention and making the survey among prostitutes of Budapest. Questionnaires were the basis of the survey. The sample could not be representative, considering the fact that prostitutes and pimps are hidden groups, and there is no available socio-demographical data about them. There was another viewpoint, why the survey did not even try to be representative: this was the protection of the girls' safety. The researchers presumed that any questions, which would raise the suspicion that the girls are identifiable could be very dangerous for them. The research was territorially representative: all of the affected zones of Budapest were covered. According to the researchers, the sample represented about 20 per cent of the whole prostitute-population of Budapest. Because of this fact and thanks to territorial representativity, the survey can be treated as one of the only, approximately representative survey made among Hungarian prostitutes after the change of the regime. That is why we decided to introduce it in details.

It turned out that only 50 per cent of the girls visit a gynecologist every month, others rarely or never do. About 60 per cent of the prostitutes does not have any, or has totally false knowledge of AIDS symptoms. They do not know about the institutions where HIV-tests can be made. Those who were informed somehow about AIDS and HIV-tests, got information from the media or from picture brochures. Nobody mentioned that they had read anything about AIDS. That can be important information considering the ways, in which Hungarian prostitutes' attention is provokable (not only in connection with AIDS, but in any kind of issues). 20 per cent said that the chance of getting AIDS during sexual intercourse is very low, and only 68 per cent said that there is a big chance for it!

According to the research, prostitutes seem to be fatalist regarding the contracting of illnesses. More than 52 per cent of them declared that 'nobody can avoid her fate'. Supposedly this typical supposition is in connection with religiousness and with Christian moral: many of the girls - especially the Roma - are religious. In their case there can be religious beliefs behind

³⁰ Financed by the Swiss Hungarian AIDS Prevention Effort. See the results in: *Szenvedélybetegségek*, 1998/ 6. 'A férfi és a Női prostituáltak.'

the fatalist understanding of their lives. Supposedly prostitution comes into the context as a sin, for which an illness is the rightful punishment. This outlook leads to passive behavior and ignorance of the risks of sex work. Those prostitutes, who consciously take care of their body and health are typically those who have children (and who joined the sex industry because of their children as well). They visit the gynecologist regularly, and they tend not to make business without condom. It is remarkable that according to the data, girls totally do not care about the safety of clients and their possible chance of getting infected.

It is also notable that to the open question of the survey 'What kind of help, or care would you require in connection with your work- and living conditions?' most of the girls did not even associate to health-care. Great majority of the girls said that they would need help to find their lost or never had roots and social relations.

III.2 Research on trafficking

Due to the hidden nature of human trafficking, its research is rather complicated. There have been only a few researches done in Hungary; most of them concern human trafficking for prostitution. There is few data, mostly from authorities, the reports of the Ministry of Interior and the country report of the United States. In Hungary the number of prostitutes on the streets, in the entertainment industry and in the private sphere is in the ten thousands. They are a heterogeneous group from street prostitutes to ones working in hotels and massage parlors. Street prostitution is the most condemned.

In 1999, there were two cases, in 2000, 16 cases in courts of human traffickers³¹. Between 2000 and 2002 this form of crime was on the rise then decreasing in 2002. This does not mean however that human trafficking has decreased since much of it remains uncovered. In 2002, 34 human trafficking cases were closed, 33 involved women trafficking³². In 2003 this number decreased to 19³³. Most of the cases are related to prostitution, but there are also cases of pornography, pedophilia and organ trade. In 2004, 21 court cases started³⁴. This year authorities caught a police officer who was involved in human trafficking. In 2004, 42

³¹ Source: http://www.bm.hu/web/portal.nsf/archiv_hirek/3B4B489204CEE010C1256EF2004413C1

³² Molnár Angelika Women in European Human Market Index 2003. 07. 02.

³³ Source: http://www.bm.hu/web/portal.nsf/archiv_hirek/3B4B489204CEE010C1256EF2004413C1

³⁴ In: <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2005/46614.htm#hungary>

persons were arrested for human trafficking, 26 were imprisoned, five fined or got other punishments, and eleven received suspensions. The following year police started 28 investigations against traffickers and started 27 processes against them. Hungarian authorities cooperate with other authorities internationally and as a result they arrested French traffickers in March 2006. The Hungarian government also extradited two Romanian citizens charged with trafficking to Romania, one to Austria and a Hungarian person to Switzerland³⁵. According to police statistics, between January and June 2006, five cases of trafficking were discovered³⁶. In Hungary there are about 20-30 human trafficking cases in courts each year. Human trafficking fell under the jurisdiction of police in the past, now border guards are also involved.

Researching the trafficking of children is even more complicated. In Hungary children are often used as beggars³⁷.

Hungarian press reports children being trafficked from time to time, but they rarely report any data. These are mostly case studies or reports of international press conferences. Human trafficking is often mentioned as part of smuggling.

III.3 Helping organizations and the opinion of experts

Presently there are four non-governmental organizations that state that their mission is to help prostitutes. The Hungarian Prostitutes' Interest Association³⁸ provides legal assistance, lobbying, 24-hour hot-line, health activities, information leaflets and education programs for prostitutes. In bigger cities in Hungary, they maintain the so-called 'peer-mentor' program. 'Peer-mentors' are volunteer prostitutes who help other prostitutes. All the programs are funded by grants. The Association is said to be in contact with about a thousand prostitutes. The Association advocates for legalizing brothels in Hungary.

The three other organizations provide social work on the streets for prostitutes working on the side of highways, freeways and the inner districts of Budapest. "Kiút Veled – Quit with You"

³⁵ Forrás: http://hungarian.hungary.usembassy.gov/uploads/images/blExSDmfWsYzei-Ryn4lwA/trafficking2006_hungary_hu.pdf

³⁶ Source: http://www.police.hu/data/508090/bcs_2005_2006_I_V_ho.pdf

³⁷ SEPARATED CHILDREN IN EUROPE PROGRAMME THE SITUATION OF SEPARATED CHILDREN IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE BALTIC STATES By William Spindler
<http://www.crin.org/docs/Separated%20Children%20in%20Europe%20Programme%20-%20The%20Situation%20of%20Se.pdf>

³⁸ Prostituáltak Érdekvédelmi Egyesülete, www.prostituáltak.hu

Association is based in the 8th district of Budapest, where prostitution is concentrated. The Association works in close relationship with a Catholic mission. Periphery (Periféria) Association was established in Nyíregyháza, in Eastern-Hungary, while the Association of Street Social Helpers (Utcai Szociális Segítők Egyesülete) is functioning in and around Tatabánya, a city located right next to the freeway going from Budapest to the Western-Hungary.

A few churches, such as Golgota Community or “Jópásztor Nővérek” (in cooperation with “Kiút Veled” Association) also have volunteers who do similar work as the social workers of the associations above. Once a week they go out to the streets where prostitutes work, give them coffee and cookies, have a conversation with them for as long as possible (generally for five to ten minutes) and offer them help.

It is known that the Hungarian Baptist Aid operates a protected Shelter for victims of trafficking and those who would like to quit prostitution. The Shelter functions in secret, and is not advertised amongst potential victims. Women arrived to the Shelter through other organizations (NGOs, IOM, Ministry of Interior, and the police) based on the referral system established amongst the various partners. The rehabilitation program lasts for one year, in the course of which women can participate in training programs and receive psychological and spiritual help. The Shelter has very strict rules: inhabitants cannot go out in their first month of residency, and even after that only with a supervisor; all phone calls are checked; once someone quits the program, they are not allowed to come back. The institution usually has one to three inhabitants and most of them are victims of domestic violence, not trafficking or prostitution.

III.3.1 Movement for a Prostitution-free Hungary³⁹

Movement for a Prostitution-free Hungary was founded in 2003, August, by nine women, all of them working for the rights of exploited women as experts, jurists or social workers. Their declared aim was to stand out definitely against the institution of prostitution, and to fault one-sided communication about prostitution in the Hungarian society. According to the

³⁹ Prostitúció Nélküli Magyarország Mozgalom - www.prostitutio.hu

movement, one-sided communication means that the public administration misrepresents and misinforms the Hungarian population about prostitution. They show a false picture, when they demonstrate that people can choose only between two alternatives: street-prostitution or brothels, and they fundamentally do not question the institution of prostitution. They do not take into consideration that prostitution - regardless to its various forms - is an institution, which discriminates women severely. It is a violation against the dignity of the human being. Hungarian state goes against the New York Convention with the new guidelines of legislation, with the establishment of tolerant zones. The movement challenges the state governors to take clear sides in connection with prostitution, to declare either if they support it or are against it.

The movement warns that if Hungary legalizes prostitution, the country becomes by necessity free-market of international women- and child-traffic; we follow the example of the Netherlands, where there is a huge, illegal market of prostitution flourishing with refugees and children, behind the surface of non-problematic, legalized brothels. They disapprove that neither the legislation, nor the discourse of Hungary deals with the clients' role and responsibility. They suggest a completely new guideline of legislation, with contrary contents to the present one. The pillars of their alternative would be prevention (an elaborated, comprehensive system for preventing endangered groups from prostitution), creation of an infrastructure which helps prostitutes to quit and offers them posterior rehabilitation; and the strict persecution of those clients who use sexual services of sex workers under 18 years old.

The movement wrote several public letters to high-standing officials of the Hungarian government and public administration, among them to the Minister of the Interior and to the Minister of Youth, Family, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities. They achieved that the Ministry of Equal Opportunities published a common proposal with the Movement, in which basic principles of a national strategy against prostitution and human trafficking were laid down. Their latest action is the 'Search the man' - campaign. In the campaign they try to govern the people's attention to those men, who sell and buy sexual services: to the pimps and to the clients. The movement emphasizes that these men generate and maintain prostitution with their activity. Prostitution is a sale of goods which takes place mainly between men, and women are only the passive objects of it. Prostitution is neither a job, nor a service, because the prostitute is not an entrepreneur but a line of goods.

III.3.2 Opinion of experts

There are two, dominant ways of thinking among the experts, regarding the perspectives which are to be expected in the future. One approach says that the aspiration towards creating zones for the girls, and finally legalizing prostitution is the only way of solving the problems of prostitution. Clear circumstances of legalized prostitution are needed. According to the other approach, setting up tolerant zones would mean quitting the New York Convention; the only final solution for the problem would be to completely cease prostitution. In the following, the opinion of interviewed experts can be read, which does not reflect the opinion of the authors.

Concerning the socio-demographic background of prostitutes, Anna Bethlen⁴⁰ says the question about prostitute's 'salary' is a bad way of asking. She has the opinion that it is simply not 'working', it is not a 'job' since they are forced to be used for other people's needs therefore they cannot have a salary. They are rented by clients and most percent of the payment goes to their pimps. 'Therefore they are closer to slaves than to employees. They are not average members of the society because they are not free to make choices. They do not have a disposal of themselves, they are collected, trained, forced to do things, they are getting food and clothes, they are advertised and set out for the clients.' - In this case they are simple goods to be rented. According to her estimation, there can be even fifty thousand prostitutes in Hungary altogether but this number can also be ten thousand. It is very difficult to estimate, because the last time there was a conscription of prostitutes in Hungary was in the '40s. Emma Csapó⁴¹ speaks about the geographical distribution of Hungarian prostitution. She says that much more prostitutes work in Budapest, the North-Eastern and Eastern part of the country than in the Western parts. She has never met any from North-Western Hungary.

Becoming a prostitute does not only depend on the social milieu, but also on cumulated factors; but there is always an episode of traumatic violence. Nobody can be poor enough to get involved into prostitution by herself - claims Anna Bethlen. Emma Csapó emphasizes, that

⁴⁰ Anna Bethlen is one of the most acknowledged Hungarian expert of prostitution, author of several essays and articles about the dilemmas of moral and practical aspects of prostitution in Hungary.

⁴¹ Emma Csapó is a volunteer of the civil association "Kiút Veled", which aims to save the endangered from becoming prostitutes and helps street prostitutes to quit this job and bring them back to normal life. They deal with street prostitutes from all around the country and their main goal is prevention.

when they choose to become a prostitute they feel shame which makes them leave not only their families, but also their friends. That is the cause, why their external contacts with the 'outer world' cease, why their world becomes extremely closed. While in the beginning they do believe in a short-period scenario, after a time they undergo a profound change, their self-conception depreciates and they become unable to return to normal life. According to Anna Bethlen, it is almost impossible to get out from this way of living. One of Anna Betlen's studies, which was an interview with three older prostitutes (above fifty years) in 1999 showed that there can be some pauses or other scenes, but on the whole they stay connected with prostitution along their whole lives. For example as acting grandmas in porn movies, she says. Györgyi Tóth⁴² speaks about the typical structure of those families from where the prostitutes derive. The structure of these families' varies between a kind of a controlling atmosphere and a really violent, beating one. Both cases these youngsters do not dare to response or ask questions, which also means they are growing up in a system where the adults are always right and unquestionably trustworthy. So they just believe everything that grown-ups say or promise. That is the clue, why they are really good potential victims of trafficking - which is said to be just a job abroad with which they could earn a lot of money and come home as a 'hero' of the family . The Hungarian school system is another reason why these youngsters are easy to bluff. In Hungary human rights and law education are not in the curriculum. Hungarian people's average knowledge of these things is really poor, - argues Györgyi Tóth. Regarding the prostitutes' relation to their own bodies, experts emphasize that they usually show a special, dual attitude. From the neck down they treat their body if it was not their own. They feel a traumatic distance from the rest of their body. The head is the only part, which they take care of. That is why many sex workers never let their clients kiss them.

Anna Betlen says Hungary abuses the human rights of women by not keeping the directives of the New York Convention, which was signed by Hungary in 1955. In Hungary clients, pimps, advertising newspapers are not disciplined, there are no steps made towards prevention and reintegration of prostitutions. Victims of trafficking who luckily returned home receive very poor or no help from the state and there are no shelters for these women. Foreign prostitutes are expelled from Hungary and regarded as criminals. IOn spite of a clause against trafficking, there are no legal actions against the traffickers.

⁴² Györgyi Tóth is a volunteer of NANE - Women's Rights Association. The NGO has two aid-telephone lines, one for the women who suffered any forms of violence, and an other line for women who need information about the risks of taking a job abroad.

Regarding the same issue, Györgyi Tóth says she has more questions to the regulation of prostitution than answers. It is legal to become a prostitute in Hungary; there is a legal way for getting a registry number and have a medical certificate, but it is illegal to go on the street in a protected area. Up to now, we can say that practically every area is protected, because the tolerant-zones are still not assigned. It is a frequently mentioned argument of the tolerant, that Sweden, where it is prohibited, sex tourism raised. If in Hungary prostitution was prohibited, absolutely different consequences would come out of it because the two countries differ a lot in their economical conditions. She does not know how the Hungarian situation could be solved, but surely a complex solution would be needed. The recent situation abuses women's human rights and is absolutely contradictory. More than one expert, especially Anna Bethlen and Györgyi Tóth mentioned that one of the biggest problems is that only the prostitutes are controlled, punished, regulated in the country, while the clients are completely left out of the scene. One symptom of this phenomenon is that it is forbidden to advertise sexual services, but it is allowed to apply to such advertisements and also advertising the need for such services. Another example of this unjust treatment is that Hungarian prostitutes have to have a medical certificate to prove they do not have any sexually transmitted diseases (if not they can be fined to pay 150 000 HUF, approximately 600 EUR), while of course clients do not have to have any certification. Furthermore this medical certificate is contradictory with the New York Convention, because it says it is prohibited to register prostitutes in any way.

On the contrary, Judit Juhász, a researcher of the International Labor Organization (ILO) thinks that Hungary should quit the New York Convention and brothels should be legalized. This would make the whole sex sector controllable and more transparent, and also would provide better conditions for the sex workers (hygiene, security, health care, etc.). In her opinion, legalization of brothels would leave smaller space for pimps and expectedly decrease corruption of the police related to the sex sector.

Ágnes Földi, president of the Hungarian Prostitutes' Interest Association also believes that the quitting the New York Convention and legalization of brothels could be the only solution to the confused situation of prostitution in Hungary. Prostitutes would become tax-paying citizens who are entitled to get social security. In her opinion, the Swedish system would produce a mass of invisible, unreachable prostitutes who would get even more exploited. The state should have an emphasis on the interest of the prostitutes; she prefers the Austrian and the German way of handling prostitution. Ágnes Földi criticizes the existence of the

obligatory medical certificate for prostitutes. It does not have a fixed price, prices vary between 25 000 HUF (100 EUR) and 65 000 HUF (260 EUR) and has to be renewed from time to time.

For the question, why people use sexual services, Anna Bethlen says people use prostitution to get the feeling of being powerful and letting their violence out. Clients usually say they are lonely, they do not have enough money for maintaining a regular relationship - but in reality it is all about demonstrating being powerful and dominant. In their way of thinking it is absolutely normal to use the services of a prostitute. These people think it belongs to normal life, to normal sex, and it is the only way not to cheat on their wives who they love and respect. In other cases, they do not get certain things at home for which they pay the prostitutes, like aggression, sexual violence. It is an important element of abusing women in society.

Organized crime has a lot to do with prostitution, even in the smallest villages there are groups of criminals involved and also mafias from other countries like Ukraine, Romania or Albania. These gangs rape and train young women in order to use them as prostitutes and even sell them between each other, which therefore should also count as trafficking. Györgyi Tóth also claims that prostitution is closely linked together with criminality and mafias. It generates a huge amount of money very quickly, which goes into other branches of criminality like drug dealing or arms trade.

According to some experts, on the governmental side there is no real effort made to help, prevent or reintegrate women who were involved in prostitution. Every year there are very few police investigation cases (about 30) concerning trafficking because it is very difficult to fit in the definition of trafficking. The Hungarian law says it has to be on sexual purpose through borders of the country and the trade must be proved. Anna Betlen says the Hungarian Police acts as if these cases were almost impossible to solve, although it is happening in front of everyone's eyes.

Regarding the communication and conflicts, Györgyi Tóth, from NANE claims, that communication between helping and governmental organizations is rather poor. The cause for the poor communication is that helpers and governmental services represent completely different point of views (religious, law-oriented, human rights-oriented) and it is not easy to

find a common language. Anna Bethlen says that there are always conflicts between the helpers and the pimps. It is not easy to convince pimps to let the social workers help the prostitutes in any way. Emma Csapó says that their association has consciously very little contact with the police - not to speak about the pimps - to be able to do their work more effectively. She thinks that in a sense it is better for the association not to have too close contacts with the police; it helps their work with the girls, because they trust them better this way.

Two interviews were made by different officers of the Hungarian Police. Their contradictory statement regarding the Police's relation to the NGOs dealing with prostitutes, shows how chaotic and ambiguous the relation of the different members is: one policeman, who works at the police station of the 8th district, in the department dealing with prostitution, claims that presently they have no contact with any of the NGOs dealing with prostitution. While József Pörtl, who works at the National Inspecting Office, Department Against Trafficking claims, that 'Hungarian Police tries to operate a good and useful communication with the NGOs'.

According to Györgyi Tóth, Hungary is a transit country for trafficking, however during the summer half of the street-prostitutes are foreign ones from Ukraine and Romania. József Pörtl says that the countries, most women arrive from are Romania, Moldavia, Ukraine but they are mostly Hungarian speakers. He emphasizes that these women are all volunteers; none of them were forced to come to Hungary to become a prostitute. There are 20-30 cases in trafficking of women yearly. For the question, what the police do against trafficking, he claims that they do a lot of international investigations, collaborating with police departments of other countries. Hungary has cases mostly with Austria, Switzerland, France, Germany, Norway and Italy. While Anna Bethlen claims that acting against trafficking is very weak. There should be law restrictions, keeping the directives of the New York Convention, more education, awareness-raising campaigns, more and more effective acts on the police's side. NGOs, like NANE should get more financial support and equipment to run a prevention line with better functioning. Their phone operators should be protected by the police and there should be a shelter where they can hide these women.

Regarding the legislation, Anna Bethlen proposes that recent law should be kept; and more regulation should be taken to persecute clients and prostitutes, who sell other persons sexual service for money or any other reward. Clients who use very young aged prostitutions should

be punished stricter by law. And first of all, prostitutes should be defined not as criminals, but rather as victims of crime. There should be steps taken to reintegrate prostitutes into the society, more experts should be involved (policemen, doctors, psychologists, social workers, etc.). The institutional background to help prostitutes to reintegrate to society is completely missing in Hungary. It would require a lot of money and attention from the government, to create schools and jobs for the girls and to provide an opportunity for a “normal life”.

Prevention should also get bigger accent: prevention of becoming a prostitute, just as prevention of becoming a client. Györgyi Tóth puts a stress to the field of education: there should be much more school education on sexuality, human rights and trafficking. In general there should be more awareness on the abuse of women and domestic violence in Hungarian society. This should involve sexual education, poster campaigns; these would aim to change cultural habits. Huge campaigns should be organized to educate society to condemn prostitution and to consider it as an offence against human rights, according to Györgyi Tóth. Emma Csapó also claims that the most important step is to change the attitudes of the society about the endangered. 'Money is everything' is a wrong approach and the media is guilty in showing false ideals to the people. They show us that externalities are what count, not inner values. We should propagate that work and honor have real value, talk more about the beauty of love, emphasize the importance of the family, partnership and the inner values of each other and provide bigger publicity to the dangers of and the fight against prostitution. Avoid and root out violence, punish the clients and imprison the pimps.

IV. Hungary as a transit country

Human trafficking for prostitution within Europe is growing. Its direction is from Central and Eastern Europe to Western Europe, mostly to countries with a regulatory system. In these countries there are massage parlors, sex clubs and other institutions where there is an ongoing demand for exotic beauties. (The direction of human trafficking is always from economically depressed and underdeveloped areas into more developed, rich countries. As an answer to the growing human trafficking problem, many countries have tightened their immigration laws and introduced visas.)

Girls from Eastern Europe are the cheapest (their travel is cheaper, they hardly have to get

visas) so their import is the most rational decision from a business point of view. A common method is “commuting prostitution” for Eastern European prostitutes, when they go for few-day “trips” to the target country. The economically less well-off countries with lower wages and high unemployment rates are the target countries for recruiting labor for human trafficking.

Human trafficking is a problem that concerns the source-, the transit and the target countries as well. One can differentiate between three levels of human trafficking: large scale, medium scale, small scale network. Discovering large scale human trafficking is rather complicated and requires the coordination of actions among countries.

First the method and route of getting the people into the target country needs to be planned. This is not necessarily the shortest way, but the most convenient for the organizers or the one that has the least risks, going from collection point to collection point. At these collection points people are distributed based on different criteria and supply and demand considerations. At these collection points victims are „broken in” (if not before). Getting necessary documents and papers is the responsibility of the traffickers. Crossing borders can happen on the road, on water, in the air or on foot (through the green border), legally (with valid documents) or illegally (with forged documents or traffickers). If the victims do not have legal (or original) documents, their vulnerability is much greater. If they have papers, they cross the line of legality as soon as they start working. The goal of traffickers is to gain the largest amount of money with the least risks and this can be reached easily if the victim is under constant duress and dependency. The tools of “terror” are humiliation, physical, psychological and sexual violence, torture and keeping the victims in constant fear. One of the most common methods is to break the will of the victim is the so-called “credit bondage”. They lure their victims not by kidnapping them, but by offering “guaranteed no sex” jobs, and the truth is only discovered upon arrival. Then the irrationally high cost of travel and document acquisition, together with the cost of accommodation and meals are charged to the victim, and until the time of repayment the only possible work is prostitution or slavery-like work. They also use the method of isolation to keep the victims in check - their documents are taken away either during travel or upon arrival, so the victims are unlikely to run away from their captors, fearing illegal alien status. The victims feel that they cannot trust either the police, or the authorities because the traffickers make them believe that they have connections everywhere and can organize anything. Victims are isolated from their fellow citizens or

people who speak their language, so that they cannot speak or complain to anyone without appropriate controls. Isolation (psychological duress) often goes together with physical punishment and the fact that the victim often has no idea which country/city she is in - which brings her to a state of total nervous breakdown. Victims can be kept dependent through violence and threats. The methods of this latter is also abuse, humiliation, sexual abuse, starvation or drug addiction. Raping the victim and videotaping it is a tool to blackmail the victim, threatening to send it to the parents/family. Threats often include the abuse of family members. All three methods are ways to break the victim. As a result the victim gets mentally isolated, her personality closes in and finally she becomes completely incapable of communication. As a result of the psychological and physical pain, the victim gets traumatized⁴³.

According to experts there are three types of criminals according to the level of their organization. The first type is usually a 3-5 member team that works through informal channels within the country. The second one is usually made up of 10-20 people, who are in touch with distribution networks abroad and transfer girls either to the destination or to criminals in transit countries. The third type are professionals, they keep all phases of human trafficking in one hand from recruitment, through transport to receiving networks. In Hungary there are smaller groups of max 20 people.⁴⁴

Due to the fact that erotic work is socially unacceptable, it is the higher earnings that make erotic work appealing. Victims of human trafficking often apply to jobs abroad, advertised as “guaranteed no sex”. Human traffickers lie about the work conditions and about the type of work women have to do abroad. (Advertisements often describe foreign jobs with appealing pictures: “The sun always shines in Spain; once-in-a-lifetime opportunity; salaries can reach 100,000 HUF a day (500 EUR); language abilities, educational background or experience are not required for this job”, etc. When they arrive to the target country they learn the exact nature of the job, but then there is no way back anymore (see breaking-in methods). Often the victim is told in advance that the work is erotic in nature, but when they get there the conditions are very different. Under the mental and physical threats applied, victims cannot

⁴³ Trauma can be a one-time event or the long-term repetition of traumatic experience. Time spent in captivity brings about changes in people that make it more difficult for them to ask for help and they lead to chronic personality disorder. Traumatic attachment is also common (so-called Stockholm syndrome) when the victim starts to see her captor as her savior who could kill her and still he doesn't do it... For this reason the exploring the pyramid-like network of human trafficking is difficult on the supply-side.

⁴⁴ Magyar Narancs, 2001.

get away. When migration is a way out of poverty and unemployment in hopes of a better future, it is hard to say where voluntarism ends and where duress starts. An element of exploitation however is always there, the woman is dependent and her vulnerability is taken advantage of.

The fact that it is relatively easy to get forged documents in Eastern Europe contributes to these countries becoming transit routes. Hungary is mostly a transit country, but also source and target country as well. It is a target country for poorer Eastern Europeans. It is a source country for Western European markets or for other continents (see USA report⁴⁵, where Hungary is source country for the markets of Canada and New Zealand).

It is a transit country due to its geographic location.

Once joining the Schengen borders, Hungary will be one of the gates between the EU and Eastern Europe. The database (SIS) of the Schengen cooperation will do the monitoring of the outside borders. Hungary will be part of Schengen predictably by 2007.

This system is made up of national subsystems connecting border crossings and a center, in which people under surveillance and entrance restrictions will be included.

For children trafficking, Hungary is receiver country, we receive children from Romania, Ukraine and Russia⁴⁶. The destination countries for child trafficking are Germany, Netherlands and Belgium. These children are mostly boys contrary to the adults trafficked, where women are overrepresented. The report about children trafficking is not yet finalized by ECPAT (End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes) and there is no available report about children trafficking in Hungary, only the reports of international organizations.

V. Structure of the sex sector

V.1 Types of sexual services in Hungary

⁴⁵ Reports of The United States of America; <http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2005/46619.htm>

⁴⁶ Source: ECPAT report: http://www.ecpat.net/eng/Ecpat_inter/IRC/articles.asp?articleID=40&NewsID=12

“In Hungary you can find anything.”

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 the 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 of them agreed that the widest range of sexual services is to be found in Budapest, while in other cities of the country sex workers offer way cheaper services (in cases even for half of the prices of Budapest). Besides a few exceptional cases (“peep shows”, brothels, and some night clubs) the price is always fixed in advance, between the client and the sex worker.

V.1.1 “Street-prostitutes”

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) at 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.”

They work next to the main highways, outside of Budapest, near lake Balaton, 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.). The conditions in which the girls work within are terrible: they have to work six-seven days a week, even in the winter; hygienic circumstances are poor, in most cases there is no bathroom nearby; often they get cold and infectious diseases, and are forced to work by their pimps even when they are sick. A girl speaks in an interview this way: ‘We don’t have any ways to

wash ourselves after the clients, we use only tissues, and go to the toilet for the actual bar, where the pimp is drinking⁴⁷.

These sex workers have an average of ten clients a day. They usually do not work for more than five-six years. According to the survey of the Hungarian AIDS Foundation⁴⁸, about 70-80 per cent of these girls works for a pimp. The side of the road is divided into different parts, supervised by different pimps. The girls are under a continuous, strict control. They have to give a certain percentage of their income to the pimps, who regularly check how many clients they have a day. The money they make may sound a lot: 5000 HUF (20 EUR) per client adds up to a monthly 1-1,5 million HUF (4 000-6 000 EUR) out of which they do not get much considering the fact that some pimps take 50 per cent, while others take the whole 100 per cent and pay the rent for the girls, buy them clothes, food, etc. What remains is usually spent on drugs, drinks, entertainment (parties), gambling (slot machines). According to the case-studies made by social street-workers, working without a pimp not only means currently less control and dependence, but it is also a worthier long-term strategy as well: according to their information, half of the street-girls working without a pimp could afford to buy an own flat, while those girls who work with a pimp, typically rent sublets with one room, without a bathroom, or live together with the pimp. So the residential-situation also reflects the girls' position in a wider sense.

According to a social worker of a non-governmental organization that provides assistance to prostitutes on the highways and streets, there are a few "more independent" sex workers who also work on the side of the same highways. They get a certain part of the side of the road for which they are obliged to pay a fixed amount of money each month, regardless to their income. For this, they get protection from the pimps in case of emergency. According to an interview with a prostitute, working in the most affected district of Budapest⁴⁹, about 20 per cent of the street-prostitutes pays 'stand-money', which costs about 5000 forint a day, for a space of 2-3 square meters. There is a third, even more independent group of street girls, who had bought their space 'forever' from a pimp, for an amount of money about three hundred thousand forint (1100 EUR). They constitute only a small minority of the whole, but the

⁴⁷ In: Dr. fehér lenke – Dr. Forrai Judit: prostitúció, prostitúcióra kényszerítés, emberkereskedelem Nőképviseleti titkárság és a Kiút Veled, 1999. Budapest

⁴⁸ Hungarian AIDS Foundation's survey in 1997, financed by Swiss Hungarian AIDS Prevention Effort (SHAPE)

⁴⁹ Forrai Judit- Lőrincz Norbert: 'Street-social work for helping prostitutes' page 47. (Az utcai szociális munka a prostituáltak megsegítésének szolgálatában. Wesley János Lelkészképző Főiskola, Budapest, 2003.)

practice is after all noticeable. The practice of buying a space of 2-3 square meters 'forever', for a huge amount of money is an informative fact about the prostitutes' attitude towards their profession, treatment of their place and possibilities in the society. They look onto the structure of sexual industry as if it was persistent. They neglect the possibility of change concerning the distribution of territories, the relations among the pimps, etc.

Police officers fine these prostitutes sometimes, because they work outside of the established zones. Prostitutes try to pay them off, in many cases successfully. Another risk that was mentioned in the course of many interviews is that some clients leave the prostitutes without paying.

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

According to social workers who work with 'street-prostitutes', as a general rule it can be stated that all street prostitutes has unfavorable family backgrounds and every one of them has their personal tragedy (orphan, childhood trauma, divorced parents, parents who used to beat them in their childhood, a father/brother in prison, etc.) sometimes combined with material needs and this is what brings them to the pimps; all of them decides 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 longer time. In fact only a very few of them can actually quit the underworld – less than an estimated 10 per cent. A very tight emotional attachment to the pimp is also a very typical element of these relations, which explains the difficulty of quitting. Prostitute's

dependence is a comprehensive mixture of financial and emotional bonds. Because of their unfavorable family backgrounds and personal tragedies they do not have former attachments in the past, which were eliminated. The first and only strong affection in their lives is the affection for the pimp and for the girl's community. This reality is the only alternative in their minds, there is no other reality which they could make a comparison to.

A group of prostitutes, who work on the street in the inner districts of Budapest, are under similar circumstances that the ones working on the side of highways. Most of these girls are coming or recruited from the poorest parts of the country, Eastern and Southern counties. Many of them are Roma. The other group of 'street-prostitutes' takes their clients to an apartment nearby. In the case of prostitutes on the streets and highways their work is constantly supervised by the pimp who always knows when, where and with whom the prostitute is.

V.1.2 Brothels and massage parlors

Illegal brothels (*"illegal red-light houses"*) are one of the exceptional cases where not the sex workers, but the runner of the brothel, the 'Madame' makes the deal with clients. Some of these brothels are located in block-houses, the pimp owns more apartments next to each other, part of a corridor, and surprisingly neighbors have no idea about this activity.

From the interviews unfortunately not much information can be concluded on the way massage parlors work in Hungary. In their advertisements sexual services are not offered. Many of them employ women from Eastern Asia.

V.1.3 Prostitutes working in rented or own apartments

Via Internet and magazines clients can order similar kind of sexual services. They choose a girl by pictures, or at several websites testimonies of other clients are also available. These prostitutes rent apartments in downtown, either on their own, or together with other girls. Sometimes eight-ten women work in the same flat, and even have a receptionist. The price of an hour with such a sex worker varies between 8000 and 15000 HUF (32-60 EUR), the

highest end is 25000 HUF (100 EUR). The deal is made on the phone before the client visits the apartment. Middle-class clients prefer these “quality” sexual services, because the circumstances are nice, the bathroom and the flat is clean, the girls take care of themselves well and have higher education than the ones working on the streets. According to the client interviewees, these prostitutes run their business independently and do not belong under the supervision of pimps. Whereas according to other resources⁵⁰, some workers in this group of the industry also pay a fixed amount of money for the owner of the flat, who is more than an owner, he not only lets a flat, but also controls the girls, who are not entirely independent. This money is similar to the ‘stand-money’ which is paid by street-prostitutes to the pimp. The rent was about 5000-15000 HUF (20-60 EUR) per day, according to the data from 1998.

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 them.

In some cases when a client - who is usually older and wealthy enough - starts to like a sex worker who works in an apartment very much, then they will rent a separate apartment only for her, and keep her only for himself.

V.1.4 Peep shows and night clubs

There are also “peep shows” existing in downtown Budapest, where clients have to insert several 100 HUF (0,40 EUR) coins to be able to watch the girls. If the client likes a girl, they would have to ask the pimp about her, and then he would lead the client and the girl to a secret room. In these places clients pay directly to the pimps. Oral sex with a condom usually costs 5000 HUF (20 EUR), an intercourse can be double or triple price.

In the night clubs clients have to spend a considerable amount of money on drinks before they can get a girl, all client interviewees found night clubs unreasonably expensive. Night clubs generally are run under the name drink bar or massage parlor. In the countryside, many of them operate seasonally. Girls dance on stage, and clients after having consumed some drinks, can choose a girl from a catalogue. Girls can be invited for drinks as well, but the bartender

⁵⁰ Hungarian AIDS Foundation’s survey in 1997, financed by Swiss Hungarian AIDS Prevention Effort (SHAPE). Results in: *Szenvedélybetegségek*, 1998/6. 435. page

usually makes sure that their drinks contain minimal or no alcohol. The deal is made between the client and a “Madame”, the amount is paid to her as well. She is usually the girlfriend of the owner. Most of the clubs have some rooms or a motel nearby where the clients can take the prostitutes, the taxi driver is part of the business as well.

Some clubs have policies such as in the first month of their employment, sex workers have to make a certain amount of money, otherwise they have to quit. During the day, girls can go out, but never on their own (to make sure that they do not get kidnapped), during work, they are not allowed to leave the club. They get a few days off every month, when they are not allowed to leave the club, but have to do some domestic work. Sex workers in night clubs are regularly taken to gynecologist, condom usage is obligatory. Drug abuse is not tolerated.

These night clubs always have security staff. According to the former club owner interviewee, police raids always went smoothly.

V.1.5 The high end: prostitutes in luxury hotels

The highest end of the sexual services is 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. The girls’ appearance is of very high level, they take care of their clothing, accessories, make up perfectly. One hour with such a prostitute can cost 50.000 HUF (200 EUR).

V.2 Health care services for prostitutes

Theoretically all prostitutes do have access to medical care and check-ups. According to Géza Juhász, one of the leader social workers of ‘Movement for a Prostitution –free Hungary’ 90 per cent of the girls does not possess the medical certificate, which is obligatory, and the mortality-rate is 40 times higher within the group of prostitutes than in the Hungarian society in general. However for “street-prostitutes” and those working on the side of highways health services are too expensive, others are not allowed by the pimp to use them. According to social workers some pimps deem it necessary for the girls to be healthy, others do not let them visit a doctor even when apparently having serious health problems, or send them back to

work right away after (semi-)recovery – so only a little minority of the most disadvantaged sex workers receive regular medical care. The work of Hungarian NGOs concerning prostitution is directed essentially towards the outplacement of medical services to the territory of prostitutes.

Another factor, that affects prostitute's health-care behavior, is the lack of body-awareness. They learn to treat their body as if it was not part of their own personality, but it was for the sake of other people. They only possess their heads, other parts of the body are in men's service.

Most prostitutes, who work in rented apartments, consider it important to have regular medical check-ups.

V.3 Foreign sex workers in Hungary

There are no estimations on the number of foreign women working in the sex sector in Hungary. 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 parlors as well, their exotic look attracts clients. The other group of foreign women is the ones who work next to highways and are forced, most of them coming from Ukraine, Romania and Moldavia. Many of them are of Hungarian origin. According to the information of a social worker, who worked with street-prostitutes, foreign prostitutes are not frequent on the streets, because it is risky for the pimps if they are visible. Firstly, because of their poor communication skills, secondly because of the bigger chance for escape, if they are forced. Putting them into a closed 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 pimps. In many cases they are sold by their families for about 1000 EUR. They are given drugs and can be exploited in any ways. Usually a guy from their home town buys them from their families, often gets them pregnant and promises them to help. The worst case that one interviewee has heard of was of a Romanian girl who had got involved in prostitution at age 11.

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.

V.4 Indicators of forced prostitution

One of our prostitute interviewees⁵¹ has been victim of trafficking a few years ago. She was sold and was forced to work in a flat with some other prostitutes. She says that there is no point in reporting the case to the police.

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

... In general they pick the girls 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 girl and after they sell them. ... The guy was handsome and very kind. He became my boyfriend. We moved in common flat and after a month he took me to a bar and left there (sold there) I have never seen him again.”⁵²

Clients tend to believe that prostitutes choose their work on a voluntary basis. Of course they know about pimps and the way sex sector works, but try to ignore it. Some respondents said they had seen sex workers with bruises and sings of beating, but did not want to interfere and did not choose their services.

VI. Anatomy of the demand side

⁵¹ She would not like to have any other details of her story published in this report, not even the name of the town she lives in. She asked us to not to report to any authorities.

⁵² Quotation from the interview made with a prostitute who works in a city in the countryside.

“Prostitution is maintained by the continuous demand. It is described as an ancient profession even in the Bible.”

VI. 1 Social and cultural context of purchased sex

Hungarian social scientific literature lacks research concerning the client-side of prostitution, in spite of that every seventh Hungarian male is buying sexual services, according to the data of 'Movement for a Prostitution-free Hungary.'⁵³ According to the country-representative survey on males conducted by TÁRKI (see Chapter II.5) only 5-9% of the respondents knew somebody who used the service of prostitutes in the past twelve months.

The lack of research on the topic is supposedly a general problem of all countries, in which the issue of prostitution is confused and unsolved, both legally and socially.

In the chaotic situation in Hungary, prostitution already has a legal recognition and legitimacy, but it is still illegal in practice, because of the lack of tolerant-zones. This chaotic field of action is full of fears and uncertainty on the client-side, which leads to their hiding. There are some other social factors, which contribute to the hiding of clients.

The hardly changeability of attitudes should be mentioned among these factors in the first place. Although legislation makes fast changes in the treatment of social phenomenon, some aspects of social processes tend to follow the legal change much slower, only gradually. Prostitution did not have a legitimate place on the platform of the socialist ideology. It was statistically liquidated during the four decades of Hungarian state-socialist regime. It was exiled to illegality, to the field of latent activities. This well-learned structure is deeply coded into the attitude of many Hungarian males', and it is not easy to get rid of. That is an important component, which explains why clients do not declare themselves openly as customers of sexual services, and why they tend not to speak about their sexual customs.

As a consequence of the lack of direct surveys about the client-side, we have to rely on research that deals universally with the changes that took place in parallel with the transition regarding Hungarian males' attitudes towards sexuality. This information creates a frame in

⁵³ www.prostitutcio.hu

which the client-side is easier to understand. We chose a representative Omnibus survey, which was made in 1991 and 1996 about sexual attitudes and practices in Hungary. It tries to give a theoretical demand analysis, concerning the basic changes that took place in Hungarian people's minds with the regime change⁵⁴. The essay, which summarizes the results of the survey, introduces a notion, which is well-importable 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 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. The essay demonstrates this change with setting up an explanatory model about the 'communicational 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 an infrequent sexual life with only a few partners. The model shows that 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-groups, but was extremely powerful within the younger age-groups of the 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'⁵⁵. This part of the survey helps us to understand an aspect of the client side of Hungarian prostitution.

There is another important social aspect of the client side, which is a generally raised problem by researchers and social workers: 'the most important actor, who generates and runs prostitution, is the client. In spite of that his face always remains covered. Discourse about the

⁵⁴ The survey was financed by the Welfare Ministry and by the Hungarian National AIDS Commission, and technically transacted by two big Public opinion institutes, Szonda-Ipsos (1991) and Median (1996).

Source of the results: Kritika, 1997/ 10. László Tóth: Sex – what happens with sexuality in nowadays Hungary?

⁵⁵ In: László Tóth: Sex – what happens with sexuality in nowadays Hungary? Kritika, 1997/10. Page:17.

issue almost never puts him in the focus. Not only the social-scientific discourse neglects clients, but also (and now comes the point) the Hungarian legislation regulates, punishes, sentences and stigmatizes only the girls and the pimps.’⁵⁶ There is no legal reference to any aspects of the clients. Even the health care, and obligatory health-certification is limited to the prostitutes - leaving out of consideration that the potential actor, who practically infects prostitutes.

VI.3 Individual psychological and social psychological motivations of the clients

All clients in our sample share similar memories of their first visit to a prostitute. Apart from one case, all of them were aged between 16 and 25. The first experience is never a lone experience, in all cases a colleague or friends took the person to prostitutes. Only one interviewee told that he went to for a massage that turned out to be a purchase of sexual services, but it was not planned. Part of the men said that they were having a difficult period of their lives due to private issues, such as breaking up with a girlfriend, divorce or moving to a different city. Their friends wanted to cheer them up with this “experience”, and because of their actual mood, they felt it was totally justified to go to a prostitute.

“You know how much it costs, you buy it and then good-bye. We never see each-other again.”

The other group of clients, who did not visit prostitutes out of their bad mood, went with friends during a night of partying, drinking and in some cases taking drugs. First experiences happened in brothels, night clubs, on the streets and in a massage parlor.

As mentioned before, interviewees are or were regular clients of sexual services. In the sample, the frequency of buying sex from prostitutes varies between once a week to once a month. Some said that frequency depends on their actual financial situation. Third of them highlighted that they never go to prostitutes when they have a relationship with a stable partner.

⁵⁶ Forrai Judit – Lőrincz Norbert: Social street-work in favour of helping prostitutes. page: 11. (Wesley János College for Pastors, Budapest. 2003.)

About two third of the men interviewed always prefers to look for a new girl, they never go back to the same sex worker. The rest likes to go back to two-three girls. One person mentioned that if he likes a girl very much, he rents a flat only for her and for this she always has to be available whenever he calls.

„I just love whores! They're so great, man, they just don't speak, don't ask, they aren't whining all the time, you don't have any bother with them! I just haven't found my steady one yet...”

Place that these clients visit also varies on a large scale: night clubs, streets – roads, girls in apartments via websites or magazines, or even through getting phone numbers of “reliable girls” from friends.

Their taste in women is of course very different, too. For most, the look is the most important thing; some find it important the voice or the intelligence of the woman. The attitude of the prostitutes to their work is considered differently:

“She should do everything I want and should enjoy what she does.”

“I don't want the girl to pretend that she enjoys sex when she doesn't. As a matter of fact, I take pleasure in seeing that the girl is obviously not enjoying sex. I enjoy buying them.”

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

“I never look for foreign girls in particular. They are all the same.”

“I don't like foreign girls 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 girl can be exotic. Not only the sexual act, but rather to find the common verbal and sexual language, the groping.”

Alcohol and drug consumption seem to be common before visiting prostitutes. Some also take drugs (cocaine or speed) to the apartment of the women and take it together.

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

The following quotations describe the motivations and social context of clients very well:

“In my opinion it is a natural demand of people that they pay for getting different sexual services. This is not a new invention in history and is supposedly going to be sustained in the future as well. People like it because it goes easily. One does not need to engage himself in the wearisome, time consuming courting to a girl in order to get some sex in the end. Prostitutes do not talk, do not ask when it is unnecessary, they are at one’s disposal whenever the client wants it.

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 get from their partners. Many find it exciting to buy a girl for money in itself.”

“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.”

“I think cheating on someone with a lover and paying for sex is judged very differently.”

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

“First time I went with my friends on my birthday. It was a surprise. For the young people it’s just a party or a game to play. For older people, it might be a compensation for the loneliness, problems at home they have or just a simple solution for physical needs. This way of sex is socially accepted.”

Clients’ social and cultural context seems to determine the fact that they regularly visit prostitutes. All of them have friends or colleagues who do the same, sometimes they go out

together. In cases not all their friends know about them purchasing sexual services, and generally their family (parents) has no idea about this kind of activity of theirs.

All client interviewees agree that there is difference between the level of satisfaction when having sex with a prostitute and a stable partner. Making love to a woman they love is intimate, also gives emotional and spiritual satisfaction.

“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.”

“You know what I’m talking about, lovemaking is lovemaking, screwing is screwing.”

“This might sound stupid, but I’d say none of the girls I’ve been with enjoyed it.”

Clients do not have illusions about what sex means to the prostitutes, only a few of them believes that some girls *“must enjoy what they do”*, while the rest thinks that *“sex with clients is only work for them”*. This is the only way they can separate their work and private life.

“For girls, like us, kindness means more than sex. Sex at home is pleasure and intimacy. At the road I feel disgust. I am OK with the client as long as we don’t have sex. I feel bad inside. Sometimes it could be good with some of them, but I don’t want to enjoy, because if they feel it, they will demand more and more.”⁵⁷

“I worked for five years as a prostitute, but it never happened to me that I enjoyed sex with a client. I was always thinking about hurrying the time, so that it would be over soon. Of course there are some girls who enjoy it. It is completely different with

⁵⁷ Quotation from the interview made with a prostitute who works next to the roads outside Budapest.

someone you love. I would never kiss a client; that is too intimate and is reserved for my boyfriend.”⁵⁸

VI.4 Clientele

VI.4.1 Typologies of clients

According to most interviewees - regardless their relationship to the sex sector – no categories of clients can be set up. They belong to all age groups from 16 to 70; with lower and higher level of education; they may be single, married or in a relationship; in conclusion clients belong to all social groups. It is rather the type and price of sexual services that determine a certain group of customers.

*“I have clients aged from under 18 till the fifties. There is no typical age group. From working class to entrepreneurs, everyone. 80-90 per cent of them have families or a girlfriend. Lower-middle class and middle class people mainly. Those who live close to the road I work at. They live in the block houses and the suburbs. Mostly they live from their salaries and have final exam from the secondary or vocational school at the most.”*⁵⁹

*“I don’t really have clients who have to save money for visiting me... My clients are mostly coming from the upper-middle class: managers who work at multi-national companies, already successful entrepreneurs. Many of them work in the construction industry. Mostly they are married and have one or more kids. Most of them belong to the age group between 35 and 50. They usually have their own flat or house in the city or in the suburbs.”*⁶⁰

However it seems there is a difference in their motivations, when clients look for sexual services on their own or with friends or colleagues, as described in chapter VI.3. To their first experience with a prostitute, clients almost always go together with friends or colleagues. Later, they either keep going back with a company, or when feeling lonely, go back by themselves.

⁵⁸ Quotation from the interview made with a former prostitute.

⁵⁹ Quotation from the interview made with a prostitute who works next to the roads outside Budapest.

⁶⁰ Quotation from the interview made with a prostitute who works in her own apartment in Budapest.

“There are groups and lonely wolves. The lonely people come back in general, the groups want casual pleasure.”⁶¹

Also, a distinction can be made between those who always seek new prostitutes and those who prefer to go back to the same ones. One interviewee from time to time even has a girl, whom he “keeps” for himself. Keeping a girl means that he gives the girls a certain amount of money every month, clothes, some travels.

“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 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...”

VI.5 Sex sector as seen by the clients

VI.5.1 Assessment of socio-demographic background of prostitutes by clients

All the interviewees stated that the socio-demographic background of sex workers varies on a large scale. According to clients, they are aged between 18 and 40 years, but most of them are between 20 and 30. Educational and family background is often in correlation the type of sex work they do. Prostitutes have various levels of education, from a few years of elementary school to university degree. “Street-prostitutes” have the lowest education of all, 8 years of elementary school or even less. Within those, who rent apartments and clients suppose that they are independent, it is common to have college or university degrees.

It seems to be a well-known fact even amongst clients that “street-prostitutes” come from disadvantageous background: with really low level of education, often from the Eastern and rural part of the country, many of them from Ukraine, Romania or Moldavia. A great

⁶¹ Quotation from the interview made with a prostitute who works in a city in the countryside.

proportion of these women were raised up in child care homes due to orphanage or having unstable family background. Also, according to clients, majority of them are of Roma origin.

Most clients think that only some prostitutes have children.

It is a wide-spread opinion that women choose to be a sex worker, because it is an easy way of making living. Once they start working as prostitutes, they realize that with this lifestyle they can afford higher living standards. For many, that is why it is difficult to quit – according to clients. About the ‘street-prostitutes’ most clients think that they come from disadvantaged background and belong to the supervision of pimps.

VI.5.2 Knowledge on legislation and institutions

It can be stated that clients are more or less in familiar with the present legal regulation of prostitution in Hungary. They also believe that Hungary should follow the Dutch way of handling prostitution.

All client interviewees agreed that legalization of prostitution would provide an adequate solution to the present confused situation of the sex sector. It would also be profitable for the state.

NANE – Women’s Rights Association and Hungarian Prostitutes’ Interest Association are well-known amongst clients, however none of them has ever heard of any organizations that help victims of trafficking, or prostitutes to quit prostitution.

VI.5.3 Communication and conflicts

In most cases communication is restricted to 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.”

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 has heard of fights between rival sex workers.

“The main thing with the client is to be polite, graceful and to tidy up myself. 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 sides (club/bar): one who beats the girls or make child for them or start sexual relationship, but they take the kids or „push out” of girls. The police have strange way of thinking about it. There are those, who go to that kind of place, there are some who feel sorry about girls and there are some who convict them. Among girls there are big fights for the money and fight for the clients. ... Girls cross to each other whenever they can. There are some who make pleasure from it (they like it when the owner hits the girls they don’t like) others are helpful, kind girls who stay together.

... Clients get into conflicts with security guards, because the owners are not in the bars out of security reasons. In general the subject of arguments is rapes, cheats 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 girls too. Police don’t disturb the clients.”⁶²

The former club owner told us that the communication between the 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.

VI.5.4 Recommendations of clients

Most interviewees were familiar with some of the posters of the campaign of the Prostitution-Free Hungary and NANE – Women’s Rights Association.

⁶² Quotation from the interview made with a prostitute who works in a city in the countryside.

Corruption of the police and organized crime - as social phenomenon both very hard to combat - were mentioned by almost every one. Legalization of brothels seems to be consensus amongst our interviewees. They believe that with the legalization the exploitation of prostitutes could be prevented. Sex workers would have the chance to be more independent, they would pay tax after their legal work. This, together with sex-tourist flowing into the country, would mean a source of income to the state. Violence would decrease in the sex sector, too. Client interviewees expect that legalized prostitution would weaken the massive corruption of the police related to the sex sector. If prostitution was legalized, clients say they would feel free to turn to the police in case of any abuse. *“While I am involved in something which is illegal, no matter what I see, I will definitely not feel like calling the police.”*

Regular and obligatory medical check-ups for every prostitute is important to all clients. Some of them also suggested to have anonymous (not only HIV) examinations for clients, too.

Also most of the respondents believe that prostitution will never disappear, no matter what kind of regulation is in force. The main explanation for this is that there has been and will always be demand for sexual services that can be bought for money.

VI.6 Awareness of trafficking

VI.6.1 Observations and indices related to trafficking

All client interviewees are familiar with the concept of trafficking and all of them condemn it.

Some clients heard of cases of trafficking, but none of them have personal experience. They do not suppose that the prostitutes they have met were victims of trafficking. The former club owner interviewee has heard of cases when girls were sold.

If they had met a sex worker who is a victim of violence or trafficking, clients say they would call a helping NGO (which would probably be NANE – Women’s Rights Association or Hungarian Prostitutes’ Interest Association). None of them would turn to the police for help.

VI.6.2 Recommendations of clients concerning prevention and reduction of risk of trafficking

In general, respondents seemed to be quite skeptic about the prevention of trafficking. Just as when talking about prostitution, corruption of the police and organized crime were mentioned by almost every one. Effective cooperation of governmental and international organizations may decrease the number of victims. Respondents also thought that involvement of non-governmental organizations and greater publicity of actual issues may prevent trafficking in human beings.

Interviewees thought that the following methods would raise the awareness amongst users of sexual services and help to prevent and reduce the risks of trafficking in the long term:

- Long and captivating programs on TV with “real” victims and actors of trafficking. People with names would grab the attentions of spectators more, than anonymous interviewees. *“The best would be to get the problem close to people, make them think that it could happen to them or their acquaintances as well. Provocative titles like ‘What would you do if it happened to your daughter?’ would attract many-many people’s attention.”*
- Awareness-raising advertisements on TV. *“They should be as tough as possible to grab people’s attention in this ignorant world of ours.”*
- Awareness- raising advertisements in men’s magazines.
- Advertisements somehow combined with football and cars.
- Advertisements in public toilets.
- Advertisements placed at gas station.
- Advertisements on matches and lighters.
- Banner-kind of advertisement on websites related to prostitution and sex.

The former club owner interviewee believes that legalization of brothels would provide a solution not only for the problems of prostitution, but also of trafficking.

According to client interviewees, the sex sector is either staying at its present level or going to expand in the next 5-10 years.

VII. Main identified problems

Regarding the legal environment, the main problem is the confused legal regulation of prostitution, which makes prostitutes even more exploited and vulnerable. In practice, there is no punishment for the users of sexual services, which might be rooted in the wider social concept. Most males think it is acceptable to purchase sexual services

There is no consensus between experts, there are two completely opposed view amongst them. Since there is no active communication between them, no compromise can be foreseen. Also, in current political discourse the matter of prostitution is not of high priority.

According to all sources if information, street prostitutes are in the worst situation within the sex sector in Hungary. Drug or alcohol addiction is frequent amongst 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 strong underground bonds of the pimps, sex workers are afraid of revenge. In several cases street prostitution is a family-run business (like in Tatabánya). There is a significant relation between the price of certain sexual services and the health risk, therefore clients from lower social classes face higher health risk.

Many women end up being prostitutes because they see no other way out of their disadvantaged situation. There is an over-representation of Roma amongst sex workers. Trafficking exist within the borders of the country, girls from the Eastern, poorer villages are the main target group.

Research on street prostitution shows that a great proportion of these women have had some traumatic experience in their childhood. This leads to a lack of consciousness of the relationship with their own bodies.

Sex workers have significant cognitive dissonance regarding why and how long they are 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 thinks that they do it presently but will give it up as soon as they collected enough money.

The attitude of police patrols who meet prostitutes during their work is controversial – they often fine street prostitutes, but never the clients. This way sex workers become even more vulnerable. There is strong connections between pimps, owners of clubs, brothels, massage parlors and the police – mentioned by all actors in the sex sector. Corruption is rather significant. This might be the reason why so few cases of trafficking and violence in prostitution get to the police and in front of the court.

Non-governmental organizations can do little help in the sex sector, since they do not want to get involved in underground businesses. Employees and volunteers of these NGOs cannot really get close to their target groups, because it is 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 first experience with a prostitute usually happens when the client is with a company of friends or colleagues, usually between age 16-25. Purchasing sex does not mean purchasing intimacy, but it means purchasing power. *“Firstly 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 the clients: many think that prostitution is a voluntary work, they try not to ignore the dark side of the sex sector.

All interviewed clients condemn trafficking in human beings and in children and have not mentioned personal experience with victims of trafficking. This does not mean that they do not have experience. To most probability they try to avoid places where there might be forced

women. 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 strengthens the opposite. Talking to prostitutes is not usual, they do not want to get attached to the sex workers. Close friends are aware of this kind of activity of clients, all of them have acquaintances who also do the same. Within their informal community it is accepted to purchase sexual services.

Clients are not aware of the details of the legal regulation of prostitution. They have limited knowledge on the helping organizations related to trafficking and prostitution.

VIII. Recommendations

As described throughout the report, legal regulation of prostitution in Hungary is rather controversial; practically there are no sanctions for users of commercial sexual services. There is a huge gap between and also within the opinion of experts and clients on the legal regulation. Public awareness on prostitution, the situation of sex workers and trafficking should be raised through campaigns and discourse in the media, especially on TV. Campaigns should be shocking in order to grab many people's attention.

Experts should have discussion on the topic in the hope of a future cooperation. Their cooperation could influence policy making and legislation. Lobbying is necessary to make politicians committed to the issue.

More regulations should be introduced to punish clients and prostitutes. Stricter sanctions would be necessary for those who use the sexual services of minors. Prostitutes should be clearly defined as victims of crime.

Awareness-raising on health issues and on alternative options besides prostitution (such as training programs) would be crucial amongst street prostitutes.

Clients mostly think that prostitution is a voluntary work. According to case studies and experience of social workers, a great proportion of sex workers are under the supervision of

pimps. On one hand strong external force (mostly economic and social reasons) makes women choose prostitution as work, but on the other as internal forces, there are strong emotional bonds between the prostitute and the pimp, this is why prostitutes cannot quit the situation. Trafficking works within the borders of Hungary, many girls are sold and taken to Budapest from the most disadvantaged, mainly the Eastern parts of the country. Therefore information campaign for this target group would be necessary as well.

Hungarian males are mostly familiar with the notion of trafficking. Clients interviewed all condemn trafficking and none of them have had any personal experience with victims of trafficking. They recommended various forms of awareness-raising campaigns in order to prevent and reduce the risks of trafficking in human beings.

The first experience of a client with a prostitute mostly happens when the he is between 16 and 25 years old, and it is always a 'social event', they go together with friends and colleagues. Special education programs in secondary schools could provide an effective way of preventing 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.

For police patrols and those who get in contact with prostitutes, sensitivity-raising and tolerance trainings should be provided in order to avoid ill-treatment of prostitutes in the future.

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