



Trafficking in Greece in 2002

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I. The study design

Our research on trafficking and forced prostitution of immigrant women in Greece in 2002 was for its most part conducted in the second semester of 2002 with the financial and moral support of the Center of Research and Action on Peace (KEDE).

The study design was based on previous experience and on the research methodology that had been presented to the academic community in 1998. 16 prostitution markets; three in Athens, one in Thessaloniki and one in each of 12 different Greek towns were selected. Owing to their ‘behavior’ and to their leading position in the recent past, these markets were judged to be representative of the general situation. Individuals who were in a position to provide accurate information on the number of prostitutes, nationalities, prices, number of ‘commercial sex encounters’ etc. were interviewed somewhere between two to five times. Questions relating to the everyday living conditions of women forced into prostitution were also discussed. A total of 54 persons were interviewed. Each of them had an overview of a market segment, which, in a rough attempt of quantification, would include anything between 10 to 150 prostitutes. What is of greater importance, however, is that the interviewees were in a position to provide a) information on the overall structure and b) details that can prove critical in terms of understanding the ways trafficking networks operate and the methods used to control women.¹ Furthermore, in order to crosscheck information obtained during the interviews, to obtain additional information and to identify changes in relation to 2000, observations were carried out on location from one to three times in five prostitution markets.²

28 clients of women forced into prostitution – or, from the clients’ point of view, of immigrant women who (in one way or another) prostituted in Greece – were also interviewed. The sample of interviewees included both married and single males. Their ages varied, as did their social positions, and they had access to different types of prostitution and different markets. Some (17) were ‘old interviewees’ (they had been interviewed in the past) and others were ‘new interviewees’ ‘

¹ On the method of interview see, *Το πρόβλημα της ποιοτικής έρευνας – Θεωρία και πράξη (The problem of qualitative research – Theory and action)*, Athens, Papazisis, 1998, pp. 293-310 and 499-520. On the critical question of the moral framework of the study (pragmatist ethics originating in the work of Maurice Punch) see pp. 211-248 and 481-98.

² In March 2003 four more interviews were carried out. The object of the interviews was to bridge certain logical gaps regarding the mobility of immigrant women forced into prostitution.

(they were interviewed for the first time). The discussion did not only involve technical issues (prices, access, frequency etc.) but also issues relating to understanding the phenomenon of trafficking in Greece, to the interviewees' perception of the immigrant woman forced into prostitution, to the reasons behind her use and manners of her use, to what pleasure consists in, etc. The researcher did not maintain a 'neutral' or 'understanding' attitude, but expressed criticism and became the recipient of retorts, counter-criticism, explaining, alternative moral approaches etc. He did not record the conversations on tape but kept notes of specific information and of wordings he found characteristic of the men's attitudes.³

The material was organized according to the methodological and technical parameters that had been developed during an earlier study of forced prostitution. The contribution of Maria Zanni, who right from the initial stages had undertaken the task of spotting discontinuities, silences, contradictions and differing temporalities in the material that kept flowing in, in the quantification of the material, which was discontinuous to a considerable degree, was valuable.

Generalization at the annual level is reported with a certain degree of reservation and is based on the following factors. First, research conducted in the past (1990-2000) had already established the general analogies between the first and the second half of a given year and these had remained unchanged from 1997 to 2000 indicating no reason for any changes at this point. Second, the study was designed in the end of June and started in the beginning of July. Therefore, we were in a position to draw on information that 'went back' into a considerable depth of time. In its vast majority, this information provided abundant details and carried a high degree of certainty at least regarding the two immediately previous months (May – June). Information about still earlier months was also quite detailed but often imperfect or insufficient. But, overall, the part of the material that carried a high degree of accuracy observed the pattern of previous years with no variation.⁴ Third, the Greek Police (ELAS) allowed us to study material connected with actions it had taken against trafficking in 2002. Furthermore, discussions with high ranking ELAS officers and policemen who are in direct, daily contact with forced prostitution proved irreplaceable for two reasons. They provided both detailed specific material and an overview of the situation. Without being the only one, the general picture of forced prostitution and trafficking from the point of view of the Greek

³ For the evaluation of information and its types see *ibid* pp. 509-14. In February and March 2003 double interviews with young clients, aged 18 to 21, were carried out with a few days distance of each other.

⁴ The increasing stabilization of the market – observed mainly after 1996 – the development of communication means and of means to disseminate rumors and information, the development of a local culture and language and of atypical social conventions in the broader context of forced prostitution all contributed to this effect. See Gr. Lazos, *Πορνεία και διεθνική σωματεμπορία στη σύγχρονη Ελλάδα - Η εκδιδόμενη (Prostitution and Trafficking in Modern Greece – the Prostitute)*, Athens: Kastaniotis, 2002, pp. 222-230.

Police (ELAS) is especially accurate, and proved consistent with and similar to the picture that emerged from the study.

II. Trafficking – a definition and a few comments

Trafficking is a complex concept often reduced to (or confused with) similar concepts, such as, for example, prostitution or illegal immigration. The Palermo definition, which was finally adopted in December 2000 in order to provide a more complete and coherent view of the phenomenon, defines trafficking as follows:

‘a) ‘Trafficking in persons’ shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, or abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purposes of sexual exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

b) the consent of the victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used.

c) the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered “trafficking in persons” even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article.

d) “Child shall mean any persons under eighteen years of age.”⁵

It is not the role of this report to proceed to a detailed appraisal of the definition with regard to its critical concepts, i.e. what it includes, it excludes, it assumes and it implies.

It is apparent in the definition that trafficking involves three main stages: recruitment, transportation from the country of origin to the country of destination and, third, exploitation.

⁵ Protocol to *Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially women and children*. The Protocol supplements the United Nations Convention against transnational organized crime (along with the *Protocol against the Smuggling of Immigrants by Land, Sea and Air*.) Greece signed the Convention and the Protocol against Trafficking on 13 December 2000.

Out of the forms of trafficking that aim at the commercial exploitation of a person, the form dominant in Greece – dominant as an interaction between reality and perceptions about reality – involves the introduction of the person into prostitution and her exploitation. The use of the term ‘sexual exploitation’ to describe this state is inadequate, since it masks the double nature of the exploitation. The woman forced into prostitution is sexually exploited by the client and economically exploited by the trafficker. ‘The trafficker does not exploit the person he forces into prostitution *sexually*. He exploits his/her sexuality *economically* – and this is an important difference. The woman forced into prostitution is turned into an object of sexual exploitation by the client. It is the client who uses the trafficked person sexually.’⁶ If for the trafficker the woman or the minor have a value in exchange, for the client they have a use value, a utility. Therefore it might be more apposite to describe the form of exploitation in question as commercial or sexual-economic exploitation.

III. The principal dimensions of forced prostitution in 2002

During the 1990s trafficking built up into a quite extensive socio-economic institution, a vast industry that expanded into the whole of Greece soliciting its clients in all social strata and categories. Right from the beginning trafficking has been an illicit activity. On the basis of earlier laws, L. 1193, 1981 and L. 2734, 1999, it quite easily came under the offences of procurement or pimping, while under the new law (3064 of 2002) it constitutes a special offence: trading in persons. This latter legal framework did not prevent the forced prostitution of immigrants from expanding, allowing it thus to become the dominant form of prostitution in Greece. Legal prostitution, as defined in L. 2734/99 has been sidelined, the legal prostitute thus falling into a state of financial and moral destitution and coming under the control of various parasites and pimps. What is more important, however, is that a significant (and perhaps growing) part of legal prostitution shows signs of mutating into forced prostitution.⁷

A. The woman forced into prostitution

⁶ Lazos, *ibid*, p. 127, footnote. 143.

⁷ We shall return to the issue later.

1. The population of women forced into prostitution

It is estimated that in 2002 there were some 17,200 prostitutes in Greece. Their main characteristics were:

- first, they were foreign nationals
- second, they had been channeled into prostitution by international trafficking networks and lacking other options they remained under the latter's control in a state of total or partial exploitation.

It has to be pointed out that it is possible for a variable number of women forced into prostitution to become illegal prostitutes viz. women who prostitute but are not under the control of trafficking networks. Regarding this delicate issue we need to briefly clarify a few things. First, a number of these women come to fall once more under the total or partial control of traffickers. Second, the disengagement of a woman from the networks does not necessarily mean that she becomes a 'free prostitute'. In this case too, she comes under the control of procurers and pimps, who are around forced prostitution and exploit the women by various methods.⁸ With the exception of a hard core consisting of women forced into prostitution who are confined, beaten etc., there are often no essential differences between women forced into prostitution by trafficking networks and women controlled by local pimping networks.

In the last four years, local procuring - pimping networks, which had disbanded in the late 1980s, have reemerged and seem to be growing, putting into good use personal ads in the printed press and mobile telephony. It is estimated that 8 to 12% of non-Greek women illegally prostituting in Greece – that is something between 1,500 and 2,000 women – shift between these two different forms of exploitation. Indeed there seems to be a tendency for the number to grow in the future. This trend is related on the one hand to the various methods these networks use to evolve and which aim at increasing their agility as well as their ability to neutralize police aggression and, on the other, to the gradual modification of the general characteristics and of the mentality of immigrant prostitutes who have been brought to Greece in the last three or four years. We shall return to both these issues later.

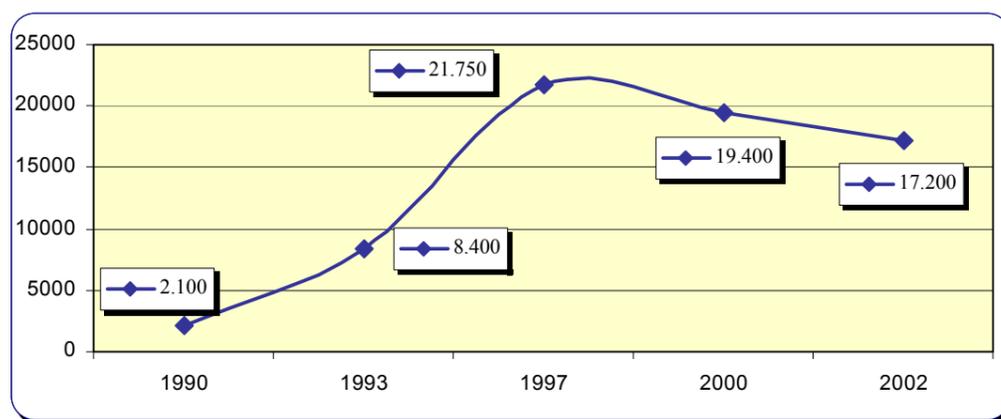
⁸ In the period 1997-2000 and not only then, the free practice of prostitution was based on a vital illusion, namely that the prostitute is in control of the situation. This illusion is made up of five other fundamental illusions, i.e. that she has complete freedom of movement, that she can select her clients, that she can select the services she offers, that she can set her price, and that her physical and psychological health is non-negotiable. See Lazos *ibid* pp. 287-91.

On the whole, if we compare the number of immigrant women forced into prostitution in 2002 to the one of 2000, we see a reduction by some 2,200 to 2,300 persons or by 11.5%. It can well be argued that this reduction is significant and also that it is the first real reduction observed in forced prostitution in Greece since the 'distant' 1980.

Diagram 1 (figures for 1990, 1993, 1997, 2000, 2002) shows that from 1990 to 1997 forced prostitution came to know a dynamic rate of growth – perhaps unique in its dynamism by comparison to all other sectors, both legal and illegal, of the Greek economy in the same period.⁹ However, starting from 1998 and during the period 1998-2000, forced prostitution showed some – the first signs – of saturation. A few fluctuating and limited reductions in the population of women forced into prostitution were detected. The researcher had attributed these reductions rather to internal reengineering traffickers had used to rationalize the management of the women.

Diagram 1.

Non-Greek women forced into prostitution, 1990, 1993, 1997, 2000 and 2002



The most important aspects of the process of reengineering proved to be, first, a more balanced geographic and in general spatial distribution of the women by the networks and second, an improvement in the manner in which women are exploited. As it is perhaps obvious, each particular group of traffickers did not concern itself with mass importing the largest possible number of women

⁹ On forced prostitution in the 1980s, see Lazos, *ibid*, pp. 109-200.

to economically and sexually exploit them. That was the trend in the mid 1990s – till about 1994, 1995 and marginally 1996 – but, being financially unsound and involving a higher risk factor, it was later abandoned.¹⁰ From the perspective of the financial rationalization of forced prostitution, of pursuing, that is, the maximum possible profit in the minimum possible time, with the minimum possible exertion and at the minimum possible risk, new models for the exploitation of an optimum number of women developed.

Since it has not been possible to obtain a relatively accurate record of developments in 2001, we cannot assess whether the 11.5% reduction occurred mainly in 2001 or in 2002. This reduction cannot be viewed as a first step towards the collapse of trafficking networks and the eradication of forced prostitution in Greece. Still, it is a sign of a *discontinuity* between the state of things in 2000 and the one in 2002. On the basis of available evidence and for the reasons presented above, this development is not the product of a further rationalization of forced prostitution. It is true that certain networks have made considerable and quite interesting improvements in their overall methods of action in all sectors. At the same time, however, a significant number of new networks have sprouted up, but the methods they use are inferior to the ones used by older networks reminding in some ways the manner in which principal trafficking networks operated in the early 1990s. We shall return to the issue later.

2. Trafficking networks: Certain organizational models

Quite often, the approach to trafficking has been informed by the debate surrounding the term ‘organized criminal group’ or ‘gang’. Such an approach allows legislative frameworks and law enforcement to focus on definable targets, i.e. on persons who can be charged for criminally defined actions. On the other hand, the perception of trafficking as the illegal transport of ‘merchandise’ that, albeit in high demand, has been defined as illegal is declining. However, this latter perception is equally necessary if we are to understand trafficking as a network of global scope that is to a certain extent independent of the actions of a specific person or group. The three models that follow attempt to maintain a balance between the two approaches.

These particular models have certain limitations: First, they are generalizations based on trafficking developments that took place in Greece during the five-year period 1998-2002. As such,

¹⁰ The larger the number of women being exploited the higher the risk of a police intervention. And as it will be shown further down, most of the successful busts made by the police, are carried out against trafficking groups that have not rationalized their activities adequately or sufficiently.

they cannot claim universal validity. A second limitation is exactly the fact that they are models, in other words attempts to condense things in a rational way, and which, however, cannot cover all the specific cases to which they refer. A third limitation is the actual choice we made not to attempt to create very general models that would comprise all trafficking networks but to focus instead on the largest and most successful trafficking networks. We judged that this reduction as to the level of generalization could yield richer results in terms of cognitive material by comparison to a more generalized model.

Some general points that may assist us in understanding the models presented below:

- a) The manner of the interconnection and the distribution of roles in the networks organized in the models show high correlation with 7 or 8 out of 10 trafficking networks that were or are active in Greece.
- b) The roles identified may refer to more than one person, e.g. the role of 'recruiter' may be played by two persons and conversely the same person may play two roles, e.g. both that of the 'recruiter' *and* of the 'lessor'.
- c) A role may refer not to one person but to a particular specialized network of persons, e.g. the role 'corrupter of public officials' may be played by a constellation of persons and mechanisms.
- d) Certain peripheral roles may remain latent during a certain phase of the whole procedure.
- e) In addition to being exploited by the client a woman channeled into prostitution may be sexually exploited by other persons as well. On her way to the client or at any point during her period of service she may fall victim to procedural or occasional sexual use; she may, for example, be raped by persons in the network.
- f) Networks operate in the context of the broader illegal market. Several among the intermediary roles necessary if the woman is to reach the client or to remain in that position serve the needs of several networks (e.g. the 'forger'). For example, violence, corruption and forgery are ways to circumvent the legal market or are in effect its substitutes.

Diagram 2.

The integrated trafficking network

The integrated network involved in trafficking for the purposes of commercial exploitation, from recruitment to the financial and sexual exploitation of women, encompasses all the principal

dimensions and roles encountered in trafficking. It is a three-node – three-phase model consisting of three organized criminal groups. In the model, each node is relatively autonomous with its own head and its own internal organization. Each phase of the procedure is carried out by a different node – criminal group.

This network model allows greater flexibility in relation to the police and makes the identification of women fit for recruitment easier. In the recent years in Greece, it has used by small or medium ‘lessors’.

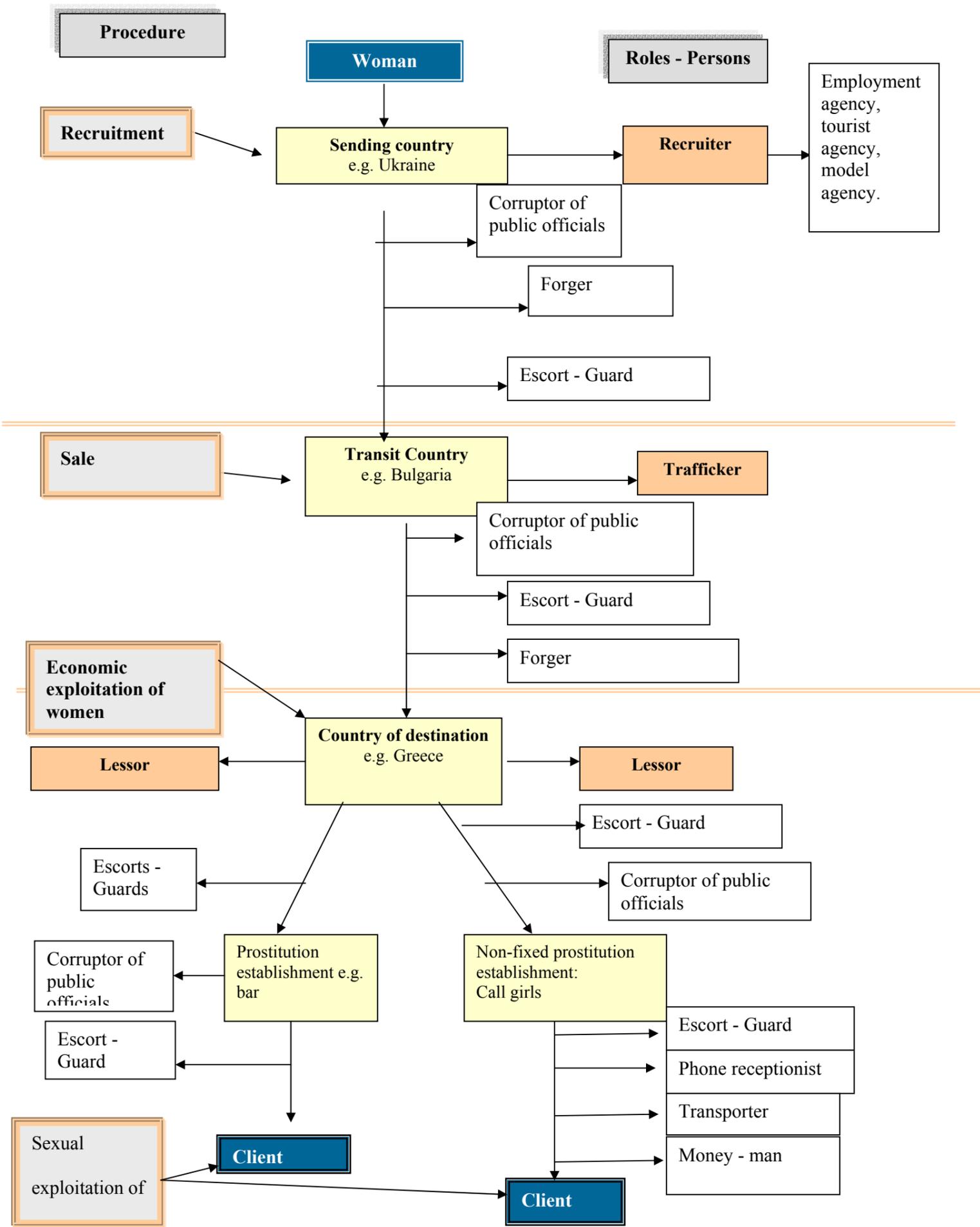


Diagram 3.**The centralized model of trafficking**

The centralized model is a single-node – three-phase model. The three phases of trafficking – recruitment, transport and renting out – are undertaken by the same criminal group in the context and with the support of the broader infrastructure provided by the network. There are one or two individuals in charge of the group (one in the country of recruitment and/or one in the country where renting out takes place). The drawback of this form of network is that often one arrest is enough to deactivate the whole network. In Greece, it is seen in both ‘seasoned’ trafficking groups and in more recent but especially powerful groups trafficking large numbers of women.

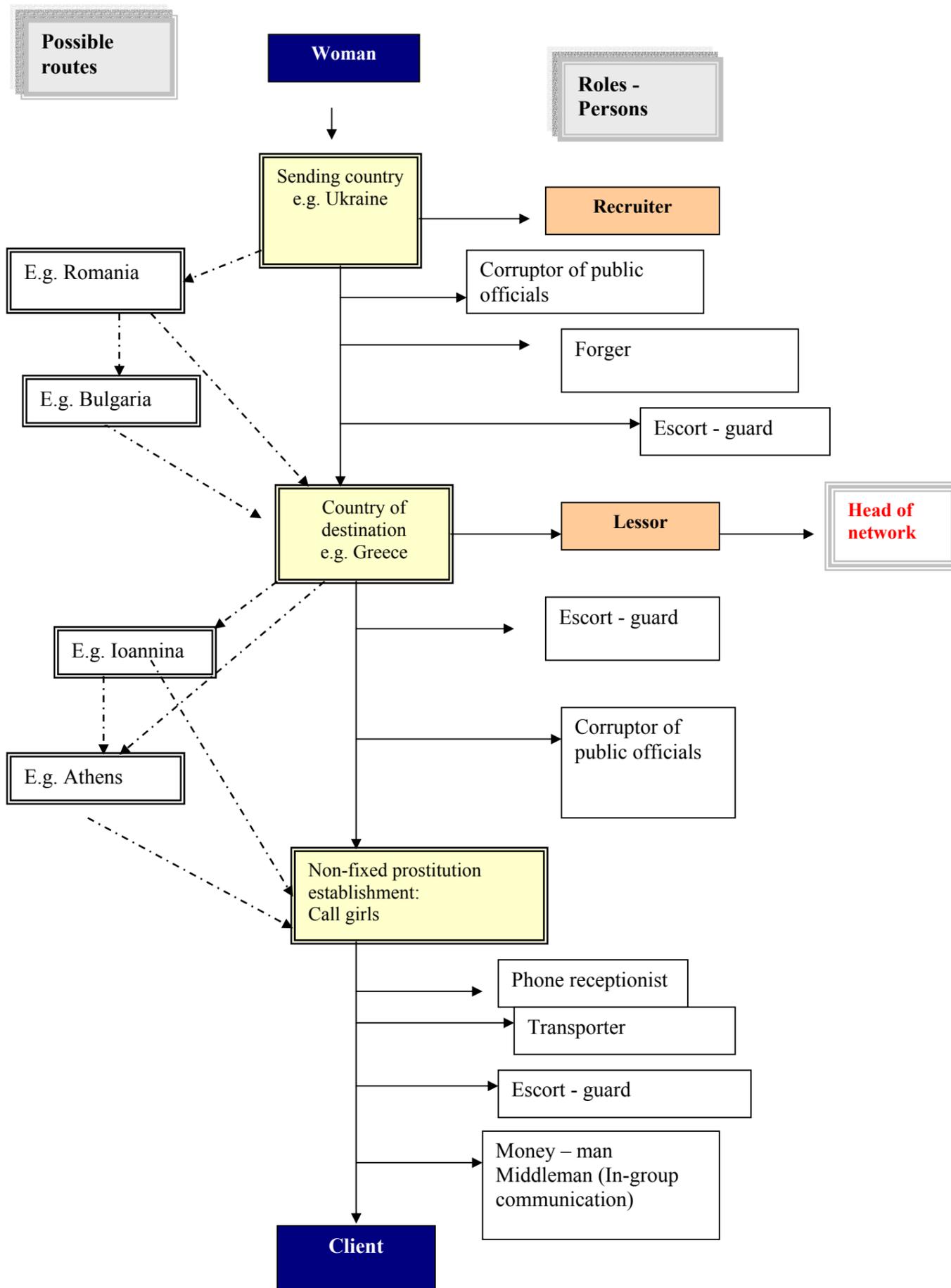


Diagram 4.**The local model of trafficking**

The local model is a single-node – two-phase model and focuses on cases where the foreign women have been recruited within the sending country, while they have been procured through either lawful or unlawful means that come under the wider category of illegal, economic immigration networks. It includes two phases, recruitment and renting out, carried out by the same group, usually with one person in charge. This type of network is local (e.g. it limits itself in Greece), and it is multinational in its composition in terms both of the persons involved in it and of the women recruited.

A variation

The network can usually change itself into a two-node one, since often, after recruitment, the women may be resold to another node, another organized group, within the same country. The drawback of having only one node is that if one phase is cancelled or one member is arrested the whole network is brought to an end. On the other hand, it is a closed network with a lower risk factor. In Greece, this type of network focuses on both legal and illegal immigrants.

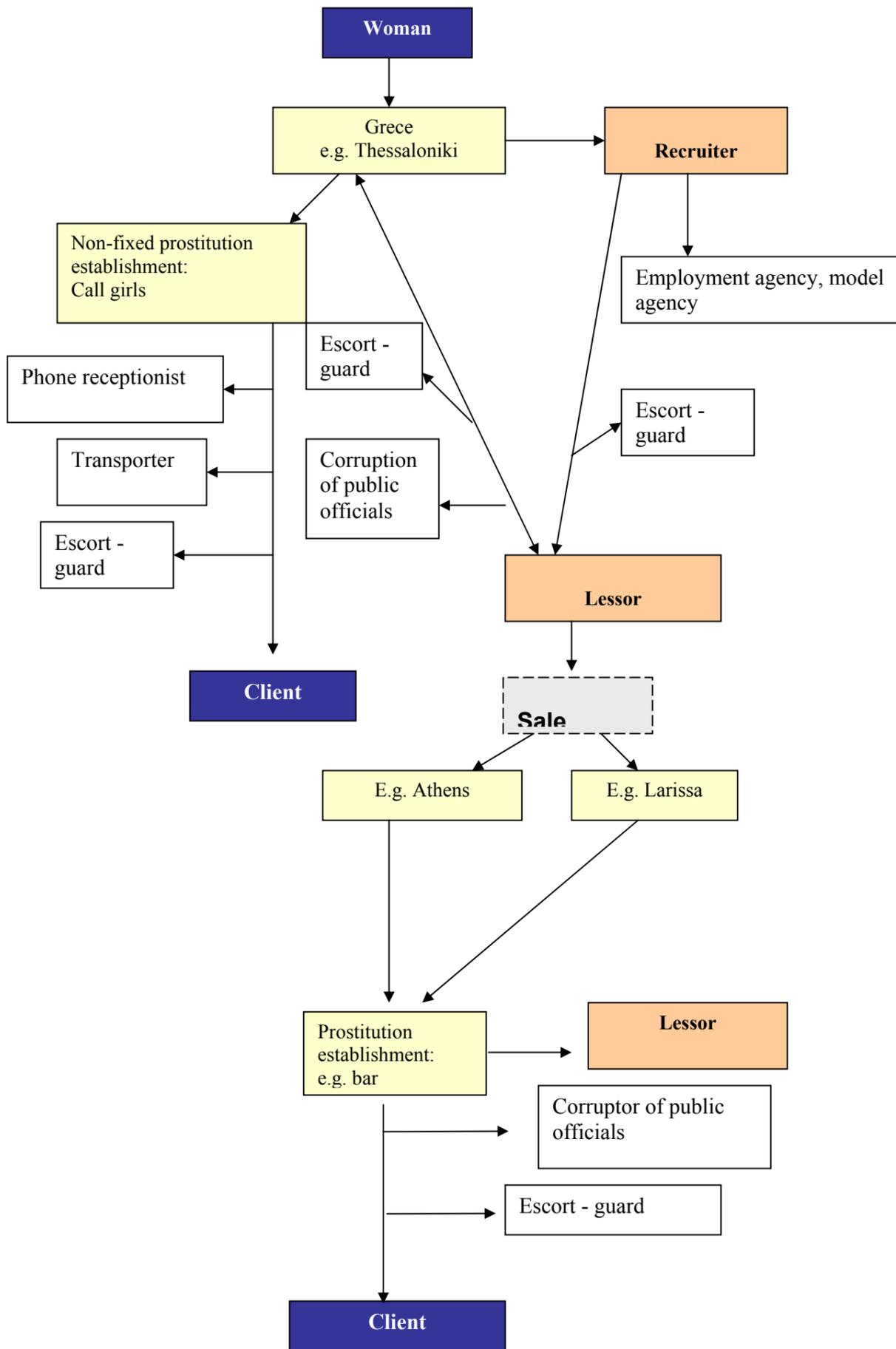


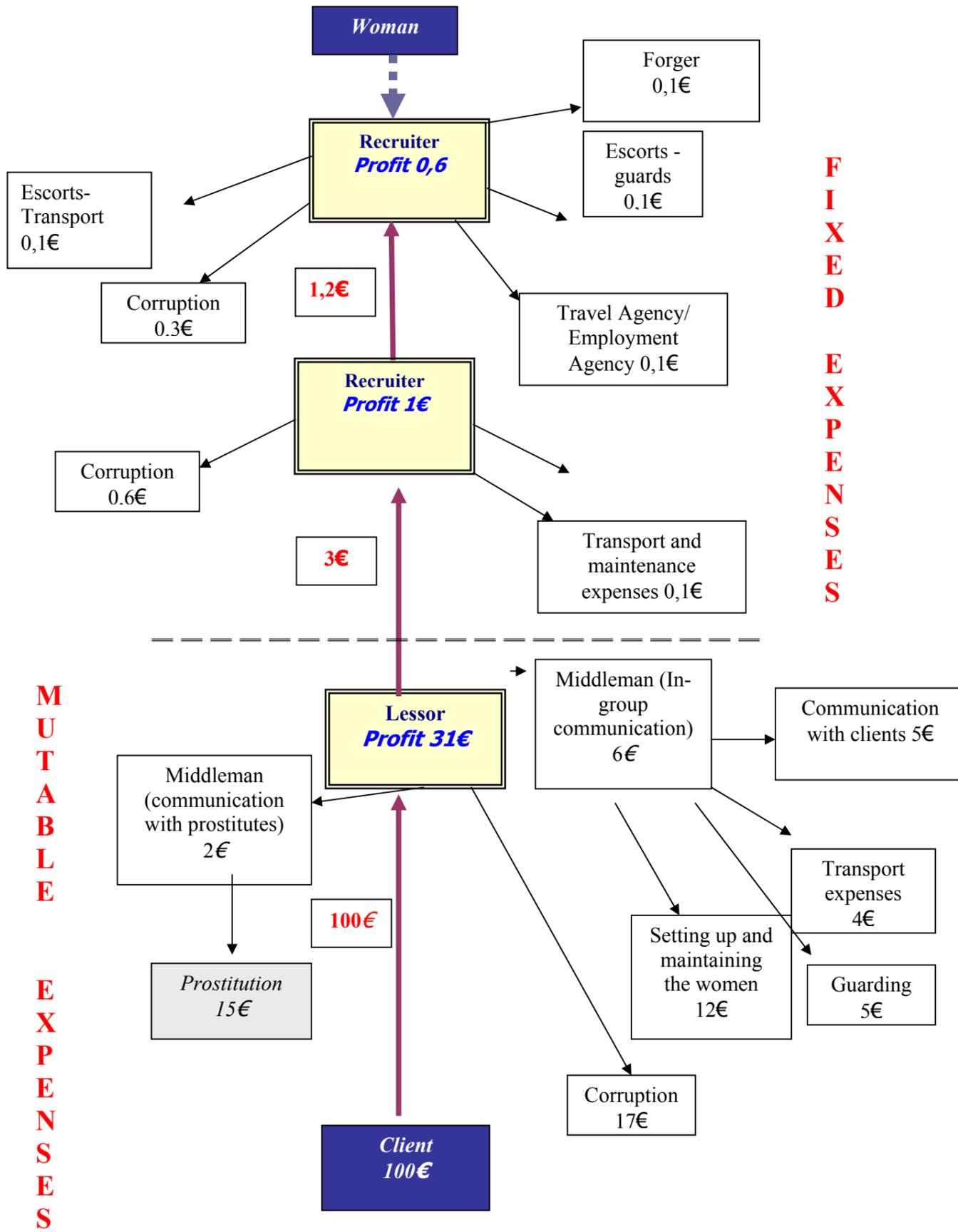
Diagram 5.**The cost of converting a woman into a prostitute and of maintaining her in that position**

The model of the cost of converting the woman into a prostitute and of maintaining her is based on the first model, which it complements. It attempts to provide a picture of the same procedure but with a reverse flow. While the first model focuses on the channeling of persons from the country of origin to the country of destination, the second model focuses on the channeling of financial resources from the country of destination to the country of origin. Viewed from this perspective, the countries of destination are the countries sending the resources, while the countries sending the persons are countries of destination for the resources.

In the model, fixed expenses are not subject to fluctuation. The mutable expenses of the lessor depend on the type and the frequency in which he 'rents out' the woman. They depend, that is, on (a) the number of commercial sex encounters (b) the duration of the woman's period in service (c) guarding, corruption, transport and preliminary expenses, (d) expenses for maintaining the woman (e) the sector (f) overall measures and actions taken by the police

A comparison of the allocation of the financial product generated by the prostitute shows how weak her position is (she reaps 15% of her financial product). It also makes evident the inequality in the distribution of revenue within the network, between, that is, the sending country (e.g. Russia or Ukraine) and the destination country (e.g. Greece): 97% against 3% - or, if we are to add the earnings of the prostitute to the revenues of the sending country: 82% against 18%. The revenues of the networks in the sending countries depend on the number of the women supplied, at least in the case of Greece. (If a woman is sold more than once, the revenues of the network in the sending country increase, even if not proportionally).

We shall return to this issue in the section entitled 'Towards a second generation of women forced into prostitution in Greece'.



3. The multinational character of prostitution

A main characteristic of the population of the women prostituted in Greece in 2002 under the control of trafficking networks was an increase in the number of nationalities represented. Already in the early 1980s, women forced into prostitution came from several countries. In the 1980s the core of immigrant women who were controlled by procurers-pimps or traffickers was made up of women from the Dominican Republic, Poland, the Philippines and Thailand (while, after 1987, significant numbers of women from a tumbling USSR started to appear); however, occasionally women from various European, Asian and American countries could also be found. In the 1990s, the main body of women forced into prostitution was made up of Russian, Ukrainian, Albanian, Bulgarian, Romanian and increasingly Moldovan women. At the same time, women from tens of other countries did time in forced prostitution (as well as in illegal prostitution controlled by procurers and pimps).¹¹

In 2002 the nationalities of the women forced into prostitution and of illegal prostitutes were significantly more diverse. To begin with, there were women coming from all the countries that had been identified in the 1990s – with the exception of Brazil. In addition, there were also women coming, in significant numbers, from: Byelorussia, Nigeria, Uzbekistan, and in smaller numbers from Austria, Yugoslavia, Iraq, Pakistan, Singapore and Sierra Leone. And, interestingly, the police also found in the hands of traffickers or procurers-pimps women from Denmark, the United Kingdom, Colombia, Norway and Rwanda.

This increase in the number of the nationalities of women forced into prostitution (and of illegal prostitutes controlled by procurers - pimps) in Greece is an important index showing that a global trafficking network has become integrated and expanded, and that the procedures for the transportation of women from one country to another and for their exploitation have been simplified.

¹¹ In significant numbers (more than ten) women from Albania, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Yugoslavia, (Kosovo, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina), Estonia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Latvia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Uzbekistan, Ukraine, Poland, Russia, Romania and Slovenia were forced into prostitution. In smaller perhaps numbers forced into prostitution were women from Brazil, Germany, Hungary and Slovakia. We should also take into account dozens of African women that were forced into prostitution by trafficking networks. With regard to this latter case, even though it proved especially difficult to identify the country of origin, we could plausibly say that they came from Central Africa. It is highly possible that other women, whom our research did not succeed in locating, were also forced into prostitution.

4. The multinational character of trafficking networks

However, the increase in the diversity in nationalities is also indicative of the successful presence and of the attempts toward growth made by two more networks in Greece. One ‘under construction’ trafficking network trafficks women from Central Europe – and for that matter from countries that as of April 2003 will be part of the European Union leading thus to a substantial increase of internal trafficking in the EU. The other ‘under construction’ network channels women from Central Africa to the Greek prostitution market. If these two networks come to occupy a firm position in Greece, we will be facing structural changes in the organization of forced prostitution that will in their turn produce changes in a number of different levels ranging from the mobility of the networks to the tastes of the clientele.

In 2002 six were the principal networks successfully supplying prostitution in Greece with immigrant women:

- a Russian
- a Ukrainian
- a Balkan
- an Albanian

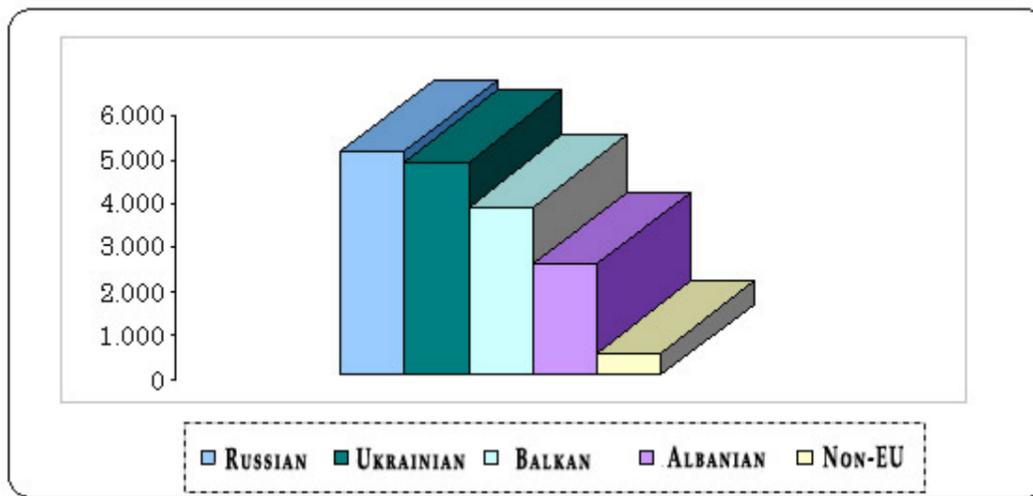
and to a lesser extent

- a Central European and
- an African network.

Each trafficking network supplied immigrant women from a specific group of countries, while a few dozens of women were supplied by individuals or small groups of pimps who put into good use the methods and routes of the large networks. More specifically, it is estimated that each of the principal networks supplied (or had already supplied in previous years) and exploited (permanently or for a period of time) the numbers of women shown in Diagram 6.

Diagram 6.

Forced prostitution in Greece, 2002 – The contribution of the principal trafficking networks



On the basis of these figures and given the overall dynamism and vitality displayed by networks in the early '90s, we can distinguish three pairs of networks.

The first pair consists of the Russian and the Ukrainian networks, two transnational networks of global reach. To begin with, they have supplied 55-60% (or better still 58%) of the women to be prostituted in Greece. In addition, they control and supply women to the central prostitution markets at – and this is what is more important – the highest prices. To this day, forced prostitution in Greece is perceived in terms of these networks. Since the early '90s, it is mainly the 'Russian' and the 'Ukrainian' woman that has lent her name to the woman forced into prostitution in general. In 2002, both of these networks appear to be in considerable decline. The reduction in the number of women forced into prostitution who are managed or exploited by the Russian network appears to be in the neighborhood of 30% while in the case of the Ukrainian network it is over 25% and most probably nearing 28%.

The second pair consists of two regional networks, the Balkan and the Albanian ones. Overall, these two networks have followed opposite courses in Greece. Without it been a question of actual comparison with the Russian and the Ukrainian networks, the Albanian network came to follow a fast-moving upward course both in terms of the women managed and of its revenues up to 1996. Somewhere late in 1996 it started experiencing serious fluctuations. In fact, the groups of traffickers working for the Albanian networks (mainly Albanians and Greeks) managed to successfully overcome the acute crisis produced by police actions against streetwalkers through massively moving the women they controlled to brothels and call-girl services promoted through ads. Conversely, the Balkan network followed a slow, steady upward course. Only in 2000 did it come to exploit a number of women similar to that exploited by the Albanian network in 1995.

In 2002, the Albanian network seems once again to be going through a crisis, this time more serious than the one of 1997, since it is the result of its limited capacity to face up to the competition of rival networks. A (slowly and unsteadily) increasing number of women forced into prostitution in brothels comes from countries like Romania, Moldova, Bulgaria and even Russia or Ukraine.¹² Additionally, the women - merchandise supplied by traffickers of the Albanian network to call girl prostitution does not seem capable of competing with the women - merchandise of other networks, despite their relative decline. The Albanian network seems to be losing its main pool (women-mines) of women, Albanian women, since demand for them is declining. Already in 2002, the pimps of the Albanian network are turning their attention to the exploitation of women from the women-mines of Northeastern Europe and of the Balkan countries (Bulgaria, Romania) working with other networks, usually in a satellite role or as final exploiters. In any case, while in 2000 the Albanian network handled up to 20% of the women forced into prostitution in Greece, in 2002 it appears to have gone down to 15% or slightly higher. If this keeps up, the Albanian network will lose its distinctive character and fade away, following the fate of other networks (Polish, Asian etc.)¹³

In 2002, the Balkan network displays strong momentum and claims a share of the prostitution market, showing an increase of about 30% in the number of women it has brought to serve their clientele in Greece, mainly Bulgarian and Romanian but also Moldovan women. In Greece, the Balkan network now exploits 22-23% of the women forced into prostitution, up from 13-14% in 2000. It is interesting that a part of this increase is owed to the fact that as of April 2001 a visa is no longer necessary when crossing from Bulgaria to Greece. A local type of sex-tourism emerged, with tens of thousands of clients crossing into Bulgaria, 'renting' women forced into prostitution, just a few kilometers from the border, and then coming back to Greece. It is not a coincidence that in the months that followed a downtrend was evidenced in local bars providing women forced into prostitution; it is estimated that in some areas the number of women went down from 50 to 9 or 10.¹⁴

The third pair of networks consists of two new networks that have made their presence quite felt in the last two years. It is still early to make any assessments on their dynamism, vitality and future prospects. Still, the Central European network appears to have introduced into prostitution and to have exploited some 530-540 women in 2002, against one-digit or low two-digit numbers in

¹² And, to a broader extent, the countries of Northeastern Europe from which the two networks recruit women.

¹³ This does not mean that the Albanian organized crime will lose its overall vitality either in EU in general or in Greece in particular, since there are also other goods it trades in illegally (e.g. addictive substances) as well as other EU countries where it trafficks women for the purposes of exploitation.

¹⁴ In estimating the corresponding total populations, the study has taken into account both clients and prostitutes serving Greek clients on the other side of the borders.

the last years of the period 1995-2000. The African network appears to have supplied and exploited some 250 women – albeit for relatively short periods. However, this significant number may be coincidental. On the basis of what information we have at our disposal, the African network does not give even a first impression of having any sort of significant continuity in its relations and structures, i.e. a broader infrastructure and a network of relations that could promise some type of permanence, not to speak of development, in the future.

Additionally, two new phenomena connected with the merchandise supplied to the market are worth a mention. A general assessment expressed by persons involved in the industry (prostitutes, clients etc.) is that the quality of the merchandise is gradually dropping: the women supplied and exploited by the two principal networks, Russian and Ukrainian, are lacking in terms of physical appearance by comparison to the women the same networks supplied/ exploited from 1990 to 1998, perhaps even to 2000. A possible reason is that there is a tendency to channel ‘higher quality’ women from Northeastern Europe to countries with higher prostitution fees and a lower risk factor in relation to police actions. So, traffickers opt for countries like Germany, Belgium, Holland, Japan or the USA. Another factor is that even though clients of prostitutes in Greece may well admit that quality is not what it used to be this fact does not seem to affect their purchasing behavior.

5. Setting up women forced into prostitution in prostitution sectors¹⁵

In 2002 significant changes took place in the placement and exploitation of immigrant women forced into prostitution in the various sectors that make up prostitution in Greece. The principal sector was bars – nightclubs “...(G)iven the conditions in Greece, in the end of the 20th and in the beginning of the 21st century, bars and night clubs were the optimum choice, especially for forced prostitution and trafficking.

Bars and nightclubs proved to be a particularly flexible way of bringing the client and the prostitute into contact. To begin with, this type of prostitute service delivery can take a broad range

¹⁵ It has to be made clear that the distinction between prostitution sectors is not always clear. In fact, the distinction is even less clear now, than it was in the first half of the 1990s. Among other changes, the distinction between (illegal) brothels and massage parlors seems to be fading; a prostitute may be in tandem employed in two different sectors (for example in bars and as a call girl); in the course of a year the same prostitute may be employed in two or three different prostitution sectors. Consequently, Diagram 3 is based on estimates as to the sector where a prostitute was principally – for the longest period – employed, as to the network that exploited her, as to her overall mobility and so on.

of forms – and in the 90s it did indeed exploit several possibilities provided within the range. It may, for example, be a high class or luxury bar or a nightclub. It may just as well be a shack bar or a prefabricated construction, a cheap edifice, a few meters – or rather a few minutes – outside a village. Or still the bar or the nightclub may be a fully legal business that extends its activities to the co-exploitation (in cooperation with traffickers) of immigrant women forced into prostitution.

As prostitution establishments, bars and nightclubs ... housed from one to twenty prostitutes each, the usual number being three to eight. In bars and nightclubs that were not purely and exclusively prostitution establishments there were other women working as well (...)

The fact that immigrant women forced into prostitution were placed in small prostitution units implies that they were placed in quite a few such units; in the period 1997-2000 there must have been about 4,500 such establishments operating in Greece. This in its turn speaks of an *extended network of cooperation* – or of complicity – around traffickers. A first estimate indicates the involvement of over 60,000 individuals who were well aware of the legal status of these women in Greece. In their majority they had no participation in the direct products of the women's exploitation, however, their work depended to a certain extent on trafficking and forced prostitution. This in fact may be one of the reasons why there were no incidents denouncing this regime of violence and exploitation."¹⁶

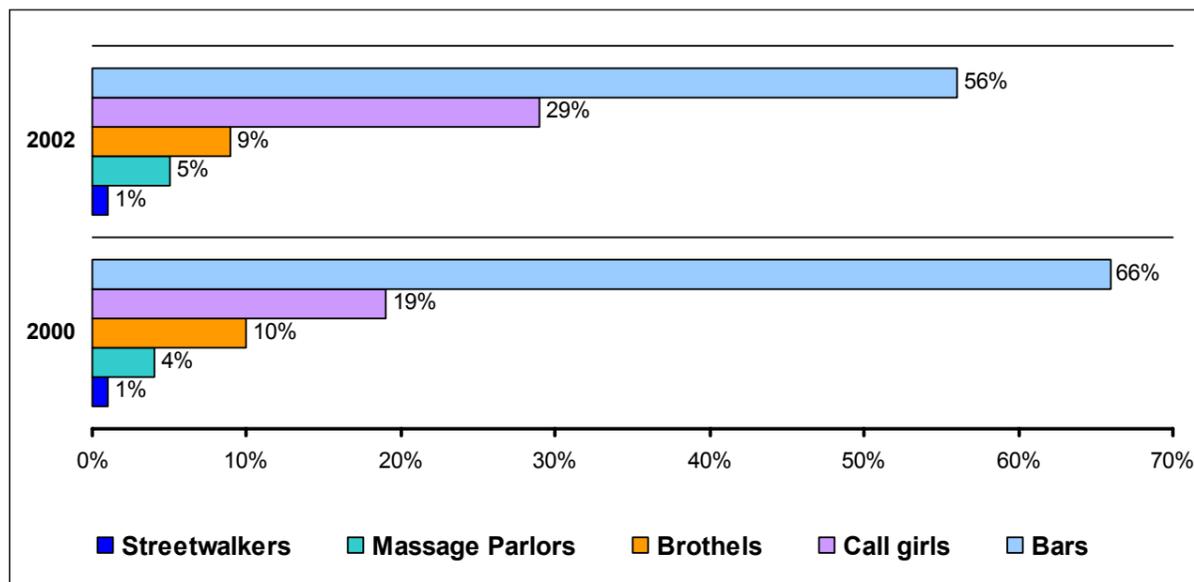
Bars remained the backbone of forced prostitution in 2002. They absorbed more than 9,000 – possibly 10,000 – immigrant women, i.e. 56% of the women forced into prostitution. Call-girl prostitution, with the client getting into contact with the prostitute through ads and her visiting him at a place he indicates, came second.

A number of women forced into prostitution in Greece, just slightly over 29%, were basically placed in this sector. The remaining prostitution sectors account for: brothels just under 10% (maybe 9%), massage parlors about 5%, streetwalkers just 1% of women forced into prostitution.

DIAGRAM 7.

Women forced into prostitution by prostitution sector, 2000-2002

¹⁶ Lazos, 2002a, pp. 258-260.



Even though bars maintained their predominance in forced prostitution, they appear to have experienced a drop since 2000. It is a drop in absolute numbers: in 2000 12,700 to 12,800 women prostituted in bars, which is 2,500 more than in 2002, a number that can be described as chance or incidental. It is also a relative drop, since in 2000 the percentage of women forced into prostitution in bars was a little more than 65%. A daring explanation could be that the drop in forced prostitution in Greece from 2000 to 2002 is mostly attributable to the drop of forced prostitution in bars. It needs to be pointed out that in spite of their overall decline, the Russian network exploited approximately 3,000 women in bars, and the Ukrainian one, following in the former's footsteps, exploited some 2,900 women. In contrast, the Balkan network showed a considerable increase rendered even more significant by the fact that it took place in a period of general decline: it is estimated that in 2000 it placed in bars and exploited approximately 1,700 women, while in 2002 somewhere between 2,600 and 2,700 women.¹⁷

There are two more interesting points that can help us get the whole picture of coercion and trafficking in Greece:

¹⁷ The Balkan network has been displaying limited flexibility in transferring women from bars to the call girls' sector – which is mainly attributable to the fact that it operates mainly away from the metropolis, in small and mid-sized towns and in villages. This stability – i.e. the same group of women was identified as being employed in the same prostitution sector or even in the same establishment without moving (within Greece) throughout our research – may have increasingly impaired the accuracy of our estimates, at a percentage perhaps marginally approaching 10%.

First, the reduction in the population of immigrant women forced into prostitution in brothels (a reduction in excess of 20%) and the stability or low increase in the streetwalkers' sector and in massage parlors, and

Second, the increase in the number of women forced into prostitution in the call girls' sector in absolute numbers (an increase by some 1,400 – 1,500 persons) as well as in relative values (from 19 – 20 % in 2000 to 29-30% in 2002). This increase becomes even more significant if we take into consideration the fact that the number of women forced into prostitution has gone down by more than 11% - almost 11.5%.

It is clear that in the period 2001-2002 a number of women were gradually transferred from other sectors to the call girls' sector. To be more accurate it was not so much a transfer as an introduction of new women into this growing sector. These developments affected mainly the Albanian network, which this time did not show the same capacity to adjust to changing conditions it had shown in 1997. It appears to have lost 550-600 persons in the sector of brothels and, what is perhaps more important, it failed to sustain its growth in the developing call girls' sector. The other trafficking networks managed to successfully transfer women to this sector; the Russian and the Ukrainian networks almost doubled the number of women they exploit in the call girls' sector, reaching 1,800 and 1,650 women respectively, while the Balkan network also showed a small increase of perhaps 150-200 women. On the contrary, the Albanian network slumped down to half the number of the women it had exploited in this sector in 2000, i.e. from 1,650-1,700 in 2000 down to 850-900 women in 2002. Right from the moment it first entered the Greek stage, the Albanian network has been practicing a low price policy. However, a more likely explanation would be that it has not managed to equal the higher quality women-merchandise offered by the other trafficking networks in the period 2001-2002.

6. The ages of immigrant women forced into prostitution

In 2002 there were significant changes in the average age of women forced into prostitution by comparison to the end of the '90s and more particularly to 2000. Overall, the average age has gone up by about 18 months to two years.

To begin with, it seems that the situation has not changed in the case of the core: for their most part the ages of women forced into prostitution range between 21 and 30. Two thirds (62-63%) of the women are in this age bracket.

A reduction in the number of underage women in the main prostitution market, of women that is who prostitute in the same market and through the same methods as adult women, is clearly noticeable. While up to the end of 1999 there had been a gradual increase in the percentage of underage persons in the general population of women forced into prostitution, the trend was checked in 2000. In 2000, approximately 6-6.5% of all women forced into prostitution were underage; in 2002 the percentage had gone down to 3%. It seems that trafficking networks do not recruit underage girls in the countries of origin and at the same time they avoid importing, placing and exploiting them in Greece. Even though it is not possible to identify the exact contribution of each trafficking branch to this development, it is highly possible that the branch operating in Greece has had the main say. Underage prostitutes do not yield particularly higher profits and exploiting them is riskier. Even though the Greek police have not reported finding underage persons, it is in all probability social sensitivity against underage prostitution that has warded off their import.

There has been an increase in the population of women forced into prostitution over 30. It is estimated that they account for 32-33% of all women forced into prostitution. An interesting point is that in 2002 there was an increase in women over 40 and even up to 50. Whereas in 2000 they seem to have been a rare and for the most part random incidence, in 2002 they often made their presence felt since there were over 500 of them (3% of the total population of women forced into prostitution). This increase can be attributed to two basic factors, to two distinct market demands. First, the demand for low price prostitution, mainly in bars and brothels but also homes. Second a small part, about 1/13 or 1/12 of the women was destined for and channeled into more 'sophisticated sex' prostitution.

On the whole it could be argued that a secondary reason why women forced into prostitution who are over 30 put up with ill-treatment and exploitation by traffickers is that they cannot escape since they are controlled, locked up etc. while the primary one is that they are persuaded that they have no other choice either in their country or in Greece (combined with the fact that several among them have children and/or parents to support). It would seem that women of this category can instantly turn from women forced into prostitution into pimps. We shall return to this question in the following section.

In the last decade, along with the prostitution of adult and of underage women forced into prostitution in the main prostitution market in Greece, prostitution of underage boys developed, their number ranging between 100 and 200.

7. Towards a second generation of women forced into prostitution in Greece.

In the past, for instance in the early '90s, women in the countries of Northeastern and Southeastern Europe were exclusively or almost exclusively selected for prostitution by the recruiters of the networks. Recruiters could easily look for women among the unemployed or partly employed young women living in cities and villages the majority of whom were quite interested in working and living in the West. Even today the best part of the women who end up in forced prostitution controlled by traffickers in Greece is made up of women who were under the impression that they were to work as baby sitters, caretakers for the elderly, waitresses, dance teachers etc.

However, in the late 1990s and the early 2000s, prostitution gradually came to see unprecedented growth inside the countries of origin as well. This increase in local prostitution had, among other things, a significant effect on women who make up the populations that supply the majority of the women who are channeled to various prostitution sectors in EU countries. Knowing this had an aversive effect on several of these women. On the contrary, to other women, given their somber future prospects and the day-to-day challenges they had to meet in order to survive, becoming prostitutes became an actual option.

To these women, the prospect of working as a prostitute in a wealthier country (a country holding the promise of a higher income) seemed in many respects realistic and even appealing: high income, a better way of life, new beginnings and the anonymity that ensured that when they came back home they would not be stigmatized. A similar view of emigration to the West – accompanied as it is by ideological and mythological associations – came to be shared among women, or, be it, among the majority of women, already prostituting in their own country.

Information concerning trafficking and its risks, which kept flowing in, and public awareness campaigns initiated by governments, international organizations and anti-trafficking networks had an aversive effect on all three categories of potential prostitutes in the countries of origin. An increasing number of women became suspicious and alert when faced with recruiters and developed codes that allowed them to distinguish between say an actual employment agent and a trafficking recruiter. Several among them knew or at least suspected that being moved to an EU county or elsewhere (USA, Japan, Oceania, Turkey etc.) would practically mean that they were coming under the control of a prostitution network, or at least, they could not rule out such a possibility. Women interested in finding employment in the non-prostitution labor market – preferably the legal but also the illegal market – dismissed the prospect. On the other hand, women already prostituting in their countries or women who did not dismiss the possibility of prostituting in another country saw in it a basically acceptable prospect or even a first choice by comparison to other options – to the extent that other options were to be had, which is highly doubtful.

At any rate, these women would have wanted to practice prostitution freely – in other words to keep their earnings in their own pockets, to choose their clients freely (i.e. to have the right to refuse a client or a client's special requests), to be protected against sexually transmitted diseases. But, social reality internationally does not provide for a social context within which prostitution can be practiced freely. And, judging from Greece, already since the early '80s the prostitution of immigrant women (and not just of immigrant women) has been under the control of either traffickers or local pimps. The concept of free prostitution is a pink ideological construct, which provides legitimacy to society, state and clients and, one step further, to all persons benefiting by it.¹⁸

A small percentage of the women coming to Greece to prostitute may suspect that they will come under a forced prostitution ring – meaning that their human rights will be continuously violated and that they themselves will be economically exploited by trafficking networks. However, they are prepared to take the risk or believe that they will be able to manage the situation to their benefit. One way or the other they are in a desperate situation, they actually live below subsistence levels, and any cultural reserves or resistance they might have had are caving in and collapsing. In essence these women are under socio-economic coercion, coercion that is evidently more overwhelming and lasting – and for this reason stronger – than the coercion exercised by the pimp.

These developments at the cultural level – and with the economic and social crisis holding strong in sending countries – bred in the late '90s an increasing number of women from Northeastern Europe and from the Balkans who started to participate actively in the selection of the women that would be channeled to trafficking networks in the European Union in general and in Greece in particular. Their job is to send the women to a country that will give them some chance of earning a living – be it through prostitution if there are no other alternatives or even as a first choice. The result of this development is that less 'recruiters', and all the more rarely, approach women from the general population, a practice not without risks and complications. They focus instead on women who are already willing to prostitute in the West. This facilitates the work of trafficking networks considerably, since the woman becomes to a certain extent their accomplice, she assists in her prostitution and, when she has reached the country of destination, she is unquestionably more obedient. Moreover, when a woman is, directly or indirectly, allowed to keep part of her earnings (usually the high demands made by their living conditions do not allow the women to save the best

¹⁸ So long as it is perceived as free prostitution – the product of free choice – the powerful and manifold coercion effected by a class society focused on males vanishes. At the same time, the ideological construct of 'free prostitution' allows third parties to magnanimously defend the right of women (of women of low class origins and from countries of the periphery) to prostitute. Same as in the other fields of social living, the liberal proposal on prostitution constitutes a type of imposition with a strong element of manipulation and violence.

part of this amount but oblige them to spend it) she becomes more obedient and cooperative. Still, this does not mean that rape, beatings and humiliation are not part of the picture. Often they are thought to be useful, either as a matter of principle (a sort of ritual) or, when circumstances demand it, (in case the woman refuses a client or a client's – duly paid for – demands) or just for the trafficker's personal satisfaction.¹⁹ Gradually, the woman gets used to a way of living way beyond her grimmest expectations. She carries out her daily routine and she avoids thinking of the future. The woman forced into prostitution who hails from Eastern Europe or from the Balkans thinks, acts and plans differently from the somewhat better off woman who lives in the exclusionary societies of the West. Having a different past and a different present, she will also have a different future.

To an increasing number of immigrant women forced into prostitution in Greece, trafficking and coercion are the immediately accepted norm. The notional straight line of human rights, which defines a minimum that has to be enjoyed by all in the context of a democratic law abiding society, is far beyond their day-to-day standard of living and far beyond their expectations. Humiliation and degradation are taken for granted and so is exploitation. We might argue that a 'second generation' of women forced into prostitution is gradually taking shape. Comparing with the women of the '80s and early '90s and with many – and in all likelihood with most of today's women – we see a certain degree of discontinuity as well as significant differences in character and personality. Unable to combine in their everyday lives exploitation and misery with an ethics that entails certain unalienable values and at the same time also unable to refuse this reality or change its terms, they tend to make significant moral discounts. For example, there are women who decide to form a relation of mutual exploitation with much older men: they marry them in exchange for a visa, a certain income or the vague prospect of a future inheritance. There have been cases of women who, even though back in their countries they had already been married, they remarried under a different name and using forged papers, sometimes, with the consent of the (first) husband.

Another, particularly interesting, development, which illustrates a new dimension of trafficking relates to women who had once been forced into prostitution and then joined trafficking networks to exploit other women. In 2001, for example, the Greek police arrested 153 alleged members of trafficking networks. 27 of them were women (17.5%), 7 from Northeastern Europe and

¹⁹ Incidentally, the indirect participation of women in the selection and recruitment of women to be trafficked, leads to a drop of the 'merchandise' in the prostitution markets in the countries of destination. In financial and organizational terms and in relation to dealing with anti-trafficking mechanisms, the advantages of selecting women that are positively inclined towards becoming prostitutes far exceed the disadvantage of having to select from a smaller number of women. In the middle range, however, this reduction in the female population that can supply women for trafficking purposes has a negative effect on quality. This is yet another problem that in most Eastern European and Balkan countries comes to be added to the problem of selecting women to be trafficked into prostitution after ten years of intensive exploitation of the 'women-mines' of these countries.

8 from the Balkans. In 2002, 61 out of 251 persons arrested were women (24.5%), 19 from Northeastern Europe and 9 from the Balkans.²⁰ The emotional rigidity and cynicism displayed by these women is a common phenomenon in the history of prostitution, and equally as often it has been used to provide legitimacy and ensure blame diffusion.²¹ Such attitudes are not the product of personal choice and/or of an obsession with consumerism but rather constituent elements of a prolonged struggle for survival at the expense of others who also struggle to survive. Forced prostitution is also culture; these women and their actions are part of this culture, same as the women economically exploited by them.

Another constituent element of this culture is the client. The client culture is invisible, except in official study protocols. It is in the faces and in the actions of pimps and prostitutes that the client sees a mirror image of his culture.

Special focus: between coercion and relative autonomy

Before turning to the clients of women prostituting in Greece, a brief outline of the complex question of whether immigrant women forced into prostitution in Greece are under coercion or whether they enjoy some relative autonomy may be useful. If coercion and relative autonomy are perceived as the extremes of a notional continuum, immigrant women forced into prostitution are somewhere between these extremes, shifting from one to the other.

Often, in cases where the woman is forced by means of physical or psychological violence to obey the commands of the pimp or of the broader network, oppression starts at the moment of recruitment. The most extreme form of coercion is perhaps forcible abduction and recruitment of underage boys and girls who are introduced to prostitution (as a rule in another country) with a close second the commercial exploitation of women. Our research indicates that in 2002 in Greece the cases of women who were channeled into prostitution through abduction or the use of direct force must have been in the area of 5-10% – or rather around 6-7%. The majority of these women were Albanian, followed by Bulgarian, Moldovan and Romanian women. These findings seem to provide

²⁰ The Greek Police. *General Report on the Trafficking in People in Greece in 2001*, p. 14. There is an increasing trend towards female participation in trafficking networks but the question is especially complex and does not allow much room for certainty. Moreover, in all likelihood the actual participation of women is lower than projected. It is possible that the high rate of female participation seen in police records can be attributed to the fact that these women are involved in networks that are more vulnerable to police actions and thus they can be identified and arrested more easily.

²¹ On both these aspects see, Faolain, J. and L. Martines. *Not in God's Image: Women in History from the Greeks to the Victorians*, New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1973.

some support to the factors relating to the appearance of the phenomenon as reported by CENSIS: the proximity of the countries of origin and destination, weak police and security systems in the country of origin, wide-ranging imbalance and deprivation on the economic, cultural and social levels.²² All the same, particularly by comparison to the early '90s, the cases of women who were led to prostitution by means of coercion are noticeably fewer, maybe even half or one third of what they used to be. The modernization of forced prostitution that started in the '90s and goes on to this day has made this type of trafficking more cumbersome, less profitable and more vulnerable to police intervention (see below).

At the other extreme, that of relative autonomy, are women who have been channeled to prostitution by trafficking networks and are exploited but do not wish to leave, so long as they do not see any better prospects. Women who enjoy a certain degree of autonomy and control over their life and work cluster toward this extreme. Far though they may be from the ideal-type illegal prostitute who reaps the whole of her product and controls her life and work, it is quite often that we see women arguing that they 'chose' that way of life and that sector of prostitution 'of their own free will'. It is estimated that in 2002 in Greece 15-17% of women tend to cluster to this extreme. In their majority they are Russian and Ukrainian women managed by the Russian and the Ukrainian networks.

Between these two extremes, particular cases vary significantly as various factors act in various ways.

Next to the forcible abduction extreme are two groups of women who were deceived by trafficking networks or by specific recruiters.

The first group is made up of women who have been completely duped – they were persuaded that they would work either legally or illegally in sectors unrelated to prostitution (see above). In the course of their transportation to Greece, they were blackmailed, subjected to physical and psychological violence, and often raped as part of the 'processing'. The aim was to turn them into prostitutes who would accept exploitation obediently. About 35-40% (or perhaps more precisely 35-37%) of immigrant prostitutes in Greece, the majority being Russian, Ukrainian and, at some distance behind, Bulgarian women trafficked into Central and Southern Greece, belong to this subcategory of 'totally belied expectations'.

The second group is made up of women who knew, or strongly suspected, that they would be driven into prostitution. Of course, as we have already said, they thought they would work as prostitutes under conditions approximating those of the 'ideal-type illegal prostitute' and in any case, under conditions radically different from the ones of dependence, overwork, exploitation and lack of

²² Bλ. CENSIS. *Trafficking in Human Beings: Methods and Measures for Defending and Supporting Victims*, Rome, 2002, σσ. 7-8.

concern for their physical and psychological well-being. It is estimated that 30-35% (or more precisely 33-34%) of women trafficked in 2002 or of women who had already been trafficked in the past are women that can be placed in the subcategory of 'partially belied expectations'. This subcategory shows signs of an increase, leading to a parallel decrease in other categories and subcategories. Incidentally, Diagram 5, which shows the cost of converting an immigrant woman into a prostitute (according to 2002 data), focuses primarily on this subcategory of immigrant women forced into prostitution in Greece. It is evident that the prostitute herself does not collect but 15% of the total revenues produced by her own prostitution.

In any case, it has to be pointed out that some women of the two subcategories that lie between the two extremes – total coercion and relative autonomy – become slaves and can see no way out or other alternatives. Perhaps, to the 6-7% of women who right away become virtually slaves – if not precisely slaves – we should add another 10-12% of women who do so after having come to Greece and either before or after having been forced into prostitution.

Finally, 15-20% of women trafficked into prostitution by trafficking networks seems to be shifting back and forth from oppression to relative autonomy and from relative autonomy to oppression – even in the course of one year. This makes any attempt to rank them at a fixed point on the scale submitted by PARSEC, under the support of the DAPHNE program risky.²³ In any case these shifts, even if not wide ranging, are common to a number of cases 'in-between' the two extremes. Therefore, it is not rare for a woman to cover some considerable distance towards the one extreme of this continuum (coercion – relative autonomy) and then, in some cases, directly afterwards towards the other. Typical are the cases of women who attempt to prostitute freely through ads in the printed press only soon to find out that conditions surrounding prostitution are such that they leave them no choice other but to come under the control of trafficking or of local pimping networks. Other women, as a rule woman on a downward course in the prostitution market, are resold by one trafficking network to another. For example, certain women are transferred from a bar, where they used to serve 4 to 5 clients a day, to a brothel, where the number of clients can well be over 40 in a day, seeing at the same time their income going down, if not practically vanishing, and their living standards reduced to sheer misery.

The overwhelming majority of immigrant women introduced to prostitution in Greece in 2002 – or of women introduced to it in earlier years and who have remained active since – were mainly controlled by trafficking networks. And, they remained under their control in a state of

²³ Fr. Carchedi et al. *I colori della notte, migrazioni, sfruttamento, esperienze di intervento sociale (The colors of the night: migration, sexual exploitation, experiences of welfare intervention)* Franco Angeli, Milano, 2000. See also CENSIS, pp. 3-4.

coercion and exploitation. Several among them, and in all probability a larger number than in the past – were aware of this eventuality, while still others desired it or actually sought it. A considerable minority realized that they would be exploited, controlled and humiliated in the hands of traffickers but were willing to put up with it all. It is clear that, with the exception of women who suffer extreme oppression and are actually slaves, women forced into prostitution living in Greece in 2002 either conspired to their being trafficked into the country and prostitution or to their remaining in the country.

The social, cultural and economic background, expectations and illusions, changing conditions and motives of women forced into prostitution in Greece – and, according to reports, in other countries as well – vary significantly. The view that, if a woman ‘wants’ or ‘chooses’ to remain in prostitution or even under the control of a pimp, she is automatically and by definition not a woman *forced* into prostitution (or to put it more crudely, a ‘victim’) is erroneous, it clashes with what actually *is* the case and, moreover, it is a barren perspective when it comes to the practical level of dealing with trafficking and forced prostitution. A similar view limits women forced into prostitution to a small minority, a hard core of immigrant women forced into prostitution. The rest of them, in other words the majority, are perceived as ‘free choice’ illegal prostitutes and by consequence deportation – a practice of narrow moral breadth and also quite ineffective given that the majority of these women will return to Greece in one way or another – is the fate reserved to them.²⁴ The same is the case with repatriation as provided for (with a significant degree of vagueness) by Articles 12 and 13, Law 3064/2002 on trafficking and coercion. Repatriation that does not satisfy basic conditions – one of which is a genuinely voluntary nature – is nothing more than ‘deportation with a smiling face’ and is bound to prove equally fruitless.

Given that emancipation from coercion imposed by traffickers and emancipation from prostitution do not coincide, and also given that coercion can take various forms and degrees of intensity and that it does not always take its ‘extreme’ form, i.e. slavery, forced prostitution can only be combated through programs that focus, first, on prevention mainly in the countries of origin, second on the dismantling of trafficking networks and on border controls through effective policing and third on integrated social reinsertion either in the country of origin or in the country of destination, in this case Greece.

²⁴ According to Greek Police records, there are cases of women who had been deported and who returned to Greece as many as eight times. At such a scale, deportation brings to light aspects bordering on barbarism while the police stand frustrated before a phenomenon far beyond their power to combat effectively.

B. The client

1. The individuals

The client has been the motive force behind forced prostitution – in the case of Greece since the late 1980s. He has financed its development, he has dictated what was to be sold, in terms of quantity, quality and – up to a certain extent – price, and even the living conditions of women forced into prostitution. Forced prostitution has obeyed all his - duly paid for - wishes. The trafficker attended to the satisfaction of the clients' wishes at the lowest possible price – as he also undertook the task of corrupting them even further. He also assumed the total moral and penal cost of the mutually convenient relation with the client. In his turn the trafficker expected considerable financial benefits for the initiative, innovation, labors and risks he had taken. Since the late '80s and on a much larger scale since the early '90s, an increasing number of the sexually active male population in Greece have learned to delight in the merchandise trafficking networks had placed in the market, i.e. the woman forced into prostitution and in the services she offers. If the trafficker is the producer of the prostitute with the woman as his raw material, the client is the reason for the production and the consumer of the merchandise.

In the context on the one hand of international developments and of the multidimensional crisis that has plagued the countries of origin since the '80s, and on the other of the ability displayed by trafficking networks and of the opportunities for unprecedented growth offered to them, forced prostitution came to know spectacular growth at every level since the early '90s and managed to become the dominant form of prostitution in Greece. In bringing about this outcome, a series of objective reasons relating to what it was that forced prostitution offered to clients played the central part:

- A national-cultural type of woman that was in high demand
- A wide variety of women to cover needs in all types and hierarchies of the prostitution market
- New sex services
- Low fees, especially when compared with the stock of women and services offered
- Steadily sufficient quantities of prostitutes and services offered
- Continuous renewal of the population of prostitutes

- 'Modern' and profitable settings for the prostitution of women.²⁵

Given these advantages, prostitution controlled by trafficking networks managed to push traditional prostitution practiced in brothels aside, if not to incorporate it in its own structure. The advantages attracted every male interested in paying for sex. The effect of this new type of prostitution was, however, even more decisive on two wide male populations: on middle class males living in large urban centers and in their periphery and on farmers. Traditional prostitution (Laws 4095/60, 1193/81 and 2734/99) was based on brothels mostly found in cities and nearby military barracks. As a result, farmers did not in essence have access to prostitution. Moreover, the middle classes living in urban centers on the one hand were not eager to resort to brothels, which were seen as places of mass tension-release, of limited privacy and of prostitutes of dubious quality, who moreover often refused to offer non-standard services. On the other, they were now financially able to support developments in prostitution that fitted both their desires and their fragile cultural make-up.

Forced prostitution, precisely because it has been illegal right since its early beginnings, did not concern itself with legal considerations and promoted new, flexible and client-friendly forms of prostitution. Bars, an exceptionally flexible form of promotion that spread to thousands of locations practically evenly distributed around the country, spearheaded the move. Between 1997 and 2000 the number of bars used by traffickers and their accomplices to prostitute immigrant women must have been well over 4,000, almost nearing 5,000. Forced prostitution in the '90s was tailored for employees, small businessmen and farmers.²⁶

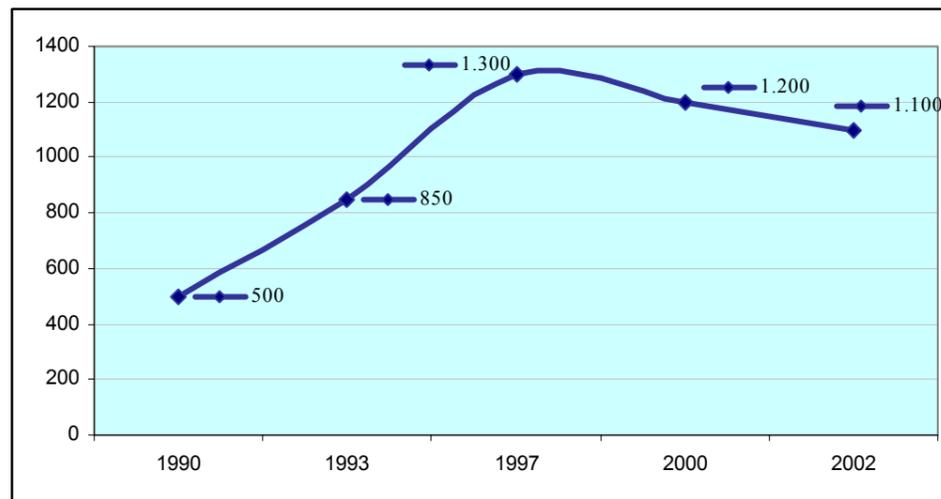
When forced prostitution had reached a considerable scale and had become reasonably profitable, the number of clients grew. From 1990 to 1997, it went up from 540 thousand to 1.3 m., in other words it increased 2.5 times (see, Diagram 4). Taking into account that in that same period the sexually active male population in Greece was some 3.5 m., the ratio of clients to the male population indicates that there have been significant changes in the relations between the two sexes (at the expense of the female sex) as well as in the broader everyday culture in Greece.

DIAGRAM 4.

Client population in Greece - 1990, 1993, 1997, 2000 and 2002 (in thousands)

²⁵ Gr. Lazos, *Prostitution and trafficking in modern Greece – The client*, Athens: Kastaniotis, 2002, pp. 189-192.

²⁶ For a comprehensive discussion of the class composition of the clientele and of the reasons that supported forced prostitution, see Lazos, 2002b, pp. 181-197.



After a small decline (by about 60,000) by 2000, in the period 2000-2002, the population of clients went further down by about 100 thousand. It is estimated that in 2002, clients in Greece reached 1.12 m., showing a 9% decrease in relation to 2000.

It is estimated that in 2002 about 900 thousand clients 'rented', exclusively or primarily, the services of immigrant women forced into prostitution. Another 150 thousand clients used these services as an additional option.

It is highly plausible that financial uncertainty²⁷ has been the main reason for this reduction. Moreover, the reduction is not evenly distributed throughout the male population but applies mainly to clients coming from social groups that faced serious and prolonged financial difficulties in the past three years: small and middle range employees, small businessmen and farmers. Seen from another perspective, the reduction occurred mainly in the periphery (small towns and villages) and it was smaller in large urban centers, where the above client categories were replaced to a certain extent by immigrant clients.²⁸ It is evident that there has been a small change in the class composition of the clients after the pulling out of small and medium range clientele. It is, however, highly improbable that this withdrawal has impacted the class profile of forced prostitution clients.

²⁷ To be more precise, low income or lack of cash.

²⁸ According to estimates in 2000 non-Greek clients reached 100,000. We cannot, however, be absolutely certain about this number. In any case, it seems that 40,000 - given the possibility of a 10% - perhaps even 15% - deviation, immigrants must have been added to the number of clients in the sector of brothels and the sub-sector of 'low' bars (bars offering low quality women-merchandise, and low prices - approximately equal to those of brothels - see below). It is also possible that a small number of such clients stopped visiting these establishments. See Lazos, 2002b, p. 202, footnote, 107.

Concerning the age factor, there has been a shift in the population of forced prostitution clients towards lower ages. In other words, whereas there has been a decline in the number of clients in the 40-50 – and more broadly in the 30-60 – age bracket, the number of clients in the 20-30 – or rather in the 15-29 – age bracket increased. More precisely, while in 2000 the 17-29 age group marginally represented 10% of the total number of clients, in 2002 it accounted for over 15% and in all likelihood 17-18%. This expansion in the age range is indicative, first, of an increase in the ability of forced prostitution to reproduce itself on the level of clients, and second, of an increasing ‘normalization’ of the phenomenon in Greece, which has gradually come to be viewed as ‘natural’ and to be taken for granted.

Moving on to a riskier generalization, the fact that the main obstacle (we shall examine the subject of police actions further below) to the growth of forced prostitution in Greece in the beginning of the 21st century is financial distress should be a cause for concern. This situation is indicative of a State, and a society, with significant shortcomings on the level of institutions and which fails to instill a minimum moral standard in its members.

2. Commercial sex encounters

The size of the clientele answers certain questions regarding the size of the sexually active male population that resorts to prostitution and uses the services offered by it. However, clients are not a uniform, homogeneous, body but on the contrary, they vary in terms of preferences, choices and frequency with which they resort to prostitution. Particularly concerning frequency, there are clients who use a prostitute once a year or even less often, while for other clients, prostitution is the only ground where their sexuality finds expression. We can get a fuller picture, if we focus on the sizes of commercial sex encounters.

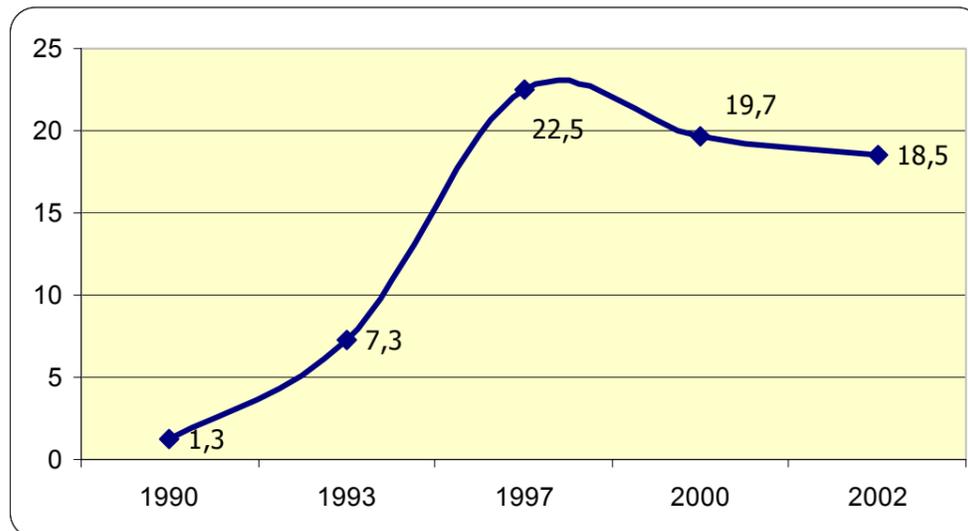
It is estimated that in 2002 there have been 18.5 million commercial sex encounters with women forced into prostitution.²⁹ Given that in 2000 there were 19.8 m. commercial sex encounters with women forced into prostitution (and 24.4 commercial sex encounters with prostitutes in general), the reduction reaches up to 7%. In this sense, there has been a fallback to pre-1996 sizes,

²⁹ In order to have a complete assessment of the total size of the number of commercial sex encounters in Greece, we have to add the number of commercial sex encounters between clients and Greek prostitutes or to put it more broadly of prostitutes that have not been ‘forced’ into prostitution i.e. 4.6 million.

when the number of commercial sex encounters with women forced into prostitution was about 19m.³⁰

DIAGRAM 5.

Commercial sex encounters between clients and women forced into prostitution - 1990, 1993, 1997, 2000 and 2002 (in million)



It is obvious that the reduction in the number of commercial sex encounters is almost proportional to the reduction in the number of clients. This fact indicates that the two dimensions are highly related, that the tendency to resort to prostitutes shows a certain resiliency of a way of life that includes the frequent, regular or systematic use of such services. The large majority of clients shows no signs of having been bored by or of having substituted – and much more so of having rejected – these particular pleasures or the particular habits that have become a part of their lives: clients that kept using the services of prostitutes also kept habits and routines that include the use of women forced into prostitution and make them a part of the man's overall way of living. During research,

³⁰ From 1996 to 1999 included, the number of commercial sex encounters with women forced into prostitution was somewhere between 19 and 22.5 million. See Lazos, 2002b, p. 31.

we interviewed several ‘old’ clients, both nuclear and peripheral,³¹ and the majority reported that financial difficulties was a reason why they stopped using the services of prostitutes as often as in the past. Some of them had indeed ‘rented’ prostitutes less often than before. Others said that even though their income had not actually changed, new obligations, priorities or pleasures had required their money or their free time and as a result they used the services of prostitutes less often. However, the majority of clients interviewed concluded that they would have to cut down on expenses. Forced prostitution remained high in the list of priorities of such persons.

The percentage of the reduction in the number of commercial sex encounters was not similar in all prostitution sectors. Commercial sex encounters in bars fell by 20% - from 12m. in 2000 to 9.8 m. in 2002. The sectors of brothels and streetwalkers showed a reduction a little below 20%, perhaps 19% and 18% respectively. On the other hand, massage parlors had an increase of 20%, while the call girls’ sector shot up to over 30%, perhaps around 32%, from 4.1 m. in 2000 to 5.5 m. in 2002. It could, therefore, be said that the total reduction of commercial sex encounters affected primarily bars and nightclubs. Several factors contributed to this reduction; two among them appear to be more important. First, commercial sex encounters were transferred from the sector of bars to that of call girls – and that mainly in cities. Second, to the extent that forced prostitution in bars was (and still is) the dominant form of prostitution in the countryside, the reduction of commercial sex encounters both in specific regions and in the countryside in general, mainly affected, as it would be expected, this prostitution sector in which it is mainly immigrant women forced into prostitution who offer their services.

Further, this change affected women forced into prostitution and controlled by different trafficking networks in differing degrees.

It is estimated that women trafficked by the Russian network (mainly Russian women) were ‘rented out’ 1,050 times on average, against 970 times in 2000 – the women attracted 29% of the total number of commercial sex encounters between clients and women forced into prostitution. These 5,150 women suffered about 5.4 m. commercial sex encounters.

It is estimated that women trafficked by the Ukrainian network (mainly Ukrainian women) were ‘rented out’ 1,020 times on average, against 900 times in 2000 – the women attracted 27% of the total number of commercial sex encounters between clients and women forced into prostitution. These 4,900 women suffered about 5 m. commercial sex encounters.

It is estimated that women trafficked by the Balkan network (mainly Bulgarian and Romanian women) were ‘rented out’ 980 times on average, against 920 times in 2000 – the women

³¹ On the distinction, which uses as a criterion the degree and type of involvement prostitution has in the sexual and overall social living of the client, see Lazos, 2002b, pp. 198-222.

attracted 20% of the total number of commercial sex encounters between clients and women forced into prostitution. These 3,850 women suffered about 3.8 m. commercial sex encounters.

Finally, it is estimated that women trafficked by the Albanian network (mainly Albanian women) were 'rented out' 1,460 times on average, against 1,380 times in 2000 – the women attracted 20% of the total number of commercial sex encounters between clients and women forced into prostitution. These 2,550 women suffered about 3.8 m. commercial sex encounters.

3. Money

The reduction in the number of clients in 2002, in relation to 2000, combined with a parallel reduction in the number of commercial sex encounters between clients and women forced into prostitution, should not automatically lead to the conclusion that the revenues of forced prostitution in Greece were also reduced.

Before, however, moving ahead with estimates about revenues from forced prostitution in 2002, we need to have as clear a picture as possible of its basic financial units, i.e. of prostitution fees, in other words of the price charged for a commercial sex encounter in the various sectors of prostitution. What is quite interesting is that in 2002 fees remained fixed by comparison to fees two years earlier, in 2000.

(Prostitution fees)

By comparison to 2000 prostitution fees charged in the various prostitution sectors were as follows:

In the prostitution sectors of bars, of brothels (both legal and illegal ones, or legal ones that employ women forced into prostitution illegally), of massage parlors and of streetwalkers, prostitution fees remained at 2000 levels. To be more exact, there have been some slight increases, which, at their maximum, do not exceed the – low – inflation rate of Greece in 2001-2002, and they are mostly due to rounding up after the introduction of the euro.

An increase higher than that of the inflation rate was seen in the call girls' sector, owed principally to (increasingly) higher demand. This increase could reach as high as 5%.

Thus, prostitution fees in 2002 were as follows:

- Brothels – between 10 and 30 €
- Streetwalkers – between 5 and 45 €

- Bars/night clubs – between 15 and 100 €
- Massage parlors – between 30 and 150 €
- Call girls – between 40 and 300 €.

The average fee (for prostitution in general) was at 46 € in 2002, against 45 € in 2000, 40 € in 1997, 27 € in 1993 and 17 € in 1990.³²

(Total revenues)

In 2002, forced prostitution revenues showed no change, or to be more exact they showed a slight decrease not exceeding 2%. While in 2000, they must have reached €935 m., maybe €940 m, in 2002 they were about €920 m.

On a five-year scale, which can allow us a broader perspective, we see that in the period starting in 1997 - the highest point for forced prostitution revenues since 1980 - forced prostitution revenues suffered only a very small drop; available data show that it did not even reach 4%.

At this point, we need to make one thing clear. The gradual and almost imperceptible drop in forced prostitution revenues does not imply that the net profit of trafficking networks also dropped. According to available data, the net profit of persons managing forced prostitution, have been on an upward course between 2000 and 2002, a trend even more pronounced in the period 1997-2002. The course was steeper in the period 1997-2000, continuing perhaps into 2000 and 2001, while starting from 2001 moving towards 2002 it seems to have reached a plateau, maybe even had a slight decrease, which however cannot be identified conclusively. In any event, the question of the variance between revenues and net profit from forced prostitution cannot be addressed in the context of this report.³³ A finding worth reporting is that, gradually, we see more individuals, increasingly

³² For a more comprehensive comparison see Lazos, 2002b, pp. 110-18. In 2000 values less inflation, the average fee was at € 46 in 2002, against € 45 in 2000, € 46 in 1997, € 45 in 1993 and € 49 in 1990. In addition to making improvements in quality in terms of both physical and cultural features and of services offered traffickers gradually reduced prices.

We need to point out here that the main bulk of fees is considerably higher than the figures given above. However, a small (fluctuating) number of fees are exceptionally low thus lowering the average. For example, if we do not take into account the bottom 5% of fees (which we have already done with the fluctuating top 3-5% that applies to luxury prostitution i.e. fees consistently higher than € 1,000 and as a rule higher than € 3,000), then the average fee is at € 49.

³³ “Having completed the presentation and analysis of the revenues from forced prostitution and of trafficking networks in the period 1990-2000 in Greece, we automatically come upon three questions: What have the net *profits* from forced prostitution been? How were they allocated? How were they managed? An answer to these questions would presuppose another question regarding forced prostitution *expenses*. Money used for the maintenance of women and minors forced into prostitution are an important part of these expenses, and the issue is directly connected to the living conditions of these people and to their

‘willing to settle for less’, who view any income they could earn by getting involved in the forced prostitution of immigrant women as sufficient motive. The reasons behind this development are several and quite complex, and they relate to the gradual transformation of ‘street offenders’ to offenders involved in organized crime. We shall name two particular reasons relating to this change in mentality: first, changes in the manning procedures of trafficking networks, and, second, changes in the allocation of particular activities within trafficking networks.

Returning to the previous scale of presentation, the stability noted in forced prostitution revenues between 2000 and 2002 does not reflect any internal stability or equilibrium in the fundamentals of forced prostitution. This is directly evident when we view the subject from two distinct but equally important perspectives.

(Revenues of particular prostitution sectors)

Comparing with 2000, in 2002 we see a drop in the revenues of particular prostitution sectors, and to be more exact of forced prostitution sectors, such as, for example, brothels, streetwalkers and bars. The sector with the largest drop was that of brothels. It is estimated that its revenues went down by 20, while the sectors of streetwalkers and bars experienced a somewhat lower drop (about 16%). On the contrary, the sectors of massage parlors and call girls enjoyed considerable increase, around 23% and 38% respectively. So, while in 2000, the revenues from the call girls (forced into prostitution) sector were €250-260m, in 2002 they were in the area of €350m., perhaps even higher.

Given that between 2000 and 2002, prostitution fees had only a limited and unsteady increase the drop in prostitution revenues in bars is primarily the result of the reduction in the number of commercial sex encounters between clients and prostitutes and more precisely between clients and women forced into prostitution. A decisive role in maintaining revenues in 2002 at 2000 levels was played by an increase in the number of commercial sex encounters in the call girls sector, a sector where fees are clearly higher than in bars.

(The revenues of trafficking networks)

physical and psychological state. This was one of the focal points of our research. However, total forced prostitution expenses are clearly a broader issue, since they include operating and other expenses (...) Perhaps in the future we may be given the chance to answer one or more of the above questions” Lazos, 2002b, p. 172.

This change was also manifested on the level of the principal trafficking networks operating in Greece. It is estimated that in relation to 2000 the financial revenues of the Balkan network increased significantly, between 60% and 65%, reaching some €185m. On the contrary, the revenues of the Russian and Ukrainian network fell by 7-8% and 10-11% respectively. It is estimated that the financial revenues of the Russian network reached €310 m. and those of the Ukrainian one €285-290m.

The financial revenues of trafficking groups making up the Albanian network fell by about 30%. This drop in conjunction with other difficulties these groups face, as we have mentioned above, can lead to the conclusion that the Albanian trafficking network is going through a crisis which may threaten its autonomy vis-à-vis the remaining networks.

(Emerging general trends)

Viewed from a different perspective - perhaps the most important one - this change in the internal distribution of the financial revenues generated from prostitution and from forced prostitution indicates that there have been changes in the general course towards development followed by forced prostitution in Greece in the beginning of the 21st century. Given that in the last six years forced prostitution has been in control of at least ¾ of total prostitution, this trend towards reorganization affects prostitution in general.

A careful study of available data shows that from 2000 moving on to 2002, prostitution serving low class clients and immigrants as well as men who for a period of time had but a small income (e.g. soldiers) went through several fluctuations, on the one hand in the number of prostitutes, clients, commercial sex encounters, revenues, and on the other in the various prostitution sectors. For example, commercial sex encounters and revenues in brothels and in (of small significance) the streetwalkers' sector fell. However, at the same time there has been a slight but clear increase in the number of clients, mainly through the addition of immigrant clients as well as of low-income Greek nationals. Viewed directly, this trend may not seem important: these men 'rented' women rather sparsely and against a low fee. Nonetheless, the appearance of a new category of clients and the 'return' of another is of special importance on a middle scale. At the same time, all sizes in the sub-sector of prostitution practiced in bars promoting low quality - according to clients - merchandise at low fees remained steady.

A sub-sector of prostitution that came to see a clear and quite considerable drop was that of bars or nightclubs charging average or slightly above average fees, in other words the sub-sector targeting lower-middle or middle class clients. In the 1990s, this sub-sector – a form of prostitution

that proved to be the option best suited to farmers, employees living in towns and cities and small businessmen – had the highest rate of growth pulling along prostitution in general. The extent to which the decline observed between 2000 and 2002 was of a more permanent nature remains to be seen in the next two or more years.

On the contrary, prostitution catering to the sexual and other similar needs of the upper-middle class (mainly the call girls' sector but also bars offering high-priced forced prostitution) showed a considerable increase between 2000 and 2002.

Therefore, in terms of clients (individuals, commercial sex encounters, money), developments in prostitution in 2002, and in relation to 2000, show a weak, nonetheless evident, trend of moving back to the way things were ten years ago, when the middle and lower-middle classes had practically no access to prostitution, before massively and enthusiastically accepting the summons of forced prostitution to enter the market. However, this trend does not mean that it is indeed possible to go back to the early '90s. The forced prostitution of the '90s has left its mark on prostitution in Greece. It has taken away its old tendency to follow demographic developments under the eye of the policeman and of the physician and it has given it a new, economic, orientation allowing it to adapt to all the - duly paid for - demands of clients. On the other hand, forced prostitution does not seem willing or able to adapt to the financial difficulties faced by the middle and lower-middle classes and cut prices back to the levels of the early '90s – a fact which had already been evident back in 1997.³⁴ The most plausible explanation is that forced prostitution is not in a position to further reduce fees, in other words to further lower the total production cost of the merchandise. Moreover, the increase of the risk factor resulting from increasingly effective police actions is likely to pressure towards an increase of the prostitution fee (or/and a drop in the quality of the product, or/and a drop in the quality of the prostitution environment), mainly in the prostitution sectors that market the merchandise in prices proportionate to the financial capacity of the lower-middle and middle classes.

We shall close this section of the report focusing on three broad perspectives.

The first one (Table 1) is an overview of the development of forced prostitution in Greece after 1990 and up until 2002 on the basis of the four dimensions we consider to be the most important: prostitutes, clients, commercial sex encounters and financial revenues.

³⁴ See Lazos 2002b, pp 95-110.

Table 1.

Certain total sizes of forced prostitution in Greece, 1990-2002

Years	No. of Prostitutes	Commercial sex encounters (million)	Revenues (million €)	Clients (thousand)
1990	2.100	1,3	38	82.000
1993	8.400	7,4	245	460.000
1997	21.750	22,7	956	920.000
2000	19.400	19,8	935	980.000
2002	17.200	18,5	921	900.000

The second perspective attempts to approach the phenomenon of forced prostitution in modern Greece in 'collective harem' terms. Under an atypical contract with his peers, the man-client keeps a population of women (or of other persons, still, in all cases, in order to use such persons sexually) in a state of collective use with the aim of satisfying his sexual appetites and, above all, his need for power. In this context, each prostitute is one pole of a 'collective harem' relation where, instead of one man having at his disposal several women, as it was the custom of several cultures in the past, several men share in the use of one woman. This woman (as a prostitute) is at any moment at the disposal of each man and of all the men (clients). This way, burdened by a minimal cost for maintaining the woman, the man can enjoy a wide variety of features and techniques, which would otherwise require several women and consequent commitments, an option practically closed to the majority of men.³⁵

Table 2.

Certain key dimensions of the 'collective harem' relation

Years	No. of commercial sex encounters of an	Average annual maintenance cost of a woman forced into	Number of clients per woman forced into prostitution

³⁵ For the meaning of 'collective harem', *ibid* pp. 237-269.

	average forced prostitution client	prostitution per client (in €)	
1990	15,1	449	40
1993	16,0	537	55
1997	21,1	890	49
2000	20,2	952	51
2002	20,5	1.026	52

Finally, it may be worth mentioning that in 2002 in Greece one woman forced into prostitution corresponded to every 262 sexually active men while one in every 268 women was a woman that had been forced into prostitution.

The developments that have been presented to this point “took place within the limits set by an illegal market, exactly because it was illegal. In fact, prostitution found itself in a liberalizing course *because*, and to the extent that, it was illegal. Moreover, the liberalization of the prostitute-client relation became possible, exactly because the prostitute was the pimp’s slave. The slavery parameter in the relation between prostitute and pimp not only did not impede but on the contrary smoothed the progress of the prostitute-client relation: it liberated it from conventions and unwritten laws that protected primarily the prostitute, providing her with a minimum of security and the ability to plan her future in a feasible and desirable manner. *At the level of the prostitution market, prostitution controlled by trafficking networks has been the freest form of prostitution Greece has ever known.*”³⁶

C. Police actions

In the last two years, 2001-2002, the Greek Police has taken considerable action against trafficking.

³⁶ Lazos, 2002b, pp. 239-240.

54 cases of trafficking were solved in 2001. In 2001, the trafficking groups involved in the cases had channeled 165 women, (162 immigrant and 3 Greek) into prostitution.³⁷ In 2002, the number of trafficking cases solved went up to 64 and 251 members of trafficking groups were arrested. These persons were involved in the exploitation of 184 immigrant women.³⁸ It should be pointed out that there is no direct correlation between the number of women located by the Police and the actual number of women forced into prostitution. The position of networks in the prostitution market and their relative power have a decisive effect on the number of arrests. Moreover, as we have explained above, the principal networks (Russian and Ukrainian) use a tree structure to traffic women into Greece, the result being that it is the final exploiters who are tracked down.³⁹

What is even more interesting about 2001 is that another 1,115 immigrant women were arrested – 486 as victims of procuring or pimping and 629 as illegal prostitutes working in “brothels without a work permit, or in illegal brothels (hotels, apartments etc)”.⁴⁰ Available data indicates that the vast majority of these women must have been involved in procuring or perhaps trafficking networks.

Additionally, in 2001, an additional 525 immigrant women were arrested for working illegally in bars, coffee shops,⁴¹ nightclubs etc. In view of the way prostitution operates in Greece, it

³⁷ The women hailed from: Romania – 49, Russia – 31, Ukraine – 16, Albania, Moldova – 13, Uzbekistan – 12, Bulgaria – 11, Nigeria – 9, Byelorussia, Lithuania – 4, Latvia, Poland – 3, Slovakia – 2, Santo Domingo, Belgium, Brazil, Yugoslavia, Kazakhstan, FYROM, the Czech Republic – 1. Among them there were 6 Greek women.

³⁸ The women hailed from: Romania – 34, Moldova – 33, Ukraine – 31, Bulgaria – 16, Russia – 14, Byelorussia – 8, Nigeria – 6, Uzbekistan, Albania – 5, Poland – 4, Latvia – 2, Rwanda, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Germany – 1. It is interesting that in 2002 there were 6 Greek nationals among the women exploited by persons that fit the definition of pimp according to Law 3064/2002 on trafficking in people. Judging by developments in 2001 and 2002, some type of ‘internal’ trafficking may be developing in Greece.

³⁹ A total of 153 perpetrators were arrested. And we can note two interesting similarities. First, each group dismantled by the police was made up of about 3 members and second it exploited some 3 women. As a rule, the level of the distribution of illegal activities in the branch of the trafficking network dismantled by the police that was active in Greece was very low. And certainly such groups cannot accumulate large sums from exploiting women. If they are not involved in other forms of organized crime, such as drugs, they limit themselves to surviving at the woman’s expense, until such time when the police come to locate them or when they themselves put an end to their activities.

Another interesting point is the men - women ratio between nationalities: 88 Greek nationals (9 of them women) and 65 foreign nationals (19 of them women). The higher percentage of women among foreign traffickers arrested by the police (as well as the age difference between the two groups – the average age of non-Greek female traffickers was 10 years lower) seems to support the position that we are now before a ‘second generation’ of foreign women forced into prostitution.

⁴⁰ General Report of the Greek Police for 2001, p. 27.

is very likely that a large number of these women were under the control of procurers, or traffickers. However, it has not been possible for the Police to collect the necessary evidence.

So, in 2001, the Police located (and withdrew from the market) a total of 1,277 illegal immigrant prostitutes as well as 525 immigrant women in the periphery of prostitution. An observation made by the police gives an idea of current developments, or to be more exact of the continuous improvement in the way trafficking networks operate in terms of methods, techniques and distribution of illicit activity. “New Trend: Criminals using ‘pink’ ads to attract clients seem to be clustering together by merging offices and organizing more efficiently. They retain attorneys who ‘advise’ them on how to avoid arrests. The use of computers, client databases and the overall operation structure indicates a broadening and even proliferation of activities. It is only a matter of time before small ‘offices’ are driven out”⁴²

If we take into account the fact that these police interventions targeted a population of 17 - 19 thousand immigrant women forced into prostitution,⁴³ we can plausibly argue that in the period 2001-2002 police actions in Greece had a restraining effect, which could be described as diffused. This effect cannot be defined directly but it could be contextualized as follows:

It seems that in the past forced prostitution and trafficking networks could absorb police actions without their operation suffering serious consequences. Conversely, in 2001-2002, police managed to increase the fatigue factor of the networks achieving palpable results. Trafficking networks and local procuring networks were dismantled at a local level. As one would expect each dismantling creates a void in the market and it takes some time for this void to be filled, either through reorganization or through the creation of a new establishment. Certainly, of special importance is the locality in which the dismantling took place. For example, if it was on an island with a small town and a couple of villages the time that will be required before the void is filled and the demand is covered is relatively long, perhaps longer than a year. Moreover, in such cases the clients get out of ‘tune’, out of the habit of resorting to such services. The general predisposition may still be there but a way of life that included the use of prostitutes as part of leisure activities and of local culture is no longer there.

⁴¹ Law 3064 on trafficking passed through Parliament in October 2002. The above classifications made by the Police are based on drafts of the bill proposed by OKEA (the Counter-Trafficking Committee of the Ministry of Public Order). In our opinion, the vast majority of the foreign prostitutes belonging to the ‘second circle’ as described in the Police Report – i.e. 1,115 women – are under the control of traffickers.

⁴² General Report of the Greek Police for 2001, p. 37.

⁴³ On the basis of the assumption that in 2001 their population will be somewhere ‘between’ that of 2000 and of 2002.

On the other hand, if the bust took place in a town or city, other establishments exploiting women forced into prostitution absorb, often in practically no time, the clients, making small changes in the hours the establishments remain open and/or intensifying the exploitation of the women. So, in all probability the 24 busts made in Athens or the 11 ones made in Thessaloniki in 2002 were of a smaller relative significance than similar busts made further away from large cities, such as for example the 9 busts in Patras or the 3 busts in Rethymnon and in Corfu. At any rate, the successful actions taken by the police have objectively increased the risk for pimps and tend to produce a cumulative effect: increasing hesitation towards becoming involved.⁴⁴

Regarding the long-term effectiveness of police actions, two important issues remain to be examined. First, the number of women forced into prostitution who, after having been sent back to their countries, return to Greece. Second, the fatigue factor affecting the police in this specific clash with organized crime. A significant part of the fatigue is caused by financial and sexual corruption.

Closing this section, it is obvious that trafficking shows a particularly high level of resistance against successive interventions made by the Police and is in a position to manage and exploit several thousands of immigrant women. In all probability, however, trafficking will continue its downward course in the immediate future, possibly for the next couple of years, after 15 years of dominating prostitution. Indeed, the combination of changes in the organization of the networks and in the population of women forced into prostitution may have created the conditions for a major decline during the next couple of years.

Toward such a development two factors could provide decisive assistance to the police. First, the conviction of traffickers in the courts of law and second, the creation of effective centers for the social reinsertion of women forced into prostitution.

From a broader perspective, however, in a society plagued by extended inequalities in terms of both class and gender, it is impossible for law enforcement mechanisms to eradicate forced prostitution and trafficking, being as they are a manifestation of organized crime. In this case, it is the financial difficulties of the men that make up the clientele of forced prostitution that has been the decisive factor in the decline of forced prostitution in the three-year period 2000-2002. It is in this broader context that the police, having improved their methods and above all the incentives for combating trafficking, have been increasingly effective.

D. The superstructure of forced prostitution

⁴⁴ Of course, an increase in profits from trafficking and/or general factors such as the increase in the crime rate, the increase in the number of persons serving prison sentences, increasing financial difficulties etc. exercise pressure towards the opposite direction.

Trafficking has been an important social issue since the early '90s. It has affected several typical social institutions, such as the state and the family, and atypical ones, such as everyday relations, the gender culture and culture in general. Over this objective reality a broad and complex social superstructure developed.

Part of the superstructure developed in order to serve the needs of forced prostitution and of all persons involved in it directly or indirectly. A dialect took form, and a series of atypical conventions, routines and assumptions came into being. Further, the need to assign meaning to actions and situations at a broader level had to be covered. The man-client, the prostitute-woman and the pimp have memory and relations. They reflect, remember, are involved, experience shame. Women forced into prostitution are essentially silent; they have no voice. In the best of cases somebody else speaks on their behalf. On the contrary, the two remaining parties to this relation, the pimps and the clients, speak about everything that is going on; they explain, teach, rationalize, justify. It is their dialect and their way of thinking that spread outwards to society, establishing the power of forced prostitution.

Another part of the superstructure developed in order to help society at large to understand the issue, to judge if it constitutes a social problem and to seek solutions. It is to do with publicity, with the laws, with the various ways of thinking about forced prostitution and trafficking. An instance of this second superstructure is this report. Even though people participating in its production may believe that they are working toward finding ways to deal with the problem and to solve it, at the same time both them and their views and actions are part of the problem. In fact in some cases, they may not be contributing to its solution but on the contrary to its reproduction and strengthening. For example, publicity has helped promote solutions to specific parts of the problem but at the price of bringing about broader acceptance or tolerance of forced prostitution. A part of the issue was turned into a problem and certain solutions were designed that will only be judged when they are put into action, while another part came to be impressed as an acceptable part of everyday living. The woman forced into prostitution is called "the Russian woman", "the Ukrainian woman", "the Bulgarian woman", all names carrying strong sexist and racist overtones and a broad context of humiliation and sarcasm has developed around her. Moreover, her being used is a fact now tolerated, even if the client is embarrassed to state clearly that he uses her services. This embarrassment stems from the model of man as a hunter of women; as a client, the man 'rents' the flock of the pimp thus proving that he is unable to hunt.

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