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**The Demand Side of Sex: Perspectives on Trafficking and Prostitution  
(The Case of Slovenia)**

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## Table of Contents

Table of Contents .....	2
I. Introduction: Towards a New Research Agenda .....	3
II. Methodology .....	4
III. Perspectives on Prostitution .....	6
Legal Framing .....	8
Prostitution Within and Beyond National Borders .....	10
Limits of a Prices Discourse .....	12
Bar and Apartment Prostitution .....	14
From Escort Prostitution to Prostitution for Drugs .....	17
IV. Trafficking in Persons: The Example of Slovenia.....	19
Legal Framing .....	23
The <i>Real Politik</i> of “Combat” .....	25
Interviewees’ Perspectives on Trafficking in Persons .....	26
V. Discussing Demand.....	29
Towards “Types” of Demand .....	29
About the Clients .....	30
Partnership as a Burden, Sex as an Ideal .....	34
The Benefits and Limits of Legalization and Criminalization.....	36
VI. Attitudes of Males on Trafficking and Prostitution.....	40
VII. Conclusions: Future Challenges and Recommendations .....	50
References .....	54

## **I. Introduction: Towards a New Research Agenda**

Research findings presented here aim at debating demand side of sex, relating it to issues of trafficking in persons and prostitution. A vast majority of existing literature discusses trafficking in the context of abusing mostly women and children for purposes of forced sex. While it is of great importance to explore trafficking by problematizing dimensions of criminality and violence, usually this literature tends to neglect broader perspectives, those that recognize trafficking not only as a process of abusing the victims, but that consider multiple dimensions of the phenomenon related, among others, to migration and border crossings, legal frameworks, displacements and mobility of people, gender relations, and last but not least to the demand from particular sectors of economy for certain types of labor. Until recently, the supply side of trafficking and the conditions in the “countries of origin” have received substantial attention of researchers, NGOs and policy makers, leaving the demand side largely unthematized.

Recent research on trafficking and prostitution (Kempadoo et al., eds., 2005; Agustín, 2005, 2006; Doezema, 2000) begun to bridge the gap, to problematize some positions and policies on trafficking, such as defining the phenomenon too narrowly as a criminal business, thus targeting only the supply side. Indicating that indeed many people are coerced and violated in the global sex trade, these research attempts highlight that trafficking, as well as the practicing of anti-trafficking campaigns, should to a bigger extend depart from prioritizing punishment and migration control, to include larger concerns of social justice. Along similar lines also some trends in policy-making and in the process of adopting of legal provisions can be observed that increasingly stress the importance to debate and organize these issues within the human rights framework. These attempts include also arguments for repositioning prostitution. They for example emphasize trafficking and prostitution should also be debated simultaneously, to avoid a too clear cut distinction between the phenomena. It is argued that strong demarcation of so-called voluntary, i.e. “free” prostitution from involuntary prostitution, i.e. “trafficking” reproduces a too clear division between the phenomena (Sanghera, 2005; Hrženjak 2005b; Pajnik 2005). Among the explored arguments are that there may be involuntary elements also in the so-called voluntary prostitution or free prostitution, such as lack of opportunities, life-constraints, social-economic position. And, on the other hand, although many women indeed become victims of trafficking their decisions, for example to leave the country to work abroad, should not be dismissed, as it is often the case in public debates as deception, naivety or coercion.

It has been argued that both prostitution and trafficking should also be addressed as the trade and demand of labour, which should be analyzed from the lives, agency of women and men who are involved in a variety of activities in a transnational world. In addition, acknowledgement is emphasized that trafficking must also be explored in relation to the processes of gendered labor patterns arising under conditions of globalization. The feminization of low skilled and low paid work expects women to perform low paid and unskilled services both in the national and larger international markets. Such developments have brought shifts in regional and international migration flows, whereby the same processes that have contributed to the feminization of the labor force have

simultaneously stimulated women's ability and desire to migrate. As a result, the transnational labor flow has become a gendered pattern of global movement (Segrave and Milivojevic, 2005: 13), where indeed many women are coerced in the global sex trade, while their situations in many ways also resemble to those where many women seek livelihood in a gendered and racialized world order.

This research offers insight to trafficking and prostitution in relation to one of their aspects, i.e. the demand for sexual services that is both related to sex entertainment industry, the level of policy making, and to more intimate sexual arrangements. The core of the research is the analysis of the interviews conducted in Slovenia in May–August 2006 among users of sexual services, women working in prostitution, club owners and pimps and several experts, from state officials, representatives of NGOs to engaged individuals. First an overview of both prostitution and trafficking in Slovenia is presented which includes information on the existing research that deals with the phenomena in the country, information on legislative provisions are included, followed by the analysis of data from the semi-structured interviews. A discussion is put forward on the different understandings of the demand side of sex, which is followed by data analysis that are specifically oriented to debate the demand side – based on the information obtained from the interviews. Empirical findings debating results of the interviews are followed by survey analysis that was carried out to explore the attitudes of males in Slovenia on different perspectives on trafficking and prostitution.

## **II. Methodology**

The methodological frame of this study supports its main goals to organize and carry out research on the demand side of trafficking and prostitution. Both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis were used. To present an overview of the situation in the field of prostitution and trafficking in persons in Slovenia this study discusses the existing literature, research and legislation in the fields of prostitution and trafficking, and provides a comprehensive analysis of data that were gathered by the interviews and the survey.

Individual, face-to-face interviews and, in some cases, telephone interviews were carried out in the period between May and August 2006.<sup>1</sup> Four questionnaires were used for four different groups of interviewees:

- a. interviews with key officials, and professionals dealing with prostitution and trafficking in persons (6)

Interviews with state officials and other relevant interlocutors who are involved in the counter trafficking area and engaged in dealing with issues of prostitution in Slovenia were conducted in the period from May to June 2006. The interviews were made with the National Coordinator for Fight Against Trafficking in Human Beings in Slovenia, representative of the Institute for Public Health who also runs a NGO that aims at

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<sup>1</sup> Hereby we sincerely express our gratitude to Iztok Šori, for his indispensable engagement in the field work activities.

awareness raising, counseling and providing help to persons who use drugs, representative of the Ministry of Interior, Criminal Investigation Police, journalist of Slovene National Radio whose professional and personal interests are in prostitution, trafficking in persons and gender equality, and representatives of two NGOs, the Ključ Society – Centre for Fight Against Trafficking in Human Beings which deals specifically with victims of trafficking, and Slovene Philanthropy which has experiences in work with refugees and asylum seekers.

b. interviews with women who work in prostitution (5)

Field work experiences show it was notoriously difficult to get in touch with women who work in prostitution and would be willing to meet for the interview. Various methods aimed at establishing contacts were used: The announcement of an advertisement in *Salomonov oglasnik*, the main Slovene advertiser magazine, was used as one of them. The advertisement gave short, general information on the study, and asked persons who work in prostitution to call to meet for the interview. The advertisement was published in the section advertised as “private contacts,” sub-sections “she-he” and “he-she”; it was announced seven times, every Thursday from May, 18 to June, 30, 2006. Responses were rare and the research proceeded with the interviewers calling the advertised numbers from different magazines (*Salomonov oglasnik*, *Vroči weekend*) to explain the research design and invite for the interview. Still, many declined to meet for the interview, and frequently expressed anonymity as a reason; they expressed fear of being recognized in the public or seen by an acquaintance when giving the interview. In addition, web pages and e-forums, which deal with prostitution in Slovenia, and also in the whole territory of the former Yugoslavia were also used as contact sources.

c. interviews with clients (6)

The snowball method appeared as a successful tool when establishing contacts with clients. Besides, we approached them via the advertisement published in *Salomonov oglasnik*. Another approach that was used are web-pages and e-forums, among them some are designed especially for male clients.

d. interviews with middlepersons (2)

There are around 70 night bars and clubs in Slovenia where striptease and also sexual service are available for purchase. But irrespective of this, it takes a lot of time, resources and confidence to establish contacts in the clubs, and directly with the owner. The frame of this project was too narrow to enable a more extensive access to these informants, also due to the fact that for example pimping is a criminal offence in Slovenia. We managed to get in touch and arrange for the interview with one club owner via personal acquaintanceship. Another interviewee is a middleperson who arranges for apartment prostitution and we came across him when trying to get in touch with women who work in prostitution.

e. interview with an e-forum administrator (1)

Screening communication on prostitution via the internet was one part of our field work activities during which we managed to interview one administrator of an e-forum. It appears that e-forums present an extensive base of information about prostitution. There

are several of those in Slovenia and the majority work according to the principle of other well known international forums like *World sex guide* and the like. Various data and information is found there, like descriptions made by clients about their personal experiences with prostitutes, locations where sexual services are available, telephone numbers and other contacts of prostitutes, exchanging of negative experiences, photographs, short video shots, comments about current topics like condemnation of pimps and the like.

In addition to twenty in-depth interviews (the majority lasted from one hour and an hour and a half up to two hours, while the time span in general was between one to four hours for the interview) the research design included a survey that was applied with the aim to obtain information on attitudes of males on trafficking and prostitution. Telephone interviewing was carried out in the period from 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> of April 2006, and was based on the systematic simple random sample that included 306 male respondents aged 18 to 65.

Since one of the main focuses of the study was to gather data on the demand side of sex, and since the existing research reports that users of sexual services are predominately male, the present research design focuses on measuring attitudes of male individuals. This theme focus, however, does not mean there are no female users of sexual services; at the same time the study as a whole does not want to suggest attitudes of females are not important to be considered. Due to a limited content focus of the research that goes together with the limited time frame and resources, attitudes of female respondents as well as, for example, interviews with female users of prostitution were not part of the research objectives and will hopefully be studied by some future research initiative. Although it is largely presumed and supported by existing research as well that females are mostly those who offer sexual services and are consequently also more exposed to abuse in trafficking, while males are those who consume sexual services and are more frequently than females involved as actors of exploitation, there is a gap in knowledge on female consumers of sex, and also female exploiters of prostitutes. Besides, gay, lesbian, transsexual and bisexual prostitution is largely neglected by research also due to even a more difficult data access. Similarly, as reported by one of our key informants interviewee, prostitution related to drug use and also prostitution in jails have not yet received much research attention. Trafficking and prostitution in the example of asylum homes and centres for foreigners are neglected by research as well. Data presented in continuation should therefore not be generalized, but read in the context of this specific research that aims at opening up perspectives on trafficking and prostitution, those placing the phenomena in a larger social context, as well as exploring more individualized experiences, i.e. with a focus on the demand side of sex.

### **III. Perspectives on Prostitution**

The development of prostitution in Slovenia, in the Yugoslav context after the World War II was uneven, following the development of political and economic recovery and the transformation of social attitudes towards sexuality in general. Research findings show

prostitution was mostly understood as the “sale of the body and love-making arts for purposes of acquiring material profit” (Nikolić-Ristanović, 1993). Moreover it remained a negatively valued phenomenon shaped by public, economic, political, social and cultural relationships (Marković, 1965). The repugnance of prostitution has been constantly stressed over time in the way that it has become largely embedded in people’s attitudes as a negative phenomenon. Tolerance was shown toward a variety of forms of commercialized sexuality that appealed primarily to men, such as films, magazines, advertisements, whereas prostitution, “a female activity,” was treated with a general attitude of moralistic labeling. Several works were published debating prostitution in a Yugoslav context, in the 60s and 80s. Marković (1965) provided in his work the results of an empirical research on prostitution in Croatia; by far the most ambitious work on prostitution is the work of Radulović (1986) where the author gives a comprehensive overview of prostitution in Yugoslavia, with its definitions and theories on prostitution, as well as describing the history of the phenomenon, its social organization and norms joined with the empirical material and a legal overview. Another is the promising work by Špadijer-Džinić (1983) who takes up the problems of defining and explaining prostitution and focuses particularly on the social statuses of women, types of prostitution and debates social responses in the context of prevention and rehabilitation.

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

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

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

- After the independence prostitution was on the rise; an increase of night bars occurred, employing artistic dancers among whom some (but not all, as it was stressed by our

interviewees) also work in prostitution; similarly, there was an increase in the number of erotic massage salons.

- Prostitution is mainly understood as a female heterosexual prostitution. In contrast, male prostitution is more individualized, temporary and hidden above all, and it is assumed that the majority is homosexual prostitution although, again, not exclusively.

- There is no street prostitution in Slovenia. The most widespread form of prostitution is the so-called “mobile prostitution”, and it is reported that it mostly engages women – many are students – from Slovenia. Other forms include hotel and bar prostitution, where, also women from abroad, from Ukraine, Russia, Bulgaria, Romania and former Yugoslavia work. Again, the dividing lines are not clear and according to NGO reports there are many women from abroad who also work in the so-called “apartment prostitution”.

- Little is known about clients. While some official data exist on prostitution, the police keeps records on bars and night clubs and monitors working conditions in there, but they are not concerned with the clients.

- Owners of night bars, hotels and massage salons often operate as middlepersons and procurers who attract women to work in the sex business.

## Legal Framing

In Yugoslav period elements of prostitution were addressed in The Public Order and Peace Act from 1974<sup>2</sup>. Because the legal autonomy was divided among federal units, prostitution was regulated by eight different laws. None of these however, offered a clearly stated definition of prostitution and only explained that those who “expose themselves to prostitution” shall be punished. Although prostitution itself was not a criminal act, according to the Criminal Code,<sup>3</sup> certain acts connected to it were: intermediating in the practice of prostitution (i.e. recruiting, leading to and encouraging white slavery, procuring and pandering). These crimes were considered to be more serious when they involved minors, force, treat or deceit.

After the independence of Slovenia there was no comprehensive law on prostitution. The Act on Criminal Offences Against Public Order and Peace from 1974<sup>4</sup> that treated prostitution as an offence, was still in force. In 1996 the first attempt was (unsuccessfully) made to prepare a law which would introduce decriminalization of prostitution. The suggestions were not discussed in the parliament with an official explanation that circumstances in the country did not allow the implementation of the proposed changes. According to public opinion survey carried out in that year, more than half (59 percent) of the respondents were against the proposed changes. In 2000, the issue of prostitution was raised again, when a suggestion for the establishment of a governmental working group involving experts from different fields to design a new law on prostitution was proposed to the government. The group, which included representatives from different ministries, was established a few months later, but in

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<sup>2</sup> Zakon o prekrških zoper javni red in mir; Official Gazzete RS 16/74.

<sup>3</sup> Criminal Code of Yugoslavia; Official gazzete of Yugoslavia 44/76.

<sup>4</sup> Zakon o prekrških zoper javni red in mir; Official Gazzete 110/03.

practice the group did not begin to work. Almost two years later a group of parliamentarians submitted a new bill of changes to the Law on Public Order and Peace with the intention to decriminalize prostitution. Proposers saw prostitution as an economic activity, women and men working in prostitution were seen as businesswomen or businessmen, and here the climate was against treating prostitution as an offence. Models adopted in Germany and the Netherlands were often quoted.

In 2003 prostitution was decriminalized with the Act Amending the Act on Offences Against Public Order and Peace,<sup>5</sup> with the support of all parliamentary parties. Prostitution as such does not represent an offence anymore, but offering prostitution in public places with inappropriate behavior was still – until recently – treated as an offence. The explanation for such an amendment appeared as paradoxical: it stated that decriminalization of prostitution in Slovenia brings rights to persons to choose to prostitute themselves. At the same time the explanation to the amendment said that offering sexual services for money is not an offence, but offering them by showing of, imposing or harassing people in inappropriate ways is.

At the end of 2005 the parliament discussed the new Proposal for the Protection of Public Order and Peace Act<sup>6</sup> which contradicts decriminalization of prostitution. The proposers of the new act successfully inserted a new article 11, which foresees offering or imposing sexual services in public places with the fine from SIT 50.000 up to SIT 100.000.<sup>7</sup> The argument was that they want to limit street prostitution (which hardly exists in Slovenia). A new Protection of Public Order and Peace Act has recently<sup>8</sup> been adopted, and the proposed article 11 was abolished.

The Criminal Code of the Republic of Slovenia<sup>9</sup> also deals with elements of prostitution. The punishment is foreseen in the article 185 – “abuse through prostitution” in the case if a person is in any way involved in the process of another person becoming a prostitute against their will or by fraud. Such an abuse is fined by imprisonment for the period from three months to five years. Furthermore, if a person, who is being forced to prostitution, is a minor, the punishment is higher. In the section concerning crimes against civil population a decree is stated defining that anyone who violates international legislation in the war period by cooperating in and forcing to prostitution, will be punished with imprisonment for at least ten years or for the period of thirty years (Article 374).

Public debates on prostitution, especially in 2003, when it was decriminalized, had different connotations. Political debates and consequently media reports were approaching prostitution in a bipolar way: on one hand prostitution was reduced to an economic activity, to business that brings earning, and on the other, to controversial behaviour, which threatens public morality. Women involved in prostitution were consequently presented as either professional, “mobile phone business women who know

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<sup>5</sup> Zakon o spremembah zakona o javnem redu in miru; Official Gazzete, 69/03.

<sup>6</sup> Predlog zakona o varstvu javnega reda in miru; 52nd regular session on 7 December 2005.

<sup>7</sup> 1 EUR= 239,6 SIT.

<sup>8</sup> 21 July 2006.

<sup>9</sup> Kazenski zakonik (KZ-UPB1), *Official Journal RS* 95/2004, SOP 2004-01-4208.

exactly what they want” – these images were put in contrast to representations of women coming from abroad who were described as “naïve girls from problematic countries of south-eastern Europe.” Space in the media was filled with opinions of delegates, supporters of decriminalization and its opponents and comments that more or less summarized the “bipolarity” of parliamentary debate. In rare examples of media reporting when prostitutes’ opinions were included, these were used only to support one or the other argument. Apart from being present in a few media reports, public debates did not include female or male prostitutes whose standpoints have as a result been neglected (Pajnik, 2003).

## **Prostitution Within and Beyond National Borders**

The interview analysis that represents the core of this research shows that overall the possibility to obtain sexual services for money exists nearly everywhere in the country.

*It is estimated [by police reports] that concentration is to a certain extent larger in bigger cities where probably also demand is the largest, if compared to a number of inhabitants. And demand diminishes in rural areas. But I would say that these services are accessible all over Slovenia. (E)<sup>10</sup>*

The majority of respondents confirm frequency is higher in big cities, among which the capital Ljubljana is at the top, followed by Maribor and Celje. Other cities or towns were also mentioned by different respondents, towns with spas for example Rogaška Slatina and Dobrna were mentioned, a specific bar in Dobrna was also referred to, then Slovenska Bistrica as well. It is reported by one informant that in winter times prostitution can also be arranged in skiing resorts; it was also mentioned that prostitution potentially exists in all tourist places. One client reports it was easy for him to find prostitutes in Ljubljana or Celje, but when he was on holidays in Gorenjska region he failed to find any. On the other hand several respondents refer to Gorenjska region as well, which is an indicator for an argument that prostitution can indeed be arranged all over the country.

Towns at the coast, mostly Koper, but also Piran, Izola and Portorož were frequently reported as places where prostitution, happening also in hotels, is most common. Nova Gorica near the border with Italy is also mentioned, one client reports on bungalows near the town Otočec; Novo mesto is mentioned a few times as well, a club owner mentions he himself knows about ten women in Kranj, and five in Tržič (Gorenjska region) working in prostitution for drugs. He also mentions homeless women and users of drugs who prostitute themselves in Ljubljana. One client mentions Krško and Brežice as well, saying he heard camion drivers use sexual services in these towns.

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<sup>10</sup> To report whose responses were used as illustrations, indication marks were used: E for experts, professionals who work in counter-trafficking activities, P for women who work in prostitution, M for middlepersons (a club owner and a provider of apartment prostitution), C for clients and F for an e-forum administrator.

As for clients and where they pay for sexual services, one respondent observes the majority decide for sexual services in the country, and go abroad not too frequently. Italians are mentioned in the interviews by several as those who mostly use sexual services at the coast and in Nova Gorica. Their practices are interpreted by one of the informants as a form of sex tourism. This is being practiced also by Slovene clients *“going to Thailand. This is very appealing, all these disreputable practices that are there and they afford them. There is a certain clientele here with lots of money; besides, it’s not so difficult traveling there.”* (E) Austrian males are mentioned as users of sexual services in Štajerska region, another respondent also mentions Austria and Germany as countries where Slovene clients travel for sexual services. One respondent, a woman working in prostitution, mentions clients within the country usually use services outside the region where they live: *“Men living in Štajerska go to Ljubljana, while those from Ljubljana go to Maribor. So, nothing is suspicious, the wife doesn’t know...”* (P)

Female students are frequently mentioned who work in Slovenia and also migrate, one of the respondents mentions they migrate to Croatia and also to countries in Asia; a few respondents refer to frequent migrations during summer times to Italy or Spain. Interviewees report that many migrate during summer time also within the country, the majority leaving Ljubljana, the capital, to go to work at the coast where clients mainly come from Italy. One woman reports earning during summer time at the coast are up to three times higher if compared to earnings in other places. In-country migration is confirmed also by a client, who observes that during the summer a number of women who work at the coast, increases. Besides, one informant refers to middlepersons who move women from one night club to another; they are recognized for “exchanging women” between certain towns in summer times.

Migration also happens across state borders. A club owner says women often migrate to Spain or Italy during summer time, and mentions other countries, Germany, Switzerland, Cyprus and Lebanon as countries where many women migrate on tourist visas as well. One client used sexual services in Amsterdam, another reports he knows people who go to Cuba on holidays and pay for sex there. One respondent reports using prostitution in Bulgaria; he now thinks of going to Romania, sometime this year.

*I enjoyed women in Bulgaria a lot. ... I love parties, but up to normality. I was exhausted at the end of my holiday. And I left Bulgaria for Croatia. Now I’m pushing for Romania, but I’m afraid it will end up like it did in Bulgaria. It’s wild there, where these tourist resorts are, and massive tourism.* (C)

Another respondent mentions men from Slovenia go to Russia for business, and use sexual services during their business trips, after dinner parties. Another respondent who offers sexual services confirms this and mentions the case when males from Slovenia use services in Russia where they can get them for a cheaper price. Cheap airlines were also mentioned to increase various practices of sex tourism.

*This is evident with EasyJet. One phenomenon is that men who have sexual relations with men massively go to Berlin to night clubs, Spartakus as one example, these special clubs. I know that Viennese go massively to Bratislava. ... Slovenes, young boys, students take these cheap arrangements, for example to spend New Year's Day somewhere in Eastern Europe. ... I know that some women, middle aged or let's say in their early old age travel, also for sex, to Asian countries, also to Croatia. (E)*

## **Limits of a Prices Discourse**

Informants' answers describing the prices for sexual services show similar observations are made by different respondents; several, women working in prostitution and clients among them, remark prices have hardly changed during the last years. Earnings, specifically of women and men working in prostitution are therefore not as big as they're often believed to be. One client mentions prices were similar ten years ago:

*Back then the price was SIT 10.000, and now it's the same, and it's been ten years from then. In fact the prices are lower now, and the competition is larger. (C)*

Another respondent, a woman who offers sexual services estimates the introduction of Euro will lower the prices which will result in the increase of prostitution.

*I think prices will go down. Euro will bring nothing good for us. Prices will fall, they will have to be comparable with those abroad. Can you imagine to get sex for SIT 2.500? ... Terrible. I think prices will go down, and demand will therefore increase. Everybody will be able to afford it, which means that prostitution will flourish. (P)*

Most commonly respondents explain sexual services are usually charged per hour, depending on the arrangements, but prices mostly vary from SIT 10.000 to 15.000 for half an hour, and from SIT 15, 18 to 25.000 for one hour. Requests, different from "classical sex," are reported to cost extra, usually clients pay additional SIT 5.000. Middlepersons as well as clients report the possibility to obtain cheaper services from drug users or homeless, where prices are much lower, around SIT 2.000, usually for oral sex, i.e. "sex for drugs" is mentioned by several respondents as being the cheapest. One respondent reports hearing the sum of 10 Euros in the asylum home. Other exceptions exist; one client mentions he returns to the same woman, and has a cheaper arrangement with her. Or, as another respondent who offers sexual services remarks:

*You can get it for SIT 5.000 for haf an hour. For example, I charge SIT 10.000 for 30 minutes and I always take a client only for 30 minutes. This is for clasic, for one oupouring ... I don't offer anal sex.*

A middleperson mentions there are exceptions when services aren't always payable according to time, and he describes these as follows:

*Services are usually charged according to time. Well, time is the basis. But there is a whole range of other options. It often happens that if a client spends much on this, then he can also get it for free. It depends on the arrangement. (M)*

Additionally, economic practices vary according to how prostitution is running in one specific case; sometimes women receive the money directly, especially when they work on their own, other times middlepersons are those who get the payment and share percentages. Or, most commonly, women get the money and they give away percentages. Then economic arrangements are different if one compares prostitution in private placements with bar prostitution. It is reported by the respondents that in bars clients tend to pay for drinks and sexual services together, when they usually order expensive drinks and have sex later on.

Our respondent who works in prostitution mentions prices are similar in Austria, where half an hour of sexual service is charged up to 60 Euros; she mentions it's cheaper with drug users, around 20 Euros. One client mentions prices are also similar in Germany where you pay around 50 Euros. Respondents also estimate prices are comparable across Slovenia; it is reported by a few that sexual services in Ljubljana are usually a bit higher, and lower in the Štajerska region. Weekend packages or escorting are reported to be more expensive, where prices vary between SIT 250.000 and 300.000.

Some respondents' estimates on how much money a person working in prostitution earns are limited to naming high sums of money. In these cases respondents only reflect on figures without reference to, for example, working conditions, working costs, relations with middlepersons etc. The effect of such answers is comparable to the example of media reports where figures without serious estimates are presented, connoting prostitution simply as a profitable business (Pajnik, 2003). It is mentioned by some respondents, who argue from such a perspective, that women earn SIT half a million and up to one million and a half. Another respondent reflects their earnings simply by comparing them with his own: *When I talk to them, they say they earn SIT 25.000 to SIT 30.000 per hour. And I'm working for SIT 400 per hour! It's a good business ... although a risky one as well. (C)*

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

*She was a dressmaker before she became unemployed. She earned SIT 70.000 a month, and now she earns this amount a day. Differences are this big. (M)*

On the other hand, analysis shows that respondents who don't stick to mere figures when describing the working conditions, tend to reflect the complex working and living relationships as well, that define women's and men's lives more broadly.

*The yellow press builds [their stories] on figures; they are the most attractive and then they calculate how much a woman earns a month. [...] An illusion is being made that*

*prostitution is a business without victims, this, the so-called psycho-social element [is neglected], and on the other hand it is assumed the business is without costs. Neither is true. When we talk about a prostitute and read about how she earns in two days time the same amount of money as she would earn per month in her previous work, working as a dressmaker, hairdresser, than we can talk about the following: in two days a certain amount of money goes through her hands. But how much money stays with her? Who knows. An apartment that she rents ..., and then every two to three months they usually move ... And end up paying two rents. If she manages to keep it secret to a landlord what she is doing, then she pays for rent a similar price as others do. If a landlord knows, what she sells then the rent is three times higher. And women ... they also have a system of body guards and they pay for it. If a woman works for a pimp, from 30 percent with a fair, a good pimp – they call them good pimps – up to 70 percent with a bad pimp, this goes to him. In addition, she has to pay for food, rent, apartment costs, condoms, shampoos ... In short, I came to a conclusion – and these women are probably not aware of it – that if they would calculate all these cost, they would be left at the end of the month with less money as they would have in that previous job ... (E)*

## **Bar and Apartment Prostitution**

Answers to our inquiries on forms of prostitution in Slovenia, reveal various ways in which prostitution occurs. Several respondents mention the existence of night club or “bar prostitution” that they describe as a different “type” when compared to prostitution that is organized in private apartments, the so-called apartment or “flat prostitution.” According to official estimates, there are from 50 to 70 night clubs across the country, and the number hasn’t changed much during the last years. Working conditions for women in clubs vary, many, but not all of them work there in prostitution. Some argue that “bar prostitution” mainly involves women who migrate to Slovenia from other countries, among them Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Romania, Hungary, also from the Balkans and South America. “*They come as dancers, striptease dancers, and potentially form a group of those who could, beside this primary activity [dancing], offer also sexual services, voluntary or under force.*” (E) One of our interviewees, a woman who came from Austria to work in Slovenia, similarly observes: “*I got the impression that women who work in night clubs mostly come from abroad. Once I went around with a friend and there are no Slovene women in the bars, it is frequent that they come from Russia.*” (P)

Although several respondents mention bar prostitution mostly involves women coming from abroad, this should not be generalized since patterns change. A reverse situation is also mentioned by one respondent who argues many who come from abroad also work in private placements which is a situation that is described as making women more vulnerable for exploitation.

*I think the position of foreign women is worse as it was years ago when many worked in night clubs and they were sort of on sight. Now many more are in apartments that are hard to reach. And they are advertised as voluntary prostitutes, in reality they are foreigners who are caught in apartments and really isolated. In the night clubs one is*

*isolated, but still in contact with the outside world, one has greater opportunities to get in contact; when you're in the apartment, you have no contact. (E)*

Women who migrate to Slovenia for prostitution might come upon an official invitation, some of them know in advance they are expected to offer sexual services, others are faced with their work and working conditions on the spot. One owner of a night club reports women who work for him usually invite other women they know, their friends or relatives from abroad to join them. *"When they go home for holidays, I say, try to find me a girl, and they usually know [how things are organized]."*(M) The organizer of apartment prostitution similarly mentions women are often recruited via personal links.

Prostitution which is organized in private apartments is frequently described by our respondents as another form or type of prostitution in Slovenia that, as it is mentioned, mainly involves "local women." The estimates are they usually have lower education if compared to women who migrate to Slovenia from abroad, although this observation, despite the fact that it is made by several respondents, should not be generalized. Also our sample can't confirm such an observation, since several women who work in apartment prostitution and with whom we've established contacts, have a university degree. Besides, several respondents argue that many times women are students, some have small children who need to be fed; again, many report that women work in prostitution to survive or to improve their living standard. Our informant, a middleperson who organizes prostitution in apartments confirms the majority who work for him are Slovenes, although not exclusively. Similarly, a client reports some women who work in apartments already have children, some are single mothers, but, according to his estimation, single women with no commitments are the majority.

Prostitution in apartments is estimated as being a "more hidden form of prostitution" which happens both in privately owned or rented apartments. These can be found in different locations, both in cities, in remote areas, and are of different size; it is reported that only a few, or, a different situation, many women might work in one specific apartment. A club owner mentions he knows people who have up to five, ten and even fifteen girls in one apartment. One client shares his experience of once entering a flat where eight women had worked.

An informant mentions women from fashion industry present a smaller part of those who offer sexual services.

*We know that one part of prostitution represents young students' journey to Italy, Milan, during the weekend, where they earn for bonuses, for fashion, for clothes, for accessories. (E)*

Another informant mentions women who migrate daily from the neighboring Croatia to Slovenia, the so-called "daily prostitutes," as he calls them, who come in the morning and leave in the evening. The estimate is that only a small minority among women who are self-organized are daily migrants, one, maybe two percent. One of our respondents

migrates to Slovenia from Austria, usually twice or three times a month, and works through a middleperson in the apartment.

*I come for a day or two, it depends how it works out. Twice, maybe three times a month ... and I come and the apartment is empty. I stay there, coming the first day, and leaving the next day in the evening. (P)*

Among the clients we've interviewed none uses sexual services in the night clubs. Some say drinks are too expensive there, one respondent is of opinion that clubs are "at the edge of legality" and that this is the reasons he doesn't visit them. One woman who offers sexual services observes night clubs are mostly visited by foreigners who don't know where else they could get the services, or groups of men are also among the frequent clients, who go there to see the striptease and they might also pay for sex. One client who acknowledges he tends to idealize relations he has with women who offer sexual services, remarks night clubs show more robustly what prostitution is about: "*the situation there if compared to relations in apartments where women work on their own and where the situation is more personalized, is different and prostitution is presented more ruthlessly.*" (C)

Similarly another client observes:

*Actually I don't go to night clubs. Also when ... once we went there ... and it made no point. ... There you know, that's prostitution ... Mostly I'm not attracted and I'm not even interested. When I went on rare occasions, with a friend, or male company, there were several of us, and someone said to go there. And we did, but it made no sense. You know, let's see some Russians now, and I don't know what ... (C)*

The analysis shows clients, women who work in prostitution and middlepersons tend to strongly delineate different patterns of prostitution, and it appears this is used to legitimize one's own position. Women who work in apartments for example say they wouldn't work in night clubs. Several express only forced prostitution happens there and mostly foreign women work there. However, as some of the respondents stress, not all night club prostitution is necessarily forced and apartment prostitution voluntary. Similarly, middlepersons who organize work of women in apartments see forced elements only in night club prostitution, although as an NGO representative observes, forced prostitution is becoming more frequent also in private placements. Along the same lines, clients who use sexual services in apartments, tend to object prostitution in night clubs.

One of the informants stresses the need for a kind of sensitivity in argumentation when talking both about prostitution and trafficking, and expresses a need to talk about the phenomena by giving reference to empirical examples. In this context, the informant recognizes that both trafficking and prostitution might involve exploitative moments resulting also in violence against women, this, however, can't be generalized, for example, as something that is necessarily related to the specific situation of women in the night clubs, or to women in prostitution in general.

*We can't say, for example, that night clubs are a litter of prostitution. We can't say this because no one really knows this. ... Too many times I see the identification of night clubs and all the strippers working there as a case of trafficking in persons, or prostitution or pimping. ... There are many night clubs. Whether girls in there are victims of trafficking in persons or not, is something that needs to be defined on a specific case to case basis. Whether owners or those who rent the clubs are pimps or not, it has to be established on a case to case basis. Whether they bought these women via trafficking networks has to be defined individually. One has to know that offering sexual services or eventually striptease is one of the options, and some girls in the world decide for this consciously. (E)*

### **From Escort Prostitution to Prostitution for Drugs**

Apart from bar and apartment prostitution several respondents in the interviews refer to “mobile prostitution” that they relate to mobile phone use to attract clients. Telephone numbers are advertised in newspapers and magazines, and our field work experiences show it is difficult to obtain information on the working relations of women engaged in “mobile prostitution.” It happened several times that a phone call made on a certain number for several times wasn't answered to by the same person. Sometimes it had indeed happened that women themselves communicated, while many times the case was that another person decided for her over the phone that she is not willing to meet for the interview.

Mobile prostitution not only connotes women's use of mobile phones for prostitution, it might also refer to communicative practices of persons working in prostitution and the middlepersons. However, as it is estimated by some respondents, the majority of those who are self-organized, i.e. don't work via a middleperson, practice the so-called mobile prostitution. Mobile prostitution is also a term that was adopted by the media who tend to demark the so called “mobile prostitutes,” i.e. self-confident Slovene student girls from “foreign prostitutes,” i.e. all naïve and poor (Pajnik, 2003) which is a situation that points to the need for a contextualized use of the terms.

One client mentions the “mobile phone revolution” that made access to women easier. He reports “*things exploded in Maribor at that time,*” and adds how it happens in practice “*that you see five or ten phone cards when you enter an apartment, and a shelf covered with mobile phones.*”(C) Similarly, another respondent confirms women indeed tend to have more, even up to five or six mobile phones, which is another factor that makes it difficult to estimate working conditions and relations in their work.

A few respondents refer to prostitution in massage salons; one mentions “*having information from worried clients calling us to talk about going 'to the end' at the message.*”(E) One client explains “erotic massage” was his first sexual experience with a prostitute. Then there is the so-called “escort prostitution” or prostitution for company that is also mentioned by some respondents and described as a service being mostly offered to richer clients, businessmen, and to specific firms. It might involve a weekend

service when women accompany clients, who “hire a girl, to have her at the side, having sex with her when they wish.” (E)

*In some hotels you can get telephone numbers, mobile phone numbers of ladies; they are students, as well as married women, also from high social classes, who offer escort to businessmen, people who are on official journeys or trainings, and escort includes dinner, sexual intercourse, company during the whole weekend and it's mainly not connected to payment but the persons get very prestige gifts, such as fur or expensive ring, jewellery. (E)*

One of our respondents, a woman working in prostitution, confirms the existence of escort prostitution that she relates to “private visits” that receive higher honorarium.

*I haven't worked like this yet, but I've heard from a friend that it exists and that prices start from hundred Euros up, if a woman goes to a client's room. ... It exists in Austria for sure. (P)*

Practices defining prostitution are mentioned in this context by two informants, as indeed being very hard to define. As an example, one informant defines prostitution as all activities that include sexuality being exchanged for money, things or favors. Another informant remarks:

*It is a matter of definition. Where prostitution happens, the example of a model in company with a rich man leaving on a yacht with him. Where is the borderline, this is the question here. Things are very mixed and interrelated. (E)*

Also the so-called “hotel prostitution” was mentioned by a few respondents, that is organized via meetings in hotel bars or directly through people who work at the reception in hotels. One of the informants emphasizes that hardly anything is known about the relations that define this kind of prostitution. Frequently prostitution that involves users of drugs is also mentioned, several times by different informants, clients and middlepersons among them.

*There is prostitution, which is connected to users of illegal drugs, heroin, where they prostitute themselves mainly for drugs; this is in a way socially at the lowest bottom and the cheapest one; in part we can find it between drug dealers and drug addicts, or else they prostitute themselves for money or for drugs. (E)*

An estimate is made that prostitution for drugs, performed both by women and men is very common. It is also reported that there are many men working in prostitution for drugs. Responses given by clients mostly show prejudiced attitudes towards such practices. They tend to define prostitution for drugs as “the lowest type”; besides, they relate it to poor working conditions as well as poor sexual services. Similar attitude can be observed from responses given by middlepersons whom we've interviewed.

Several respondents mention male prostitution is being much hidden, thus producing a widespread belief that it is either a minor phenomenon or even a non-existing one. Male prostitution foremost lacks research, and among the reasons why there is a gap in this area, a few respondents mention difficult access to prostitutes in general, a situation that gets even more difficult when speaking about male, also same sex oriented prostitution. An NGO activist mentions that they have met during their work many males who work in prostitution to earn for drugs. She estimates male prostitutes are indeed very busy, including those who are engaged in homosexual prostitution, while they are marginalized at the same time. The respondent stresses that no one really knows the problems, and no one deals with this phenomenon that is largely left to imagination and stereotyping.

Time frame of this research was too narrow to enable access to male prostitution. In addition, it didn't enable us to get in touch with homosexuals or bisexuals who work in prostitution. Other informants whom we interviewed similarly didn't have much experience either in research, NGO work, or consumption of male and also of same sex prostitution. The fact that same sex prostitution in general is stigmatized was confirmed by one respondent who describes homophobic reactions were the result of mentioning the subject on the internet forum.

Additionally, prostitution of minors was mentioned by one respondent, in particular prostitution involving minors with special needs. These visit one particular school with an adjusted teaching program and the respondent reports minors are sold for prostitution to Italy, and taxi drivers are mentioned as being involved in the business.

Similarly, prostitution in jails is reported by one informant, and it's an issue that is hidden to a large extend, and hardly any debates exist. Additionally, one informant, an NGO representative, mentions prostitution in the asylum home, and relates the phenomenon specifically to the case of trafficking in persons.

*Working in the asylum home on preventive program ... I found out in a few cases almost with certainty, they all involved women, Albanians, I don't know if all were Albanians, from the Balkans and also ex Soviet Union ... that it was a case of trafficking in persons. They were young, the majority were under age and with some of them there was this border-line when you don't know whether prostitution is happening voluntarily or forcibly. I knew that these were the cases of some sort of prostitution. ... There were also cases when they offered sexual services for money and were probably not involved in trafficking in persons, but they rather organized themselves. And they stayed, for example, a bit longer in the asylum home. (E)*

#### **IV. Trafficking in Persons: The Example of Slovenia**

When discussing trafficking in persons be it in a transnational perspective or, as is the case of this chapter, on an example of a particular nation-state different dimensions and meanings of trafficking are to be taken into consideration. As it was already stated in the introduction, trafficking for sexual purposes appears as one of the dimensions of the

phenomenon that in a larger perspective does not only relate to exploitation and criminalization, but tackles also issues of mobility, migration and labour. When talking about trafficking in persons in a Slovene context, the phenomenon is predominately disclosed in its application to the abusive situations of women for the purposes of sex industry. Until now, other forms of trafficking, its relation to labour conditions, the example of forced marriages, specificities of for example male, homosexual trafficking, trafficking in children, illegal adoption of children have hardly been addressed by policy making, not to mention the nearly non-existing research. Along these lines the example of Slovenia confirms what has been critically scrutinized by some recent research (Kempadoo et al., eds., 2005; Agustín, 2006), i.e. the predominant reduction of trafficking to trafficking for sex, leaving aside issues of labour, forced labour, prostitution or migration. To add to this, research on both trafficking and prostitution is hardly financed in Slovenia, besides, its appearance within the social sciences is marginalized, leaving the issue being predominately framed within the legal and criminological discourses at the administrative level.

Among the existing research the study on trafficking from, to and through Slovenia (Zavratnik Zimic et al., 2003)<sup>11</sup> brings an overview on the situation in the field of trafficking for sexual purposes in Slovenia, representing the first attempt in research to gather data, and address trafficking beyond the criminal records. The study debates the Slovene situation in a wider context specifically related to the Balkans, and provides new data on attitudes of youth towards the phenomenon, exploring their motives for potential mobility, their interests in terms of labour, knowledge on the risks etc. The study tackles Slovenia not only as a transit country, but opens up perspectives to debate the larger frameworks of migration, attempting to place the specificities of a nation-state beyond the predominant origin-destination-transit trilogy. Trafficking in Slovenia was addressed also by some contributors to the book *Women and Trafficking* (Zavratnik Zimic, ed., 2004) that gathers proceedings of an international seminar, organized by the Peace Institute, discussing a variety of interdisciplinary encounters and experiences with trafficking in women, including historical overviews, debates on the human rights approaches, scrutiny of legal frameworks and international policies in their “combat strategies.” Being under-researched the topic is more or less left to a few additional journal articles debating the legal situation in Slovenia, mainly published in the journal *Pravna praksa* (Law Practice) (Oberstar, 2003, 2004; Peršak, 2003a, b), placing trafficking within migration and gender studies (Zavratnik Zimic, Pajnik, 2005; Zavratnik Zimic, 2004), including media studies (Pajnik, 2005), and some investigative journalistic reports (Popov, 2002).

Attempts to an evaluation of the scope of trafficking in Slovenia are circumscribed also by lack of a thorough monitoring process to get access to statistical data. Speaking of trafficking for sex, not to mention trafficking for other purposes, data are notoriously difficult to obtain also owing to the difficulty of the phenomenon as it is. Until 2004 a legal gap contributed to a lack of an establishment of a data-base. As a consequence, the

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<sup>11</sup> The study entitled *Where in the Puzzle: Trafficking from, to and through Slovenia*, appeared in Slovene two years later (2005) with minor modifications as the *Kje v sestavljanji, Trgovanje z ljudmi v, iz in preko Slovenije*.

registered number of persons trafficked for sexual exploitation has been relatively low in recent years, while until the end of the 90s cases of trafficking in persons were even more rarely reported. Besides, there is gap in addressing and monitoring child trafficking, forced marriages and other forms of forced labour.

Data that exist are mostly gathered by administrative bodies, such as the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry for Justice, the Statistical Office and the Employment Service, registering numbers of “illegal” migrants, criminal offences relating to trafficking, prosecution cases, organized crime investigations, and records of visas issued and work permits. NGO Ključ Society working with trafficked women gathered data on the demographic background of assisted women, making inventories on the country of origin, age, identifying psychological, medical, but also larger social and economic needs, in addition to information on the routes and means and methods of trafficking. In 2005 efforts of the Inter-departmental Working Group for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings (IWG) were directed towards the ability to track trafficking statistics by considering the duration of procedures and the changes in circumstances of individual cases which transform through time, from an initial criminal charge, to an indictment, and a sentence. Trafficking activities are monitored predominately on the basis of data gathered by the police and the state prosecution, where information provided by NGOs is also reported to be taken into consideration. However, there is a gap in research on this matter, both to address needs for other methods of gathering data to learn more on the different dimensions of trafficking, as well as in the area of interpreting the existing data.

In terms of the mentioned available data trafficking in Slovenia is limited to trafficking in women for sexual exploitation, in which case Slovenia is reported by the state officials and the media as being mainly a transit country. Analysis of media reporting where journalists most often cite governmental officials as sources of information, shows that trafficking is depicted as “a minor problem” for Slovenia that is “with no doubt a transition country” where “numbers [of trafficked persons] are not raising a great concern.” The best example of enforcing the idea of being just a country of transition is presented by newspaper headlines such as “We are not trafficking people in Slovenia”, or “Trafficking in persons is not a big concern in Slovenia” (Pajnik, 2005).

According to IWG and NGO estimates 1,500 to 2,500 women from abroad pass Slovenia each year (IWG, 2002), where the country is reported to form a part of the so-called “Balkan route,” being used to traffic people from the Balkan region to come to Slovenia, often via Croatia. Women entering Slovenia from Eastern European countries are reported as being most often trafficked via Hungary. Besides, routes were reported to go through Slovenia to traffic people to Italy and further to Western European countries (Zavratnik Zimic et al., 2003). Although Central and Eastern European countries are often presented as transit countries (for recent claims see Corrin, 2005), Slovenia, for example, mostly for women coming from Ukraine, Romania and Moldova might also represents a country where they could imagine to live. Their residence on Slovene territory is often legal, based on visas, working and residency permits, some are in the asylum procedures. Their movement is reported to be frequently restricted to their staying in the night clubs or in private apartments under close supervision.

There is also a number of cases where trafficking originates in Slovenia, that should not be overlooked. According to NGO and IGO estimates around 100 people, mostly girls and women are trafficked from Slovenia (IWG, 2002) to be sold to Italy, Spain, the Netherlands or Germany, often when they are still minors. International sources, as well as research (IOM, 2001; CATW 1996) and NGOs, such as Humanitas from the Netherlands, KOK from Germany, also report Slovene women were trafficked during the past years. Additionally, the NGO Ključ Society observes trafficking within the country when students, mainly those who visit study programs for high-school students with special needs, are trafficked in Slovenia via taxi services.

In terms of statistical data, the number of registered cases, provided by responsible ministries are much lower than some of the estimates. In 2002, the police dealt with 21 criminal offences in the field of prostitution, and 10 criminal offences in the field of enslavement, all amounting to criminal offences of trafficking in human beings for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Information on altogether 55 persons was passed for criminal offences of prostitution and trafficking in human beings; 28 persons were treated as victims, including 15 victims of the offence of being held in slavery. The statistical data for the year 2003 are similar. In two cases criminal charges were filed against 8 persons for criminal offences of enslaving pursuant to the Criminal Code (CC) (Article 387). One criminal charge was filed for the criminal offence of pimping pursuant to Article 185 of the CC, and 13 criminal charges were filed for the criminal offence of procurement for prostitution pursuant to Article 186 of the CC. Twenty-six suspects were charged with both criminal offences (25 pursuant to Article 186 and one pursuant to Article 185). In all three criminal offences there were 28 victims of sexual abuse of which one was a minor. Eleven of these persons were in accordance with the general criteria defined as victims of trafficking in persons.

In 2004, there was a decrease in the number of detected criminal offences in the field of trafficking, compared to previous years. One criminal complaint was filed to the prejudice of five adult females (victims) for a criminal offence of enslavement under the CC (Article 387), two criminal complaints for the criminal offence of procurement for prostitution (Article 186), and one criminal complaint and two reports were filed for the criminal offence of pimping (Article 185). In addition five criminal complaints and two reports were filed related to abuse through prostitution under the newly defined Article 185 of the amended CC. Criminal complaints have been filed against 12 persons in total, 10 men and 2 women. There have been a total of 25 injured parties; 19 of these have been recognized as victims of trafficking. Out of 25 injured parties of all criminal offences, there are six Slovene citizens who figure as injured parties under abuse through prostitution with no elements of trafficking. Among aliens there are five injured parties under the Article 185 and the same five under the Article 387, who came from Ukraine and Slovakia.

It has to be mentioned that the NGO Ključ Society dealt with additional 14 persons, in respect of which elements of trafficking in human beings have been found. These included also 5 underage females. The reason for such decrease is to be attributed to the amendments to criminal legislation. Moreover, the methods of transit of victims through

Slovenia have been changed. In past years, the transit of victims of trafficking in human beings through Slovenia was organized by members of criminal groups engaged in smuggling people, and victims were found when investigating such criminal offences. The decrease in the number of detected and investigated criminal offences is also a result of concealing exploitation, which makes it more difficult for police officers and criminal investigators to gather and protect evidence.

In 2005, 7 cases were considered regarding trafficking in human beings; 3 cases for the crime of trafficking (Article 387a of CC) and 4 cases for the crime of subjection to enslavement (Article 387 of CC). Police dealt with 12 persons/offenders and 8 victims of trafficking. Due to an agreement that only statistical data, directly linked to offences related to trafficking in persons will be collected (and no longer also crimes concerning prostitution and illegal state border crossing), recent statistics show a decrease in the number of cases in comparison with previous years.

## Legal Framing

Until 2004 trafficking in human beings in Slovenia was not defined as a criminal offence; some elements of trafficking as a criminal offence were partially addressed in few article of the Criminal Code<sup>12</sup>, namely (a) criminal prosecution for enslavement (article 387), (b) pimping (article 185), (c) procurement for prostitution, i.e. pandering by force, threat or deception (article 186), and (d) provisions on illegal crossing of borders, i.e. smuggling (article 311). Additionally, traffickers could be prosecuted under the following provisions: (a) the Law on Public Order,<sup>13</sup> addressing minor offence against public order (article 10.5), (b) the Constitution,<sup>14</sup> referring to the protection of human personality and dignity (article 21), (c) enabling freedom of movement (article 32), (d) guaranteeing dignity and security of the individual (article 34), (e) addressing prohibition of forced labour (article 48.4), and (f) the Law on State Prosecutor<sup>15</sup> referring to the prosecution of organized crimes, including trafficking in women, pimping and pandering (article 10).

In April 2004 amendments to the Criminal Code, which were prepared in 2003, came into force, foreseeing a new criminal offence of trafficking in human beings. Criminal Code (article 387a) now states that a person who for the purposes of prostitution or other forms of sexual abuse, forced labour, slavery, servitude or trafficking with human organs, tissues or blood purchases, takes over, accommodates, transfers, sells, delivers or in any other way handles another person or acts as a middleperson in then course of such actions, shall be punished with a punishment of imprisonment in duration from one to ten years (Criminal Code, article 387a, 1 paragraph). If a crime in any of these forms is committed against a minor or against an adult by force, threat, deceit, kidnap or abuse of inferior or dependent position or with an intention of forced pregnancy or artificial insemination, the perpetrator shall be punished with an imprisonment in duration of three

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<sup>12</sup> Slovene Criminal Code; Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, 63/94, 70/94, 23/99, 95/04.

<sup>13</sup> Law on Public Order; Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, 16/74, 15/03.

<sup>14</sup> The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia; Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia; 33/91.

<sup>15</sup> Law on State Prosecutor; Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, 59/99.

years minimum (Criminal Code, article 387a, 2 paragraph). The same punishment shall be issued to a person who commits such crimes as a member of joint criminal enterprise established for a commission of such crimes, or if a large financial profits were obtained with such crimes (Criminal Code, article 387a, 3 paragraph). Amendments also brought changes in regulating prostitution, when pimping (article 185), presenting persons for prostitution (186) were replaced by a new provision regulating “abuse of prostitution” (article 185).

In the same period (April 2004) Slovenia ratified the UN Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime and the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Human Beings, Especially Women and Children. In this period a Bill of the Ratification of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography was prepared by the ministries, supplementing articles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, to which Slovenia succeeded through The Basic Constitutional Charter on Independence and Sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia<sup>16</sup> and the Act Notifying Succession to the UN Conventions and conventions adopted by the International Atomic Energy Agency.<sup>17</sup> The Bill provides for a higher level of protection of the rights of the child in the areas of sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, and was considered and adopted by the national assembly on 15 July, 2004.<sup>18</sup>

In 2005 Slovenia adopted the Witness Protection Act<sup>19</sup> that among others applies to the protection of witnesses as victims of trafficking in persons. The Act Amending the Criminal Procedure<sup>20</sup> Act was adopted, which states that young victims of crimes of trafficking in human beings must be designated an authorized representative for protecting their rights. Also, the Resolution on the National Programme for Equal Opportunities for Women and Men 2005-2013<sup>21</sup> was adopted at the end of 2005 that names, among the strategic goals, the systematic regulation of the prevention of trafficking in human beings and sexual exploitation for prostitution and pornography.

Currently (April 2006), amendments to the Aliens Act<sup>22</sup> are in legislative procedure that foresee an inclusion of new provisions (newly proposed article 39) which will enable a victim of human trafficking to obtain a temporary residence permission if s/he decided to cooperate in a criminal procedure as a witness of crimes of human trafficking. If s/he is granted such temporary residence s/he will have the same rights as a person who is granted permission to stay in Slovenia due to non-refoulement. S/he is also supposed to have the right to free interpreter. However, the victim does not have the right to obtain a residence permit if s/he, as it is stated, “represents a danger to public security or international relations of the Republic of Slovenian” or if her/his stay in Slovenia is suspected to be linked to terrorist or other violent activities, to illegal intelligence

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<sup>16</sup> Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, 1/91.

<sup>17</sup> Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, 35/92.

<sup>18</sup> Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, 23/04.

<sup>19</sup> Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, 113/05, 61/06.

<sup>20</sup> Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, 101/05.

<sup>21</sup> Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, 100/05.

<sup>22</sup> Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, 108/02.

activities, drug trafficking or to other crimes. Lastly, s/he will be refused a residence permit if s/he voluntarily maintains contact with a suspect or the accused of the crime of human trafficking. If the amendment is adopted in its current form, the residence will be allowed for the victim for the time period from 6 months to one year. Upon the request of the victim it can be prolonged year by year until the criminal procedure is finished. If the victim has no resources, s/he should have access to free health care in the same scope as foreigners with the permission to remain in Slovenia due to non-refoulement (i.e. urgent health care). After the conclusion of the criminal proceeding, the victim can apply for temporary residence permit if s/he fulfils the general conditions for obtaining residence permits, stipulated with Aliens Act (i.e. if s/he enrolls in education programs, obtains an employment, or marries a Slovene citizen).

Legal framing of policies on trafficking to which as this summary shows the state is devoted, should be supplemented with what is currently lacking i.e. the analysis of the processes of implementing the laws. To add to this legal frameworks are too often promoted as a too clear-cut solutions, leaving aside larger contexts within which trafficking occurs and where legal provisions might not only appear as the right solutions, but also, as part of a larger social context that contributes to trafficking, i.e. by adopting stricter legal provisions in terms of border crossing, to name an example.

### **The *Real Politik* of “Combat”**

In the mid 1990s operations of individual institutions, including bodies of prosecutions and NGOs, working in the field of “preventing and combating trafficking in persons” focused their work individually and in an uncoordinated manner. Due to the international pressure a coordinated approach started to evolve in 2001, including different appointed organizations. In November 2001, a meeting was held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, founding the IWG. Following the international pressure, the initiatives for founding the working group were laid down, leaving the state to pursue international documents, such as (a) Declaration adopted at the Ministerial Conference containing European Guidelines for Measures to Prevent and Combat Trafficking in Women for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation,<sup>23</sup> (b) Council of Europe Recommendation No. R (2000) 11 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on Action Against Trafficking in Human Beings for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation, (c) UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, with the Protocol,<sup>24</sup> on “prevention, repression and punishment of trafficking in persons, especially women and children” and (d) Anti-trafficking Declaration of SEE. The IWG formally emerged in December 2001 as a demonstration of following obligations of the state, and it gathered representatives of ministries, NGOs and IGOs,<sup>25</sup> defining their activities in the “counter-trafficking field,” aiming, as it is claimed,

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<sup>23</sup> The Hague, 24-26 April 1997.

<sup>24</sup> Signed at the session of the General Assembly of the United Nations between 11th and 16th November 2001.

<sup>25</sup> At the moment of writing (summer of 2006) the IWG includes representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of the Interior, Police, Ministry for Labour, Family and Social Affairs, Ministry of Education and Sport, Ministry of Health, Governmental Office for Equal Opportunities, Public Relation and Media Office, the NGOs Ključ Society, Slovene Philanthropy, and an

at prevention, protection and assistance to victims of trafficking and pursuing international cooperation. Along these lines, the state appears to be active in all the different bodies from the Council of Europe, the Stability Pact and the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative, the OSCE, the UN etc.

Being predominately framed as the anti-trafficking agenda both policy making and NGOs focus their work on curbing trafficking, criminalizing the criminals and protecting the victims, while larger economic and social conditions are not sufficiently addressed (Pajnik, 2005; Berman 2003). Preventive and awareness raising campaigns are indeed important, especially if we keep in mind the examples when violence and abuse confine a person to the exploitative labour conditions. In this context, for example, the NGO Ključ Society is implementing a program in primary and secondary schools on the dimensions of trafficking for sexual exploitation, organizing educational activities also on combating child abuse; they also pursue the work with the police and the judiciary to train them and discuss the variety of possible abuses.

“Protection and assistance” to victims of trafficking in Slovenia includes an establishment of the safe house in 2003.<sup>26</sup> The shelter was managed by the NGO Ključ Society, but was at the beginning of 2006, because of financial reasons, closed down. Since mid 2006 provisions and housing of trafficked women are now managed by the Slovene Caritas, which is starting with the attempts to provide psychosocial and legal help, organize health care for victims of trafficking, providing crisis accommodation in Ljubljana as well as in two other cities, Maribor and Nova Gorica, organize deportations, encourage and organize cooperation between the victims, police and prosecution and work in the protection of witnesses. Among the activities for trafficked people the NGO Ključ Society provides telephone counseling, and has also been working on the reintegration programs. There exists a joint project of some NGOs and the Ministry of the Interior introducing the mechanisms for “recognizing, assisting and protecting the victims” during the asylum procedure. Implementations of this and other similar activities would need a thorough review in terms of practical consequences. Among the critical questions the fact should be considered that the police becomes the predominant force to identify the potential victims, which in particularly sensitive personal situations might also have negative consequences in practice. Similar programs would also need to extend the thinking and working practices beyond the strategies of curbing trafficking only by “salvation operations.”

## **Interviewees' Perspectives on Trafficking in Persons**

The existing research lately tries to theorize links between prostitution and trafficking in persons, the analysis of the interviews shows, however, that frequently, with some exceptions, respondents make strong borderlines between the phenomena. Many attribute

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investigative journalist. UNHCR and IOM were members till the end of 2005. Since February 2002 the IWG is coordinated by a national coordinator appointed on the basis of an order issued by the government.

<sup>26</sup> Before this period women were residing in one of the eight safe houses entitled for victims of domestic violence.

prostitution is a free choice of women, contrary to forced prostitution and trafficking in persons which are the phenomena strongly linked to un-free work with slavery dimensions. Some experts with field work experience whom we have interviewed express a need to be precise when analyzing phenomena, not to make too clear-cut divisions that tend to omit some important forms of the phenomena. All of the respondents condemn trafficking in persons, and they contextualize it differently: some argue it is mostly an issue of human rights violation, others link it strongly to exploitation practiced by individuals or criminal networks who work as highly profitable business players, still others recognize also larger social and economic implications that frame trafficking not only as a criminal activity, but also as an issue of borders, migration, statehoods etc.

Several interviewees say trafficking in persons in Slovenia is most often, although not exclusively, related to forced prostitution that, as NGOs estimate, happens to both women and men who come to Slovenia from abroad, as well as to Slovene women who, as one respondent stresses are frequently trafficked to Italy, still others are also trafficked within the country. It is reported that there are trafficking victims among migrants who are closed in the detention center in Veliki otok near Postojna, as well as in the asylum home in Ljubljana.

While all respondents support active measurements against trafficking in persons, one respondent importantly stresses the need to discuss individual cases, since not all women who come from abroad are trafficked, and also, the respondent remarks, not all trafficking victims recognize themselves as victims who need to be saved. The respondent advocates the position of women who come from abroad varies a lot, and so does the position of Slovene women who work in prostitution. While admitting trafficking in persons, when it implies force and slavery relations, is indeed a severe violation of human rights, the interviewee argues for the need to break with stereotyping such as all foreign women are victims, or all women who work in apartments work on their own, and freely.

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

Another respondent who has experiences with her work in the asylum seekers' home reports she had contacts with persons for whom she assumed were or were to become victims of trafficking. However, she stresses, many didn't recognize themselves as victims. *"They didn't recognize themselves as victims, and I also couldn't identify them as such, although I'm almost certain they were."* (E) In addition one respondent points out the need to recognize that not only women from abroad are trafficked. Experiences show also women who work in prostitution and are Slovenes are trafficked. Besides, the situation in the country is such that not only women who work in prostitution are trafficked, but, for example, vulnerable minors were also victims of trafficking. Our

informant also notices trafficking is too often related only to cross-border activity. This is indeed a frequent practice, although persons are also trafficked within the country.

The assumption that trafficking only relates to “foreign women” was frequently adopted by the respondents, including women who work in prostitution. One interviewee remarks that according to her opinion “no foreign girl works on her free-will.” Another similarly remarks that trafficking “doesn’t happen to Slovene girls,” but only to foreigners “*who are naïve and believe that they will earn a lot of money in short time.*” (P) Another female respondent recognizes social environment as the cause of trafficking: “*Women live in unbearable conditions, they are jobless, without perspective, and they come from remote poor villages, and it’s normal that they are driven by the wish to earn money.*” (P)

A few respondents recognize wider social implications frame trafficking in persons that go beyond criminality, and include social conditions of exploitation. A client deliberates on how force can also be socially or economically conditioned, not only physically.

*I don’t know, I’ve once met a girl who says, “allow me,” and she came with the baby in her arms who was in the other room, and she said she needs to feed him. She was a young girl and if she would have other options, she wouldn’t be doing this. Here the problem is, not that they are forced, but to be able to ... you know, it’s all so full of bureaucracy ... Someone should be there to help them out. [...] But she would need financial help, an encouragement, to be able to do some qualifications, she would need help with getting a job. And who deals with this? Nobody does. It’s too demanding.* (C)

Similarly, a few respondents argue about different understandings of trafficking and forced prostitution and advocate for those meanings that go beyond definitions according to which trafficking applies to taking someone across borders by force, or forcing someone to prostitution. One respondent reflects that debates about slavery in relation to prostitution omit the theme of workers who, for example, work for five or six months without being paid. Or, to give another example:

*Still the most frequent form of trafficking in persons in Slovenia is for forced prostitution. But I think the number rises on the theme of exploitation, I mean exploitation of workers. [...] No-one deals with this, and we haven’t yet placed this. Is it a violation of laws on labor or it goes together with criminal acts? When you’re exploited by the employer, let’s say, you get employment and you are constantly harassed over something, you end up working more then it was agreed at the beginning. This is not quite trafficking in persons. But it could be. Last time I told to some policemen about the cases of trafficking, where workers are not paid for the overtime, they work like mad in a foreign country. In Macedonia for example. [...] And I think many are victims, many Slovene girls are. There are many cases, and I think we don’t know about them.* (E)

## V. Discussing Demand

### Towards “Types” of Demand

A few reports that exist on the demand side reveal that the general demand for prostitution comes in a greater part from men; which is a fact not denying the existence of female demand that would also need an explorative attention in the future. Researchers (Mansson, 2004; Anderson and O’Connell Davidson, 2002) report that one reason the demand for prostitution is highly gendered lies in the social construction of masculine identity in its relation to the desire or expectation to buy sex. This helps to explain why, for example, prostitute use is common in settings where men feel that their masculinity is “at risk” or in settings where the social premium placed on masculinity suddenly raises, e.g. periods of armed conflict. Another possible explanation advocated by research is the link between the social devaluation of women and the demand for prostitution in the sense that the more society devalues femininity, the more important it is for men to distance themselves from the feminine by asserting the masculinity.

No matter how we theorize the general demand for commercial sex, it is important to bear in mind that such analysis can not provide definite answers on the demand for trafficked labour, since demand for sex can be met by both, free as well as by trafficked persons. But as research results report, there are some categories of consumers’ demand that are more likely to be met by un-free, trafficked workers, i.e. the demand for cheap and vulnerable sex workers. A multi-country pilot study conducted in six countries in Europe and Asia<sup>27</sup> (Anderson and O’Connell Davidson, 2002: 30) shows that specific groups of prostitute users, such as sailors, truckers, tourists suggested that they are more likely to buy sex in settings where commercial sex is cheaper. This kind of demand is best presented by occurrences of the so called “sex tourism” where people from wealthier countries travel across borders in order to buy sex. For example there are well known cities in Northwest Russia serving demand to Finnish and Swedish tourists, as well as towns near Czech border serving demand to German clients (IOM, 2005). Research reports the price plays an important role for sex buyers and the level of demand may rise when sexual services are supplied at a cheaper price. It is likely that cheaper sexual services are more frequently connected to exploitative relationships between the prostitute and the owner. Such findings however must not be generalized, as the consumer demand for cheap sex can also be met by free and individual sex workers. However, demand for cheap sex can also present the demand for vulnerable sex workers, who are often stigmatized as “non-national” and are at greater risk of violence and abuse. A demand for cheap and vulnerable sex workers has been reported, but it is by no means clear that this kind of demand acts as a stimulus for trafficking. It could equally be true that supply for cheap workers stimulates demand.

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<sup>27</sup> Italy, Sweden, Denmark, India, Hong Kong and Thailand.

Apart from reporting on the demand for cheap and vulnerable sex workers the mentioned research reports also on the demand for commercial sex with demarcated “others,” presented as people coming from abroad, or being of different race or nationality. The research reports the “use” of “non national” sex workers’ services is partly dependent on the fact that women coming from abroad might be over represented in the sex market, or, as it was reported, they are more easily accessible or the cheapest available. The mentioned study explored the attitudes and practices of clients who do have particular interest in sex workers of a different nationality, race or color of skin, and showed how these define a specific constellation of attitudes towards gender, race and sexuality, that simultaneously sexualizes the “other” person and de-sexualizes the “white woman.” In this context linkages can be observed between ideologies of masculinity, racism and nationalism, within which men engage in certain forms of sexually violent and exploitative practices against the “other.” There are known examples from history, from periods of colonialism and of armed conflicts, when the sexual use of “colonized” or “enemy’s women,” either for rape or prostitution was a common practice (Corrin, 2005: 552). However there is again no reason to suppose that the demand grounded in racist or nationalist discourses automatically provokes trafficking. Examples can only show that a certain number of persons coming from abroad are subject to demand practices of which some might be abusive. It is worthwhile to stress again that not all migrant women are trafficked for sexual purposes and that not all are subjected to violent employment relations. Besides, the consumer demand for sex workers of particular nationality is not as it was discussed above the only factor making individual women vulnerable to trafficking.

Demand for commercial sex with pre-adolescents or adolescents children is another example of demand reported by research targeting those who specifically seek out very young children. Sexual exploitation is usually negotiated through adults or older children, or in pornography through the intervention of a third party. Exception of this rule is the so called “survival sex,” used by children living on the streets. Reliable data on the exploitation of pre-adolescent children are extremely hard to come by and are mainly gathered through pedophile cases in courts. Demand for sex with children is arranged via clubs, groups or networks of pedophiles that exchange images of children being sexually abused. Other exploitative ways of getting access even include adoption, fostering and institutional care; systems through which rural children are sent to live and work in urban areas are also used. Clients are reported to pick out children for a variety of reasons; youth may be sexually prized for some, putting a specific value to the idea of “sexual innocence,” the assumption is also present that adolescents can more likely acquiesce to client’s demands (Anderson and O’Connell Davidson, 2002).

### **About the Clients**

No specific data exists on the size of the population of person who use payable sexual services in Slovenia, but there are some indicators and several respondents of our interviews estimate the number is large. For example, prostitution is referred to by most of our interviewees as “a good business.” A reference was made to one prostitute who

died a couple of years ago, and when the news spread (her death was extensively reported by the media) “*an enormous number of men in Celje where she worked came to test themselves.*” (E) Among them also a client we’ve interviewed, who explains, he “*ran at the clinic*” to test him-self. Many also call the at the clinic anonymously, “*with a bad conscious,*” and they explain they had “*a suspicious encounter,*” or sometimes they say they met a “*suspicious woman.*” (E) Another indication on the basis of which one could presume many clients use sexual services, is the number of those who use one of the internet forums that records more than 3600 registered members (August 2006). Obviously the number goes only for clients who use this specific forum, which is not the only one existent, besides, not all clients use the internet; since many don’t use the computer and look for other sources, for example magazine advertisements, still others visit night clubs etc. An estimate is given by one interviewee who assumes the number of clients in the country for sure reaches 10.000.

The small sample of the respondents, clients who use sexual services we’ve interviewed show how disperse the population of users is, which is an observation implying a need for a sensitive interpretative approach, to avoid generalization. Clients we’ve interviewed are of different age, from 29 to 55 years old, some have university degree, some have finished high school, still others didn’t continue with their education after the primary school. Two of the respondents are married and have children, two are single, one is divorced with children. All are employed, with different income, some live in the city, others in the countryside. Due to time limit and difficult access this research project was not able to get access to female clients, informants also mentioned homosexual and transgender prostitution which, as it was confirmed during our field work, also happens in jails, but we weren’t able to obtain informants for the interview. Additionally, couples use prostitution as well, unfortunately, however, one couple we’ve managed to get in touch with, later declined the interview, and they did not want to expose themselves despite the reassured anonymity. To add to this, a night club owner mentions more and more women come to the club as well, either for same sex prostitution, or for example, to see striptease that is performed in clubs. And also middlepersons are among the clients.

One of the respondents who uses sexual services divides clients into two groups: singles, who are both younger and older and “*can’t get a woman,*” and married who visit prostitutes to “*upgrade their sexual life.*” One woman who offers sexual services observes very different men are among the users, some are very young, 19 years old, others might be 55 and more, while the majority, she estimates, are among 30 and 50 years old. According to her experiences, and similar to what our sample has shown, some are married, others are single, also their education differs. Still, our respondent estimates the majority are highly educated and married. Another respondent speaking of her experiences estimates most of her clients are around 40 years old, many are businessmen who earn a lot of money and are married with children and come to see her a few times a month. Similarly another respondent says:

*They are of different age, but the majority are between 35 and 40, according to my estimates. We don’t talk much about these things, but sometimes their phones ring, and wives and kids call them; or you can see that someone is on a high position [in their*

*jobs], you can assume this by the calls ... sometimes someone wants to talk, but I don't ask much. (P)*

One of our respondents with investigative practices in journalism mentions that the majority of clients who are between 40 and 50 years old nowadays are the so-called “new yuppies” *“who have the money, who sort of masturbate with themselves, and think they can buy everything, women included. Even women tell me these new businessmen are their worse clients.” (E)* Then, the interviewee mentions, there are those who are “curious,” and go once or a few times, and are not regular clients. Some, it is estimated, visit women in prostitution because they want to practice fetishism, and don't want to do it at home. Furthermore, “non-social clients” are referred to who *“don't cope with commitments and whose relationships break apart even before they become sexually engaged.” (E)* Handicapped are also among the clients and our informant mentions cases (although not in Slovenia) where prostitutes are hired for persons with a handicap, also as a part of a health treatment.

Another respondent with field work experiences mentions young boys hiring prostitutes for their parties. She mentions clients who use sexual services simply because they can afford them and perform plain consumerist practices. She furthermore mentions there are men who seek out prostitutes to help them, and it happens that friendships arise out of such relationships. There are also older men who look women for company, just to talk to them.

*One boy called us, he was 19 years old, saying they had a birthday party, and the guy who organized the party, invited the girls who were in fact prostitutes. This was the case of a group of young guys having a party. They don't mean anything bad, and don't think beyond their own nose, they only think of having sex. This means they come into the scene incidentally. Then there are men who really know what are they up to, who take this as give-receive relation; [in a sense] I pay you and therefore I want to have this or that service. Like at the cleaners. I bring the clothes and pay for them to be cleaned. And then there are two more groups that I think I can define, based on our experiences, one is the social type of a man or so to say a man à la mother Theresa, in a sense that he goes to places where he knows prostitutes are, and he wants to help. We had this [experience] a few times. And when we ask them through conversation – the case is that we then talk to them several times – if they had sexual relations, I don't know, anything ... And the truth is, it is always the case they had sexual relations with her, and then they approached her in the sense of friendship, personal offer of help... But we've also met older gentlemen who go and talk, and the truth is that through conversations they take care for their own spiritual health. Here we don't push with the questions on whether they had sex or not; it doesn't matter anyway, but they always say that they pay for this conversation. (E)*

Our respondent who works in prostitution also notifies that men often hire women for parties, although as she explains, she doesn't provide such services, but knows about their existence.

*There are birthday parties, but I don't do that. I was asked by some if I would do it for their friend, if I would come at the party ... I don't do this. My clients usually link this to their business trip. (P)*

Our field work experiences confirm clients' practices vary a lot, and they seek out women who work in prostitution from a variety of motives. One of the clients indeed expresses he calls and visits prostitutes "just to talk to them." A man of 55 years old, living alone at a farm in the countryside explains how he regularly buys *Salomonov oglasnik* and knows all the numbers, and whenever a new number appears he would call and check what it is about. He was reluctant to talk about his sexual experiences, saying he is "scared of getting a disease" and that he therefore prefers to talk to women over a phone, or visit them to establish a relation. Another respondent also talks about the existence of similar relations:

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

A club owner also observes clients are very different, some are married, some are single, some come alone, still others come as a group. Several interviewees estimate clients want to remain hidden, not to expose themselves since many "want to keep up the image of their normal family life." (M)

Time span of using sexual services also differs a lot. Some clients say they started to use sexual services many years ago, then they stopped, and now they use them again, others use them for longer periods, i.e. 10 to 20 years, those younger, around 30 to 35 years old report using sexual services for five to ten years. Some use them regularly several times a month, some say it depends on their mood, they might use them several times a year, or, as some report, the frequency also depends on the money available. One woman observes some come to her every week, and mentions there are some who become addicted at the end.

Some clients report they use services from different women, still others say they ended up visiting a few of them. Both clients and women whom we've interviewed are in general inclined towards meeting the same people. Women say that they know what to expect from regular clients, they know them in advance, about their habits, sometimes, as some say, it is also safer. One client estimates women also prefer regular customers, and they prefer not those whom they think are nice, but whom they think "aren't so nasty." One woman explains, and several clients gave similar responses, that if they are satisfied when they come for the first time, it is usual that they would return, and won't take a risk somewhere else. Some clients remark it's always "risky" with women who work in apartments, since you can't see her and sometimes, as some report, they are "disappointed." In the interviews it happened that in this context they tend to describe women they like or dislike, judging their appearance etc. Clients and middlepersons were both very direct here, adopting a kind of extreme economic argumentation expressing statements such as "their prices depend on their quality, age," or as a club owner remarks:

*“They call me papa. They are all the same to me. I don’t make differences.” (M) Some clients’ statements are similar, such as “a woman of 55, one would expect her to be real, to have lower prices but she doesn’t have them. She values herself as she would be at the peak of her beauty ...”; or “I once met a very fat one,” or “I’ve heard women are better in Romania” etc. (C2) Also a woman who offers sexual services mentions clients “want certain kinds of girls” and some don’t like “the type,” saying she is “either too small, too big, too dark, too light, with too bigger breasts, too heavy, too thin etc.” (P)*

Some argue they tend to go to the same persons, where they feel good and where they don’t have a feeling that she is in a hurry. Their attitude to sexual services, also to women who offer them again differs. The majority stress women offer sex exclusively for money, still some, mostly those who seek “more than just sex” hope to establish relations with women that go beyond merely the physical. Analysis shows that those who seek relationships with women who offer sex, express hope that contacts they have, mean something to her as well. Our field work experiences show these are mostly single men, while those who are married and have children mostly, although not exclusively, don’t talk about possibilities sex might mean something to women whom they have visited. Usually, these clients’ answers are more straightforward, such as *“it’s usually the case that she satisfies you and not the other way around” (C)*, or *“to her sex with clients only means a living.” (C)*

Several estimate wealthier clients usually seek sexual services in night clubs, where their encounter with a woman offering sexual services starts with buying expensive drinks, such as champagne for SIT 15.000 or more (although as we could verify on the spot not all drinks are so expensive). One owner of a night club reports:

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

## **Partnership as a Burden, Sex as an Ideal**

Clients name different reasons why they use payable sexual services, among them our respondents frequently find the cause outside, i.e. in their partners when they argue they “aren’t satisfied by their partner.” It is mentioned several times by the clients they use services “to upgrade their existing sexual life,” i.e. to experiment in sexuality. Novelty is mentioned by the clients as a reason why they use sexual services, a wish “to experience something new,” excitement and curiosity are also mentioned as reasons.

Our female respondents who offer sexual services confirm reasons why men seek out prostitution are similar, but they mention other reasons as well. Again, not being satisfied

with sexual life with the partner and fulfilling fantasies are frequently mentioned, although further meanings are not elaborated.

*They use sexual services because, for example, they don't get at home all they fantasize about or it is easier for them to come and pay if compared to having a relationship. But there are also those who can't make contacts with women and the needs come, and then they come. You've got it all. (P)*

Interviewees who offer sexual services mention curiosity is frequently the reason why men come, or, it often happens that their friend had tried it saying it was great and then they decide to go themselves. Having no commitment was also mentioned as a reason, and the fact that they “*get what they get, get exactly what they want and when they want it. They come, pay, get and leave. That's it.*” (P) One respondent describes her experiences saying men also come to be able to show off, or to deal with their complex, another respondent describes the clients' need for change.

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

*Many are married or in partnership or in a long-term relations and they don't have enough of sex in this relation, or they want changes, adventure, to experience something new, or they want something at the very moment, not to try to seduce someone for the whole evening, to go to a disco or so, and to invite them in, and then ... no, they want it immediately. (P)*

Indeed, a client we interviewed rationalizes his visits similarly, comparing them with all the fuss around looking for a partner that appear as a burden to him.

*If you have a date with a woman you have to take her out, you have to constantly put up with a lot of things. Here you come, do your stuff and move forward. You are free, and you can have a beer, smoke a joint, go running, anything. You don't need to go around and ask, and the question is whether you can get anything in a discotheque, and so on. And to go down at a lower level – to harass women there, all drunk; I find it nasty. I don't like to harass women. [...] And you know how women are [male was conducting the interview] here; they don't tell you things in your face. And then I'll call her twice and she will say she doesn't have the time and she will make up something when I'll call for the third time. You call me, I say, and then she doesn't. So these ways are more ... (C)*

Additionally, a club owner straightforwardly observes some clients just buy women as they buy other things, still others can't develop relations.

*Many [clients] don't have chances to afford a good looking girl, and since they don't have [the chances], they end up buying. They say, everything can be obtained for money,*

*right. Or, I don't know, someone doesn't have the time ... businessmen, they don't have the time to chase a woman, to conquer her, "flying" after her, and not knowing whether she will or not ... (M)*

Several other respondents who had contacts with women working in prostitution and/or men who use payable sex similarly report many people use sexual services since they are sexually unsatisfied, even frustrated. A few respondents mention curiosity, unsettled family relations, even psychological disturbance as a reason. Still others, as referred by one of the respondents, might be heavily dependent on sex, some might want to consume extreme sexual experiences. Adventure and taking a risk are mentioned as options that might be appealing to them, or, as one respondent puts it, the "fame that prostitutes can serve you differently." These explanations appear somewhat contrary to those observations made by clients in in-depth interviews where some romanticize sex they had with a prostitute while at the same time many don't express adventure, but rather a habit as a reason why they keep visit women who sell sex.

One client for example observes he "feels adrenalin" when he goes to see a prostitute and half an hour later, when he leaves her, he doesn't feel "anything special", and adds that "*sex is never so satisfying if compared to when there are emotions in between.*" (C) Similarly, another client argues that it's different when one has a girlfriend and he falls close to her: "*at the end this is better, if compared to this, yes, this is also true ... Because there are no feelings here, nothing goes along with it. Definitely not.*" (C)

A frequently mentioned observation, i.e. the most frequent reason why men seek out for prostitutes is that they are, apparently, "not satisfied at home" is provided also by a club owner. In the answer below we can see an example of a kind of justification why it's obvious men look out for payable sex – and here the wife is explicitly projected as the reason, where even her body is criticized and used as a justification.

*Well, I think mostly they aren't satisfied at home. Mostly. I personally did it because of this as well. One just wants something different. Now the monotony of the everyday life, and women also don't give much care on themselves, they get fat and cellulite grows, and love slowly fades away, right. The experience of being in love, let's say. And then you end up living with someone from habit, out of obligation to children, and so on, and because of the relatives. Well, there are also many who don't have time to look for a mistress or anything, and this is his chance to get something quickly. To be sexually satisfied. (M)*

## **The Benefits and Limits of Legalization and Criminalization**

Experts whom we've interviewed, NGO activists and interviewees working in the public sector, as well as clients frequently argue legal regulations should foremost consider the situation of people who work in prostitution, to enable them the highest level of protection. In this context it is suggested that laws should make it easier for those who work in prostitution, who "decide" for it, and are not forced to offer sexual services.

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

A need not to interfere when prostitution is agreed freely was recognized by one woman working in prostitution as follows:

*I think if a person agrees and wants to do this, if two agree, if it's based on mutual agreement then no-one should interfere, no authority, no police, no higher forces, since it was agreed between two persons; it was negotiated, something totally independent, responsible, and it would in fact be senseless or stupid [...] if someone would interfere ... where two persons have some business. [...] If it is forced then, and if you can go somewhere for help ... Help is needed, but not in general, when two ... [consent]. (P)*

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

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

*A certain level of social security would be reassured, if [prostitution] would be legalized, health protection would be greater. Then ... probably they [persons working in prostitution] would get a bigger immunity, a kind of it, and bigger control would exist, they would have greater options to get in touch with NGOs or other institutions. More programs would exist, they would have more rights to talk about things and by this it would be easier to prevent violence. (E)*

Several agree that decriminalization of prostitution was “a first step” in legal procedures, and, as one respondent critically argues, “we now have a situation that things are left with decriminalization, and nothing else has changed.” (E) Or, as another respondent observes, prostitution is in fact criminalized, it is permitted since decriminalization but “morally speaking it's actually criminalized.”(E)

Discrepancies between state policies, i.e. tax legislation, stricter border regimes, criminalization, and social policies, i.e. health care were mentioned and some respondents point to crossways of these policies. Those who recognize discrepancies in legislation, point to different orientations of policies of punishment on the one hand and socially oriented laws and policies on the other hand, and express a need to adopt other laws, those that would regulate health and social security of women and men who work in prostitution. This would overcome the current situation where restrictive measures

prevail and are regulated by the Law on public Order and Peace and the Criminal Code. It is also mentioned in this context by some that also legalization wouldn't necessarily solve all the problems, foremost those that apply to the protection of human rights. One respondent mentions the need to "severe punishment policies for those who exploit prostitution," actually several respondents express a need to chase those who organize trafficking in persons.

*It troubles me a lot that there is no punishment policy for those who stimulate exploitation or make advantage out of it, or who just don't do anything. It's unacceptable that you know and don't do anything. [...] I'm not talking about people who know and don't do anything, but about state organs that do know and don't do anything. (E)*

Still, several respondents also express critical views on the practice of adopting repressive measurements; one respondent for example advocates for a "more permissive regulation" that would mostly work as a protection of those who work in prostitution.

*One can't just chase prostitution or trafficking in persons with legislation and repression. Here, from my perspective, preventive steps, such as raising awareness [...], organizing self-support. As a more holistic approach some people emphasize the need to do away with social gaps, with differences between the rich and the poor. (E)*

Similarly one respondent stresses the need to discuss the phenomenon of trafficking based on a case to case specific. Not always are only criminal networks to blame, and as it was stressed, not all women see themselves as victims who need to be saved. The interviewee points to the insufficient explanatory potential of crime as the culprit for trafficking; it was added that trafficking is wrongly related only to criminal activities.

*It is wrong to link trafficking in persons solely to crime. [...] This is one part of the problem. Then, trafficking in persons is also related, it is equated with the question of prostitution which again is not true; it's not the only truth. [...] Abuses not only happen in sex industry [...] but in grey economy, in farming, mines, in begging etc. [...] It's not right to treat these phenomena as quick and dirty. They are much more complex. [...] The state is not the culprit, the system neither, but the imaginary, difficult-to-catch organized crime for which we don't know who it is and what it is ... And the crime always has the advantage. For me this is all too banal. (E)*

Information we obtained from women who work in prostitution are more ambiguous in terms of support to legalization. Anonymity is strongly emphasized both by clients and women who work in prostitution, and legalization is also mentioned as a possible (uneasy) way of exposing women and men who work in prostitution. Several clients agree prostitution should be legalized to grant greater social security to women, still many assume women wouldn't want to expose themselves, for example with a working permit. The need for anonymity was strongly expressed by one client who argues he always asks women whom he calls whether they work on their own and whether they are alone in the apartment, and adds he doesn't visit places where more women work. A

female respondent who works in prostitution stresses the importance for anonymity in the following way:

*You never know who comes to see you, it can be a client whom you incidentally know, a doctor, a neighbor. Working abroad this can't happen to me. I'd never work in the town where I live. ... I'd be too scared, because I give a lot of emphasis to anonymity, and this is the main reason why I'm doing it there. (P)*

She supports legalization and adds that no authority should interfere if two agree, while she expresses a difference from forced prostitution. Analysis shows women who work in prostitution longer seem more inclined towards legalization, whereas those who say they only do it temporary, are more ambiguous. Although, again, this should not be generalized. One respondent, for example, who offers sexual services for one and a half years, she is 25 with a child, says she supports legalization that would “*result in people accepting prostitution more easily.*” (P) She also supports stricter measures towards those who organize prostitution: “*Let them turn down the pimps, and put them to jails, let them pay for doing swinishness.*” (P) Still another says she is ignorant on the issue: “*To tell you the truth, I don't give a damn. The way it is now, is just great for me, for one who doesn't want to stay long in this business.*” (P)

Clients whom we've interviewed are also ambivalent on the question of legalization. One respondent estimates that this is a possible provision for the future that might, however, result in growth of trafficking in persons.

*If you legalize it, then it's everywhere. But, I don't know, it's all around also nowadays. Where it's legalized, there is even more of it. In Germany or in the Netherlands it's a lot of it, and there are many affairs. It also makes sense, more people are there, if compared to two millions living in Slovenia. So, I don't know, I can't say something wise here. (C)*

Similarly, another respondent says he found it “unattractive” in Amsterdam, and adds he is not sure what to do in the area of legislation. Two clients we've interviewed, on the contrary, strongly support legalization.

*I don't know why it shouldn't be legalized. If she is doing it, why not open a trade, and health protections would be reassured. Exactly, like in any other profession, this should be organized like this in every state. (C)*

*Legalization is needed! I'd legalize it quickly, put a law together that would protect female and male prostitutes against organized crime, and also against users of their services. [I'd reassure] health control, and of course suitable taxation. (C)*

A club owner we've interviewed and a respondent who organizes apartment prostitution both advocate for legalization. In opposition with responses of women who work in prostitution, a middleperson doesn't address anonymity at all. To the contrary, he supports the fact that legalization would expose prostitution.

*The advantage with legalization would be that you would have a house in such a place that there would be no problems with the neighbors, and with the school and kindergartens. And taxes would be paid. One would know exactly who is who. (M)*

*If it was legalized, police would have more control, while now it is being exploited for these police tricks, since we, put it this way or another, live in a police state. [...] If a girl would have a working permit, she would need to perform regular medical checks, once or twice a month, otherwise she just couldn't work. Simple as that, you can't do this anymore. (M)*

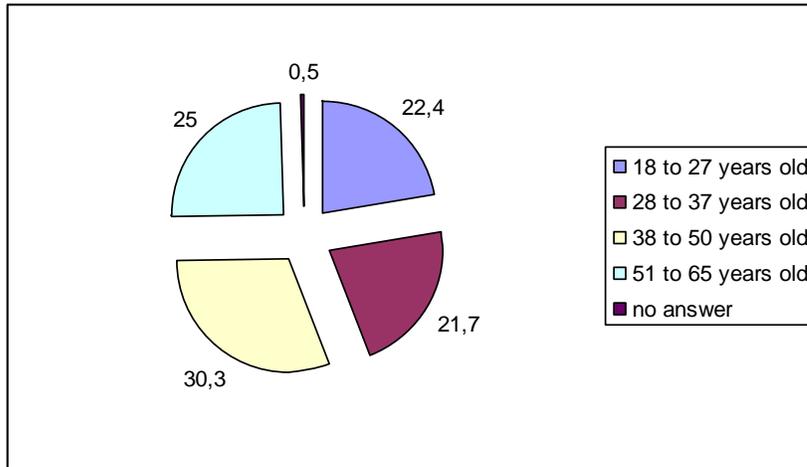
## **VI. Attitudes of Males on Trafficking and Prostitution**

To obtain information on attitudes of males on trafficking and prostitution in Slovenia a survey questionnaire was used as one part of the research. According to the initial research agenda, the measuring of attitudes was designed as part of the research in Hungary and Slovenia. Although the questionnaires were different for both countries, some research focuses, resulting in some specific questions being asked, remained the same, to be able to provide comparison.

The computer assisted telephone interviewing was carried out in the period from 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> of April 2006, and was based on the systematic simple random sample that included 306 male respondents aged 18 to 65. Results are weighted, and the sample representative as for regions where respondents live, age, and education. As for regions, 23,1 % of respondents come from the urban central region, region along the Drava river in eastern part of the country is represented by 17,1 % of respondents, whereas the western part of Slovenia, including the Goriška region and the costal line that are also among the regions reported both by the key informants, men using sexual services among them, as being the most representative in terms of offering sexual services is represented by 13,7 % of respondents. Nearly half of the respondents come from urban centers, i.e. 48,2 %; 11,2 % live in the capital Ljubljana, 6,8 % are from Maribor, the second largest city. 24 % live in urban areas of more than 7.000 inhabitants, 26,2 % live in areas where there are between 2.000 and 7.000 inhabitants, while 38,7 % of respondents live in villages of up to 500 inhabitants.

The majority of respondents, 30,3 %, are between 38 and 50 years old, the sample included 25 % of those from the last age group, i.e. between 51 and 65 years old, and 22,4 % of those who are among the youngest, between 18 and 27 years old (Figure 1). Not to imply relations between the respondents and the users of sexual services, the stated age groups were represented also in the pilot study, i.e. the users of sexual services who were interviewed belong to similar age groups that were confirmed by key informants interviewees as being relevant as well.

Figure 1: Age groups



As for education, the majority of respondents, 31 % have finished secondary school, 24,2 % have a vocational school degree. 7,2 % have completed a two year schooling as a continuation of higher education, whereas 10 % of respondents are currently enrolling this kind of a study program. Around 7 % only obtained elementary schooling, and there are another 4,5 % of those who are currently enrolled in a program to finish their primary school education. The sample therefore included 14,5 % of respondents who are currently continuing their studies. Besides, it included 21,3 % of those who continued schooling after finishing secondary education, among these 7,3 % of respondents have a university degree (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Education

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Elementary school	24	7,7	7,7	7,7
Vocational school	74	24,2	24,2	31,9
Secondary school	95	31,0	31,0	63,0
Higher education + university	65	21,3	21,3	84,3
Master	3	1,0	1,0	85,3
Doctorate	1	,3	,3	85,5
Schooling	44	14,5	14,5	100,0
Total	306	100,0	100,0	

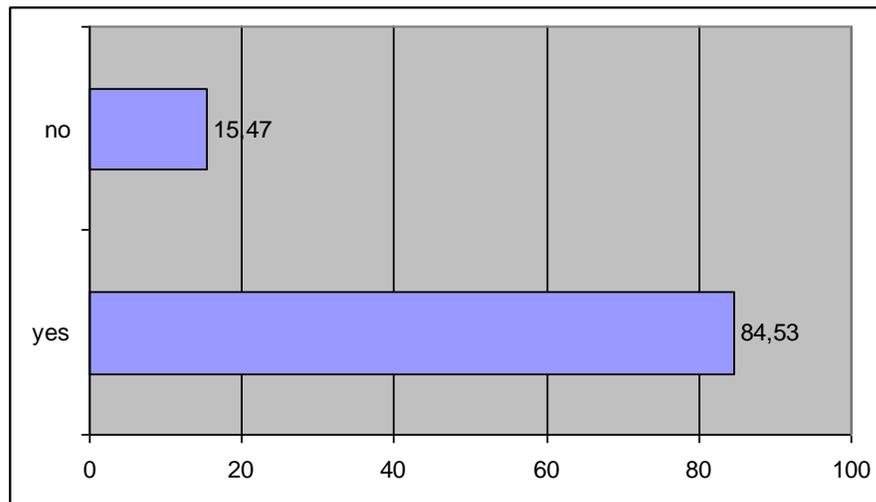
The majority of respondents, 66,7 % are employed; among them 61,9 % on a regular basis with an employer, others are receiving honorarium, they are self-employed or farmers. 12,6 % retired, 5,8 % are unemployed and 14,5 % enrolled in a study program. 0,3 % have stated they cannot work, among others because of handicap (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Working activities

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Employed	204	66,7	66,7	66,7
Unemployed	18	5,8	5,8	72,6
Retired	39	12,6	12,6	85,2
Students + schooling	44	14,5	14,5	99,7
Cannot work	1	,3	,3	100,0
Total	306	100,0	100,0	

The first question wanted to know whether respondents have heard of trafficking in persons – the majority, 84,5 % are familiar with the phenomenon (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Knowing about the phenomenon of trafficking in persons



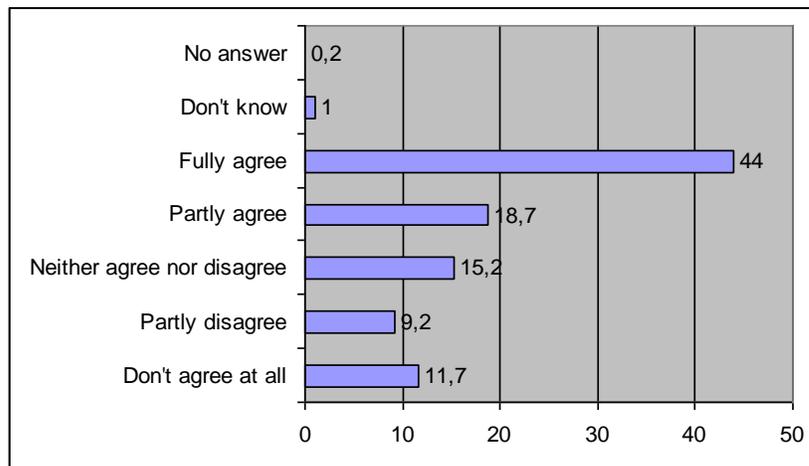
Respondents who are familiar were asked about the meanings of trafficking where they could choose more answers and specify other options different from the stated ones. Data show that the majority relate the phenomenon to selling persons, i.e. 55,3 %. Among these 7 % relate trafficking specifically to selling children, 2,5 % to selling women. Nearly one third of respondents, 30,2 % relate trafficking to forced prostitution, 18,6 % said trafficking means taking someone abroad against their will, 17,8 % stated trafficking means exploiting someone to work for extremely low salary. The large majority relate trafficking to a kind of exploitative situation, among these slavery (7,2 %), cheating someone by promising them jobs (6,3 %), earning money on someone else's account (2,9 %), trafficking in work relations (2,7 %) were also mentioned. 10,8 % relate trafficking in persons with trafficking in human organs, among associated meanings respondents recognize trafficking also as a criminal activity, smuggling of persons, selling sportsmen, drug trafficking. 2,7 % of respondents out of 259 of those who are familiar with the term trafficking in persons, answered they did not know the meaning of the term (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Meanings of the term trafficking in persons

	Col Respon se %
Valid	
Someone is sold abroad	55,3
Someone is forced to prostitution	30,2
Someone is taken abroad against their will	18,6
Someone is exploited, works for extremely low salary	17,8
Slavery	7,2
Someone is cheated with the aim of the job	6,3
Earning money on someone else's account	2,9
Trafficking in human organs	10,8
Don't know	2,7
No answer	0,4
Other	28,2
Total	180,4

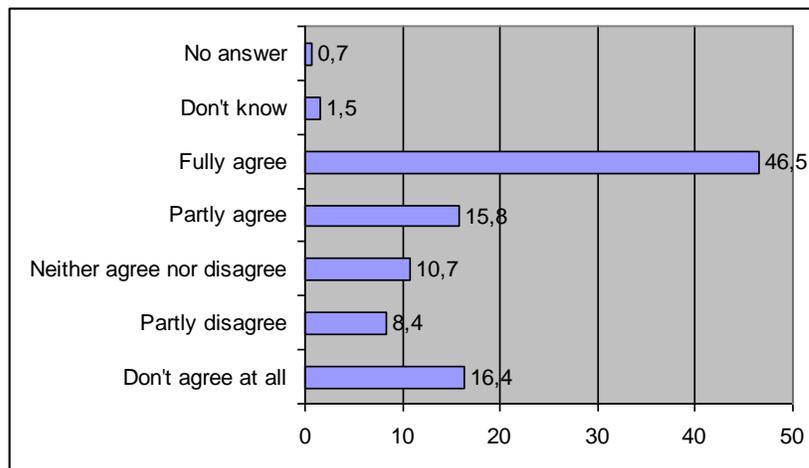
Reflecting the legal situation, the majority of respondents, 62,7 % think prostitution should be legalized in Slovenia, among these 44 % fully and 18,7 % partly agree. 20,9 % do not agree with the legalization of prostitution (Figure 6). While the majority support legalization, many respondents also express moralistic attitudes, i.e. 55,2 % of respondents believe prostitution destroys families. Additionally, data show that the percentage of those who think prostitution is degrading to a person is higher if compared to those who disagree, 36,2 % compared to 29,7 %.

Figure 6: Prostitution should be legalized in Slovenia



The need expressed by respondents to preserve the morals is confirmed also with the majority agreeing that it is right that offering sexual services in public spaces is treated as an offence (Figure 7). 62,3 % of respondents express such an agreement, among which 46,5 % fully, and 15,8 % partly agree. This indicator was used to measure opinion on the provision of the Public Order and Peace Act that despite the fact that prostitution was decriminalized in Slovenia in 2003, stipulated – in the context of preserving the social morals – that offering sexual services in public spaces is treated as an offence. The indicator was used to measure current legislation, while a couple of months after the survey was conducted (July 2006) this provision was annulled. It is interesting to note that despite the substantive support to legalization of prostitution, the majority of respondents would criminalize offering sexual services in public spaces.

Figure 7: It is right that offering sexual services in public spaces is treated as an offence



Attitudes towards the legal situation and practices of regularization of prostitution were measured also with the use of the indicators to check opinions on punishing persons working in prostitution and the clients. There are more respondents who do not agree that prostitutes should be punished if compared to the agreement that users of prostitution should be punished. 46,3 % of respondents think users of prostitution should be punished while only 22,1 % agree that prostitutes should be punished (Figures 8, 9). Restrictive legal measures in this context receive larger support of respondents when measuring attitudes on the users of sexual services. Such data could again be interpreted in the context of a noticeable moralizing on prostitution in general, and here on clients' behavior in particular. If taking into account recent theoretical attempts on prostitution and trafficking such data could be interpreted as a reproduction of a social scheme according to which prostitution is degrading both to a person and to the society at large of which to a noticeable extend users of sexual services are a cause.

Figure 8: Prostitutes should be punished

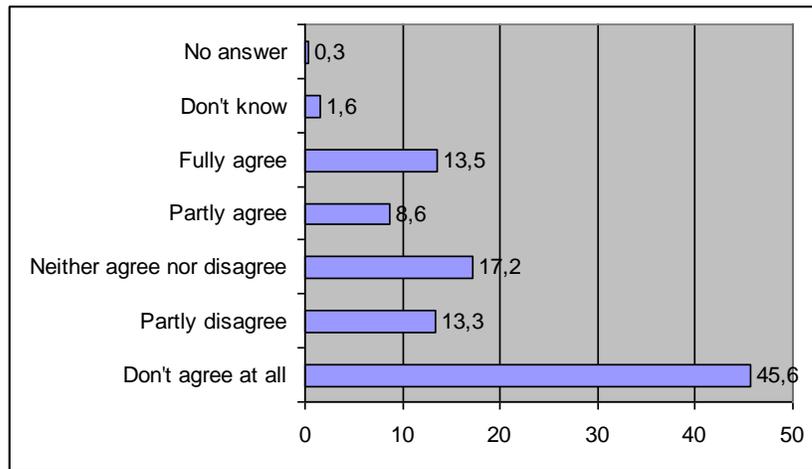
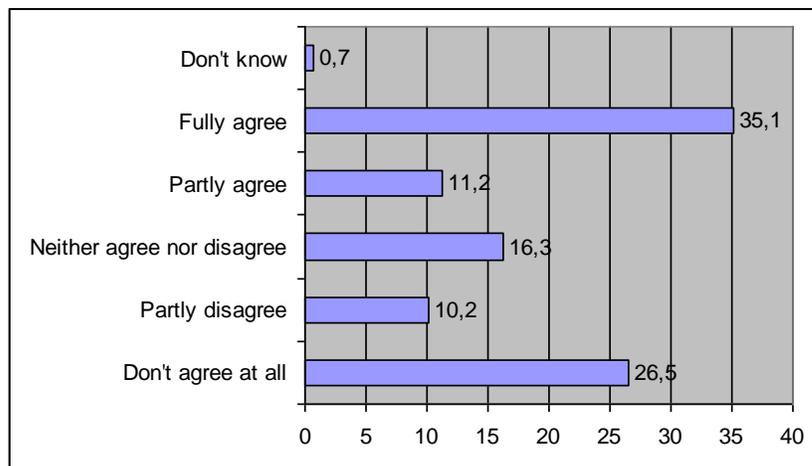


Figure 9: Users of prostitution should be punished

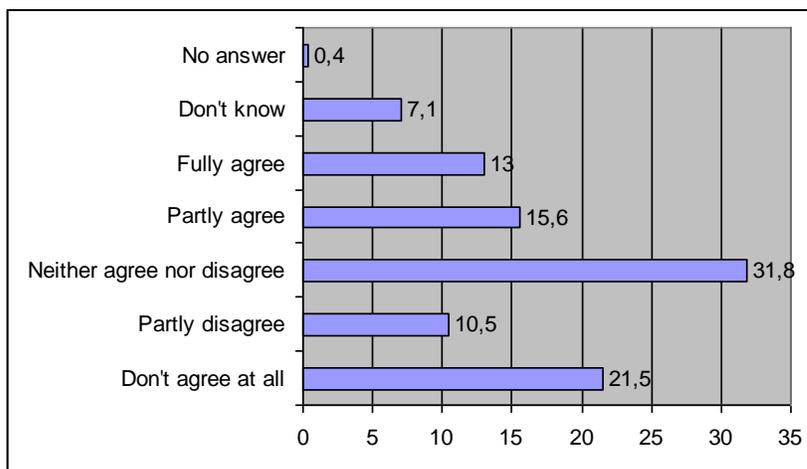


If punishing people working in prostitution is to a lesser extent expressed as a necessity by the respondents when compared to the need expressed on punishing the clients, the percentage of those agreeing prostitutes should perform mandatory medical checks is greater when compared to those who agree users of prostitution should be medically checked. 98,4 % of respondents agree (94,7 % fully, 3,7 % partly) prostitutes should perform mandatory medical checks while less, 80,6 % of respondents agree (68,8 % fully, 11,8 % partly) users of prostitution should be medically checked. It can be observed here that respondents accord a greater need of responsibility to prostitutes, although the percentage of those agreeing clients should be medically checked is also very high.

The survey also measured respondents' opinion about prostitution and trafficking in the context of sex industry, situation in the labour market and power relations. The vast majority, 87,4 % of respondents recognize trafficking in persons as a profitable business.

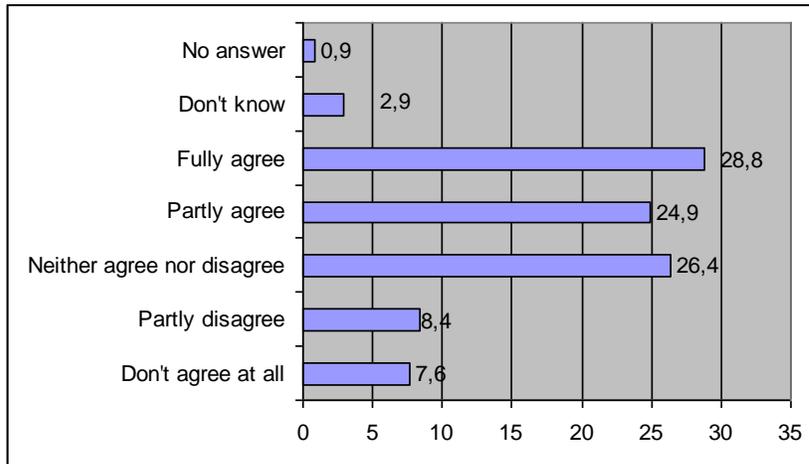
The majority of respondents, 73,3 %, also agree trafficking in persons is a result of unequal power relations. Sex industry in general can be interpreted as a factor recognized to a large extent by respondents as influencing trafficking and prostitution. Criminalization of sex industry is however not recognized by the majority as a solution improving the situation of women working in prostitution. 32 % of respondents agree criminalization of sex industry would not improve the conditions of prostitutes' work, while 28,6 % think it would (Figure 10). In this context it can be interpreted that survey results in a way confirm research findings according to which criminalization might push prostitution and trafficking even further underground, this resulting in greater vulnerability of women and men working as prostitutes for potential exploitation.

Figure 10: Criminalization of sex industry would improve conditions of prostitutes' work



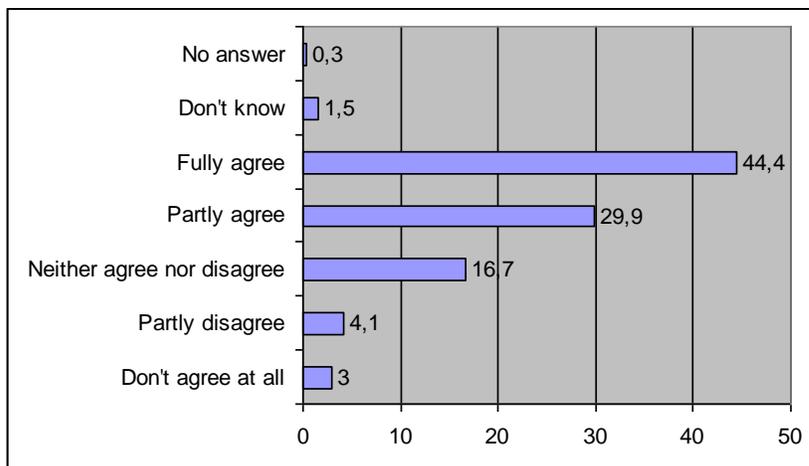
Sex industry is not the only factor recognized by respondents as having great impact on trafficking; large majority also notice social and economic position of trafficked persons as an important factor influencing their life. 70,4 % of respondents agree that improving socio-economic position of trafficking victims would have positive impact on their lives. Still the majority, however the percentage is lower here, i.e. 53,7 % of respondents recognize also a link between sex industry and the demand for sexual services in general, agreeing the flourishing sex-and-entertainment industry increases demand for sexual services (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Flourishing sex-and-entertainment industry increases demand for sexual services



As for trafficking in persons is concerned, in its relation to the demand side the majority of respondents confirm trafficking in persons for prostitution is increasing both by consumer demand and by demand of club owners and pimps. While percentages for both claims are high, the demand of club owners and pimps was recognized as increasing trafficking in persons for prostitution even to a greater extend. 82,2 % of respondents agree to such a claim while 74,3 % agree trafficking in persons for prostitution is increasing by clients' demand for sexual services (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Trafficking in persons for prostitution is driven by consumer demand for commercial sexual services



Respondents were also asked to state their opinion as for why men use payable sexual services, where they could list more reasons. 26,9 % said the reason is that they do not have other options and do not find a partner. The second largest group of answers i.e. 22,4 % said men use payable sexual services because they are unsatisfied in sexual

relations with their partner. More answers were relating the reasons to relationships with the partners, i.e. 13,2 % stated unsorted relations with their partner as a reason, being bored by their partner, being cheated and not having the time to look for a partner were also mentioned by a few. The interviews with male using sexual services show how those who were interviewed tend to romanticize the relation with a woman offering payable sex. Mentioning dissatisfaction in partner relations as the reason for buying sexual services by the survey respondents might explain the romantic ideals of men using sexual services.

Among other reasons, 14,3 % stated curiosity, 10,6 % chose don't know as the answer. Another 10 % think the reason is the realization of a fantasy, 9 % stated need as the reason for men buying sexual services. Other options mentioned by respondents in the extend from two up to five percent stated as reasons not having to commit oneself, financial situation, human nature, adventure and change, satisfaction of needs, relaxation and even psychic disorder. Among the mentioned reasons why men seek out payable sexual services respondents also stated, up to two percent for an answer, boredom, fun, wish to overpower women, proving themselves in the society, habit, loneliness, alcohol, challenge (Figure 13).

Figure 13: Reasons why men use payable sexual services

	Col Response %
Valid They don't have other options, they don't get a partner	26,9
Unsatisfied in sexual relations with the partner	22,4
Curiosity	14,3
Unsorted relations with the partner	13,2
Realization of a fantasy	10
Out of need	9
Not having to commit oneself	4,8
Financial situation	3,8
Human nature	2,8
Other	31,8
Don't know	10,6
Total	149,6

Several interviewees mention men most often find those offering sexual services in clubs and bars (although clients with whom we had interviews don't use those channels to come in contact with a prostitute), via advertisements or personal contacts. Respondents were asked how men can find prostitutes in Slovenia where they could choose more answers and specify their own observations. 57,4 % mentioned bars and clubs, 50,6 %

think newspaper advertisements are the channel to find prostitutes, 21,2 % reported the internet. Quite many, 19,1 % mentioned streets as places where women and men selling sex could be found although interviewees said there is no street prostitution in Slovenia. A noticeable percent of respondents chose a don't know answer, i.e. 11,4 %, and one could assume there are those who actually do not know about places where women and men in prostitution could be found are also among those who mentioned the actually nonexistent street prostitution. It could also be interpreted that street prostitution was mentioned because prostitution is often related to street prostitution in general, often regardless of the actual forms. Contrary to survey results, interviewees confirm there is no street prostitution in Slovenia. Brothels were also mentioned by survey respondents, 7,8 % said prostitutes could be found in these places which again was not confirmed by the interviewees who recognize clubs and bars, but not brothels as places where persons offering sexual services can be found. Other places mentioned correspond to the information obtained by the interviews: similarly to interviewees respondents mentioned hotels, tourist places, parking lots and gasoline stations, bigger cities, massage salons as places where men can find prostitutes in Slovenia (Figure 14).

Figure 14: Places were men find prostitutes in Slovenia

	Col Response %
Valid Bars, clubs	57,4
Newspaper advertisements	50,6
Internet	21,2
Streets	19,1
Personal contacts	11,1
Agencies, call centers	10,4
Other	26,4
Don't know	11,4

Data show the majority of respondents do not know men who have bought sexual services during the last year. Among those who do know these men 14,5 % said this has happened in a bar or a club, 7,2 % reported men have bought sexual services via newspaper advertisement, the internet or the agency, and 6,9 % said this had happened via personal contacts. Among respondents knowing men who have bought sexual services through the mentioned channels the majority reports knowing from one to five men who have purchased sexual services. Out of 14,5 % of those knowing men purchasing sex in clubs 13 % reported they know from one to five men, 6,1 % out of 7,2 % of those saying they know men who used sexual services via advertisements know up to five men who have done so. Similarly, just a few respondents knowing men buying sexual services via personal links said they know more then five men who have done so.

## VII. Conclusions: Future Challenges and Recommendations

Studying the phenomena of prostitution and trafficking in persons and specifically exploring their relations to the demand for specific kind of labour has shown the complexity of subjects that need to be treated by taking into account their different forms and contexts of appearances. The phenomena should be discussed in diverse enough contexts and their multiple dimensions need to be taken into account, thus thematizing not only the problems of women being sexually abused and deceived by middlepersons and criminal networks, but also considering the context of gender relations, migration, border crossings, mobility and various types of labor and exploitation in the labour market. The present study aimed at opening up the space for debating the demand side of trafficking and prostitution, phenomena that were so far mostly treated from the supply side. Field work experiences show that access to women who work in prostitution and would be willing to meet for the interview is difficult, not to mention access to male, homosexual, and transgender prostitutes. There is a lack of data also on other forms of prostitution, the ones that are being practiced in jails, or of prostitution for drugs. These observations point to the need for a more **systematic research** that would monitor different aspects of the phenomena and provide new data also on their most marginalized aspects, such as male prostitution, child trafficking etc. As concerning trafficking in persons, the few research attempts have so far explored trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation, that need to be supplemented by new data on the different types of trafficking, in its relation to other labor sectors, i.e. agriculture, construction, care sector, or child begging, illegal adoption of children, forced marriages and the like. Research on both prostitution and trafficking should receive more **attention in the social sciences**, not to leave the issues to the debates solely within the context of (de)criminalization and prevention measures. Interest to support new research initiatives should also come from the state, to surpass the still frequent attitudes, according to which ideas are produced, such as “trafficking is not really a problem in Slovenia” and the like.

Present analysis points to the interrelations between trafficking and prostitution, pointing out that there can be forced elements in the so-called voluntary prostitution, and also not all women should simply be treated as victims of sexual exploitation. Research results therefore point to the need to **avoid generalizations** when discussing the phenomena, and expose the need to **contextualized interpretation**.

Survey results show that the majority of respondents are familiar with the term trafficking in human beings, interviews with clients have confirmed the widespread awareness of the meanings of the term. But when asking clients about the possibility to recognize a potential victim of trafficking among women who work in prostitution whom they visit, the majority would have difficulties. Several activities should therefore be carried out aiming at recognition and increase of knowledge on trafficking and forced prostitution, for example **awareness raising campaigns focusing on clients**. The results of the interview analysis show that frequently sexual services in Slovenia are offered in the border regions, at the cost with clients coming from Italy and Austria, therefore **preventive activities should be focused also on clients who come from abroad**. For

example, one respondent mentions potential clients from abroad should be given information directly when they cross the borders. The majority of clients are also not familiar with the organizations who offer help to victims of trafficking; **advertisements should be made available promoting the visibility of NGOs**, engaged on issues of trafficking and prostitution via, as some interviewees suggest, fliers, posters, billboards and announcements in the media.

Several respondents are critical on existing practices in the country that are formed as counter-trafficking activities, deportations among them. Instead, as some interviewees stress, **integration programs for victims of trafficking** should be made a priority. Several respondents also stress the need for the **improvement of living conditions** in countries from which women fled.

Information gathered via interviews with women in prostitution as well as with other interlocutors show that most frequent reasons why women work in prostitution is due to finances. Some want to earn additional money, while some avail this type of work because of unemployment and a need to financially support the family. For example, there are many women who have worked in factories and companies which in major part employ women (textile, shoes industry) and have stayed jobless due to closing down of companies and decay. **The state should organize efficient employment programs** for women and provide them with substantial **financial support** while searching for new employment – in order to prevent potential forced labour.

A widely accepted observations that all women who work in bars and nightclubs are foreigners who are forced to prostitution while women working in private apartments are nationals and work there on their own will, demonstrate to be generalization. The interview analysis shows also women working in apartments come from abroad, and they might be forced, or they also end up working on their own. In addition, it is reported that Slovene women can also become victims of trafficking within and beyond the national borders; cases of trafficking in minors have also been reported by the interviewees. Therefore there is an urgent need **to break with stereotyping**, such as all foreign women are victims, or all women who work in apartments work on their own, and freely. In addition more attention should be given to **trafficking within the national borders, trafficking of Slovene women, to minors**, as well as to **forced prostitution of women who come from abroad and work either in apartments or in night clubs**.

Ambivalent attitude towards legalization and also criminalization of prostitution was noticed. The majority of respondents believe that the current situation, decriminalization of prostitution in Slovenia, hardly brings favorable situation for persons who offer sexual services, and interviewees in general speak in favor of legalization of prostitution. **Legal provisions** should foremost consider the situation of people who work in prostitution, to **enable them the highest level of protection**. In this context it is suggested that laws should make it easier for those who work in prostitution, who “decide” for it, and are not forced to offer sexual services. Support of legalization of prostitution foremost opts for an organization of **health insurance and other social rights** for persons who work in prostitution. Although legalization of prostitution was mentioned as the main factor

which will change the situation in the field of prostitution and trafficking in persons, several respondents express that it is unrealistic to expect that much change will occur on the demand side. While the majority thinks women should have the possibility of medical checks, hardly anyone speaks on checks of the clients.

Some interviewees estimate regularization will in the future become stricter due to conservative policy/government and some believe stricter policy would increase illegal activities, while others argue that if Slovenia is to adopt stricter policies for women and men who offer prostitution it should do so for clients who pay for the services as well. Some advocate also for stricter control of criminal organizations and higher sentences for pimping.

Some interviewees express the need for legislative changes that refer to the **witness protection schemes**. It is argued that persons who are prepared to testify in courts need greater protection, including their family members, during the process, and integration programs should also be available for them, to avoid deportations after appearing in courts and risks to return in abusive relations. In addition, since so far only one person has been convicted for enslavement, the sentence for the traffickers should not be based mainly upon the testifying. Many of the victims are also too afraid to confront the traffickers, since they may be threatened and intimidated.

As for trafficking in persons is concerned many advocate for **preventive measures**. Several express a need to talk about the phenomenon **in schools**, to break the pattern where both trafficking and prostitution are to a large extent left to imagination, prejudice and mass media reports.

Some interviewees mention other preventive measures, such as **advertisements, films, billboards**, still others assume these measures mostly attract expert public, and have limited potential to affect those the most concerned. **Information campaigns**, also **workshops** are mentioned as needed approaches that would attract various persons and give the opportunity to learn about exploitative situations in prostitution; an idea was given by one interviewee to organize a theater play to attract attention of wider circles of people.

Or as one respondent remarks:

*I'm not for campaigns on prostitution and I'm not against them. I simply think we should discuss these issues in a reasonable way. (E)*



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