

DEMAND.

A COMPARATIVE EXAMINATION OF SEX TOURISM AND
TRAFFICKING IN JAMAICA, JAPAN, THE NETHERLANDS,
AND THE UNITED STATES

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Sex tourism is the travel by buyers of sexual services for the purpose of procuring sexual services from another person in exchange for money and/or goods. Sex tourism can occur between countries or cities. Sex tourists create a demand which drives the recruitment of more victims to be trafficked to commercial sex markets to meet their demands. Human trafficking, including sex trafficking, is defined in Article 3 of the United Nations Protocol as “the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation...; (b) The consent of a 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.” The Trafficking Victims Protection Act 2000 (TVPA) sec. 103(9) defines sex trafficking as “the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act” and explains that all “severe forms of trafficking in persons” means—(A) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion.” Both provide that the inducement of a child less than 18 years of age eliminates the need to prove force, fraud or coercion. Sex trafficking is the response to demand in the market; it is the supply of persons, especially women and children, who are brought into sexual slavery and exploitation.

Shared Hope International (SHI), with funding from the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, U.S. Department of State, undertook a twelve month examination of the marketplace of commercial sexual exploitation—defined in this report as the buying and selling of humans for the purposes of sexual exploitation in exchange for anything of value—in four countries: Jamaica, Japan, the Netherlands, and the United States. Each of these countries has major markets of commercial sexual services, and each country is a destination for sex tourists from abroad and internally. Moreover, each country has a distinctly different culture, economy, political system, and history of prostitution and slavery which presented comparative examinations of the operation of sex tourism and trafficking markets. Field researchers traveled to each country and worked closely with local specialists to gain access to many venues and actors in the commercial sex markets in order to understand the impact of demand for commercial sex on sex tourism and sex trafficking.

This report approaches sex tourism and sex trafficking from a market-based perspective in which buyers of commercial sex services bring demand, traffickers move victims like product to the markets to satisfy the demand, and facilitators allow the trade to occur in a myriad of ways, for example by providing a venue for the transactions, similar to a shopping mall of human product.

KEY FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

I. SEX TRAFFICKING AND SEX TOURISM ARE A SINGLE MARKET OF EXPLOITATION

In the sex tourism markets, demand exceeds supply of women to provide the commercial sex services which buyers are groomed to expect through advertising and popular culture. Sex traffickers fill this deficiency by delivering women and children to meet the demand of buyers in sex tourism markets. This creates a single market of sexual exploitation in which sex tourism is fueled by sex trafficking.

Buyers are groomed to expect immediate and easy access to commercial sex and are demanding sex internationally and locally. This results in the trafficking of vulnerable women and children to satisfy that demand for commercial sex services. The perils of sex tourism reach both foreign and local women and children. Facilitators continue to use the same exploitation techniques for local and foreign girls. This use of local victims in a local market has altered the traditional view of sex tourism and has created a marketplace in which sex trafficking and sex tourism cannot be viewed separately.

II. A CULTURE OF TOLERANCE FOR COMMERCIAL SEX EXISTS IN EACH OF THE LOCATIONS

The culture of tolerance for sex markets is an environment shaped by geography, history, tradition, legislation, language, behavior and many other influences. A unique culture of tolerance exists in each of the four countries as the backdrop for the operation of commercial sex markets. Commercial sex has been normalized to such a degree that buyers no longer feel compelled to travel abroad to satisfy sexual urges. As the culture continues to normalize sexual images and activities, the markets grow. Specific examples of normalization occurring within the cultures of tolerance include the following:

- **Jamaica:** In this tourism-reliant country, a perception of escapism is encouraged through advertising by all-inclusive adult-only resorts that encourage tourists to demand any pleasure they wish, as well as smaller travel companies which arrange sex tours. On a local level, severe poverty has led to the cultural allowance of “making do,” which includes earning money for oneself and one’s family by any means available, including commercial sex by children and adults.
- **The Netherlands:** Legalized prostitution, promotion of red light districts as tourism activities, and centuries-long tolerance of commercial sexual activity have resulted in development of extreme, “fringe” commercial sex markets and the tremendous growth in demand for commercial sexual services by both local and international visitors.
- **United States:** The sexualized popular culture glamorizes pimping and prostitution and reduces the moral barriers to accessing commercial sex without regard to the origin or conditions of the trafficked women and children. Las Vegas’ now famous slogan, “What happens in Vegas, stays in Vegas,” provides visitors with an excuse to act in ways outside the norm of their own community.
- **Japan:** The equation of sex with physical health and heavily enforced cultural gender roles has normalized the Japanese male’s “need” for sex. The legality of all sexual services except vaginal intercourse provides easy access to these normalized commercial sex markets.

III. LABELING AND MISIDENTIFICATION ALLOW TRAFFICKING MARKETS TO FLOURISH

Failure by government, law enforcement and society to identify trafficked women and children as victims often results in improper placement and treatment. Misidentification occurs when victims are labeled as illegal immigrants, juvenile delinquents, drug mules, or thieves and forced or coerced to commit crimes while being trafficked. This criminalization can subject victims to incarceration and deportation. Labeling victims of sex trafficking, adults and minors, as willing prostitutes, “lot lizards” and “hos” also impedes their access to social services and legal aid. These labels allow buyers to dehumanize the victim, using her simply as a product. The impact of this misidentification also works to facilitate sex trafficking by allowing the trafficker to operate with little fear of any consequences.

Simultaneously, while blame is assigned to victims of sex trafficking, traffickers and buyers are able to benefit from being labeled with normalized names—johns, tricks, clients, “loverboys” or pimps—which do not carry the stigma and criminal weight they should. Statistically, it is clear that political and societal will and resources to bring the buyer and trafficker to justice is lacking. For example, in 2006, according to statistics collected in one county in Nevada, 153 minors were arrested for prostitution, but only two pimps were arrested in these cases. Furthermore, Congressional findings in the End Demand for Sex Trafficking Bill issued April 28, 2005, stated that 11 females used in commercial sex acts were arrested in Boston for every one arrest of a male purchaser; 9 females to every one male purchaser in Chicago; and 6 females to every one male purchaser in New York City.

IV. CRIMINAL MARKETS OF TRAFFICKED PERSONS EXIST

In all locations, the commercial sex market provides a veneer of acceptability and legality. However, a criminal black market hides behind this veneer using trafficking victims to satisfy the surplus demand from sex tourists for services advertised. Under the guise of legal commercial sex venues, such as strip clubs, escort services and adult pornography, sex trafficking provides human victims to fulfill the demand in the criminal sexual exploitation markets.

V. BUYERS ARE SITUATIONAL, PREFERENTIAL, OR OPPORTUNISTIC

Buyers of sexual services can be placed in three categories: situational, preferential and opportunistic. The definitions of buyers commonly employed by those working in the area of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) include “situational” and “preferential” buyers. Situational buyers are defined as those who engage minors in commercial sex because they are available, vulnerable and the practice is tolerated. Preferential buyers, such as pedophiles, have a sexual preference and shop specifically in the markets providing the preferred victim or service.

In the larger commercial sex market involving adults and minors there is a third group of buyers which can be described as “opportunistic buyers.” Opportunistic buyers are those who purchase sex indiscriminately because they do not care, are willfully blind to the age or willingness of the female, or are unable to differentiate between adults and minors. Due to intensive marketing and the increased normalization of commercial sex in society, buyers from a young age are groomed to glamorize commercial sex, to dehumanize the women and children pressed into service with names such as “ho”, and even to express aggression toward the victims through violent video games such as The Pimp Game and Grand Theft Auto. A full examination of the psychology of buyers is beyond the scope of this report, but it is clear that cultures of tolerance enable the process and even condone the purchase of commercial sex by buyers.

VI. INSTITUTIONS AND INDIVIDUALS FACILITATE SEX TRAFFICKING AND SEX TOURISM

Institutional facilitators are the businesses, governments and other institutions benefiting in some way from commercial sex markets which use trafficked women and children. For example, some hotels facilitate sex trafficking by allowing women and children to be prostituted on the premises through inaction, tolerance or poor management. Local governments in the Netherlands facilitate sex trafficking through negligence by failing to enact regulations for all sectors of the commercial sex industry, especially escort services where trafficking victims are hidden from view. In Las Vegas, fliers and cards advertising prostitution are aggressively thrust at passersby on the Strip where no other vendor advertising is present. In all locations, failure to prioritize prosecution of the traffickers and buyers make negligent authorities and officials facilitators of trafficking. Any lack of knowledge or interest or priorities on the part of institutional facilitators does not excuse their role in perpetuating sex trafficking markets.

Individual facilitators include pimps, traffickers, cab drivers, document forgers, pornographers, corrupt or negligent officials in governments or businesses, and other individuals benefiting directly or indirectly from the commercial sex markets. Some individual facilitators receive an immediate and direct benefit, such as the payment of commissions to taxi drivers by secret neighborhood brothels operating in Las Vegas and the Atlanta suburbs. They can also benefit indirectly. For example, a government official may ignore the presence of trafficking because it supplies a market which benefits the city's economy. Individual facilitators can operate independently, as in the case of street pimps in Kingston providing young girls to sex tourists, or within a structured, organized crime network. These networks can be structured loosely, as seen in the Netherlands, or highly centralized, as in Japan.

VII. TRAFFICKERS RANGE FROM TEENAGE RECRUITERS AND PIMPS TO ESTABLISHED ORGANIZED CRIMINALS

In all locations examined, with the exception of Japan, we found that increasingly younger males are recruiting females into the sex trade. These teen facilitators relate to the victims' needs, deceive victims into thinking themselves in love, and exploit their trust and insecurities. In the Netherlands, recruiters tend to be second-generation Moroccan and Turkish young men known as "loverboys." In Jamaica, the boys are trying to "make do" by pimping their sisters and friends, or selling themselves to female sex tourists. Recruiters in the United States are increasingly teenaged boys or young men who work for older male pimps and learn to lure girls through deceit and feigned affection or act as "guerilla pimps" and simply force the girls through brutality to submit to the sexual exploitation.

Organized crime syndicates are also involved in sex trafficking in each of the four countries. In the Netherlands, we uncovered Albanian, Turkish, and Russian criminal networks that recruit women in the Balkans and former Soviet states and move them through Europe into the Netherlands. These networks are loosely organized and involve intermediaries of different nationalities. In Japan, traffickers are tightly organized crime networks that operate in major cities and abroad. Russian organized crime has trafficked women and children to the United States, the Netherlands, Japan and Jamaica. Organized crime can also be seen in more localized, loosely affiliated groups or individuals supporting each other's criminal activities, such as the recent case in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. In this case, 31 men and women allegedly transported girls as part of a sex ring rotating teenaged girls through truck stops and rest areas in Pennsylvania, California, Michigan, Indiana, Georgia, Maryland, Tennessee, Florida, Louisiana, and other

states. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, served as the distribution center, utilizing intersections of five major highways to deliver a constant stream of buyers.

VIII. YOUNG FEMALES ARE RECRUITED AND EXPLOITED IN COMMERCIAL SEX MARKETS

Victims are becoming younger as demand is increasing. Vulnerable youth are especially susceptible to recruitment by pimps and traffickers. Increased attention to the exploitation of youth by traffickers has increased as well. In Las Vegas, for example, the number of prostituted domestic juvenile girls identified by police during arrests more than doubled between 1996 and 2006. In the Netherlands, one-third of trafficking investigations involved underage victims.

Demand for younger girls is increasing as buyers believe they are less likely to be infected with sexually transmitted diseases. Also, younger girls present the vision of innocence and vulnerability sought by buyers. The exploitation of local women and children is growing more common as foreign victims become more difficult to procure due to anti-trafficking programs in source countries, tightened immigration controls and the cultures of tolerance making domestic juveniles more readily available. Perception of sex trafficking is often of foreign women and girls being moved from their impoverished homes into a wealthier country for commercial sexual exploitation. This view is overly simplistic and even outdated, as there are many variations to the face of sex trafficking and sex tourism. Increasingly, that face is one of a local victim caught in a sex trafficking market generated by local demand.

IX. FOREIGN FEMALES STILL DEMANDED AND TRAFFICKED

Demand for foreign, “exotic” women and children for commercial sexual services has not diminished. In Las Vegas and Tokyo, in particular, advertisements for Latin lovers, Asian beauties, and Slavic sweethearts are prolific. In Washington, DC, closed ethnic, language-based and dialect-based brothels victimize women within their own “village” in the U.S. Many have simply transplanted a local market, Salvadoran men buying Salvadoran women, for example, in the U.S. Due to the poor economic situation in Southeast Asia and the Caribbean and the political upheaval and unemployment levels in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, many girls from these regions were found in Japan, Jamaica, the Netherlands and the United States.

IX. TECHNOLOGY IS THE ENGINE BEHIND THE GROWTH OF THE SEX TRADE

Technology has become the single greatest facilitator of the commercial sex trade in all of the countries observed, with the exception of Jamaica where word of mouth continues to dominate. In Japan, buyers are connected with prostituted women and children through a complex system of telephone booths and call centers. In both the Netherlands and the United States, commercial sex services and the victims providing those services are advertised extensively over the Internet, with a simple search of English language websites advertising escort services yielding 2.2 million results on Google. Cellular telephone technology is connecting buyers with victims and increasingly distancing the trafficker from the action of enslaving as he directs the transaction over the telephone.

Recent technologies have also contributed greatly to the proliferation of pornography. The viewing of adult pornography by situational or opportunistic buyers is a primary gateway to the purchase of humans for commercial sex. Although any additional measurement or analysis of the role of pornography in the commercial sex market is beyond the scope of our study, our initial

investigation into the marketplaces of victimization strongly affirms the need to research the psychological and societal costs of pornography.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, sex trafficking and sex tourism are interwoven as the former supplies the demands presented by the latter. Although each location examined has unique characteristics and manifestations of market activity, there are many similarities. The comparisons and parallels drawn in this report will enhance the collective understanding of demand for commercial sex and in turn will help to initiate collaborative, comprehensive, and ultimately successful measures to reduce demand.



METHODOLOGY

In this report, Shared Hope International (SHI) employs an interdisciplinary approach to the analysis of the marketplace of sex tourism and trafficking using a variety of primary and secondary sources. Most prominent and valuable are the field reports written by field researchers and SHI staff researching the sex markets in four target countries: Jamaica, Japan, the Netherlands, and the United States. The report draws from conversations with victims and survivors of sex trafficking, “players” in the sex markets and sex trafficking syndicates, investigative journalists, non-governmental organization (NGO) representatives, and legal analysts. Key secondary sources include criminological and sociological studies, official governmental reports and statistics, reports by NGOs in the areas of anti-trafficking, victim protection, human rights and women’s rights, websites pertaining to sex markets, bank records, deeds, property owners, financial statements, and other documentation that assisted in identifying the key operators and buyers in these sex markets.

SHI chose to study Jamaica, Japan, the Netherlands, and the United States because each of these countries has major markets of commercial sexual services, and each country is a destination for sex tourists and buyers. Moreover, each country has a distinctly different culture, economy, political system, and history of prostitution and slavery. This allowed SHI to analyze the function and structure of sex tourism and sex trafficking through the lens of demand objectively, using a microeconomic and macroeconomic perspective. To address the microeconomic qualities of sex tourism and trafficking as part of the commercial sex industry, this report applied a “business model” of investigation into the markets for commercial sexual services. Therefore, the terminology is market-based. The “johns” or “clients” of commercial sex are referred to as buyers. The pimps, traffickers, and individual beneficiaries of the commercial sex market are addressed as individual facilitators and hotel chains, local governments, and local cultures as institutional facilitators. The victims are viewed by the buyer as “product,” a label which represents the dehumanization of the victims and survivors of sex tourism and sex trafficking. Marketing strategies are used to describe what drives these markets. From a macroeconomic perspective, this report observes how institutions and organizations operate within the marketplace, including organized crime syndicates, corporations, and governments. These institutional facilitators are often some of the largest-scale economic beneficiaries in the marketplace of commercial sexual exploitation.

To better understand the nature of demand in the sex tourism markets and the role of sex trafficking of women and children, SHI profiled the commercial sex services available, the venues in which they are sold, the marketing methods employed, and profiles of the buyers, facilitators and victims. For each area observed, the following questions were asked:

- **Profiles of Services and Venues:** What sexual services are being offered in the market? Where are these activities taking place?
- **Profiles of Marketing Methods:** How do commercial sex industries and establishments market their product? How are sexual services advertised on the Internet, in magazines, newspapers, television, and radio? How is word-of-mouth advertising used to promote sexual services? How does marketing legitimize or cover-up illegal sexual services? How is demand generated through marketing?
- **Profiles of Buyers:** How do buyers seek out sexual services? Of what gender, age, and ethnicity are the buyers? Where do they live?
- **Profiles of Traffickers:** How do they operate and where? How do they move and/or launder their profits? What are their investments? Are they involved with politicians or law enforcement?
- **Profiles of Victims:** How do they enter the sex markets? What gender, age, and ethnicity are victims? What is their country of origin? Are they citizens, documented migrants, or undocumented persons?
- **Recommendations:** What concrete recommendations can we make to policymakers, police, non-governmental groups, and citizens in order to reduce demand by revealing the trafficking and sex tourism markets?

KEY DEFINITIONS

Sex tourism is defined in this report as travel by buyers of sexual services for the purpose of procuring sexual services from another person in exchange for money and/or goods. Sex tourism is most often discussed in terms of “child sex tourism”; indeed a great deal of legislation and civil society response has been directed at preventing child sex tourism and prosecuting offenders.¹ In this report, both child sex tourism and adult sex tourism were researched. Sex tourism is one market which uses victims of sex trafficking to satisfy the demand of buyers of children and adults.

¹Prosecutorial Remedies and other Tools to End the Exploitation of Children Today Act of 2003 (PROTECT Act 2003), 117 STAT. 650, Public Law 108-21, 18 U.S.C. § 2423. <<http://judiciary.senate.gov/special/S151CONF.pdf>>. The PROTECT Act criminalizes child sex tourism in Sec. 105: Penalties Against Sex Tourism: “(b) TRAVEL WITH INTENT TO ENGAGE IN ILLICIT SEXUAL CONDUCT.—A person who travels in interstate commerce or travels into the United States, or a United States citizen or an alien admitted for permanent residence in the United States who travels in foreign commerce, for the purpose of engaging in any illicit sexual conduct with another person shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than 30 years, or both.

“(c) ENGAGING IN ILLICIT SEXUAL CONDUCT IN FOREIGN PLACES.—Any United States citizen or alien admitted for permanent residence who travels in foreign commerce, and engages in any illicit sexual conduct with another person shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than 30 years, or both.

“(d) ANCILLARY OFFENSES.—Whoever, for the purpose of commercial advantage or private financial gain, arranges, induces, procures, or facilitates the travel of a person knowing that such a person is traveling in interstate commerce or foreign commerce for the purpose of engaging in illicit sexual conduct shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more than 30 years, or both.

“(e) ATTEMPT AND CONSPIRACY.—Whoever attempts or conspires to violate subsection (a), (b), (c), or (d) shall be punishable in the same manner as a completed violation of that subsection.

Sex trafficking is defined in this report as the recruitment, harboring, obtaining, and transporting of persons by use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjecting them to commercial sexual exploitation. If the victim is less than 18 years of age, no force, fraud or coercion is required to prove trafficking. The United Nations Protocol, Article 3 (b) explains that the consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation is irrelevant where force, fraud or coercion are used when the victim is under 18 years of age.² The TVPA 2000 states that severe forms of trafficking include sex trafficking—recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for purposes of commercial sexual activities in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age.³

The marketplace of commercial sexual exploitation is defined in this report as the buying and selling of individuals for the purposes of sexual exploitation in exchange for anything of value.

PRIMARY SOURCES

In carrying out many anti-trafficking initiatives around the world, SHI has established strong ties in several countries plagued by human trafficking: Indonesia, Singapore, Japan, Jamaica, the Netherlands, the United States, the Dominican Republic, Australia, India, South Africa, Fiji and Moldova. Also, in 2003, SHI implemented the Predator Project in South Africa, Singapore, Indonesia, the Dominican Republic, Australia, and Jamaica which documented on film many of the sex trade's perpetrators, thereby assisting in their arrest and prosecution by local law enforcement officials. This successful approach to revealing the markets of sex tourism and trafficking led to concrete changes in those countries and established the foundation for our approach to the research for this report.

In January 2006, SHI deployed research teams to the four target countries. Using the intelligence grading matrix on the next page, the teams performed field research and interviewed and engaged people with knowledge of sex trafficking and sex tourism in their geographic region.

“(f) DEFINITION.—As used in this section, the term ‘illicit sexual conduct’ means (1) a sexual act (as defined in section 2246) with a person under 18 years of age that would be in violation of chapter 109A if the sexual act occurred in the special maritime and territorial jurisdiction of the United States; or (2) any commercial sex act (as defined in section 1591) with a person under 18 years of age.

See also, ECPAT International's definition of child sex tourism: “It takes various forms, but generally it is about adult men who, in the course of traveling away from home, pay in cash or kind for sex with children. While some women engage in such violations, they represent less than 5% of sexual offenders.”

<http://www.ecpat.net/eng/CSEC/definitions/Child_sex_tourism.htm>; Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism, available at <<http://www.thecode.org>>.

² Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women And Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, U.N. General Assembly (55th sess. : 2000-2001) <http://www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions/dcatoc/final_documents_2/convention_%20traff_eng.pdf>.

³ Trafficking Victims Protection Act 2000, PUBLIC LAW 106-386—OCTOBER 28, 2000, 114 Stat. 1466 <<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/10492.pdf>>.

Research teams were able to pursue leads and provide accurate and useful information with maximum flexibility. Research teams operated fully within the guidelines of the United Nations Manual on the Effective Investigation and Documentation of Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, also known as the Istanbul Protocol.* Most sources cited in the body of this report were corroborated, that is, they were A—or B—rated sources. Where a source is uncorroborated, mention and explanation appears in the text.

Intelligence Grading Matrix

Source	Rating Code	Rating Code	Intelligence
Reliable source with previously tried and tested operational intelligence	A	1	Corroborated, operational, strong intelligence—capable of being developed further
Regular source—mainly strategic, accurate intelligence	B	2	Corroborated strategic level intelligence—could be used for operational targeting
Single contact untested source—intelligence at operational level	C	3	Uncorroborated operational intelligence—possibility of development
Single contact untested source—intelligence at strategic level	D	4	Uncorroborated strategic intelligence—no further development opportunity

Confidentiality: Many names have been changed and identifying details have been altered to protect the confidentiality of the sources and victims who have provided the information used in this report.

Interviews: SHI interviewed many actors in the sex trafficking industry, including buyers, traffickers, pimps, victims, etc. In addition, interviews with law enforcement investigators, journalists, attorneys, and others were conducted. Anti-trafficking policies and procedures in each country, as expressed by political players and NGO staff who deal with sex tourism and trafficking, were also examined.

Maps of Countries and Markets: SHI identifies the location of the primary commercial sex markets in each country discovered through field research and provides maps in the report that illustrate where the activity occurs.

Internet: The Internet is a key source for understanding how the commercial sex markets operate. Numerous advertisements for sexual services are available, as is detailed information about destination sites: brothels, resorts, strip clubs, and other venues. In addition to advertising venues for commercial sexual exploitation, the viewing of pornography on the Internet can be a gateway to the purchase of commercial sex services.

* The United Nations' Istanbul Protocol serves as a set of international guidelines for the assessment of persons who allege torture and ill treatment, for investigating cases of alleged torture, and for reporting such findings to the judiciary and any other investigative body. It is the most current set of international ethical guidelines for the investigation and documentation for victims of torture and victims of sex tourism and sexual violence through trafficking. The guidelines include respect for confidential professional relationships, including doctor-patient and attorney-client, informed consent procedures, confidentiality of identity, especially in regard to minors, acceptable techniques of questioning, including not forcing the victim to speak if he or she is reluctant, and gender sensitivity in sexual issues.

Statistics: Statistics were not derived by SHI; rather research of the most current, reliable statistics related to the issues presented in the report was performed and used in relation to the field research done for the report. Combinations of reliable sources—official and unofficial—were used and cited to provide the approximate size and geographic scope of the market in each target location and related areas. The wide statistical range uncovered illustrates the difficulty of obtaining an accurate estimate.

Newspapers: Advertisements for work in the sex industry are often found in newspapers, therefore we examined their contents and followed up on leads provided in local papers. Frequently the advertisements hide the sexual aspects of the work and thereby deceive women about the true nature of the work. Oftentimes the advertising also deceives the buyers into thinking they are purchasing something that in reality does not exist. The theme of deception is prevalent in all aspects of the trafficking markets.

Broadcast and Other Visual Media: Television, documentaries and movies were reviewed for their educational value and for the promotion and/or discouragement of prostitution and sex trafficking. Photographs taken in the field and photocopies of advertisements for commercial sex services were gathered to demonstrate the nature of the culture in each market.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Criminological Studies: Criminology is an influential academic field that examines the motivations and expressions of criminal behavior. Many excellent studies have been completed on criminal networks, sex trafficking, and sex tourism by key criminologists in Australia, the Netherlands, and Canada. SHI drew on this research to gather an understanding of criminal networks and markets, especially in the Netherlands.

Doctoral Dissertations: Few secondary sources on human trafficking and the sex trade by Japanese authors are available. Therefore, dissertations written by Japanese nationals at western, especially American, universities helped to fill this void and were critical to understanding the sex trade from a scholarly Japanese perspective.

Governmental Reports: The official position on prostitution, sex trafficking, and sex tourism was obtained for each country. Some of this information was derived from the annual “Trafficking in Persons” report by the U.S. State Department that categorizes each country according to its efforts and successes in countering trafficking and the annual assessment of U.S. anti-trafficking initiatives provided by the Department of Justice. In addition, government-funded assessments and analyses in all countries were obtained and reviewed for information and leads.

NGO Reports: Many non-profit and non-governmental organizations working in the anti-trafficking, human rights, and women’s rights arenas have first hand knowledge of the conditions under which men, women, and children work in the sex industry and the extent to which they are exploited. Their documented and verbal reports of their work and encounters assisted in confirming the validity and authority of our primary sources.

Reports of International Organizations: The International Organization of Migration (IOM) has been following human trafficking, irregular migration, and migration trends for many decades. With offices around the world and programs in each of our four target countries, their research reports contain official and timely information. In addition, the International Labor Organization

(ILO) has reports on trends in and victims of labor exploitation in the commercial sex industries that were consulted.

LEGAL AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Laws: Existing and draft laws pertaining to sex tourism, child prostitution, and human trafficking were reviewed, as well as the history of the laws and the cultural context in which the laws were adopted. In the United States, the state laws that protect children and punish traffickers in Nevada, DC and Maryland, and Georgia were examined.

Criminal Cases: Information was gleaned from closed criminal cases against sex offenders in the areas of sex trafficking, prostitution, child exploitation and related crimes. These cases shed light on how the markets operate; who the players are; and how effective the legal tools are. Recent but closed criminal cases involving sex tourism and sex trafficking in each of the target countries were reviewed.

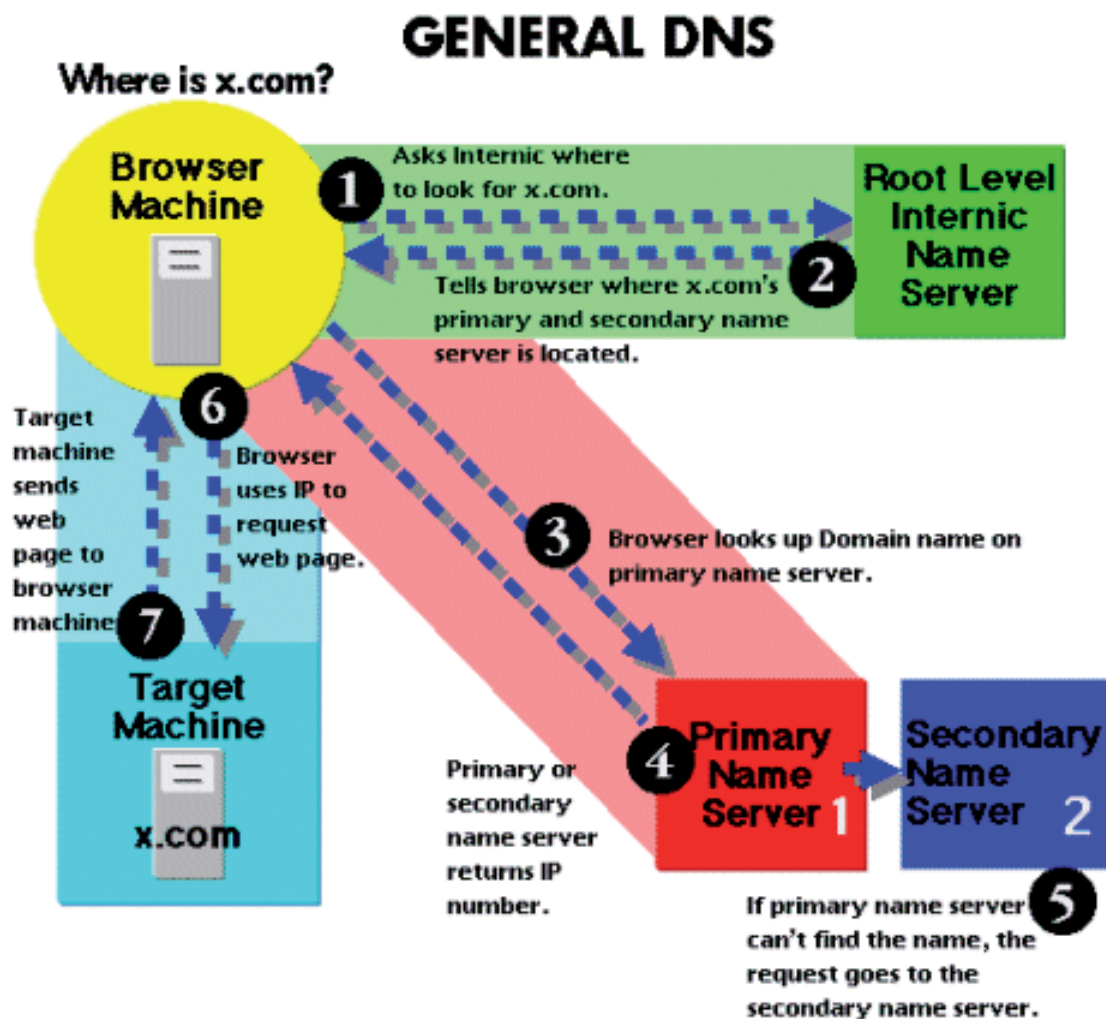
Public Property Records: Publicly available information about the ownership of properties on which sex tourism and trafficking occurs was reviewed for information on the financial beneficiaries and possible ties to the sex industry, where available. In the Netherlands, these records were available and were able to show high ownership concentrations.

WEBSITE ANALYSIS

Custom web research was conducted by an Internet investigation company in order to better identify websites and businesses likely to be facilitating, either directly or indirectly, sex trafficking and tourism. The complex technology employed was more comprehensive in searching and better able to filter out useful responses to keyword searches than conventional Internet search engines. Custom web research uncovered short-lived, unlinked, and hidden web domains, such as those often used to market illegal and exploitive sexual services and/or trafficked persons for sexual slavery. An initial search on Google revealed 2.2 million websites with the search terms “escort service” in English only. Thus, it was necessary to narrow the search greatly in order to result in a manageable amount of data. Several keywords were identified as common in such websites and businesses and those were searched for in the categories of underage sex, sexual services, and ethnicities. The firm utilized a progressive qualification process involving the search for keyword phrases as preliminary qualifiers for each of the five search categories: (1) erotic/sex tours; (2) mail order bride/marriage agencies; (3) international “modeling” agencies; (4) “full service” massage parlor; and (5) escort services. The keyword phrases were as follows:

- **Ethnicities:** Asian, Thai, Korean, Hispanic, Black, African, Ebony, European
- **Under-Age Sex:** Young, Preteen, Barely Legal, First Time, Child Love, Boy Love, Virgin, Innocent, Amateur
- **Services:** Full-service, In-Call, Out-Call, GFE, AMP, BBBJ

Once keyword sites were identified and collected, they were filtered with concept-based scoring and categorization in order to remove false positives. In addition, manual quality control was conducted in each grouping results on a minimum of one third of the total qualifying websites. A 24-hour webcrawl commenced for thirty days resulting in a finely filtered group of 5,096 websites which contained the key words and phrases determined to be associated with sex trafficking and sex tourism markets. Instant archive photos were taken of each identified webpage exhibiting the search terms and stored. Many of these sites were dismantled within weeks or even days to maintain the secrecy on which they thrive. Finally, the data was analyzed, converted into a readable form, and stored in databases. All information was subsequently uploaded into a searchable database and cross-linking specialized software called i2 Analyst linked information gathered in the field research, information obtained through office research and the webcrawl results. The following visual demonstrates the process used in the Internet research:



INTRODUCTION

Why is there tolerance for buying another person? Why aren't clients going to jail? You have to look at the whole market. If there weren't a buyer, there wouldn't be a procurer, and there wouldn't be a victimized woman or child. It's complicated in that the actions of buyers are accepted as normal and the languages of all the cultures label the 14-year-old victimized child a 'prostitute' and worthy of little sympathy, much less justice.

— Linda Smith, SHI Founder and Director

It is not enough that the law considers illegal behavior of the customer of sexual services...the functional equivalent of the law must also recognize such behavior as unacceptable. By 'functional equivalent of the law,' I mean the traditions, the customs, the acceptable behavior of the people. The legal systems that 'tolerate' or 'accommodate' or 'normalize' the behavior of the customer must reconsider its policies, change the law, and enforce the law accordingly.⁴

— Professor Mohamed Mattar,
Director,
The Protection Project of Johns Hopkins University
School of Advanced International Studies

Sex tourism and sex trafficking appear to be pandemic throughout the world. The demand for commercial sexual services is driving markets and generating profits for the criminal traffickers. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), a person trafficked into the sex industry earns approximately \$67,000 per year in revenue for her/his trafficker.⁵ The exact number of sex trafficking victims worldwide is unknown, however Congressional findings in the 2005 "End Demand for Sex Trafficking Bill" introduction state: "The U.S. Government estimates that as many as 600,000-800,000 individuals are trafficked across international borders each year...80% are women and girls...An estimated 100,000 to 300,000 children in the U.S. are at risk for commercial sexual exploitation at any time."⁶

⁴ Mattar, Mohamed, remarks in the "Demand Dynamics: The Forces of Demand in Global Sex Trafficking Conference Report," Morrison Torrey ed. (Captive Daughters and the International Human Rights Law Institute of DePaul University College of Law: Chicago, IL, October 17-18, 2003) pp. 95-105.

http://www.law.depaul.edu/institutes_centers/ihrli/downloads/demand_dynamics.pdf.

⁵ "A Global Alliance Against Forced Labor, Report of the General Director," [International Labor Organization](http://www.ilo.org), May 11, 2005.

⁶ Congressional findings, "End Demand for Sex Trafficking Act of 2005," intro. House of Representatives April 28, 2005. <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c109:H.R.2012:>.

To combat sex trafficking, it is necessary to examine the markets of commercial sexual exploitation where victims are human product sold for sex, abused, exploited, tortured and frequently killed. In this report, Shared Hope International presents its findings from a twelve month examination⁷ of the operation of demand in sex tourism and trafficking markets in four countries: Jamaica, Japan, the Netherlands, and the United States. The report examines the marketplaces of victimization in these four countries by deploying human rights researchers to selected cities within the countries to meet with the perpetrators, the victims, journalists, NGO representatives, policy makers, and others with information on the marketplaces of exploitation in their country.

Specifically, this report addresses the following questions related to marketplaces of demand for commercial sexual services:

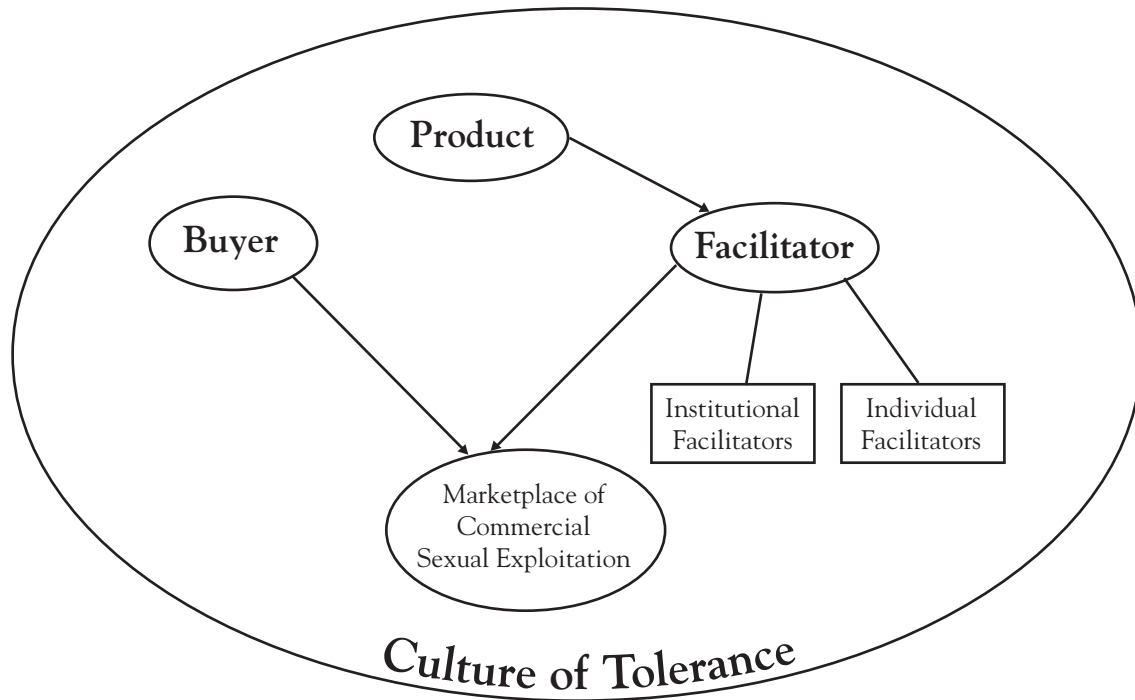
- What is the structure of the market?
- Where are the markets located?
- Who are the buyers?
- Who are the traffickers?
- Who are the facilitators?
- Who are the recruiters?
- Who is the victim in this marketplace model?
- How do trafficking networks operate?
- How are trafficked persons moved, hidden, controlled?
- Who is benefiting financially from the sex trade?
- How are federal and local policies and/or political figures enabling or deterring sexual exploitation?
- How does national culture (language, history, traditions, gender relations, legal structures) enable or deter sexual exploitation?

MARKET STRUCTURE

The marketplace of victimization operates according to the economic laws of supply and demand, much like any legitimate market. As in any market, supply and demand for commercial sexual services are correlated. This report will observe supply and demand in the marketplace from a demand-focused perspective. Supply, while it can and will affect the market structure, increases to meet a growing demand for sexual services throughout the world. In fact, evidence suggests that supply is becoming younger in response to buyers' demand for youth due to perceptions of healthiness and vulnerability. The marketplace of commercial sexual exploitation is a demand-driven market. The marketplace of commercial sexual exploitation includes sex tourism as a distinct market.

⁷ The field research was performed in 2006 while other research was ongoing throughout the 18 months of the project.

THE MARKETPLACE OF VICTIMIZATION



As shown in the figure above, and described in detail in the report, the marketplace of victimization is comprised of buyers, facilitators, and victims. This report defines the buyer as any person who purchases a commercial sex act. Facilitator is defined as any person who profits, directly or indirectly, from the sale of commercial sex acts. This includes individual facilitators ranging from pimps to complicit cab drivers and corrupt officials, and institutional facilitators like negligent hotel chains and local governments which fail to prioritize enforcement of laws. In the marketplace model, victims provide the services demanded.

It is not enough to go after the customer. We have to do something about the advertisement agency on the Internet that advertises sex for sale. We also have to address the issue of mail-order brides as a trafficking issue and go after matchmaking organizations. We also have to maximize our legal approach to stripping, massage parlors, escort services, and the like. It is not enough to follow the tort-nuisance approach. We should make these operators of entertainment sex liable for involvement in trafficking...There is a moral nuisance issue, which must be addressed, but there is also a criminal liability issue.⁸

⁸ Mattar, Mohamed Y., Remarks in the "Demand Dynamics: The Forces of Demand in Global Sex Trafficking Conference Report," pp. 95-105.

CULTURES OF TOLERANCE FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

A culture of tolerance surrounds the marketplace of commercial sexual exploitation. The culture of tolerance is derived from a country's history, ethnicity, religious practice, language, political and economic system, and other influences. Cultures of tolerance differ from country to country, and sometimes vary within countries or even cities, but the essence is the same: societal acceptance backed by political tolerance. Marketplaces of commercial sexual exploitation require some level of tolerance within the community in order to exist.

THE EVOLUTION OF SEX TOURISM

Sex tourism has evolved in step with globalization. Sex tourism no longer can be understood exclusively as Western men traveling to developing countries to engage in commercial sex acts. The local commercial sex markets are accessible and sex tourists are taking advantage of this accessibility. As a result of stricter immigration laws and awareness of the harsher punishments for human trafficking we would expect that criminals will recruit local women and children because they are easier to access, transport and employ. Use of foreign women and children in the sex tourism markets raises "red flags" and brings unwanted attention to commercial sex venues and activities that may be shut down, such as the multitude of massage parlors which have been closed in high-profile raids. Local victims are an easier target with less risk for the traffickers as policies and laws struggle to catch up with the rapidly changing marketplaces of sexual exploitation. Criminal facilitators tap into the same vulnerabilities in local girls and women that they use to entrap and enslave women from overseas.

INTERNET TECHNOLOGY: DESIGNER, MARKETER, FACILITATOR OF SEX MARKETS

Of special note in the report is the role of the Internet in the marketing and facilitation of commercial sex services, especially pornography. The computer and the Internet, like other powerful technologies, have revolutionized communications in the world's wealthiest countries. As of December 2005, approximately 44 percent of the entire adult population in the U.S. is online on a given day.⁹ One estimate of American Internet usage runs as high as 70 percent or 211,108,086 persons out of a population of more than three hundred million.¹⁰ Japan and the Netherlands, two key demand countries examined in this study, have Internet penetration rates of 67.1 percent and 73.3 percent respectively, while Jamaica lags at 39.4 percent.¹¹ This pervasive presence makes the Internet one of the major marketing tools in the marketplace of commercial sexual exploitation and a potential gateway for viewers to become buyers in the sex markets. As one researcher states: "When men use pornography, in that process they are trained as tricks. Pornography is men's rehearsal for prostitution."¹² Moreover, the anonymity that the Internet provides for website users and website owners makes it an excellent facilitator of an illicit market.

⁹ "When Facing a Tough Decision, 60 Million Americans now seek the Internet's Help," *Society and the Internet*, Polls and Survey results from the Pew Charitable Trusts, April 19, 2006.

<<http://pewresearch.org/pubs/19/when-facing-a-tough-decision-60-million-americans-now-seek-the-internets-help>>.

¹⁰ *Internet World Stats*: United States Usage and Population Statistics, updated March 10, 2007.

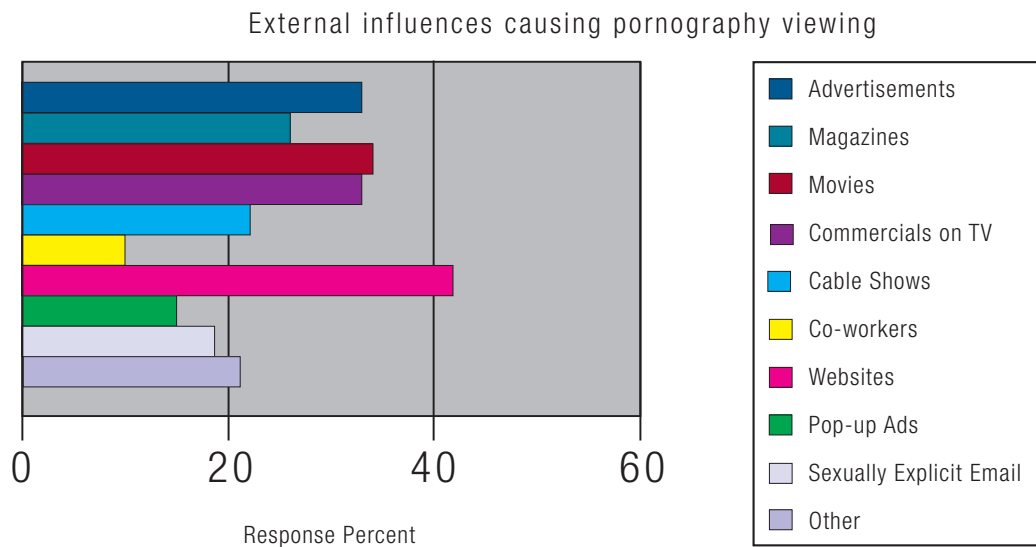
<<http://www.Internetworldstats.com/stats2.htm>>.

¹¹ *Internet World Stats*: Japan and Netherlands Usage and Population Statistics, updated March 10, 2007.

<<http://www.Internetworldstats.com/stats2.htm>>.

¹² Melissa Farley (not yet published) "Renting an Organ for Ten Minutes: What Tricks Tell us about Prostitution, Pornography, and Trafficking" [Accepted for publication in D. Guinn ed. *Pornography: Driving the Demand for International Sex Trafficking* (Chicago Illinois: International Human Rights Law Institute of DePaul University)] p. 2. Cited with permission of the author.

117 men aged 15-80 indicated that websites were the predominant influence leading them to view pornography in an initial survey conducted as part of The Defenders USA, a project initiated by Shared Hope International for men to counsel men on the dangers of engaging in the commercial sex markets, especially pornography.¹³ Other influences included pop-up ads for pornographic websites, movies and TV commercials—electronic influences present in nearly every home in developed countries. The Defenders USA survey indicates that respondents first viewed pornography at approximately twelve years of age. Early viewing of pornography may serve as an incubator of future buyers of commercial sex services in this and other markets.



External Influences	Response Percent
Advertisements	33%
Magazines	26%
Movies	34%
Commercials on TV	33%
Cable Shows	22%
Co-workers	10%
Websites	42%
Pop-up ads	15%
Sexually Explicit Email	19%
Other	21%

*Total Respondents: 117
 *Age Ranges: 15-80

A study released in 2006 by the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) about the online victimization of youth reveals that more and more children are receiving unwanted and unsolicited sexual images via the Internet than ever before.¹⁴ More than

¹³ The Defenders USA survey, December 2006, Shared Hope International. <<http://www.thedefendersusa.org>>.

¹⁴ Wolak, Janis and Mitchell, K., & Finkelhor, D., "Online Victimization of Youth: Five years later," (Crimes Against Children Research Center, University of New Hampshire: National Center of Missing and Exploited Children, Alexandria, VA, 2006) pp. 29-35.

¹⁵ Wolak, "Online Victimization," p. 30.

one-third (34 percent) of youth Internet users received unwelcome sexual material online, despite the efforts and technologies provided for parental control to filter and block sexual and other violent images. The report states that more boys than girls receive unwanted exposure and most of this exposure involves youth between the ages of 14 and 17.¹⁵

This invasive marketing technique is aimed at increasing the demand for pornography among youth. Such a marketing strategy is reminiscent of the Joe Camel™ (cigarette) ad campaign directed at minors that began in 1985. Joe “Cool” Camel™—a humanized cartoon character—was shown playing in bands, flirting with women, and riding in convertibles. In May of 1997, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) charged the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company with causing injury to the health of America’s youth through their Joe Camel™ commercials and advertisements.¹⁶ Though the FTC ultimately dismissed its case against R.J. Reynolds, individual initiatives to counter the marketing were developed. “Joe Chemo”—an anti-smoking character—was created by a psychology professor at Wesleyan University after his father nearly died from smoking.¹⁷ Similar to the aggressive and targeted marketing of Joe Camel™, pornography and sex are being introduced to youth through online pop-up advertisements and spam emails which increase in number and frequency if a response is received—intentional or otherwise. Many youth have tremendous buying power and are viable paying customers now, and are being groomed as the buyers of tomorrow.

Computer technology also plays a key role in the distribution of child pornography. Before the Internet was used to produce and distribute child pornography, images were transferred via U.S. mail and developed at local photo shops. Federal agents were able to identify and investigate pornographers much more easily. Today, images can be shared over the Internet through streaming or downloadable media, email, peer-to-peer file sharing servers, online chat rooms, messaging services and through emerging technologies such as video mp3 players, video and photo cell phones, and networked video game systems.¹⁸ The profit generated by the online pornography industry is estimated at anywhere between \$500 million to \$10 billion dollars a year¹⁹ though it is unknown how much of that is derived from pornography sites exploiting children and victims of human trafficking. What is known is that the volume of child pornography has increased exponentially since 1995 due in part to technology such as the digital camera and the Internet.²⁰ “The Internet has led to an increase in child prostitution, child sex tourism, child trafficking, and child pornography. It is estimated that since 1997, the number of child pornography images on the Internet has increased by 1500%. In 2001, the Cyber Tip Line, mandated by the Congress of the United States received 21,603 reports of child pornography. In 2004, the number increased by 491% to 106,176 reports of child pornography on the Internet.”²¹ The new technological dimension of child pornography has made it both a domestic and international issue, as the Internet is not constrained by geographical boundaries.

¹⁵ Wolak, “Online Victimization,” p. 30.

¹⁶ Federal Trade Commission Press Release, “Joe Camel Advertising Campaign Violates Federal Law,” May 28, 1997.

¹⁷ “More about Joe” <<http://www.joechemo.org>>.

¹⁸ Davenport, Claude, ICE Cyber-Crimes Unit, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Presentation at the CSEC *Mid-Term Review Conference*, Washington, DC, 3-4 April 2006. Transcript on file with authors. Also Shared Hope International, ECPAT-USA, and the Protection Project, “The Report from the U.S. Mid-Term Review on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in America,” (Washington, DC, September 2006) p. 20.

¹⁹ Richard, Emmanuelle, “The Naked Untruth,” posted May 23, 2002 <<http://www.alternet.org/story/13212>>.

²⁰ “The Report from the U.S. Mid-Term Review on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in America,” p. 17.

²¹ Mattar, Mohamed Y., “Protecting Children: The Battle against Child Pornography and Other Forms of Sexual Exploitation,” statement at U.S. Congressional Hearing before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Washington, DC: September 27, 2006).

To address the question of Internet facilitation of trafficking for the sex markets, Shared Hope International engaged an Internet surveillance firm to search the Internet for English language websites which appear to facilitate—directly or indirectly—trafficking of women and children for sexual exploitation.²²

After an initial simple search of English language websites for the term “escort services” yielded 2.2 million results, filters were designed for a 30 day webcrawl running 24 hours per day through public and proprietary databases, directories, and search engines, yielding a quality-checked total of 5,094 websites exhibiting highly likely indicators of sexual exploitation facilitation on the webpage.

Of the 5,094 results, 3,359 were escort service websites, 867 were mail-order bride/marriage agency websites, 403 were “full-service” massage parlor websites, 401 were international “modeling” agency websites, and 63 were erotic/sex tour websites.

Of the 3,359 escort service websites, 1,837 were hosted in the U.S. based on the IP addresses.

The child and adult pornography markets have become more accessible and visible with the introduction of the Internet. The Internet has also globalized the pornography market. Images of child exploitation are frequently created, distributed and sold by perpetrators from several countries. One early criminal scheme involved child pornography victims recruited in Russia, filmed and produced in Indonesia, and sold to American buyers out of a married couple’s home in Fort Worth, Texas. This was the first “pay-for-view” Internet pornography case in the United States.²³ Thomas and Janice Reedy, the two were sentenced to a total of 1,379 years in prison, provided a credit card verification service called “Landslide, Inc.” that acted as an electronic gateway to buyers of child pornography from 60 countries on the websites of their Russian and Indonesian co-conspirators. Between 1996 and 1999, Landslide, Inc. pocketed at least \$10 million dollars, 85 percent of which was from child pornography.²⁴

Child pornography victims have also been identified by Shared Hope International in Fiji where a victim restoration project has been operating since 1996. Young girls are recruited by other young victims to float out to foreign registered yachts moored a safe distance from the island’s shore where they are sexually exploited for small amounts of money. Photographs and film of the sexual exploitation are reportedly taken and are likely circulated via the Internet in an organized fashion, or through personal distribution networks.²⁵

²² Full search results totaled some 1,000 pages of spreadsheets. On file with the authors.

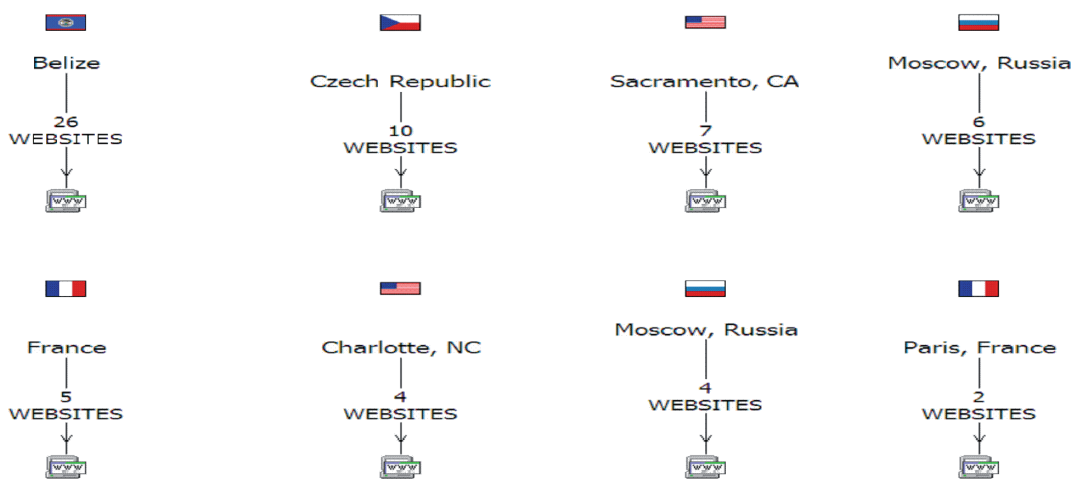
²³ U.S. Department of Justice press release, “Thomas Reedy Sentenced to Life Imprisonment in Child Porn Case,” Dallas, Texas, August 6, 2001.

²⁴ “The World’s Biggest Convicted Child Pornographer,” Independent.co.uk, May 13, 2003.

²⁵ This information, including the alleged yacht’s U.S. registration information, has been obtained and provided to relevant local officials for action.

Particularly disturbing information uncovered through the webcrawl commissioned by Shared Hope International was the material obtained on child pornography presenting as child modeling. The webcrawl revealed an ongoing enterprise of online child pornography at <http://www.maxwells-top-100.com/autorank>.²⁶ The homepage contains layers of web links and “porn loops” which, when followed, connect to upwards of 106 linked sites, many containing graphic and suggestive images. Most of the associated websites made explicit claims of “No Nude” and “Parental permission was obtained,” however the true purpose is clear from the poses of these children, which include little girls in ruffled dresses with their legs spread revealing thong underwear and names such as “Megalolitas.”

Registrant data, though often fraudulent, indicates a French holding company and individual as registrant for the primary site <http://www.maxwells-top-100.com>, as well as four linked sites. Several other registrants of linked sites reveal a global network of potentially exploitive child modeling websites as follows:²⁷



In the absence of accurate or complete registrant data, it is difficult to identify individual offenders; however, hosting sites are easily identifiable and should be held accountable for the types of websites they host. Additionally, financial records should be seized to identify and hold accountable the site owners. In the webcrawl, of the 3,630 websites with registrant data available, one company dominated with 62% of the offending websites registered to it: Domains by Proxy in Scottsdale, Arizona. This company is affiliated with the online giant GoDaddy.com. Domains by Proxy asserts the following prohibitions: “Domains by Proxy will not do business with you, nor protect your identity, if you: ...Violate the law...Engage in morally objectionable activities, including but not limited to those which are child pornographic, defamatory, abusive, harassing, obscene, racist, or otherwise objectionable.” Nonetheless, the webcrawl focusing on those websites with indicators of sex trafficking found an enormous number registered to Domains by Proxy in direct contradiction to their own prohibitions. This reflects the largely unregulated online markets of sexual exploitation now thriving in the global cyber-communities.

The webcrawl also investigated the use of the Internet for marketing sex tours. Of the 63 erotic sex tour English language websites identified through the extensive filtering process, 79% revealed U.S.-based IP addresses and offered packages in Venezuela, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Cambodia, the Philippines, Thailand, Russia, Amsterdam and Mexico. Four of these sites offered marriage services as an additional option. The graphic and aggressive nature of these sex tour websites leaves no question as to the intent of the tour operators.

²⁶ Warning: material at this web address contains sexual content.

²⁷ This information was provided to the FBI and the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) for further investigation.

Dexterhorns FIND SEX Thailand Tour

http://www.dexterhorn.com/trips/tourthai.l

Getting Started Latest Headlines

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Join us on a life changing tour to the **SEX CAPITAL OF THE WORLD!** Meet more women---**bang more women**, then most guys do in a lifetime. Want to experience **TWO girls** at the same time? Become an instant rock star, no matter what you look like, how old you are or how well you hit it off with the girls. On this tour, you will be treated like a god, we kid you not!

Thailand is known Worldwide as the "Disneyland for adults". On our Thailand tour you'll stay in a luxurious hotel setting complete with pool and top notch room service. Our experienced Thai guides will take care of your every need and be there for you 24 hours a day. They'll provide **STEP by STEP** instructions and guidance helping you maximize your Thailand tour of time and pleasure. Showing you the best Thailand sex clubs, restaurants, sightseeing and sex entertainment plus explaining the many Thai sex customs and cultures. One of the biggest attractions in Thailand is the friendly, beautiful and exotic Thai women. **Almost any Thai woman can be yours for as little as \$13 US dollars.** Why settle for just one when you can have 2 or 3 totally nude Thai women all to yourself in the privacy of your hotel room. Time is not an issue and you'll never be rushed as sexy Thai women are available for as little as \$25 US dollars for the entire day. **Enjoy them over and over again or have a different one as often as you want.** You'll be pampered and treated like a king with a kingdom of thousands of beautiful eager Thai women to choose from. Join our staff of experts as well as many others who share the same interests in the pursuit of women and erotic pleasure. This is the No. 1 Thailand tour for the novice or the veteran sex traveler.

Emphasis added.

The extensive use of the Internet for marketing is common among the four countries we observed, but most prevalent in the United States, the Netherlands, and Japan. The legalized prostitution industry in the Netherlands advertises in conjunction with tourism advertising and promotion overall. Jamaican sex markets lag behind those in the other countries in the use of the Internet to advertise and promote its thriving local commercial sex markets, most likely because of the limited use of the Internet within the country. However, with increased infrastructure and affordability of personal computers, the trend evident in the more technologically-advanced countries will undoubtedly make itself felt in Jamaica as well.



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Red circles indicate primary areas of Shared Hope International field research.

JAMAICA:

LOCALIZATION OF SEX TOURISM AND TRAFFICKING

The Ultimate sex tour, beautiful, black teens as your personal escorts. Jamaican girls are known for firm bodies in every chocolate shade, just made for loving...Jamaica remains a popular destination among those seeking to satisfy sexual appetites.

— Advertisement by JSV (Jamaican Singles Vacations, Ltd.)²⁸

After receiving more than thirty offers of young girls for sex, field researchers assisted a team of six officers from the Jamaican Constabulary Force (JCF), Organized Crime Investigations Division, under the direction of Victor Barrett, Assistant Superintendent of Police, in preparing at a luxury hotel in Kingston. Two adjoining rooms at the hotel were prepared for a sting operation to catch two men offering to sell for sex the alleged 13-year-old niece of one of the men. The officers were in plain clothes and eager to be involved in the first such sting operation. The police team then split up and hid themselves in various sections of the hotel. Pedro, the “uncle”, and another man arrived with the 13-year-old girl named Anna* and were guided by one field researcher through the crowded public area around the pool and bar of the hotel and into the prearranged bedroom. After confirming the details of the sale, the researcher passed marked bills totaling \$400 to the pimp, Pedro, while police monitored the transaction with listening and video devices. The door to the adjoining room burst open as two police officers came in and arrested the two suspects. Anna was ushered into the adjoining room where a counselor was waiting to receive her and provide appropriate care. The marked money was located on the two suspects. The men’s cell phones were seized along with their other personal possessions. The video of the event was provided to the JCF and prosecutors for their use in the prosecution of the traffickers. Upon interview with the police, Anna explained that Pedro was not her uncle but rather the father of a friend and a taxi driver in Kingston, and that she had actually just turned 14 but had been told by Pedro to say she was only 13, as the younger age made her more valuable.

As of February 2007, this case charging the two men with criminal violations of the trafficking provisions of the Child Care and Protection Act is pending.²⁹ The two pimps are out on bail and a March 12, 2007, trial date scheduled.³⁰ Once decided, this case will set legal precedent, along with other pending cases under the same provisions, for future prosecutions in Jamaica.

* All names have been changed to protect identities.

²⁸ See <<http://jamaica-sex-tours.com>>.

²⁹ Child Care and Protection Act, 2004 provides definitions of child abuse and neglect, procedures for responding to allegations, and judicial remedies, including a criminal provision for child trafficking; mandates that the child’s views be taken into account when the child is of sufficient age and maturity to form his or her own views; creates the position of “Children’s Advocate,” who serves as legal representative to a child if it appears to the court that the child is in need of representation and if the child consents to the representation. See <http://www.cda.gov.jm/child_care_protection_act.php>.

³⁰ Henry, Paul, “Men accused of human trafficking out on bail,” *The Jamaica Gleaner*, January 23, 2007 <http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/html/20070122T220000-0500_118215_OBS_MEN_ACCUSED_OF_HUMAN_TRAFFICKING_OUT_ON_BAIL_.asp>; Sinclair, Glenroy, “Child Prostitute: Men over 50 charged with pimping 13-y-o,” *The Jamaica Gleaner*, May 30, 2006 <<http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20060530/lead/lead1.html>>. Accessed on February 8, 2007. At the time of printing, this case has been continued and remains pending.

THE MARKETPLACE

With a total population of approximately 2,650,000 in a small area of 10,991 square kilometers (about 6,830 square miles), Jamaica has long been a tourist destination, predominantly for North American and British citizens. The profile of victims found in the marketplace of sexual exploitation in Jamaica is broad, ranging from foreign women trafficked into and through Jamaica, to young Jamaican girls entering the sex markets often out of economic desperation.

Reliance on local women and children in the Jamaican commercial sexual services markets was observed in field research and is further evidenced by the weekly fair held at Hendon Square, a bus park in Savanna-la-Mar, at which between 150 and 200 women come from around the country seeking employment in commercial sexually exploitative businesses. A report on sexual exploitation of children in Jamaica by Sian Williams, the Caribbean Early Childhood Advisor for UNICEF from the University of the West Indies, provides anecdotal evidence that most of the girls at this fair are between the ages of 14 and 18.³¹ Another example of the sale of women and children for sex was the Culloden Sex Auction, reported widely as a place for the hiring of girls for go-go (erotic) dancing and more.³² The police eventually shut down the event, citing it as a “major centre of influence” for human traffickers.³³ The girls often move from club to club as one closes and another opens. Men and boys are reportedly also being recruited in growing numbers.

The internal trafficking of Jamaican children was cited in the U.S. Department of State’s *Trafficking in Persons Report 2005*. Jamaica was placed on the Tier 3 list of countries whose governments do not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking as detailed in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA) and are not making significant efforts to do so.³⁴ Though Jamaica was elevated to the Tier 2 Watch list in 2006, the *Trafficking in Persons*

³¹ “Sexual Violence and Exploitation of Children in Latin America and the Caribbean: The Case of Jamaica,” Inter-American Children’s Institute, *People’s Recovery, Empowerment, and Development Assistance Foundation (PREDA) Archive*, 1999 <<http://www.preda.org/archives/research/csa/ecpat1.html>>. Accessed on December 20, 2006.

³² “That Culloden Club,” *The Jamaica Observer*, July 3, 2005.

<http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/html/20050702t200000-0500_83472_obs_that_culloden_club.asp>. Accessed on December 20, 2006.

³³ “The Police Shut Down Sex Auction in Culloden,” *The Jamaica Observer*, September 1, 2005

<http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/html/20050901t000000-0500_87387_obs_police_shut_down_sex_auction_in_culloden.asp>. Accessed on December 20, 2006.

³⁴ The United States, Department of State, *Trafficking in Persons Report 2005*, (Washington, DC: US Department of State, 2005) 131. The minimum standards are detailed in the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA 2000) Sec. 108. Minimum Standards for the Elimination of Trafficking (Public Law 106–386) 114 STAT. 1481 (a)—MINIMUM STANDARDS.—For purposes of this division, the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking applicable to the government of a country of origin, transit, or destination for a significant number of victims of severe forms of trafficking are the following: (1) The government of the country should prohibit severe forms of trafficking in persons and punish acts of such trafficking. (2) For the knowing commission of any act of sex trafficking involving force, fraud, coercion, or in which the victim of sex trafficking is a child incapable of giving meaningful consent, or of trafficking which includes rape or kidnapping or which causes a death, the government of the country should prescribe punishment commensurate with that for grave crimes, such as forcible sexual assault. (3) For the knowing commission of any act of a severe form of trafficking in persons, the government of the country should prescribe punishment that is sufficiently stringent to deter and that adequately reflects the heinous nature of the offense. (4) The government of the country should make serious and sustained efforts to eliminate severe forms of trafficking in persons. (b) CRITERIA.—In determinations under subsection (a)(4), the following factors should be considered as indicia of serious and sustained efforts to eliminate severe forms of trafficking in persons: (1) Whether the government of the country vigorously investigates and prosecutes acts of severe forms of trafficking in persons that take place wholly or partly within the territory of the country. (2) Whether the government of the country protects victims of severe forms of trafficking in persons and encourages their assistance in the investigation and prosecution of such trafficking, including provisions for legal alternatives to their removal to countries in which they would face retribution or hardship, and ensures that victims are not inappropriately incarcerated, fined, or otherwise penalized solely for unlawful acts as a direct result of being trafficked. (3) Whether the government of the country has adopted measures to prevent severe forms of trafficking in persons, such as measures to inform and educate the public, including potential victims, about the causes and consequences of severe forms of trafficking in persons. (4) Whether the government of the country cooperates with other governments in the investigation and prosecution of severe forms of trafficking in persons. (5) Whether the government of the country extradites persons charged with acts of severe forms of trafficking in persons on substantially the same terms and to substantially the same extent as persons charged with other serious crimes (or, to the extent such extradition would be inconsistent with the laws of such country or with international agreements to which the country is a party, whether the government is taking all appropriate measures to modify or replace such laws and treaties so as to permit such extradition). (6) Whether the government of the country monitors immigration and emigration patterns for evidence of severe forms of trafficking in persons

Report 2006 noted that Jamaica continued to be “a source country for men, women, and children trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation and labor.”³⁵

Women and children are trafficked internally from rural to urban and tourist areas for sexual exploitation.³⁶ This activity is found in numerous areas, suggesting a nation-wide problem. Portmore -St. Catherine, a large suburban municipality and extension of Kingston, has become the unofficial but tolerated “red light” district (along Port Henderson Road) consisting of motels, go-go bars, and other clubs. Minors involved in commercial sex markets are often found in Negril and Savanna-la-Mar, Westmoreland, Montego Bay, St. James and Spanish Town.³⁷ Recruitment and exploitation reportedly occur in the Jamaican communities of Greater Kingston, St. Catherine, Spanish Town, St. Andrew, Savannah-la-Mar, Lucea, St. Elizabeth, Denham Town, Portmore, Harbor View, Papine, and Trench Town.³⁸ Domestic victims are moved to and from the tourist areas and the nearby coastal communities, especially Montego Bay, Negril and Ocho Rios, to satisfy both local and foreign demand. Foreign sex tourists tend to frequent the clubs in Ocho Rios, where large cruise ships come into port, and Montego Bay, where the international airport delivers foreign tourists via several direct flights each day from cities such as Toronto, Miami, Atlanta, and London. Some of these sex tourists also end up in Negril, where the phenomenon of Rent-a-Rasta—male prostitution—has captured a great amount of attention.³⁹

Amid the internal trafficking of Jamaicans for sex, reports of foreign victims of trafficking continue to be publicized, as well as the overseas trafficking of both Jamaican and foreign victims from Jamaica to other countries. One report states, “Substantial evidence, including interviews of actual victims, reveal that both foreign and national victims are being trafficked overseas, through the Dominican Republic, the Bahamas, Barbados, Antigua, Trinidad and Tobago, Panama, Honduras, Puerto Rico, St. Maarten, Barbados, and Curacao, to final destinations including the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Middle East (i.e. Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Dubai).⁴⁰ Locally, the increase in foreign “dancers,” predominantly Russian girls, in Montego Bay, Negril, Ocho Rios and Kingston, is a topic of concern.⁴¹ In a July 2005 raid of the Dolls House Club in Montego Bay for suspected human trafficking, eight foreign nationals from Russia, Barbados, Cuba, Guyana and Dominica, and two Jamaican women were held; all were released except one, as they held valid work permits.⁴² The one Barbadian woman who was not released was charged with not having a valid work permit. More recently, the Government of Jamaica has suspended the issuance of work permits for go-go dancers, which are believed to facilitate trafficking, though requests by hotels for such work permits to staff the go-go clubs on the premises continue to be granted.⁴³ The abuse of work permits or special work visas by traffickers and facilitators is seen in all four of the countries examined as a way of concealing the illegal activity with a veneer of legality.

and whether law enforcement agencies of the country respond to any such evidence in a manner that is consistent with the vigorous investigation and prosecution of acts of such trafficking, as well as with the protection of human rights of victims and the internationally recognized human right to leave any country, including one's own, and to return to one's own country. (7) Whether the government of the country vigorously investigates and prosecutes public officials who participate in or facilitate severe forms of trafficking in persons, and takes all appropriate measures against officials who condone such trafficking.

³⁵ At the time of printing, 2007 Trafficking in Persons Report reflects the work done by the Government of Jamaica and Non-governmental Organizations to combat Trafficking in Persons and has ranked Jamaica as Tier 2.

<<http://www.state.gov/g/tip/v15/triprpt/2007>>. Accessed on June 12, 2007.

³⁶ *Trafficking in Persons Report 2005*, p.148.

³⁷ Myers Jr., John, “Mounting Concerns About Sexual Exploitation of Children,” *The Jamaica Gleaner*, June 13, 2004 <<http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20040613/news/news4.html>>. Accessed on December 21, 2006.

³⁸ United States, United States Agency for International Development, *Jamaica Anti-Trafficking Assessment*, (Washington: Chemonics International Inc., 2005), p.4.

³⁹ *Rent a Rasta*, dir. J. Michael Seyfert, DVD, Yeah But/Not Now Productions, 2006. View at <<http://www.rentarasta.com/FL/RENTaRASTA.html>>. Accessed on December 8, 2006.

⁴⁰ *Jamaica Anti-Trafficking Assessment*, Chemonics, p.4.

⁴¹ “Alleged Human Trafficker Held in Montego Bay,” *The Jamaica Gleaner*, July 15, 2005.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ United States, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, *Trafficking in Persons Interim Assessment*, (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, 2007).

Overall, Jamaica is serving as a transit, source and destination country, with the multiple effects of sex tourism creating a demand within Jamaica and within the region.

The sex tourism and trafficking markets in Jamaica are different from the more developed nations observed. Organizationally, the commercial sex markets in Jamaica are less complex, involving less technology and fewer middlemen in the transaction of selling women and children for sex. For example, while organized escort agencies are not as prevalent in Jamaica, escort services abound in a fashion distinct to Jamaica: the street hustler who will sell or procure anything the tourist wishes, including young girls for sex. Jamaican men crowd the sidewalks in and around tourist hotels and resorts and operate as a loosely organized network of pimps and escort agents. The same facilitator can procure marijuana, cocaine and a taxi ride at a “good price.” Taxi services deliver men to various clubs and massage parlors that pay sizable commissions for this service, similar to the arrangements seen in the United States where taxi services are often facilitators. Men can choose women and, after paying a large fee to the club or spa, bring them back to the hotel or utilize the rooms on the premises or the conveniently located adjacent hourly rate hotel rooms. In addition, pimps will rent accommodations for a girl to prostitute for one or more nights at the large all-inclusive tourist resorts, like *Hedonism*, in order to service the tourists who have been primed by advertising to expect anything and everything.⁴⁴

Observed Venues of Commercial Sexual Exploitation

City	Name of Club	Victims (all female)	Buyer
Kingston	Platinum Strip Club	Russian, East European, Balkan	North American, European expatriates and tourists, 30's
	Caesars Girls	Jamaican	Locals
	Infinity	Russian/Ukrainian/Jamaican; reportedly owned by Syrian Arabs, reputed connection to Russian Mafia	North American, European expatriates and tourists, 30's
	Taboo Strip Club	Ukrainian, Jamaican; reportedly owned by Chinese Jamaican Brian Chung	North American/European expatriates and tourists, 30's
	Latin Movements	Panamanian, Dominican, Brazilian, Barbadian, Jamaican	Mixed locals and tourists
	Fantasy Club	Previously Dominican girls, now Jamaican	Mixed locals and tourists
Ocho Rios	Shades	Jamaican	Jamaican men, tourists
	Doll's House	Russian, Jamaican	Tourists
Montego Bay	Moods	Jamaican Connected to <i>Triple XXX</i> in Negril and reported trafficking ring in Bahamas	Mixed locals and tourists
	Massage Parlor (aka Rejuvenation Center)	Jamaican	American, Canadian, European
	Hedonism	Jamaican	Middle aged Caucasian men and women
	Jungle Club	Jamaican	American, European, including Czech Republic
	Negril	Triple XXX	Reported trafficking ring to Bahamas; Jamaican
Scrub-a-dub		Jamaican	Jamaicans

These locations were observed by SHI field researchers.

⁴⁴ SHI Research Report, May 18, 2006. On file with authors.

BUYERS

WHO ARE THE BUYERS OF COMMERCIAL SEX?

It's a variety; you have low end of society, middle class, and rich guys that spend an enormous amount of money on women...Believe me, there are rich, rich guys in this country involved.⁴⁵

— Victor Barrett, Assistant Superintendent of Police
Jamaica Constabulary Force

Jamaica presents a broad spectrum of buyers ranging from western women as buyers to local men as consumers increasingly entering the sex market as it grows and becomes more normalized. Though Jamaica is commonly seen as a haven for sex tourists from wealthy countries, at least one recent report and field observations suggest that more and more Jamaican males, including young professionals, are buying sexual favors from men and women who reside on the island. A 2004 National Knowledge Attitudes, Behaviour and Practice Survey of a randomly selected sample of 1800 persons nation-wide done by health ministry staff in Jamaica revealed there was an increase in the 25–49-year-old male buyers of commercial sex.⁴⁶

Field research in Jamaica's primary commercial sex markets reveals a broad-based group of male buyers as well, for example Polish engineers working on contract, British and American expatriates and military personnel, and South American and Japanese businessmen. NGOs report that business is best during the winter tourist season, particularly in the coastal resort towns of Negril, Montego Bay and Ocho Rios. However, local demand is satisfied year round directly through the club owners and managers who might move girls from town to town to satisfy the local demand.⁴⁷ Studies note the local demand as well.⁴⁸

Jamaica presents a unique sex tourism scenario of the four countries examined: foreign women traveling to Jamaica seeking sex with young Jamaican men. Though both sexes flock to Jamaica for sex tourism, popular culture has promoted an image of the sex tourists in Jamaica as that of the middle-aged women from Great Britain and other western countries indulging in the “boyfriend experience” which includes sexual services from young Jamaican men in the warm, sexualized climate of Jamaica's beach resorts.⁴⁹ One report from Negril explains, “Negril is not as dreamlike as it looks. It is no longer visited primarily for sun, sea and sand. Instead it is the destination of choice for an increasing number of British female sex tourists. An estimated 80,000 single women, from teenagers to grandmothers, flock to the island every year and use the services of around 200 men known as ‘rent-a-dreads’, ‘rastitutes’ or ‘the Foreign Service’ who make this resort their

⁴⁵ Victor Barrett, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Jamaica Constabulary Force, Organized Crime Investigations Division, Personal interview, May 24, 2006.

⁴⁶ “Men for Sale,” *The Jamaica Observer*, August 14, 2005.

<http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/html/20050813t220000-0500_86107_obs_men_for_sale_.asp>. Accessed on December 20, 2006.

⁴⁷ Reverend Margaret Fowler, Director of Theodora Project, Negril, Personal interview, May 26, 2006.

⁴⁸ “Country Report: Jamaica,” The Protection Project, Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies <<http://www.protectionproject.org/jamaica.doc>>. Accessed on December 20, 2006.

⁴⁹ Dunn, Leith, *Jamaica: Situation of Children in Prostitution: A Rapid Assessment* (Geneva: International Labor Office, 2001) p.14-15. See also Boodram, Annan, “Sex Tourism,” *Caribbean Voice*, August 1–15, 2001.

<<http://www.caribvoice.org/Travel&Tourism/sextourism.html>>. Accessed on December 4, 2006.

headquarters.”⁵⁰ These young men, sometimes boys, are also known as “Beach Boys,” and “Rent-a-Rasta,” while the white female buyers are referred to as “milk bottles” due to their pale skin⁵¹ and black women are referred to as “Stellas”⁵² after the release of the popular film “How Stella Got Her Groove Back,” after which there was reportedly a measurable increase in trips to Jamaica by single female buyers seeking young Jamaican boyfriends.⁵³

...the rights and wrongs of female sex tourism: is it harmless fun, a mutually beneficial business transaction? Or is it exploitation and, if so, who is the victim and who is the perpetrator—the women who fall for declarations of true love or the mostly poor, underemployed men who make them? What makes it different from male sex tourism, which is normally seen as sleazy and abhorrent?⁵⁴

The debate over female sex tourism in Jamaica has been vigorous. Many argue that there is no correlation between the male sex tourist traveling to use prostitutes and the female sex tourists engaging in holiday flings. Just as many Japanese men view their prostitution of women from the Philippines as a form of economic aid, some well-to-do professional western women hiring “beach boys” believe that they are helping destitute local boys.⁵⁵ This vision of a vacation fling can lead occasionally to long-term relationships, but often these flings simply spread diseases.

Research suggests women on holiday are less likely to use contraception or protection against STDs than at home... Sex tourism is making this problem worse.⁵⁶

Around one in five British holidaymakers under the age of 25 is failing to practice safe sex while abroad, according to a study published this month by Trojan Condoms.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Martin, Lorna, “Sex, Sand, and Sugar Mummies in a Caribbean Beach Fantasy,” *The London Observer*, July 23, 2006. <<http://travel.guardian.co.uk/article/2006/jul/23/jamaica.theatre.theobserver>>. Accessed on December 20, 2006.

⁵¹ Hoggard, Liz, “Sun, Sea, and Gigolos,” *London Independent*, July 9, 2006.

<http://news.independent.co.uk/uk/this_britain/article1168172.ece>. Accessed on December 20, 2006.

⁵² Jeff Heinrich, “In Winter, A Tourist Woman’s Fancy Lustily Turns to Thoughts of Sex,” *Ottawa Citizen*, January 8, 2007 <<http://www.canada.com/ottawacitizen/story.html?id=2bdb148d-66df-4f8a-918f-ffe59d617b90&k=17066>>. Accessed on December 20, 2006.

⁵³ Hoggard, Liz, “Sun, Sea, and Gigolos,” *London Independent*, July 9, 2006; Martin, Lorna, “Sex, Sand, and Sugar Mummies in a Caribbean Beach Fantasy,” *The London Observer*, July 23, 2006.

⁵⁴ Martin, Lorna, “Sex, Sand and Sugar Mummies in a Caribbean Beach Fantasy,” *The Observer*, 23 July 2006. The Royal Court theatre in London staged Sugar Mummies in fall 2006 which explored the issue of female sex tourism in Jamaica.

⁵⁵ “Sex Tourism as Economic Aid,” *The Guardian*, July 12, 2003

<<http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/07/11/1057783358449.html>>. Accessed on December 4, 2006.

⁵⁶ Bindel, Julie, “This is Not Romance: Women Who Pay for Sex on Holiday Are as Guilty of Exploiting Their Power as Men Who Use Prostitutes,” *The Guardian*, August 9, 2006 <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/story/0,,1840101.00.html>>. Accessed on December 20, 2006.

⁵⁷ Hoggard, Liz, “Sun, Sea, and Gigolos,” *London Independent*, July 9, 2006.

A longer term arrangement may be established in which young men are kept “on retainer” for quick visits facilitated by the direct flights between western cities, such as London and Miami, and major cities in Jamaica. Young men are often set up with an apartment and school tuition is paid as compensation for their intimate and ready availability. Some argue that this arrangement is mutually beneficial, particularly in a poverty-ridden country such as Jamaica.

MARKETING AN ISLAND ESCAPE

Sex tourism marketing is rampant and overt in Jamaica, much more so than the other countries studied in this report. Whereas Amsterdam and Las Vegas also have reputations as tourist destinations for those seeking commercial sex, Jamaica’s warmth and location in the Caribbean makes it more sensually and sexually appealing as an escape from reality. The idea of an “island escape” where all of one’s senses can be stimulated is portrayed in virtually all of Jamaica’s marketing efforts.

Marketing of commercial sex is found in many forms, including television, print, and most prevalent in Jamaica, word of mouth. Escort services, such as *New Girls in Negril*, are advertised on television. The services send girls to one’s home or hotel room for “freaky parties.” Brochures and cards advertising strip clubs are readily available. In Montego Bay, the seedy *Doll’s House* (raided in 2004 by police for exploiting foreign women) features Russian and Jamaican dancers while the more upscale *Taboo Club* more discreetly offers “forbidden pleasures” at its New Kingston address. Massage parlors are gaining in popularity. Some of the night clubs act as massage parlors during the day, using local girls. Police sources state that more than 150 massage parlors are in operation in Kingston and St. Catherine alone.⁵⁸ Street hawkers, hotel porters and valets, taxi drivers, and other members of the tourist industry take a proactive role in marketing commercial sex to visitors through word of mouth. It is very easy to locate girls for sex. A stroll outside any of the major hotels in Jamaica will invite a flurry of solicitations by local Jamaican men. Underage girls as young as thirteen are offered and delivered for sex.

RECRUITMENT OF VICTIMS

Everyone is involved in the sex business in Jamaica: teachers, accountants, waitresses, as everyone is poor. Sometimes I had to bear the hunger when things were slow and no customers were around.⁵⁹

— Sex Trafficking Survivor from Negril

⁵⁸ Officer Victor Barrett, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Jamaica Constabulary Force, Personal interview, May 24, 2006.

⁵⁹ “Natasha,” Sex Trafficking Survivor, personal interview, May 25, 2006.

“Katie” began working as a go-go (exotic) dancer at the *Shades* nightclub in Ocho Rios and *Club Triple XXX* in Negril when she was 17. After working for two months as a go-go dancer, the club management forced her to have sex with some of the clients who were willing to pay handsomely. While working at *Club Triple XXX*, she overheard other girls talking about the good money to be made at *Fantasies* in the Bahamas as go-go dancers. The management would pay for the flight, about \$350.00, but she would have to pay back that amount over time. Katie decided to try it. Once she arrived at *Fantasies* she recognized some girls from *Shades*—they too had been recruited from there. While working at *Fantasies*, Katie was not allowed to leave the compound where the girls were housed and her passport was held by the manager. She would have sex with buyers in the VIP rooms at the club because it was safer than leaving the club. The living conditions were poor and they were constantly monitored. She returned to Jamaica with no money saved.



Club Triple XXX—Negril, Jamaica

“Natasha” is originally from Kingston and heard of the clubs and growth in tourism in Negril and the opportunity to make money there. She was 16 years old when she arrived in Negril. The first club that she heard of was *Club Triple XXX*. Natasha explained that *Club Triple XXX* is managed by a 35-year-old Jamaican man named Wayne. She also indicated that the owner of *Club Triple XXX* also owns a club in Montego Bay called *Shades*. It was November when she arrived and the club had just opened—she read the recruiting advertisement in the local paper. The job at *Club Triple XXX* only required strip dancing, but soon she was told of an opportunity for her in a club in the Bahamas called *Fantasies* as a bartender, which was a job she far preferred over go-go dancing. When Natasha arrived in the Bahamas she was met at the airport by an employee of *Fantasies* and transported to a living area adjacent to the club where all of the staff stayed. Shortly after, her passport was confiscated and she was told it would not be returned to her until she paid her debt of the one-way airline ticket to the Bahamas. There actually were no bartending positions available so Natasha was forced to dance. Natasha was not aware that she would be required to strip dance but was told so immediately upon her arrival at *Fantasies*. She was required to pay rent for room and board, pay for costumes and shoes, and she had to pay the club to work there each night. At the end of her shifts most of her tips were collected for the club—the only money that she kept was money she was able to hide. Prostitution was presented as the only real way for her to make additional money though 50% of the money earned from prostitution was collected by the club.

Natasha finally escaped *Fantasies* with the help of a local man who also purchased her return ticket to Jamaica. Natasha named the owner of *Fantasies* as Mike Morris and had heard that he owned another club in St. Maarten. Natasha eventually returned to Jamaica with no money.⁶⁰

The accounts of “Katie” and “Natasha” demonstrate recruitment methods of regional trafficking networks operating in Jamaica. These affiliations and other organized crime networks have been cited as onerous barriers to countering sex trafficking in Jamaica.⁶¹

Individuals are recruited at loosely organized events for work in erotic entertainment venues in many locations around the island. An example was the weekly Culloden Sex Auction before its closure by police in September 2005 in response to American pressure through the *Trafficking in Persons Report 2005* Tier 3 ranking.⁶² Reportedly, a new event started in a new location nearby immediately after the closure of the Culloden Sex Auction.

Local girls are also recruited through newspaper advertisements, such as those seen in *The Jamaica Observer*. Many are tricked into doing commercial sex work believing that they would only dance or tend bar. Word of mouth is another common method of recruitment of foreign and domestic women and children.

⁵⁹ “Katie” and “Natasha”, Sex trafficking survivors, Personal interviews, May 25, 2006.

⁶⁰ *Exploratory Assessment of Trafficking in Persons in the Caribbean Region* (Geneva: International Organization of Migration, 2005) pp.83-85.

⁶¹ “That Culloden Club,” *The Jamaica Observer*, July 3, 2005

<http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/html/20050702t200000-0500_83472_obs_that_culloden_club.asp>. Accessed on December 1, 2006.

Foreign trafficking victims are often recruited from their home countries by fellow nationals, many of them former victims of trafficking. Two Ukrainian women dancing at a club in Kingston were recruited in Odessa, Ukraine by someone who had returned from Kingston and told them about dancing opportunities at a club called Taboo. Upon their arrival in Jamaica, they learned that their recruiter had lied about the work involved and received a \$500 kickback from the traffickers for finding the girls.⁶³ This phenomenon of returned victim recruitment is increasing in many source countries and contributes to the ongoing trafficking of foreign victims to Jamaica.

VICTIMS

According to a 2004 survey, the number of individuals used in the sex industry island-wide numbered 20,000⁶⁴ in an island population of approximately 2,650,000. Young girls are brought into the commercial sex markets at very early ages as a result of neglect, domestic violence, parental alcoholism and a host of other factors that make them vulnerable to sex predators and more likely to be recruited into the commercial sex markets.⁶⁵ Children account for 39 percent of Jamaica's population of 2.6 million and 43 percent of them are poor and live in rural areas.⁶⁶ The following numbers from a 2004 Children First Agency Report illustrate the extreme vulnerability of children in Jamaica: thirty percent of minors, especially boys, are functionally illiterate; eight percent of reported HIV cases (4,443) are among children under the age of ten, often contracted through birth by infected mothers; four-fifths of HIV-infected children live in poor households; one out of eight (51 of 410) adolescents studied were raped, molested or tricked into having sex against their wishes, or perpetrated similar acts against another adolescent. In a sample of 178 females, 29 (16%) were victims of sexual abuse, five were raped more than once and most before 14 years of age.⁶⁷

According to a November 2001 ILO/IPEC report, the prostitution of minors in Jamaica is extensive.⁶⁸ Particularly disturbing are the trends towards "Sugar Daddy" girls and "Chapses." Sugar Daddy girls are often below the age of twelve when they have sexual relations with adult men, and chapses are teenage boys having sexual relations with older women known as "Sugar Mummies." Both Sugar Daddies and Sugar Mummies provide economic support, access to education and a higher standard of living.⁶⁹

Also on the rise is the production of pornography featuring minors, portraying the commercial sexual exploitation of a child. Checks by *The Sunday Gleaner* in Jamaica "revealed a great demand for locally-produced pornographic movies with young girls."⁷⁰ Several disturbing offenses in the recent months brought this issue to the public's attention. "The Chocolate Surprise," a film

⁶³ SHI Research Report, May 26, 2006. On file with authors.

⁶⁴ "Men for Sale," *The Jamaica Observer*, August 14, 2005, citing 2004 Ministry of Health National Survey of Knowledge Behavior and Practice <http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/html/20050813t220000-0500_86107_obs_men_for_sale_.asp>. Accessed on February 8, 2007.

⁶⁵ Peoples Action for Community Transformation (PACT), *Report of the Trafficking in Persons Activity: Prioritizing Prevention—Building Awareness*, (Washington, D.C.: United States Agency for International Development, 2005).

⁶⁶ UNICEF, "At a Glance: Jamaica," <<http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/jamaica.html>>. Accessed on February 8, 2007.

⁶⁷ *Jamaica Anti-Trafficking Assessment*, Chemonics, p. 4, quoting excerpt from a 2004 report on adolescents in urban St. Catherine by Children First Agency sponsored by Save the Children and the EU.

⁶⁸ Dunn, Leith L., *Jamaica Situation of Children in Prostitution: A Rapid Assessment*, (Geneva: ILO and International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour, 2001).

⁶⁹ "Child Prostitution Widespread in Jamaica," *Jamaica Observer*, July 21, 2002 <http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/html/20020720T230000-0500_29195_OBS_CHILD_PROSTITUTION_WIDESPREAD_IN_JAMAICA.asp>; Accessed on February 8, 2007. Myers, Jr., John, "Mounting Concerns about Sexual Exploitation of Children," *The Jamaica Gleaner*, June 13, 2004 <<http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20040613/news/news4.html>>. Accessed on February 8, 2007.

⁷⁰ Luton, Daraine, "Technology Now Aiding Child Pornography," *The Jamaica Gleaner*, July 16, 2006. <<http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20060716/lead/lead9.html>>. Accessed on February 8, 2007.

depicting a female student performing oral sex on a male student at the National Stadium following the National Boys' and Girls' High School Athletics Championships in Kingston, was sold for \$350-\$500 on DVD and was taped by cellular phone.⁷¹ In late 2006, Jamaica was shaken by the news of a case involving a well-known deacon of a church, Donovan Jones, who was hired to take a 13-year-old girl from school to her home, but allegedly supervised her repeated sexual assault by several boys aged 15-18 years in the back of a van over a period of days, while one of the boys allegedly videotaped the acts. The four were charged initially with sexual assault but those charges were upgraded to five counts of human trafficking under the Child Safety and Protection Act 2004.⁷²

Numerous foreign adult women are found in go-go clubs in the larger cities of Kingston and Montego Bay. Hired to dance, many of these women find that they must prostitute in order to pay off their debt to the trafficker and send some money back to their impoverished families. Thus, the clubs serve as staging grounds for prostitution and often profit directly by also requiring payment to remove the girls from the club grounds.

FACILITATION

He indicated that he knew foreign women were being trafficked into Jamaica and into clubs in Kingston which specifically advertised foreign women. However, through arrest of these women by overstaying their visas he had not been able to get them to talk or share any details of their situation in Jamaica or recruitment from their home country which led to them being deported rather than counted as a trafficking victim. Currently, the Anti-Trafficking Unit has no provision to hire a woman councilor who could assist with the intake procedure. Additionally, the department has no place to put these women except the jail, and they offer no type of security in exchange for their cooperation. On several occasions Victor had kept the women detained at his office rather than sending them to the prison/jail, because he felt as if they had already been through enough.⁷³

Organized crime has been cited by some analysts as a force permitting the markets to flourish. However, field research revealed the immediate fear in Jamaica is of highly organized and extremely violent localized gangs, particularly in Kingston and surrounding areas. Though the extent of involvement of these gangs in trafficking in persons is not known with certainty, the role they serve as rulers of specifically demarcated areas contributes to the transactions occurring without threat of law enforcement interference. Further, according to one of the sex trafficking survivors interviewed, the police are "directly involved and frequented the Jamaican clubs and served as security guards for the establishment."⁷⁴ Even Air Jamaica employees were involved in facilitating the illegal entry of people for human trafficking to the United States.⁷⁵ This "environment of corruption"⁷⁶ is, in itself, a facilitator of the sex tourism and trafficking markets in Jamaica.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² "Sex Deacon, Co-Accused Back in Court December 15," *The Jamaica Observer*, November 27, 2006 <http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/html/20061126T190000-0500_115858_OBS_SEX_DEACON_CO_ACCUSED_BACK_IN_COURT_DECEMBER_.asp>. Accessed on February 8, 2007. "Sex Deacon Case Stalled," *Extra News*, February 8, 2007 <<http://www.xnewsjamaica.com/content/home/detail.asp?iData=461&iCat=324&iChannel=2&nChannel=Articles>>. Accessed on February 8, 2007.

⁷³ SHI Research Report, May 26, 2006, citing Officer Victor Barrett. On file with authors.

⁷⁴ "Natasha," Personal interview, May 25, 2006.

⁷⁵ Myers Jr., John, "US Bars Air Jamaica Trio Accused of Human Trafficking," *The Jamaica Gleaner*, June 21, 2005 <<http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20050621/lead/lead1.html>>. Accessed on December 5, 2006.

⁷⁶ United States Government, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, *Trafficking in Persons Interim Assessment*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 2007).

Familial trafficking is highly prevalent in Jamaica where women and men struggle to survive in a depressed economy and a society in which the importance of marriage and family have diminished. Mothers and fathers are known to pimp their daughters, and boyfriends sometimes live off the earnings of girlfriends forced to prostitute. A mother who was asked why she would take her daughter to the now-closed Culloden Sex Auction answered, "Lady, you don't know what it is to be hungry."⁷⁷ Of note is the focus on familial trafficking in the Jamaica Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Act which passed the House in December and the Senate on January 26, 2007. Under the TIP Act, parents or guardians who surrender their children for exploitation will be charged with trafficking in persons and potentially ordered to pay restitution to the victim if found guilty. Parents are known to traffic their children to pay for basic needs, such as school tuition and food.

The reality within the Jamaican society these days, is that we have children who have been encouraged and even forced by their parents to sell their bodies for money and favours... What is not known is that there are Jamaica women who will send their daughters and sons out nightly to "work the beat" and take money home to them. Many of these children are not allowed back into the home unless a certain amount of money is made nightly... Quite a few of these children, some of whom are boys, have to sell their bodies to these "big men" on and off the hills, in order for them and their families to survive.⁷⁸

Many sectors of the hotel and tourism industry in Jamaica facilitate sex tourism and trafficking markets. Valets, concierges, and other hotel staff actively seek out visitors and offer them any pleasure they wish, including sexual services. Employees have the know-how and the awareness of the hotel procedures and are in a position to help visitors find the girls and get them into the hotel rooms. Indeed, permitting local girls to be checked into hotels for sex work is an act of facilitation. Many hotels contain go-go clubs which act as staging grounds for commercial sex of all kinds. On a larger scale, advertising by the hotel and tourism industry encourages tourists to engage in commercial sex activities, thereby increasing the demand for commercial sexual services and the women and children to provide those services on the island.

Some hotels have taken an executive-level stance against child sex tourism and prostitution occurring on the premises. For example, Carlson-Wagonlit Companies, based in the United States, has signed the Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism, committing this large hotel and restaurant network to be vigilant against child sex tourism in the many locations and venues constituting the consortium.⁷⁹ At least one hotel manager in Kingston has stated that child prostitution is not permitted; furthermore, the hotel has instituted a night room assessment to fill a charitable fund instituted by the hotel to pay

⁷⁷ *Exploratory Assessment of Trafficking in Persons in the Caribbean Region*, p.87, citing key informant interview.

⁷⁸ Hyatt, Stephen-Claude. "My Parent and My Pimp – Child Prostitution in Jamaica," *The Jamaica Gleaner*, December 6, 2001 <<http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20011206/cleisure/cleisure5.html>>. Accessed on December 5, 2006.

⁷⁹ Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism, available at <<http://www.thecode.org>>. Under the Code of Conduct, suppliers of tourism services adopting the code commit themselves to implement the following six criteria:

1. To establish an ethical policy regarding commercial sexual exploitation of children.
2. To train the personnel in the country of origin and travel destinations.
3. To introduce a clause in contracts with suppliers, stating a common repudiation of commercial sexual exploitation of children.
4. To provide information to travelers by means of catalogues, brochures, in-flight films, ticket-slips, home pages, etc.
5. To provide information to local "key persons" at the destinations.
6. To report annually.

for the building of new schools in Jamaica.⁸⁰ Empowering these institutions by bringing them into an alliance to combat human trafficking can be an effective tool. However, the stances taken by the hotels officially do not always trickle down to the lower level or auxiliary staff, who may continue to facilitate the exploitation of women and children within the hotels and resorts.

Wayne Cummings, president of the Negril Chamber of Commerce and first vice president of the Jamaica Hotel and Tourist Association (JHTA), told the Sunday Herald that sex tourism is not condoned by the organisations that he represents. He pointed out that although many visitors to exotic locations such as Jamaica often arrive with hope of finding an “escort”, the country has made efforts to move away from this image. “It still happens, but we categorize it as tourist harassment. We invite tourists here for sun, sea, sand and Jamaican hospitality, which does not necessarily include sexual favours,” said Cummings. He added that sex tourism brought with it many negative implications such as the spread of infectious diseases and a tarnished national image. “Those persons in the sex tourism industry are better served by getting training and incorporate themselves into legitimate tourism jobs,” he said. Cummings indicated that tourism interests in the resort towns have better working relationships with the police, and this has prevented the problem from being an overt one. He also indicated that tourism interests have also begun to address the problem through education. Cummings also spoke to the issue of staff training at the Sandals hotel chain to ensure that internal and external interaction does not become or appear untoward.

— Posted by *Jamaica Sunday Herald*,
12 June 2006⁸¹

The primary approach by government and non-governmental organizations in combating the commercial sex tourism market in Jamaica has been directed at the victim rather than the buyer. As illustrated in the statement below, the tourism industry considers pimps soliciting buyers as ‘tourist harassment’ and tourist awareness of trafficking as bad for business. The tourism communities tend to discourage the economically disadvantaged and coerced from prostituting rather than to prosecute the sex tourist for buying trafficked victims.

The 2001 revision of the CARICOM Treaty made the CARICOM passport for community nationals and preferential employment treatment for CARICOM citizens—especially university graduates, media workers, sportspersons, artists, and musicians—one of its main goals.⁸² The new passports are machine-readable, with the intent of increasing the security of the document and improving immigration controls. As of early 2007, eight member states have introduced CARICOM passports: Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago. Jamaica was expected to begin issuing the CARICOM passports by January 2007, but the date was delayed and issuance is now expected to begin before the end of 2007. The expectation is that all the member states will have introduced the CARICOM passport by 2008, as required by the CARICOM Treaty.⁸³ This regional passport regime may result in easier travel for the members

⁸⁰ Kingston Hilton KIDSS charity. SHI Research Report, October 20, 2006. On file with authors.

⁸¹ Available at <<http://www.rentarasta.com>>. Accessed on December 8, 2006.

⁸² Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas Establishing the Caribbean Community Including the Caribbean Single Market and Economy 2001 (CARICOM Treaty). <<http://www.caricom.org/index.jsp>>. Accessed on April 19, 2007.

⁸³ “CARICOM passports for Jamaicans before year-end,” *The Jamaica Gleaner*, February 17, 2007 <<http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20070217/lead/lead2.html>>.

See also, <http://www.caricom.org/jsp/single_market/csme_summary_key_elements_jun_06.pdf>. Accessed on April 19, 2007.

of the Caribbean community intra-regionally as well as internationally, but it carries the risk of increasing illegal immigration, a development that is likely to add to the difficulties of stemming sex trafficking in, from and through Jamaica.

CULTURE OF TOLERANCE

SEX TOURISM ORIGINS

Jamaica as a whole, similar to the cities of Las Vegas and Amsterdam, is unique in its heavy emphasis on sex tourism and an economy that relies almost completely on the income generated by tourism. The result of this dependence is impoverishment on the part of the local population. While some Jamaicans, especially owners of the clubs and hotels, have done well financially, many of the locals have suffered.

Jamaica has been a “rich man’s paradise,” culturally colonized since the late 1800s and was “among the earliest of West Indian islands to host the moneyed, leisure classes from Europe and North America.”⁸⁴ In 1890, a law on hotels was introduced that permitted the construction of enormous and luxurious properties in Jamaica, financed, in part, by local taxpayers. Montego Bay’s Bathing Club was created in 1906 and Ocho Rios (from the Spanish word Chorreras, spout or waterfall) drew in those looking to commune with nature.⁸⁵ Advancements in technology—especially in transportation—enabled more and more people to travel abroad in a timely manner. Thomas Cook was one of the first international tour promoters, coming to Jamaica in the 1860s by boat.⁸⁶ Pan-American Airlines signed its first contract for flights from Miami to Jamaica twice weekly in 1930.⁸⁷

While many of these advancements benefited wealthy tour operators, hotel owners, and tourists themselves, the impact on the local Jamaicans was harmful. Not only did some Americans and Europeans bring arrogance and racial prejudice with them, perhaps more damaging was the sexually exploitive behavior they exhibited toward the Jamaican women and children while vacationing in Jamaica. Such behavior was absorbed and mimicked by the locals and contributed to a rise in local problems of drug abuse and underage prostitution. The Jamaican attitude towards its white visitors was, “idle whites who were over-rich, over-sexed, and over-here.”⁸⁸ References to “trafficking in human flesh,” were used as early as the 1960s.

Tourism has become a trap for the Caribbean people. It has deepened the economic dependency of the region...causing deep psychological and cultural damage. ... Being someone else’s playground has meant that the Caribbean fishermen have become beach boys, its farmers turned into waiters, and the TNC hotels are defining local culture.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Taylor, Frank F., *To Hell with Paradise: A History of the Jamaica Tourist Industry* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993) pp. 4-7.

⁸⁵ Martin, L. Emile, *Reflections on Jamaica’s Tourism* (Montego Bay, Jamaica: Unlimited Exposures, Ltd., 1994) p. 17.

⁸⁶ Taylor, p. 37.

⁸⁷ Martin, p. 60.

⁸⁸ Taylor, p. 171.

⁸⁹ Barry, Tom et al., *The Other Side of Paradise: Foreign Control in the Caribbean* (New York: Grove Press, 1984) cited in Taylor, pp. 7-8.

Jamaican society has suffered in several ways from the rapid expansion of tourism. Though 80 percent of the industry is Jamaican-owned, attitudinal surveys reveal that local residents are most concerned with the island's violent crime, economic disparity and poor infrastructure.⁹⁰ The unemployment rate is estimated at 11.3 percent and 19.1 percent of the population lives below poverty level.⁹¹ The tourism industry dominates the Jamaican economy and the service industry accounts for 60 percent of Jamaica's gross domestic product (GDP). Speaking at the Annual Meeting of Jamaican Hoteliers and Tour Operators in the fall of 2006, Minister of Tourism Ndombet-Assamba accused the industry of being in denial, stating, "It is in our best interest economically and socially to separate ourselves from the other countries known for CSEC [commercial sexual exploitation of children] by becoming socially responsible."⁹²

THE CULTURE OF "MAKING DO"

Many residents of Jamaica demonstrate and verbalize their belief that the severe economic situation in Jamaica forces a culture of "making do." How one makes a living or "makes do" is less important than the money accrued. This in turn leads to the pervasive phenomenon of domestic trafficking, as well as to the willingness of girls to travel abroad to earn money. The Theodora Project, one of Jamaica's more promising programs for at-risk and exploited youth, has difficulty forging partnerships with local businesses because the businesses benefit from the economics of the sex trade. As the Director of Theodora Project, Reverend Margaret Fowler, remarked, "Negril does not want to hear about trafficking."⁹³ As a result, Reverend Fowler must "tread lightly" in order to avoid upsetting the community, the congregation, and local ministry with her outreach to commercially sexually exploited girls. Many of these girls have been lured into go-go dancing and further into sexually servicing the tourists who flock to Negril for its casual and unregulated beaches.

The culture of "making do" often leads girls into sexual activity at an early age and this in turn makes them vulnerable to trafficking and to contracting HIV/AIDS. According to data from Jamaica's National HIV/STD Prevention and Control Program, 13 out of every 1000 pregnant women in Jamaica are infected with HIV. Teenaged girls had three times higher the risk of HIV-infection than boys of the same age group, largely because they are having intercourse with HIV-infected older men.⁹⁴ This is due in part to the absence or ineffectiveness of care-giving and child-rearing because the mothers work and cannot tend to their children and fathers are completely absent from their lives.⁹⁵ In fact, the statistic is staggering: over 85 percent of children in Jamaica are born to unmarried mothers; furthermore, 50 percent of children do not have a father's name on the birth certificate.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ Dunn, Hopeton S. and Leith L. Dunn, *People and Tourism: Issues and Attitudes in the Jamaican Hospitality Industry* (Kingston, Jamaica: Arawak Publishers, 2002) Introduction.

⁹¹ "Jamaica," *CIA World Factbook*, last updated March 15, 2007 <<https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/jm.html>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

⁹² Ndombet-Assamba, Honorable Aloun, Minister of Tourism, Entertainment and Culture, remarks at the National Task Force Trafficking in Persons Public Forum, Ocho Rios, October 19, 2006.

⁹³ Fowler, Reverend Margaret, Theodora Project, Personal interview, October 17, 2006.

⁹⁴ Thompson, Eulalee, "Accept it, Accept it Not—Sex, Prostitution, HIV/AIDS," *The Jamaica Gleaner*, May 3, 2006 <<http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20060503/health/health1.html>>. Accessed on February 8, 2007.

⁹⁵ *Exploratory Assessment of Trafficking in Persons in the Caribbean Region*, pp. 83-85.

⁹⁶ Chang, Kevin O'Brien, "Licensing the Jamaican Penis," *The Jamaica Gleaner*, April 16, 2006 <<http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20060416/focus/focus3.html>> (advocates making it compulsory for the father's name to be put on every child's birth certificate); also Neil and Janice Lewis, Personal interview, November 9, 2006. Most recent information from the Jamaican Ministry of Health reported that 899 births occurred between January 1 and 7, 2007; 836 babies were registered. Of the 836 registered babies, 520 fathers were named on the birth certificates (62%). Of those 520 named fathers, 377 were not married to the mother (73%). See, Jamaica Information Service, January 17, 2007 <<http://www.jis.gov.jm/health>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

According to Major Neil Lewis, Retired Major of the Jamaica Defense Forces and Founder of Operation Save Jamaica (OSJ), a nonprofit basket ministry based in Kingston, it is not unusual for mothers to encourage their daughters to engage in sexual relations for money. Some mothers go so far as to allow their own partners to have sex with their daughters. They then fail to stand up for their daughters when they complain of abuse in order to ensure the relationship continues and to “keep their man,” making these mothers the accomplices and beneficiaries of their daughters’ sexual exploitation. Children are exposed to pornography from an early age as commercial sex simply pervades the atmosphere in Jamaica.⁹⁷ This exposure desensitizes children to sex and makes them more vulnerable to their own exploitation. In addition, pornography produced by locals and foreigners relies on and seeks out vulnerable youth to be subjects.⁹⁸

Domestic trafficking is exacerbated by the organized crime of Kingston. Gang-controlled areas primarily within Kingston are called “garrisons,” where officials have essentially ceded control to the gangs in exchange for their votes.⁹⁹ The gang’s “dons” run the garrisons, demand protection payments, are paid by public utilities to collect fees, and take the girls they fancy from the community. The dons receive government contracts from the party leader with whom they are aligned. This is called “awash,” as in awash with money. Other means of making fast money are arms smuggling, drug trafficking and extortion. Crime in general pervades the country; in the first half of 2005, 845 persons were gunned down out of a population of 2.6 million.¹⁰⁰ The Private Sector Organization of Jamaica (PSOJ) grew so frustrated with the federal government’s unwillingness to confront and respond to growing crime trends that it organized protests against the Patterson administration in 2005.¹⁰¹ Jamaica’s corrupt environment exacerbates the challenge in combating human trafficking.¹⁰²

CONCLUSION

If we become known as a modern day trading post in humanity...the tourists will begin to reconsider their decision to come to Jamaica.¹⁰³

— Aloun Ndombet-Assamba
Minister of Tourism

Jamaican authorities have made some positive inroads in tackling sex trafficking and tourism. Given the vital importance of Jamaica’s tourist industry, the specter of a downturn resulting from the international awareness of domestic trafficking and its health and social consequences has serious economic implications. The danger of being known as a major marketplace of sexual exploitation with an ever-growing population of vulnerable children, together with the spread of HIV/AIDS, has prompted Jamaican authorities to address the problem.

⁹⁷ Neil and Janice Lewis, Personal interview, November 9, 2006. See Operation Save Jamaica website: <<http://www.operationsavejamaica.org>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

⁹⁸ Luton, Daraine, “Technology Now Aiding Child Pornography,” *Jamaica Gleaner Online*, July 16, 2006 <<http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20060716/lead/lead9.html>>. Accessed on February 8, 2007.

⁹⁹ Neil and Janice Lewis, Personal interview, November 9, 2006.

¹⁰⁰ “Ineffective Responses to Crime in Jamaica,” Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA), July 7, 2005 <<http://www.coha.org/2005/07/07/ineffective-responses-to-crime-in-jamaica>>. Accessed on December 20, 2006.

¹⁰¹ COHA, 2005.

¹⁰² *Trafficking in Persons Interim Assessment*, 2007.

¹⁰³ Hon. Aloun Ndombet-Assamba, Minister of Tourism, Entertainment, and Culture in Jamaica, remarks at National Trafficking in Persons Task Force Forum, Ocho Rios, Jamaica, October 19, 2006.

PUBLIC AWARENESS

The Jamaican government was alarmed when the *Trafficking in Persons Report 2005* placed Jamaica in Tier 3 with countries whose governments do not fully comply with the minimum standards laid out in the TVPA 2000 as they were not making significant efforts to confront the scourge of human trafficking.¹⁰⁴ Tier 3 ranking put Jamaica in jeopardy of losing foreign (non-humanitarian) assistance from the United States, and endangered its reputation as a tourism destination. As a result, the government took swift action of primarily awareness and prevention efforts. In August of 2005, a National Awareness Campaign was initiated and kicked off at Emancipation Park followed by several public fora by the newly formed National Task Force against Trafficking in Persons. A Legislative Task Force to review existing laws that affect child labor and victim assistance was formed and a National “Trafficking in Women and Children Special Unit” created to investigate cases of commercial sexual abuse.

LEGISLATION

The Child Care and Protection Act (CCPA), enacted March 25, 2004, criminalizes various types of violence against children, including the trafficking of children.¹⁰⁵ The CCPA is the legal basis for the recently established Children’s Advocate who is responsible for protecting the rights of children in Jamaica. The Children’s Advocate has authority to conduct investigations and report on child abuse or other violations of children’s rights that come to his/her attention. A new hotline has been established to encourage reporting of child sexual abuse and exploitation: 1-888-PROTECT. The hotline is being widely promoted, adding to the public awareness of this issue throughout the island. The actualization of the CCPA’s provision for the establishment of the Children’s Advocate marked a positive development in Jamaica’s efforts to address internal child trafficking and indicated a much needed commitment on the part of the government to tackle this issue.

The Child Care and Protection Act, 2004

Prohibition 10.— (1) *No person shall sell or participate in the trafficking of any child.*
(2) *Any person who commits an offence under subsection (1) shall be liable on conviction or indictment before a Circuit Court, to a fine or to imprisonment with hard labour for a term not exceeding ten years, or to both such fine and imprisonment.*

In February 2007, Parliament enacted the Trafficking in Persons (TIP) Act of 2007, which became effective March 1, 2007. The new law prohibits all forms of trafficking in persons and related offenses such as financially benefitting from trafficking crimes and taking a victim’s passport. A second legislative development is the directive from the Justice Minister and Attorney General for the drafting of the child pornography legislation which would specifically criminalize the making, distribution and sale of child pornography.¹⁰⁶ Pornography is illegal under Jamaican law; cases of pornography are charged under the Obscene Publications (Suppression of) Act¹⁰⁷ or the Offences Against the Persons Act¹⁰⁸, but neither statute speaks specifically to the offense of child pornography.

¹⁰⁴ *Trafficking in Persons Report*, 2005, p.42.

¹⁰⁵ Child Care and Protection Act, 2004, available at <http://www.cda.gov.jm/downloads/Child_Care_and_Protection_Act_2004.pdf>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

¹⁰⁶ Luton, Daraine, “Government of Jamaica to draft child porn law,” *The Jamaica Gleaner*, July 19, 2006 <<http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20060719/lead/lead6.html>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

¹⁰⁷ Obscene Publications (Suppression of) Act, March 17, 1927, available at <[http://www.caricomlaw.org/docs/Obscene%20Publications%20\(Suppression%20of\)%20Act.pdf](http://www.caricomlaw.org/docs/Obscene%20Publications%20(Suppression%20of)%20Act.pdf)>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

¹⁰⁸ Offences Against the Persons Act, 1864, revised 1969, available at <<http://www.caricomlaw.org/docs/Offences%20Against%20the%20Person%20Act.pdf>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

Currently the Obscene Publications Act, passed in 1927, carries only a maximum fine of \$40 or a three-month prison term—clearly needing amendment to serve as the deterrent intended. It is not certain whether the child pornography law will be an amendment to the obscene publications laws or to the Child Care and Protection Act 2004 to accompany the sale and trafficking of children provision. The Ministry of Justice plans to introduce the draft bill to Parliament by September 2007.¹⁰⁹

LAW ENFORCEMENT

Since April 2006, Jamaican police have raided 27 nightclubs for evidence of trafficking, resulting in the rescue of nine trafficking victims, three of which were between the ages of 13 and 17. Victim protection efforts, however, remain ad hoc and the government has yet to develop or implement a formalized referral system to increase victim identification and prevent the inadvertent prosecution or deportation of victims... Using existing laws, the government charged five suspected traffickers in children.¹¹⁰

Over the past two years, Jamaican law enforcers have enhanced their focus on child trafficking and exploitation. The case of the arrest of two men in connection with the alleged pimping of a 13-year-old girl is one of five cases currently being tried under the Child Care and Protection Act 2004 Prohibition 10 against sex trafficking. In addition, the Ministry of Justice is currently considering the prosecution's motion to admit video evidence in the trial, a decision which could change the manner of prosecuting child traffickers. Improvement in the witness protection program is also under discussion.

To have effective prosecutions, Jamaica must adopt special procedures and personal security measures for the protection of children who agree to testify.¹¹¹

While most of the attention internally has been on the commercial sexual exploitation of children within the country, efforts to curb the reported international trafficking have been made. Raids on clubs have resulted in the identification of foreign victims, though procedures for treating these women as victims rather than illegal workers have not been implemented and there is currently no safe place to hold these victims. Recent computerization of passports and increased training of customs officials may cut down on the entry of illegal migrants and victims of trafficking into Jamaica.¹¹² However, many women and children are Caribbean in origin, and therefore it is difficult to monitor their movement due to the free travel of community nationals provided for in the CARICOM Treaty.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Luton, Daraine, "Government of Jamaica to draft child porn law," *The Jamaica Gleaner*, July 19, 2006

¹¹⁰ *Trafficking in Persons Interim Assessment*, 2007.

¹¹¹ *Jamaica Anti-Trafficking Assessment*, Chemonics, p. 9.

¹¹² During 2003 and 2004, IOM implemented a program to build capacity in the Jamaican migration management system by computerizing the technical infrastructure and training government officials. See <<http://www.iom.int>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

¹¹³ Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas Establishing the Caribbean Community Including the Caribbean Single Market and Economy 2001 (CARICOM Treaty), chapter III, article 45 "Movement of Community Nationals" <<http://www.caricom.org/index.jsp>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

The Jamaica Ministry of Justice continues to lead advancements in addressing human trafficking at several levels. The recent establishment of the Victim Support Unit which provides counselors for the victims is a positive development which will encourage victims to cooperate in prosecutions of traffickers. In addition, the Ministry of Justice Permanent Secretary Carol Palmer is spearheading the appropriation of government property for the establishment of a specialized, secure shelter for victims of human trafficking.

PREVENTION AND RESTORATIVE FACILITIES

Jamaica faces a problem similar to the United States in its shortage of restorative facilities. Youth remanded to the state for protection are usually sent to juvenile detention facilities from which they often escape. However, the establishment of the Child Advocate and work by the Child Development Agency is underway to establish safe places for these exploited children. With support from Shared Hope International, a local basket ministry called Operation Save Jamaica is approaching the issue of commercial sexual exploitation of children on the island with strategic planning. Which will serve as a catalyst for the growth of further services and shelter for youth. In concert with the Ministry of Justice through its Restorative Justice Initiative, the Christian community in Jamaica will be involved increasingly in the safety and protection of local youth.

Prevention efforts are being undertaken at a number of levels. The HEART Institute offers exploited and at-risk youth, who have left school, a certificate in a vocational skill which will allow them to survive independently and keep them from becoming victims in the commercial sex markets. Several organizations, such as the Theodora Project in Negril and Youth Empowerment Services in Montego Bay, provide HEART certified training. Not surprisingly, one of the primary vocational skill certificates is in hotel and tourism services. This prevention effort, coupled with ministries and organizations throughout the island that provide spiritual and health services, is working to keep local youth from entering the markets of sex tourism and trafficking. Community involvement and responsibility for its youth has the potential of reducing the supply of local girls and boys in the sex tourism industry in Jamaica.

THE NETHERLANDS





Red circles indicate primary areas of Shared Hope International field research.

THE NETHERLANDS:

TRADE AND TOLERANCE LEAD TO TRAFFICKING

These people put me in the window and told me what I had to say, how much money I have to ask, how much money I have to pay everyday. If I don't do it they will just kill me or my daughter. I couldn't talk to anybody about the situation and these people tell me that they were watching me everyday. And that's true because I was working in a window upstairs and downstairs are walking men everyday and every night so he [pimp] could tell how many men go upstairs so I can't get some money for me, ever. He knows everything and I was working like this for almost a year. The clients...men... police, lawyers... everything and you don't get help from these people. You don't have to tell these people because they know and some of these people have been in touch with my boss, my pimp...

— Former Trafficking Victim from the Czech Republic

The red light district is the image most people have of the legal prostitution system in the Netherlands; however, in reality, these areas represent a mere fraction of the commercial sex markets as larger illegal sex markets have developed in the shadows of this legalized structure. The perception of the commercial sex markets as safe, legal, and regulated in the Netherlands has created an expectation by the buyers that purchasing sex is merely part of the tour. This creates heightened demand and thereby a need for a constant supply of women and children to be the human product in this market. Thus, the secondary market of commercial sexual services using trafficked women and children thrives in the background of the legalized system. This section examines the thin veneer of legitimacy presented by the red light districts and legal brothels and the shadows behind them.

The layout of the red light district in Amsterdam capitalizes on the concept of the commercial sex market as a “shopping mall” where the buyer can pick and choose the woman who will provide the sexual services. This market has as its centerpiece the well-known windows displaying a variety of women brought to Amsterdam from all over the world to be exploited in a legal environment. The incessant and graphic marketing of exploited women and children through advertising and open display has normalized sexual exploitation and led to heightened demand. It also increases tolerance for all of its sub-services and deviances existing on the fringes of the legal marketplace. Today, the red light district has expanded into more residential areas bordering the official red light district, illustrating the difficulties of containing a market of this kind within a legal system.

The General Ban on Brothels (*Bordeelverbod*) law was lifted on October 1, 2000, making prostitution and pimping legal occupations in the Netherlands with removal of each from the penal code. Since then, Amsterdam’s Red Light District (in Dutch, *de Wallen*) has become a multi-million dollar business, with a yearly turnover of €83 million.¹¹⁴ Though the infamous red light district was in operation for centuries, concerns were mounting that it had become infested with drug and human trafficking crimes. Policymakers believed that legalization would force brothels to clean up their acts, scale back, and even eliminate the employment of illegal migrants. Legalized brothels would also mean an increase in revenue for the government, as the regulated brothels would pay taxes. However, two years later, in 2002, *Wetenschappelijk Onderzoeken Documentatiecentrum* (WODC) Scientific Research and Documentation Center published a major report on the impact of the legislation and concluded that it had caused the commercial sex industry to relocate and go underground where there was less overhead and less government interference.¹¹⁵ Instead of curbing and deterring sex crimes, the legislation had the opposite effect, resulting in the expansion of commercial sex markets into a larger, concealed market in the hands of Albanian and Turkish organized crime groups, Moroccan pimps, and many other criminal entrepreneurs. It is against this backdrop that we explore the markets of sexual exploitation in major cities in the Netherlands: Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Rotterdam.

In 2004, about 8000 prostitutes worked in Amsterdam. Based upon these estimates, 25% of them worked in the windows, 25% in brothels, 1% as streetwalkers and the remaining 49% in closed or private situations such as escort services, bars, private houses or at home. More than two-thirds of the women are of foreign origin.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ “Canada Considers Further Legalizing Prostitution While Amsterdam Mayor Admits Legalization’s Failure,” [LifeSiteNews.com](http://www.lifesite.net/ldn/2005/oct/05100508.html), October 5, 2005, citing article in *NRC Handelsbad* (in Dutch), October 5, 2005 <<http://www.lifesite.net/ldn/2005/oct/05100508.html>>. Accessed on November 14, 2006.

¹¹⁵ A. Daalder, *Het Bordeelverbod Opgeheven: Prostitutie in 2000-2001* (Amsterdam: WODC, 2002). The WODC was created in 1973 to serve as a research institute for the Ministry of Justice. It is the leading center for research on organized crime in the Netherlands. See also The Netherlands, Dutch National Rapporteur, *Trafficking in Human Beings* (Den Haag: Bureau NRM, 2002), p.90; Henk Van de Bunt and Edward Kleemans, “Transnational Organized Crime,” *Punishment, Places, and Perpetrators: Developments in Criminology and Criminal Justice Research* (Devon, UK: Willan Publishing, 2004), p.1.

¹¹⁶ Thérèse van der Helm, *Intermediary project for prostitutes annual report 2002 - 2004* (Government Health Service: Amsterdam, NE, August 2005) p. 6.

THE MARKETPLACE

COMMERCIAL SEX MARKETS

Red Light Districts

There are thirteen official red light districts operating in the Netherlands (listed below). These red light districts may be a few windows on one block in the city or may be as large as the well-known Amsterdam Red Light District.

City	Area/Street
Alkmaar	Achterdam
Amsterdam	Walletjes/Wallen, Singel/Spui, Pijp/Ruysdaelkade
Arnhem	Spijkerkwartier (near industrial area Kleefsewaard, near AX0)
Den Haag	Geleenstraat, Poeldijkstraat, Doublestraat
Deventer	Bokkingshang
Eindhoven	Edisonstraat (up to Baekelandplein)
Groningen	Nieuwstad Hoekstraat/Muurstraat
Haarlem	Begijnhof — 3 hofjes (courtyards): Het Poortje, Het Steegje, Rode Lantaarn
Heerlen	n/a
Leeuwarden	De Waeze
Nijmegen	Nieuwe Market straat
Rotterdam	Keileweg
Utrecht	Hardebollenstraat

Source: <http://www.ignatzmice.com>

Amsterdam's Red Light District is a major tourist destination for buyers seeking commercial sexual services. Though it has existed for several centuries and has been a boost to the economy by attracting tourists and collecting taxes from brothels, today the district is losing its luster. The Amsterdam city council ordered 100 of the 350 windows to close by the end of 2006 and will continue to examine the status of other commercial sex venues as it confronts human trafficking.¹¹⁷ The Red Light District is located in the heart of the oldest part of Amsterdam, covering several blocks south of the church *Oude Kerk* and crossed by several canals. The name *de Wallen* refers to the names of the two canals in the area, the *Oudezijds Achterburgwal* and the *Oudezijds Voorburgwal*. The district has existed since the 14th century and formerly housed many distilleries, mainly catering to sailors. In response to proposals by the head of Amsterdam's largest political party to discourage women from marketing themselves in windows, several commercial sex venues in Amsterdam's Red Light District held an open house on February 18, 2006, and again on March 31, 2007, with the intent to "de-stigmatize" and promote the Red Light District locally. Free drinks were provided and the event was widely publicized.¹¹⁸ Increased safety might have been a better investment in the Red Light District, as one outreach worker noted, "There are nearly 400 windows; there are not 400 police men. There are only about 5 or 6 police men working in the entire Red Light District."¹¹⁹

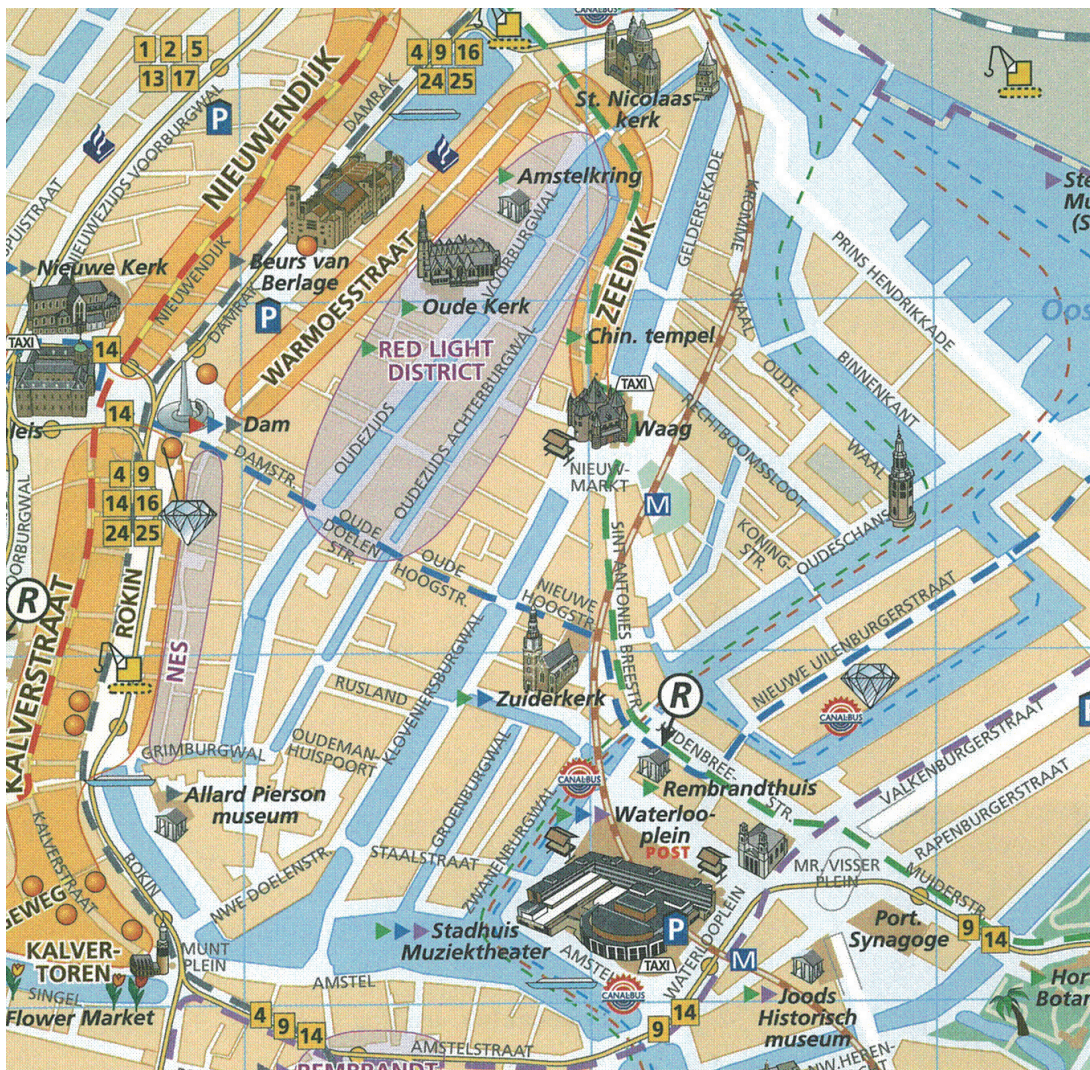
¹¹⁷ Castle, Stephen, "Trafficking Forces Clampdown in Amsterdam's Red Light Area," *The Independent*, December 2, 2006.

¹¹⁸ "Amsterdam's Red Light District Has Open House," *Associated Press*, February 17, 2006

<<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2006/02/17/ap/strange/mainD8FR3N8G0.shtml>>; "Dutch Red Light District's Open Day Draws Crowd," *Reuters*, March 31, 2007 <<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/17887227>>. Accessed on November 14, 2006.

¹¹⁹ Heemskerck-Shep, Toos, Personal interview, January 26, 2006.

“*Loverboys*” and pimps go about their business—trafficking in women—without being bothered in the Red Light District of Amsterdam, while the police look on, said two policemen of the bureau Beursstraat, one of whom has been replaced elsewhere within the police at his own request. “We are in the midst of modern slavery,” says Ron, who until recently has been a vice officer in the Red Light District. Police are doing far too little to end forced prostitution with all its excesses, say the policemen. The policemen do not want their names in the paper, because they have been threatened by criminals several times. Two groups of pimps are active in Amsterdam’s Red Light District: the “*loverboys*” and a group known as the “*Turks*.” They carry on a lucrative business in trafficking women from the Eastern bloc. According to policeman Ron, criminal reports by women “are gathering dust everywhere in the Netherlands.” In 2003, four detectives were put on the group of *Turks*. “The investigation turned into a fantastic disaster,” says Ron. Investigations are not allowed to take any longer than three months. The four detectives were notified by their superiors in June that they had to close the case. Some arrests followed, but the public prosecutor found the evidence inconclusive.¹²⁰



This map illustrates the proximity of the Red Light District to key tourism sites, including the Rembrandt Museum, Music Theater, Train Station, and several historic churches.

¹²⁰ “Police ignore trafficking in women,” *NRC Handelsbad*, October 1, 2005 (in Dutch; unofficial translation on file with author).

In the *Singel* area, windows are contained within a thriving commercial district surrounded by high-end homes. The windows are controlled by an organized group of young, teenaged-looking Turks and Moroccans who perform a revolving check of the windows and an older group of twenty-year-old men of Indonesian origin who run a pattern that takes them over the Singel canal and back down *Oude Nieuwstraat*. The women in this area are mostly Latin or South American (from Colombia, Cuba, Brazil, or Venezuela).¹²¹ *Middelpunt* is the Window Administrative Office in Singel Area where girls retrieve and return keys for rented windows. East European, African and Turkish pimps are easily recognized as they loiter singly and in groups while keeping a protective eye on their charge in the windows. Approximately thirty windows are located in Singel's "*de Pijp*," an area to the south of the main Red Light District on *Ruysdaelkade* behind the *Rijksmuseum* disturbingly—and some question whether deliberately—accessible to the many tourists traveling to the *Rijksmuseum* and the Van Gogh Museum.

Legalizing prostitution was infused with the idea of the articulate prostitute, who should get rights and better working conditions. But that image is incorrect... Two thirds of prostitutes are foreign, most often illegal and nobody is registering. The Amsterdam police has a portfolio with 76 violent pimps operating on de Wallen [Amsterdam's red light district]. Often they stand at the corner, counting the customers of 'his' woman, to subsequently collect the money. It is very difficult for the police to get a case. Pimping is allowed, but exploitation and violence of course are not. But the women do not file reports or retrieve them later on.¹²²

— Karina Schaapman, Councilwoman and Former Prostitute
Amsterdam

In an initial examination of the legal market, an inventory was taken of one of the most visible areas—the “windows” in the Red Light District of Amsterdam. What became most apparent was the number of foreign girls from impoverished countries being prostituted in the Red Light District, demonstrating the market's use of the world's most vulnerable people to fulfill the demand. Two local experts who have done outreach work in the Red Light District for a combined 27 years, along with a team of outreach workers, monitored 398 windows in the Amsterdam Red Light District. Their findings provided insights into the victims, customers, and traffickers. Their research proved challenging because women stood in the windows in frequently changing shifts.¹²³ Also, the researchers were not able to go out between the hours of 12 a.m. and 6 a.m. due to the absence of police presence and protection in the Red Light District during those hours. One Nigerian survivor of sex trafficking explained that during those hours “a new market comes alive, a black market,” brewing with illegal activity due to the lack of policing.¹²⁴ Therefore, this research is a snapshot of activity limited to Amsterdam's Red Light District and is not necessarily indicative of overall trends in the commercial sex markets in the Netherlands.

¹²¹ Field Research Report, February 24, 2006. On file with authors.

¹²² Pels, Dorien, “Working in the Red Light District Is Not Romantic At All—Abuses in Prostitution,” *Trouw*, December 12, 2005, quoting Karina Schaapman. Article translated to English from Dutch by Kyer available at <<http://www.fleshploitation.blogspot.com>>. Accessed on February 5, 2007.

¹²³ Survey conducted for Shared Hope International by Co-Directors of the Scarlet Cord (Scharlaken Koord) and Youth with a Mission of Amsterdam (YWAM), both non-profit organizations that do outreach and provide resources to women in prostitution, August 2005.

¹²⁴ Sex trafficking survivor, Personal interview, January 26, 2006.

SURVEY RESULTS OF NGO OUTREACH WORKERS IN THE AMSTERDAM RED LIGHT DISTRICT¹²⁵

Our researchers observed 398 windows over the course of 14 days. Their visits took place in the afternoon and in the evening. Each woman was interviewed and her nationality recorded.

COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN, NUMBERS, AND AGES OF WOMEN OBSERVED IN THE RED LIGHT DISTRICT

Country	Women Counted	Ages
Dominican Republic	79	23-60
The Netherlands	39	18-40
Nigeria	25	18-25
Italy	12	19-28
Colombia	11	22-45
Ghana	9	19-26
Thailand	9 (transsexuals)	Age Unknown
Greece	7	19-25
Poland	6	21-25
Czech Republic	6	21-35
Germany	6	21-29
Ecuador	5	24-40
Belgium	3	19-23
Hungary	3	Age Unknown
Bulgaria	3	Age Unknown
Slovakia	3	21-27
Cuba	2	Age Unknown
Peru	2	Age Unknown
Asian (nationalities unknown)	2	Age Unknown
Switzerland	1	19
Portugal	1	Age Unknown
Romania	1	Age Unknown
Spain	1	20
France	1	21
24 Nationalities	237 Women	Average age 25

A brothel owner told me that there are many Hungarian girls working there, but as you see we only saw three. He told us that they were gypsies (Roma). It could be also that they are working in the night between 24.00 and 6.00 AM.

¹²⁵ Survey report written and translated by Scarlet Cord, edited by Shared Hope International, August 2005.

EARNINGS

The girls will not reveal to whom they give the money. We know that they can make about €500 per night. Those who work for a “loverboy” cannot keep any money for themselves. Those who work for a pimp from Eastern Europe pay about 75 percent to the pimp and keep the rest. I met a girl from Greece who was trafficked by an Albanian man. She made €60,000 for him in one year. She was 17 when she started to work with a fake passport. This information came from a brothel owner. Dutch and East European prostitutes have tattoos with the names of their pimps. This makes it a bit easier for the police, but the pimps don’t realize that. The African girls start off with a debt of €40,000; if she pays that back, she is “free.”

If you calculate that those 237 women all pay €125 per day for a room, and earn about €500 of which, based on evidence, little if any of it is kept by the woman or legally filed for tax purposes. That’s €625 total a day, €3125 per week, a little over €1 million in one year, just from one girl.

RECRUITMENT AND TRANSPORTATION

We obtained information about recruitment from the Dutch and the South Americans and a little bit from the East Europeans, but that was complicated by language difficulties. South American women come to Holland by plane or train through Spain. The average age is over 40. Most of these women have been here for many years, have their Dutch papers and work to keep up their financial needs. Some ladies are over the age of 60.

Africans come by plane most of the time via Western Europe. They fly into Germany and take a train or plane into Amsterdam or Belgium. Most of them work on fake passports. They are a closed group. They like to pray and want to have books and bibles, but will never tell their stories. East European girls are also closed and don’t dare tell their stories to the police. Most of the Dutch girls have come by way of pimps, so-called “loverboys.”

CONDITIONS

Most girls live in apartments owned by the traffickers with connections in Amsterdam. Most African girls live in the Bijlmermeer. As long as the girl has a pimp she is not free to come and go. You can see that with the Dutch girls, you see them walking with their “protectors”, but the Africans don’t have “protection” around them and they are afraid. The South Americans are free to come and go. But what is freedom if your whole family is relying on your income? These women are always under pressure from their family, parents, or children to provide financially. One woman told me that she resembles a terrorist because she sacrifices her life for her family.

BUYERS

The clients are between the ages of 18-75, with the majority being middle-aged men. Some women have regular clients, and they know more about the client or the family situation. But for the majority they have no relationship. They say that clients buy sex so they can get something from them that they cannot get from their wives. Others say they are just crazy or lonely.

Sex Clubs

Outside of the regulated sex markets are the unregulated markets. They include clubs and cafés where sex is heavily marketed and may be procured. Dutch sex clubs fall into roughly three categories: (1) large sex clubs with dance floors and bars employing twenty or more women; (2) private houses the size of residential homes with a small number of prostitutes; and (3) adult “Swinger Clubs” where couples can go and have sex with other couples or sometimes individuals—the sex is free but the cover charge is steep. Swinger Clubs often supplement the predominantly male crowd with so-called “sex workers”—the same technique employed by Swinger Clubs in Las Vegas. Three observed clubs and one cafe in Amsterdam revealed the following characteristics

- **Jan Bik Club** in Amsterdam is informal and small, seating about ten customers. Researchers identified women from Brazil and Suriname, but most are Dutch citizens. Men must order two drinks and then can request a girl for conversation. Men are not allowed to order a third drink without selecting a girl. Prices for sex: €75 per hour; €50 per half hour. Jan Bik, or JB clubs, form a chain and are known to employ non-European Union nationals. Property ownership has been traced to two companies: Rivet Immobilien Verwaltungs AG and Sunflower Real Estate AG, both registered in Zurich, Switzerland. A chain of private clubs and escort services under the name of Jan Bik (J.B.), one of the venues, employed non-E.U. nationals, primarily East Europeans, and was raided in March 2002 by Dutch authorities. The JB clubs in Amsterdam are known to be the cheapest and seediest of venues. Female buyers are also able to purchase male sex workers from JB clubs.¹²⁶
- **Princess Sex Club and Elegance Sex Club:** Princess and Elegance are located in posh canal neighborhoods. They have non-descript entrances with nothing more than brass plaques with their street address. The clubs are large and garish. Tuxedo-clad doormen welcome the guests. The entrance fee is €70 (includes 3-5 drinks) and then €270 for an hour with a girl. Both clubs had three girls working in their early 20’s who appeared to be Dutch.¹²⁷
- **Candy Club:** A Swingers’ Club with a potential for harboring sex trafficking victims. Women observed were African, Romanian, and Bosnian—they did not speak English and the African girls appeared to be underage. Entrance fee: €17, charge is €50 for half an hour.¹²⁸
- **O-Nivo Restaurant** (together with Grande Café Brasserie, De Corridor 2, and Bijlmer) is located in an area where African pimps, traffickers and girls operate. Once home to a large West African community, immigration authorities have increased scrutiny of these venues recently.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Field Research Report, May 8, 2006. On file with authors.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Field Research Report, April 23, 2006. On file with authors.

Escort Services and Agencies

Escort agencies are a large part of the unregulated commercial sex markets in the Netherlands. Openly tolerated and advertised throughout the city, the escort agencies thrive, providing a more discreet and often less expensive commercial sexual service than the red light district windows but likely benefiting from demand generated by the legalized prostitution market. In the Netherlands, as elsewhere, the proliferation of cell phones has facilitated and radically increased the use of escort services. Many newspapers advertise escort agencies that employ women from Nigeria, Russia, and Thailand.¹³⁰ Unlike brothels, saunas, and massage parlors, escort agencies do not need a license to operate, increasing the risk of exploitation of trafficked victims. Thus, one of the largest services of the commercial sex industry is not licensed and therefore not regulated.

Prostitution more often relocates to the escort-branch; via the Internet and newspapers prostitutes are being advertised. There is no way to get a true picture of what is going on there. “But if in *De Telegraaf* (Daily Telegraph) a girl is offered for €50 for an entire night, to be picked up in Amsterdam-West, you know something is very wrong.”¹³¹

[The number] was answered by a male who called himself Peter. Peter told me he could supply girls from the Czech Republic, Romania, and Poland. All girls were aged 18-25. Costs were €75 per hour. I told him to bring a girl to my hotel. I text-messaged him the address and he said he would call when close by. Peter called and the girl arrived at the room a couple minutes later. She told me that she was from the Czech Republic and that she was doing this to support her mother’s health care back home. Peter was her driver and he was Dutch (however, brief mobile conversations between them were in Russian or another Slavic language). She explained that sometimes she suffered health problems from having too much sex and she said she would stop this work if she could. I asked many general questions and she was very open. I enquired about the ages of the girls and she told me of one 16-year-old Romanian girl she knew. I asked if she knew anyone who was made to do this against their will and she mentioned the 16-year-old Romanian girl.

— Narrated by a Human Rights Researcher in Amsterdam

Certain venues provide other services in addition to escort services. Societe Anonyme is a sex club that also offers in-call and out-call escort services and a comprehensive closed-circuit TV system screening live sex of buyers and prostituted girls on the premises. Sex is available at the bar—a curtain is pulled across one half of the bar area in order to have sex with a buyer while others can watch the exchange on the closed-circuit TV monitor.¹³²

¹³⁰ Field Research Report, April 21, 2006. On file with authors.

¹³¹ Pels, Dorien, “Working in the Red Light District Is Not Romantic At All - Abuses in Prostitution,” *Trouw*, December 12, 2005, quoting Karina Schaapman. Article translated to English from Dutch by Kywer available at <<http://www.fleshploitation.blogspot.com>>. Accessed on February 5, 2007.

¹³² Field Research Report, May 8, 2006. On file with authors.

Tippelzones

The most troublesome secondary markets existing behind the veneer of legalized prostitution in the Netherlands are the street markets, called tippelzones, where women are prostituted on the street. The initial rationale behind the creation of Amsterdam's tippelzone on Theemsweg was to concentrate the streetwalkers into one controllable zone.¹³³ Two consequences of the tippelzone led to its closure. First, so-called "sex workers" were drawn to the area because, unlike window prostitution, there was no rent to be paid and therefore less could be charged for the women's prostitution. Business owners of regulated brothels complained that they were being penalized by the tippelzone's existence. They argued their case through organizations that lobbied for its closure through the consortium of owners of "relaxation companies," such as sex clubs, private houses, and escort services, *Vereniging Eigenaren Relaxbedrijven* (VER). Secondly, the tippelzone was infested with Turkish and Romanian gangs that trafficked women from South America and Eastern Europe into the Netherlands for prostitution.¹³⁴ There was further evidence of a thriving drug trade coexisting with the sex market.

The tippelzones usually thrive on the edges of towns where red light districts operate. Typically, the undocumented, underaged, drug-addicted or otherwise less marketable women are prostituted here. This is the area where the trafficking victims are most often found, forced to stand out in all kinds of weather in very little clothing for hours while also working as escorts when called upon to travel to a buyer, only to return to the tippelzone for the occasional drive-by consumer. The story told by Jane* below sums up her life as a trafficking victim in Amsterdam, much of it spent in the tippelzone and escort services before escaping with help from a rescue organization.

Jane was trafficked to the Netherlands from Nigeria in 1998 and remained on the street for three years. She showed our researchers the areas where she was sold in Amsterdam. Much of her time was spent either in front of the Victoria Hotel or behind the Main Train Station where there was little regular car or foot traffic. At the station's rear entrance, cars and taxis with buyers would drive up and pick up the girls. It was terribly cold, yet they wore little and warmed themselves by drinking drug-laced alcohol given by their pimp. Her clients were predominantly Dutch citizens who used her in their cars or took her to their homes or hotels and either drove her back to the station or put her in a cab back to the tippelzone.¹³⁵

¹³³ Field Research Report, March 23, 2006. On file with authors.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

* All names have been changed for safety.

¹³⁵ "Jane", Sex trafficking survivor, Personal interview, January 25, 2006.

The table below lists the recognized tippelzones in the Netherlands as of July 2006.

City	Area/Street
Alkmaar	n/a
Amsterdam	Theemsweg
Arnhem	Industrial area Kleefsewaard, (side street Westervoordsedijk)
Den Haag	Lulofstraat (Hollands Spoor)
Deventer	n/a
Eindhoven	n/a
Groningen	Bornholmstraat
Haarlem	n/a
Heerlen	Old zone: Sittarderweg; New Zone: Industrial area of Beitel Imstenradenweg
Leeuwarden	n/a
Nijmegen	Stieltjesstraat (at the Hezepoort)
Rotterdam	n/a
Utrecht	Europalaan

Source: <http://www.ignatzmice.com>

Prices

As evidenced by the representative list below of a range of commercial sex market venues, large amounts of money are changing hands in these markets. Entrance fees, enormously inflated drink prices, and fees for sexual services are charged. The money drives the primary legal market and encourages the growth of the secondary illegal markets as the margin of profit increases with the exploitation of trafficked victims and the nonpayment of taxes.

OVERVIEW OF PRICE RANGES IN AMSTERDAM				
Business Name	Sex Industry Type	Prices (in Euros)	Fee (in Euros)	Additional Comments
Amstel Exclusive	Sex Club	170-250	25	Also offers escorts and massage (women, men, & couples welcome).
Amsterdam Privé	Private House	< 100		
Asmara	Massage	100-170		Also offers escorts.
Chiang Moi (Thai)	Massage	< 100		
Club Elegance	Sex Club	250-400	75	Entrance fee includes drinks.
Coby Privehuls	Private House	< 100		
Golden Key	Sex Club	250-400	70	
Jan Bik	Sex Club	< 100		
Love Club 21 (Thai)	Massage	100-170		
Mayfair	Sex Club	250-400		
Mistress Chelsea (studio)	S&M	100-170	70	Offers a limousine service.
Mistress Madieonne	S&M	250-400		
Mistress Winnifred/ Studio Double You	S&M	250-400		
Mllou	Massage	< 100		
Non Stop	Sex Club	250-400		Also offers escorts and a limousine.
Park 118	Private House	< 100		
Pattayo Club (Asian)	Sex Club	100-170		
Princess	Sex Club	250-400		
Rio's Men's Club	Sex Club	100-170		Pick-up service available. Also offers escorts and a limousine.
Romantisch Privé	Private House	100-170		
Schiphol Love Club	Sex Club	< 100	50	Amateur Night every Thursday. Erotic café Fridays. (Thurs & Fri women, men, and couples welcome, single men pay €35.)
Sneeuw witje	Sex Club	100-170		
Societe Anonyme	Sex Club	250-400		Also offers escorts, striptease, and massage.
Vienna	Massage	100-170		Also offers escorts and pick-up service.
Yab Yum	Sex Club	> 400	70	Pick-up service available
Sabailond (Thai)	Massage	<100		
Salon Bali (Indonesian)	Massage	<100		
Salon Claude (Thai)	Massage	<100		

UTRECHT

As noted, the red light districts have been established in cities throughout the Netherlands. In Utrecht, a town not far from Amsterdam, the red light district is located on Kalverstraat. It is a single street with windows exhibiting women for sale in a residential shopping area. The area is pleasant and upscale with children playing games in the red light zone and pedestrians and cyclists using the road as a short cut. The women working in these twenty windows were observed to be non-Dutch white nationals from Suriname, Antilles, Aruba, and Curaçao.¹³⁶



Zandpad Registration Booth

A variation on the classic red light district can be found in Utrecht where the *Zandpad* floats on a canal on the edge of town. In classic Dutch fashion, this designated legal red light district is a tidy, well-organized and regulated area. Moored to the bank of the canal are thirty barges containing one hundred and fifty rooms where availability is advertised by a red-lit window. One night in January, all of the parking spaces were taken due to the area's popularity.¹³⁷ The going rate for a sex act as of January 2006 was €50-75. Most cars observed displayed local license plates; all customers observed were male. The women available for purchase appeared to be mostly Eastern European.



Zandpad Barges and Buyers in Utrecht



Europalaan parking spaces for car sex

The *Europalaan* is a tippelzone located, as is typical, on a side road approximately 600 meters long, running parallel to a main road about four kilometers from the center of town. Men drive up and down the road negotiating with the women. Once the deal is made, the men drive the women to the end of the road where it turns into a designated parking area consisting of individual spots divided by fences. There are approximately fourteen parking spaces with a roundabout in the middle. Sex acts take place in the customers' cars. Like the *Zandpad*, the *Europalaan* was

busy near midnight on an observed night with a line of cars waiting to enter the parking area. Sex acts in this area are considerably cheaper—€20—with many of the women using hard drugs. Unlike the *Zandpad*, the *Europalaan* operates only at night and is less regulated than the *Zandpad*. Women working in the *Europalaan* can obtain on-site medical services, have some coffee and buy inexpensive condoms from a government-funded services bus parked at the area. Like the *Zandpad*, buyers were observed to be Dutch males—well dressed, middle-class, and middle-aged.¹³⁸



Europalaan parking spaces: close up

¹³⁶ Field Research Report, January 24, 2006. On file with authors.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

ROTTERDAM

Some sources indicate that Rotterdam has become an even larger trafficking hub than Utrecht or Amsterdam. A port city, Rotterdam has better infrastructure for moving trafficked victims to clandestine locations with less policing than other regions. Reportedly six million containers pass through the port every year. Despite Rotterdam's closure of its tippelzone in 2006,¹³⁹ it is very difficult for law enforcement to keep up with the rapid trade in commercial sex victims.

The Netherlands has one of the most advanced ports in the world (Rotterdam) and an excellent network of roads and waterways. Consequently, this infrastructure not only facilitates legitimate trade, but inevitably, also the illegal transport of people and goods.¹⁴⁰

Several observed clubs raised concerns about trafficking situations in Rotterdam. *Mon Cherie*, *Café Bodega 't Koetshuys*, and an unnamed Greek bar, were staffed with women claiming to be Lithuanian, Bulgarian, Romanian, and Polish appearing to be between the ages of 18 and 24. The women reported being in Rotterdam for just a few months. *Maritime Rouge* is a restaurant with erotic dancing, belly dancing, and karaoke. The women working were Bulgarian, Romanian, and Dutch. The Dutch women claimed that the Romanian and Bulgarian women obtained work visas from their home countries entitling them to work in the Netherlands as a result of their recent accession to the European Union. The observed buyers were middle-aged Dutch men. *Rhodos* is a Greek bar that employs women of East European origin. One of the women working at the bar was observed being retrieved at the end of the night by a van driven by an East European male.¹⁴¹

MARKETING

As in most countries, the Internet is the chief means of advertising women available for sexual services to interested buyers. In the Netherlands, one of the most popular websites is <http://www.hookers.nl>. This website is in Dutch with no other languages provided and has a membership of an estimated 6,000 people. The website has charted most prostitution locations with addresses and window numbers as a service to its base. As Councilwoman and former prostitute, Karina Schaapman, points out, the website offers tips to clients such as where to find a cheap prostitute willing to have sex without a condom.¹⁴² What is worse, in her view, is how much www.hookers.nl charges the women who advertise—roughly €1200 per advertisement.

In addition to advertising male and female sex partners, the Internet is used to promote the commercial sex markets in the Netherlands as tourist attractions for people of all ages. While some websites may emphasize the historic quality of Amsterdam's Red Light District, others advertise the great variety of women "on display."

¹³⁹ Field Research Report, March 3, 2006. On file with authors. See also "Street Prostitution Ends in Rotterdam," *Expatica News*, September 14, 2005 <http://www.expatica.com/actual/article.asp?subchannel_id=19&story_id=25531>. Accessed on November 14, 2006.

¹⁴⁰ Van de Bunt and Kleemans, p. 203, 206.

¹⁴¹ Field Research Report, March 10, 2006. On file with authors.

¹⁴² "Ladies of Pleasure or Sex Slaves," *Expatica*, January 23, 2006.

In 2005, Thomas Cook Tours, a well respected tour company based in London, initiated a walking tour of the Red Light District in Amsterdam open to all ages, even children. The two hour tour promised to take tourists “deep into the famous red light district accompanied by a reliable and trustworthy guide, offering a fascinating insight into the oldest profession in the world!”¹⁴³ The tour included a stop at the Prostitution Information Center that promotes the legalized prostitution business. The tour raised a public outcry over the commoditization and exploitation of women. In particular, many citizens objected strongly to permitting and encouraging minors to participate in tours through cost incentives.

Adult tickets for the tour cost £12, though parents may be relieved to know children’s tickets only cost £6. When asked what age range the child ticket covered, a spokeswoman said the prices apply to those from four to twelve, and under threes, go free.¹⁴⁴

A British organization called The Truth About Rape led an email campaign to stop the Red Light District tour and eliminate the promotion of the Red Light District by Thomas Cook Tours. It cited the Thomas Cook Tour website language:

*Of course, no visit to Amsterdam would be complete without a night-time visit to the famous **Red Light District**. One of the oldest and most beautiful parts of the city, the narrow, cobbled streets of this quarter fill with hordes of tourists on weekends and holidays. All come to gawk at the surreal display of scantily clad women who pose in the purple-red glow of their black-lit shop windows. Not unlike a bizarre zoo, the Red Light District is an unmissable experience, as attested by the packs of roving young men, couples holding hands, giggling groups of women, and busloads of Japanese tourists toting cameras. Spectacle notwithstanding, real business is done here at a steady pace, and those seeking a slightly more authentic experience should head for the area on a weeknight.*¹⁴⁵

In December 2005, The Truth About Rape added to their website the announcement that their campaign against Thomas Cook Tours was successful as the company had “updated” their website as of December 12, 2005, to remove the offensive tour description.¹⁴⁶ A current review of the Thomas Cook website reveals only a single mention of the Red Light District as merely a tourist attraction with no details—a far departure from the promotion of the tour before the December 2005 update. Furthermore, the tour itself seemed to be unavailable by Internet—another change since December 2005. However, other tour operators continue to promote and host the walking tours of the Red Light District. Their promotional materials clearly state, however, persons under 18 years of age are not permitted on the tour. How they deal with the issues of the commoditization and exploitation of prostituted women in the Red Light District and the secondary unregulated markets is unclear.

¹⁴³ “Red light tour condemned as ‘sick’,” *The Observer*, November 13, 2005 <<http://travel.guardian.co.uk/article/2005/nov/13/travelnews.genderissues.observerescapesection>>. Accessed on February 5, 2007.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ See <<http://www.truthaboutrape.co.uk/thomascook.html>> providing link to archived website: <<http://www.thomascook.com/inspiration/city.asp?page=amsterdam>>. Accessed on February 5, 2007.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

RECRUITMENT

The Netherlands presents a unique recruitment methodology because commercial sex is legal. Therefore many women, Dutch nationals and foreign nationals, seek out what the Dutch call “sex work,” alleged to be lucrative, by answering Internet and newspaper advertisements and learning of work opportunities through word of mouth. However, the demand generated by the extensive advertising and promotion of this legal sex tourism market far outpaces the supply of willing, legal workers. Recruitment of local women tends to occur at a young age and often results in a grooming process similar to that seen in the United States through the “pimp and ‘ho” culture. Also, the ease of crossing borders and the rapid expansion of the European Union has made trafficking of women from Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Africa, among other places, much easier. Deception—recruiting women and children from impoverished countries for work that is “clean” such as office jobs, catering, housekeeping, and child care—is a frequent tactic used to lure vulnerable, poor, desperate girls.

Loverboys

A primary method of local recruitment of girls is called the “loverboy” approach.¹⁴⁷ The “loverboy” is typically a young Moroccan or Turk male who befriends, romances, and ultimately recruits Dutch girls between the ages of 12 and 16 for the sex trade in the Netherlands. Most of the “loverboys” are second generation Dutch nationals of Moroccan descent and tend to be younger than other male pimps. Many “loverboys” feel alienated and discriminated against in Dutch society so they find community in working as recruiters in the sex trade.¹⁴⁸ One former “loverboy” talked about his experience:

Today it’s nearly impossible as a Moroccan to find a job in Dutch society. Economically it’s going bad. There are no jobs, let alone for Moroccans. We have a bad name and it works against us. Obviously it has a reason, but it is all exaggerated. You never hear something positive about us, that’s why we feel excluded... I haven’t seen other loverboys show regret either. Most I knew personally. They were all in their twenties, some were even minors. Among them were many Moroccans, Turks but also Dutch guys. Some had more than one girl... I belong to the second generation of Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands. I am not a real Moroccan anymore, but I am not Dutch either. I am struggling with my identity and I feel powerless.¹⁴⁹

Vulnerable Dutch teenage girls who have low self-esteem and come from broken family homes are prey for the “loverboys.” The “loverboy” will take time to develop the relationship knowing that the successful prostitution of the girls will depend upon successful psychological manipulation. Feigning love and devotion, they manipulate their victims and they often will use their victims to recruit other girls later.

¹⁴⁷ Heemskerk-Shep, Toos, Personal interview, January 26, 2006.

¹⁴⁸ Terpstra, Linda, and Anke van Dijke, Maron van San, *Loverboys een publieke zaak: tien portretten*, Amsterdam, 2005, p.119, unofficial translation from Dutch: *Loverboys, a public matter*, posted September 1, 2005 <<http://fleshtrade.blogspot.com/2005/09/story-of-dutch-pimp.html>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

They also tell us that Moroccan (and Turkish) young men use magical techniques to achieve this. The girls also call this voodoo. In the world of prostitution the word “loverboy” is not used, but the young girls being sold cherish it to maintain the fiction that “their” boyfriend is real and not an unscrupulous exploiter; he is not a pimp but a loverboy.¹⁵⁰

FD was the victim of a “loverboy” scenario about seven years ago. She described how a Turkish man had befriended her when she was at college at 16 or 17; he bought her gifts, told her he loved her, and generally made her feel special. After the “honeymoon” period, the “loverboy” forced her into prostitution by stating she had to pay him back for all the gifts he had given her. She refused to do this and was therefore raped and threatened with a pistol against her head. Threats were also made against her family. Over a seven-month period she was made to work against her will as a prostitute in Utrecht, in the Zandpad, and in windows in Alkmaar. FD was locked in a room of a house in Utrecht with other girls. She knew some of the other girls held there were Polish. FD was not allowed to talk to the other girls or leave the house. All her food and clothing was purchased by her pimp.

FD was expected to make 2000 guilders per day and had to work five days a week. The windows from which she worked cost 150 guilders to rent for one shift. FD would usually work from 10:00 or 11:00 at night until 5:00 or 6:00 in the morning. Therefore the window owners could rent the windows for two shifts a day. FD described one owner as owning 60 windows. If FD did not meet the targets set by her pimp she would be beaten. FD described how her pimp would beat her around the legs so she could wear thigh-high boots to conceal the bruising and still work as a prostitute. FD stated that some clients who were aware she was working against her will would give her money and not have sex with her. Some who showed concern would say they would go to the police for her, but she begged them not to due to her fear of violent reprisal. However, other clients did not seem to be bothered by the fact that she was working against her will.

FD’s pimp was then part of an organized crime group which was 25-strong within Utrecht. FD escaped her imprisonment 6-7 years ago and gave information to the police, however nobody was prosecuted.¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ Bovenkerk, Frank, and Marion van San, Miranda Boone, Tim Boekhout van Solinge, Dirk J. Korf, “Loverboys’ or modern pimping in Amsterdam,” (Willem Pompe Instituut voor Strafrechtwetenschappen [Willem Pompe Institute for criminal sciences]: Utrecht), December 2004, quote from appendix 1. Original in Dutch available at <<http://www.eenveiligamsterdam.nl/downloads/beleidsdoc/Onderzoeksrapport%20Loverboys%20in%20Amsterdam.pdf>>. Unofficial translation posted February 15, 2006 at <<http://fleshtrade.blogspot.com/2006/02/loverboys-and-modern-pimps.html>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

¹⁵¹ Sex trafficking survivor, Personal interview, May 6, 2006.

A Dutch counselor of sex addicted men in Amsterdam profiled the “loverboy” as follows: the “loverboy” usually has an older, trusted mentor who has trafficked victims and can share his knowledge; this mentor is likely to be within the family network for trust and investment reasons. He explains further that because these girls are usually minors, false documents are created; however, the brothel owners often do not ask for identification and in many cases, the brothel owners are tipped off prior to a police raid allowing them time to remove any minor being prostituted from the premises. Minors are often brought out to work during the hours when police are not on duty—12:00 am – 6:00 am.¹⁵² As with pimps in every other location researched, facilitators are willing to risk recruiting and managing under-aged girls as the demand for them generates the greatest profit.

A government commissioned report on the “loverboy” phenomenon concluded that there wasn’t a “loverboy” problem, but rather a “modern pimp” problem. The researchers stated:

“Do we as researchers have a certain impression about the size of this [loverboy] phenomenon?... Controlled observations followed using a social worker and a police officer who knew the men and women involved like nobody else in their ‘natural environment’ of prostitution. Their estimates were very identical. During weekday evenings some twenty [Dutch loverboys] girls work on de Wallen and in the weekend this number is more than double: fifty. Calculated over one year this must be much more because the speed at which these girls are transferred is big. Then we were shown a photo book by de Wallen-team of the police and we became aware of 76 men who had been observed during the last half year and of whom it is certain that they have a very violent past. Not all those pimps follow the method of loverboys, but when we keep in mind that some of them don’t show themselves in the neighbourhood, when we know that they also operate in other branches of prostitution elsewhere in the city and when we presume that in the foreign segment there are pimps and human traffickers around who use romantic tricks, then we’ll risk **at least a minimum estimate of a hundred pimps including their assistants, calculated over one whole year.** The number of women who they have a relationship with is at least the same number, but this number should be larger because there are pimps who exploit multiple women simultaneously. That’s our rough estimate for now.”¹⁵³ (*emphasis added*)

The apparent growth in recruitment of local victims for the local commercial sex markets is evidenced in the Netherlands as in the other four countries researched. In all locations, the growth in demand resulting from the availability and promotion of sex tourism appears to be resulting in the increased pull of local girls into the sex markets by local pimps. The “loverboy” phenomenon in the Netherlands is evidence of this trend just as the pimp enterprise in the U.S. exploits the local girls in the commercial sex markets throughout the U.S.

¹⁵² Heemskerck- Shep, Willem, Counselor for a ministry to men with sexual addictions in Amsterdam and Co-Director of Scarlet Cord (Scharlaaken Kord) Amsterdam, Personal interview, September 23, 2005.

¹⁵³ Bovenkerk, et al, “Loverboys’ or modern pimphood in Amsterdam,” quote from appendix 1.

Deception

A Russian woman from the Urals answered an advertisement in the press for Russian girls to travel to Germany to work as nannies. The organization would pay the cost of procuring travel documents and her only obligation was to sign a contract stating that she had been provided with a visa and work permit by the company. She traveled to Germany and was met by a Russian facilitator who forced her into prostitution in Germany for three months. Then she was taken to Amsterdam and sold to an Albanian national who made her work in the tippelzone as a prostitute.¹⁵⁴

Deception is a common method of recruitment. Many women and girls from foreign countries are desperate for an opportunity to work and support their families. In some cases, traffickers will introduce themselves to the victim's family and arrange an engagement, a common practice in Albania.¹⁵⁵ Often the traffickers reside outside Albania (primarily in Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and England) and promise the family a better life for their daughter abroad. In many cases, the victim is not aware of the trafficker's intention to prostitute her and only learns of this after she has arrived in the Netherlands or elsewhere.

VICTIMS

The legislation that was meant to curb unregulated prostitution and trafficking in human beings (THB) by lifting the ban on brothels made matters worse. In 2006, the Netherlands remains a key destination country for women trafficked from Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and West Africa. The latest data from the Stiftung Tegen Vrouwenhandel (STV) Foundation against Trafficking in Women indicates that in 2003 there were 257 registered victims of human trafficking, the overwhelming majority of whom were from Bulgaria, Romania and the Netherlands. Our research revealed large numbers of trafficking victims from Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone as well.¹⁵⁶

— Immigration Attorney, Amsterdam, April 2006.

Girls from impoverished countries where the borders are porous enter the Netherlands in hopes of a better life and improved wages. Albanian girls are trafficked frequently to the Netherlands by criminal networks via Italy. African women from Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Nigeria are recruited and trafficked to the Netherlands by Nigerian criminals.¹⁵⁷ After Italy, the Netherlands and Belgium have the largest markets of Nigerian prostitution.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ Sex trafficking survivor, Personal interview, July 6, 2006.

¹⁵⁵ Field Research Report, July 6, 2006. On file with authors.

¹⁵⁶ Koopson, Annett, immigration attorney in Amsterdam, Personal interview, April 28, 2006. Koopson represents victims of trafficking who are applying for residence through the B-9 Procedure.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. See also Madslie, Jorn, "Sex Trade's Reliance on Forced Labour," *BBC News*, May 12, 2005 <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/4532617.stm>>. Accessed on February 5, 2007.

¹⁵⁸ Carling, Jorgen, *Migration, Human Smuggling and Trafficking from Nigeria to Europe* (Oslo: Prio for IOM, 2006).

I cannot imagine that these very young Eastern European women knew the circumstances they would have to work in. The stories of their lives are often abominable. They have to pay their pimp € 500 per week. He makes them believe that he has to pay for the STI check-ups in the Drop-in centre. We told the women this is a lie because all check-ups are free of charge. Still, they don't dare to stand up to the pimp because they are very frightened. I think they are part of a large network of human trafficking.¹⁵⁹

— Thérèse van der Helm, Intermediary for Prostitutes
Health Service Amsterdam

Some Albanian females have been reported as trafficked into the Netherlands through a large network of Albanian organized crime. Family “Blood Feuds” appear to be long held cultural traditions in Albania contributing to the problem of Albanian girls being trafficked. In this vengeance model, insults and slights can lead to the calling of a blood feud which is settled only after the last surviving male member of a family has been killed. The result is the self-imprisonment of many Albanian men and boys who cannot leave their residences out of a fear of death, leaving the girls in the family vulnerable and responsible for providing for the family. *Kanun* law dictates that a man cannot be killed while he is inside his own house, only while he is outside, in a public space. Female members of families engaged in blood feuds are now fodder for traffickers looking for girls to traffic.¹⁶⁰

My name is Maria* and I'm 26-years-old. In 1996 my father took revenge for the murder of his brother [related to a kanun blood feud]. And after that our family was isolated. There were five kids—three girls and two boys. My mother was sick. I was the oldest daughter and sixteen at that time. We were in a desperate economic situation and very poor. No one worked and we were afraid to leave our house [because of the blood feud]. Although under the *kanun* the women are allowed to leave the house, we were still afraid. One of our more frequent visitors at that time was a man called Nimi. Nimi was part of the *kanun* negotiation group that was supposed to make peace for families in a blood feud. He was visiting our house on a regular basis for five months—he was the only person visiting us at that time. My mother talked to me and said that Nimi had found me a good person to get engaged to. So I agreed to get engaged, because of my family's situation. In July 1996, I left with my fiancé and he told me we were going to Italy...I ended up staying in Rotterdam for almost a year. I worked [as a prostitute] with the clients of a hotel. The hotel was called Hotel Roma. Then we went back to Rome because we couldn't get my documents arranged to stay in the Netherlands. The Dutch police were asking for more and more bribes, so we decided to return to Rome...Although I worked for almost three years, I came back with no money, nothing.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ van der Helm, Thérèse, “Intermediary project for prostitutes annual report 2002 – 2004” (Government Health Service: Amsterdam, NE, August 2005) p. 6.

¹⁶⁰ Marian Smartak, Government Official and Negotiator for blood feuds, Shkodra, Albania, Personal interview, July 6, 2006.

* All names have been changed for safety.

¹⁶¹ “Maria”, Sex trafficking survivor, Personal interview, July 6, 2006.

Even while trafficking of women into the Netherlands from foreign countries continues, increased awareness and enforcement activity by immigration officials and government is leading to greater focus by traffickers on recruiting local girls that are “safer” and easier to procure than foreign girls. “Local” in the Netherlands, however, includes nationals from all European Union member countries able to obtain work permits even for the legal “job” of prostitution in the Netherlands. Therefore, there has been a decrease in women trafficked from Africa and other non-E.U. countries, and an increase in trafficking victims originating from the newly-accessed countries of Bulgaria and Romania, especially.¹⁶²

Dutch girls continue to enter the commercial sex market, mostly through coercion and deception from “loverboy” boyfriends or as a result of the powerful economic driver, poverty.

Kim, 36, has been in prostitution for 12 years, “I needed to make quick money and it seemed an easy option. Problem is, once you’ve been a hooker, it brands you for life. I don’t care what the law is or how well the police treat you, everyone knows you’re a whore.”¹⁶³

BUYERS

We discovered a dispatch system that efficiently disbursed the inventory—a system that allowed the client to pay and receive delivery of the product without having to see anyone except the girl brought to his room or home and a system that made shopping easy.

— Field Observation, Amsterdam, January 2006

The modern day trend to tie morality to legal norms means that in countries where commercial sex is legal it is de-stigmatized for those who purchase it. This de-stigmatization in the Netherlands extends to the men purchasing commercial sex, but not to the women being prostituted. However, it was observed that the buyers of commercial sex in one town were mostly from other towns within driving distance but out of eyesight of neighbors and family, calling into question the actual level of acceptability in Dutch society. The legalization undoubtedly has freed many men from the stigma of buying commercial sexual services, thereby increasing the demand for commercial sex while the number of women voluntarily entering the officially de-stigmatized commercial sex market has not increased. While men are buying sex, they fail to see the mechanics of the delivery of the women providing the sex—often forced, defrauded or coerced and violently managed by a pimp. This does not reflect the establishment of legal prostitution envisioned by legislators and society in the Netherlands.

A counselor described three general types of buyers who visit the red light districts based on his work in this area.¹⁶⁴ Most are “situational buyers”—buyers that are usually married (9 out of 10), in their late 30’s to early 40’s, have children, hold a good job, and have an average to high I.Q. They have difficulty in maintaining relationships and focus heavily on their work. Many times they do not intend to

¹⁶² The Netherlands, Fourth Report of the Dutch National Rapporteur, *Trafficking in Human Beings: Supplementary Figures*, (Den Haag: Bureau NRM, 2005), p.3-4.

¹⁶³ Bindel, Julie, “Streets Apart,” *The Guardian*, UK, May 15, 2004 <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/weekend/story/0,,1215900,00.html>>. Accessed on February 5, 2007.

¹⁶⁴ Heemskerck- Shep, Willem, Personal interview, September 23, 2005. Based on his experience as a sex-addict counselor, but these apply beyond this group.

endanger their current relationship with a wife or girlfriend, but are unable to stop the relationship with prostitution. In their mind they usually separate the two worlds so that there is not a conflict of interest. The three types of buyers described were:

- **Buyer 1:** An individual who has suffered from the lack of emotional fulfillment by a parent or guardian. He/she has emotional blocks and seeks out raw fulfillment in order to compensate. They tend to become sexually addicted more readily and wrestle with other sexual issues.
- **Buyer 2:** An individual who more or less “happens” upon a sex tourist site. They may be vacationing with family or on business. Their visit to a brothel is not “intentional.” Tourist companies in Amsterdam, some of which offer walking tours of the red light district after dark to showcase the legal prostitution system, and those making package deals which include exposure to the red light district as part of the sight-seeing, encourage this “situational” offender.
- **Buyer 3:** An individual who is influenced by his/her culture, such as that of the Moroccan and Turkish Muslims, some of whom consider women to be property. This is the most challenging buyer to reach as the cultural acceptability of their actions may free their conscience; these buyers are frequently also the leaders in facilitating the trafficking trade in Amsterdam.

FACILITATORS

At the first of each evening she was given a mobile phone. She was instructed by the man who owned her to do what the person on the phone told her to do. While there were a couple of local hotels where she was directed, usually she was told to go to a specific place where a taxi was waiting for her and to go with the driver. The destination was usually a hotel and often a private home. While clients normally gave her the money and she then turned it over to her owner, when she was taken to a hotel by these taxis she was not paid by the buyer. She said the first time this happened she was terrified knowing the consequences of holding out on her owner, but the client insisted he had already paid. She said to her relief that her boss did not ask for the money on her return. We found out later in our research that the clients put their purchase on their credit card.¹⁶⁵

Facilitation of sex trafficking to provide the women and children exploited in the sex tourism markets in the Netherlands is carried out by individuals, institutions, and organized crime groups. The enormous profits accrued from human trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation ensures the participation in this criminal activity by numerous organized crime groups. Crime groups vary in their structural hierarchy, complexity, and specialization.

At the most basic level is the institutional facilitator, including hotels, landlords of premises being rented at exorbitant rates for prostitution venues and sex-related businesses, taxi delivery services, and tour operators.

¹⁶⁵ SHI Research Report, January 30, 2006 (summarizing conversation with Nigerian sex trafficking survivor). On file with authors.

Their participation, wittingly or unwittingly, is not considered wrong because prostitution is legal. However, it underscores the need to educate the intentional and unintentional facilitators on the issue of trafficking in order to make them aware that the legal sex industry masks a much larger exploitative system to which they are contributing. Empowering these institutions by bringing them into an alliance to combat human trafficking can be an effective tool, as is the case with the fight against child sex tourism spearheaded by ECPAT International through the development and promotion of the Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism.¹⁶⁶

We don't rule out that entrepreneurs in the prostitution-business really don't know that she [victim] works for a pimp. And indeed: some of them stand firm. But the girls we interview have to chuckle about it. The doorkeeper of the club of which we spoke—the aforesaid owner—knows very well who is waiting outside. They assure us that they very easily can get started in all sectors of prostitution, and that the entrepreneurs know damn well that they work for a pimp.¹⁶⁷

Organized Crime

The Netherlands exhibits high organized crime levels with regard to trafficking in persons. Compelling, corroborated evidence was found that Turkish and Albanian organized criminal groups are heavily involved in sex trafficking in the Netherlands. The latest official figures from the National Rapporteur also confirm this report's findings and illustrate the extent to which criminal networks dominate cross-border human trafficking in the Netherlands. Small or solo criminal operations specializing in discrete aspects of the trafficking markets are also present and serve the needs of the larger crime groups in addition to their own.¹⁶⁸

A new generation of pimps have replaced them [Dutch pimps] and Moroccans, some Turks and even Antilleans are dominating. The Turks can be found in the higher echelons and that seems to be related to the human trafficking connection of Eastern Europe through Istanbul... The pimp hasn't disappeared; the older Dutch generation simply has been replaced by immigrants...A released 'niche' in the (informal) economy has been occupied by a new ethnic group. In the same way Turkish bakers are rising in the multicultural neighbourhoods and Dutch cleaning women are replaced by cleaning women from South and Eastern Europe and then from the third world.¹⁶⁹

Turkish organized crime is operating in Utrecht. One source revealed that a Turkish-Dutch criminal who served his time in prison returned home after completing his sentence to find that a Turkish organized crime group originating from Germany had muscled in on the already present

¹⁶⁶ Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism, available at <<http://www.thecode.org>>. Under the Code of Conduct, suppliers of tourism services adopting the code commit themselves to implement the following six criteria:

1. To establish an ethical policy regarding commercial sexual exploitation of children.
2. To train the personnel in the country of origin and travel destinations.
3. To introduce a clause in contracts with suppliers, stating a common repudiation of commercial sexual exploitation of children.
4. To provide information to travelers by means of catalogues, brochures, in-flight films, ticket-slips, home pages, etc.
5. To provide information to local "key persons" at the destinations.
6. To report annually.

¹⁶⁷ Bovenkerk, et al, "Loverboys' or modern pimpood in Amsterdam."

¹⁶⁸ Dutch National Rapporteur, p.19.

¹⁶⁹ Bovenkerk, et al, "Loverboys' or modern pimpood in Amsterdam."

commercial sex market in Utrecht through violence and intimidation. These groups were able to operate in the Netherlands freely because they are German-born E.U. citizens. Turkish organized crime groups quickly grasped the great amounts of money to be made in the Netherlands and began trafficking mostly Eastern European, Turkish and some Dutch girls for purposes of prostitution. Turkish organized crime groups are violent and there are reports of girls having fingers broken or cut off. They reportedly are engaged extensively in the sex and drug trades in Utrecht, Alkmaar, Groningen and Amsterdam.¹⁷⁰ It is alleged further that Greek organized crime is loosely associated with the Turkish groups and provides false documentation for the girls through connections in Bulgaria. This allows the girls to have Bulgarian papers that permit them to work in the Netherlands through the E.U. worker policy.

Indeed, field research in Amsterdam revealed the ease with which passports and visas can be procured on the black market with the aid of corrupt embassy officials. Field researchers were offered visas and passports of the highest quality; in July 2006 the going rate for a three-month Schengen visa was €3000-4000, an E.U. passport was €6000-7000, and a U.S. passport cost \$20,000. Embassies reported to employ corrupt officials willing to sell visas for money were the Italian and Greek embassies in Tirana, Albania.¹⁷¹

A white Dutch victim of a Turkish “loverboy” described how her deceiver was tied into the Turkish organized crime in Utrecht. This group also prostituted women in Belgium and Germany. The network is said to be hierarchical whereby men lower down the order had to pay some of their money earned through criminal activity to the higher levels of the group. FD stated the group bought vehicles, weapons and jewelry with the money earned from the sex trade and reinvested some of the money into cocaine, heroin, amphetamines and hash. FD described how members of the group would traffic drugs to other E.U. countries such as Belgium. FD described some instances where she was made to travel to Brussels with her pimp and other members of the group to deliver cocaine. FD stated she had seen 10-15 large sports bags full of cocaine which were transported to Brussels. FD also described seeing the group with large amounts of cash earned from drug deals, some of which was stashed in unknown locations. FD escaped after several years but she is still in contact with people from Utrecht and is aware her ex-pimp and this group are still active. She said the group is now stronger, making more money and is running far more girls in Utrecht. FD stated she had learned that 50 percent of the women working as prostitutes in Utrecht are now being run by Turkish organized crime.¹⁷²

Turkish organized crime is not unique in its recognition of the money to be made in sex trafficking in the Netherlands. As of July 2006, a joint task force of Albanian, Italian and Europol officials was investigating a large human trafficking network operating between the Balkans and the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, France, and Italy. The criminal network coerces, kidnaps or deceives East European women and girls into the commercial sex markets in Western Europe, and particularly the Netherlands, Germany and Belgium. The network is well-organized and allegedly owns the properties where victims are held, both in the Balkans and in apartments in Europe.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰ Turkish-Dutch criminal, Personal interview, May 6, 2006, Field Research Report. On file with authors.

¹⁷¹ Field Research Report, July 7, 2006.

¹⁷² Sex trafficking survivor, Personal interview, May 6, 2006.

¹⁷³ Field Research Report, March 23, 2006. On file with authors.

ALBANIAN ORGANIZED CRIME SCENARIO: CASE STUDY¹⁷⁴

Sex trafficking has become a major business for Albanian organized crime since 1999, in the wake of massive migration and instability. Albanian networks are not limited to trafficking ethnic Albanians, but also women from Romania, Bosnia, Moldova, Russia, etc. The traffickers often control the “business” from abroad; Belgium, in particular, seems to be the seat of several leaders of the trafficking networks. The following are a composite of facts known about the trafficking networks based in Albania.

Property: Albanian traffickers own a large amount of real estate in Albania, including several restaurants, bars, and two jet boats allegedly used for transporting victims across the Adriatic into Italy.

Travel: Albanian traffickers travel abroad frequently. One allegedly flew with two Albanian girls and one Italian girl to Berlin for the World Cup in the spring of 2006 for purposes of trafficking the girls during the event.

Enforcer: Albanian men fluent in Dutch and well acclimated to Dutch life are allegedly in charge of the victims in Amsterdam.

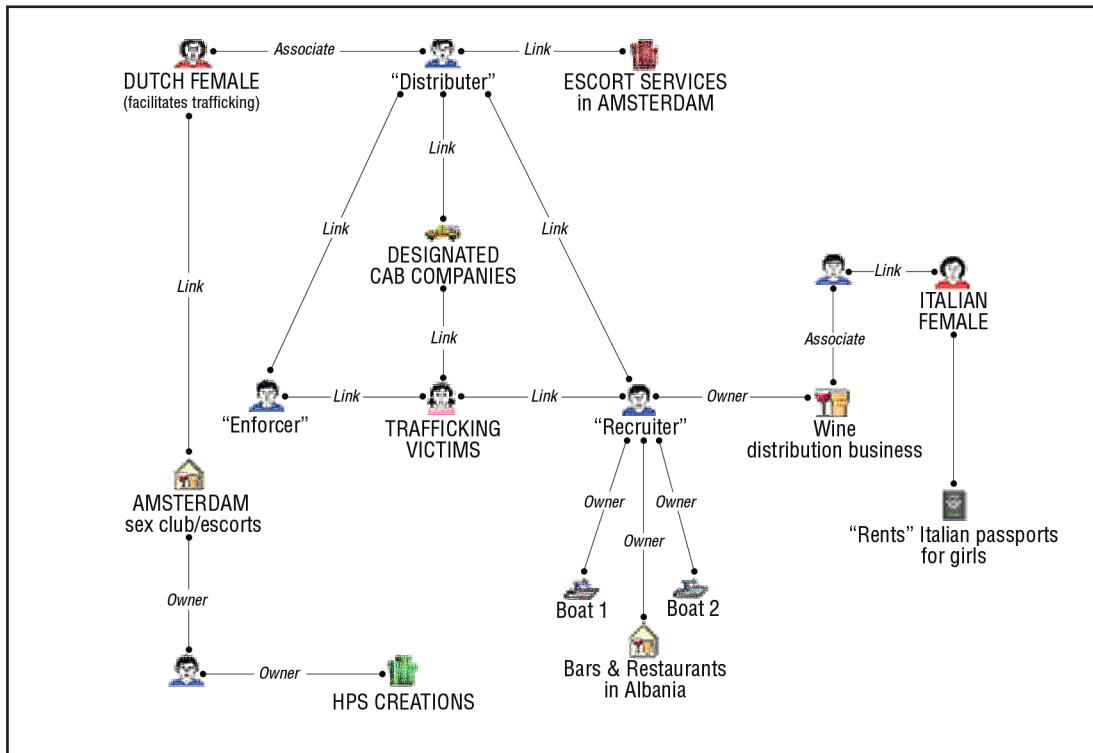
Documents: In one case, an Italian partner allegedly provides an Albanian trafficker with authentic Italian passports for the girls he transports into the Netherlands. The passports are obtained from an accomplice who “rents” passports from young women in small villages around Italy for up to €2,000 per month. Alternatively, as of July 2005, the price for a black-market, three-month Schengen visa averaged €3,000-€4,000; a one-month Schengen visa can be acquired for €2,000-€2,500. Acquisition of the visas is carried out by a network of middlemen operating throughout the Balkans, including the Albanian capital of Tirana and the port city of Durres. Often these facilitators pay corrupt officials within the embassies of the destination countries in Albania.

Operation: Once in the Netherlands, the enforcer pimps the women to bars, peep shows, windows, and escort services. One example of operations is as follows: an escort services will contact a pimp directly and ask for a girl to be sent to a specific location at a specific time. The pimp then contacts the trafficker or manager to make the arrangements. He retrieves the girl(s) from the trafficker or manager and either transports them himself to the designated location or utilizes prepaid, facilitating taxis. The pimps rely on the same taxi drivers who know the operations and where the girls are kept. Escort service prices vary depending on the girl’s status: legal or illegal. Legal girls earn roughly €500 per night whereas illegal girls can earn up to €1,000. “Friends” get reduced prices of €75 per hour.

Facilitation and Legalization: A female owner of a club in Amsterdam works with an Albanian recruiter to legalize trafficked victims. She finds apartments, registers the girls with local labor offices, acquires “personal banking codes” for each girl, and obtains Dutch “letters of intention” for the girls’ residency permit applications. Once these steps have been completed, the girl receives a photocopy of an E.U. passport and becomes a legal resident of the Netherlands.

¹⁷⁴ Field Research Report, March 23, 2006. On file with authors.

By processing all of the information collected on the network described above and including other information from the Netherlands collected by field researchers, a special software program called i2 Analyst revealed networks. This software is used by law enforcement and researchers worldwide to make connections within large quantities of seemingly unrelated data. The chart below demonstrates the network and its derivative connections contributing to the trafficking of girls into the Netherlands for commercial sexual exploitation in the sex markets.



Corruption at the official levels is a common thread in all countries examined in this report, allowing the trafficking of victims to continue. Often while fighting corruption at home, countries must manage the consequences of corruption in other countries. The ability to purchase passports—fraudulent or real with fake identification—is a critical problem. In relation to the E.U., it is the difference between a life of poverty in many of the neighboring non-member countries, or a chance at work and education.

Then we were agreed and we are going together. I don't have a passport, because I didn't need one, then he offers to get me a passport.... He says it's your picture, but it's not your name. Why? He says 'oh it's difficult, it takes time'. I get the passport; it's got my picture but the name of another person. And how they do that in ...? These poor people from the villages they never need a passport so their identities are stolen. So it means that I'm the person on the computer—the poor families will never have money to travel anywhere. Okay, so I go but it is weird, so we go to the customs, but I don't mind. I am going to work.¹⁷⁵

— Survivor of Sex Trafficking, April 2006

¹⁷⁵ "Nadea," Sex trafficking survivor, Personal interview, April 23, 2006.

CULTURE OF TOLERANCE

The culture of tolerance in the Netherlands is rooted in its history, ethnicity, religious practices, political system, and economics. It allows the commercial sex markets to exist. In the Netherlands, these marketplaces are hidden behind a thin veneer of legitimacy perpetuated by the culture of tolerance.

Holland was the first hegemonic power in the capitalist world economy and a key member of the free-trade Hanseatic League in the 1600s.¹⁷⁶ The Dutch were admired for their important navigational, manufacturing and financial innovations and hailed for their economic successes, especially in the area of international trade. In addition to being a city known for its intellectual and artistic contributions, Amsterdam became an exclusive market for Europe's sugar, spices, tobacco, coffee and tea crops in its colonies in the Indies and Caribbean.¹⁷⁷ Less well known, however, is the development and dependence on a cruel slave trade forcing inhabitants of African, Asian, and Caribbean countries to work the fields and harvest the crops that supported and indeed gave rise to Amsterdam's enviable economic status.

The Dutch discussion of its role in the European slave trade has been conspicuous in its silence until quite recently. Not only did the abolition of slavery come late to Holland vis-à-vis other European countries (1863), but it also took several decades for the Dutch to confront its role in the development of the slave trade.¹⁷⁸ This can be explained in part by the fact that Dutch slave owners organized and operated a vast network of colonies overseas and not its home soil. Dutch citizens have little understanding of their role in the creation and perpetuation of slavery because it is not conveyed in a formal way.¹⁷⁹

Judging by reports in the Dutch media, the national public discussion is well underway. Many former slaves in the Netherlands are angry about the past and are demanding apologies and monetary compensation. Upon unveiling a national monument to the victims of slavery in July 2002, Queen Beatrix was approached by the National Committee on Slavery to undertake a collective form of compensation, including contributions to social and economic development of its Caribbean dependencies and Suriname and a personal apology by the Queen to the families of slaves in the Dutch Caribbean and Suriname.¹⁸⁰ During the commemoration of the abolition of slavery in July 2005, the community of former slaves protested the attendance of the Minister of Immigration and Integration, Rita Verdonk, calling her policies discriminatory and racist.¹⁸¹ While 83 percent of the country is white, the remaining 17 percent are Turkish, Antillean, Surinamese, Moroccan, and Indonesian—reflecting several Dutch colonies.¹⁸² This breakdown is also reflected in many women for sale in the commercial sex markets throughout the Netherlands.

¹⁷⁶ Wallerstein, Emmanuel, cited in Gert Oostindie, ed. *Fifty Years Later: Antislavery, Capitalism, and Modernity in the Dutch Orbit*. (Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut, 1995), p.3.

¹⁷⁷ Rosecrance, Richard, *The Rise of the Trading State: Commerce and Conquest in the Modern World* (New York: Basic Books, 1996), p.73.

¹⁷⁸ According to the historian Seymour Drescher, the 1814 abolition of slavery in Holland was “an imposition by Britain rather than the outcome of a national debate.” See Drescher, Seymour, cited in Oostindie, p.4.

¹⁷⁹ van Boxtel, Roger, Minister for Urban Policy and the Integration of Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands, referred to the absence of information on the Dutch slave trade in his educational experience. According to him, “...When I was young I learned in high school about the Dutch Empire, its colonies like the Dutch Indies, Suriname, Netherlands Antilles, and Aruba. I also learned about Rembrandt, Van Gogh, and other famous Dutchmen. But no more than five lines were written down in my history book about the Dutch slave trade. I never heard of Fort Elmina or the Castle of Good Hope. Little did we hear about the exploitation of black people on the plantations.... See van Boxtel's speech at the World Conference against Racism, Durban, September 2, 2001 <<http://www.un.org/WCAR/statements/netherE.htm>>.

¹⁸⁰ Coughlan, Geraldine, “Dutch Queen unveils slavery memorial,” *BBC News*, July 1, 2002 <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/Europe/2079200.stm>>. Accessed on November 4, 2006.

¹⁸¹ “Minister of Immigration not welcome at commemoration of abolition of slavery,” June 28, 2005 <<http://www.simplyamsterdam.nl/news>>. Accessed on November 4, 2006.

¹⁸² “The Netherlands,” *CIA Factbook*, October 4, 2005 <<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/nl.html>>. Accessed on November 4, 2006.

Many observers refer to the high degree of consensus and practice of “pragmatic tolerance” (in Dutch, *Gedogen*) that permeates Dutch society. The preference for tolerance and general distaste for taking moral stands contributed to the decision to lift the ban on brothels in 2000. According to an official source, “The aim of lifting the general ban on brothels was, from a pragmatic point of view, to achieve better control and regulation of the prostitution sector without moralizing.”¹⁸³

The Netherlands has not always tolerated prostitution. Prostitution was regulated from the late 1300s until 1578 at which time licensed brothels were closed due to the conflict between Protestant rebels and Spanish Catholics. Recent historical research has revealed that between 1650 and 1750 major law enforcement efforts were expended on policing prostitution crimes, from forcing the closure of brothels, to rescuing women and girls, to arresting buyers.¹⁸⁴ With the ending of the Republic in 1795 and French occupation, society grew more permissive as did the attitudes towards prostitution. However, luring or abducting minors for sexual purposes remained a crime.¹⁸⁵

In the late 1800s a protest movement against prostitution gained ground among Protestants, feminists, and socialists, under the banner of “chastity for men, freedom for women.”¹⁸⁶ The abolitionists were successful in shutting down licensed brothels in many Dutch cities. In Amsterdam, brothels were outlawed in 1897. By 1911 brothels were still illegal but being a prostitute or using the services thereof was not a criminal offense.

In the 1980s discussions about regulating prostitution indicated that a change in policy would follow and the penal code would be amended to permit the organization of prostitution. However, with the arrival of a new Minister of Justice in 1990 who was morally opposed to prostitution, legal reform languished.¹⁸⁷ While legislation later was crafted to give local municipalities the option to license brothels (with the exception of minors and non-E.U. residents) the Dutch parliament did not pass it. The main argument against the decentralization of brothel licensing was that non-E.U. women would be discriminated against and the reform would lead to an even more uncontrollable illegal sex trafficking market.¹⁸⁸

In 1997 the government submitted an amendment to formally legalize prostitution to the Lower House of Parliament that was accepted by the Upper House in 1999. Upon consultation with the Association of Netherlands Municipalities, the new Minister of Justice permitted the legislation to enter force October 1, 2000. The “General Ban on Brothels” (*Bordeelverbod*) was lifted. This meant, in fact, only that the commercial organization of voluntary adult prostitution was removed from criminal legislation. All other forms of prostitution remained a criminal offense, including forced, coerced or child prostitution.

Regulation and control of legal prostitution is now the responsibility of the 467 municipalities in the Netherlands, many of which have yet to complete the licensing process, let alone inspect

¹⁸³ Dutch National Rapporteur, p.4. For a comparison of the moral context of Dutch and American law, see James Kennedy, “The Moral State: How Much Do the Americans and Dutch Differ?” cited in Hans Krabbendam, et al., *Regulating Morality: A Comparison of the Role of the State in Mastering the Mores in the Netherlands and the United States* (Antwerp: I.M Meijers Instituut, 2000), p. 9-22.

¹⁸³ Van de Pol, p.100.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p.102.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ine Vanwesenbeeck, *Prostitutes Well-Being and Risk* (Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 1994), p.4.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, p.5.

facilities in their localities.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, police are preoccupied with inspecting regulated brothels and lack the capacity to monitor the unregulated sector where the majority of the industry exists. In the most recent report by the National Rapporteur for Trafficking in Women, criticism was leveled at law enforcement authorities and city administrations for failing to follow through on inspections of sex establishments and to make trafficking in persons a high priority.¹⁹⁰

An independent study of the impact of the brothel ban lift by the nongovernmental organization Platform of Organizations Monitoring Ex-Prostitutes (POOP) was released in October 2003. Upon analyzing survey results of 72 prostitute respondents, the platform found that more than half of the prostitutes knew nothing about the legislation, many saw little to no change for the better, and most had never registered with the authorities. In fact, only three percent viewed the legalization of prostitution in a positive way.¹⁹¹

Almost five years after the lifting of the brothel ban, we have to acknowledge that the aims of the law have not been reached. Lately, we've received more and more signals that abuse still continues. The police admit we are in the midst of modern slavery.¹⁹²

— Mayor Job Cohen, Amsterdam, January 2006

The notorious Red Light District of Amsterdam, filled with windows advertising women for sale, is showing signs of disrepair. Even before the recent decision to shut down one hundred windows, many had been vacated and prostituted girls were moved to unlicensed saunas, massage parlors, and escort services—unregulated sectors where the money is good and tax-free. A recent report by the Dutch prostitute advocacy group, *De Rode Draad*, reveals the number of registered brothels has decreased “dramatically” since they were legalized six years ago as the competition with illegal commercial sex venues is too keen.¹⁹³ Policymakers in the Netherlands admit that by lifting the ban, fewer officers are available to police the unregulated sectors, windows, and regions where most of the abuse, exploitation, and crime occur as they are at maximum capacity with monitoring the legal brothels.¹⁹⁴ This has led to a growth in the secondary commercial sex markets outside of the scope of regulations and monitoring.

Amsterdam Councilor Roel van Duijn of the Green Left Party believes that over ten thousand prostitutes work in Amsterdam, while only about two thousand are employed legally. The rest of them are involved in the illegal market that is “rife with sex slavery” in the Councilor’s view. According to van Duijn, “There is a tendency in the Netherlands to believe that prostitution is a normal economic activity which should be made legal. I don’t agree. In practice, prostitution has always been an illegal area, one which often attracts women from problem backgrounds. It is a

¹⁸⁹ Daalder, pp. 2-3.

¹⁹⁰ Dutch National Rapporteur, p.35.

¹⁹¹ Platform of Organizations Monitoring Ex-Prostitutes (POOP), “Report from NGOs on the Shadowy Side of the Legalization of Abortion: Response to the Evaluation on the Legalization of Abortion by the Scientific Examination and Documentation Center (WODC) 2002”, October 2003.

¹⁹² “Canada Considers Further Legalizing Prostitution While Amsterdam Mayor Admits Legalization’s Failure,” [LifeSiteNews.com](http://www.lifesite.net/ldn/2005/oct/05100508.html), October 5, 2005, citing article in *NRC Handelsbad* (in Dutch), October 5, 2005 <<http://www.lifesite.net/ldn/2005/oct/05100508.html>>. Accessed on February 5, 2007.

¹⁹³ Strijbosch, Margreet, “Legalized Prostitution: A Dying Trade,” *Radio Netherlands*, October 31, 2006

¹⁹⁴ Platform of Organizations Monitoring Ex-Prostitutes (POOP), “Report from NGOs on the Shadowy Side of the Legalization of Abortion: Response to the Evaluation on the Legalization of Abortion by the Scientific Examination and Documentation Center (WODC) 2002”, October 2003.

fact too that women who have worked as prostitutes often continue to suffer from their traumatic experiences.”¹⁹⁵

Legislation on controversial matters such as prostitution is the province of the Dutch parliament. Many city administrations have taken on the issue as well and the closure of street prostitution appears to be a general trend. Though the current mayor of Amsterdam, Job Cohen, fought against the closure of the tippelzones, in 2003 the Amsterdam Council decided to close the zone due to problems with illegal prostitution, human trafficking and organized crime, including gun and drug related activities. Some members of the Council opposed to the closure believed that street prostitutes would just find another outlet behind the Central Train Station. Mayor Cohen called this a “devil’s dilemma” as it appeared impossible to create a safe and controllable zone for women that was not open to abuse by organized crime. He admitted that the legalization of prostitution failed in curbing abuse.

In an embarrassing turn of events, Cohen’s elected alderman in charge of education and social affairs, Rob Oudkerk, was forced to resign for having told a journalist about his use of prostitutes in Amsterdam’s tippelzone at the same time the Council was considering closing the tippelzone in recognition of the trafficking, drug abuse and exploitation of the women prostituted there.¹⁹⁶ Yet opinion polls revealed that 73 percent of the citizens believe that public officials should not be stigmatized for using prostitutes; indeed, 63 percent viewed Oudkerk’s indiscretions a private matter; not grounds for dismissal.¹⁹⁷

In early 2006 an Amsterdam city government was elected into office. Reliable sources contend that the Green/Left party, which forms part of the coalition with the socialists, may call for the reopening of the tippelzone. In all likelihood, this will be resisted because Councilwoman Karina Schaapman, an ex-prostitute, is calling for more policing and monitoring of escort services, pimps, drugs, and trafficked women. Moreover, Dutch Immigration Minister since May 2003 and former prison governor, Rita Verdonk, is known to be a hardliner on asylum-seekers in the Netherlands and has been highly criticized for her policy of holding children of illegal immigrants in detention centers and for the return of refugees to countries such as Iraq, Iran and the Democratic Republic of Congo without an agreement on security conditions in those countries. In 2004, she approved the return of 26,000 failed asylum seekers to their countries of origin, even though some had been residents in the Netherlands for more than 10 years.¹⁹⁸

Rotterdam’s mayor, Ivo Opstelten, is conservative and intolerant of street prostitution. Nicknamed “Guiliani on the (river) Maas,” Opstelten is determined to clean the streets of prostitutes and drug addicts. The Rotterdam city council shut down numerous “coffee shops” known to sell soft drugs and the executive city council closed Rotterdam’s tippelzone in March, 2006. Confidential sources reveal that the Erasmusburg area of Rotterdam is known as the “erotic triangle” where Pleinweg, Dordtselaan and the river converge. The women with whom our researchers spoke, claimed to be Lithuanian citizens—victims of human trafficking crimes.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ Strijbosch, p. 2.

¹⁹⁶ “How Oudkerk’s Career Was Destroyed by Sex,” *Expatica*, January 20, 2004
<http://www.expatica.com/actual/article.asp?subchannel_id=19&story_id=3794>. Accessed on November 4, 2006.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ “Google blocks UNICEF link criticising Dutch immigration minister,” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, April 12, 2006.
<http://tech.monstersandcritics.com/news/article_1154727.php/Google_blocks_Unicef_link_criticising_Dutch_immigration_minister->; “Dutch Minister Wants E.U. Countries to Keep Own Immigration Policies,” *EUBusiness*, February 20, 2006
<<http://www.eubusiness.com/afp/060220172559.gnt6ah1f->>. Accessed on November 4, 2006.

¹⁹⁹ Field Research Report, February 15, 2006. On file with authors.

With recent tippelzone closures in three major cities, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Arnhem, and The Hague, prostitution has flourished in Utrecht where the local officials have not taken such measures. According to Mark Bosman, policy adviser with the Department of Public Order and Safety's section dealing with prostitution matters in Utrecht, two or three families own the boats and the windows in the *Zandpad* areas and the same families also own cafés, bars, and casinos.²⁰⁰ Though Bosman hoped the legalization of prostitution in 2000 would “kill the illegal side of [prostitution]” he admitted that his hopes were in vain. Much of the recruitment and movement of women are carried out by mobile phones, thereby doing away with any need to register and further undermining the 2000 law that legalized brothels. This is all exacerbated by the violent presence of organized crime gaining hold in many places, including Utrecht.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite intentions to protect women in the commercial sex market, the legalization of prostitution in the Netherlands has not accomplished these goals. Gangs, drugs, organized crime and sex trafficking still exist. The commercial sex market cannot be contained within legal boundaries; it is a strong and resilient market system responding to consumer demand encouraged through strategic marketing of the red light districts.

The assumption was that in a healthy and well regulated business new criminality like loverboys wouldn't get a chance. Only since November we have the conviction that we understand what happens in the world of modern pimping and how this world is working. It has become clear to us that the prostitution business is not that healthy at all. A business that has been working underground for centuries doesn't seem to have been tidied up just like that, a couple of years after the ban on brothels has been lifted.²⁰¹

Efforts in the Netherlands to educate the public and potential victims will go a long way in curbing the trafficking of human beings for the commercial sex markets. However, the following areas also need to occur simultaneously: investigate the buyers and sellers of exploitation victims and prosecute them; identify and hold responsible the facilitators of the illegal sex markets and the sex trafficking occurring to supply those markets, including corrupt officials; outfit law enforcement with greater knowledge and numbers, awareness and methods for tracking and apprehending trafficking networks; apply pressure to local and national governments by highlighting problem areas and priority issues; and provide safe, secure havens for victims to heal and recover.

Regarding the culture of tolerance which the Dutch have boastfully prized, since the legalization in 2000, the social pendulum has begun to swing back with an apparent increased public will to change a system that has normalized the sexual exploitation of women and children. Councils in three major cities in the Netherlands shut down their tippelzones between 2005 and 2006: Den Haag, Arnhem and Rotterdam. Amsterdam recently announced its intention to close 100 out of 350 windows in its Red Light District. Local police in Deventer and Zwolle, regions located northeast of Amsterdam, have established specialized prostitution task forces to combat human trafficking. However, the creation of such task forces is limited to only a few out of nearly 500 municipalities. The National Rapporteur of Trafficking in Human Beings has called for more policing of illegal sex venues.

²⁰⁰ Bosman, Mark, Policy Advisor, Department of Public Order and Safety, Utrecht, NE, Personal interview, January 24, 2006.

²⁰¹ Bovenkerk, et al, “Loverboys’ or modern pimping in Amsterdam.”

Training of local police to identify signs of human trafficking is sorely lacking. Unlike the vice squad, local police whose jurisdiction includes sex venues are not equipped with the skills and tools to investigate them properly.²⁰²

In 2000, the small city of Zwolle established a plan of action to combat the “loverboy” phenomenon which was implemented from 2003-2005. This plan includes educating potential victims, preventing boys from becoming “loverboys,” sheltering and assisting victims, tracing suspects and prosecuting offenders.²⁰³ An assessment of the results of the plan of action was undertaken in 2005 and it was determined that the number of “loverboys” in Zwolle had decreased.²⁰⁴ The plan will continue to be implemented through 2009. Human trafficking is recognized as a major problem that was exacerbated—not improved—when legislation was passed to lift the ban on brothels in 2000. The “tolerance” for prostitution may be on the wane because the resulting increase in criminal behavior and victimization is impossible to control.

PUBLIC AWARENESS

Wherever I've traveled I've never seen a prostitution awareness campaign. But I have to admit that if I did see something like campaign saying—do you realize that 50%, I don't know about numbers, but let's say 50% of girls in prostitution are part of sex trafficking?—that would probably play on my conscience. And on the border of yes and no, I would probably say no.²⁰⁵

— Sex Tourist, May 2006

In 2005, Dutch police received more than 600 reports of women who may have been forced into prostitution, and 400 women contacted anti-trafficking organizations for assistance. In response, Dutch authorities launched a campaign in January 2006 distributing posters and stickers to the public and installing billboards targeting the red light districts asking “*Have you seen the signals? Fear, bruises, not enjoying her work.*”²⁰⁶ In a controversial decision, Dutch authorities decided to post the public awareness announcement on an Internet forum where buyers swap stories and reviews of their visits to the red light districts.²⁰⁷ Critics argued television and public campaigns would have reached the target audience as effectively without the apparent contradiction of posting an anti-trafficking announcement on a website promoting prostitution, the very industry which enables the trafficking markets.

The animation announcement contrasting the erotic delights with the violent reality of forced prostitution. It is not explicit in a sexual way but it is striking. And as is often the case in reality, it is the woman who is struck when she refuses to do her masters bidding.²⁰⁸

²⁰² Field Research Report, March 23, 2006.

²⁰³ “Loverboy Plan of Approach 2003-2005,” European Urban Knowledge Network, implemented from June 2, 2003, (Zwolle, NE) <http://www.eukn.org/netherlands/themes/Urban_Policy/Security_and_crime_prevention/Anti_crime_policy/Gender_and_domestic_violence/loverboys_1002.html>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Sex tourist, Personal interview, May 6, 2006.

²⁰⁶ Hudson, Alexandra, “Dutch urge clients to report forced prostitution,” *Reuters*, January 12, 2006 <<http://in.news.yahoo.com/060112/137/61z6n.html>>. Accessed on February 2, 2007.

²⁰⁷ See <<http://www.hoekers.nl>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

²⁰⁸ “Ladies of Pleasure or Sex Slaves,” *Expatica*, January 23, 2006 <http://www.expatica.com/actual/article.asp?subchannel_id=19&story_id=26964>. The campaign announcement can be viewed at <<http://www.totaleovergave.nl>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

As of February 2007, the ad can no longer be found on <http://www hookers.nl>. Field researchers visited the Amsterdam and Utrecht red light districts shortly after the release of the campaign, searching for educational materials, pamphlets, flyers and billboards but they were difficult, if not impossible, to find. Furthermore, upon inquiring about the campaign to buyers of commercial sex, none had heard of it.

One outspoken critic, Mariska Majoor, a former prostitute who now runs an information center in Amsterdam's Red Light District, complains, "This district is 700 years old and we've had trafficking in women for almost the same amount of time. It exists—but nothing like to the extent people have been saying."²⁰⁹ Despite the critics, the Dutch Government appears to be committed to addressing the issue of sex trafficking, even if the initial attempts may be unclear in the message and delivery.

In addition, while there are some signs that the Netherlands is rethinking its decision to legalize prostitution, it will be critical to ensure that women already victimized within the current commercial sex markets do not become the victims again in a newly illegal system in which they would be criminalized as well.

LEGISLATION

In order to bring the Netherlands' laws into compliance with the UN Protocol,²¹⁰ a Bill entitled "Implementation of International Regulations to Combat the Smuggling of and Trafficking in Human Beings" was sent to the Lower House of Parliament in November of 2003. The Bill broadens the forms of exploitation to include slave labor, debt bondage, and trafficking in organs. On January 1, 2005, the old article on trafficking was replaced with a new one, Article 273a, to encompass all forms of trafficking: exploitation in the sex industry, exploitation in employment sectors, and exploitation involving extraction and trafficking of human organs. Article 273a will be included in the title "Crimes against personal freedom" and has nearly the same wording as Article 3 of the UN Protocol and Article 1 of the E.U. Framework Decision on Combating Trafficking Human Beings.

Additionally, the extraterritorial scope of the article 250a of the Criminal Code was extended to include jurisdiction over citizens guilty of sexual exploitation of a child outside the Netherlands. This extension mirrors the jurisdictional reach of the American PROTECT Act intended to reach American citizens engaging in sex tourism overseas.

The B-9 Regulation of the Alien Acts Information Guidelines permits victims of trafficking to remain in the country for the duration of the investigation, prosecution and sentencing of the suspect trafficker. Police are required to inform the alien who may be a victim of trafficking of her rights and offer her a period of reflection.²¹¹ This reflection period gives victims the time to decide whether they will file a report, which may be up to three months,

²⁰⁹ Hudson, Alexandra, "Forced Prostitution Fears Could Dim Dutch Red Lights," *Reuters*, January 31, 2006 <http://www.boston.com/news/world/europe/articles/2006/01/31/forced_prostitution_fears_could_dim_dutch_red_lights>. Accessed on February 2, 2007.

²¹⁰ Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, <http://www.uncjin.org/Documents/Conventions/dcatoc/final_documents_2/convention_%20traff_eng.pdf>. Accessed on April 5, 2007.

²¹¹ Council Directive 2004/83/EC of 29 April 2004 on minimum standards for the qualification and status of third country nationals or stateless persons as refugees or as persons who otherwise need international protection and the content of the protection granted, *Official Journal L 304*, 30/09/2004 P. 0012 – 0023. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2002/com2002_0071en01.pdf>. Accessed on April 5, 2007.

during which deportation of the victim from the Netherlands is temporarily suspended. If the victim decides not to report the offense, she must leave the country immediately.

Housing subsidies, income and residency status are now available to victims, thanks to amendments in the immigration laws as of 2005. However, not all of the difficulties have been removed from the legislations and delays can ensue. An interview conducted with Annet Koopsen, an attorney who represents trafficked victims, reports that the immigration bureaucracy encumbers the application processes. Though the victims are granted a three-month reflection period to decide whether to testify in the prosecution against their trafficker, often victims must wait up to one month before they receive any assistance funds. Moreover, failure by victims to renew residency applications on time can result in the cessation of aid.²¹²

Bevordering Integriteitsbeoordelingen door het Openbaar Bestuur (BIBOB Act of 2003) creates a legal basis to refuse or withdraw permits, licenses, grants and subsidies when there is a serious threat of abuse by criminals. The Act aims to avert the danger of subsidies or licenses being used to spend the proceeds of crime. A special agency, the BIBOB Bureau within the Ministry of Justice, screens the integrity of the applicant for a fee of €500. By examining an individual's tax and police records, the owners of small businesses that fail to pay personal taxes can be flagged as needing further scrutiny. Thus, it permits the government to prevent an individual or business from obtaining a license based solely on their reputation, even if they have had no convictions. The basic idea is to expose criminal gangs that operate behind seemingly legitimate companies.²¹³

Another useful tool in tracing suspicious financial operations is the Act on the Disclosure of Unusual Transactions or "MOT." It requires financial institutions (banks, casinos, etc.) to report unusual transactions to a Financial Intelligence Unit. The police and public prosecutors have no direct access to the database of this unit, a limitation intended to ensure that the privacy of legal and natural persons whose financial transactions have been reported to be unusual is protected.

PREVENTION AND RESTORATIVE FACILITIES

To counteract the recruitment of Dutch teen girls into the commercial sex markets, efforts have been initiated by local groups to educate school girls on these dangers. Scarlet Cord (Scharlaken Koord) is an outreach organization that has worked in Amsterdam's Red Light District since 1987. Over the past several years, the growing encounters by their social workers with victims of the "loverboy" phenomenon have caused the organization to reach out to these pre-teen and teen girls through a prevention program and curriculum called "Beware of Loverboys." Workers give presentations to local schools, teen-clubs and other youth clubs on the warning signs and dangers of a "loverboy."²¹⁴

²¹² Koopsen, Personal interview, April 28, 2006.

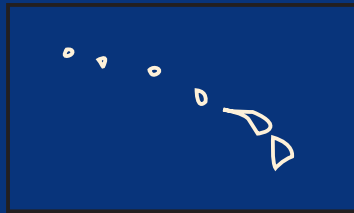
²¹³ van de Bunt, p.1.

²¹⁴ See <<http://www.bewareofloverboys.nl>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007. See also, Paula Skidmore, "What works in child sexual exploitation: sharing and learning Final Report," A Daphne Programme project partnership between Barnardo's, UK and Stade Advies, NL, publ. July 2004

<http://www.barnardos.org.uk/final_report_by_paula_skidmore_in_english.pdf>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

At this time there are few long-term care facilities for victims of trafficking. Immigrant minors are commonly sent to a reprimand facility, similar to the juvenile detention centers in the United States. This effectively eases the trafficker's recruitment of girls by placing them in a convenient single location. Further, like the other countries examined, the policies in the Netherlands often result in the criminalization of the victim rather than the buyer or seller; a problem which prevents deterring demand through law enforcement and prevents identification of victims in many cases as they fear the effect of reporting. Greater improvements in the enforcement of laws and the delivery of services to these victims are needed.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA





Red circles indicate primary areas of Shared Hope International field research.

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THE UNITED STATES:

TECHNOLOGY DRIVING DEMAND

Each year an estimated 800,000 to 900,000 human beings are bought, sold, or forced across the world's borders [2003 U.S. State Department estimate]. Among them are hundreds of thousands of teenage girls, and others as young as 5, who fall victim to the sex trade.

There's a special evil in the abuse and exploitation of the most innocent and vulnerable. The victims of [the] sex trade see little of life before they see the very worst of life, an underground of brutality and lonely fear. Those who create these victims and profit from their suffering must be severely punished. Those who patronize this industry debase themselves and deepen the misery of others.

— President Bush, addressing the U.N. General Assembly
September 23, 2003

The new face of sex tourism in the United States is actually a familiar one—U.S. citizens and legal permanent residents under the age of 18 are increasingly being recruited into the commercial sex markets to service the demand resulting from the normalization and promotion of commercial sex across America. These young victims join the forced, defrauded and coerced adult women as victims of human trafficking under the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 and comprise an as-yet undetermined number of victims of sex trafficking in America today. In addition, tightened immigration controls and intense training of law enforcement and social service providers to identify situations of foreign human trafficking victims in the U.S. have been a deterrent to foreign trafficking and an incentive to look locally.

The commercial sex trade in the United States flourishes, in part, because the media bombards all age groups with explicit sexual imagery. Many American policymakers and citizens condemn the immoral and unethical nature of the commercial sex trade on the one hand, yet the culture promotes commercial sex on the other hand. Religious and educational institutions advocate abstinence and fidelity, yet many businesses market sexuality and sex acts to all Americans in a blatant and pervasive manner. Simultaneously, in a culture that takes pride in women's rights and professional achievements, females are commonly portrayed as sexual commodities.

In the midst of—and in part owing to—these contradictory yet powerful cultural cues, the sexual exploitation of children in the United States appears to be growing. Each year, an estimated 14,500 to 17,500 foreign nationals are trafficked into the United States.²¹⁵ The number of U.S. citizens trafficked within the country each year is even higher, with an estimated 100,000-300,000 American children at risk for becoming victims of commercial sexual exploitation.²¹⁶ Evidence suggests that children under the age of 18 now constitute the largest group of trafficking victims in the United States.

According to authoritative estimates, the average age of entry into prostitution or the commercial sex industry in the U.S. is 11-14 years old;²¹⁷ the gender is overwhelmingly female (one statistic: 1356 girls to 13 boys²¹⁸). In Clark County, Nevada, for example, 181 cases of prostituted juveniles were pending between August 2005 and December 2006, only one of which had a male victim.²¹⁹ While 38 percent of these girls were from Nevada, the remaining 62 percent of girls were from 28 other states, including Alaska and New York. Running away from home was a common characteristic of over 60 percent of prostituted juveniles in another data collection effort in Las Vegas that spanned the years 1997-2006.²²⁰ Indeed, 90 percent of runaways become part of the commercial sex industry.²²¹ A runaway, as the name implies, is a child 14 years or younger who chooses not to return home and stays away overnight or a child 15 years or older who chooses not to return home and stays away for two nights. A throwaway child is told to leave home by a parent/guardian/adult and stays away overnight or is prevented from returning home by a parent/guardian/adult.²²²

Approximately 55% of street girls engage in formal prostitution. Of the girls engaged in formal prostitution, about 75% worked for a pimp. Pimp-controlled commercial sexual exploitation of children is linked to escort and massage services, private dancing, drinking and photographic clubs, major sporting and recreational events, major cultural events, conventions, and tourist destinations. About one-fifth of these children become entangled in nationally organized crime networks and are trafficked nationally. They are transported around the United States by a variety of means—cars, buses, vans, trucks or planes and are often provided counterfeit identification to use in the event of arrest.²²³

²¹⁵ Report to Congress from Attorney General John Ashcroft on US Government Efforts to Combat Trafficking in Persons in Fiscal Year 2003. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 2004) <<http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/23598.pdf>>. Accessed on January 17, 2007.

²¹⁶ Estes, Richard J. and Neil Alan Weiner, "The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico" (University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work: Philadelphia), September 19, 2001, revised February 20, 2002 <http://www.sp2.upenn.edu/~restes/CSEC_Files/Complete_CSEC_020220.pdf>. Accessed on November 1, 2006.

²¹⁷ <<http://www.usdoj.gov/criminal/ceos/prostitution.html>>. Accessed on April 11, 2006. According to Estes and Weiner, boys started earlier than girls: 11-13 years, versus 12-14 years for girls, in "The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children," p.92. See also, studies by John Lowman, "Taking Young Prostitutes Seriously," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, vol. 24, no. 1, 1999 and Susan Nadon, Catherine Koverola, and Eduard Schludermann, "Antecedents to Prostitution: Childhood Victimization," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, vol. 13, 1998.

²¹⁸ STOP Statistics, Crimes Against Youth and Family Bureau of the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department – 1994-2006. On file with authors.

²¹⁹ Hon. William O. Voy, "Juvenile Prostitute Stats and Re-Offending Statistics for Prostitution-Related Offenses compiled 8-24-05-12-31-06" Clark County Family Court, Las Vegas, Nevada, received by fax January 24, 2007, supplemented by email to Melissa Snow confirming victims' gender, April 17, 2007. On file with authors.

²²⁰ STOP Statistics, Las Vegas, 1994-2006. On file with authors.

²²¹ Estes and Weiner, "The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico."

²²² NISMART-2, cited in Priebe and Suhr, "Hidden in Plain View," p.16.

²²³ Estes and Weiner, "The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in the U.S., Canada, and Mexico," cited in "Domestic Sex Trafficking of Minors," U.S. Department of Justice, Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section (CEOS), <<http://www.usdoj.gov/criminal/ceos/prostitution.html>>. Accessed on April 11, 2007.

New research efforts launched by the Department of Justice, in addition to data collection by the Department of Justice funded Human Trafficking Task Forces in 42 locations, will provide more accurate and current statistics on at-risk children which will enable governments to allocate resources for specialized services that can assist the young victims of commercial sexual exploitation. Before the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (TVPA 2000) and subsequent reauthorizations, the Mann Act/White Slave Act of 1910 was used to punish perpetrators who transported persons (adults and children) across state borders for “immoral purposes” (sexual exploitation). Under the TVPA, transportation across borders is no longer a condition for bringing charges against a trafficker, reflecting the real situation of local girls being prostituted in their own cities, sometimes in their own homes. Indeed, as field research reveals, in each of the three U.S. cities examined, local minors were available, vulnerable, and easily exploitable.

THE MARKETPLACE

Sex tourism and sex trafficking markets in Atlanta, Washington, D.C., and Las Vegas were chosen for research because each city is a key tourist and convention destination for a broad range of visitors from within the United States and abroad. Each city struggles with economic disparities, racial prejudices and inequalities and have considerable populations of at-risk youth. Simultaneously, they are known to be locations of many commercial sex markets that cater to a broad clientele.

Escort services and massage parlors dominate the commercial sex markets. The Internet and print media facilitate these markets, especially the escort services, which can be found in every major classifieds section, electronic and paper. While massage parlors and brothels are relatively easy to investigate due to the fixed location, escort and outcall services are a market in which victims of all ages and nationalities can be hidden and exploited at little cost to the exploiter.²²⁴ Higher prices can be charged for sexual services through escort services than at brothels and a wider buyer base can be accessed as well. Ethnic brothels have tapped into this advantage by expanding marketing to escort-style services which allow buyers from beyond the ethnic community to access the sexual services of the normally closed system.²²⁵ The trend toward trafficking victims through escort services mirrors the operations of the commercial sex markets in Japan and the Netherlands, and to a lesser extent, Jamaica.

According to Steven Bagg, an analysis of eight major American cities shows erotic services consistently garners the highest number of individual visitors for February—almost always twice as many as the next ranking category, averaging 265,000 people per city...The most commonly frequented venue outside of this virtual red-light district? Cars for sale.²²⁶

²²⁴ Email from Detective Leland Wiley, Montgomery County Police Department, Maryland to Melissa Snow, April 9, 2007. On file with authors.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Bagg, Stephen, “Craigslist’s Dirty Little Secret,” [Compete.com](http://blog.compete.com), posted April 5, 2007 <<http://blog.compete.com/2007/04/05/craigslist-popular-categories>>. Accessed on April 2, 2007. New York City and Los Angeles by far have the most unique visitors to the erotic section in February 2007.

CASE STUDY: LATINO TRAFFICKING RINGS²²⁷

Criminal elements within the closed Latino communities in cities along the East Coast are deeply involved in prostitution and the operation of massage parlors and brothels. The brothels are easy to identify because they all share common features: a one or two-bedroom apartment, outfitted with very little furniture, one or two mattresses on the floor, and the presence of condoms, creams, towels, and tokens or beads.

Operation: East Coast Latino trafficking rings usually use a “stash” house based in New York or New Jersey. Telephone calls are made throughout the week to determine which brothels need girls and how many are needed. The girls are then sent out on Mondays to the brothels needing them for a week and returned to the “stash” house on Sunday. The cut is 50/50. The brothel gets to keep 50% of the money made and sends the remaining 50% to the “stash” house which is then confiscated to pay the girls’ “debts”; the girls keep none of the money. When the buyer enters the bedroom he gives the woman a token or bead which serves to prove to the manager the number of men serviced. The women are prostituted for about \$600 per day and about \$30 per 15 minutes. They are charged \$70 per week for food. They are confined to the brothel and “stash” house the entire time.

Each brothel has a “doorman” who issues a token to the buyer in order to enter the house or apartment. He normally stays in his car, providing security for the house and facilitating the transaction with the buyer. Doormen earn about \$300 per week. The doormen and the victims keep ledgers of the buyers; some confiscated ledgers have revealed that women had been prostituted to up to 55 buyers in a single day.

The brothels operating in apartment complexes are usually all Latino clients. However, recently some of the “stash” houses have advertised on Craig’s List in order to turn an increased profit. A typical Latino apartment brothel charges \$30 for 15 minutes. A Craig’s List advertisement can charge \$100-\$200 for one hour.

Brothels have been discovered and raided in Gaithersburg, Wheaton, and Silver Spring, Maryland.

Advertising: The brothels are advertised with business cards distributed at day-labor areas. These day labor sites have not been connected to labor trafficking yet, but the laborers are certainly illegal immigrants. The illustration of either a rose or wings on the card is often used to indicate the brothel; however, often there are no indications other than a verbal understanding of the intent as the card is handed over to the prospective buyer. The use of these taxi services to bring buyers to the brothel apartment maintains the secrecy and makes discovery and investigation difficult.

²²⁷ Detective Thomas Stack, Montgomery County Police Department, Maryland, Presentation on investigating human trafficking crimes in the Washington Metropolitan area, (American University: Washington, D.C.) November 6, 2006; email from Detective Leland Wiley, Montgomery County Police Department, Maryland to Melissa Snow, April 9, 2007. On file with authors.



Business Cards discovered by police in the investigation of Latino brothels.

Victims: Victims primarily are illegal immigrants who do not speak English. They are moved to different locations frequently. For example, they may be prostituted in Maryland during the week and return to a “stash” house in Union, New Jersey on Sunday where they may be sent on outcalls. About 80% of victims are Mexican; the other 20% are from the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador, and other countries.

Transportation: Housed in New York and New Jersey, victims are trafficked to various cities by Greyhound bus or minivan each week.

Profits: In one case involving five brothels, police determined the owner/trafficker earned \$1.1 million per year, tax free.

Gangs of all ethnicities will often recruit and sell local underage girls for sexual exploitation in order to turn a profit for the gang.²²⁸ For example, in summer 2006, police in Wichita, Kansas discovered gangs preying on teenage runaways. The gangs moved the girls to cities as far away as Washington, D.C., to prostitute them on the streets or in private homes and to exploit them in pornographic videos.²²⁹ Wichita's location on Interstate 35, which runs from Mexico to Minnesota and connects to several major East-West interstates, makes transportation quick and easy. However, some gangs, such as the MS-13 Hispanic gangs identified in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area, work in a more "hands-off" manner similar to the Yakuza in Japan. The MS-13 is usually not directly involved in the recruitment or movement of girls into the U.S. but provides "security" for the traffickers.²³⁰ In addition to payments for providing security, the MS-13 requires fees from the traffickers to ensure that the MS-13 will not interfere with the traffickers' business or rob the traffickers of the money that they are bringing in from prostitution.

One commercial sex market supported by gang activity is the ethnic brothel system. The ethnic brothels appear to be a unique model of commercial sex market existing in most major metropolitan areas in the U.S. A review of the ethnic brothel systems reveals that they have a secretive system which allows them to operate with relative anonymity. Often only native speakers are admitted into the brothels. The girls are prostituted within this closed community, as well as along the migrant agricultural labor routes.²³¹

VICTIMS

Commercial sex markets in the U.S. are comprised of foreign women and girls smuggled into the United States, as well as American citizens and legal permanent residents under the age of 18 years. These victims fill the demand for "happy endings" at massage parlors, delivery sex at escort services, and demand at ethnic brothels closed to buyers who are not of the same ethnicity as the brothel owners. Foreign victims have been discovered in most major cities; however, field research observed underage girls are the bulk of the victims in the commercial sex markets in the United States. In an overburdened, state-by-state foster care system and a society in which children in crisis can go unnoticed, runaway, homeless and throwaway youth are increasingly finding themselves courted and romanced by young men who have grown up in a culture that promotes pimping and exploitation of girls as a glamorous and viable job option.²³²

When I started prostitution in Las Vegas at 14, we (pimp and victim) didn't stay in Vegas. We went to Washington, Illinois, Texas, Louisiana, Miami and we went to London. Out of all those places I've been, I was getting tired. ²³³
— Sex Trafficking Survivor, Las Vegas, March 2006

²²⁸ "Report From the Mid-Term Review on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in America," (Shared Hope International, ECPAT-USA & The Protection Project of Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies: Washington, D.C., September 2006), p.12.

²²⁹ "Police Call Rate of Teen Prostitution 'appalling'," *The Wichita Eagle Kansas*, posted April 11, 2007 <<http://www.kansas.com/201/story/41476.html>>. Accessed on April 12, 2007.

²³⁰ Email from Detective Leland Wiley, Montgomery County Police Department, Maryland to Melissa Snow, April 9, 2007. On file with authors.

²³¹ Marisa B. Ugarte, Laura Zarate, and Melissa Farley, "Prostitution and Trafficking of Women and Children from Mexico to the United States," in *Prostitution, Trafficking, and Traumatic Stress*, Melissa Farley ed. (New York: Haworth Press, 2003), p.60.

²³² Nikki Marr, former Family Court Judge in Atlanta, commenting at the U.S. Mid-Term Review on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children Conference, April 3-4, 2006. Transcript on file with authors.

²³³ "Annie," Sex trafficking survivor, Personal interview, March 23, 2006.

The Las Vegas Metro Police Department Crimes Against Youth and Family Bureau has begun collecting statistics regarding these young sex trafficking victims. The statistics from 153 juveniles arrested for prostitution in 2006 reveal a connection between commercial sexual exploitation and prior victimization. The history of a “typical” domestic minor trafficking victim in Las Vegas includes: sexual assault (57); physical abuse (55); family molestation (31); runaway priors (116); prostitution priors (43); drug abuse (90); attempted suicide (32).²³⁴

BUYERS

The observed purchasers of commercial sex and perpetrators of sexual exploitation in the three cities researched were diverse but tended to be primarily white, middle-aged males, though the ethnic brothels are reported to service only members of the particular ethnicity.²³⁵ Buyers use a variety of methods to access the commercial sex markets, ranging from the Internet, to calling escort services, to inquiring of close confidantes, to traveling abroad to countries where penalties for commercial sex, particularly with children, are lax or non-existent and their anonymity can be preserved. In 2002, a reported 34 percent of prostitution arrests were of buyers.²³⁶ In 2005, Congress stated in its findings that 11 females used in commercial sex acts were arrested in Boston for every one arrest of a male purchaser; 9 females to every one male purchaser in Chicago, and 6 females to every one male purchaser in New York City.²³⁷ According to statistics collected for 2006 in Las Vegas, Nevada, 153 minors were arrested for prostitution, but only two pimps were arrested and zero buyers were arrested in these cases.²³⁸



Specific segments of society have been revealed as buyers. We discovered that throughout the United States, where major highways intersect, there are numerous opportunities to pick up, drop off, or stop for paid sex with a prostituted girl. These girls are known as “Lot Lizards” in the trucking community. Some truckers display stickers on their truck windows indicating that “Lot Lizards” are not welcome at their truck. Though an admirable stance against purchasing commercial sex, these stickers are ill-conceived, as one depicts a boot stomping on a lizard and another shows a



line through a lizard wearing a schoolgirl’s plaid skirt. The application of the derogatory label “Lot Lizard” to the victim allows the predator to deny the victimization of his action and society to criminalize the victim.

Trucking routes have been identified as “hot spots” for underage prostituted girls. Buyers seem to have little fear of intervention by police or fellow truckers. A recent example of truck stop trafficking is the case of over two dozen prostituted minors, the youngest just 12 years old, from Toledo, Ohio found at truck stops northeast of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania in December of



²³⁴ STOP Statistics, Las Vegas, 2006. On file with authors.

²³⁵ See Janice G. Raymond, “Prostitution on Demand,” *Violence Against Women*, Vol. 10 No. 10, October 2004 (Coalition Against Trafficking Women), pp. 1165-69, available at <<http://action.web.ca/home/catw/attach/Raymond1.pdf>> for a discussion of buyer types worldwide. Accessed on January 12, 2007.

²³⁶ “Report on the Mid-Term Review of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in America,” p.27, citing remarks by Norma Hotaling, Director of SAGE – San Francisco.

²³⁷ Congressional findings, “End Demand for Sex Trafficking Act of 2005,” intro. House of Representatives, April 28, 2005 <<http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c109:H.R.2012>>. Accessed on January 12, 2007.

²³⁸ STOP Statistics, Crimes Against Youth and Family Bureau of the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department – 1994-2006. On file with authors.

2005.²³⁹ The Gables of Harrisburg truck stop, just off the major highway I-81 in Linglestown, was popular with truck drivers looking for quick and cheap sex: about \$40 for sex with one of these minor victims. Local Harrisburg police and FBI agents working with the Innocence Lost



“No Lot Lizards” stickers like these can be purchased online.²⁴¹

Initiative arrested sixteen pimps, many of them from Toledo, Ohio, who have been indicted as co-conspirators for trafficking in women and children, among other crimes. The pimps used violence and intimidation to recruit and control the women and girls; one pimp, Derek Maes, allegedly broke the nose of a woman who was working for him as a prostitute and later threatened her family. Pimps Melissa Jacobs and Tana Adkins allegedly beat a woman who was working without a pimp, known as a “renegade,” at the Gables truck stop.²⁴⁰



FACILITATORS

Similar to the “loverboys” active in the Netherlands, “pimps” in the United States appear to be younger and are recruiting younger girls in turn. Using psychological techniques on emotionally immature and vulnerable girls, the pimp creates the illusion that the girl is in control and convinces her that he can help her escape her home or other problems.²⁴² The pimp takes the girl out to eat and buys her clothing and jewelry, making her increasingly dependent on him. Quickly, the girl falls in love with the manipulator and is susceptible to his demands for sex and to have sex with others. Soon, she is turned out by this man to work in prostitution. A majority of juveniles who are lured into prostitution by a predator on the streets have suffered sexual abuse in the family.²⁴³ Often, prior familial sexual abuse makes the grooming process for the pimp easier because sexual exploitation has been the norm for the victim.

I was 14 years old and the way the pimp came at me was that first I didn't even know that he was a pimp. He came at me like a boyfriend. Yes he was an older boyfriend but he cared about me...6 months later he told me 'Let's run away together. We can have a beautiful house and family.' And I did believe him, and we ran away and then the story changed and I met the other girls that he had in his stable. And I had to go out every night and work the streets—the alternative was being gang raped by a group of pimps while everyone watched.²⁴⁴

— Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking Survivor, February 2006

²³⁹ Erb, Robin and Roberta de Boer, “Harrisburg Area Proved Profitable for Pimps, Prostitutes from Toledo,” *Toledo Blade*, March 19, 2006 <<http://www.toledoblade.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20060319/NEWS08/60319002>>. Accessed on January 12, 2007.

²⁴⁰ U.S. Department of Justice press release, “Justice Department, FBI, Announce Arrests Targeting Child Prostitution Rings in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Michigan,” December 16, 2005 <http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2005/December/05_crm_677.html>. Accessed on January 12, 2007.

²⁴² Lee, Lois “Sixteen Psychosocial Strategies of Pimps,” Presentation at ILEA (International Law Enforcement Academy) Conference, Las Vegas, September 18-20, 2006.

²⁴³ Simons, Ronald L. and Les B. Whitbeck, “Sexual Abuse as a Precursor to Prostitution and Victimization among Adolescent and Adult Homeless Women,” *Journal of Family Issues* (v12, n3: Sep 1991) pp.361-79, available for purchase at <<http://jfi.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/12/3/361>> (studied 40 adolescent runaways and 95 homeless women to examine impact of early sexual abuse on prostitution and victimization. Findings suggest that early sexual abuse increases probability of involvement in prostitution.); Melissa Farley, PhD and H. Barkan, “Prostitution, violence, and posttraumatic stress disorder,” *Women Health*, 1998;27(3), pp.37-49, available for purchase at <<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/entrez/query.fcgi?CMD=Display&DB=pubmed>>.

²⁴⁴ Tina Frundt, Personal interview, February 15, 2006.

Women and minor girls, usually victims of commercial sexual exploitation and under pimp control, are increasingly becoming facilitators. Pimps will often use these women and girls to recruit new victims in schools and other places. In this way, pimps avoid detection and punishment from law enforcement. This process also may elevate the recruiter to a higher status in the pimp's "stable."²⁴⁵

Institutional facilitators, such as local officials and businesses, are complicit in sex trafficking and sex tourism in the U.S. as in other countries examined. Officials recognize the value of the commercial sex markets to the local economy. Las Vegas relies heavily on tourism using a suggestive promotion campaign and promoting a permissive atmosphere. Hotels make some efforts at regulating access to the rooms above the casinos to prevent prostitution but late night observations in the casinos indicate young-looking girls hanging on the gamblers' arms.²⁴⁶

Since former mob lawyer Oscar Goodman was elected Mayor of Las Vegas in 1999, a troubling new enterprise has emerged within the city limits: the sexual exploitation of teenage girls...²⁴⁷

Taxi drivers are among the facilitators of the commercial sex markets in the U.S., as in every other location examined. At the turn of the century, taxi drivers were earning extra cash by transporting prostituted women and their buyers across town while they engage in sex in the back of the cab.²⁴⁸ Today taxicabs continue to assist in the recruitment and delivery of women to their buyers. Hotels and clubs are notorious for having "knowledgeable" drivers who can serve the needs of their guests by taking them to any destination they wish or bringing to them what they desire. Ethnic brothels use designated taxi operators to deliver buyers to the secret locations; passwords and specially designated telephone numbers are used.

CULTURE OF TOLERANCE

A prominent scholar, Dr. Melissa Farley, analyzes empirical data on the harms of prostitution, pornography and trafficking in her article "Prostitution, Trafficking, and Cultural Amnesia: What We Must *Not Know* in Order To Keep the Business of Sexual Exploitation Running Smoothly." She explains, "This information has to be culturally, psychologically, and legally denied because to know it would interfere with the business of sexual exploitation."²⁴⁹ It is this general denial that permits the culture of tolerance and the marketplaces of exploitation to thrive.

While the cultures of tolerance that permit commercial sex markets to persist in each city are unique, America suffers nation-wide from the detrimental effects of the "pimp culture." Pimps and pimping have become so ingrained in American culture, the concept has almost become commonplace. In 2006, the song "It's Hard Out Here for a Pimp" won the Oscar for Best Original Song for the film *Hustle and Flow*.²⁵⁰ The hit MTV series *Pimp My Ride*, about improving cars with cool new

²⁴⁵ Lee, Lois, "Sixteen Psychosocial Strategies of Pimps," Presentation at ILEA (International Law Enforcement Academy) Conference in Las Vegas, September 18-20, 2006.

²⁴⁶ SHI Research Report, September 22, 2005. On file with authors.

²⁴⁷ Miller, Steve, "Sex-Slave Trade Flourishes under Sin City Mayor Oscar Goodman," [AmericanMafia.com](http://www.americanmafia.com/Inside_Vegas/10-20-03_Inside_Vegas.html), October 20, 2003 <http://www.americanmafia.com/Inside_Vegas/10-20-03_Inside_Vegas.html>. Accessed on January 15, 2007.

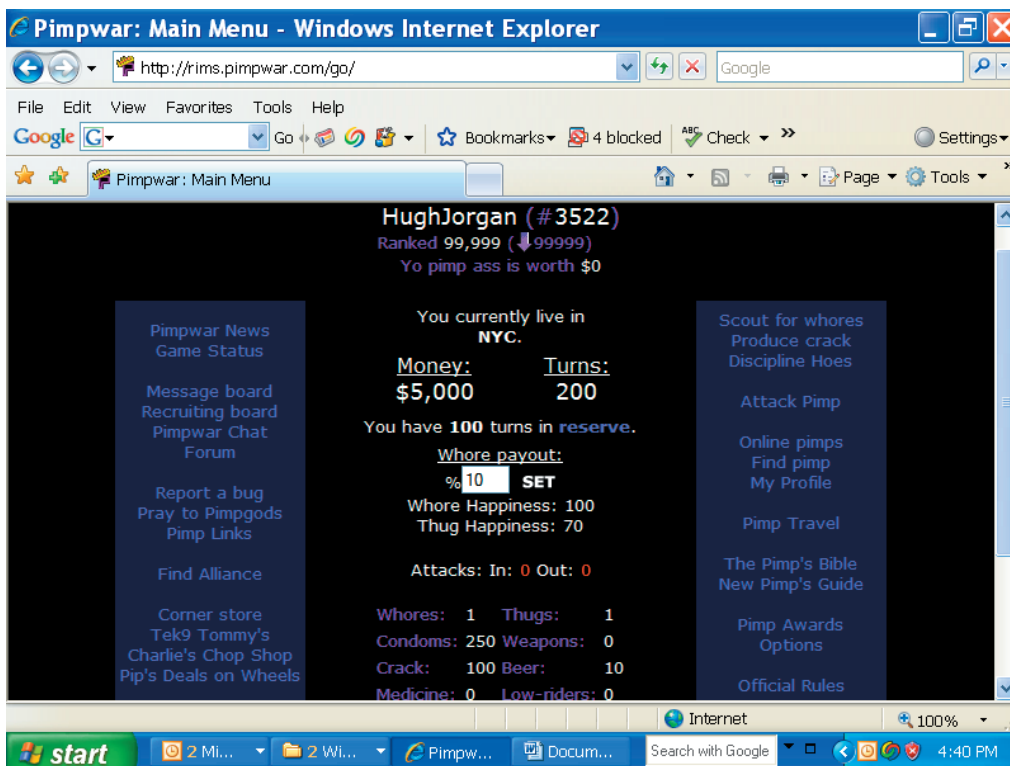
²⁴⁸ "The Repression of Prostitution in the District of Columbia," Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, subcommittee on Public Health, Hospitals, and Charity, October 13, 1921.

²⁴⁹ Farley, Melissa, PhD, "Prostitution, Trafficking, and Cultural Amnesia: What We Must Not Know in Order To Keep the Business of Sexual Exploitation Running Smoothly," *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism*, v. 18:N, p. 104, May 2006.

²⁵⁰ Milloy, Courtland, "Pimp Pop Culture Brushes Aside Girls' Fate," *Washington Post*, March 8, 2006.

accessories, has spawned a variety of new Pimp My's, including: Pimp My Cubicle (for the office), Pimp My Space (for MySpace) and Pimp That Snack (for food). In all these examples, the word "pimp" is used as a synonym for "improve" or "make cooler." In online games like Pimpwar.com, players take on a pimp identity and then "scout for whores," "produce crack (to keep the 'hos happy)", and "discipline 'hos." The player's worth as a pimp is measured in whores ('hos), thugs, crack, weapons, low-riders, etc. Players are encouraged to scout in low-income neighborhoods, and to beat their "hos" as necessary. There is no age requirement to play this game.²⁵¹

A screen shot of the game Pimp War (www.pimpwar.com) shows the activities available for the player, including "discipline hoers" and "produce crack."



Pimping is often glorified in American hip hop music. In rapper 50 Cent's hit song "P.I.M.P." he tells the woman he's selling, "B**ch hit that track, catch a date, and come and pay the kid. Look baby this is simple, you can't see, you f**king with me, you f**king with a P-I-M-P."²⁵² Rapper Jay-Z brought up the increased acceptance of pimping among women in "Dirt Off Ya Shoulder." "If you feeling like a pimp ni**a, go on, brush your shoulders off. Ladies is pimps too, go on, brush your shoulders off."²⁵³

It's very much economics. Why is it that [pimping] is a career option? I look at this 27 year old person, and he looked more like 19 to me, and I'm thinking...[w]hen he was a kid, did anyone say, do you want to be a doctor, lawyer, fireman, or a pimp? Why is this a career option?²⁵⁴

This pimp culture assists in the recruitment of young girls for prostitution. American pimp culture is not confined to the U.S.; it can be found in Amsterdam, Tokyo, and Kingston or anywhere that cable, satellite television, or the radio can reach.

²⁵¹ See <<http://www.pimpwar.com>>. Accessed on January 10, 2007.

²⁵² <<http://www.seeklyrics.com/lyrics/50-Cent/P-I-M-P.html>>.

²⁵³ <<http://www.metrolyrics.com/lyrics/213982/Jay-Z/Dirt-Off-Your-Shoulder>>.

²⁵⁴ Nikki Marr, former Family Court Judge in Atlanta, commenting at the U.S. Mid-Term Review on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children Conference, April 3-4, 2006. Transcript on file with authors.

LAS VEGAS

The problem has been made worse by Las Vegas' aggressive advertising promotions that encourage tourists to come here and sin all they like. We're basically giving a green light for people to come here and exploit women and children.²⁵⁵

— Terri Miller, Coordinator of Anti-Trafficking
League Against Slavery (ATLAS) of the
Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department

Many Americans believe that prostitution is legal in all of Nevada, including Las Vegas, due in no small part to the highly visible, sexually-based advertising. However, this is not the case; prostitution is not legal in Clark County where Las Vegas is located. The state law prohibits the legalization of prostitution in counties with populations of 400,000 residents or more, therefore Las Vegas is excluded with a population of 1.1 million.²⁵⁶

Nevada presents the single American case study of legalized prostitution. As with the other countries examined in this report, the sale of sex has deep historical and cultural roots dating back to America's westward expansion and the role of the mining industry in the 1800s.²⁵⁷ Nevada drew large numbers of single men during the Gold Rush and this helped give rise to a culture of tolerance for commercial sex that has persisted over time. The cycles of "boom and bust" in the industry were unpredictable. When times were good, a party mentality took root that included the purchase of sex. The environment was conducive to prostitution because families seldom settled in these mining areas and men were "on their own" for lengthy periods of time. As a result, an unfortunate code of conduct evolved: "Prostitution, if not prostitutes themselves, became an accepted part of the community from the perspective of working men. ... 'Good girls' on the frontier needed protection; 'bad girls' were sexually available and provided necessary services to frontiersmen."²⁵⁸

Prostitution was almost legalized statewide in 1871 during a huge mining boom. Over the years, support for legalized brothels waxed and waned. Most brothels were closed during World War II by the federal government but reopened their doors as soon as the war was over. In the 1970s, several county commissions passed licensing ordinances and dozens of brothels became legal. Ten counties host 28 brothels that collectively brought in \$40 million in revenue in 2000.²⁵⁹ In 2006, it was estimated that in Las Vegas alone the sex industry and related activities, both legal and illegal, (including lap-dancing, prostitution in strip clubs, commissions to taxi drivers, and tips to valets and bartenders for procuring women, etc.), generate between \$1 and \$5 billion per year.²⁶⁰

Most women working in legal brothels were led there by pimps or by other means of coercion and control, not because they freely chose to work as prostitutes.²⁶¹ The lives of women at Mustang Ranch (since closed) in Storey County, Nevada, were observed and related in a book by an

²⁵⁵ "Do we have a human trafficking problem?" *The Las Vegas Sun*, January 29, 2007.

²⁵⁶ Nevada Revised Statute: 244.345, section 8 <<http://www.leg.state.nv.us/nrs/NRS-244.html>>. Accessed on October 5, 2006.

²⁵⁷ Hausbeck, Kathryn and Barbara Brents, "Inside Nevada's Brothel Industry," in *Sex for Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, and the Sex Industry*, Ronald Weitzer ed. (New York: Rutledge, 2000) pp. 217-41.

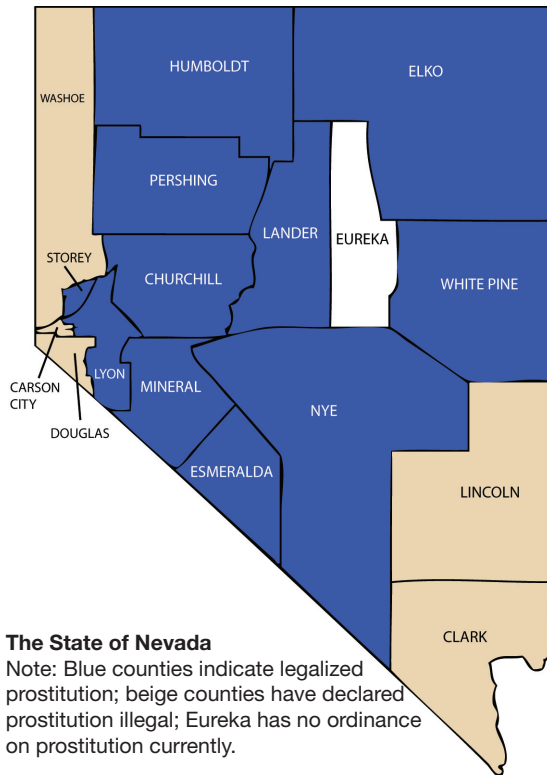
²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

²⁶⁰ This research is forthcoming in a publication on Nevada prostitution/trafficking. Melissa Farley, *Prostitution and Trafficking in Nevada, 2007* (unpublished manuscript, on file with authors). See <<http://www.prostitutionresearch.com>>.

²⁶¹ Farley, Melissa et al., "Prostitution and Trafficking in Nine Countries: An Update on Violence and Post-traumatic Stress Disorder," in *Prostitution, Trafficking, and Traumatic Stress*, Melissa Farley ed. (New York: Haworth Press, 2003) p. 60.

American medical scholar, Alexa Albert.²⁶² She noted that the women at Mustang Ranch were forced by husbands, pimps or dire economic circumstances to prostitute—it was not their preference. Currently, one of the more popular brothels is Sheri's Ranch in Nye County, immediately adjacent to Clark County where Las Vegas is located. Their website, www.sherisranch.com, is explicit and comprehensive. A prospective buyer can peruse photographs of available women and make a reservation online. "Testimonials" of some of the buyers are also available online.



Despite some voices claiming that so-called "sex work" is a legitimate choice made by women, there appears to be a lack of women willing to pursue this "profession". Only 150 persons, including businessmen, self proclaimed "sex workers," academics and social workers from the United States and abroad attended a "sex workers" convention in Las Vegas in July 2006. Sponsored by non-profit organizations promoting "sex work," such as Sex Workers Outreach Project-USA, COYOTE (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics), and Desiree Alliance, attendees discussed topics such as how to promote the decriminalization of prostitution. One woman who demonstrated against the criminalization of prostitution at the conference remarked that consensual sex should not be a crime simply because money is exchanged because "no one is getting hurt."²⁶³ In reality, however, people are getting hurt and lives are being destroyed.

Las Vegas has been described as America's "Disneyland of Sex."²⁶⁴ Its culture of tolerance promotes promiscuity more than anywhere else in the country. One encounters Las Vegas' sexualized culture the minute one enters the airport and waits for baggage to appear at the airport's claim area. Big screen TVs show advertisements for seductive cabaret shows; big casinos vie for attention using more risqué displays on stage. Taxicabs pull up displaying advertisements for various shows with female posteriors and little else. Billboards advertise "shows" and clubs advertise cabaret shows that in essence are equivalent to a glorified strip show. The Internet has assorted advertisements, such as Adult Connection Hotline (www.hotspotsofnevada.com). This site features legal brothels and other sex venues and depicts a man and woman engaged in sexual intercourse. In addition, the local yellow pages are easily accessed and contain over 155 pages of advertisements for massage parlors and escort services with suggestive phrases and photos. Many are costly double page advertisements and claim to "bring the girls direct to you in your hotel room—24 hours." Yellow page advertisements boast of college girls, student nurses, exotic beauties, barely legal wild teens, Russian and Asian teen petites; most advertisements claim to provide "full service" indicating intercourse is available.

²⁶² Albert, Alexa, *Brothel: Mustang Ranch and Its Women* (New York: Random House, 2001).

²⁶³ Kihara, David, "Talkin' Dirty: Sex Industry is Topic at Convention," *Las Vegas Review*, July 14, 2006.

²⁶⁴ *Frommer's Online: Las Vegas*, available at <<http://www.frommers.com/destinations/lasvegas/0013021105.html>>. Accessed on April 2, 2007.

Las Vegas offers no guarantees that you'll strike it rich at a slot machine or a black jack table. However, it does promise that you'll get lucky under the sheets, quite possibly with one of the most beautiful girls you've ever seen...presuming you have some extra cash in your pocket...Prices can range from \$400 to \$1,000 and upwards. As the cop says, "These women are like automobiles—the better looking and better built they are, the higher the price tag."²⁶⁵

In spite of the law prohibiting obscenity in advertising, magazine racks on the streets have free brochures and booklets explicitly advertising various sexual acts for sale, mostly escort services.²⁶⁶ Filipino, Korean, Thai, Russian, Chinese, and Japanese women are advertised. Many of these brochures are published by Southwest Publishing Associates and include: *Night Beat*, *Full Xposure*, *Pussy Cat Magazine*, *Goodtime Girls*, *LV Heat*, and *LV Nude Entertainment Guide*. In addition to these "traditional" means of advertising, picture cards are passed out every night on the streets that depict different types of women: Romanian, Asian, blondes, brunettes, and so on. The great majority of these offer services around the clock and advertise as "full service." Young Latino men and women on the street and especially on the Upper Strip aggressively thrust the cards at passersby, specifically targeting the men.



Advertising: Cards distributed to pedestrians on The Strip in Las Vegas

Strip Advertising has circulates publications advertising a "Swingers Hotline" for adventurous couples and single women—reportedly supplemented by prostituted victims forced to participate in order to ensure variety and supply for these "adventurous couples"—and a voicemail service for "independent contractors."

In Las Vegas, there is no real corner that someone [pimp] owns; they work out of almost all hotels, making dates on phones. Most dates are made through the brochures handed out by panhandlers. Outcall services will hook up a meeting, and call the girl and say "room 212, look for so and so."²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ Sheehan, Jack, *Skin City: Uncovering the Las Vegas Sex Industry* (New York: Harper Paperbacks, 2006) p.164.

²⁶⁶ Nevada Revised Statute: 10.42.090, 10.42.010. <<http://www.leg.state.nv.us/nrs/NRS-244.html>>. Accessed on October 5, 2006.

²⁶⁷ Kevin Morss, Personal interview, March 23, 2006.

Contrary to public idealized images of Las Vegas reinforced by a powerful advertising campaign, the prostituted girls are not typically the advertised college coeds working their way through graduate school; rather, they are the runaways and homeless youth who arrive in droves by buses from nearly every state, especially nearby California. A large number of vulnerable youth are quickly recruited by predators at bus stations, arcades and shopping malls. These predators groom them and force them out into the streets in and around Fremont Street Experience—trafficking victims and victims in the sex tourism market of Las Vegas.²⁶⁸

A short stroll from The Stratosphere Hotel after midnight reveals the true nature of sex markets in Las Vegas. Young and young-looking girls of all races and ethnicities stand on the sidewalks trying to make eye contact with any man walking from casino to casino, mindful of the necessity to earn a minimum amount of money dictated by their pimp.²⁶⁹

A recent police action called “Operation Pimp” did not focus on the acknowledged pimps forcing these many girls to prostitute on the “Tropicana track,” the name for the area where most girls are put out to prostitute. Rather, “Operation Pimp” arrested 185 girls in two days—girls from as far away as Hawaii and Wisconsin. An undercover Metro vice officer stated, “We’re working on the Strip to include hotels. We’re working downtown, we’re looking at the Fremont Strip area, we’re also down the Boulder track which there is a lot of prostitutes in that area.”²⁷⁰ What this action overlooked was the necessity to attack the problem of burgeoning prostitution in Las Vegas by bringing the deterrent effect of prosecuting the consumers and the traffickers of these girls, a large number of whom are juveniles.

Less conspicuous but also present are the non-descript suburban apartments and homes where many foreign women and minors are kept under tight control that are only accessible through the services of a trusted source or local taxi driver. “Operation Jade Blade” executed by the FBI, the former U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, and local police targeted illegal brothels that used Asian women smuggled into the country for a fee as prostitutes.²⁷¹ The women were forced to repay their debt by working as prostitutes. Four men and a woman were arrested in Las Vegas, calling attention to the existence of sexual slavery in Las Vegas.

In recent years, Las Vegas has been identified as a major center for “Asian massage girls” working in strip mall shops throughout Clark County.²⁷² Clark County reported 39 massage establishment licenses in 2005, while Las Vegas reported a jump in recent years from 52 in 2001 to 74 in 2005, but this number does not reflect the true number of massage parlors operating, as Metro Vice police state that many illegal massage parlors are operating in Las Vegas.²⁷³ Precious resources and time are spent conducting background checks on applicants with questionable credentials and nearly nonexistent English language skills. A massage industry source reports that an owner of two parlors commonly transfers his unlicensed girls from one location to the next just ahead of visits

²⁶⁸ STOP Statistics, Crimes Against Youth and Family Bureau of the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department – 1994-2006. On file with authors.

²⁶⁹ SHI Research Report, March 23, 2006. On file with authors.

²⁷⁰ “Operation Pimp” nets prostitutes, local judge,” *KVBC News 3 Las Vegas*, June 27, 2006 <<http://www.kvbc.com/Global/story.asp?S=5081236>>. Accessed on January 15, 2007.

²⁷¹ Tuttle, Greg, “Hearing Delayed in Alleged Prostitute Smuggling,” *Las Vegas Sun*, September 12, 2000.

²⁷² Smith, John L., “Standalone, strip mall massage parlors scrutinized for prostitution,” *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, May 11, 2005 <http://www.reviewjournal.com/lvrj_home/2005/May-11-Wed-2005/news/26491311.html>. Accessed on January 15, 2007.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

from police, reflecting a sophisticated operation. One journalist asks; “In a community with no shortage of violent and property crime, one where sex is the main ingredient in the marketing of its largest and most influential industry, how much personnel should Metro devote to the epidemic of massage-parlor prostitution?”²⁷⁴ This question highlights a problem faced in every location—how to allocate limited resources to tackle the illegal commercial sex markets.

A hotbed for massage businesses can be found on West Sahara Avenue between Rancho Drive and Decatur Boulevard. Unlike the parlors on Paradise Drive, which ultimately make up a kind of miniature red light district, the businesses on Sahara are situated in strip-mall storefronts next to restaurants, bakeries, clothing and hardware stores—all staples of the middle-class neighborhood. In the licensed massage industry, these locations are tantamount to Dante’s *Inferno*.²⁷⁵

Not all tourists in Las Vegas come specifically for the accessible, tolerated commercial sex markets. Amidst the endless stream of visitors to Las Vegas—tour groups, convention-goers, sporting enthusiasts, bachelor parties, gamblers—walk some tourists who simply take advantage of the relaxed moral norms in Las Vegas. Child advocate Marlene Richter says, “Tourists visiting Las Vegas may believe they can engage in child sex tourism without detection or punishment because of the ‘what happens in Vegas, stays in Vegas’ media campaign and attitude.”²⁷⁶ In fact, sometimes what happens in Vegas will stay with a child for life.

ATLANTA

Atlanta has a thriving adult sex industry that grosses five percent of the total business revenue in the city. Unfortunately, Atlanta has developed a national reputation as a sex tourist destination. Internet sex guides and blogs offer comprehensive guides to escort services in Atlanta. Even Craig’s List advertises Atlanta-specific sexual services.²⁷⁷

The city of Atlanta is home to large numbers of entertainment and media enterprises that feed the commercial sex industry and openly and visibly promote them. In 2003, Vivid Entertainment Group, one of the biggest producers of sex videos in the United States, sponsored *A Porn Star Ball* in Atlanta at a popular midtown music club. The Ball was part of a national tour encouraging women to dress as porn stars and awarding prizes for the best costume.²⁷⁸ In 2003, the annual *Player’s Ball* was held in Atlanta, celebrating the city’s status as a major site for the commercial sex industry. The Player’s Ball recognizes pimps for their achievements in the buying and selling of women and girls and also serves as a venue for these transactions.²⁷⁹

Atlanta has a large number of strip clubs concentrated in certain areas of the city. In 2001, the Gold Club was forced to close after criminal charges were brought against its owner, Steve Kaplan. Kaplan entertained famous athletes, such as NBA star Patrick Ewing, in his club, providing them

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ “Thank you, come again,” anonymous blog posting between 2004-2005 <<http://www.vegasmassage.org>>. Accessed on April 2, 2007.

²⁷⁶ “Report on the Mid-Term Review of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in America,” p. 24.

²⁷⁷ Priebe, Alexandra and Cristen Suhr, *Hidden in Plain View: the Commercial Sexual Exploitation Of Girls in Atlanta*. Atlanta Office of the Mayor. Atlanta: [Atlanta Office of the Mayor](http://atlantaofficeofmayor.com), 2005.

²⁷⁸ Kloer, Phil, “Upscale Venders Cash in on Porn: Media giants are reaping huge profits by pushing smut into the American mainstream,” *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, August 17, 2003, available at <<http://www.bettydodson.com/popculturevspornculture.htm>>. Accessed on January 15, 2007.

²⁷⁹ Priebe and Suhr, “Hidden in Plain View,” p.8.

with free drinks and sex.²⁸⁰ Kaplan was charged not only with facilitating prostitution, but also with paying protection money to the Gambino organized crime family. This high profile case put Atlanta in the spotlight for commercial sexual entertainment.

The northern end of Fulton Industrial Boulevard is a well-known haven for prostitution, particularly child prostitution. The lack of scrutiny in this area populated with giant industries such as Coca-Cola, UPS, and Anheuser-Busch but undeveloped beyond the truck stops and budget hotels has allowed the commercial sex markets to flourish. In 2003, a number of entrepreneurs saw the opportunity to capitalize on the sex market already present. In a short time, an “adult fantasy store” called *Inserction* and a more hardcore sex store called *New York Video* opened across the road from each other—both owned by Michael Morrison. Two private swingers clubs, *Trapeze* and *2 Risque*; an S&M nightclub, *Club Kink*; and a strip club called *Club Wax* followed on a side street overlooking Fulton Industrial. Lastly, a sex shop called the *Love Shack* opened across from the entrance to the Charlie Brown Airport. “In roughly a year’s time, the gateway to Fulton County’s most prosperous industrial district had been transformed from a run-down retail pocket into metro Atlanta’s new red-light district—all within sight of the Six Flags roller coasters.”²⁸¹ Fulton, DeKalb, Gwinnett and Cobb counties began seeking ways to eliminate the sex shops and prevent new ones from joining them.²⁸² Nevertheless, the pervasive and accessible commercial sex markets concentrated in this area contribute to the culture of tolerance in Atlanta.

Atlanta’s commercial sex markets advertise sexual services in many brochures, newspapers, and magazines. Mainstream newspapers catering to young professionals regularly contain advertisements and photographs reflecting diversity in the prostituted girls marketed—Asian, Caucasian, and African-American. *Xcitementatlanta*, *Wild Side*, *Girls Inside*, and *Atlanta Late Night* are graphic print marketing with pages of offerings, including dwarf-prostitutes and Atlanta College Coeds. For the Latino community, advertisements for commercial sex venues are placed in the local Latino papers. Similar advertising for other ethnic groups can be found in public places.

The aggressive marketing of the city to organizers of conventions and sporting events to fill the cavernous venues constructed for the Olympic games of 1996 brings with it the demand supporting a market for commercial sex. The Atlanta Convention and Visitors Bureau (ACVB) reported a 2005 convention attendance number of 3,105,256 people, attending 3,068 conventions averaging 3.4 days each. The revenue from these conventions is substantial and vital to Atlanta. The average convention attendee spent \$315 during their time in Atlanta.²⁸³ This amount, however, would not include money spent in the illegal commercial sex markets.

The demand for commercial sex may come with the tourists to Atlanta or it may be generated within the visitor groups after arrival. Marketing is specifically targeted at the conventions where advertisement cards are handed out to convention attendees promising VIP treatment at the various “Gentlemen’s Clubs” in the area, as well as discount entry cards distributed at sporting events, concert and other events.²⁸⁴ One major hotel’s courtesy guest shuttle was observed providing transportation for guests to a strip club, further facilitating the commercial sex markets.²⁸⁵

²⁸⁰ Cabell, Brian, “NBA star Ewing testifies at strip club trial,” [CNN.com](http://www.cnn.com), July 24, 2001. Accessed on January 15, 2007.

²⁸¹ Henry, Scott, “Porn Wars: A sex-shop invasion creates Atlanta’s new red-light district,” [CreativeLoafing.com](http://atlanta.creativefloating.com), October 23, 2003 <<http://atlanta.creativefloating.com/gyrobase/Content?oid=oid%3A13863>>. Accessed on January 13, 2007.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Atlanta Convention & Visitors Bureau (ACVB), [Atlanta Fact Sheet](http://www2.atlantameetings.net/pressroom/pressReleases/Fact%20Sheet.doc), 2005 and 2006 statistics <<http://www2.atlantameetings.net/pressroom/pressReleases/Fact%20Sheet.doc>>. Accessed on April 2, 2007.

²⁸⁴ SHI Research Report, February 24, 2006. On file with authors.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

With this demand comes the need for more girls to satisfy the demand—Atlanta’s victims come heavily in the form of domestic minor girls recruited locally and from other states in America. The “big city” of Atlanta is a siren call to the teenager living in remote towns with television advertising pointing to the riches that await them in the city. The rural youth are easy prey and easy to manipulate. Pimps linger at the bus stations and the MARTA subway stations ready to recruit the new arrivals. Girls are quickly identified, recruited, and often tattooed with the name or symbol of their new pimp. Other girls are urban, street-wise and influenced by the pervasive “pimp culture.”

At the Junkman’s Daughter clothing store, in Atlanta’s Little Five Points, girls go in looking for popular T-shirts that read “Porn Star” across the front, sometimes in girlie cursive, glittery letters...Indeed, real porn actresses are as ubiquitous in MTV music videos as tattoos and tousled hair.²⁸⁶

Fulton County Chief Juvenile Court Judge Nina Hickson presided over a growing number of cases involving sexually exploited girls. Growing concerned about this trend, she commissioned a rigorous and comprehensive research study of Atlanta’s vulnerable youth.²⁸⁷ The study, published in 2005, revealed that one of the main reasons for this increase in exploited girls was the lack of pimp arrests due to Georgia’s weak state laws against pimping minors. “The pimping and pandering of a minor in the state of Georgia was classified as a misdemeanor payable with a \$50 fine. Girls were routinely being criminalized, while their adult exploiters continued to victimize them with impunity.”²⁸⁸

Young African-American girls, in particular, are victimized in the commercial sex markets of Atlanta; 90 percent of their cases are referred to the Center to End Abuse and Sexual Exploitation (CEASE). This center is situated within the office building of the Juvenile Justice Court—tacit recognition of the connection between juvenile delinquency and commercial sexual exploitation of children. The average age of the girls appears to be 14, but girls as young as 10 and 11 have been exploited.²⁸⁹ Sixty percent of the children under the age of 18 live in single-parent households, often female-head households. Thirty-nine percent of all children under 18 live in poverty²⁹⁰—two factors commonly associated with the recruitment of minors by pimps.

Increasingly, children are being used as recruiters for the sex trade in Atlanta after their own commercial sexual exploitation has begun. Because adult pimps are vulnerable to penalties for pimping and pandering, they have begun to rely on their psychologically conditioned and traumatized minor victims for recruiting new victims. They order the girls to find more girls for the “stable,” leaving the pimps safely unseen.

While Atlanta’s sex trafficking market heavily exploits local girls, foreign victims have also been identified. In 2004, the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice formed a multi-disciplinary task force to combat human trafficking in Atlanta, and in several other cities. This recognition by the Department of Justice of the human trafficking occurring in Atlanta has led

²⁸⁶ Kloer, “Upscale Vendors Cash in on Porn: Media giants are reaping huge profits by pushing smut into the American mainstream,” *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*.

²⁸⁷ Priebe and Suhr, “Hidden in Plain View,” p. 8.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid*.

²⁸⁹ Boxill, Nancy A. and Deborah J. Richardson, “A Community’s Response to the Sex Trafficking of Children,” *The Link* (The Child Welfare League of America: Atlanta, GA) winter 2005, pg.1 <<http://www.cwla.org/programs/juvenilejustice/thelink2005winter.pdf>>. Accessed on March 23, 2007.

²⁹⁰ Priebe and Suhr, “Hidden in Plain View,” p.15.

to increased law enforcement activity, both in investigations of foreign trafficking and domestic minor trafficking.

Several prominent cases have been brought against traffickers of foreign victims in Atlanta. In 1998, a large trafficking network of East and Southeast Asian massage parlors and apartment brothels also containing slot machines was discovered. Advertising was primarily through Chinese language newspapers or word of mouth; one brothel owner ran a restaurant where he would solicit buyers and provide transportation from the restaurant to the brothel.²⁹¹ In 2004, the U.S. Department of Justice indicted three Mexican brothers who allegedly promised Mexican women jobs and marriage partners in the Atlanta area but instead physically forced and threatened them into prostitution upon arrival, keeping all the proceeds.²⁹² The youngest victim was 16 years old.²⁹³ In 2005, three Brazilian nationals living in Dunwoody, Georgia were indicted for sex trafficking four young Brazilian women. The women were smuggled into the U.S. through Mexico and forced to prostitute in Sandy Springs, Georgia. The victims were told they would have legitimate jobs in sales, as maids or as waitresses, but when they arrived they were told there were no jobs and they would have to be prostitutes. The traffickers also took sexually provocative photos of the women and told them that their families would find out they were prostitutes if they did not do as they were told. The victims were held in several apartments, including 1305 and 1507 Tree Lodge Parkway, Dunwoody, Georgia and 550 Abernathy Road, Atlanta, Georgia. The 550 Abernathy Road location was used primarily as a brothel apartment where the victims were prostituted.²⁹⁴

Foreign victims of trafficking are kept typically within the closed ethnic brothels in the urban and suburban areas where high concentrations of recent immigrants reside, such as areas of Dunwoody and Sandy Springs. This puts the highly secretive systems outside of view and hidden from law enforcement who struggle with the language and immigration status barriers of the ethnic populations, many of whom are terrified and untrusting of any officials as a result of their immigration status, threats by their traffickers or experiences in their home countries.

Prostitution of minors in Atlanta was revealed in the high profile court proceedings of *United States of America v. Charles Floyd Pipkins and Andrew Moore* in which the U.S. Attorney's Office charged a Racketeering Influenced Corrupt Organizations (RICO) violation in 2004.²⁹⁵ The defendants and their co-conspirators operated a child prostitution ring in southwest Atlanta in an area around Metropolitan Avenue known as the "track" and transported juveniles for prostitution in a manner that constituted an "enterprise" subjecting it to a RICO scrutiny.

The court noted the mechanics of the pimping enterprise in its decision as follows: "[E]ach pimp kept a stable of prostitutes with a well-defined pecking order. At the top of each pimp's organization was his "bottom girl" [note: "bottom b**ch" is the street term], a trusted and experienced girl in the stable or a female associate. Next in the pimp's chair of command was a "wife-in-law," a prostitute with supervisory duties similar to those of the "bottom girl." A pimp's bottom girl or

²⁹¹ Raymond Ph.D., Janice G. and Donna M Hughes, Ph.D., "Sex Trafficking of Women in the United States: International and Domestic Trends," April 17, 2001 <<http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/187774.pdf>>. Accessed on December 12, 2006.

²⁹² U.S. Department of Justice press release, "Justice Department Announces Indictment of Three Brothers on Sex Trafficking Charges," January 28, 2004 available at <http://www.usdoj.gov/opa/pr/2004/January/04_crt_048.htm>. Accessed on December 12, 2006.

²⁹³ Hart, Ariel, "Civil Rights Charges In Prostitution Case," *New York Times*, January 29, 2004 <<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=940CE7DE1038F93AA15752C0A9629C8B63&n=Top%2fReference%2fTimes%20Topics%2fSubjects%2fP%2fP%2fRostitution>>. Accessed on December 12, 2006.

²⁹⁴ U.S. Department of Justice press release, "3 Indicted for Sex Trafficking of Brazilian Women," December 22, 2005, available at <<http://www.usdoj.gov/usao/gan/press/2005/12-22-2005b.html>>. Accessed on December 12, 2006.

²⁹⁵ *United States of America vs. Charles Floyd Pipkins, a.k.a. Sir Charles, Andrew Moore, jr., a.k.a. Batman*, 378 F.3d 1281 (11th Cir. 2004), August 2, 2004.

wife-in-law often worked the track in his stead, running interference for and collecting money from the pimp's other prostitutes. The bottom girl also looked after the pimp's affairs if the pimp was out of town, incarcerated, or otherwise unavailable. Prostitutes turned tricks in adult clubs, in parking lots, on mattresses behind local businesses, in cars, in motel rooms, or in rooming houses. A prostitute charged \$30.00 to \$80.00 for each trick and was required to turn over all the money to her pimp. Some pimps gave their prostitutes a "quota" to earn over \$1,000 a night."²⁹⁶ As a result, Pipkins and Moore got a total of 70 years in prison and captured the attention of officials in Atlanta and other cities across America.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—BALTIMORE CORRIDOR

The nation's capitol is also plagued with the sexual exploitation and enslavement of domestic and foreign girls for commercial sexual exploitation. Washington, D.C. is a city of stark contrasts. It is at once the center of international politics with emissaries from 185 countries and home to indigent persons and neglected, vulnerable youth. This combination of rich and poor, well-educated and not, are characteristics that ultimately contribute to the demand for markets of commercial sex and exploitation. As is often true in other cities, the poor become the victims and the powerful become the buyers.

At the low end of the economic scale are the women and girls who entered into commercial sex in the 1980s when the crack cocaine epidemic took hold of D.C. Cocaine kingpin Rafael Edmonds, supplied by the Medellin Cartel of Colombia, controlled an organization that served twenty drug markets in D.C. in the 1980s.²⁹⁷ The resulting addiction—confined primarily to the poorer African-American community—fueled prostitution because female addicts needed money to pay for crack. Selling one's body was the easiest way to earn it.²⁹⁸ In so doing, many women contracted HIV.²⁹⁹ Indeed, then-Mayor of the city, Marion Barry, enhanced the culture of tolerance for drugs and sex when he was caught on film smoking crack cocaine in a hotel room with a woman in 1990.³⁰⁰

This drug-fueled commercial sex market extended north into Baltimore which continues to feel the gripping effects of heroin and crack addictions throughout the downtown area. Baltimore maintains its own commercial sex markets which draw deeply from the poor areas which never recovered from the closure of several large industries in the last two decades. Areas such as Brooklyn, lying immediately off of a major exit for Interstate 95, provide easy access for drivers headed north or south to the many young girls being prostituted by the pimps who have gained control over them. There are four known "strips" in Baltimore City where child trafficking victims are notably present: Brooklyn (southwest Baltimore); Garrison Boulevard (northwest Baltimore); Harford Road (northeast Baltimore); and Patterson Park/Dundalk (southeast Baltimore).³⁰¹ In addition, the rundown, low rent areas just miles from attractions such as the Inner Harbor and Camden Yards in downtown Baltimore, provide venues for brothels in which girls are trapped, sometimes forcibly, and sold for sex. Not far from those attractions is the area called "The Block," which

²⁹⁶ U.S. v. Pipkins, 378 F.3d 1281 (11th Cir. 2004).

²⁹⁷ Burton, Philip, Personal interview, June 14, 2004. Burton is a 22- year veteran and former narcotics and homicide investigator for the Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D.C.

²⁹⁸ Sharpe, Tanya Telfair, *Behind the Eight Ball: Sex for Crack Cocaine Exchange and Poor Black Women* (New York: Haworth Press) 2005.

²⁹⁹ Sugarman, K., "Crack Cocaine and HIV in the Inner City," *New England Journal of Medicine*, May 1995, vol. 332, no. 18, pp. 1233-1235.

³⁰⁰ LaFraniere, Sharon, "Barry Arrested on Cocaine Charges in Undercover FBI, Police Operation," *Washington Post*, January 19, 1990 <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/local/longterm/tours/scandal/barry.htm>>. Accessed on January 20, 2007.

³⁰¹ Sidney Ford, MSW, Director of YANA, Personal interview, February 21, 2006.

is populated with strip clubs and adult venues. Field research netted information that foreign trafficking victims were forced to work the strip clubs and prostitute to the clients.

Though Washington, D.C. has undergone considerable rejuvenation and redevelopment in the past decade, making it a more desirable place to live, work, and play, commercial sex remains a reality. Venues are well secured and hidden, involving trafficked foreign women, and increasingly domestic minors, many of whom are local. Street prostitution still occurs in certain well-known areas, including 12th Street and Massachusetts Avenue; between 10th Street and 15th Street from F to M Streets; on 13th Street north of Florida Avenue; and on 11th Street between O and P Streets. Prostitution is also evident at certain hotels, such as The President Hotel on New York Avenue where minors loiter together with adult women in the parking lot nightly and are reportedly being prostituted.³⁰²

Several recent criminal cases make the point that sex trafficking is thriving in D.C. In August of 2006, several brothels disguised as “spas” and “massage parlors” were raided by a combined Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) operation that uncovered a Korean-operated human trafficking ring spanning most of the East Coast.³⁰³ Thirty-one persons were arrested on charges of human trafficking and the interstate transportation of women for the purpose of prostitution (Mann Act). Twenty brothels were raided from Rhode Island to North Carolina, including one in Baltimore and five in the District. More than 70 Korean women were rescued. The women allegedly were given phony U.S. passports or smuggled across from Mexico or Canada.³⁰⁴ D.C. resident Jaron Brice was arrested for trafficking in girls and sentenced to thirty years in prison in the fall of 2006. Between March 2004 and May 2005, Brice recruited women and girls to engage in prostitution in the District of Columbia, Maryland, New York, and Florida.³⁰⁵ In neighboring Bowie, Maryland, a high school football coach was indicted on child sex trafficking in the fall of 2006.³⁰⁶ Aaron Burroughs repeatedly trafficked a juvenile from Maryland to the District of Columbia for the purposes of prostitution with other adult males, including a police officer. Burroughs also engaged in sex acts with her. His sentencing is pending.

Advertising commercial sexual services in Washington, D.C. is somewhat more discreet than Atlanta or Las Vegas but venues can be found easily by word of mouth or in local papers’ classified and sports sections of major national papers as well as local, free papers from across the political and social spectrum.

As the center of power and politics in the United States, and consequently also tourism, millions of persons pass through D.C. each year. Indeed, Washington, D.C. is one of the most transient cities in the United States. At any given time, thousands of men and women are residing in Washington for political, cultural, recreational, business, educational or other reasons. The length of their stay can range from a few days to several years. Diplomats, students,

³⁰² SHI Research Report, February 14, 2006. On file with authors.

³⁰³ Lengel, Allen, “31 Arrested in Reputed Korean Sex-Slave Trafficking along East Coast,” *Washington Post*, August 17, 2006.

³⁰⁴ Winter, Michael, “East Coast sex-smuggling ring busted,” *USA Today*, August 16, 2006, available at <http://blogs.usatoday.com/ondeadline/2006/08/east_coast_sexs.html>. Accessed on January 15, 2007.

³⁰⁵ U.S. Department of Justice press release, “Federal Grand Jury indicts District man for interstate sex trafficking and rape of children and adult females,” October 5, 2005 <http://www.usdoj.gov/criminal/ceos/Press%20Releases/DC%20Brice%20Index%20PR_100505.pdf> Accessed on January 15, 2007; U.S. Department of Justice press release, “Violent Pimp sentenced to 30 years in prison for prostituting teenage girls,” September 15, 2006 <http://www.usdoj.gov/usao/dc/Press_Releases/2006_Archives/Sep_2006/06337.html>. Accessed January 15, 2007. See also,

Debbi Wilgoren, “Area Juvenile Sex Rings Targeting using Anti-Trafficking Laws,” *Washington Post*, November 1, 2006.

³⁰⁶ U.S. Department of Justice press release, “Federal Grand Jury indicts former volunteer high school football coach on child sex trafficking and child sexual abuse charges,” October 20, 2006 <<http://washingtondc.fbi.gov/dojpressrel/pressrel06/wfo102006b.htm>>. Accessed January 15, 2007.

visiting scholars, legislators and political appointees spend a few months to years in the city at a time. This creates a very attractive target base for the advertisers of commercial sexual services on the Internet. Like the “corporate warriors” in Japan, men in power or seeking power are attracted to the idea of “conquest” and “adventure” to satisfy their “intense” sexual needs.³⁰⁷ Men residing in D.C. could also be drawn into purchasing the amply advertised commercial sexual services.

CONCLUSION

PUBLIC AWARENESS

Public awareness campaigns have been undertaken in the United States, particularly on the issue of trafficking foreign women into the U.S., in movies, documentaries, and awareness campaigns, such as the Department of Health and Human Services’ (HHS) Rescue and Restore Campaign which encourages people to “look beneath the surface” at the exploitation that may be occurring. The next wave of public awareness must include the issue of domestic minor sex trafficking. In every city the misidentification of juveniles as criminal prostitutes rather than victims of sex trafficking is occurring. Even when first responders attempt to identify the minor as a victim, services available are not clearly outlined and access to safe and secure shelter is limited at best. The change in language from “child prostitute” to “trafficked child” is imperative and now underway through efforts and support from the Department of Justice and advocates at the local levels. The example of the “lot lizard” label, similar to hooker, ’ho, or child prostitute robs a victim of correct identification which would legally entitle her to assistance and justice.

Most public awareness campaigns have not had a focus on the reduction of demand for sex trafficking or sex tourism. The U.S. Mid-Term Review on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in America survey conducted in 2006 found that only 40% of NGO survey respondents had conducted demand-focused awareness campaigns in their communities.³⁰⁸ One approach to demand-focused awareness campaigns has been The Defenders USA project. A project of Shared Hope International, The Defenders USA aims to shift the responsibility for addressing demand to men, encouraging moral supervision over other men to say no to commercial sex and related commercial sexual activities, especially pornography which pervades society through the Internet.³⁰⁹

LEGISLATION

Powerful federal legislation has been adopted in the U.S. criminalizing trafficking and sex tourism, as well as providing for victim assistance. In addition, many states have adopted anti-trafficking legislation.³¹⁰ The TVPA 2005 calls on the government to state what actions are being taken to reduce international sex tourism, as well as eliminate the need to prove force, fraud and coercion when a minor is involved in a commercial sex act. Also, the powerful PROTECT Act, especially Section 105 criminalizing child sex tourism and establishing jurisdiction over citizens and residents of the U.S. who travel abroad to exploit children, is a very positive step in protecting children who by legal definition cannot consent to prostitution.³¹¹

³⁰⁷ Bender, Kimberly and Rich Furman, “The Implications of Sex Tourism on Men’s Social, Psychological, and Physical Health,” The Qualitative Report, vol. 9, no. 2, June 2004, pp.181-182.

³⁰⁸ “Report on the Mid-Term Review of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in America,” p. 41.

³⁰⁹ <<http://www.thedefendersusa.org>>. Accessed on April 11, 2007.

³¹⁰ <http://216.128.14.181/polarisproject/programs_p3/State_p3.htm>. Accessed on April 11, 2007.

³¹¹ See The Protection Project website for complete discussions and analysis of relevant legislation: <<http://www.protectionproject.org>>. Accessed on April 11, 2007.

Though the TVPRA 2005 authorized funding for programs to provide services and shelters to minor domestic victims, those funds have not been appropriated to date.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

There has been considerable improvement in the law enforcement response to human trafficking crimes over the past few years as precedents have been created and awareness of the problem has increased through print and other media. The typology of the buyer of child sex is well documented in psychological and medical studies and used to train law enforcement in investigating crimes involving abused children.³¹² The National Center on Missing and Exploited Children (NCMEC) worked together with the FBI and the U.S. Department of Justice, Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section (CEOS) to form the Innocence Lost Task Forces which have brought many cases against traffickers of minors in the U.S. in places as diverse as Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C.

Another response by the U.S. Department of Justice has been the formation and funding of Human Trafficking Task Forces in 42 locations. Originally geared primarily toward the issue of foreign victim trafficking into the U.S., increased attention has been brought to bear on the problem of domestic minor victims with the emphasis of commercially sexually exploited youth as trafficking victims under the TVPRA 2005. However, NGO and service provider counterparts to the Task Forces have only received funding to provide services to foreign victims. Shared Hope International is implementing a grant from the U.S. Department of Justice to work with ten Task Forces on increasing identification and delivery of services to domestic minor trafficking victims in the U.S. Field research is revealing that this population is far greater in number than foreign victims and very hard to identify. While domestic victims have some access to services and funds, they lack advocates, specialized services and delivery of services. Efforts are being made to expand the investigation of trafficking crimes to domestic commercial sexual exploitation; due to the difficulties in proving specific elements of the crime, these investigations have mostly been child prostitution cases, rather than trafficking of American adult victims.

PREVENTION AND RESTORATIVE FACILITIES

Non-Governmental Organizations

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) fight sex tourism and sex trafficking markets, both domestically and internationally. In April 2006, 48 NGOs participated together with government agencies and individual activists and academia in the U.S. Mid-Term Review on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in America Conference, organized by Shared Hope International, The Protection Project at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), and ECPAT-USA. The participants shared information on their prevention and awareness programs, legislative initiatives, research, and rescue and rehabilitation work. Sixty-two percent of participating organizations responding to the pre-conference survey had created public awareness campaigns and 54% had been involved in developing proactive legislation. However, only 20% were able to provide physical shelter to child victims of sex trafficking, citing lack of resources and funding as major obstacles.³¹³ It has also been noted that state child protective services regulations can effectively prevent the provision of shelter and services to a prostituted child.³¹⁴

³¹² See handbooks for US law enforcement, "Child Molesters Who Abduct," (1995) and "Child Molesters: A Behavioral Analysis," (National Center for Missing and Exploited Children: Alexandria, VA., 1992).

³¹³ "Report on the Mid-Term Review of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in America," pp. 29-30.

³¹⁴ Ugarte, et al, "Prostitution and Trafficking of Women and Children from Mexico to the United States," in Prostitution, Trafficking, and Traumatic Stress.

Adult domestic victims of sex trafficking are often victims of domestic violence as well, and can frequently be found in the domestic violence shelters across the U.S. Identification of these women is more difficult and presents a current challenge in the anti-trafficking community. However, once identified, adult domestic victims of trafficking may be easier to shelter as domestic violence shelters can accommodate adults more readily than juveniles.

Foreign victims of sex trafficking are entitled to a range of services, including shelter and medical and psychological care, among other services. Nonetheless, the resources to provide these services are limited and do not provide for the complete level of care and shelter needed. The Office for Victims of Crimes (OVC) at the U.S. Department of Justice is provided funds for services for foreign victims from the time they are encountered by law enforcement to the time they are certified by the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) as a victim of severe forms of trafficking—a period of time called “pre-certification.”³¹⁵ Once certified, services are then made available through ORR/DHHS.³¹⁶ Among the benefits for victims of trafficking is the ability to apply for a T-Visa, a non-immigrant visa permitting the victim ultimately to apply for permanent status.

Johns Schools

The issue of demand as a primary driver in the marketplaces of sex trafficking and sex tourism has led to research and investigation into ways to reduce the demand, thereby reducing the trafficking. One such deterrent is a diversion program established in several cities, in which men arrested for buying commercial sex can choose to participate in Johns Schools aimed at educating the buyers of commercial sex on the trauma and victimization suffered by the girls providing the commercial sexual services.³¹⁷ These programs are a community-based response to addressing the demand of local buyers. It is acknowledged that the Johns Schools are a post-victimization response and a secondary deterrence as the criminal sexual exploitation is already committed, but the schools provide an opportunity for the victims to be heard and may have an effect on the recidivism of offenders.³¹⁸

The Challenge of Technology

I started [in prostitution] when I was 14 and I think I was 15 when I did the Internet. I gave the company a false ID and the people who worked for the company took the pictures. I paid with a credit card to keep the site going. The site had a number with prices and days available, then they [buyer] would give me a call, and I had my own motel room. I would normally sleep with 6-7 men a night.³¹⁹

— Domestic Minor Sex Trafficking Survivor, Las Vegas

³¹⁵ The Office of Victims of Crime (OVC) of the U.S. Department of Justice maintains a website detailing all of the resources and services available to victims and survivors of sex trafficking: <<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/ovc/help/tip.htm>>. Accessed on April 11, 2007.

³¹⁶ The Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) of the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) maintains a website detailing all of the resources and services available to victims and survivors of sex trafficking after certification of status: <<http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/orr/programs/astvict.htm>>. Accessed on April 11, 2007.

³¹⁷ See Desiree Alliance website <http://www.desireealliance.org/resources/enddemand.htm#_ftn6> for a contrary view on diversion programs, particularly Johns Schools. Accessed on April 11, 2007.

³¹⁸ Monto, Martin A. and Steve Garcia, “Recidivism Among the Customers of Female Street Prostitutes: Do Intervention Programs Help?” *Western Criminology Review* 3 (2). [Online] 2001 <<http://wcr.sonoma.edu/v3n2/monto.html>>. Accessed on April 11, 2007.

³¹⁹ “Annie,” Sex trafficking survivor, Personal interview, March 23, 2006.

As one of the most technologically advanced countries in the world, the U.S. faces the challenge of combating facilitation of sex tourism and sex trafficking markets by technology. Widespread availability and affordability of digital cameras and video cameras makes the production of child pornography and pornography involving sex trafficking victims easy and inexpensive. With nearly 70 percent of Americans accessing the Internet, the accessibility to commercial sex markets on the Internet is staggering.³²⁰ The Internet is often used as a broker for women in escort agencies and to attract possible buyers. Cell phones also allow facilitators to take a picture of the victim and send it to a prospective buyer, all with relative anonymity.



³²⁰ [Internet World Stats: Usage and Population Statistics as of March 10, 2007 <http://www.Internetworldstats.com/stats2.htm>](http://www.Internetworldstats.com/stats2.htm). Accessed on April 11, 2007.

JAPAN





Red circles indicate primary areas of Shared Hope International field research.

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GLOSSARY OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE TERMS

Boryokudan: Violence group; term used interchangeably with yakuza and said to control the sex industry.

Chosensoren: An organization that manages and lobbies on behalf of the North Korean Japanese community in Japan and is a conduit for communication between Japan and North Korea.

Deriheru: Delivery Health; euphemism for escort services.

Dohan: The act of accompanying a customer to a pub or restaurant; prostitution.

Goto-gumi: Organized crime group and branch of *Yamaguchi-gumi* involved in sex trade.

Hoanka: Division of Police that maintains public order and enforces entertainment laws.

Ianfu: Comfort women.

Inagawakai: Organized crime syndicate.

Jinshinbaibai: Human Trafficking.

Fuei-hou: Entertainment Law.

Keiyukai: Japanese Police Officers' Associated Board; a non-profit organization managed mainly by retired police officers. It was established in 1990 and has several offices in the area between Tokyo and Kyoto. It is comprised of eleven divisions, including a Criminal Investigation Department. Keiyukai appears to be offering protection to some businesses in exchange for donations or corporate sponsorship. It is also suggested that Keiyukai works with traffickers to appease the enforcement side of the government. The website cites the following supporting organizations: UN International Children's Emergency Fund, UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, and the Japan-Korea Tunnel Research Institute. Goldman Sachs of Japan is one of the key contributors. The Board handles and procures jobs for people in the Seikatsuanzenbu whose activities include policing the pachinko parlors, many of which are owned by North Koreans.

Kigyoshatei: Corporate blood brothers.

Kobayashikai: Organized crime group.

Kodokai: Northern Japanese organized crime group.

Kokuryukai: Okinawa-based organized crime group.

Kokusai-Kogyo 21: Front company for the *Goto-gumi* organized crime group.

Kokusui-kai: Small gang in Tokyo that merged with *Yamaguchi-gumi*.

Kyosekai: Hiroshima-based organized crime group.

Mizu shobai: Water Trade.

NKryu: The NK Way meaning intercourse, illegal by Japanese law, is permitted.

Seifuzoki: Sexual Services.

Shobadai: Fee for doing business in an area controlled by organized crime.

Sumiyoshikai: Third most powerful OC Syndicate.

Tobashi: Women unable to get dates or “leftovers” who are dispatched to seedy venues.

Teiho: Private information, tip.

Tengai: The act of going on a date outside of a pub or restaurant.

Toshikumiai: Investor Unions used to launder KK21 illegal profits.

Terekura: Telephone Dating Club.

Yamaguchi-gumi: Presently Japan’s largest and most violent OC Syndicate.

Zengeiren (*Zenkoku-gaikokujin-jigyosha-renraki-kyogikai*): All Japan Association of Businesses employing Foreign Entertainers registered as a non-governmental organization established in 1996. It is a lobbying group for over 400 businesses that employ foreign entertainers believed to be involved in human trafficking. In spite of its “independent” status it has strong ties to the Liberal Democratic Party and has lobbied against the anti-trafficking legislation in Japan.

JAPAN:

CULTURE AND CRIME PROMOTE COMMERCIAL MARKETS OF SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

Japan has the single largest sex market of Asian women in the world, and Japanese male sex tourists traveling abroad outnumber those of other nations.³²¹

From the Philippines where I work, 80,000 women go to Japan as “entertainers.” Yet everyone knows that they are engaging in activities not permitted by their “hostess” visas...Although this is human trafficking, it is done openly. Just because there is demand, is it acceptable for the government to support activities like this that compromise the dignity of our country?³²²

The case of Japan is intriguing and disturbing. Not only has Japan participated in sanctioned sex trafficking as a destination country for decades, today it is perhaps the largest market for commercial sex in the world among developed countries. It is estimated the sex industry accounts for one percent to three percent of Japan’s gross national product (GNP), an amount equal to Japan’s defense budget.³²³ Moreover, attitudinal surveys of highly-educated Japanese sex buyers show that in spite of the prevalence and long history of sex trafficking, they are the “least likely to have read or heard reports about the trafficking of women and children into the sex industry.”³²⁴

Unlike the other markets investigated in this report, Japan is unique in its nearly universal acceptance and tolerance of the sex trade and lack of interest in criminalizing the buyers and helping the severely exploited women and girls. Though the Netherlands is known for tolerating prostitution and commercial sex, its laws are strict, its NGOs active, and its citizenry alarmed when women are exploited. Japan, however, has few activists working on behalf of victims because they fear they will be targeted by organized crime. Field researchers found that only one out of five NGO activists in Japan were willing to speak about their work, citing fears of retaliation by Japanese organized crime (the Yakuza).

³²¹ Yoshiaki, Yoshimi, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military during World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000) p.18.

³²² Filipina Translator and Source, Personal interview, April 8, 2006.

³²³ *Report: Biregional Meeting on Condom Promotion in High-Risk Situations in Asia*, Convened by: World Health Organization Regional Office for the Western Pacific and Regional Office for South-East Asia (Hanoi, Viet Nam: 13-17 August 2001) (World Health Organization: Regional Office for the Western Pacific, Manila, Philippines) August 2001, p.4. <http://www.wpro.who.int/NR/rdonlyres/14F03139-989E-448B-91DF-344BD214FBB2/0/Biregional_Meeting_on_Condom_Promotion_VTN-Aug2001.pdf>; Nitara Nivatvongs, “Philippines and Human Traffic,” *Trade Environment Database Case Studies*, vol.12, no.1, January 2002 (Case Study No. 661: December 2001). <<http://www.american.edu/TED/philippine-traffic.htm>>. Accessed on April 1, 2006. See also Mitsuko Horiuchi and Roger Plant, *Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation in Japan* (Geneva: IOM, 2004) pp. 33-34. These figures were derived from estimates by the Asian Wall Street Journal in 2000 and the London Financial Times in 2003.

³²⁴ Anderson, Bridget and Julia Davidson, *Is Human Trafficking Demand Driven? A Multi-Country Pilot Study* (Geneva: International Organization of Migration, 2003) p.23.

Human trafficking is often seen as a form of economic assistance to impoverished peoples. Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) lawmaker Koki Kobayashi stated that visas allow Filipinos to earn good wages and support their families back home.³²⁵ Nonetheless, the government did allow amendments to the immigration law limiting the number of entertainment visas issued each year in a nod to the abuse of these visas by human traffickers. These amendments have not had a noticeable effect on curbing the recruitment and exploitation of foreign women, as traffickers have found loopholes and exceptions.

Shinzo Abe, the Prime Minister of Japan, has spoken at *Zengeiren* (The All-Japan Association of Business—a lobbying group that provides access to political officials in the LDP and acts as a liaison between traffickers and the LDP) meetings and has loose connections with this group. Born after World War II, Abe represents a new generation of ultra-conservative Japanese politicians who deny that women were forced into prostitution during the war.³²⁶ In addition, he refuses to recognize and apologize to the women who were forced to provide sexual favors to Japanese soldiers in the 1930s and 1940s. Abe's intransigence on this issue has sparked considerable protest in South Korea and angered American legislators who have demanded his apology. The U.S. Congress attempted to apply pressure on Abe, with the introduction of House Resolution 121 in January 2007:

Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the Government of Japan should formally acknowledge, apologize, and accept historical responsibility in a clear and unequivocal manner for its Imperial Armed Force's coercion of young women into sexual slavery, known to the world as 'comfort women', during its colonial and wartime occupation of Asia and the Pacific Islands from the 1930s through the duration of World War II.³²⁷

A rapid growth in immigrant women to Japan occurred in the 1980s and is traced to three factors: a boom in the entertainment industry, decline in Japanese birth rates, and a shortage of brides.³²⁸ The entertainment industry grew in step with the economic boom and required labor that native Japanese were unwilling to perform. Therefore, migrant women from impoverished countries, such as the Philippines and Thailand filled, the gap.

The birth rate dropped from 2.1 children per family in the 1970s to 1.39 per family in 1997.³²⁹ A recent report suggests that the current population of 127 million will drop to 100 million by 2050 if trends continue and will shrink the nation's labor force by one third.³³⁰ In addition, there is now a "bride shortage," or decline in domestic marriages in Japan as women are choosing careers over marriage, or putting off marriage until later in life. Imported foreign women are filling this gap and marriages of Japanese men to foreign women, particularly Thai, Filipina, and Korean women, has increased steadily.

³²⁵ Onishi, Norimitsu, "Japan aims to stop trafficking in prostitutes," *International Herald Tribune*, February 17, 2005.

³²⁶ Mizoguchi, Kozo, "Abe's Violent Denial: Japan's Prime Minister and the 'Comfort Women'," *Associated Press*, March 1, 2007, reprinted Intro. by Alexis Dudden, *Japan Focus*, March 2, 2007

<<http://www.japanfocus.org/products/details/2368>>; Katharine H.S. Moon, "'Holier Than Thou Politics of Comfort Women Apology,'" *ABC News*, April 4, 2007 <<http://abcnews.go.com/International/story?id=3007091&page=1>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

³²⁷ H.Res. 121 IH, available at <<http://www.thomas.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?c110:H.RES.121>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

³²⁸ Watanabe, Satoko, "Women's Struggle and Female Migration into Japan in the 1980s-1990s," Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Texas: Austin, TX, 2000) chapter 5.

³²⁹ Watanabe, p.179.

³³⁰ McNeil, David, "Japan's Laborious Dilemma," *YaleGlobal*, January 13, 2005 <<http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/article.print?id=5130>>. Accessed on October 5, 2006.

For the past fifteen years, Japan's economy has been "stagnating," according to some analysts and "in recession" according to others.³³¹ Among the many obstacles to improved economic growth in Japan is the lack of transparency that exists in the banking and business sectors.³³² In the immediate postwar period corporations hired *sokaiya* or "thugs" to intimidate shareholders from asking questions at annual meetings.³³³ Though many *sokaiya* have disappeared, the mentality of "privileged information" persists and this plays into the cultural tolerance, not only of commercial sex in general, but of the links between politics, business, and organized crime in facilitating it.

THE MARKETPLACE

COMMERCIAL SEX MARKETS

Japan's commercial sex markets are diverse and widespread. The major red light districts of Tokyo's Prefecture include Kabukicho, Ikebukuro, Roppongi and Shibuya. Roppongi caters to foreign buyers and features Caucasian and Filipina women for commercial sexual services. Nagano City, in Nagano Prefecture, features Thai women and children. The location of the sex clubs in Shinjuku provides easy access for businessmen who want sex before or after work as they are conveniently and strategically located near the highest volume train station in Tokyo. The sex venues are interwoven with other commercial attractions, including the largest theater in the district and a large mall. The seamless integration of diverse attractions is evidence of how "normal" this is to the Japanese and how a culture of tolerance has been developed and maintained. In Japan, the word *fuzoku* is often used to describe sex market venues; shops which support the sex industry or shops run by organized crime providing commercial sex services. Soaplands, pink salons, telephone clubs, date club, health clubs, and delivery health are but a few of the many commercial sexual venues available in Japan.

The Kabukicho area located in Shinjuku contains a mix of diversions and activities that eliminate the potential stigma of entering a red light district. Kabukicho houses strip clubs and regular dance clubs, hostess bars and pubs, pachinko (gambling) parlors and arcades, movie theaters, batting cages and love booths. The perimeter of the red light area is conveniently lined with love hotels where one can rent rooms by the hour.

³³¹ Karlsson, Stefan, "The Future of the World Economy," Ludwig von Mises Institute, posted April 29, 2005 <<http://www.mises.org/story/1804>>; Hans Sennholz, "A Japanese Lesson," Ludwig von Mises Institute, posted on February 8, 2002 <<http://www.mises.org/story/889>>; Mike Head, "Tensions mount as Asian fallout spreads: Tokyo rejects US demands on economy," *World Socialist Web Site*, March 24, 1998 <<http://www.wsws.org/news/1998/mar1998/jpn-m24.shtml>>. Accessed on April 11, 2007.

³³² Lincoln, Edward J., *Arthritic Japan: The Slow Pace of Economic Reform* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 2001) p. 84.

³³³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

OBSERVED VENUES OF COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

Industry Type or Club	Location	Product	Buyer	Characteristic
Soaplands Formerly known as Turkish Bath (<i>Toroku</i>) ³³⁴	Tokyo (including Kabukicho, Ikebukuro, Roppongi, Shibuya)			Massage Parlors, “Health Club” tends to be connected with sexual services
Teahouses (<i>Cho-no-ma</i>)	Tokyo, Yokohama city	Thai women		Restaurant in the front of building and beds for sexual entertainment in the back, Raided by police
Hallo Hallo <i>aka Club 8686</i>	Urayasu, Chiba	Filipina women who speak Tagali	Japanese (only)	Philippine Restaurant on First Floor, brothel upstairs
Nishi Kawaguchi Music Theater of Tokyo	Saitama Prefecture (near the Kawaguchi Japan Railroad Station)			Newest trafficking venue, Raided by police
Club Bronze	Roppongi (Located in TSK building)	Russian (second floor)		Allegedly a <i>Yamaguchi-gumi</i> run club
Club Desire	Tokyo (Located in Baishum building)	Foreign		
Club Cadeau	Roppongi	Foreign (Israeli, Hungarian, Polish, Australian)		
Club Rupa, Club Anettai, Tropical Mate-Sexy Pub, Club Batavia, Club Cutie- Honey, Club Athena		Foreign (Polish, Russian, Romanian, Filipina)	Japanese, German, and American	Allegedly run by One Step/Next Group
P-Museme (Philippine Daughters)	Uduisudanji area	Filipina	Japanese (only)	Reservation required for service
The Russian Pub	Ueno area	Russian		

Popular venues for commercial sex are the **take-out bars** found throughout the city. Inside the bars, women wait to entertain male guests as hostesses. Buyers drink or sit with them and pay the *mamasan* (madam) when they have selected a girl for sexual services. Then the girl is sent to the customer’s hotel room or escorted to a nearby hotel to complete the transaction. Because sex is not performed on the premises, it is called “take out.” The buyers often take the girls to hourly rate hotels called “love hotels.” The Uguisudani area is one of Japan’s biggest love hotel neighborhoods with 61 hotels in a small radius around the subway station. Seventy-two love hotels are located in Shibuya and 75 in Shinjuku.³³⁵

Sex Clubs proliferate openly or secretly. Many Filipino clubs located in Chiba Prefecture pose as restaurants serving Philippine cuisine, but on closer inspection have facilities upstairs for commercial sex.³³⁶ Typically, the Filipina women come to Japan on a six-month entertainer visa. For the first three months they “apprentice” in the club and if they meet the standards of the manager, they

³³⁴ Fujiwara, Shihoko, Polaris Project JCAT, “Demand and Sex Trafficking in Japan,” presentation at Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, November 1, 2006. It has been reported that Soaplands are controlled more strictly than other venues and the Japanese government is no longer issuing licenses to open new baths.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Field Research Report, April 11, 2006

can start meeting buyers outside of the club (*tengai*) and bringing them back to the club (*dohan*) for sex. Many of the women are reportedly starved in the process so that when they are permitted to begin *dohan*, their appetite will motivate them to be aggressive in luring men. Unlike the take-out bars, where the girls are managed by madams, here the girls mostly are managed by men.³³⁷

Nishi Kawaguchi Music Theater of Tokyo contains a sex club located within the theater. This was one of the newest venues exploiting alleged trafficking victims. Located in Saitama Prefecture near the Kawaguchi Japan Railroad station, this area of Saitama is infamous for its illegal sex shops where intercourse is available. In fact, Japanese slang, *NKryu* (The NK Way) means the *Nishi Kawaguchi Way*: street slang for a sex shop illegally offering full intercourse, rather than the legally approved sexual activities.³³⁸ In May and June of 2006, several sex clubs, including NK Music Theater, were raided by Japanese police and shut down after reports of the illegal activity were made to the police.³³⁹ This reactionary response to the illegal commercial sex markets seems to typify the Japanese enforcement, in contrast to the proactive investigations encouraged in other countries, such as the United States.

A Nigerian man who worked at a prostitution bar provided information on the operations of a sex club. The bar, called *Jasmine*, was closed in May 2006 by the Tokyo Metropolitan Police. He explained that the girls were brought to Japan on three month tourist visas. The girls were expected to prostitute to repay fabricated costs incurred by the traffickers in bringing the girls to Japan. Typically, the girls would be required to prostitute two to three times per night, seven nights per week. The girls receive \$3,000-5,000 at the end of their “contract.” Most girls averaged ten to twenty customers per week; the owner of the club (who is a Kokuuikai organized crime group corporate blood-brother) was prostituting ten girls. The cost to the customer for taking the girl to his hotel or home for intercourse was ¥35,000-40,000 (\$300 USD), while overnight stays averaged ¥70,000-80,000 (\$630 USD). A conservative estimate for the club’s monthly income would be roughly ¥21,000,000 (\$205,000 USD). Various operational expenses were subsidized by table charges and drink charges while the customers sit with the women and choose which one to buy. Since the firm only must pay the women ¥1,000 (\$8 USD) per day for food and incidentals, their overhead is low and even with the final payment, which is a form of “hush money,” the firm still makes a tremendous profit.³⁴⁰ This club could be said to be typical of small-scale trafficking operations.

Teahouses (*Cho-no-ma*) derive from the *Geisha* model of providing non-sexual entertainment, but currently offer full sexual services. They resemble restaurants in the front of the building with beds for sexual entertainment in the back. There is an area near Tokyo, in Yokohama City, with a large concentration of *Cho-no-ma* bars specializing in Thai women.

If time is of the essence, oral sex can be obtained at a **Pink Salon** (coffee shop). One’s sexual demands can be met in no more than thirty minutes for about ¥3,000 (\$25 USD).³⁴¹

³³⁷ Filipina Translator and Source, Personal interview, April 8, 2006.

³³⁸ Field Research Report, May 25, 2006. On file with authors.

³³⁹ Field Research Report, June 30, 2006. On file with authors. Among other clubs raided: Club Jasmine, Club Ange, Blonde (Roppongi), and Garden of Eden (Shibuya Ward).

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Tokyo Journalist, Personal interview, January 2006.

The police did a reluctant raid of [cho-no-ma bars in Yokohama City] and shut down many of the bars. As usual, there was only a cursory investigation and none of the organized crime involved was investigated. This is typical of the Japanese law enforcement of anti-trafficking laws: close the clubs, arrest the low-level manager, do no follow up investigation, and while announcing that organized crime is behind the operations, fail to arrest any organized crime members.³⁴²

— Journalist in Tokyo

In keeping with the Japanese cultural perspective of equating sexual services with health, **Soaplands** are a popular venue in Yoshiwara. There are approximately 144 soaplands in this small neighborhood of Sensoku with names like *King's Club*, *Silky Doll*, *American Cheergirls*, *Chocolat*, *Candygirl*, *Boujalais Nouveau*, or named after places such as *Santa Fe*, *Darling Harbor*, *Broadway*, and *Caesar's Palace*, with décor to match. The area has been described as a “mini Las Vegas.”³⁴³ This area is a good distance from the train stations; therefore the Soaplands will often pick up their customers at the station in Mercedes with tinted windows for privacy.³⁴⁴ The Soaplands are essentially “assisted baths” wherein for about \$165-\$250 the buyer chooses a bathing companion from an array of women displayed. The encounter often leads to sex. Soaplands are usually closed to foreigners because of a widespread belief that foreigners carry AIDS. Soaplands tend to be more expensive than other establishments because their staff is “skilled.”³⁴⁵

The western area of Shinjuku is host to many **gay clubs** where foreign and local men can have sex with Japanese boys. These clubs are popular with German and American men. According to a former police reporter who covers that district, “Sodomy between men or a man and a woman is not generally against the law. If the boy is under 15, the older male could be arrested for violations of the child welfare laws. In the entire two years since the law was passed only one case has been brought in which that law was invoked.”³⁴⁶ This underscores the weaknesses of the Japanese law that do little to protect victims—especially minors—from sexual exploitation that does not involve vaginal penetration. The following clubs allegedly use minor boys for commercial sexual services: *14 Kaikan Asakusa*, *Shinjuku Spartacus*, *Treffpunkt*, and *Janny's*. These are located in the Taito-ku, Ikebukuro, and Shinjuku districts of Tokyo.³⁴⁷

Another unique feature of the Japanese sex markets is the **love booths**. These booths range in size from a small cubicle to a large department store. The walls are lined with pictures of women who are identified by a number, most of them extremely graphic featuring girls in child-like poses with school-girl costumes or girls being physically exploited. The pictures are categorized by the type of girl or type of costume that she is wearing or willing to wear. Once the buyer has made a selection he then can go to a computer (also available in the booth) and enter in the corresponding number to make contact with the girl for the purpose of arranging a meeting at one of the local hostess clubs or love hotels.³⁴⁸

³⁴² Field Research Report, 22 February 2006. On file with authors.

³⁴³ Fujiwara, “Demand and sex trafficking in Japan,” presentation.

³⁴⁴ Fujiwara, “Demand and sex trafficking in Japan,” presentation.

³⁴⁵ “Soaplands: Getting Dirty in the Bath,” *Japan for the Uninvited Online*, August 15, 2006 <www.japanfortheuninvited.com/articles/soaplands/html>. Accessed on April 11, 2007.

³⁴⁶ Former police officer in Shinjuku, Personal interview, June 30, 2006.

³⁴⁷ Field Research Report, June 30, 2006. On file with authors.



Buyers shopping at a Love Booth in Tokyo.

Escort services, as we have found in each of the examined countries, are becoming the primary commercial sex market. “Delivery Health”, and other permutations of the word health, is often used to refer to escort services in Japan.³⁴⁹ The trend in Japan is to use escort services to meet with women in unmarked apartments and secret places. Additionally, clubs are becoming clandestine to avoid the investigation and scrutiny of officials. *Bunny’s Club* in Shibuya offers sexual services with foreign women, but no longer publishes their address; rather, they require customers to meet at a designated location from which they can be led to the brothel.³⁵⁰ Again, as in other countries examined, the Internet and cellular telephone provide the anonymity and mobility that buyers of commercial sex seek. Moreover, this allows for the exploitation of trafficked victims within the otherwise regulated and tolerated commercial sex industry. The mobile commercial sex market eliminates costs and overhead of the typical sex club—all that is needed is a few rooms at a hotel or an apartment, a telephone number, and a few girls to sell.³⁵¹

Compensated Dating or Supportive Relationship (*enjo kosai*): Many junior high and high school girls are providing sexual favors to middle-aged Japanese men in exchange for money or gifts in an arrangement referred to as **compensated dating**.³⁵² Girls who engage in this exchange desire cash to buy fashionable and expensive clothing, independence from their parents, feelings of empowerment, an end to loneliness, or act to reject their parents’ values.³⁵³ Though many Japanese citizens may view this trend as limited to selfish, materialistic teenage girls, in the eyes of anti-trafficking activists and analysts this is a clear example of child trafficking for sexual purposes, punishable under Japanese law and the UN Protocol.

³⁴⁸ SHI Research Report, August 15, 2005. On file with authors.

³⁴⁹ “Delivery sex services rolling out tempty, tasty treats,” *Mainichi Daily News*, October 16, 2001 <<http://mdn.mainichi-msn.co.jp/waiwai/archive/news/2001/10/20011016p2g00m0dm999000c.html>>. Accessed on November 17, 2006.

³⁵⁰ Field Research Report, June 30, 2006. On file with authors.

³⁵¹ Fujiwara, “Demand and sex trafficking in Japan,” presentation; also Makiko Hotoda, Fair Fund, email to Samantha Healy, January 24, 2007. On file with authors.

Related to *enjo kosai* is the *te-re-ku-ra* or “**telephone club**” that schoolgirls can call and pick up clients. Advertisements for these clubs are found on packages of tissue paper distributed on the streets. The process for the telephone clubs ranges from “chat line” style telephone sex to actual sexual contact in a planned location. A new form of soliciting for sex is through **matchmaking club websites** (*Deai-kei*). SHI’s conversations with Japanese citizens in the past year have revealed that these phenomena are widespread among high school aged girls and according to a government survey “about a quarter of female students aged from 12 to 15 have taken part in telephone chat clubs.”³⁵⁴ In an effort to curb the proliferation and use of chat and matchmaking clubs, the government prohibited advertisement of the clubs within 200 yards of high schools.³⁵⁵ Telephone clubs were also prohibited from admitting anyone less than 18 years of age. Prime Minister Abe recently stated that his top priority is to reform the educational system in part by providing 24 hour hotlines for children and youth needing advice and creating after-school community activities to combat alienation and isolation.³⁵⁶ This move presents an interesting contrast to his lack of serious efforts to address foreign and adult trafficking victims. These prevention efforts should reduce the participation of domestic girls in the commercial sex markets.



Advertisements for a Telephone Club in Tokyo. January 2006

As for the men who are requesting their services, most psychologists see this as a way to regain control over their lives and gain self-confidence by seeking out an innocent, young girl. Japanese men are very controlled in their lives and relationships with young women give them a release from this.³⁵⁷

³⁵² Hotoda, email of January 24, 2007.

³⁵³ Fukuda, Atsuko, “Feminism and Empowerment in Japan: Compensated Dating,” Masters Thesis (Dalhousie University: Nova Scotia, Canada, 2003) pp. 89-104.

³⁵⁴ “Tokyo cracks down on teenage prostitution ‘clubs,’” *Reuters*, August 13, 1997.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ Press conference by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe after the closing of the 165th Session of the Diet, December 19, 2006 <http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/abespeech/2006/12/19kaiken_e.html>. Accessed on April 19, 2007.

³⁵⁷ Ogasawara, Yuko, *Office Ladies and Salaried Men: Power, Gender, and Work in Japanese Companies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

RECRUITMENT AND ADVERTISING

Recruiting and advertising are done openly and aggressively throughout Tokyo. Flyers and tissue packets with phone numbers of escort agencies and addresses of sex clubs are thrust at pedestrians swarming in and out of subway entrances. Managers of clubs stand outside and beckon to passersby to visit their clubs, enjoy an overpriced drink, and relax with the women working inside. Magazines such as *Dick* advertise sexual services of foreign women being prostituted in Japan. Like so many others, it is a valuable tool for recruiting women into the sex industry. The combined advertising and recruitment is indicative of the openness and acceptance of the commercial sex industry in Japan. One issue of *Dick* contained information about “The Russian Pub” that allegedly



Photo: Magazines like *Dick* advertise to buyers and recruit women for commercial sex markets.

provided prostitution, though its advertising was not that explicit.³⁵⁸ This magazine is available readily at most newsstands throughout Tokyo.

Traffickers typically recruit victims through popular women’s magazines by listing the “job descriptions”—the sexual services to be performed, the pay, the location, and the hours. The advertisements for these positions are extremely graphic and explicit. Coupon books and sports newspapers sold at newsstands on the train and in many magazines sold in convenience stores are also used as recruitment tools.³⁵⁹ In 2003, a book was published by Koji Sugi entitled “Tokyo Foreign Prostitutes” that can be obtained easily on the Internet at <http://www.amazon.co.jp>. The book describes the author’s experiences picking up and “savoring” foreign prostitutes and indicates where the reader can locate these women.

Recruitment may also be accomplished through means of force, fraud and coercion in many instances, particularly in the neighboring impoverished countries of Asia. One example is that of a Filipina woman whose musical band of seven females was recruited in the Philippines to perform in *Club 8686* in the Chiba prefecture, Japan. The group was recruited in the Philippines by a Filipina woman who allegedly works for a Japanese company. The girls received entertainer visas, but upon their arrival in Japan it became clear that in addition to performing in the club, they would be required to work at the *Hostess Club 8686* (a.k.a. *Hallo Hallo*)—a club closed to foreigners—in the evenings. Though she spoke not a word of Japanese, she was expected to flirt with the Japanese customers and eventually “date” the men outside of the club (*tengai*) for a period of two to three months. She was controlled by the club owners and forced to sleep on the premises of the club. She and her fellow band members performed during the day, but were separated and all worked the sex clubs at night. This method was quite effective because they were not breaking the law. In fact, the girls were performing concerts and therefore “entertainers” in the strictest definition of the word. The traffickers held her salary, promising to pay her at the end of three months when she was to return home.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁸ Field Research Report, January 30, 2006. On file with authors.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ SHI Research Report, August 2, 2006; “Maria,” Translator, Personal interview, April 8, 2006; and audio interview with victim in Tagalog language with English translations. On file with authors.

Fake marriages are an increasingly common way to bring girls into Japan for the commercial sex markets. As the Immigration Office has increased scrutiny of applications for entertainment visas, fake marriages have presented an easier way to import women and children for commercial sexual exploitation.

They used to bring in lots of women on entertainment visas; however, with the recent immigration crackdowns, fake marriages are now the preferred way to get women to work in the industry. They still get some women in as computer programmers, magicians, and other esoteric visas. *Zengeiren* and *Kokusia Kogyo 21* (KK21) are both involved in procuring fake marriage licenses. Typically, they recruit homeless men in the Shinjuku area to provide their registration for use in setting up fake marriages. Most of these guys would sign the documents for a case of sake. They have their notional “head” offices in Shizuoka, the heart of Yamaguchi territory, but their real office is in Ebisu.³⁶¹

— Former Senior Executive within the
Yamaguchi-gumi Moigumi crime syndicate

The Filipina women who have arranged marriages become indentured servants because they must pay off the debt of a fake marriage that costs anywhere from \$3,000 to \$30,000. Though the married women rarely are restrained or limited in their movements, younger single women are not allowed to stray from the premises to which they are assigned. *One Step*, a human resources recruitment agency and alleged front for human trafficking, is reportedly managing over one hundred foreign women in the country. Newly recruited women are watched closely and not allowed to go out into the city.³⁶²

ADVERTISING TO THE BUYER

The advertising and delivery of women and children to the buyers appear blatant, graphic and institutionalized in Japan. *The Wild Horse Club* provides menus that list the prices for various sex acts alongside cocktails and snacks. For extra convenience, there is a small booth with a shower curtain for privacy in the middle of the small lounge where the sex act can be redeemed. Outside, A-frame signs line the streets and signs are posted in windows of commercial sex venues showing the services and daily offerings of girls available to buy for sex acts in painful detail to the unnumbered eye. Of special note is the absence of intercourse as a service, though it is widely known that it is available in spite of the law criminalizing intercourse. One example of a window menu of services is on the following page.

³⁶¹ Anonymous former senior member of Yamagumi-guchi crime syndicate, Personal interview, May 10, 2006. On file with authors.

³⁶² Field Research Report, February 22, 2006. On file with authors.

PRICE AND SERVICE MENU OFFERED BY P-MUSUME:

Number of Females	Time (in minutes)	Charge (in Yen)
1	80	20,000 ¥
1	100	24,000 ¥
1	120	30,000 ¥
1	90	40,000 ¥
3 person course	90	43,000 ¥
3 person course	120	52,000 ¥
1	All Night (10PM to 5AM)	60,000 ¥
1	11PM to 5AM	55,000 ¥

Additional Options	Cost
Costume (School Girl, Nurse, etc.) Note: costumes appear to be provided by the company.	Free
Pink Rotor (use of a small vibrator on the woman and/or having her masturbate with the vibrator)	Free
Ripping off the panties or stockings.	1,000 ¥
Taking home the panties	2,000 ¥
Seisui (Golden Shower)	2,000 ¥
Wakamezake (pouring sake into the woman's vagina and then drinking it)	2,000 ¥

Menus of sex services like this one are posted in commercial sex venue windows.

VICTIMS

The statistics available for trafficked persons into Japan are wide-ranging and unreliable. For example, according to the Japanese police agency, 43 Colombian women were trafficked to Japan in 2003, yet unofficial sources suggest a number closer to 2,000-3,000.³⁶³ These discrepancies exist for other countries as well, including Thailand and the Philippines. Perhaps most outlandish are the Japanese police figures for trafficked victims from the Philippines in 2003: zero. Considering the preferential treatment of Filipino immigrants and visitors to Japan (209,525 Filipino nationals entered Japan in 2003) and the dependence of the inflows from foreign exchange that provides 85 percent of the Philippine's gross earnings, such statistics are implausible.³⁶⁴ Hidenori provides his own statistics that are most likely closer to reality:

Today about 130,000 show dancers and singers enter Japan yearly as "entertainers." Among those, about 80,000 are from the Philippines. There are about 10,000 bars, clubs, and pubs that they are said to perform in...Behind all this, organized crime syndicates are gaining enormous legitimate profit through these activities.³⁶⁵

³⁶³ "Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation in Japan," International Labor Organization in collaboration with Special Action Programme to Combat Forced Labour (Geneva: ILO, 2005) p. 20.

³⁶⁴ "Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation in Japan," pp.19-21.

³⁶⁵ Hidenori, Sakanaka, "Philippine Pubs: A Ten Year War," *Nyukansenki*, Chapter 3, (Japan: 2005), translated to English by Lisa Kimura; Sakanaka Hidenori, Personal interview, February 2006.

According to the Japanese National Police Agency, investigators uncovered numerous Indonesian sex slaves for the first time in 2005.³⁶⁶ A total of 117 foreign women were recovered in 2005, an increase of 40 from the previous year. Forty-four Indonesian women were recovered, followed by women from the Philippines and Thailand. The number of Thai victims fell for the first time from 48 to 21. The majority of the victims were between 15 and 20, including a 13-year-old Thai national. Forty-six of the victims were rescued (an increase of four from the previous year) through alerts from embassies, regional immigration bureaus and nongovernmental organizations. The International Office on Migration (IOM) reported that between May 2005 and March 2006, IOM rescued and returned to their home countries 67 victims, including 33 Filipinos, 25 Indonesians, six Thais, two Taiwanese, and one Colombian.³⁶⁷

Eighty-one alleged cases of human trafficking were processed in 2005 involving 83 suspects: 57 of them restaurant owners, and 26 of them brokers. At least 70 percent entered Japan with entertainer visas or short-stay visas, while others were brought in illegally. Most of the women were forced to work at hostess bars for low wages and brokers charged them heavily for forged documents, airfare and forced them into debt.

Japan has imposed tighter requirements for visas given to “entertainers” in response to the *Trafficking in Persons Report 2004* by the U.S. Department of State that states many women who arrived legally, for example under entertainer visas, were drawn into sex slavery. The new law, known as the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act, came into effect in March 2005 and requires greater documentation for entertainment visas, thereby restricting the numbers of foreigners permitted to stay in Japan.³⁶⁸ The new legislation sparked protests outside the Japanese embassy in Manila amid fears that remittances, a valuable source of revenue for the Philippines, would be slashed. In 2005, 134,879 people entered Japan on an entertainer status. Of them, 82,741 came from the Philippines, 8,277 from China and 6,704 from the United States.³⁶⁹ There are great discrepancies in the numbers. A Japanese NGO director claims that 2004 immigration statistics reveal that 135,000 Filipinos came to Japan on entertainer visas and 52,000 Thai nationals came on tourist visas.³⁷⁰ These examples illustrate the large discrepancies in trafficking statistics.³⁷¹

According to the Philippine Embassy in Japan, there are two main groups of Filipino nationals who are trafficked: women who are entertainers and a smaller group of *Nikkeijin* (second generation Japanese-Filipinos born in the Philippines). *Nikkeijin* are assisted by foundations in the Philippines in their search for work in Japan, but they are also known to be fronts for trafficking with links to organized crime.

A Thai victim who was held in Kanagawa Prefecture, Yokohama City, forced to prostitute though on an entertainer visa, described the horrific conditions under which she lived.³⁷² She was forced to purchase her every day supplies, such as noodles, tampons, and shampoo from the “extortionate mamasans” who marked up their prices by 200 percent. They were under such strict control that they could not leave the brothel for more than ten minutes each day.

³⁶⁶ The following updated figures on human trafficking crime in Japan were drawn from press reports issued February 9, 2006 by *Agence France* and *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*.

³⁶⁷ Carina Morita, IOM Mission for Japan, Personal interview, April 13, 2006.

³⁶⁸ <<http://www.moj.go.jp/ENGLISH/information/icrr-01.html>>. The law was translated from Japanese to English for SHI by the Japanese legal expert at the Library of Congress, January 2006.

³⁶⁹ *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, February 9, 2006.

³⁷⁰ NGO worker, Personal interview, May 12, 2006.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² Field Research Report, May 12, 2006. On file with authors.

Russian and Ukrainian women are also victims in the commercial sex markets in Japan, as revealed in our field observations and news reports. In August 2006, Japanese police arrested four businessmen for trafficking forty Russian and Ukrainian women from the Khabarovsk, in the Russian Far East to Japan.³⁷³ The four men allegedly sent false documents to the Japanese Consulate requesting visas for a group of specialists to attend a training seminar at one of Tokyo's professional schools. Russian women can be seen in many of the sex clubs throughout Tokyo, often managed by African men.

BUYERS

The customers are not blue collar, poorly educated, but middle-class and often college educated. A former prostitute at the Garden of Eden claimed that her customers included a producer at NHK (BBC of Japan), the information technology director of a major international bank, foreign stock brokers, and senior executives of several major insurance firms.³⁷⁴

Observed buyers of sexual services in urban Tokyo included Japanese male, white-collar workers; college students; and foreign businessmen who often rationalize their behavior as a form of economic assistance—a rationale heard by buyers consistently in every country researched. One buyer who was confronted by field researchers in Tokyo stated, *"It's like donating money to UNICEF: If the girls even get a fraction of what I pay, they're doing a hell of a lot better than they would in their own country. If it was really so bad, the Japanese cops would close them down, right?"*³⁷⁵ Rural locations were not observed and may present a working class, male buyer population that was not presented in the more expensive establishments in Tokyo.

In Roppongi, there is an expensive brothel, located at Minatoku, Roppongi 5-1-10 Gadogan building, second floor, which formerly featured all Hungarian women, but now employs only Chinese women. This establishment has been used regularly by foreign investment bankers and security company employees (including U.S.) for personal services as well as to entertain customers. The prices range from ¥ 50,000-60,000 per visit and the club keeps roughly ten to twelve women on the premises. According to financial reports and strippers working in the area, clients included employees of HSBC, Goldman Sachs, and Merrill Lynch.³⁷⁶

According to sources on the ground in Japan, a trend to exclude foreign buyers from sex clubs outside of Roppongi developed shortly after the U.S. began pressuring the Japanese Government to address its role in the human trafficking occurring within its country. The Japanese response was to exclude foreigners who may judge this culture of tolerance as unacceptable rather than to bring enforcement to this crime. There is also a fear that foreigners may become suspicious, sympathetic and ultimately assist trafficked women in escaping, as they might be able to communicate with them in languages unknown to the Japanese club owners. The Japanese are known to discriminate against foreigners and want to maintain venues that are open to Japanese citizens only.³⁷⁷ The exclusion of foreigners is blatant and institutionalized as seen in the photo on the next page of a sign posted clearly on the door of a Love Booth in Shinjuku.

³⁷³ "Japanese Men Traffic Women from Russia, Ukraine," *RIA Novosti*, August 29, 2006 <<http://en.rian.ru/world/20060829/53282047-print.html>>. Accessed on April 19, 2007.

³⁷⁴ Field Research Report, June 30, 2006. On file with authors.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁷ Tokyo Journalist, Personal interview, April 24, 2006.



Sign prohibiting foreigners from Love Booth in Shinjuku, Tokyo.

American military stationed in Japan: Recent reports reveal that the Yokosuka Naval Base in the Kanagawa Prefecture of Japan is home to a large number of military buyers of Japanese girls for commercial sexual services.³⁷⁸ Although U.S. federal law now punishes soldiers and sailors who buy commercial sex, few have been penalized.³⁷⁹

In Okinawa, the Kokuryukai OCG brings lots of women from the Philippines and Guam. There's quite a market. A lot of navy guys (American) are willing to pay for prostitutes and they like women that speak English.³⁸⁰

FACILITATION

Facilitation of sex trafficking is performed by a variety of active and passive players. Criminal entrepreneurs and tightly organized criminal syndicates facilitate sex trafficking in a very active, direct way, while taxicab drivers, corrupt law enforcement, transporters, and front organizations play important but somewhat less obvious roles in the perpetuation of the system. Simple neglect and disinterest are rampant, as summed up by one detective:

[Kanagawa Prefecture's Brothels] are a real eye sore. When NGOs from America and other countries would come to Japan, this was always the place they would stop. The NPA (National Police Association) actually put pressure on us to raid this place. I was personally for it, but I'm just one guy. **Frankly, most of us police officers don't really care about the plight of foreign women in Japan.**³⁸¹ (*emphasis added*)

— Detective with Kanagawa Prefecture Police
May 2006

³⁷⁸ Batdorff, Allison, "Despite Ban, Yokosuka Sex Trade Flourishes," *Stars and Stripes*, October 25, 2006.

³⁷⁹ Since late 2006, patronizing prostitution is a specific, chargeable offense for service members under Article 134 of the U.S. military's statutory criminal law, the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ).

³⁸⁰ Anonymous former senior member of Yamagumi-guchi crime syndicate, Personal interview, May 10, 2006, reported in Field Research Report, May 12, 2006. On file with authors.

³⁸¹ Field Research Report, May 12, 2006, quoting anonymous detective in Kanagawa Police Prefecture. On file with authors.

In Japan, it is not unusual for some institutional facilitators to offer daycare services for married women and single mothers. In addition, alibi services provide a fake business name and phone number to leave as a contact point so that women working in the sex industry can give the appearance of having legitimate jobs.³⁸²

Integrated organizations combine the recruitment of women and children through coercion and fraud. For example, the *P-Musume* (translation: *Philippine Daughters*), is a business allegedly involved in trafficking women from the Philippines to Japan. It offers a “health” service through which the club owners dispatch Filipina women to customers for sexual services. *P-Musume* publishes and distributes a mail order catalog and maintains an active website. Reservations for their sexual services are required and are restricted to Japanese customers. The owner/manager of *P-Musume* is believed to be associated with *Kotokai*, a local yakuza group aligned with *Yamaguchi-gumi*.³⁸³

Large amounts of money drive the commercial sex markets in Japan. Illustrative is the case of Keiichi Morishita. Morishita was arrested on suspicion of running sex service establishments in an area of Tokyo where they are banned, and later he was released.³⁸⁴ Known as the “King of the Sex Industry,” Morishita set up numerous dummy companies under the names of his subordinates and each subordinate managed ten sex-related businesses, including escort services in the Shinjuku and Ikebukuro districts of Tokyo. Police estimate that Morishita made about ¥80 million per month or ¥1 billion (\$8.5 million) per annum. Undoubtedly, this business operated under the protection of yakuza alleged to control these territories of Tokyo closely.

CASE STUDIES OF FACILITATION

X Corporation recruits foreign women to work at restaurants and clubs that normally cater to a Japanese male-only crowd. Established in 1988, X Corp. employs fifteen people (one woman and fourteen men). While their business license is for Electronics Communications, they are also registered with the Bureau of Immigration as a foreign entertainer recruiting company. They advertise on the Internet and pay handling fees to overseas agents in Manila and other cities. Their annual income is estimated at ¥45,000,000 (\$450,000). The company transfers money through a federally insured international bank to pay brokers in the Philippines and Japan. X Corp. is affiliated with several sexual service establishments, some of which were raided and closed by Tokyo Immigration and Police early in 2006.³⁸⁵

Y Corporation places advertisements on the firm’s website. Girls are promised \$4,000 per month; they pay an agent in their home country \$3,000 up front and then the company pays for airfare and apartment costs. The girls receive tourist visas and are warned that if they “complain to the police,” nothing will happen because they will be arrested as illegal. “We own the police here,” the company states.³⁸⁶ The girls are told to arrive at the hotel in Roppongi. Afterwards, a facilitator transports them to an apartment and takes their passports “for safekeeping.” When they arrive they are told that they will be performing sexual services. They are deceived into thinking they will work as high-class hostesses for rich business clients. The girls are saddled with an astronomical airfare bill and told that they must work off their debt. The girls work a full shift at a sex parlor or as a prostitute and are paid \$100 per day of which \$75 is reclaimed by the handlers as “fees.”³⁸⁷

³⁸² Field Research Report, February 22, 2006. On file with authors.

³⁸³ Field Research Report, March 10, 2006. On file with authors.

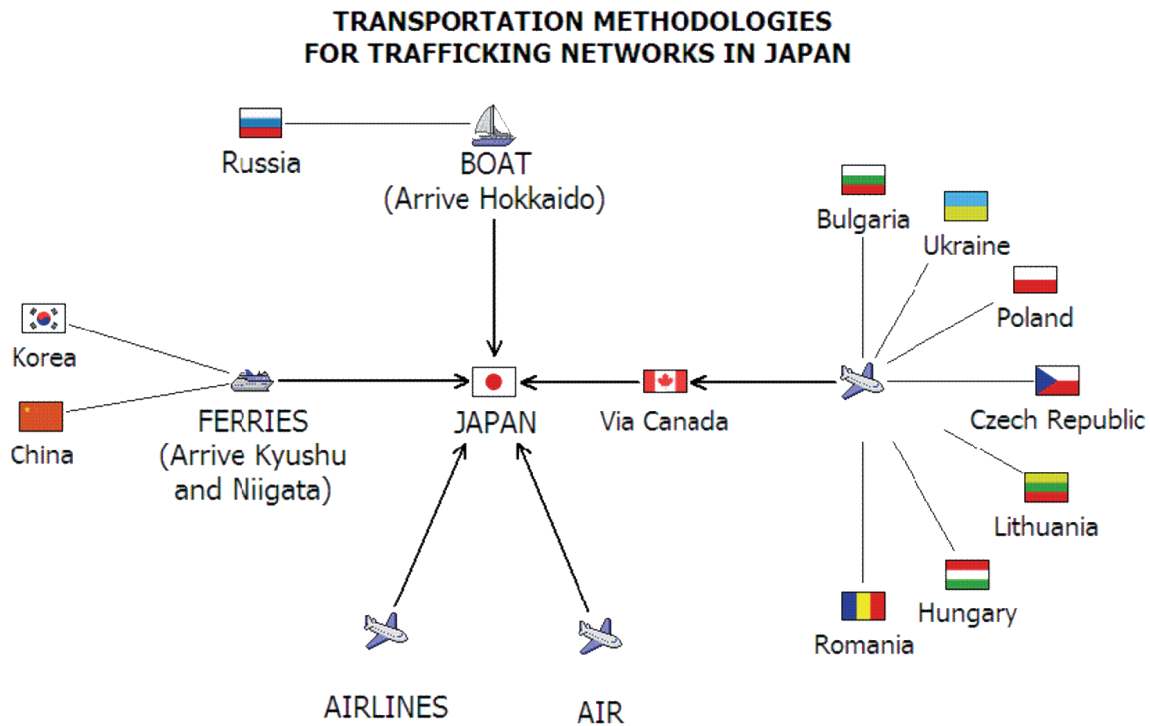
³⁸⁴ “Sex Industry King used Dummy Companies to conceal Enormous Money Flow,” *Asahi Shimbun*, February 3, 2006.

³⁸⁵ Field Research Report, February 22, 2006. On file with authors.

³⁸⁶ Field Research Report, April 3, 2006. On file with authors.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

Field research also revealed the following transportation routes for trafficking into Japan:



I have a word for the male customers who think we (immigration officials) are bullies. Are you aware that organized crime is behind this ‘entertainment’ and that the money earned from this entertainment supports organized crime? Do you understand that you are party to the spread of an evil that could be considered a domestic version of the ‘Southeast Asia Prostitution Tours’ that previously scandalized the nation?³⁸⁸

— Former Japanese immigration official

Kadokura Takashi, a securities analyst and former staffer of the Japanese Economy Research Center, published an often cited white paper in 2002 called “Japan’s Underground Economy” and has revised it each year since. He estimates the amount of money made in trafficking foreign women for street prostitution, as being as high as ¥26,400,000,000 per year (approximately \$216,000,000). He gives this as a conservative estimate. It is worth noting this estimate does not include all forms of trafficking either. Sources in the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department who have worked several trafficking cases, claim that the average broker of foreign women (those bringing the women into the country on behalf of merchants of the sex industry) have an annual income of ¥35,000,000 per year, or roughly \$300,000.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁸ Hidenori, “Philippine Pubs: A Ten Year War,” *Nyukansenki*; Hidenori, Personal interview, February 2006.

³⁸⁹ Field Research Report, June 30, 2006. On file with authors.

The profits from this enterprise encourage participation in the marketplaces. Ultimately, organized crime holds its finger on the pulse of all those involved directly or through a *shobadai* (fee for doing business in organized crime territory), despite reported efforts by government to eliminate the yakuza presence and make the red light districts more legitimate.³⁹⁰

Japanese Organized Crime: Facilitation on a Grand Scale

Unlike the other countries examined here, the key facilitator of the commercial sex industry in Japan is organized crime. Organized crime influences many segments of Japanese society, including business, politics, and law enforcement, through intimidation and forced compliance. The Yakuza, in essence, forces the citizens of Japan to accept a culture of tolerance to exist in their country.

Kenichi Shinoda took leadership of the *Yamaguchi-gumi* in 2005. The *Yamaguchi-gumi* has made clear their aim to take over all profitable organized crime activities in Eastern Japan—which includes the greater Tokyo area, and they want the monopoly on the foreign entertainer business. They are working to drive out the smaller groups, such as the *Inagawakai Sanbon Sugi*, the *Toaikai* (Korean mafia), the *Sumiyoshikai Kobayashi Kai* (the faction that controls most of Minato-Ward and parts of Shinjuku), and individuals with ties to other rival organized crime groups in order to secure this territory.

Recently, Japanese police have been alarmed as the 35,000-strong *Yamaguchi-gumi* absorbed *Kokusui-kai*—a smaller gang with ties to Tokyo. As a result, the police formed a special squad of detectives to monitor the gang's activities in Tokyo.³⁹¹ Formerly, there was a tacit agreement between the gang and police that Tokyo would be off-limits. Today, Tokyo is fair game.³⁹² In addition, *Yamaguchi-gumi* is one of the few organized crime groups to have an international presence and works with members of the North Korean Japanese community and the Chinese mafia, as well as the Russian mafia.³⁹³

All three of the major organized crime families—the *Inagawakia*, the *Yamaguchi-gumi*, and the *Sumiyosahikai*—are involved in the human trafficking business... The organizations themselves, especially the *Yamaguchi-gumi*, pull in a million a month from kickbacks and dues paid by lower level organizations involved in the human trafficking trade. All lower ranked mob groups are required to pay *jonokin* to the head organization. *Jonokin* are like membership dues. [The *Dojinkai* and *Kodokai* groups in Hokkaido] are well connected to the Russian mafia and bring in a lot of Russian girls.³⁹⁴

— Former Senior Executive within the
Yamaguchi-gumi Miogumi crime syndicate

³⁹⁰ Belew, Bill, "Top Ten Changes to Japan's Red-light District," *Rising Sun of Nihon Blog*, posted January 3, 2007 <http://www.risingsunofnihon.com/2007/01/top_ten_changes_to_japans_redl.html>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

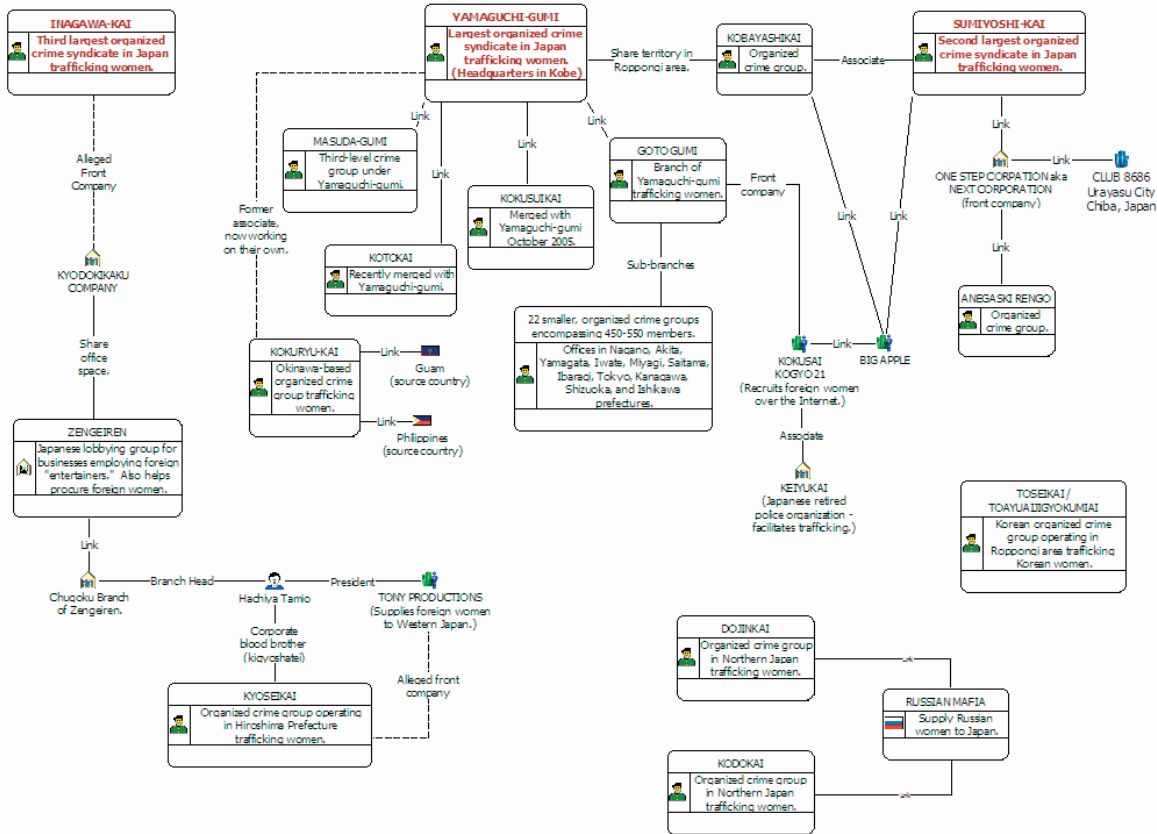
³⁹¹ The numerical strength of Yamaguchi-gumi is reported to be 35,000 by the National Police Agency's White Paper on Crime in Japan, 2006.

³⁹² McCurry, Justin, "Japan's new godfather sets his sights on Tokyo," *The Guardian*, November 26, 2005.

³⁹³ Kaplan, David E. and Alec Dubro, *Yakuza: Japan's Criminal Underworld* (University of California Press, 2003) pp.1-8; Field Research Report, June 30, 2006. On file with authors.

³⁹⁴ Anonymous former senior member of Yamagumi-guchi crime syndicate, Personal interview, May 10, 2006, reported in Field Research Report, May 12, 2006. On file with authors.

RELATIONAL CHART DEPICTING DEPTH OF YAKUZA GROUPS INVOLVED IN SEX TRAFFICKING IN JAPAN.



As the tourist industry exploded in the 1960s and 1970s, so did new opportunities for the sex tourism business. Hundreds of Japanese men traveled on junkets across East Asia and the yakuza followed them to Manila, Bangkok and Taipei. When tours to Taipei were ended in 1972 due to the resumption of diplomatic ties with China, the sex tourism market shifted to Korea, Thailand and the Philippines where *Kisaeng* houses (female entertainment venues) sprang up.³⁹⁵

The Yakuza did not originally create these conditions, nor do they control most of the local action, which is handled by various bands of native gangsters, pimps, and businesspeople. But the yakuza do play a key role in the trade in several ways. They have accompanied the tours, setting up contacts with local pimps, providing political protection, and guiding their fellow Japanese toward women, drugs, or whatever else they desire. In many cases, they have financed the clubs, particularly those catering to Japanese. And they allegedly play a major role in trafficking women overseas.³⁹⁶

By the late 1980s, Japan was one of few countries importing foreign women primarily as sex workers.³⁹⁷ The Yakuza quickly penetrated this market, such that foreign women in Japan's sex industry were mockingly called *Japanyuki-san* (Japan-goers). This play on words was a reminder of *Karayuki-san* (China-goers)—Japanese women sold into prostitution one century before.³⁹⁸ Presently the yakuza controls the sex trade in Japan, trafficking women from Southeast Asia, Russia, Poland and most recently from Colombia and Indonesia.³⁹⁹ When organized crime is not directly involved, they still charge street prostitutes a fee for working in their territory, known as *shobadai*.⁴⁰⁰

Field observations noted that African men in particular were charged with managing clubs in which foreign ethnically-identifiable women were prostituted. Some speculate that organized crime groups use African men to manage the foreign victims, making them scapegoats in the event that there is increased notice by authorities of violations of regulations prohibiting foreign women from working as hostesses. Also, many Africans speak English, allowing them to communicate with the variety of nationalities reflected in the foreign women.⁴⁰¹

The Yakuza seem to have continued involvement in sex tours of Asia, but now in a supportive function. Mostly, individuals organize the tours while the yakuza play back up for when things go wrong or the customers do not pay additional fees. The only way the girls really make money on these trips is by finding a rich patron or a steady customer who gives them gifts. Then they try to sell the gifts back to the owner of the sex club or service and get cash.

An example of the Yakuza's alleged infiltration into sex tour business ventures is the organization of sex cruises in the Maldives by two suspected traffickers operating out of the Roppongi District of Tokyo. It is alleged that one of them owns property in the Maldives and arranges sex cruises for Japanese businessmen and foreign nationals.⁴⁰² In the Maldives, women reportedly earn \$200 per day for unlimited sexual services, netting much more money for the organizer than normal. The

³⁹⁵ Kaplan and Dubro, p. 234.

³⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 236.

³⁹⁷ Fujieda, Eri, "Filipino Women's Migration to Japan's Sex Industry: A Case of Transnational Gender Subjection," Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Illinois: Urbana Champaign, 2001) p. 15.

³⁹⁸ Babior, Sharman, "Women of a Tokyo Shelter: Domestic Violence and Sexual Exploitation in Japan" (University of California, 1993) p. 247. *Karayuki-san* refers to women sold into prostitution abroad between the 1880s and 1920s.

³⁹⁹ Dinan, Kinsey, "Trafficking in Women from Thailand to Japan: The Role of Organized Crime and Governmental Response," *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, Summer 2002, p. 6.

⁴⁰⁰ Field Research Report, June 30, 2006. On file with authors.

⁴⁰¹ SHI Research Report, August 15, 2005, in meeting with Outreach and Shelter Director of Phuan Shelter. On file with authors.

⁴⁰² Field Research Report, April 3, 2006. On file with authors.

foreign national is reportedly married to a Japanese woman, which provides him status to conduct business in Japan. One former victim explained:

I never got to the Maldives, but I knew they used [a major commercial airline] for these sex tours. Not only Japanese men either—they also set these up for some American businessmen too. The girls got \$200 per day, but you had to have sex with the clients whenever and wherever they wanted...[the two traffickers] were always in the Maldives. But when [they] found out that me and some of the Polish girls were planning to break away and work without them as free agents, they stole everyone's passports and plane tickets. They threatened us. [One] said I owed him \$30,000. He started talking about yakuza and other trouble we would have. But the guys at Garden of Eden, maybe they just didn't want trouble, I don't know, but one of the floor guys snuck into Club Cadeau and stole everything back for us and we all left, including one girl who was pregnant. She was four months pregnant and they still made her work. She left Japan in debt, I'm sure.⁴⁰³

The *Goto-gumi* organized crime group is allegedly one of the principal conduits for trafficking women into Japan for commercial sex.⁴⁰⁴ *Goto-gumi*, which had a strong presence in western Japan, is now moving into eastern Japan (*Kanto*) at a rapid pace, particularly since its father organized crime syndicate, *Yamaguchi-gumi*, absorbed *Kokusui-kai*. *Goto-gumi* consists of 22 smaller organized crime units (*sanji danata*) with approximately 450-550 members. If *kigyoshatei* (corporate brothers; businessmen affiliated with the group) are included, the number is closer to 900 members. *Goto-gumi* maintains offices in Nagano, Akita, Yamagata, Iwate, Miyagi, Saitama, Ibaragi, Tokyo, Kanagawa, Shizuoka, and Ishikawa prefectures, with an especially large presence in Shizuoka and Tokyo.⁴⁰⁵

Alleged Fronts for Yakuza Operations involved in Sex Trafficking

Kokusai Kogyo 21

Kokusai Kogyo 21 (hereinafter KK21) is the name of the alleged front company in charge of trafficking women to Japan as sex workers for *Goto-gumi* in the Roppongi district of Tokyo.⁴⁰⁶ KK21 recruits women from foreign countries via the Internet and has offices in South America, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and in Roppongi Hills and Shizuoka Prefecture in Tokyo. The firm was founded by Goto Tadamasu and is now run by one of his sons. It is officially registered as a non-profit organization whose “main activity is to provide advisory services for legal foreign workers in Japan.”⁴⁰⁷ In reality, it is alleged that KK21 is recruiting and trafficking women to Japan from Romania, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Brazil, and Vietnam. Because it was established in 2000, it is not affected by the recent amendments to the entertainment visa laws that apply only to newly established agencies.⁴⁰⁸

KK21 reportedly works with 50 brokers that bring women to Japan for work in 150 pubs, massage parlors, brothels, and “hostess clubs” in the Kansai region in western Japan. The firm's services are

⁴⁰³ Ibid., quoting sex trafficking survivor.

⁴⁰⁴ Field Research Report, April 24, 2006. On file with authors.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ *Goto-gumi* is based in Kansai (western Japan) and is comprised of 22 smaller OC units with 450-550 members.

⁴⁰⁷ *Kokusai Kogyo 21's* Touhon (registration documents), September 29, 2000. On file with authors.

⁴⁰⁸ Field Research Report, April 24, 2006. The revised law, *Kaiseifueiho*, went into effect in May 2006.

advertised on its website: www.npokokusaikogyo21.jp. In January 2006, the website offered services from 121 Romanian women, 80 Filipina women, 40 Vietnamese women, and an unnamed number of Brazilians and Malaysians. KK21 is reportedly earning several million dollars per year in the sex trafficking business, most of which is funneled back to the *Goto-gumi* and then laundered through investor unions (*Toshikumiai*) and securities firms, such as HIS Shoken.⁴⁰⁹ However, public records reveal KK21 reported only \$591,690 in total earnings in 2004 fiscal year.

Zengeiren

In May of 2006, double issue of the *Nyukoku Journal* (Vols. 37 & 38), there are two coyly written articles. One entitled “Be sure to spot fake marriages,” is in actuality, a handbook of how to get away with arranging fake marriages for foreign females. Another article lists which immigration offices are conducting the most stringent checks on entertainer visas, thus telling traffickers which offices are easier to smuggle women through. They also have a well-established website (www.zengeiren.com) posting industry topics of interest and information.⁴¹⁰

Zengeiren (All-Japan Association of Business) is a lobbying group for over 400 businesses involved in recruiting and employing foreign entertainers in Japan. *Zengeiren* provides access to political officials in the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Sources report that *Zengeiren* works as a liaison between alleged traffickers KK21 (a front company for the *Yamaguchi-gumi*, *Goto-gumi* organized crime groups and a member of the *Zengeiren*) and the LDP. Together *Zengeiren* and the LDP have put pressure on immigration authorities to refrain from investigating certain firms and raiding certain clubs. The degree of political corruption and criminal activity involved in the sex trade is evident in the following report by a journalist in Tokyo:

Zengeiren is a clearing house for human trafficking. If you need a certain type of woman—Ukrainian, Russian, Hungarian, whatever—you can go to them and they will help you get set up for a fee...a number of *Zengeiren* affiliated staff have gotten into trouble with the law...They have *Yamaguchi-gumi* connections, but try to keep a low profile because they are in the middle of *Inagawa-kai* territory...Last year in *Tokushima-ken*, one of the *Zengeiren* members was arrested for trafficking Romanian women into prostitution.

If anyone would really take a good look at their board members, it would be apparent how much of a mob front they really are. It appears that no one in the government really cares, though. You would think that the LDP would stop letting them hold meetings at the LDP headquarters but then they (LDP) would lose a lot of back door political contributions. *Zengeiren* is very careful about keeping known *yakuza* members off the board of directors. They realize they are in a precarious situation.

The last remaining major supporters of the *Zengeiren* are the Upper House politician *Takeaki Kashimura*, Lower House politician *Okiharu Yasuoka* (former Minister of Justice) and LDP director *Taki Yamazaki*—all three have been paid off by traffickers. *Okiharu*...was expected to work magic for the *Zengeiren* in opposing anti-trafficking legislation, but to date hasn't really come through for them. The *Zengeiren* went all out in supporting *Yamazaki's* reelection campaign, but *Yamazaki* also failed to push their agenda, which has created some bad blood.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Field Research Report, June 30, 2006. On file with authors.

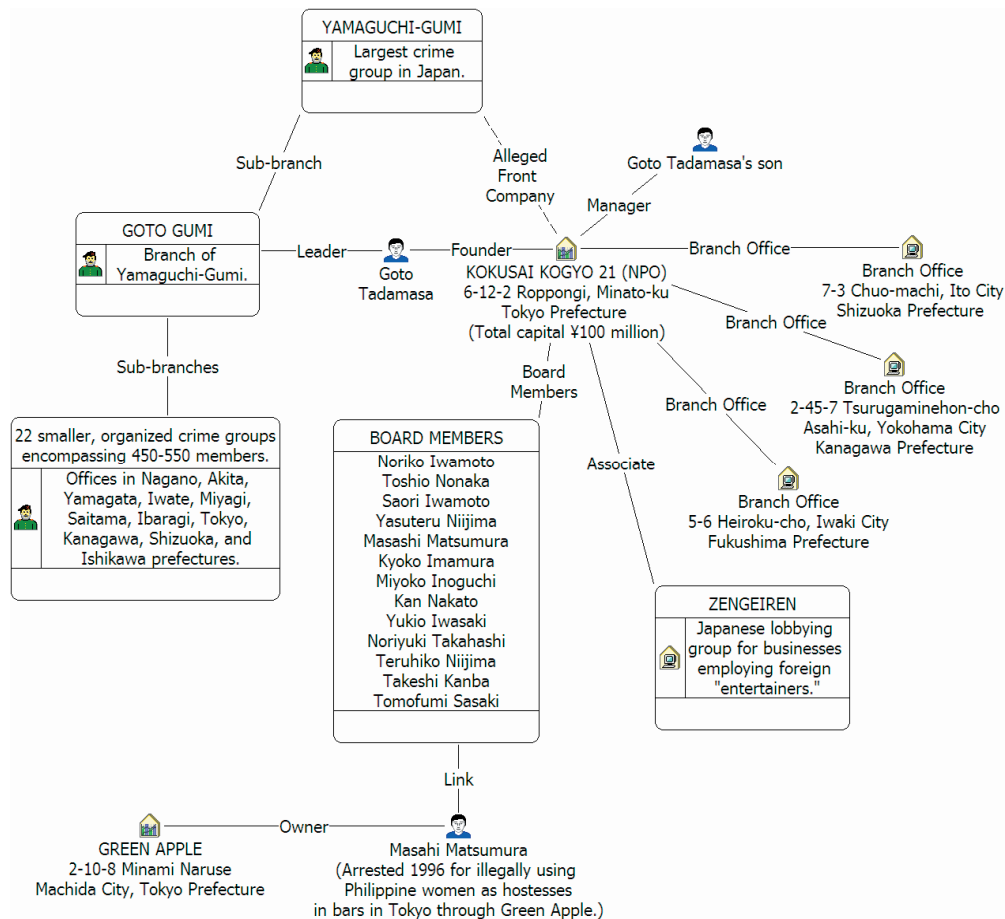
⁴¹¹ Anonymous former senior member of *Yamagumi-guchi* crime syndicate, Personal interview, May 10, 2006, reported in Field Research Report, May 12, 2006. On file with authors.

Keiyukai

Keiyukai is the non-profit Japanese Police Officers' Associated Board run mainly by retired police officers. It has strong ties to at least one company allegedly involved in human trafficking and possibly others as well. Keiyukai works for government agencies by investigating and monitoring private organizations, corporations, and individuals who receive business operation licenses. According to a veteran police reporter from Asahi Shinbun:

The Keiyukai is a black hole in the world of the police. The detectives and low-level retirees from the Crime Prevention Bureau (*Seikatsuanzenbu*) join this organization when they leave the force. The company shares offices with a right-wing lobby group and is also heavily connected to *Chosensoren* [organization that manages the North-Korean Japanese community in Japan]. It's been rumored for the past two years that North Korean women are being heavily trafficked in Japan and the Keiyukai might be providing protection for companies involved in this trade.... The Keiyukai finds retired police officers jobs in the industries they are supposed to have been policing, so you can see the conflicts of interest that arise. This group is very powerful and no newspaper here would ever dare to write anything negative about them.⁴¹²

CHART DEPICTING ALLEGED MONEY FLOW IN JAPANESE TRAFFICKING STRUCTURES



⁴¹² Field Research Report, January 30, 2006. On file with authors.

Intimidation and Threats by the Yakuza

Information gleaned from field reports, historical accounts, interviews and observations reveals that corruption and fraud are so pervasive in Japan that police raids on sex clubs are mere rituals with little to no impact. The typical approach is to arrest the brothel owner and force the club to close temporarily, though it can readily be reestablished in another location. This inaction is due to police intimidation by the Yakuza, the limitations of the law, and lack of investigative skills. Though criticism has been leveled at the shortage of police intelligence analysts, the alleged shortage pales in the face of the Yakuza's incessant intimidation of government officials.

Former head of the Entry and Status Division of Immigration, Sakanaka Hidenori, was in charge of a full-scale inspection of the entertainment industry in Japan beginning in 1995 and has openly admitted that he received numerous threats from Yakuza and members of the LDP. Four hundred twelve out of the 444 investigations his office undertook revealed that 93 percent of the visa-holders were working illegally in areas not permitted by their visas. Purging the industry of illegal residents drew criticism rather than acclaim. His investigations were threatened and he was personally attacked in the press, sued for damages, and slandered. Most of all, he was amazed by the “extensive influence of the entertainment industry on politicians.” Hidenori explains: “What’s strange about the entertainment issue is that politicians interfere regardless of whether they are with the governing party or the opposition party. While it was only the big shot lawmakers who marched into the main immigration office, when it came to raising questions during a Diet session, everyone would always defend the industry, like strange bedfellows.”⁴¹³

Even traffickers working outside of Japan are reluctant to get involved with the sex markets in Japan due to fears of organized crime. Correspondence obtained between an alleged Hungarian trafficker from the Netherlands and a woman posing as a foreigner seeking sex work in Japan revealed persistent efforts on the part of the trafficker to dissuade her from going to Japan because of the difficulties and dangers presented by Yakuza activities. The trafficker strongly advised her to consider Europe, especially the Netherlands and France, instead of Japan.⁴¹⁴

CULTURE OF TOLERANCE

Japanese society in the early 21st century is in a state of flux. Teenage sons and daughters are rebelling against the traditions and the lifestyles of their parents. Since the economic boom of the 1980s, Japanese men have been stereotyped as “corporate warriors” who work extremely long hours and often do not return home at night.⁴¹⁵ Women have been viewed as “good wives” and “wise mothers” in charge of the children’s upbringing, but not necessarily intimate with their husbands.⁴¹⁶ Corporate socializing “after-hours” tends to be done with entertainers and prostitutes—it is a common business practice to go out with coworkers to relax late at night.

At the same time, married women with children are returning to the workplace, putting new strains on an already fragile family structure. Children are often left to their own devices, which have resulted in relatively new developments, such as *enjo kosai* (compensated dating).⁴¹⁷

⁴¹³ Hidenori, “Philippine Pubs: A Ten Year War,” *Nyukansenki*; Hidenori, Personal interview, February 2006.

⁴¹⁴ Field Research Report, February 22, 2006. On file with authors.

⁴¹⁵ Babior, p. 247.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁷ Hotoda, email of January 24, 2007. On file with authors.

The Japanese entertainment industry is known as *mizu shobai* (water trade.) The term was adopted from Japanese art and literature depicting a romantic connection between women, water, tears of love and grief, and sexual emotions. Today, the “water trade” is associated with the service industry: food, drink, and sex.⁴¹⁸ *Geisha* is one of the “water trade’s” cultural icons. Both in the Edo (1603-1868) and the Meiji periods (1868-1912), *Geisha* were artists trained in music, dance, and artful conversation. Their role was to entertain and arouse men and make them feel dominant; not to curry sexual favors. The 1920s is considered the “golden age of the Geisha” when they gained in stature and numbered approximately 80,000.⁴¹⁹ Today, the “Geisha” are no longer regarded as pure as they were at the turn of the century and may engage in sex.⁴²⁰ The “Geisha” helped to create and maintain the culture of tolerance in Japan. Men are still perceived as powerful and deserving of subservience and titillation by women.

At the other end of the economic spectrum were the poverty-stricken women who were sent abroad to service buyers of sexual services. Human trafficking as we know it today began at the end of the 19th century in Japan. Japanese women, “*Karayuki-san*” (those who go to China and elsewhere) were sold into prostitution and sent to China, India, Southeast Asia, Pacific Islands, and Australia as part of Japan’s expansionist policies abroad between 1880s and 1920s.⁴²¹ Approximately 100,000 peasant women and girls, mostly from the southern island of Kyushu, were forced into prostitution for overseas buyers until 1921.⁴²²

Beginning with Japan’s attack on Shanghai in 1932, the Japanese government approved and the military (army and navy) supplied soldiers with “comfort women” (*Ianfu*) in “comfort zones.” It was believed that soldiers would be endowed with good luck and combat prowess if they had sex before battle.⁴²³ The stations were an orchestrated means of protecting Japanese soldiers from sexually transmitted diseases and reducing the number of soldier-led rapes. It is ironic that in an attempt to curb unauthorized sexual violence, the comfort station system institutionalized sexual violence against comfort women.⁴²⁴

Nearly 80 percent of the more than 100,000 women kidnapped and prostituted in military brothels on the front lines were trafficked from South and North Korea. Others were trafficked from Thailand, the Philippines, China, Malaysia, the Netherlands, Vietnam, and even Japan.⁴²⁵ After the war, American occupation kept the comfort stations alive; some 668 brothels serviced by 8,000 women were located in Tokyo alone and continued to service the American armed forces throughout the Korean and Vietnam wars.⁴²⁶

...there was coercion in comfort stations, minors were pressed into “service” and many women were rounded up by deception or under conditions of debt bondage, whereby they were required to pay back sums advanced against their “service.”⁴²⁷

⁴¹⁸ Babior pp. 240-241.

⁴¹⁹ Fukuda, “Feminism and Empowerment in Japan: Compensated Dating,” p. 17.

⁴²⁰ Nishioka, Cheiko, former Shelter Director in Yokohama, Personal interview, January 26, 2007.

⁴²¹ Babior, p. 247.

⁴²² Ibid, p. 248.

⁴²³ Hicks, George, *The Comfort Women: Japan’s Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994) pp. 32-33.

⁴²⁴ Yoshiaki, pp. 9-10.

⁴²⁵ Estimates vary greatly from 50,000 to 200,000 according to Yoshiaki 29.

⁴²⁶ Fukuda, p. 25.

⁴²⁷ Yoshiaki, p. 29.

Prostitution was outlawed in 1956 with the Prostitution Prevention Law (PPL).⁴²⁸ However, the porous legislation removed protection from prostitutes and symbolized the end of the *Yoshiwara* culture.⁴²⁹ The PPL had the unexpected effect of shaping sex markets because it mandated certain conditions under which proprietors could legally sell sexual services. Contrary to preventing the sale of sex, the law defined prostitution as vaginal intercourse, encouraging entrepreneurs to offer other sexual services. Entrepreneurs relied instead on other erotic practices not prohibited by the PPL. Moreover, the PPL resulted in decreased access to STD examinations, treatments, and contraceptives and led to increased human trafficking.⁴³⁰

In 1992, Professor Yoshimi Yoshiaki found evidence of the government's role in establishing the "comfort stations" in documents at the National Institute for Defense. He wrote about the issue in a major daily newspaper, *Asahi Shimbun*, and the issue caught fire.⁴³¹ In the 1990s, "comfort women" began to speak out about their mistreatment. In 1993 an apology was spoken by the then-chief government spokesman, however, the psychologically scarred victims awaited an apology from Prime Minister Abe who dodged the apology by saying he felt no need to make a fresh statement.⁴³² Finally in March 2007, Abe ended the wait with an apology.⁴³³

In October 2005, Amnesty International issued the report, "Still waiting after 60 Years: Justice for Survivors of Japan's Military Sexual Slavery System." The report states that the Japanese government has ignored the women's pleas for recognition of the crimes because of the Japanese law. Nonetheless, Japanese government officials maintain that rape was not a war crime until 1949, when it was incorporated into the Fourth Geneva Convention, and therefore, they argue, it was not illegal during the war years, 1939-1945. Despite government denials of the "comfort stations," new venues for publicizing the trafficking and exploitation of women and girls during and after World War II have been opened to the public, such as a museum on sexual slavery called, "The Women's Active Museum on War and Peace."

The Yakuza pervades Japanese society to a degree unparalleled in the world. Yakuza has maintained long-standing political alliances, first with Japan's right-wing nationalists and more recently with the Liberal Democratic Party. In addition to the typical vice crimes associated with organized crime, yakuza are embedded in corporate structures throughout the country and abroad. Indeed, their influence extends beyond Japanese borders and into other countries, including South Korea, Philippines, Thailand, and Canada.

The word "*Yakuza*" derives from the worst possible score in the card game *hanafuda* (flower cards). Among the losing combinations: a sequence of 8-9-3, or in Japanese, *ya-ku-za*.⁴³⁴

A "mafia" of sorts has been present in Japanese society since at least the 1600s when Samurai bandits or *Kabuki-mono* wrought terror on towns and villages.⁴³⁵ By the 20th century, the Yakuza was the word for organized crime syndicates in Japan whose members were identified by severed pinky fingers and elaborate tattoos.⁴³⁶ Criminal gangs penetrated Japanese society at a rapid

⁴²⁸Kovner, Sarah, "Prostitution in Postwar Japan: Sex Workers, Servicemen, and Social Activists, 1945-1956," Ph.D. Dissertation (Columbia University: New York, 2004) p. 167. Prostitution Prevention Law, Law No. 118, dated May 24, 1956.

⁴²⁹ Yoshiwara and Kyoto were known as the most artistic, avant-garde cities in Japan where the water trade flourished before and during the world wars.

⁴³⁰ Kovner, p. 173.

⁴³¹ See Soh, Chunghee Sarah, "The Comfort Women Project," (San Francisco State University)

The Project is currently ongoing and was begun in 1992 in keeping with the study released on Comfort Women in Japan by Yoshiaki.

⁴³² "Japanese PM renews 'comfort women' apology," *ABC News Online*, March 27, 2007

<<http://www.abc.net.au/news/newsitems/200703/s1882113.htm>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

⁴³³ "Japanese Premier Issues Apology to 'Comfort Women'," *All Headline News*, March 11, 2007

<<http://www.allheadlinenews.com/articles/7006709818>>. Accessed on April 9, 2007.

⁴³⁴ Kaplan and Dubro, pp.1-8.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

pace after World War II. In the 1950s, as the economy recovered from wartime devastation and life returned to normal, the Yakuza continued to sell drugs on the black market. When prostitution was outlawed in 1956, the Yakuza took over that market as well. The Yakuza's size more than doubled between 1958 and 1963 from 70,000 to 184,000. The expansion was due partly to the "large number of shop and entertainment venue owners that joined the Yakuza as "associates."⁴³⁷ By 1958, virtually all vice activities were in the hands of the Yakuza.

In 2000 there were roughly 84,000 members organized into more than 3,000 gangs operating in virtually every criminal market from gambling to drug trafficking.⁴³⁸ A more recent report of the National Police Academy illustrates that the three major crime groups (*Yamaguchi-gumi*, *Inagawa-kai*, and *Sumiyosi-ki*) amount to 61,300 members representing 70.5 percent of all gangsters nationwide in 2004.⁴³⁹ This force of organized crime presents the most pressing barrier to combating the human trafficking which supplies the marketplaces of exploitation within Japan.

CONCLUSION

Over the last two years, the Japanese government has taken some steps in creating a foundation to combat properly and effectively the scourge of human trafficking that has infiltrated their society. Some worry that these steps may have been taken in response to international pressure and the changes may be related more to Japan's image as a developed nation than a true interest in combating the problem of sex trafficking. However, proper implementation of the new legislation, increased public awareness and support of nongovernmental organizations is necessary. The Japanese government has spent a lot of money funding anti-trafficking measures in source countries, as has the United States, but unlike the U.S. Japan has not devoted the same resources to trafficking within its own borders of either foreign or domestic victims.

PUBLIC AWARENESS

The Japanese Government has created an Inter-ministerial Liaison Committee to coordinate anti-trafficking initiatives. One of the outcomes of this Committee was the design of a poster to raise awareness of the crime of human trafficking. The poster reads: "*Trafficking in persons (TIP) is a transnational organized crime, which forces foreign women into prostitution. Buying sex is a factor causing TIP. Please report to the police and the immigration bureaus whenever a victim of TIP has asked for help.*" Though a positive step in the prevention of human trafficking, the poster does not provide contact or hotline information for victims or other citizens suspecting human trafficking crimes. Nor does it recognize the trafficking of Japanese nationals within the country, emphasizing instead that "foreign women" are the victims of the trafficking.

One non-government group in Tokyo has created an outreach brochure. The brochure is pocket-sized and contains useful information regarding the crime of trafficking, how to communicate the situation for assistance, and phone numbers for police, immigration bureau and a non-government group. Additionally the brochure was translated into seven languages. However, this brochure should be made readily available to all local police stations as well as immigration stations and at the airports and train stations.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., p.14.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., p. 74.

⁴³⁸ National Center for the Elimination of Boryokudan <http://www.warp.or.jp/boutsui/english/e_link/index.html> Accessed on November 17, 2006. cited in Kinsey Dinan, "Trafficking in Women from Thailand to Japan: The Role of Organized Crime and the Governmental Response," p. 5.

⁴³⁹ Japan, National Police Academy, *Crimes in Japan in 2005* (Tokyo: Alumni Association for National Police Academy, 2005) p. 11.



Copy of the Poster Created by the Inter-Ministerial Liaison Committee

Public awareness is vital to combat human trafficking. The Japan Trafficking Intervention Program (JTIP) is a comprehensive victim outreach and services program to combat trafficking in persons in the Tokyo Metropolitan region. The JTIP is based out of the Polaris Project Japan office in Tokyo, and combines victim outreach and client services with community mobilization and public awareness activities.

CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY

On March 14, 2005, Japanese travel agents and tourist industry groups signed an international code of conduct to protect children from sexual exploitation in tourist destinations, such as Southeast Asia. By signing the code, travel agents are required to implement six measures, including training personnel in countries that are travel destinations and putting a clause in contracts with local agents forbidding sexual exploitation of children.⁴⁴⁰

LEGISLATION

In December 2004 the government released an action plan to combat trafficking in persons. This action plan tightened the issuance of “entertainer” visas strengthening immigration control, particularly with respect to the Philippines. It also revised the Penal Code to make trafficking in persons a new category of crime and increased penalties for trafficking related offenses. Finally, the plan increased the responsibility of business owners to prevent foreign women working in that industry from being victims of sex trafficking by modifying the law regulating adult entertainment businesses. The revised law now also holds entertainment businesses accountable with the threat of business closure and fine if they employ foreign women who are not permitted to work in this industry on tourist and student visas. Previously the blame was placed solely on the foreign worker who was promptly deported for working in a restricted industry.

⁴⁴⁰ “Travel industry signs up to protect children from sex tourism,” *Japan Today*, March 15, 2005.

On June 26, 2006, the Tokyo Metropolitan Police and the Tokyo Immigration Office made a raid on the hostess club, OUTLINE (Tokyo, Roppongi 5-16-04, Roppongi A1 Building 5F, Tel. 03-5570-5103) and detained ten women working there. One of the women, J-san, from Australia, was given fifteen minutes to pack her bags before being put in detention. She is expected to be deported by July 19.⁴⁴¹

The Prostitution Prevention Law of 1946's definition of prostitution as solely vaginal intercourse is a painful loophole in legislation which is allowing the commercial sex industry and the sex trafficking of women and children in Japan to flourish. This loophole must be closed by amending the definition of prostitution to include all sex acts. Only with such an amendment can Japanese law enforcement monitor this activity.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

I think, ultimately, knocking down [prosecuting] the store-front, on-site operations will make trafficking foreign women too expensive and not profitable enough for the people involved. When that happens, trafficking ends.⁴⁴²

— Detective X, Tokyo, May 2006

It appears that there have been somewhat of an increase in law enforcement efforts against trafficking crimes in the past two years. However, few prosecutions have resulted in the incarceration of traffickers. In 2005, the government reported 75 trafficking prosecutions; 64 of these concluded with convictions and 11 are ongoing. Three of the 64 offenders convicted for trafficking-related offenses served prison sentences, ranging from four to five years' imprisonment and significant fines. In line with Japanese judicial practice, most other offenders were given suspended sentences, which generally entailed a fine and no jail sentence as long as the offender refrains from committing another crime during a set period of time.⁴⁴³

The National Police Agency (NPA) produced a comprehensive training video on trafficking and distributed it to all police offices to improve their awareness of trafficking. The Japanese nongovernmental organization HELP and the Colombian Embassy is utilizing this training material at all levels of law enforcement. The training is crucial in preparing first responders with the tools to identify situations of human trafficking properly.

VICTIM PROTECTION AND RESTORATION

In an effort to provide services to victims of human trafficking, the Japanese government has expanded the mandate of the Women's Consultative Centers (WCC) to aid victims of human trafficking. According to the 2006 TIP report, "In 2005, the [Japanese] government reported that 109 victims [of human trafficking] were identified and received services in Japan."⁴⁴⁴ These public shelters are located in all of Japan's 47 prefectures. However, the original mandate of the WCC is to provide services to domestic violence victims in Japan. Most of these shelters are already

⁴⁴¹ Field Research Report, June 30, 2006. On file with authors.

⁴⁴² Detective X from Tokyo, Personal interview, May 12, 2006. On file with authors.

⁴⁴³ The United States, Department of State, *Trafficking in Persons Report 2006*, (Washington, DC: US Department of State, 2006) p. 150.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

overcrowded, with limited space for an additional population of victims. Additionally, these shelters have not received training on the treatment and needs of sex trafficking victims and are in some cases unable to communicate with the victims due to the language barriers which exist.

Lastly, the locations of these shelters are publicized and easy for criminals to access. As a result, the shelters are poorly protected and therefore those who fear reprisals from their traffickers are at risk. Government support of private shelters through funding is vital to meet the needs of a survivor of trafficking.

RECOMMENDATIONS

RECOMMENDATIONS TO FIGHT DEMAND

Ending demand for commercial sex markets will reduce the exploitation of vulnerable women and children. Many recommendations for efforts to fight demand in the commercial sex markets apply to all four countries examined; however, specific recommendations apply to each country as they are at different points in the development of both the commercial sex markets and national efforts to combat trafficking.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

PUBLIC AWARENESS AND PREVENTION:

- Continue operation of hotlines and prevention campaigns in all locations and establish the same in places where not already in operation.
- Train teachers, religious leaders, medical care providers, and others who come in contact with vulnerable populations to identify trafficking victims, traffickers, sex tourists and buyers on how to respond to an actual or potential trafficking situation.
- Continue programs providing vocational education and skills training to vulnerable populations, like HEART training in Jamaica, in order to prevent trafficking and restore victims.
- Research findings about demand for commercial sexual exploitation should be disseminated to a broad audience to reveal the participation and facilitation of individuals, businesses and authorities.
- Diversion programs providing an opportunity for buyers of adult prostitution to choose participation in an educational deterrence program rather than being charged with solicitation should be evaluated for effectiveness in preventing recidivism of buyers of prostitution and, if effective, continued where established and instituted in other locations.
- Information regarding individual rights and emergency contacts should be provided by immigration and customs officials to all individuals entering a country in a language they can comprehend in order to alert them to services and assistance in the event they are victims of trafficking.

- Sex trafficking and sex tourism should be recognized as both local and international issues. Often crimes perpetrated by local buyers against local victims are not as widely recognized as those perpetrated internationally.
- Awareness campaigns should focus on the importance of labeling as a facilitator of sex trafficking and tourism; efforts should be made to remove terms like “lot lizard” and “child prostitute,” replacing them with “sex trafficking victim” or “prostituted woman/child.”
- Awareness and prevention initiatives led by men and directed to men as the primary buyers in commercial sex markets should be bolstered and encouraged, such as Shared Hope International’s project The Defenders USA, which educates men on the realities and harms of the commercial sex industry and its specific links to sex trafficking.
- Prevention efforts should be designed to target young men in order to prevent them from considering pimping as a viable job option.
- Tourist agencies and other businesses related to tourism, such as hotel chains and transportation outlets, must remain vigilant against facilitating sex trafficking and sex tourism; one way is to sign the ECPAT Code of Conduct. Its signatories commit to helping identify and report potential abusers.
- Owners of real estate used for commercial sex venues should be publicized as key facilitators of sex tourism and trafficking. In some instances, public shame may drive them to end their connections with exploitive business practices.

LEGISLATION:

- National and local anti-trafficking laws should be in place in all locations and regular monitoring and evaluating instituted to ensure accountability, honesty, and adherence to the laws.
- All anti-trafficking laws should contain provisions addressing the criminality of demand and authorizing funding for demand prevention activities.
- Prostitution should be illegal in all countries.
- Following the Netherlands’ model, legislation allowing the government to deny business licenses based on evidence of illegal activity, including connections with human trafficking, is recommended. Such legislation provides a tool for governments to prevent criminal activities from operating behind the veneer of legal businesses.
- Local and national anti-trafficking laws should be consistent to ensure the highest punishment for offenders.
- Victim-centered legislation removing criminal status from the prostituted minor or the trafficked foreign victim is critical. Proper resources for investigating the traffickers/pimps and buyers of illegal commercial sex services must be allocated.
- Regulation of the Internet to help prevent facilitation through technology should be implemented, including stricter regulations on registration of pornographic websites, escort agencies, and other sexual service websites.
- Commercial sex markets targeting advertisements to youth should be held legally liable for endangerment.

LAW ENFORCEMENT AND PROSECUTION:

- The full panoply of laws should be employed to prosecute buyers of illegal commercial sex, especially sex with minors.
- Efforts to investigate domestic sex trafficking of minors and adults should be continued and strengthened in all countries, as domestic trafficking was observed in each country.
- Inter-agency and multi-disciplinary task forces should be continued where existent and created in places where they are not already in place in order to more effectively gather information on the markets and the trafficking actors for increased law enforcement and assistance to rescued victims.
- Efforts to prosecute facilitators, such as advertisement agencies on the Internet advertising sex for sale, owners of real estate used for commercial sex venues, and mail-order bride agencies facilitating trafficking should be increased.
- Legitimately registered businesses such as strip clubs, massage parlors, and escort services, etc. must be monitored closely and prosecuted vigorously when found to be facilitators of commercial sexual services.
- Laws allowing for confiscation of assets from the traffickers should be enacted where not already in place, and used in all cases.
- Immigration laws, especially the regulations governing visas, must be monitored and enforced to prevent abuse by traffickers seeking legitimate pathways into countries for their trafficking victims.
- Encourage cooperation between service providers and law enforcement to provide victims with the necessary protection and services to assist in the pursuit of cases against their traffickers.
- Adopt special procedures and personal security measures for the protection of children who agree to testify in order to help develop better prosecutions.

VICTIM RESTORATION:

- Government funding for comprehensive, long-term and secure shelters for all victims of sex trafficking should be prioritized.
- Ensure safety and security of victims through witness protection programs for victims of sex trafficking and their families who testify against their traffickers in order to encourage such testimony and protect the victims from retaliation.
- Special visas, like the B-9 in the Netherlands and the T-Visa in the U.S., should be made available to victims in all countries. Where existent, visa procedures need to be regularized and streamlined to prevent the lengthy delay in processing and the resulting instability caused by the uncertain wait.
- An assessment of the T-visa regulation requiring cooperation with prosecution should be undertaken to determine its necessity in light of the burdens it might impose.

COUNTRY-SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

JAMAICA

Recommendations:

- Advocate for the law to criminalize the making, distribution, and sale of child pornography expected to be introduced to Parliament by September 2007.
- Assess the effect of the CARICOM common passport agreement in order to prevent potential abuse by traffickers.
- Ensure adequate training of border officials to identify trafficking particularly within regional populations as the CARICOM common passport agreement facilitates the movement of regional citizens.

THE NETHERLANDS

Recommendations:

- Reinstate the ban on brothels, making prostitution in all forms illegal.
- Create public awareness campaigns specifically highlighting the existence of sex trafficking within the legal prostitution businesses in the Netherlands.

UNITED STATES

Recommendations:

- Encourage states which have not yet adopted human trafficking legislation to do so in alignment with the federal TVPA.
- Encourage states to amend state laws which may conflict with the federal anti-trafficking laws, specifically the age of consent.
- Raise the age of consent to engage in all commercial sex activities to 21 years. The involvement of cellular phones, the Internet, and highways in the movement of women and children through different states permits the application of federal laws pursuant to the Interstate Commerce Clause. This will also reduce the rate of misidentifying minors as adults, as the appearance of a 21-year-old is typically older than a youth.
- Appropriate funding for gaps in services for the domestic sex trafficking victim (i.e., U.S. citizen or legal permanent resident victim).
- Permit placement of rescued minor victims in secure facilities without the necessity of a criminal charge or parental agreement and review the process and laws requiring return of minor victims to home states for services and placement for potential amendment for cases of sex trafficking.
- Build capacity of Child Protective Services (CPS) to identify minor sex trafficking victims.

JAPAN

Recommendations:

- Evaluate the success of the 2004 Action Plan and advocate for a continuing plan for government action to combat sex trafficking.
- Refine the legal definition of commercial sex to ban all forms of sexual activity, not just vaginal intercourse.

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