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Jihočeská univerzita  
v Českých Budějovicích  
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PROSTITUCE  
V ČESKÉ REPUBLICE A V NORSKU  
SROVÁVACÍ ANALÝZA

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Department of Social Science

Master Dissertation

PROSTITUTION

IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND NORWAY

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

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České Budějovice 2013

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## **ABSTRACT**

**Key words:** prostitution, gender, feminism, human trafficking, Nigerians, Rozkoš bez rizika, Albertine Prosjektet, comparative analysis

My thesis deals with the topic of prostitution. As a research strategy for my master thesis I have chosen qualitative research. For developing my paper I was using various research methods such as participant observation, unstructured interviews, case study and qualitative comparative analysis.

My paper is based on empirical studies which I have obtained during my internship in the organization Albertine Prosjektet in Stavanger likewise on cooperation with the Czech NGO Rozkoš bez rizika in České Budějovice. My results appeared from unstructured interviews with social workers of both organizations as well as with women in prostitution, and subsequent interconnection with theoretical knowledge. My aim was to elaborate a comparative study of prostitution in the Czech Republic and Norway with predominant focus on the České Budějovice area and Stavanger area in order to present the current situation in prostitution markets.

Feminist points of view play also an important role because prostitution can be explained as a gender-based phenomenon. This perspective is one of the key points of my paper.

## **ABSTRAKT**

### **Prostituce v České republice a Norsku – srovnávací analýza**

**Klíčová slova:** prostituce, gender, feminismus, obchod s lidmi, Nigerijky, Rozkoš bez rizika, Albertine Prosjektet, srovnávací analýza

Má diplomová práce se zabývá tématem prostituce. Jako strategii jsem vybrala kvalitativní výzkum. Pro vytvoření své práce jsem použila různé výzkumné metody jako například zúčastněné pozorování, nestrukturované rozhovory, případovou studii a kvalitativní srovnávací analýzu.

Moje práce je založena na empirických výzkumech, které jsem uskutečnila v rámci stáže v organizaci Albertine Prosjektet ve Stavangeru a jako součást spolupráce s českou nevládní organizací Rozkoš bez rizika v Českých Budějovicích. Má zjištění vychází z nestrukturovaných rozhovorů se sociálními pracovníky z obou výše zmíněných organizací a s prostitutkami a následného propojení s teoretickými znalostmi. Mým cílem bylo vytvořit srovnávací studii prostituce v České republice a Norsku se zvýšeným důrazem na oblast Českých Budějovic a Stavangeru, abych mohla popsat současnou situaci na trhu s prostitucí.

Feministické hledisko také hraje důležitou roli, protože prostituce může být vysvětlována jako genderový fenomén. Tato perspektiva je jedním ze stěžejních bodů mé práce.

# Table of Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Theoretical Framework</b>	<b>8</b>
2. 1	Prostitution	9
2. 2	Human Trafficking	12
2. 3	Prostitution, Human Trafficking and Migration	13
2. 4	Prostitution from Feminist Points of View	15
<b>3</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Country Descriptions - Focus on Legal Framework</b>	<b>22</b>
4. 1	The Czech Republic	22
4. 1. 1	Czech Organizations Helping Women in Prostitution	27
4. 2	Norway	28
4. 2. 1	Norwegian Organizations Helping Women in Prostitution	32
<b>5</b>	<b>Empirical Findings</b>	<b>34</b>
5. 1	Rozkoš bez rizika (Bliss without Risk)	34
5. 1. 1	Data from My Field Work	35
5. 2	Albertine-prosjektet (Albertine Project)	40
5. 2. 1	Data from My Field Work	42
5. 3	Nigerian Women in Prostitution	49
5. 3. 1	Situation in the Czech Republic	49
5. 3. 2	Situation in Norway	51
5. 4	Comparative Analysis	54
<b>6</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>60</b>
	<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>66</b>
	<b>Appendices</b>	<b>72</b>



# 1 Introduction

Prostitution has been denoted as “the oldest profession” in the world. Many anthropological surveys present this phenomenon even in the most primitive societies; there is usually at least one woman who lives outside the village who provides sex for some kind of a compensation or payment<sup>1</sup>. Generally, it is a service that may be performed by either males or females and for either males or females, although in the matter of fact in almost all societies acts of prostitution are usually performed by females for males or by males for males. There are also transgender people who sell sex to men or women. Finally, there are homosexual and heterosexual couples who buy sexual services.

As mentioned in the article *Theory of Prostitution* “prostitution is more common in less developed countries but far from absent in developed ones<sup>2</sup>.” Even from these words one can see that this issue is global.

For the majority of women in prostitution it is a way how to survive. In other words, the fundamental reason why people sell sex is that they need money. Often they cannot see any other option how to earn enough. Although there are also people who need money to buy drugs, more common are women selling sex in order to cover their own and their families’ living expenses. Sometimes it happens for a shorter, in other case for a longer period of their lives.

There is a strong social stigma connected to selling sexual services and to people involved in prostitution in general. That is why many of them are forced to live a double life. This life in secrecy can cause harm. However, in this business there are many more things which can be dangerous or risky. Many women in prostitution suffer violence from customers; others have pimps who use physical attacks and threats to push them into prostitution.

Last but not least, prostitution means having sex with many different people so it always will be a health risk. There are ways how to protect oneself but none of them is 100% safe.

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<sup>1</sup> Ditmore H. M. (2006). *Encyclopaedia of Prostitution and Sex Work, Vol. 1 and 2*. p. xxvi

<sup>2</sup> Edlund L., Korn E. (2002). *A Theory of Prostitution*. *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 110. p. 182

The reason for writing this thesis is to look at prostitution as on a gender-based phenomenon. Prostitution is understood as a problematic issue in most countries, consequently, states have tried to control prostitution in various ways, and most have adopted some kind of a policy to support their endeavours to fix this problem. It is a multibillion dollar business which employs millions of women worldwide. But how this business actually functions? Is there something common for all prostitution markets? Do state approaches vary significantly and how much these attitudes affect living situation of women in prostitution? All these and other similar questions led me to do a more detailed research.

My Master thesis will be divided into several main parts because I am dealing with a multi-faceted issue. In the *Theoretical Framework* chapter, I will define terms related to the phenomenon of prostitution, such as human trafficking and migration; as well as I will introduce various approaches to these topics with a special focus on feminist points of view. Then, in my *Methodology*, I will present my research questions and describe how my research was conducted.

Other part (*Country Descriptions*) will be focused on legal framework linked to prostitution and human trafficking in the Czech Republic as well as in Norway. My aim is to develop the descriptive country profiles for both mentioned countries and also point out the similarities and differences in their attitudes towards prostitution.

The most significant chapter will be linked to one part of my JMMIR internship. I will present a study of two similar projects (Czech – organization Rozkoš bez rizika/Bliss without Risk, mainly based on data from their South Bohemian branch, and Norwegian – Albertine Prosjektet/Albertine Project – Church Mission of Stavanger). The results will appear from my field work and cooperation with both of these NGOs. These projects aim to help women in prostitution. They provide them with HIV/AIDS preventive services, psychological support as well as social counselling. They also help former prostitutes with their transition to “normal life” and discuss with them all topics mentioned above. Both institutions have as a main idea to assist to all women regardless of their race, ethnicity, nationality, age, sexual orientation, religion, origin and social settings. Their aim is preventing HIV/AIDS expansion, reducing the incidence of sexually transmitted infections, reducing the negative social effects connected with

prostitution via supporting rights of women in prostitution and their integration into the society.

In chapter *Nigerian Women in Prostitution*, I will be dealing with one particular group of migrants - Nigerian women – both in Norway and in the Czech Republic. I will present my findings as a case study. The majority of women in prostitution in Stavanger originate from Nigeria and recently one can see the influx of these migrants to the Czech Republic as well, although it was not common a few years ago. There exist different routes how these women come to the Czech Republic than the rest of women in prostitution there (mostly Ukrainians, Bulgarians, and Slovaks). They sometimes also need a special assistance, they have very close networks and the Czech Republic is not as experienced as Norway in dealing with these immigrants yet. My purpose is to analyze the dynamic of migration networks “following” these migrants from Nigeria to Norway and to find how they get to the Czech Republic. I also would like to describe the nature of these migrations and the process how Nigerian women get into prostitution.

In *Comparative Analysis* chapter I will analyze my data, do comparisons of the Czech Republic and Norway, České Budějovice and Stavanger as well as Rozkoš bez rizika and Albertine with regard to the prostitution markets.

At the end (in chapter *Conclusion*) I will infer from my field-work-data and theoretical knowledge. I will connect my findings to a larger global perspective with links to theories of feminism and present my point of view to a current situation about prostitution with regard to everything I learned in a process of developing my thesis.

There are certain assumptions I have which are related to my research objects. Firstly, I would like to be concentrated on legal frameworks of prostitution in the Czech Republic and Norway and how they interfere with the lives of women in prostitution. My assumption is that in the Czech Republic the rules about prostitution are not clearly defined (because of a lack of proper missing act in the Czech Code of Law), therefore it could be more difficult for organizations to help in the right way, while, in Norway the Law explicitly sets out powers and duties, and thus the help should be more efficient. Another factor which matters a lot and affects the effectiveness of subvention could be financial resources which I expect to be more extensive in Norway because of a better economic situation of the country.

Secondly, prostitution and migration could show certain similar patterns in European countries. I will look at possible connections and similarities between prostitution in the České Budějovice area and the Stavanger area. I have chosen these places because I believe there could be an interesting comparison – they are almost the same size, the indoor/outdoor prostitution market in both is quite large, in both areas governments/municipalities are trying to find efficient ways how to cut down numbers of women in prostitution, in both places there are organizations which play an important role in terms of providing help and support to women in prostitution/victims of human trafficking. My assumption in this case is that the structure of women in prostitution as a group differs (from the view of nationality, motives leading to prostitution, possible dependence on drugs, violence experience etc.) in České Budějovice and Stavanger.

Thirdly, my focus will be on Nigerian women in prostitution (because it is the most numerous group in Stavanger which I have been in touch the most) and their migration. My hypothesis is that the majority of them are somehow involved in human trafficking.

My main aim is to provide an overview of prostitution market in the České Budějovice area and the Stavanger area and to do their comparison. At the same time, I do not intend to generalize the information I have gotten, rather to present the current situation, outline possible approaches to my topic, point out the biggest issues and main difficulties in helping the women in prostitution. Last but not least I would like to include my point of view.

## 2 Theoretical Framework

Before I start describing the actual concepts I will introduce a discussion on, from my point of view, a problematic term in this field. While studying relevant literature and talking to people from NGOs I found out that already the term “prostitute” can be perceived as inapplicable.

The word “prostitute” is similar in many languages and it is, let us say, an international label. Some researchers are of the opinion that “prostitute” is often over verbalized, generalized, and too stereotypical. Much of the problem with this definition can result from “a lack of understanding of ethical concepts such as virtue, morality, and degradation<sup>3</sup>.”

In many sources, ideologies (such as feminism) and also in the official statements of certain organization (e. g. Rozkoš bez rizika, Pro Sentret) it is common to use “sex worker” instead. It expresses the opinion that prostitution is work (in some cases deploring the work itself as inherently wrong). However, I am not using this title because it is too large for purposes of my paper. It also includes people working, for instance, in porn industry and I am not dealing with this focus in my thesis at all. There are also some other “tags” which one can remark in media<sup>4</sup> or online chats<sup>5</sup> (e.g. whore, hooker). Academically speaking, they are unacceptable and I personally perceive them as impertinent, offensive, ridicule and degrading.

So at the end I have decided to use, in my opinion, the most neutral term “women in prostitution”. I do not intend to stigmatize women in this business, but at the same time, I have to clearly specify which group I am writing about.

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<sup>3</sup> Bromberg S. (1997). *Feminist Issues In Prostitution*. Available at: <http://www.feministissues.com/>

<sup>4</sup> E. g. – The Norwegian newspaper Dagenbladet – an article *Jeg er redd for å bli avslørt*. (“I am afraid of being exposed.”) Available at: <http://www.dagbladet.no/2011/02/18/nyheter/horekunder/prostitusjon/sexhandel/innenriks/15477018/>

<sup>5</sup> E. g. – The Czech discussion web site *Nornik* - a webpage focused on reviews of sexual services and women in prostitution. Available at: <http://www.nornik.net>

## 2. 1 Prostitution

Defining this phenomenon is very difficult because of many varying legal descriptions and vague presumptions. In most cases, prostitution is explained at the nexus of sex and money<sup>6</sup> but the general simplified definition of “a compensated sexual activity” can be a description of a too wide comprehension. As the example of what could such a definition also include one can name arranged marriages (classified as forced or voluntary), ‘Thai-brides-phenomenon’<sup>7</sup>, ‘sugar baby – sugar daddy’ relationships<sup>8</sup> etc. Another pit-fall, while searching for a clear description, is related to legal definitions as they change markedly over time and space.

One can also see a certain hierarchy in the prostitution market. Lena Elund and Evelyn Korn add: “prostitution has been organized according to similar principles across different times and cultures. At the bottom we find street prostitution, followed by brothels, bars, and clubs. Call girls and escort agencies occupy the middle to high slots and kept women the top rungs. Higher-end prostitutes are better looking, younger, and healthier; charge more per client; and spend more time with each<sup>9</sup>.” Usually, incomes even working conditions are better further up hierarchy - clients are fewer, venues are more agreeable, and client screening more selective<sup>10</sup>.

Same authors in the article *Theory of Prostitution* point out that “prostitution has an unusual feature: it is well paid despite being lowskill, labor intensive, and, one might add, female dominated. Earnings even in the worst-paid type, streetwalking, may be several multiples of full-time earnings in professions with comparable skill requirements<sup>11</sup>.”

Harcourt and Donovan in their paper *The Many Faces of Sex Work* mention, that “at least 25 types of sex work were identified according to worksite, principal mode of soliciting clients, or sexual practices. These types of work are often grouped under the

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<sup>6</sup> Ditmore H. M. (2006). *Encyclopedia of Prostitution and Sex Work, Vol. 1 and 2*. p. xxvi

<sup>7</sup> ‘Thai brides’ – girls or women looking for a wealthy man (usually from a rich country) to move and raise the standard of living, get support for their family etc. Currently, many online agencies are available where man can even choose and order their wives from a catalogue – e.g. Rose Brides etc.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Sugarbaby-sugardaddy’ relationship – usually older rich man gives expensive presents, pays bills or supports in other ways a younger person in return for companionship or sex

<sup>9</sup> Edlund L., Korn E.(2002). *A Theory of Prostitution*. Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 110. p. 187

<sup>10</sup> Edlund L., Korn E.(2002). *A Theory of Prostitution*. Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 110. p. 187

<sup>11</sup> Edlund L., Korn E.(2002). *A Theory of Prostitution*. Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 110. p. 182

headings of 'direct' and 'indirect' prostitution, with the latter group less likely to be perceived or to perceive themselves as sex workers<sup>12</sup>...”

As the examples of concrete kinds of prostitution one can name streetwalking, brothels, private flats, escorts (incall/outcall services), lap dancing clubs, massage parlours and many others. However, for purposes of my paper the most important division is the indoor and outdoor prostitution/market.

There are also differences between legal definitions and social definitions. R. Barri Flowers suggests following explanations: “Legal definitions of prostitution have traditionally focused largely on female prostitutes and promiscuity and thus could be viewed as biased in their meaning<sup>13</sup>.” On the other hand, social definition “often regard prostitution as sexual relations that include some form of monetary payment or barter and are characterized by promiscuity and or emotional apathy<sup>14</sup>.”

In general, there are four possible legal approaches to prostitution – prohibition, regulation/legalization, decriminalization and abolition<sup>15</sup>. Prohibition means that all people involved in this business are considered as criminals (e.g. Saudi Arabia). On the other hand, regulation implies legalization, where prostitution is entitled as a sex work (e. g. Netherlands, Germany). It is controlled and taxable. Decriminalization of prostitution could be described by removing all laws and regulations related to this business at large. As the example of a country where this approach has been applied one can see New Zealand. Last, abolition demands redefinition of prostitution. Here one can name Sweden (after the reform in 1999) where prostitution is understood as a form of violence against women. The reason behind this legislation can be expressed by the Swedish Government statement: “Prostitution is considered to cause serious harm both to individuals and to society as a whole. Large-scale crime, including human trafficking for sexual purposes, assault, procuring and drug-dealing, is also commonly associated with prostitution. (...)The vast majority of those in prostitution also have very difficult social circumstances<sup>16</sup>.” This model has been followed by other countries such as

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<sup>12</sup> Harcourt C., Donovan B. (2005). *The Many Faces of Sex Work*. Sexually Transmitted Infections, June 2005. Available at: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1744977/pdf/v081p00201.pdf>

<sup>13</sup> Flowers R. B. (1998). *The Prostitution of Women and Girls*. p. 7

<sup>14</sup> Flowers R. B. (1998). *The Prostitution of Women and Girls*. p. 6

<sup>15</sup> Hughes D. M. *Approaches to Prostitution: Impact on Sex Trafficking*. Women’s Studies Program. Available at: <http://humantrafficking.unc.edu/files/2011/08/X.-Hughes-Approaches-to-Prostitution.pdf>

<sup>16</sup> The Government of Sweden (2009). Ministry of Gender Equality: Legislation on the purchase of sexual services. 4 February 2009. Available at: <http://www.government.se/sb/d/4096/a/119861>

Norway and Iceland (in 2009)<sup>17</sup>. I personally use in my paper the term negligence for the case of the Czech Republic and although Norwegian approach is in some sources described as a form of abolition I prefer using legalization/regularization for for this country. My choice is explained in more detail in chapter Country description – Focus on Legal Framework.

All above mentioned attitudes have their pros and cons and influence the prostitution market in a different way. None of them has eradicated prostitution or trafficking in people so far. There are opinions that abolishing in the “Swedish way” actually meant restriction of women in prostitution and victims of trafficking (e. g. an interview with Gunilla Ekberg<sup>18</sup>). From my point of view, the question still is how large the number of people working “underground” now and if the situation is not even worse for them under these circumstances. Another important point is how the policy in one country affects other countries. In evaluation by Blanka Hančilová and Camille Massey, there is following examples given: “It is like the Swedes want to have a clean house but they do not care at all what is going on outside of Sweden.” or “Swedish and UK sex tourists are coming to Latvia in big numbers. I know also from Denmark that Swedish tourists are travelling there. We have cases of Latvian girls being trafficked to Finland. Somehow this Swedish legislation, progressive as it is, indirectly harms neighbouring country<sup>19</sup>.” It means that the impact of certain policy in one country can differ a lot from the effect of that policy (in that one certain country) globally.

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<sup>17</sup> Sometimes called “Nordic model” – will be described more in detail later in my paper

<sup>18</sup> Rain and Thunder Collective (2008). *Abolishing Prostitution: The Swedish Solution*. An Interview with Gunilla Ekberg. A Radical Feminist Journal of Discussion and Activism, Issue 41, Winter Solstice 2008. Available at: [http://action.web.ca/home/catw/attach/R%26T\\_Interview\\_with\\_Gunilla\\_Ekberg.pdf](http://action.web.ca/home/catw/attach/R%26T_Interview_with_Gunilla_Ekberg.pdf)

<sup>19</sup> Hančilová B., Massey C. (2009). *Legislation and the Situation Concerning Trafficking in Human Beings for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation in EU Member States International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD)*. p. 107 Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/doc\\_centre/crime/docs/evaluation\\_eu\\_ms\\_thb\\_legislation\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/doc_centre/crime/docs/evaluation_eu_ms_thb_legislation_en.pdf)



## 2. 2 Human Trafficking

I am focused on human trafficking because it is an inseparable topic when one mentions Nigerian women in prostitution in Europe. Lately, trafficking has been usually represented “as the form of mobility resulting in various forced labour harms. Often trafficking has been positioned as a gendered phenomenon which considers the mobility of poor women to be particularly vulnerable to exploitation through sexual slavery<sup>20</sup>.”

The most commonly used definition comes from the Protocol to prevent, suppress, and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime and it says: “Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation<sup>21</sup>.”

It is very difficult to describe this issue with exact numbers and estimates can vary a lot but as I mentioned above various international studies have reported that globally there are 700 thousand to 2 million people that are traded annually. It is estimated that the worldwide annual revenue of trafficking varies between 8.5 to 12 billion Euros<sup>22</sup>.

Generally speaking, the expansion of human trafficking worldwide depends mainly on the following factors: poverty and instability in countries of origin, imbalance of international economic relations, high tolerance to human rights violations (especially in the countries of origin, lack of legal awareness, distorted system of values in society or breadwinners’ desire to ensure better living conditions than those which are in the country of origin. Other reasons which are relevant especially for trafficking of women

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<sup>20</sup> Davies J. (2009). *My name is not Natasha: How Albanian Women in France Use Trafficking to Overcome Social Exclusion*. p. 20

<sup>21</sup> UN General Assembly (2000). Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, Article 3. Available at: <http://www.unodc.org/southeastasiaandpacific/en/topics/illicit-traffic/human-trafficking-definition.html>

<sup>22</sup> Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic (2013). *Obchod s lidmi - Popis situace v obchodu s lidmi*. Available at: <http://www.mvcr.cz/mvcren/docDetail.aspx?docid=10093&doctype=ART>

are: gender inequality in law and in practice (gender discrimination in the labour market - general tendency to a lower valuation of women as a workforce, poor access to education and employment), high demand of sex for sale (underestimation of health risks associated with prostitution), the desire of women to “escape” from a boring or not really “high-standard” lifestyle, excessive trust in fellow citizens (people coming from the same social ranks, same ethnic group and their good intentions in providing opportunities for “new arrivals”) or naivety of women searching for a well-paid job or a partner for marriage. It is also very common that one can see a strong family or social push for women to earn “enough”. The myth – about a simple and peaceful life in the West or contradictory myths about victims of human trafficking (e.g. “it cannot happen to a good girl” or another extreme view “it can happen to anyone, I cannot do anything to prevent it so I will risk it”) also play an indispensable role there<sup>23</sup>.

## **2. 3 Prostitution, Human Trafficking and Migration**

*“Migration linked to trafficking in women and prostitution is one of the darkest features of the lack of equality between women and men. This form of migration has developed into a gigantic, highly organized criminal trade linked to the exploitation of women.”*

*Vincenzo Musacchio<sup>24</sup>*

In the citation above, Vincenzo Musacchio writes “...linked to the exploitation of women”; I would rather say “based on the exploitation of women”. Trafficking in people can be understood within the context of broader migration patterns and politics of migration regulations. It is noteworthy for the beginning, that “...migration linked to trafficking in women and prostitution has two distinctive aspects: its illegality and the criminal organization behind it<sup>25</sup>.”

At the similar nexus Claudia Aradau adds: “Human trafficking has been integrated in various taxonomies, and much of the research has focused on drawing boundaries and

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<sup>23</sup> Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic (2013). *Obchod s lidmi - Popis situace v obchodu s lidmi*. Available at: <http://www.mvcr.cz/mvcren/docDetail.aspx?docid=10093&doctype=ART>

<sup>24</sup> Musacchio V. (2004). *Migration, prostitution and trafficking in women: An overview*. p. 1015

<sup>25</sup> Musacchio V. (2004). *Migration, prostitution and trafficking in women: An overview*. p. 1018

pointing out differences and between urgent social and political problems. Human trafficking has been in turn divided into, contrasted with and assimilated to migration, organized crime, prostitution and human rights abuses...<sup>26</sup>.”

I would like to emphasize that the connection of trafficking to women and migration does not automatically imply that women are forced to migrate. It is very often guised as voluntary migration for better opportunities in a new country. Anette Brunovskis and Guri Tyldum agree with this statement and they point out more that “it is very rare that women who become victims of trafficking are taken out of their countries against their will. The vast majority choose to migrate and some are even aware they will be working as prostitutes”.<sup>27</sup> This decision is often based on their desire for an improvement of their living standard. Accordingly, one can think that the most frequent motive is economic; however, not everyone comes from background of poverty. As Anette Brunovskis and Guri Tyldum further write: “Three broad reasons for wanting to migrate or to work in prostitution can be identified as: “response to an acute crisis”, “long-term poverty”, and “wanting more from life”<sup>28</sup>.”

Vincenzo Musacchio again mentions that the actual interconnection of migration, trafficking in women and prostitution can be explained by following factors: lack of prospects in the country of origin, unemployment (which, in practice, affect women more than men) and lack of education, women’s experience of poverty, social exclusion<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> Aradau C. (2008). *Rethinking Trafficking in Women: Politics Out of Security*. p.14

<sup>27</sup> Tyldum G., Brunovskis A. (2004). *Crossing borders: an empirical study of transnational prostitution and trafficking in human beings*. p. 12

<sup>28</sup> Tyldum G., Brunovskis A. (2004). *Crossing borders: an empirical study of transnational prostitution and trafficking in human beings*. p. 13

<sup>29</sup> Musacchio V. (2004). *Migration, prostitution and trafficking in women: An overview*. p. 1020

## 2. 4 Prostitution from Feminist Points of View

*“Prostitution is an institution akin to slavery, one so intrinsically discriminatory and abusive that it cannot be fixed--only abolished. At the same time, its root causes must be eradicated as well: sex inequality, racism and colonialism, poverty, prostitution tourism, and economic development that destroy traditional ways of living.”*

*Melissa Farley*<sup>30</sup>

There are many varying forms of feminism so there is not only one feminist attitude towards prostitution. Moreover, feminism is reinventing and changing therefore it is difficult to enunciate a clear opinion on prostitution. However, there are five significant feminist views on this issue expressed by liberal feminism, existentialist feminism, Marxist feminism, socialist feminism, and radical feminism. What is obvious and possible to see in all approaches, the feminist theorists place the gender equality as a priority also while discussing prostitution. In descriptions and explanations of different views I draw from the article *Feminist Issues in Prostitution*<sup>31</sup> by Sarah Bromberg.

The most, let us say, moderate approach can be found in liberal feminism which sees a source of women’s oppression in inequality of social freedom. A key point is to improve society by supporting equal treatment between men and women. They offer an explanation that “prostitution derives from a natural biological urge<sup>32</sup>.” The woman in prostitution acts of free choice (which can be seen as an ordinary business decision). It is her right to do this kind of job and “as with any business her ability to thwart danger is dependent upon her awareness of the world<sup>33</sup>.” There is a need to overcome degrading aspects of this business. Prostitution is understood within a context of a civil right and should be decriminalized.

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<sup>30</sup> Farley M. (2002). *Human Trafficking and Prostitution*. Psychologist for Social Responsibility. Available at: <http://www.prostitutionresearch.com/PsySr%20-%20Human%20Traff%20and%20Pros.pdf>

<sup>31</sup> The concluding chart based on D. Kelly Weisberg D. K. (1996). *Applications of Feminist Legal Theory to Women’s Lives*

<sup>32</sup> Bromberg S. (1997). *Feminist Issues in Prostitution*. A chart of the various types of prostitution. Available at: <http://www.feministissues.com/chart.pdf>

<sup>33</sup> Bromberg S. (1997). *Feminist Issues in Prostitution*. A chart of the various types of prostitution. Available at: <http://www.feministissues.com/chart.pdf>

The existentialist's point of view explains that the source of women's oppression comes from inequality of social freedom. Women are not coerced into prostitution because it can be a liberating and empowering experience. In this approach one can see a significantly different opinion from all others mentioned. Existentialist feminists believe that "women of all descriptions and occupations possess extraordinary powers to overcome adversity. Prostitution is not degrading, rather it is empowering to women. The competent woman has a choice to be an entrepreneur and find methods to support herself<sup>34</sup>." They are for decriminalization of prostitution and as the right way how to deal with prostitution they see the encouragement of actions that liberate women as free human beings. Another important factor is a greater level of equality between the sexes<sup>35</sup>.

Marxist feminists perceive women in prostitution as a victim of the economic system. Prostitution, thus, is "degrading to the prostitute and to women in general. Prostitution is equated to be on the level of rape<sup>36</sup>." As a source of women's oppression they understand class distinctions, corruption of wage labour, and capitalism. Marxists do not seek a legal remedy to prostitution. For them there is more important to attack the underlying cause of prostitution by eliminating capitalism. They are convinced that the eradication of a capitalist system would lead to extinction of prostitution<sup>37</sup>.

Socialists see as a main goal a change of social and economic structuring. It is a way how to eradicate women's oppression. They explain more: "Women are coerced into degrading roles by the construction of social class systems. Without the presence of capitalism, women would choose other roles<sup>38</sup>. From their point of view, the woman in prostitution is a victim of the system. Socialists, as well as Marxists, do not look for a legal remedy of prostitution because the change should come along with a new social

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<sup>34</sup> Bromberg S. (1997). *Feminist Issues in Prostitution*. A chart of the various types of prostitution. Available at: <http://www.feministissues.com/chart.pdf>

<sup>35</sup> Bromberg S. (1997). *Feminist Issues in Prostitution*. A chart of the various types of prostitution. Available at: <http://www.feministissues.com/chart.pdf>

<sup>36</sup> Bromberg S. (1997). *Feminist Issues in Prostitution*. A chart of the various types of prostitution. Available at: <http://www.feministissues.com/chart.pdf>

<sup>37</sup> Bromberg S. (1997). *Feminist Issues in Prostitution*. A chart of the various types of prostitution. Available at: <http://www.feministissues.com/chart.pdf>

<sup>38</sup> Bromberg S. (1997). *Feminist Issues in Prostitution*. A chart of the various types of prostitution. Available at: <http://www.feministissues.com/chart.pdf>

structure. They also would like to eradicate prostitution (as a part of exploitive economic system) and they suggest to be focused on human needs in more caring way<sup>39</sup>.

According to the radical type of feminism, the woman in prostitution is “a victim of a system of male oppression and prostitution is never a harmless private transaction<sup>40</sup>.” Moreover, they think that all women are affected by the coercive, exploitative, and oppressive inclinations of men towards women. Radicals claim that “men are socialized to have sexual desires while women are socialized to be submissive<sup>41</sup>.” This means that the source of oppression is rather cultural than biological. From their point of view, there is a need to change these attitudes and promote social change towards greater equality between the sexes. As the example I am presenting an opinion of Melissa Farley: “All prostitution causes harm to women. Whether it is being sold by one’s family to a brothel, or whether it is being sexually abused in one’s family, running away from home, and then being pimped by one’s boyfriend, or whether one is in college and needs to pay for next semester’s tuition and one works at a strip club behind glass where men never actually touch you – all these forms of prostitution hurt the women in it<sup>42</sup>.” Their solution how to deal with this phenomenon is to eradicate male oppression and “inequality between the sexes by discouraging any actions that degrade all women<sup>43</sup>.”

I, personally, do not intend to victimize all women in prostitution because I am convinced that it is a matter of choice whether to be involved in this kind of business or not. For instance, there are opinions that very often young students do not actually have a choice if they have to pay study fees etc. I think they do. The strongest lure is money – quick and a lot right away. They can often go for a worse paid job, spend many more hours working but it is their preference to earn money in this way. In this case, from my point of view, it depends on one’s moral values, priorities and perception of own body.

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<sup>39</sup> Bromberg S. (1997). *Feminist Issues in Prostitution*. A chart of the various types of prostitution. Available at: <http://www.feministissues.com/chart.pdf>

<sup>40</sup> Bromberg S. (1997). *Feminist Issues in Prostitution*. A chart of the various types of prostitution. Available at: <http://www.feministissues.com/chart.pdf>

<sup>41</sup> Bromberg S. (1997). *Feminist Issues in Prostitution*. A chart of the various types of prostitution. Available at: <http://www.feministissues.com/chart.pdf>

<sup>42</sup> Farley, M. (2000). *Readings on Prostitution*. p. 2 Available at: <http://www.soc.iastate.edu/sapp/Prostitution.pdf>

<sup>43</sup> Bromberg S. (1997). *Feminist Issues in Prostitution*. A chart of the various types of prostitution. Available at: <http://www.feministissues.com/chart.pdf>

### 3 Methodology

As a research strategy for my master thesis I have chosen qualitative research. For developing my paper I have been using various research methods such as participant observation, unstructured interviews, case study and qualitative comparative analysis. I will start (in chapter 2) with presenting the primary as well as secondary sources which have helped me to a clear overview and conceptualization of the phenomena of prostitution, trafficking in human beings and migration.

In the next part (chapter 4) I will create a country profile of the Czech Republic and Norway with a special emphasis on legal frameworks relevant to prostitution and human trafficking. Conceptualizing of human trafficking is important especially with regard to my experience with Nigerian women in prostitution. I will also include a summary of organizations which help women in prostitution in both countries (in chapters 4. 1. 1 and 4. 2. 1). All this is important for an analysis chapter (5. 4.), where I will point out main differences and similarities and interconnect it with work of NGOs and challenges they have to face to.

During my field work I was using following research methods – participant observation, and unstructured interviews. According to Allan Bryman participant observation is a “research in which the researcher immerses him- or herself in a social setting for an extended period of time, observing behaviour, listening to what is said in conversations between others and with the fieldworker, and asking questions<sup>44</sup>.” Unstructured interview is a type of interview where, according to Bryman, the interviewer “typically has only a list of topics or issues<sup>45</sup>.”

As a research language I was using English in Norway and Czech in the Czech Republic. A big part of Albertine’s work is just in English because most Nigerian women there do not speak Norwegian and they are using English for conversations with Albertine workers as well as with their customers. I also had the advantage of my native language in Norway when I was translating a message for Czech/Slovakian speaking women in prostitution in Stavanger and when I was trying to call them and explain what Albertine can do for them. When I had the interview with a feminist Anne Kalvig in

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<sup>44</sup> Bryman A. (2008). *Social Research Methods*. 3rd Edition. Oxford University Press. p. 697

<sup>45</sup> Bryman A. (2008). *Social Research Methods*. 3rd Edition. Oxford University Press. p. 196

November 2010, who is a member of a radical feminist group Ottar<sup>46</sup>, we were speaking English. In the Czech Republic I was speaking exclusively Czech when I was talking to staff of Rozkoš bez rizika.

To be more specific about my field work, it consists of meetings and interviews with both of the above mentioned NGOs – their workers, as well as I had conversations with some women in prostitution while joining Albertine. As I have already mentioned above one part was conducted in České Budějovice, another part in Stavanger where I work as a volunteer for Albertine until now.

My plan was to do exactly the same for both organizations to get a high quality comparable data sample. At the end, this did not happen because I could not go out with Rozkoš bez rizika. The reason was that I was going to move to Stavanger. Rozkoš-workers explained that it is not really possible to obtain needed information from women in prostitution if they do not know me. It is necessary to build up some kind of “a relation” first and it usually takes quite a long time. Whenever women in prostitution see “a new face” going out with Rozkoš bez rizika, they get a bit sceptical and suspicious and it is more difficult to talk to them. After all, they promised to try to arrange for me a meeting with one out-spoken girl who was willing to talk even about human trafficking. It did not happen either as that girl suddenly disappeared. However, I got answers for questions which I had had ready for Rozkoš bez rizika; they also supplied background information and their internal data which I am mentioning in my thesis. I was in touch with them from February 2011 till July 2011 although already in July 2010 I have been in contact with a head of Rozkoš bez rizika (Hana Malinová) when she sent me some information I asked for. With the South Bohemian branch we had a couple of meetings and were communicated a lot via email. I also got a reference from them to contact Jana Poláková in Prague regarding information about Nigerian women in the Czech Republic.

Cooperation with Albertine is, let us say, a long term project for me. First meeting with them I had already at the end of November 2010 and our cooperation lasts until now (June 2013). I have started with a meeting with their leader and nurse, I am still going out with them to check and talk to women in prostitution in town, taking part in volunteer sessions where we discuss current situation or watch documents related to

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<sup>46</sup> Radical feminist group Ottar – more information available at: <http://kvinnegruppa-ottar.no/no/>



prostitution and human trafficking. I have also had a chance to join them during their office hours to see what they usually do as well as I tried to contact a couple of Czech and Slovakian girls working as prostitutes in Stavanger. It did not work very well when I called them. They did not want to talk to me and hanged up right away. Albertine worker said it is very common. Women in prostitution sometimes get nervous when they hear woman's voice. Moreover, they probably did not expect to hear someone speaking Czech. So after all, I translated a message (see appendix 1), where it is explained what Albertine can do for them.

All these experiences enabled me to elicit the information which I am using later on in my paper. It also helped me to develop a clear opinion on my topic, motivated and inspired me to carry out research even more in detail. My observations and interactions with people from NGOs, who deal with prostitution and human trafficking on the everyday basis and in practical terms, has provided me with a crucial material for elaborating comprehensive and comparative research. I do believe that my cooperation with both organizations and sharing experience from both countries could be useful even for NGO workers I have been in touch with. A source in Albertine said it was very nice that I could join them and present how a similar project in a different country works so, from my point of view, this field work could be understood as a mutual learning for both sides.

In chapter *Nigerian Women in Prostitution* I will present a brief case study of these migrants. The case study can be understood as “a research design that entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case. The term is sometimes extended to include the study of just two or three cases for comparatives purposes<sup>47</sup>.” In this part I will be focused more on Norway because here the majority of women in prostitution are from Nigeria while in the Czech Republic there is quite a small number of them although increasing in last few years. In this chapter I will put the emphasis also on trafficking in women because it is an inseparable phenomenon when one mentions this group of migrants in Europe. No one knows exact number of victims of human trafficking but there are many estimates and studies about this topic. I believe I met some of them while doing my field work and the reason I will explain later in chapter 5. 3.

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<sup>47</sup> Bryman A. (2008). *Social Research Methods*. 3rd Edition. Oxford University Press. p. 691

In chapter 5. 4 there will be a construction of a qualitative comparative analysis. This analysis can be understood, according to Gordon Marshall, as a method based on binary logic and which attempts to maximize the number of comparisons that can be made across the cases while doing a research<sup>48</sup>. I will be using this approach for the comparison of the Czech Republic and Norway, as well as České Budějovice and Stavanger considering to all topics mentioned in introduction.

My main research questions are following: “What are the main differences in the Czech and Norwegian state approaches to prostitution? How different legal frameworks influence an effective help to women in prostitution who need it? Are there any similar patterns between prostitution in České Budějovice and Stavanger? How do migration networks function in the case of Nigerian women in prostitution?”

The principle objectives of my master thesis are, as I outlined already above, to look at the phenomenon of prostitution from different angles and to present various legal approaches. I also intend to give a description of the policy on prostitution and human trafficking in the Czech Republic as well as the same policy in Norway, compare it and point out how these approaches correlate with the work of NGOs which are focused on help of women in prostitution. My other goal is to outline a current situation in the Czech Republic with a view to prostitution – with an emphasis mainly on the České Budějovice area, likewise in Norway on the Stavanger area.

In my master thesis I will be using names of Czech NGO workers I have been in touch with. For the Norwegian part of my paper I will not be using names because of a specific Norwegian regulation on social science data (NSD). When I will be presenting information about women in prostitution, who I met during my field work, I will be using fake names.

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<sup>48</sup> Marshall G. (1998). *Qualitative comparative analysis*. A Dictionary of Sociology. Available at: <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1O88-qualitativecomparatvnllyss.html>

## 4 Country Descriptions - Focus on Legal Framework

In this chapter I am presenting a description of the Czech Republic and Norway with a focus on prostitution and human trafficking. The laws differ. Simply said for the beginning, prostitution in the Czech Republic is ignored in the Czech Code of Laws, thus legal. However, organized prostitution such as brothels or pimping is banned. In Norway, prostitution is legal as well although it is “regularized”. It is allowed to sell sexual services but at the same time it is illegal for Norwegian citizens/people living in Norway to buy sex whether in Norway or for Norwegians also overseas. With regards to human trafficking for sexual exploitation the Czech Republic is a source, transit even destination country while Norway is more a destination country. In both countries trafficking in people is a crime.

### 4.1 The Czech Republic

Prostitution market in the Czech Republic is large-scale. It is hard to express in exact numbers how many women/people in prostitution actually are in the Czech Republic but according to the article *V Česku roste počet prostitutek nakažených syfilidou* (“There is an increasing number of women in prostitution suffering from syphilis”) there could be around 10 000 people working in this business<sup>49</sup>. Other estimates of Czech NGOs report even higher numbers - around 30 000 people<sup>50</sup>.

With regards to the domestic law related to prostitution one has to highlight that prostitution is actually not defined. However, the following sections of the Criminal Code are used to prosecute prostitution and related acts: Section 202, Hooliganism; Section 217, Endangering Morals of Youth; and Section 217a, Instigation to Sexual Intercourse<sup>51</sup>. There is also the article in the Czech Criminal Code which deals with pimping. It is the Article 204 and it says:

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<sup>49</sup> ČT24 (2010). *V Česku roste počet prostitutek nakažených syfilidou*. Česká televize. Available at: <http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/ct24/domaci/106149-v-cesku-roste-pocet-prostitutek-nakazenych-syfilidou/>

<sup>50</sup> ČTK (2007). *Kolik je v Česku prostitutek? Možná až třicet tisíc*. Týden.cz. Available at: [http://www.tyden.cz/rubriky/domaci/kolik-je-v-cesku-prostitutek-mozna-az-tricet-tisic\\_17543.html](http://www.tyden.cz/rubriky/domaci/kolik-je-v-cesku-prostitutek-mozna-az-tricet-tisic_17543.html)

<sup>51</sup> Hančilová B., Massey C. (2009). *Legislation and the Situation Concerning Trafficking in Human Beings for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation in EU Member States*. (ICMPD). p. 162 Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/doc\\_centre/crime/docs/evaluation\\_eu\\_ms\\_thb\\_legislation\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/doc_centre/crime/docs/evaluation_eu_ms_thb_legislation_en.pdf)

“(1) Whoever engages, forces or lures another person to carry out prostitution or profits from prostitution carried out by another person, shall be punished by imprisonment for a term of three years.

(2) Whoever commits such act as defined in paragraph 1 shall be sentenced to imprisonment for a term of two to eight years in case he made use of violence or threat or other violent means or if the person abused is in a dependent position in the relation to him/her.

(3) Two to eight years of imprisonment shall be served by a person

a) who gains a substantial profit from the acts defined in paragraph 1 or 2,

b) who commits the act as a member of an organised group; or

c) who commits the act on a person younger than eighteen years.

(4) The imprisonment of five to twelve years shall be served by a perpetrator who has committed the act defined in paragraph 2 on a person younger than fifteen years<sup>52</sup>.”

Pimping and brothels are illegal in the Czech Republic, but one can find many places where their owners take provision or some kind of a fee from women working in their “clubs”. It is not rare that brothels are officially called “guest houses” where women in prostitution are officially signed in as normal guests. One can understand this example as a way how to evade the law. In the Czech Republic many women in prostitution mainly on streets have their pimps who more or less watch them but usually take the commission.

It is very important to highlight that prostitution is not a crime in the Czech Republic. Organised prostitution is considered an offence against public order. Pandering and profiting from one’s prostitution is an offence. Draft legislation for legalising prostitution as “sex work” is pending. There has been a big debate in parliament and media about legalization of prostitution recently but there is no legal “action” so far.

With regard to human trafficking in the Czech Republic, I will outline a few historical remarks first. The expansion of trafficking for sexual exploitation took place in

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<sup>52</sup> Hančilová B., Massey C. (2009). *Legislation and the Situation Concerning Trafficking in Human Beings for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation in EU Member States*. (ICMPD). p. 162 Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/doc\\_centre/crime/docs/evaluation\\_eu\\_ms\\_thb\\_legislation\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/doc_centre/crime/docs/evaluation_eu_ms_thb_legislation_en.pdf)

connection with the specific migration situation after the fall of the Iron Curtain in the early nineties of the last century, when women from Eastern Europe were the main “goods” in Western European market. That time even the Czech Republic was hit by this wave<sup>53</sup>. During the nineties one can see a change. The Czech Republic became gradually more an attractive destination country (thanks to an economic level and its location next to Germany and Austria), and less a source country<sup>54</sup>.

Currently, the Czech Republic can be tagged as a source, destination even transit country for women who are forced to prostitution (several sources – e.g. Trafficking in Persons Report 2012<sup>55</sup>). According to the same report women from many countries – including the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Ukraine, Russia, Nigeria, and Brazil are forced to prostitution in the Czech Republic. Regarding African countries, cases involving Nigerian victims have been reported. For the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, Germany and Scandinavian countries the Czech Republic is still considered as a source country<sup>56</sup>. Into the bargain, The Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic presented in its strategy report *Národní strategie boje proti obchodování s lidmi v České republice na období 2012 – 2015* (“National strategy to combat human trafficking in the Czech Republic for the period 2012 – 2015”) that the Czech Republic is a destination country mainly for citizens of Ukraine, Slovakia, Russia, Vietnam, Moldavia, Mongolia and since 2010 also for migrants from Romania and Bulgaria<sup>57</sup>.

Most common victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation from the Czech Republic are usually from areas with high unemployment, favourite tourist destinations and places with increased supply and demand for all kinds of sexual services. High-risk-locations are borderlands, truck-line highways, Northern Moravia, Prague and Brno<sup>58</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic (2013). *Obchod s lidmi - Popis situace v obchodu s lidmi*. Available at: <http://www.mvcr.cz/mvcren/docDetail.aspx?docid=10093&doctype=ART>

<sup>54</sup> Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic (2013). *Obchod s lidmi - Popis situace v obchodu s lidmi*. Available at: <http://www.mvcr.cz/mvcren/docDetail.aspx?docid=10093&doctype=ART>

<sup>55</sup> The United States Department of State (2012). *Trafficking in Persons Report 2012 - The Czech Republic*. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192594.pdf>

<sup>56</sup> Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic (2013). *Obchod s lidmi - Popis situace v obchodu s lidmi*. Available at: <http://www.mvcr.cz/mvcren/docDetail.aspx?docid=10093&doctype=ART>

<sup>57</sup> Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic (2012). *Národní strategie boje proti obchodování s lidmi v České republice na období 2012 – 2015*. Available at: [www.mvcr.cz/soubor/narodni-strategie-boje-proti-obchodu-s-lidmi.pdf.aspx](http://www.mvcr.cz/soubor/narodni-strategie-boje-proti-obchodu-s-lidmi.pdf.aspx)

<sup>58</sup> Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic (2013). *Obchod s lidmi - Popis situace v obchodu s lidmi*. Available at: <http://www.mvcr.cz/mvcren/docDetail.aspx?docid=10093&doctype=ART>

Most foreign victims of trafficking stay in the Czech Republic within tourist visa, fake invitations or illegally<sup>59</sup>.

The most important international document linked to human trafficking is the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (“Palermo Protocol”). It has been signed by the Czech Republic on 10 December 2002. However, Blanka Hančilová and Camille Massey write in their evaluation: “The fact that there are no provisions for criminal liability of legal persons in Czech legislation often officially justifies failure of the Czech Republic to ratify a number of international treaties that oblige state parties to criminally prosecute legal persons (for example Palermo Protocol)...<sup>60</sup>.” This has been fixed and in January 2012, the government “adopted legislation permitting corporate criminal liability, enabling the Czech Republic to ratify the United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons<sup>61</sup>.”

Czech Criminal Code deals with trafficking in human beings in the Article 232a (as amended by the Act No. 537/2004) and defines:

“1) Whoever induces, engages, hires, lures, transports, hides, detains or delivers a person under 18 years of age to be used

a) for sexual intercourse or other forms of sexual molestation or exploitation,

b) for slavery or servitude, or

c) for forced labour or other forms of exploitation, shall be punished to imprisonment for two to ten years.

2) In the same manner will be punished whoever by means of the use of force, threat of force, deception or abuse of his mistake, stress or dependence induces, engages, hires, lures, transports, hides, detains or delivers another to be used

a) for sexual intercourse or other forms of sexual molestation or exploitation,

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<sup>59</sup> Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic (2013). *Obchod s lidmi - Popis situace v obchodu s lidmi*. Available at: <http://www.mvcr.cz/mvcren/docDetail.aspx?docid=10093&doctype=ART>

<sup>60</sup> Hančilová B., Massey C. (2009). *Legislation and the Situation Concerning Trafficking in Human Beings for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation in EU Member States*. (ICMPD). p. 165 Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/doc\\_centre/crime/docs/evaluation\\_eu\\_ms\\_thb\\_legislation\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/doc_centre/crime/docs/evaluation_eu_ms_thb_legislation_en.pdf)

<sup>61</sup> The United States Department of State (2012). *Trafficking in Persons Report 2012 - The Czech Republic*. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192594.pdf>

- b) for slavery or servitude, or
  - c) for forced labour or other forms of exploitation.
- 3) Offender shall be punished by imprisonment of five to twelve years,
- a) if he commits the crime stated in Article 1 or 2 as a member of an organised group,
  - b) if he exposes another by such act to danger of an aggravated bodily harm or death,
  - c) if he commits such act with the intent of obtaining a substantial gain, or
  - d) if he commits such act with the intent of using another for prostitution.
- 4) Offender shall be punished by imprisonment of eight to fifteen years,
- a) if he causes by the crime stated in Article 1 or 2 an aggravated bodily harm, death or another particularly grave consequence,
  - b) if he commits such act with the intent of obtaining a gain of large scope, or
  - c) if he commits such act in connection with an organised group operating in more countries<sup>62</sup>.”

Czech legal system allows also punishing of people who know they use services provided by a victim of human trafficking. Blanka Hančilová and Camille Massey mention is their evaluation: “Apart from criminalizing the known use of services of a trafficked person, a person knowingly using such services could be charged as an accomplice in trafficking in human beings<sup>63</sup>.”

“In the Czech Republic, presumed victims who were granted the reflection period or residence permit are entitled to accommodation. They have access to health insurance if required, to training, education and the labour market<sup>64</sup>.” The health insurance system of the Czech Republic in general is an important theme for my following pages. Every citizen, with the exception of designated vulnerable groups, must make mandatory contributions to an approved Czech health insurance company. “Foreigners without

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<sup>62</sup> Hančilová B., Massey C. (2009). *Legislation and the Situation Concerning Trafficking in Human Beings for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation in EU Member States*. (ICMPD). p. 162 Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/doc\\_centre/crime/docs/evaluation\\_eu\\_ms\\_thb\\_legislation\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/doc_centre/crime/docs/evaluation_eu_ms_thb_legislation_en.pdf)

<sup>63</sup> Hančilová B., Massey C. (2009). *Legislation and the Situation Concerning Trafficking in Human Beings for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation in EU Member States*. (ICMPD). p. 52 Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/doc\\_centre/crime/docs/evaluation\\_eu\\_ms\\_thb\\_legislation\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/doc_centre/crime/docs/evaluation_eu_ms_thb_legislation_en.pdf)

<sup>64</sup> Hančilová B., Massey C. (2009). *Legislation and the Situation Concerning Trafficking in Human Beings for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation in EU Member States*. (ICMPD). p. 76 Available at: [http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/doc\\_centre/crime/docs/evaluation\\_eu\\_ms\\_thb\\_legislation\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/doc_centre/crime/docs/evaluation_eu_ms_thb_legislation_en.pdf)

permanent residence are not entitled to public health insurance, unless they participate in the sickness insurance as employees<sup>65</sup>.”

Summing up, according to the *Trafficking in Persons Report 2012* “the Government of the Czech Republic fully complies with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking<sup>66</sup>.” In the same report it says that “the Government of the Czech Republic prohibits all forms of trafficking in persons under Section 168 of its criminal code, revised in 2010, prescribing punishments of up to 16 years’ imprisonment. These punishments are sufficiently stringent and commensurate with those prescribed for other serious crimes, such as rape. The government continued to prosecute some trafficking cases investigated as human trafficking before January 2010 under Sections 232a and 204 of the criminal code<sup>67</sup>.”

#### **4. 1. 1 Czech Organizations Helping Women in Prostitution**

In the Czech Republic there are not many organizations which are focused on trafficking in human beings and prostitution. There are La Strada Czech Republic, Association Czech Catholic Caritas, Bílý Kruh Bezpečí, International Organization for Migration (IOM), Rozkoš bez rizika (“Bliss without Risk”), and Šance (“Chance”). The most important is definitely La Strada that is concentrated on social assistance to women victims of trafficking, legal consultation, medical examination and advice. Moreover, people from this organization help with searching for jobs for victims of trafficking and arrange informational events for girls and young women around the Czech Republic which have preventive nature. Their lobbying involves work with media and attempts to influence both Czech and international legislation in order to ensure protection of the rights of female victims of trafficking. The association Czech Catholic Caritas provides street work in borderline areas with women in prostitution and trafficked women as well as crisis intervention and the health and social assistance. IOM is the organization which is engaged with assistance with immigration and police and also with documentation assistance and return assistance to country of origin. Rozkoš bez rizika work with women in prostitution and tender HIV/AIDS preventive services. This organization is divided into branches within the whole country. In South

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<sup>65</sup> Kábelová A. (2010). *Foreigners’ Health Insurance*. Available at: <http://www.czech.cz/en/Life-Work/How-things-work-here/Health-service/Foreigners%E2%80%99-Health-Insurance>

<sup>66</sup> The United States Department of State (2012). *Trafficking in Persons Report 2012 - The Czech Republic*. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192594.pdf>

<sup>67</sup> The United States Department of State (2012). *Trafficking in Persons Report 2012 - The Czech Republic*. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192594.pdf>



Bohemia they have just started the project called Jihočeská rozkoš (“South Bohemian Bliss”). They aim to help women in prostitution in borderland, especially in České Velenice, Dolní Dvořiště, Strážný, Studánky, and also in some bigger cities such as Písek, České Budějovice, Vyšší Brod, Kaplice, Jindřichův Hradec, Strakonice and Tábor. The purpose of this project is to provide free sexual transmitted diseases (STD) testing, free condoms and so on. Šance supports homosexual sex workers. There are also some other smaller organizations (usually civil associations) which deal with sex workers’ support mainly locally. As an example I can name “Network East-West” with its centre Jana.

## 4. 2 Norway

Norwegian prostitution law has been inspired by Swedish law. Formally, there is only one piece of Norwegian legislation which mentions prostitution and it is *The Norwegian General Civil Penal Code*. As I have mentioned already above Norway adopted the Swedish model in January 2009 and the law says that “you are allowed to sell sexual services in Norway. However, it is illegal for Norwegian citizens/people living in Norway to buy sexual services, whether in Norway or overseas. Buying sexual services is punishable with a fine and up to six months in prison<sup>68</sup>.” In Norway it is also illegal to earn money from other people selling sex (directly and indirectly) as well as it is illegal to advertise sexual services. There are 3 sections of the Penal Code (to be specific 202, 202a and 203) which are essential for the Norwegian state in dealing with prostitution.

There is, let us say, “The Pimping Law” (Section 202 of the Norwegian General Civil Penal Code) which says:

“Anyone who

- a) promotes the engagement of other persons in prostitution, or
- b) lets premises on the understanding that such premises shall be used for prostitution or is grossly negligent in this respect

shall be liable to fines or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years.”

Any person, who in a public announcement unambiguously offers, arranges or asks for prostitution shall be liable to fines or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six

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<sup>68</sup> Pro Senteret. Norwegian law. Available at: <http://prosentret.no/en/lovverk/>

months. In this provision, prostitution means that a person engages in sexual activity or commits a sexual act with another person in return for payment<sup>69</sup>.”

Then the law against buying sexual services (Section 202a of the Norwegian General Civil Penal Code) which is defined as:

“Any person who

- a) procures sexual intercourse or any other sexual act, for himself/herself or for another person, in return for payment or agreement to provide payment,
- b) procures sexual intercourse or any other sexual act in return for another person paying or agreeing to pay, or
- c) in the manner described in a) or b) above induces someone to carry out acts that are equivalent to sexual intercourse with himself/herself

shall be liable to a fine or up to 6 months’ imprisonment or both<sup>70</sup>.”

Section 203 pertains to prohibition against buying sex from anyone under the age of 18.

As well as in the Czech Republic there are rules which deal with prostitution although that certain law is not aimed only to this specific problem. As the example there is Section 7 of the Police Act on maintaining public order and peace which “allows the police to intervene in order to stop breaches of the peace or when there is reason to fear such a breach<sup>71</sup>.”

In Section 60a of the Norwegian General Civil Penal Code deals with organised crime in a following way: “If a criminal act has been committed as part of the activity of an organised criminal group, the maximum penalty laid down in the penal provision shall be increased to double its prescribed limit, but not by more than five years’ imprisonment.

An organised criminal group is here defined as an organised group of three or more persons whose main purpose is to commit an act that is punishable by imprisonment for

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<sup>69</sup> United Nations. *General Civil Penal Code*. Norway. p. 58 Available at: [http://www.un.org/Depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/NOR\\_penal\\_code.pdf](http://www.un.org/Depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/NOR_penal_code.pdf)

<sup>70</sup> Pro Senteret. Norwegian law. Available at: <http://prosentret.no/en/lovverk/>

<sup>71</sup> Pro Senteret. Norwegian law. Available at: <http://prosentret.no/en/lovverk>

a term of not less than three years, or whose activity largely consists of committing such acts...<sup>72</sup>.”

Regarding the laws against human trafficking, what is especially important for my case study about Nigerian women in prostitution, it is two sections in Norwegian General Civil Penal Code (224 and 60a).

In *Trafficking in Persons Report 2012* The US Government presents that “Norway prohibits all forms of trafficking in persons through Criminal Code Section 224, which prescribes a maximum penalty of 10 years’ imprisonment – a penalty sufficiently stringent and commensurate with punishments prescribed for other serious offenses, such as rape<sup>73</sup>.” This mentioned section is framed:

“Any person who by force, threats, abuse of another person’s vulnerability or other improper conduct exploits another person for the purpose of

- a) prostitution or other sexual purposes,
- b) forced labour or forced services, including begging,
- c) military service in a foreign country, or
- d) removal of any of the said person’s organs,

or who induces another person to allow himself or herself to be used for such purposes, shall be guilty of human trafficking, and shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years.

Any person who

- a) makes arrangements for such exploitation or inducement as is mentioned in the first paragraph by procuring, transporting or receiving the person concerned,
- b) in any other way aids and abets such exploitation or inducement, or
- c) provides payment or any other advantage in order to obtain consent to such exploitation from any person who is in a position of authority over the aggrieved party, or who receives such payment or other advantage shall be liable to the same penalty.

Any person who commits an act referred to in the first or second paragraph against a person who is under the age of 18 shall be liable to a penalty independently of any use

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<sup>72</sup> The United Nations. *General Civil Penal Code*. Norway. p. 22 Available at: [http://www.un.org/Depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/NOR\\_penal\\_code.pdf](http://www.un.org/Depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/NOR_penal_code.pdf)

<sup>73</sup> The United States Department of State (2012). *Trafficking in Persons Report 2012 - Norway*. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192597.pdf>

of force or threats, abuse of a person's vulnerability, or other improper conduct. Being mistaken about someone's age does not affect criminal liability, unless diligent good faith has been shown.

Gross human trafficking is punishable by imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years. In deciding whether the offence is gross, particular importance shall be attached to whether the person exposed to the act was under the age of 18, whether gross violence or coercion was used or whether the act led to considerable gain<sup>74</sup>.”

One can consider Norway as a destination country and to a lesser extent a transit and source country<sup>75</sup> for victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. *The US Report on Trafficking in Persons* presents that: “Traffickers from Eastern Europe are typically members of small family mafias; offenders seduce young women in their home countries and convince them to come to Norway, where they are forced into prostitution. Most trafficking victims identified in Norway originate in Nigeria, while others came from Eastern Europe (Lithuania, Romania, Hungary, and Bulgaria), Africa (Algeria, Ghana, Eritrea, Cameroon, Kenya, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo), Brazil, China, and the Philippines<sup>76</sup>.” With regards to identification documents and visa the same report refers to the fact that “these victims usually travel to Norway on Schengen visas issued by other European countries, and transit several countries, such as Italy, Spain, and Morocco<sup>77</sup>.” African trafficking offenders usually force victims into prostitution through threats of voodoo (to be more specific they do it through “juju” rituals which I am describing later in chapter 5)<sup>78</sup>.

The most important international documents, with regards to human trafficking, implemented into Norwegian law are the Palermo Protocol and the Council of Europe treaty. Norway signed the Palermo Protocol on 13 December 2000, ratified the Protocol

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<sup>74</sup> The United Nations. *General Civil Penal Code*. Norway. pp. 62-63 Available at: [http://www.un.org/Depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/NOR\\_penal\\_code.pdf](http://www.un.org/Depts/los/LEGISLATIONANDTREATIES/PDFFILES/NOR_penal_code.pdf)

<sup>75</sup> The United States Department of State (2012). *Trafficking in Persons Report 2012 - Norway*. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192597.pdf>

<sup>76</sup> The United States Department of State (2012). *Trafficking in Persons Report 2012 - Norway*. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192597.pdf>

<sup>77</sup> The United States Department of State (2012). *Trafficking in Persons Report 2012 - Norway*. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192597.pdf>

<sup>78</sup> Juju ritual - The priest takes some of the young girls' pubic hair, nail clippings and menstrual blood, and then officiates a ceremony in which she promises to repay her debt, never to escape, never to talk to the police and never to reveal any details of the juju ritual. A container holding the girls' hair, blood and clippings is sold to the madam who purchases the girl after transport to Europe, thereby transferring spiritual control to her. – available at: <http://thecnnfreedomproject.blogs.cnn.com/2011/04/01/juju-oaths-ensnare-trafficking-victims-mind-body-and-soul/>

on 23 September 2003. Council of Europe treaty was signed on 16 May 2005 and ratified on 1 January 2008. It entered the treaty into force on 1 May 2008.

With regards to health issues it is important to mention The Communicable Diseases Control Act which “entitles anyone who is in Norway to preventive care, diagnosis and treatment for the relevant diseases. It does not allow collective restrictions to be imposed on prostitutes<sup>79</sup>.”

#### **4. 2. 1 Norwegian Organizations Helping Women in Prostitution**

There are a few NGOs in Norway that have assistance programs for women in prostitution and sometimes at the same time for female trafficking victims. There is also a specific project – ROSA - designed by the Norwegian Ministry of Justice and Public Security which is the national coordinator for assistance for female victims of trafficking. This project was established in January 2005. ROSA provides all the necessary assistance and guidance that is needed for trafficking victims and that includes safe shelters, assistance, rehabilitation, health care, legal services and money<sup>80</sup>. They also receive assistance on applying for legal employment, education and how to reintegrate women in trafficking into society. The ROSA project cooperates with other “crisis-centres” that provide shelter and also with relevant authorities such as the Norwegian police, crisis centres, Directorate of Immigration (UDI), International Organization for Migration (IOM), Norwegian Organization for Asylum Seekers (NOAS) and the Nadheim Center for Women in Oslo<sup>81</sup>. To provide a complete list of organizations and projects helping women in prostitution, one should name also KAST<sup>82</sup>. It is a centre which offers sexological counselling, answers questions about sexually transmitted diseases and also provides checkups. Everyone who seeks help can come to their office or contact staff of KAST by phone, chat or SMS.

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<sup>79</sup> Pro Senteret. Norwegian law. Available at: <http://prosentret.no/en/lovverk>

<sup>80</sup> The United States Department of State (2012). *Trafficking in Persons Report 2012 - Norway*. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192597.pdf>

<sup>81</sup> Nordic-Baltic Network (2008), Assistance Program for Women Victims of Trafficking in Norway. Article 33

<sup>82</sup> KAST – more information available at: <http://www.kast-norge.no/>

There are also other organizations helping women in prostitution in Norway. They work in bigger cities and could be considered as local. In Oslo, one can name, “Kirkens bymisjon” projects such as Nadheim<sup>83</sup>, Natthjemmet<sup>84</sup> and Lauras hus<sup>85</sup>.

In Bergen there are Omsorgsbasen for kvinner (“A care centre for women”), Nykirkens kvinnekafe<sup>86</sup> run by Kirkens bymisjon and EVA - Bergen Røde kors<sup>87</sup>. In Trondheim there is Ung Pro<sup>88</sup> under Kirkens bymisjon. Last but not least one should mention Stavanger and its organizations Albertine and Svanegrupper<sup>89</sup> which is only for Norwegian speaking women.

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<sup>83</sup> Nadheim – more information available at: <http://www.bymisjon.no/nadheim>

<sup>84</sup> Natthjemmet – more information available at: <http://www.bymisjon.no/Virksomheter/Natthjemmet/>

<sup>85</sup> Lauras hus – more information available at: <http://www.bymisjon.no/no/Virksomheter/Nadheim/Lauras-hus/>

<sup>86</sup> Nykirkens Kvinnekafe – more information available at: <http://www.bymisjon.no/Virksomheter/Omsorgsbasen-for-kvinner/>

<sup>87</sup> Eva - Bergen Røde kors – more information available at: [http://lokal.rodekors.no/distrikt\\_hjemmesider/hordaland\\_rode\\_kors/vare\\_aktiviteter/omsorg\\_og\\_toleranse/dorapner\\_for\\_kvinner\\_i\\_prostitusjon\\_/](http://lokal.rodekors.no/distrikt_hjemmesider/hordaland_rode_kors/vare_aktiviteter/omsorg_og_toleranse/dorapner_for_kvinner_i_prostitusjon_/)

<sup>88</sup> Ung Pro – more information available at: <http://www.bymisjon.no/no/Virksomheter/OBU---Omsorgsstasjonen-for-barn-og-ungdom/>

<sup>89</sup> Svanegrupper – more information available at: <http://www.svanerne.com/>

## 5 Empirical Findings

In this part I will present data which I got while doing my field work. I will also include descriptions of organizations Albertine and Rozkoš bez rizika, present a case study on Nigerian women in prostitution where I also would like to point out why I have been mentioning human trafficking issue from the very beginning of my paper. I will touch many various issues because prostitution is a multifaceted topic.

### 5.1 Rozkoš bez rizika (Bliss without Risk)

The organization Rozkoš bez rizika (Bliss without Risk) aims to help women in prostitution. They provide them with HIV/AIDS preventive services, psychological support as well as social counselling to prostitutes and former prostitutes regardless of their race, ethnicity, nationality, age, sexual orientation, religion, origin and social settings. Their aim is preventing HIV/AIDS expansion, reducing the incidence of sexually transmitted infections, reducing the negative social effects connected with prostitution via supporting the rights of prostitutes and their integration into society.<sup>90</sup>

The aims of Rozkoš bez rizika are mainly related to health issues such as stabilization and cutting down on proliferation of AIDS but they also intend to improve status of sex workers in society, at their working places as well as in their private lives. Target group are especially women in the sex industry, as well as other people somehow involved in sex business who are endangered by risky life style (not only hazardous sexual behaviour). Hence, the whole society profits of the work of Rozkoš bez rizika. Rozkoš bez rizika claims: “Health of every single one of us influences health of all of us. Nothing excuses committing harm or violating women (human being). Everyone has the right to help if she/he decides to change somehow her/his life.” In other words, the organization focuses on defending the interests of sex workers.

They operate in twelve regions of the Czech Republic. They have three main centres (Prague, České Budějovice, Brno) and work in other cities as well (e.g. Liberec, Zlín, Olomouc, Pardubice, Hradec Králové).

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<sup>90</sup> Rozkoš bez rizika. Available on: <http://www.rozkosbezrizika.cz/cz/co-delame/>

Rozkoš bez rizika provides health, social and therapeutic services (professional counselling in Prague, Brno and České Budějovice and therapeutic services in Prague) to its clients. They also offer treatment for sexually transmitted diseases (STD) and HIV testing. The status of Rozkoš bez rizika is a private healthcare facility.

It worth mentioning, that they offer also something “special” to their clients. They play theatre, hold leisure activities for children and their mothers, and give rise to “a job club”. Rozkoš bez rizika is also active in international networks. Firstly, it is a member of SWAN<sup>91</sup>, secondly, it is the Czech coordinator of the project TAMPEP<sup>92</sup> and last but not least they provided their “know how” for projects in Zimbabwe and Odessa.

### **5. 1. 1 Data from My Field Work**

My first contact with the South Bohemian branch of Rozkoš bez rizika was a meeting with the head of the department Monika Kochlöflová. I had some questions ready as well as we were talking about my experience from Albertine in Norway. She pointed out that the big problem and also a limitation for their work is money. If they had more support they could do a higher number of examinations (more detailed as well) and offer more to women in prostitution. Later, I had a meeting with Milena Mutlová, who worked as a social worker at the time, was usually preparing documents and presentations and then represented Rozkoš bez rizika officially in meetings at a regional level or in Prague. She provided me many internal sources and data.

Monika Kochlöflová mentioned that estimates show approximately 10 000 – 15 000 women in prostitution in the Czech Republic, 70% are from the Czech Republic, then from Slovakia, countries in the former Soviet Union (Ukraine, Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus) and Bulgaria. There have been an increasing number of women from Africa recently, although it is mostly in Prague, not so much in the České Budějovice area.

In Rozkoš bez rizika they approach all women in prostitution as commercial sexual workers; they perceive prostitution strictly as a job. However, when I asked if women in prostitution mind the term “prostitute” (in Czech language “prostitutka”) Milena Mutlová said they usually do not but it depends on circumstances and the way one uses

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<sup>91</sup> The Sex Workers’ Rights Advocacy Network is a network of civil society organizations engaged in advocating the Human Rights of the sex workers in Central and Eastern Europe, CIS and South-East Europe. Available at: <http://swannet.org/>

<sup>92</sup> TAMPEP is an international networking and intervention project operating in 25 countries in Europe which aims to act as an observatory in relation to the dynamics of migrant prostitution across Europe. Available at: <http://tampep.eu/>



this word. For a big part of society it is a stereotypical notion. On the other hand, there are even women who call themselves “děvka” (“whore”) or “šlapka” (“street-girl”) but it is quite rare.

As I mentioned above Rozkoš workers are for legalizing prostitution because of many reasons. For instance, considering prostitution as work would help improve the situation regarding health issues. For sex workers it would be possible to get into a national insurance system, hence, the whole society would be more protected against sexually transmitted diseases. It would be easier for the state to set obligatory check-ups as well as to gain some money from “taxes” for example for prevention. Rozkoš bez rizika did a study<sup>93</sup> among women in prostitution and the statistics say that some women would embrace regularization/legalization, however 67% are opposed to this solution as they do this job in secret, no one knows (family members, friends) or cannot imagine giving bills to clients who require discreetness. Very often they say they work in a bar when they work in a brothel in fact, thus for them legalization would mean an unwanted revelation.

Milena Mutlová pointed out that there is a phenomenon which comes along with dealing with prostitution (concerning women in prostitution as well as NGO workers). All experience, women have to face, lead to an absolute loss of illusions about men which influences their perception of men also after quitting prostitution or working for organizations helping women in prostitution. Even in a case where a woman is involved in prostitution voluntarily it can affect her future life in a significant way.

There is a problem which is quite common, as Monika Kochlöflová said, and is related to migration. Many women come to the Czech Republic are already suffering from some kind of disease. Sometimes they know about it, sometimes they do not. If they do not have European insurance health card or another private insurance arranged, they have to pay for the treatment themselves. Sexually transmitted diseases are not considered as an “urgent problem” so there is no way how to provide needed medicines without them covering all costs. Strictly speaking, the treatment for syphilis in an “active phase” costs approximately 50 000 CZK. This sum many women cannot afford to pay. They are usually sent to their country of origin where they either get necessary

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<sup>93</sup> Malinová, H. (2010). *O nás ale s námi aneb Co si myslí sexuální pracovnice o Návrhu Zákona o regulaci prostituce*. Available at: [http://www.rozkosbezrizika.cz/userdata/soubor\\_18.pdf](http://www.rozkosbezrizika.cz/userdata/soubor_18.pdf)

treatment or just wait until this disease become latent and then they come back to the Czech Republic, pay approximately 3 000 CZK which is reasonable for most of them and get medication for this late phase of the illness.

When I was wondering which destinations are the most common for women in prostitution, South Bohemian Rozkoš usually deals with, they mentioned following countries: Austria, Germany, Spain, and Greece.

There is a hierarchy in the prostitution market in the České Budějovice area. As well as in Norway, the street prostitution is considered as the lowest. However, as I have been told by Rozkoš, there is also a hierarchy with respect to nationality/ethnic origin both in streets and in night clubs. There is also racism. Milena Mutlová explained that on the imaginary scale Roma women are on bottom. They originate very often from Slovakia and it is not rare that they are pimped by their own family. Women from Romania are unpopular among the others because they are mostly perceived as beautiful and cheap. Many Czech women complain that they ruin the prostitution business because they do not want to keep up prices and provide a large spectrum of services even without condom. This behaviour is very risky and Rozkoš is trying to spread enlightenment. On the top of this rank there are white ethnic Czech women.

With regard to the prostitution market in České Budějovice, there is a significant phenomenon in České Budějovice – a high number of private flats where woman provide sexual services. These flats are usually opened during day time so they are, let us say, invisible for majority of society. As Rozkoš mentioned, 99% of them are run by Czechs<sup>94</sup>, often there are more women working. In July 2011, there were forty apartments, and only in one of them were working foreigners – Ukrainian women. One can find in these flats/houses women from all different social backgrounds, levels of education as well wide range of ages. Clients of these private apartments are mostly Czech men, while brothel-customers are usually foreigners.

Brothels (“night clubs”) vary a lot. They are often divided according to nationalities of women who work there. There is a big difference in prices as well as in “additional services” (such as whirlpool baths, private strip shows, environment of the club etc.). In these clubs there is a better situation with regard to drug addiction as women are usually

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<sup>94</sup> For example, the situation in Prague differs as there are quite many apartments run by Ukrainians and Russians.

checked by the owners. In the streets, the drug issue is an enormous problem. Milena Mutlová said that approximately 70% of all women in streets are addicted. It is a big issue also because of higher risk of transmission of diseases.

This high number of drug users among women in prostitution on streets also leads to keeping prices low and a wide spread “survival sex”. In apartments prices as well as offered services vary a lot but in general one can say thirty minutes cost about 800 – 1 000 CZK, an hour between 1 500 and 2 000 CZK. In brothels, there are prices from 6 000 up to 50 000 for a night<sup>95</sup>. As I mentioned already above, these clubs are mainly focused on foreign clientele and often offer also special additional services.

When I was talking to Milena Mutlová she pointed out to me checking the web pages<sup>96</sup> where one can find reviews from customers, discussions regarding to prostitution as well as links to apartments. She alerted me that the language which men mostly use there is highly degrading and descriptions in details. I took a look at all of them and as an example I am presenting here one “definition” which says: “A hustler flirts on any occasion and with all in a way of getting a new customer and this activity is done regardless of the surroundings. She lies and is unreliable. Perhaps just from habit. Misrepresentation of what she heard is a matter of fact. She is not able to set out her goal and stick to it. This is particularly noticeable on a periodic statement about her quitting her profession and starting a normal job<sup>97</sup>.” For the sake of providing an objective picture, I was searching also for a positive comment or a review with at least neutral language. I did not find any. When men discuss or describe a certain woman in prostitution on these web pages the way they express their opinions is always abasing.

Thanks to Rozkoš bez rizika I found out that there is also another project in South Bohemia, I did not know before, which helps women in prostitution. It is called

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<sup>95</sup> According to a review and discussion webpage [www.kurtizany.net](http://www.kurtizany.net)

<sup>96</sup> Web pages with focus on prostitution (mainly from customers' point of view: [www.kurtizany.net](http://www.kurtizany.net), [www.masher.cz](http://www.masher.cz), [www.nornik.net](http://www.nornik.net))

<sup>97</sup> Definition of a woman in prostitution according to <http://www.kurtizany.net/devka/> (Czech original text: “...Šlapka při jakékoliv příležitosti a na veřejnosti flirtuje s kdekým tak, jako by si zrovna namlouvala nového zákazníka a tuto činnost provozuje bez ohledu na okolí. Lže a je nespolehlivá. Snad dokonce jen ze zvyku. Překrucování toho co slyšela je samozřejmostí. Nedokáže si vytyčit cíl a toho se držet. Obzvlášť je to patrné na periodickém tvrzení o ukončení profese a nástupu do normálního povolání...”)

Viktorie<sup>98</sup>, and is focused on prevention and is based on street work of their staff. Rozkoš cooperates with it and they share information.

When I asked about the situation regarding trafficking in women, Milena Multová said, that this is a very difficult topic. She mentioned that the disclosure of this crime is very often based on the “mood” of a woman in prostitution. She explained that it is mostly happening when a woman gets sore over something and lodges information against her trafficker. There are also cases where women are forced to prostitution under, let us say, strict and inescapable conditions, drugs often play an important role as a coercive tool. It is noteworthy, that I was promised to have a talk with a Slovakian woman who was a victim of human trafficking. She was outspoken and did not mind talking about this touchy issue. Unfortunately we did not meet after all. As Rozkoš said she disappeared from her flat. There was found her wallet and documents but she was gone. No one knew that time, what happened.

From my conversations with Rozkoš it emerged that for the Czech society (as well as for the state) a “visible prostitution” is the biggest problem. “Invisible” (meant private apartments, escorts etc.) are not really perceived as an important issue. With respect to the state approach, one can see the evidence of this statement already in the Czech Code of Laws because prostitution is not even defined. As Milena Mutlová said, people are not interested in prostitution as far as it is “hidden”. However, prostitution in the Czech Republic is a risky activity also because of frequent violence. Rozkoš staff mentioned that almost all women in prostitution they deal with had experienced some kind of attack from a violent customer, pimp or another woman in prostitution.

In the third semester I did a small study<sup>99</sup> among a group of Lyceum students (a sample of 85 people between 15 and 18 years old) in České Budějovice. The answers from questionnaires showed that they see prostitution linked mostly to foreigners in the Czech Republic, thus their view is, to a certain degree, influenced by a wrong presentation of the situation by the media. The reality is, that mostly Czech women are involved in this business in the Czech Republic and as Rozkoš outlined for me a very

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<sup>98</sup> Project Viktorie. More information available at: <http://kcentrum.cpdm.cz/index.php?page=page&kid=216>

<sup>99</sup> The research paper *Prostitution as the Significant Part of Human Trafficking in the Czech Republic and its Perception* in the module *Migration and Small Nations* in the course *The Role of Women in Slovenian Society and Migration*

big group of women in prostitution are mothers with one or two kids who could be often considered as unemployable (in the Czech context)<sup>100</sup>.

## **5. 2 Albertine-prosjektet (Albertine Project)**

Let us start the discussion about Albertine and my field work there with a description of Albertine's activities, main goals, establishing, financing and the problems which they have to fix out every day. Albertine was founded in 1996 as a special department of the Church City Mission in Stavanger. Since 2000, Albertine has been operated on behalf of Stavanger Municipality and the Health and Social Services Directorate. Right from the start in 1996, employees and volunteers have carried and outreach activities along Strandkaaien, the area of Stavanger most well-known for prostitution activities throughout the city's history. The international cooperation and collaboration with other organizations from Norway, which are focused on prostitution as well, has started in 2003 and the inauguration of the health services has begun three years later. It was a response to the indoor market full of foreign prostitutes and victims of human trafficking. Currently Albertine is the part of TOT (Stavanger Municipality's interdepartmental operational team for the assistance and protection of victims of human trafficking).

This organization provides the women in prostitution with various kinds of help. We can divide it into a few groups. The first one is guidance and advice with regard to health matters. The aim of Albertine is to spread the information among the prostitutes. The advice is mainly about how to take care of health with the focus on prevention of HIV infection and other sexually transmitted diseases, contraception, unwanted pregnancy etc. The prostitutes are also offered to get free condoms, free lubricating cream, free hypodermic syringes, free blood testing, free gynaecological examination, free consultations, and other medical examinations as required. Albertine gives free condoms even with instruction how to use them correctly, the same with lubricant cream. There are also free consultations with a doctor and answering all health questions. Women in prostitution can also ask questions related to possibilities and rights regarding to health, pregnancy or even strictly personal things.

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<sup>100</sup> I will analyze this important fact later in chapter 5. 4

The other part of the services which Albertine provides is called *Open house*. It actually means a place where women in prostitution can come and relax, have a chance to meet other girls with the same experience or just talk to Albertine workers. This place provides a safe haven for women who still work as prostitutes but also to those who do not do that anymore. On top of that the open house is also an opportunity for girls who do not wish to be recognised as prostitutes by Albertine's other users to come and meet the staff, ask for syringes, lubricants or free condoms etc. People from Albertine say that they hope the girls (they call them like this) can always find them open, understanding, honest and respectful and with extensive knowledge of prostitution in Norway. Girls do not need to worry to talk absolutely unreservedly because Albertine workers are bound to secrecy.

Albertine is a unique organization because it offers women in prostitution even very practical assistance such as free use of a PC and Internet, free use of telephone and fax (for calls within Norway), free use of a washing machine or a sewing machine etc. Lately, they have also started to run a course of Norwegian language as they had been getting many demands to do so. Currently (May 2013), they also get up "mothers' meetings" where their clients with babies/kids can discuss all problems they have to face, have a nice "social time" and make new networks. One of Albertine's workers always leads these sessions.

Albertine staff is competent to give advice and help in connection with all types of social problems (family, finances, work, addiction or other matters connected with prostitution generally). Women in prostitution can get the information about rights, obligations and possibilities. What I consider as a very crucial kind of support is that Albertine assist the women in their contact with official bodies such as the health service, the social services, the National Insurance Service, the Labour and Welfare Administration and the police. The women can feel free to use Albertine to determine what sort of help they want to seek and which choices they want to make. And as I have already mentioned above they are bound to secrecy.

As a volunteer I have been taking part in the "outdoor" assistance. On Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays in the evenings from eight to eleven, women working in prostitution can find Albertine (one employee and one volunteer) close to Strandkaien with their big blue car. The help in this case is based on serving hot drinks - coffee and

tea, handing out free condoms and hypos (to drug addicts) and the effort to create as pleasant atmosphere as possible. Sitting in the van can provide relief from the cold weather and the activities of prostitution. Some of the women need to relax, while others need somebody to talk to. In other words, Albertine tries to create a good place for everybody who gets into their vehicle.

Albertine also offers support to victims of human trafficking. As they explain, being a victim of human trafficking means that the women are in a state of slavery. Whether or not they are considered a victim depends on the degree of deprivation of liberty. Albertine makes it clear that all victims of human trafficking have a number of legal rights in Norway. People who seek help are entitled to six month's postponement of an expulsion or deportation order (period of reflection), a safe place to live, medical and psychosocial assistance, financial support, information, advice and guidance about rights and options. Albertine can help with all this – the offer information, advice and guidance about rights, options and obligations in Norway, assistance in finding a safe place to live, assistance in any contact with the police or other persons in authority, assistance in arranging return to the country of origin, and assistance in coming into contact with organisations who work with the problems of human trafficking in countries of victim's origin. I can prove that also from my personal experience because people from Albertine are really interested in getting new contacts even in my country. From my point of view, such forms of international cooperation are absolutely necessary. The networks of human trafficking are very wide and international collaboration is the only way to help effectively.

### **5. 2. 1 Data from My Field Work**

I started my internship with a meeting with two employees of Albertine who explained how exactly this organization works, how they are financed (a church project supported also by municipality), what exactly are their aims, what are their connections with police, the actual ways to help as well as what they can offer me with regard to my thesis and getting information for it. I have also outlined my studies so far, described my plans with regard to my thesis and I depicted the situation in my country. Then I have started working as a volunteer which was mainly based on going outs with Albertine and meetings with women in prostitution.

My evenings out with Albertine have the following schedule: we meet around eight o'clock in Albertine's office and start making sandwiches, hot drinks to thermos flasks and then fill bags with condoms and lubricants which we hand out in the harbour<sup>101</sup> later. When everything is ready we take a special Albertine van and drive through areas, where most women usually walk, to check how many are out that day. Then we park (usually in front of the main post office) and wait for women in prostitution to come. We usually have plenty of time to talk so there is space for my questions as well. I always ask if there is some news, how many women in prostitution have been around lately or if there is something distinct going on. In this way I found out about much interesting information on top of what I experienced or saw myself that actual evening. Always, when there is something important discussed with one of women in prostitution, Albertine workers make a notes as well as write down if there is an appointment promised or something to be fixed. At the end of the evening Albertine always counts and notes down a total number of women approaching the car that evening. Volunteers always get a lift home after joining these nights out (see appendix 2 for the example of a detailed field diary).

In these conversations while waiting for women in prostitution in Albertine's car I learned, for example, about a violent customer, who was threatening some women in prostitution. That time Albertine was informing about this problem all women who came to the van and asked them to spread it. They even described the car which that customer was usually using as well as how he looks like. Cases of violence among customers and women in prostitution are rare in Norway; there are more frequent fights among women in prostitution. I experienced that myself one evening when I saw and spoke to a girl who was beaten up by the others, had bruises and fresh scars in her face. In my paper, I am calling her "Amanda". She was really scared that time when she was talking about the fight. Other girls were threatening her because she was new there. They said she had to pay them or leave, and respect their rules. They also clearly did not want competition. This is quite common and proves that there is a certain hierarchy in Stavanger prostitution market. It also shows that some women in prostitution are actually, let us say, involved in human trafficking even in a different way than "only" being victims. I have spoken about this idea with Albertine afterwards and they

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<sup>101</sup> "Harbour" – most women in street prostitution walk there (to be more specific – Strandkeien street in the city center)



confirmed my presumption. One Albertine worker even outlined for me which women are, in her opinion based on talks with many Nigerian women, local *madams*<sup>102</sup>.

From the very beginning I have been interested in Albertine's opinion on Norwegian prostitution law and if they see a difference in number of women in prostitution after coming in force. Here I got the answer that the state declares the statement that no one should be allowed to pay for anyone else's body. At the same time, there is a need to protect people who are involved in prostitution involuntarily. One of Albertine workers added: "I would like my sons to understand that it is not alright to buy a woman, someone's body." It is worth mentioning, that some women in prostitution still feel like criminals because someone can be punished for services they provide.

It is very difficult to find out what the true numbers are. However, Albertine's data show a slight decrease of women in prostitution and of their customers (more significant difference shortly after introducing this law, but ascending tendency now again). They do not think there is a group of women in prostitution which became only less visible. At this point I do not agree with their speculation. My opinion is that most probably some part of prostitution business went "underground". I do not think that many women in prostitution disappeared or quitted<sup>103</sup>.

The fact is that for some time after implementation of this law there were fewer customers. I do believe the reason was they were worried they could be caught and punished. As I have already mentioned above, this has changed after a certain period, customers are most probably not so afraid of penalization any more. Although, here I have to mention one, at least for me, interesting phenomenon of "saying there is not enough customers". Frequently, it happens that women I meet in the harbour complain that they do not have enough work. At the same time they often come to the Albertine's car demanding condoms even several times a week... The bags which Albertine hands out usually consist of among others ten or twelve sheaths...From my point of view; this means that there are actually many customers. Thus the matter of what "enough" is varies a lot and it is relative but I wanted to outline what the situation looks like.

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<sup>102</sup> I will describe this term more in detail in the part 5. 3. 2 Situation in Norway

<sup>103</sup> See the article in The Telegraph. *New laws on prostitution will drive it underground*. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/3483840/New-laws-on-prostitution-will-drive-it-underground.html>

I have learned that explanations of Norwegian rules, law and system are much more important part of Albertine's work than I thought when I started our cooperation. For instance, one evening there was a girl who was complaining that it is not possible to get to Norway so easily although she has already been there before. Albertine worker had to explain that prostitution is legal but it is not considered work in Norway and also it very often happens that some women in prostitution do not follow the Schengen rule about three months of stay without any special permission (for Nigerians in case they have a Schengen visa). It is not rare that women in prostitution live in Norway much longer and then if they leave and want to come back they are not allowed to as they contravened this "free period rule". The lady who was complaining actually did not know about it at all. As Albertine worker said afterwards, many women in prostitution come absolutely unaware of their rights and obligations. Some of them have original papers while others use fake IDs. Often they come for "seasonal work" and travel back and forth (mainly to Italy or Spain). Moreover, some of them cannot write or read so these clarifying conversations are crucial.

I have noticed many times, that women in prostitution coming into the car feel that Albertine workers are "on their side". It is possible to see the trust (although limited in a way to what these women are willing to say, especially with regard to human trafficking). This trust is essential for the efficient help because as an Albertine worker said it always takes a while to build up some kind of a relationship until they can get necessary information to be able to provide a concrete type of support which is needed. I saw myself how one pregnant women working in prostitution at the time told one Albertine worker, that she would call her child after her because she was a kind person and had done a lot for her. It was a very strong moment even for me<sup>104</sup>. One can take it as proof of how important roles these organizations and personal approaches play, how much they influence people's lives.

I must say I was very surprised how outspoken some Nigerian women, I met while going out with Albertine, are. I assume, it is strongly affected by that long-term trust to Albertine in general, but even I could ask them questions. Once I got a chance to find

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<sup>104</sup> That baby has already been born and really carries the name of that Albertine worker.

out more about juju rituals. I have been eyewitness when “Lisa”<sup>105</sup> was telling about “juju rituals”. She said that although she personally does not believe in that many girls do. She was talking about it in a way of, let us say, common Nigerian spiritual habits when someone takes hair and blood samples. It is supposed to be for protection and a guarantee that you will come back to the homeland. It is done before women leave the country. In fact, it also means that women are forced to do what their traffickers (“people who help them to get from Nigeria”) want. They can threaten them because this “magic” also works the other way round and disobedient women can be punished through it. Moreover, traffickers usually know victims’ families and they can strike at family members. I believe these “juju rituals” are the key factors that empower traffickers. Once they have these blood and hair samples and women get into Europe, they ask for money for fixing their papers, travelling costs etc. This fee is usually approximately 35 000 Euros<sup>106</sup>. It is a price which women have to pay to get “free”. But work which girls are promised to do in a new country (usually cleaning, hairdressing, babysitting) does not enable them to pay this commission, so they turn to prostitution (often offered as a solution of getting a better paid job when they are already in a new country). At one of the meetings of Albertine volunteers we were watching a movie *Grace: A Slave on the Streets* where the documentarist was trying to explain girls in Nigeria what they can expect in Europe after going through these rituals, how much exactly they have to pay back etc. The reactions of these girls were mostly dismissive or they did not believe (maybe did not want to believe) in what she was saying. In the Nigerian case the lust for better life and getting money for oneself and family is very strong because of bad conditions in the country and extreme corruption<sup>107</sup>. I am convinced that some women are naive and believe in a better future but some of them in fact foresaw what was going to happen but still tried as the situation in their homeland does not hold out hopes for improvement of living standard.

I noticed that street prostitution is what the general public minds the most. The indoor market is not so visible, thus not a matter of an open discussion. For example, in February 2011 The Socialist Youth Party demonstrated for clearer prioritization of the

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<sup>105</sup> Albertine worker mentioned “Lisa” is one of those who are higher in hierarchy, she most probably takes some commission from other women in prostitution, helping with fixing papers, accommodation etc.

<sup>106</sup> Information available in the movie *Grace: A Slave in the Streets* by Hubert Dubois, available at: <http://www.javafilms.fr/spip.php?article53>

<sup>107</sup> Situation described, for instance, in the documentary *Law and Disorder in Lagos* by Louis Theroux (2010)

fight against prostitution and trafficking in Stavanger<sup>108</sup>. But in fact, their suggested recommendations, how to deal with situation, were focused only on street prostitution. For instance, they proposed cutting down bushes and installing a better lighting in streets of Stavanger in order to make it more difficult to provide sexual services there.

It is noteworthy that with this Norwegian “prostitution law” came also an interesting phenomenon - many women working in prostitution are not allowed to stay in certain hotels. In fact, hotels are trying to protect themselves against accusation of providing a place for prostitution which is illegal but with the way they act they “punish” a wrong side... As I mentioned many times before it is allowed to sell sex but prohibited to purchase. Consequently, the customers are actually those who offend against the law. Let us illustrate a following situation... A customer (paying for sex other time) would like to stay in a hotel with his family. He can do it whenever he feels like it, no questions, no embargo. If women who works in prostitution and hotel knows about it (they have a blacklist with names of women in prostitution sent by Hotel Union) would like to do the same she can get into trouble, her stay there can be forbidden. Are not women working in prostitution in a worse situation than their clients although they do not do anything illegal? This unethical behaviour of hotels I personally see as “a negative side effect” of the law which in general protects women in prostitution.

There is apparently also another consequence of this law. Before its implementation it used to be possible to find online discussion of customers rating women in prostitution. One Albertine worker said that they most probably do not exist anymore (at least she could not find them anymore), however one can still find reviews of some women in prostitution on escort web pages where they offer sexual service<sup>109</sup>.

I had a chance to have a long conversation with one Brazilian woman when I visited Albertine in their office. “Monica” works in an apartment, has an online profile offering her services, loves sex (her words) and has been engaged in prostitution already for seven years. She was talking about her travelling to other countries, about her plans for the future as well as about a bad experience with a violent customer in Stavanger. She was also comparing the frequency of violence in Norway, Brazil and Spain and said that from her point of view, Norway is actually a good place to be in this business because

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<sup>108</sup> Andersen I. S. (2011). *Vulgært tema* (“Vulgar topic”). Available at: <http://www.rogalandsavis.no/nyheter/article5504418.ece>

<sup>109</sup> Reviews available, for instance, at: <http://www.realescort.eu/reviews?rl=true>

she feels protected by police; customers are mainly nice and pay well. She pointed out that there is no corruption, she can trust police and has never been forced to say what she did not want to. That is a big difference from Brazil where no one has ever cared when she came with her problem. Although “Monica” has a couple of really bad experiences she is happy with her life and work. One can take her example as evidence that some women in prostitution perceive this business as a good opportunity and do it voluntarily. She does not feel like a victim at all, she maintained.

Already the first day when I met women in prostitution on streets of Stavanger I noticed a significant “visible” difference. The way they dress up contrasts with the way women in prostitution in the Czech Republic apparel. In Norway, they usually wear clothes which keeps them warm when needed or something comfortable. On the other hand, in the Czech Republic they usually wear as little clothes as possible (even in very cold weather). Is this different style of clothes a consequence of the law which is in operation in the country? Is it better to be less visible as the potential clients can be punished in Norway? Is there more competition in the Czech Republic so women in prostitution try to attract clients by their half naked bodies?

One Albertine worker mentioned that prices for sexual services vary largely. With regard to the indoor prostitution market, one can see the price range on web pages I mentioned above. It is mostly 1 500 NOK per thirty minutes, 2 000 NOK for an hour etc. Outdoor market in Stavanger has lower prices, usually around 500 NOK per hour but can vary a lot. Women in prostitution who usually come to Albertine’s car do not want to talk about money issues except how much they have to pay for rent. Albertine worker also specified that in Oslo there exist something what can be called an “exchange sex” or “survival sex”. Women provide sexual services for food, drugs etc. This type of prostitution I have personally never heard about in Stavanger.

I have been asked to join Albertine in their office and use my language for them. First we went through Albertine internal statistics with phone numbers and “working names” of women in prostitution, then we checked three web pages offering sexual services<sup>110</sup> and compared them to a list of previously contacted women, after that we found Czech/Slovakian girls currently in Stavanger area and finally I tried to call them and explain what Albertine can do for them. Unfortunately, they did not want to talk to me

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<sup>110</sup> These links: [www.escort-date.eu](http://www.escort-date.eu), [www.escort.date.com](http://www.escort.date.com), [www.realescort.eu](http://www.realescort.eu)

but we sent them a message in Czech about Albertine project. I must say that the women I called sounded surprised and confused; they most probably did not expect a woman voice on the other side of the phone. In the Czech project Rozkoš bez rizika they do not even try to call women without previous contact face to face as they never talk to them, as they said. They send messages and only when girls know exactly who is calling is it possible to talk to them by making a phone call.

Generally speaking, one can consider Norway as a good place for prostitution (from the point of view of woman in prostitution point of view). Customers usually pay well, behave fair, women can feel safe because the police they can trust police. Not many prostitution markets can offer the same.

## **5.3 Nigerian Women in Prostitution**

I have decided to be focused on this group of migrants while doing my field work with Albertine. Almost all women in prostitution in the streets of Stavanger originate from Nigeria. In general, Nigerian migrants send the fifth highest amount of remittances to their home country every year<sup>111</sup>. Once when I was out with Albertine one of the women in prostitution said: “The Nigerian economy is based on prostitution in Norway.” She was exaggerating that time but it inspired me to take a closer look at routes, destination countries and all related issues in this group. As the Czech Republic is not considered as a predominantly destination country, has quite a homogeneous society and also because I had a certain preknowledge in structure of prostitution market I expected much lower number and less information about Nigerian women in prostitution there than in Norway. My surmise has been proven and in following pages I will present a case study of Nigerian women in prostitution in both mentioned countries.

### **5.3.1 Situation in the Czech Republic**

My description of the situation about Nigerian women in prostitution in the Czech Republic is based on information provided by an organization by Rozkoš bez rizika, namely by their social worker Jana Poláková. I have spoken about it first with people from South Bohemian Rozkoš bez rizika but they told me they do not have any useful

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<sup>111</sup> Bussines Day (2013). *Nigeria, top 10 global receiver of remittances*. Available at: <http://businessdaynigeria.com/nigeria-top-10-global-receiver-remittances>

information but recommended to contact Prague-branch of their NGO. I did so and Jana Poláková helped me with facts I will mention below. I found also a few newspaper articles, for instance, *Obchodníci s lidmi z Nigerie ovlivňují oběti pomocí vídú*<sup>112</sup> (“Traffickers from Nigeria influence their victims via voodoo”) which describes Nigerian women in prostitution in a context of human trafficking and juju rituals. There is also a note in *2012 Trafficking in Persons Report*<sup>113</sup> which says that even women from Nigeria are subjected to forced prostitution in the Czech Republic as well as travel through the Czech Republic to Western European countries.

Nigerian women in prostitution are quite a new phenomenon in the Czech Republic. They have become clients of Rozkoš bez rizika in Prague approximately around the year 2008. The same year Rozkoš examined seven Nigerian women. In 2009 it was possible to see an increase – the number was twenty-five Nigerians in Prague. In total there were twenty-eight women. In 2010 Rozkoš in Prague tested twenty-two Nigerian women from a total of 700 examinations. These numbers indicate that the Czech Republic is not really a target country for this group of migrants.

These Nigerian women usually go to the Prague consulting centre, where they can find even consulting room and get tests done. Rozkoš bez rizika also meets these women while working (particularly in big clubs but from time to time even in smaller places). Workers of Rozkoš have never seen Nigerian women in streets so far. This is the most significant difference from Norwegian prostitution market.

It is very common that Nigerian women do not want to talk about their private life, they usually only ask for medical help and advice and as Poláková mentioned it is obvious that many of them had never experienced such a gynaecological examination before. In most cases they do not keep in touch with their Czech colleagues, they have usually closer relations within community. As Poláková pointed out Czech clients of Rozkoš bez rizika very often dislike women from Africa. It can be because of more risky behaviour but from her point of view it is mainly because of prejudice, envy etc. That anxiety about more risky acting is, in my opinion, baseless as I experienced myself in Stavanger how careful Nigerian women are. She highlighted that in the sex business

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<sup>112</sup> ČTK (2012). *Policie: Obchodníci s lidmi z Nigerie ovlivňují oběti pomocí vídú*. Available at: <http://www.ceskenoviny.cz/eu/zpravy/policie-obchodnici-s-lidmi-z-nigerie-ovlivnuji-obeti-pomoci-vudu/867894>

<sup>113</sup> The United States Department of State (2012). *Trafficking in Persons Report 2012 - The Czech Republic*. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/192594.pdf>

there is a very strict hierarchy. Her words prove what I have mentioned in my paper many times before.

They also know that one Nigerian woman works in a hair-salon where she does braiding and she takes prostitution only as “an additional income”. Rozkoš bez rizika does not require identification papers while doing fieldwork, they ask only for a health insurance card. In most cases, women from Nigeria (other foreigners as well) do not have permanent residence in the Czech Republic, thus they do not own that health insurance card, which means, they have to cover the expenses for their treatment.

At the end Poláková mentioned that Nigerian women speak English, some of them better, some of them worse. When I was wondering if they know something about ways how Nigerian women get to the Czech Republic, I got the answer they usually talk about experience from Italy or Spain but Rozkoš is not focused on getting more detailed information, more over Nigerian women are quiet about these kinds of things.

### **5. 3. 2 Situation in Norway**

Nigerian women constitute a high percentage of the Norwegian prostitution market. Estimates of Prosentret state that Nigerian women might be currently the biggest group in prostitution in Norway<sup>114</sup>. According to information from Prosentret, Nigerian women working in prostitution have been noticed for the first time in Oslo in 2003<sup>115</sup>.

Poverty, high unemployment and a lack of hope for a descent future in Nigeria are the most common reasons carrying Nigerians towards prostitution in Europe. As presented in Landinfo report: “Female migrants are more vulnerable to exploitation than men, as men generally have to pay traffickers up front, before being taken to Europe, whereas women pay only a deposit but are expected to pay off a substantial debt to the trafficker after arrival in Europe. Opportunities to pay off these debts through work outside the sex industry are very limited<sup>116</sup>.” Thus, they get bound to keep on selling sex. In extreme cases, they cannot even decide how many customers to have or when to work. Many of them live in fear of the authorities because their papers are forged or they just do not know law and regulations well in the country they work.

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<sup>114</sup> UNRIC. *Euro crisis force prostitutes to Norway*. Available at: <http://www.unric.org/en/human-trafficking/27451-euro-crisis-force-prostitutes-to-oslo-norway>

<sup>115</sup> Landinfo (2006). *Trafficking in Women – Fact-finding trip to Nigeria (Abuja, Lagos and Benin City) 12-26 March 2006*. Report. p. 8 Available at: <http://prosentret.no/publikasjoner/menneskehandel/>

<sup>116</sup> Landinfo (2006). *Trafficking in Women – Fact-finding trip to Nigeria (Abuja, Lagos and Benin City) 12-26 March 2006*. Report. p. 6 Available at: <http://prosentret.no/publikasjoner/menneskehandel/>



In the Landinfo report it is further explained: “When human traffickers approach them to persuade them to go to Europe, some women do not know that they will probably have to work as prostitutes once they get there, while others may have a clearer idea of what the traffickers expect of them but have unrealistic ideas about escaping or paying off their debts shortly after arriving in Europe<sup>117</sup>. It is noteworthy, that people who recruit trafficking victims locally are usually friends of the family, relatives or people of a higher social standing within the community<sup>118</sup>.”

After women are chosen, they usually go through juju rituals. Landinfo states that: “The traffickers’ use of juju religious rites and rituals to ensure that female trafficking victims feel obliged to pay off their debts to avoid possible supernatural consequences is often mentioned as a particularly Nigerian aspect of trafficking<sup>119</sup>.” During my field work with Albertine I experienced many times Nigerian women talking about juju rituals. There was an evening, when one woman was telling her story how she went through this observance in Lagos, what it looked like and later she was describing her journey to Europe and when she had to walk through desert for many days.

It is important to mention, that Nigerian women actually do not know how much they have to pay for their journey to Europe or what their journey will be like. Landinfo reports that: “As legal migration to Europe is virtually impossible for Nigerians with the social background these women have, they need assistance from others to get there. Most women expect to go into debt to pay for traffickers’ assistance (costs include those related to transport, travel documents and visas), but they are informed of the size of the debt only once they arrive in Europe<sup>120</sup>.” In the documentary *Grace: A Slave in the Streets* this unawareness of the price was highlighted a few times.

Jørgen Carling further supports this statement: “Before the journey, the woman and the traffickers agree that she incurs a debt in the order of, say, US\$ 40 000-100 000, which normally takes between one to three years to pay back. The pact is sealed through religious rituals and is perceived as binding... Once they have repaid the debt, it is not

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<sup>117</sup> Landinfo (2006). *Trafficking in Women – Fact-finding trip to Nigeria (Abuja, Lagos and Benin City) 12-26 March 2006*. Report. p. 6 Available at: <http://prosentret.no/publikasjoner/menneskehandel/>

<sup>118</sup> Landinfo (2006). *Trafficking in Women – Fact-finding trip to Nigeria (Abuja, Lagos and Benin City) 12-26 March 2006*. Report. p. 14 Available at: <http://prosentret.no/publikasjoner/menneskehandel/>

<sup>119</sup> Landinfo (2006). *Trafficking in Women – Fact-finding trip to Nigeria (Abuja, Lagos and Benin City) 12-26 March 2006*. Report. p. 15 Available at: <http://prosentret.no/publikasjoner/menneskehandel/>

<sup>120</sup> Landinfo (2006). *Trafficking in Women – Fact-finding trip to Nigeria (Abuja, Lagos and Benin City) 12-26 March 2006*. Report. p. 9 Available at: <http://prosentret.no/publikasjoner/menneskehandel/>

uncommon for the prostitutes themselves to enter the trafficking networks and recruit new women<sup>121</sup>.” Some of them become so called *madams*. “The structure of Nigerian criminal networks makes them notoriously difficult to break up. Particularly relevant in this context are the networks of the madams – many of whom are themselves former prostitutes – who are the primary exploiters of female Nigerian trafficking victims<sup>122</sup>.”

To be more specific about this journey to destination countries, it is necessary to explain that many Nigerian women travel to Europe without a valid passport and visa. They usually have to go first to a country where forgery is not easily discovered. “Others travel by road through the Sahara and are smuggled into Europe by ship<sup>123</sup>.” Often they go from Nigeria to Morocco, and then by boat to Spain. Some travel directly by airplane from Nigeria to Italy or Spain as one Albertine worker said.

It is important to add that Nigerian women usually do not stay in Norway continuously. The majority of them have residence permits in other European countries, mainly Italy or Spain. Thus, these women travel back and forth between their countries of residence and Norway (or other countries from Schengen area including the Czech Republic).<sup>124</sup>

While joining Albertine, I have heard many Nigerian women talking about their trips to Italy or Spain, or their previous longer stays in these countries. From all my experience with Nigerian women in prostitution I believe I can identify many factors from the description above. That is why I think that they are either victims of human trafficking, or former victims of human trafficking and some of might be even involved in exploitation of the others.

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<sup>121</sup> Carling J. (2006). *Migration, Human Smuggling and Trafficking from Nigeria to Europe*. IOM Migration Research Series. No. 23. International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO). p. 7 Available at: <http://www.iom.int/files/live/sites/iom/files/What-We-Do/idm/docs/MRS23.pdf>

<sup>122</sup> Landinfo (2006). *Trafficking in Women – Fact-finding trip to Nigeria (Abuja, Lagos and Benin City) 12-26 March 2006*. Report. p. 7 Available at: <http://prosentret.no/publikasjoner/menneskehandel/>

<sup>123</sup> Carling J. (2006). *Migration, Human Smuggling and Trafficking from Nigeria to Europe*. IOM Migration Research Series. No. 23. International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO). p. 8 Available at: <http://www.iom.int/files/live/sites/iom/files/What-We-Do/idm/docs/MRS23.pdf>

<sup>124</sup> Landinfo (2006). *Trafficking in Women – Fact-finding trip to Nigeria (Abuja, Lagos and Benin City) 12-26 March 2006*. Report. p. 9 Available at: <http://prosentret.no/publikasjoner/menneskehandel/>

## 5. 4 Comparative Analysis

There are many differences with regard to prostitution in the Czech Republic and Norway. In this chapter, I will present issues related to legal framework as well as data I got while doing my field work and point out similarities even things which vary. Firstly, I will compare the Czech Republic and Norway, secondly České Budějovice and Stavanger, and thirdly Rozkoš bez rizika and Albertine. I am touching many different topics because my aim is to present comprehensive description of the current situation.

The most significant difference is the approach towards prostitution by the state. As I mentioned already above in the Czech Republic prostitution is defined in the Czech Code of Laws, thus it is legal. I would call this attitude negligence or ignoring of this problem. On the other hand in Norway, it is legal to sell sexual services but illegal to purchase, therefore one can understand it as legalization on side of women in prostitution and at the same time as criminalization of clients.

In the Czech Republic, the estimates show approximately 10 000 – 15 000 people in all types of prostitution, while in Norway approximately 900 people offer sexual services on the streets and 1 300 people selling sex through internet advertisements<sup>125</sup>. The biggest market is Oslo, but street prostitution is also evident in Stavanger and Bergen.

In the Czech Republic, sexually transmitted diseases are not considered as a matter of urgent medical care. The one who gets infected has to either be part of an insurance system to have expenses covered or she/he has to pay for a necessary treatment directly. In Norway, sexually transmitted diseases are considered as a matter of, let us say, a public interest, therefore even people without insurance are entitled to get help which they need (for free).

The biggest group of women in prostitution in the Czech Republic are Czechs, while in Norway Norwegian women are rare in prostitution. I believe that this is affected by the Norwegian welfare system and not very efficient social system in the Czech Republic. As I mentioned already there is a high number of mothers with children who are coerced into prostitution by the bad economic situation. Let us outline an example...A divorced young woman, two small kids, basic education; a father of her kids does not pay the infant's maintenance...Can she really go to work (the minimum gross wage in

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<sup>125</sup> Estimates according to Prosentret available at: <http://prosentret.no/no/sporsmal-og-svar/>

the Czech Republic is currently 8 000 CZK a month or 48, 10 CZK per hour)<sup>126</sup>, pay for someone to babysit while she is gone working and earn enough money for rent, food, clothes etc.? There are some social benefits but the living conditions could be poor. As Milena Mutlová explained, this is one of the most common reasons why women “choose” prostitution. They cannot afford living under circumstances which a normal job provides. Very often these women also have loans which they have to pay back (often taken by their ex-partners) and they do not see any other option.

Both the Czech Republic and Norway are trying to combat visible prostitution. Because of the structure of prostitution market the Czech Republic uses more or less successfully municipal ordinances to move out women in prostitution from public areas, streets to less visible places. There are also no permissions given for night clubs close to kindergartens, schools etc. Unfortunately, it is not rare that owners of night clubs present their property as something else, for instance as a family hotel. Women working there are signed in as common guests and there is basically nothing that can be done about solving this problem.

One can see a similarity in the Norwegian approach currently. In Norway the most visible prostitution is on the streets. The majority of women working there originate from Nigeria. Now the immigration office checks papers of Nigerian women very thoroughly. They ask what exactly they are coming to do in Norway even if they have Schengen visa which entitles them to stay in Norway up to ninety days without any other special permissions. The true is, if immigration control finds out that the woman has previously stayed in Norway for more than the allowed period they can prohibit the next stay. As a Nigerian woman and Albertine worker said it is quite a new attitude of immigration office, before they did not use to ask what Nigerian women are planning to do here.

In the Czech Republic, one can find several web pages which content highly derogative attitudes and degrading comments on women in prostitution. Mostly clients write there and discuss sexual services, bodies or personalities. I have noticed, they often complain publicly that a certain woman did not want to provide service without condom or if she did she charged more. To me, it seems like customers as well as women in prostitution

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<sup>126</sup> Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. *Minimum gross wage*. Available at: <http://www.mpsv.cz/cs/13833>

are not aware or do not admit the risk they take while acting in this way, they neither protect their own health nor the health of their partners. I went through escort web pages which Albertine checks regularly and did not find any such references. Moreover, Albertine said that discussions on web pages similar to those Czech I mentioned most probably do not exist anymore after the “new Norwegian prostitution law” has gone in force. It is noteworthy, that also language commonly used on, for instance, Czech Nornik.net is humiliating. Although, there are reviews of women in prostitution even on Norwegian web pages, one can see the difference in the way of expressing the experience. In my opinion, this could be apprehended as an evidence of the difference in perception of in/equality between men and women, how men actually treat women.

I must say, with regard to Nigerian women in prostitution, there is a difference in networks in the Czech Republic and in Norway. Rozkoš bez rizika mentioned that it is very difficult to talk to Nigerian women as they are very taciturn and do not want to discuss anything else than health issues and help. The networks are closed. I experienced the exact opposite in Norway. Nigerian women are outspoken here (of course, the information one can get from them depends on personality and is limited to the extent of what they are willing to say). There are many groups disliking each other and expressing this attitude clearly (even fights are quite frequent). In the Czech Republic, NGOs do not have such experience. It can be influenced by a short time spent in the country (in case of the Czech Republic as it is quite new destination for Nigerians) and being more settled and thus more confident in the case of Norway.

There is an indoor even outdoor prostitution market in the České Budějovice as well as in the Stavanger area. There is a significant difference in street prostitution due to the number of drug users. There is a high number of drug addicts (around 70% according to Rozkoš bez rizika) in the České Budějovice area while there only a few women in Stavanger with this problem working on streets in Stavanger. This can lead to a higher risk of spreading of sexually transmitted diseases and also more frequent appearance of an “exchange sex” (for drugs) in České Budějovice.

In both cities, there is a hierarchy which is based on a type of prostitution (streets, private apartments, luxury escorts) as well as on ethnic origin/nationality (which is more explicit in České Budějovice than in Stavanger). Even prices vary in the Czech Republic according nationality. This phenomenon is not so obvious in Norway.

I assume it is affected by the very homogeneous Czech society and a negative approach to immigrants in general.<sup>127</sup>

In Stavanger, there is a reasonable suspicion that many women in prostitution on streets, mainly of Nigerian origin, are victims of human trafficking. They follow same/very similar migration routes, go for “juju rituals” before they leave the home country, they are checked on streets by others or a man walking around regularly (which I experienced myself). I got this information even from Albertine which deals with these Nigerian women in prostitution on an everyday basis, knows their ways of getting visa, journeys they have to pass to get to destination country. In České Budějovice, because of high percentage of Czech women in prostitution, human trafficking issue is not so significant phenomenon. Although, even there are certain groups of people involved. Rozkoš bez rizika mentioned they know about one big group of traffickers in České Budějovice area (to be more specific in town Vodňany).

Nongovernmental organization Rozkoš bez rizika (South Bohemian branch operating in České Budějovice) and Albertine Projektet (Stavanger), both helping women in prostitution, are financed in a different way. Rozkoš bez rizika gets money from Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, European Social Fund in the Czech Republic, Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic, The Human Resources and Employment Operational Programme and foundations while Albertine is a church mission project with a municipality economic support.

Both organizations are focused on health issues as well as all kinds of social help. Rozkoš bez rizika offers, among others, instant testing out in field – in streets, in brothels. On the other hand, Albertine provides a free testing only when women come to their office (their doctor). Rozkoš said they have chosen this solution because like this they are able to do more check-ups as some women just do not come anywhere while Albertine prefers face-to-face contact and doing more thorough investigations. They said they want to get in to, let us say, a closer contact to find out more about each woman.

From my experience with both organizations I can say that Albertine workers never go for coffee or lunch with some of their clients. They build up trust and relationship

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<sup>127</sup> IOM. *Integrace imigrantů v České republice*. Available at: <http://www.iom.cz/aktivity/integrace-imigrantu-v-ceske-republice>

strictly in their office hours. On the other hand, Milena Mutlová from Rozkoš bez rizika mentioned, she goes for “unofficial” appointments off their office quite often. She said she has a good experience with these meetings out because women in prostitution are often more outspoken and perceive her more as a friend on their side.

This “trust matter” is an essential factor for both organizations. Their help is based on a confidence in their social workers (although Rozkoš offers even quick tests). As one can see from the previous paragraph each organization has own approach how to obtain it. What they have common is that if some volunteers or researchers want to join them it has to be a long-term project. It does not matter that field work of each organization differs. Albertine goes out in their van three times a week while Rozkoš goes to brothels irregularly. Both offer basically same spectrum of help.

Violence is one of the noticeable factors in prostitution business. The staff of Rozkoš bez rizika deals with women in prostitution who are threatened somehow by customers very often. As I mentioned before, almost all women in prostitution in the Czech Republic have some kind of experience with this issue. There is also violence among women in prostitution which is based on hierarchy as well as racism. On the other hand, Albertine encounters grievances about violent clients quite rarely. Much more frequently they deal with fights among women in prostitution. The main reason is also in this case, a hierarchy of prostitution markets.

Rozkoš bez rizika complains the most about poor legislation regarding prostitution in the Czech Republic which causes strong stigmatization of women in prostitution, inefficient health care (in some cases) as well as it creates more dangerous working environment for women in prostitution (when pushing them to invisible areas instead of setting clear rules); on the other side, Albertine’s work would be easier if they knew that women in prostitution coming back from Norway to their home countries were secure. To be more specific, from their point of view the biggest problem are legal systems and situations in other countries (e.g. mainly Nigeria). There is also another problem which could be summarized as bureaucracy. It is legal to offer sexual services but it is not possible to gain a working visa based on prostitution in Norway (neither in the Czech Republic because in any of these countries prostitution is considered work). One Albertine worker said that this causes many problems and difficulties for their efficient help as without necessary papers their support is limited (for instance, women in

prostitution without a work contract cannot get a Norwegian identity number which is one of the key points of Norwegian system for everyday life in general). Moreover, some women have fake papers and in that case they often try to be “invisible”. They do not demand any kind of help because they are afraid of revelation. This situation makes lives of victims of human trafficking very difficult.



## 6 Conclusion

From my research I have learned that a lack of the strictly stated Czech prostitution laws causes big problems for women in prostitution as well as for society in general. There are many brothels, although they are called family hotels, night clubs or guest houses, often in contiguity of kindergartens, schools... One can see many single mothers struggling that do not have other options how to survive than to start with prostitution. Therefore, there is an urgent need for some change and an action by state. The situation in Norway differs. At least the welfare system works how it is supposed to and it is really aimed at people in difficult situations. Norwegian women are almost not involved in prostitution; however there are many women of foreign origin. This could be explained by an attractive prostitution market which lures migrants as well as traffickers.

The situation is more difficult for Czech NGOs helping women in prostitution because there are not enough sources to provide remedy on a scale that is needed. This is mainly because of the Czech insurance system and the state approach to sexually transmitted diseases which are not considered acute-help-exigent while in Norway the treatment is seen as being of public interest and everyone is entitled to get it for free. Thus, my hypothesis has been proven, Czech NGOs have to deal with more issues under circumstances set by state. The Czech approach of not strictly given rights or duties regarding prostitution causes harder conditions for women in prostitution and consequently more difficult work for NGOs working with them which could be seen as less efficient. A lack of necessary sources is an important factor as well.

It is noteworthy, that stigmatization of women in prostitution plays an important role especially in the Czech Republic. It might be also affected by the fact that there is no legal definition of prostitution. I do believe that legalization of prostitution could mean a change in perception from the side of society in a long-term perspective as well as a higher confidence of many women in prostitution struggling with their way of ensuring income. Currently, in case of violence, rape or threatening many women do not even try to contact police in the Czech Republic. They do not trust police; they feel ashamed, they do not try to achieve their human rights. Customers or pimps do not get punishment. In Norway, women in prostitution do trust police and they know in case something happens they can always report it and the police take it seriously. They also

know they will not be forced to say what they do not want to. This feeling of being safe and protected is, in my opinion, a very important factor which matters a lot in this risky business.

There exists an indoor and an outdoor prostitution both in the České Budějovice area and in the Stavanger area. What is identical for both České Budějovice and Stavanger is a strict hierarchy. However, the structure of prostitution markets differs, thus my hypothesis has been proven. In České Budějovice, a significant number of women in prostitution work in private apartments, there are also brothels, in street prostitution one can find many drug addicts. Prices are based not only on a type of prostitution (street prostitution, luxury escorts etc.) they are related also to nationality of women offering sexual services. The most significant group of women in prostitution are Czechs. In smaller numbers one can see there also Ukrainians, Slovaks, Romanians and other countries.

In Stavanger, there is a big outdoor market, where mostly Nigerian women work. Drug addicts are rare. The indoor market consists of private apartments and escorts. Prices vary as well as in the Czech Republic but they are strictly based on a kind of prostitution, nationality-angle is not relevant. In general, the largest groups consists of Nigerians, there are also women coming from Romania, Bulgaria, Thailand, Russia and other countries.

My last hypothesis was related to Nigerian women in prostitution. I surmised that many of them are somehow involved in human trafficking. I have been told many times by Albertine worker while doing my field work that she thinks that concrete Nigerian I met is either a victim of human trafficking or even madam. I can also compare my theoretical knowledge with facts I experienced and it shows that my assumption is correct (concerning migration patterns<sup>128</sup>, Italy or Spain as the first European destination, juju rituals). However, I have never heard any of these women saying anything about the actual trafficking; I do not have the evidence from police that is why I cannot prove this hypothesis without having that based on more than a guess.

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<sup>128</sup> Many of them coming to Norway as well as to the Czech Republic owe a lot of money to organized criminal groups or pimps who have helped them to travel to a destination country. They have to pay back their debts so they are bound to keep on selling sex.

It is worth mentioning, that they have different experiences and deal with their problems in Europe in various ways. However, they all have as their starting point a desire to improve their lives and living conditions for their families. That is why they migrate from Nigeria to Europe. The fact is that without a market for their services, no Nigerian women would end up working as a prostitute in European countries.

With regard to the feminist point of view, one can understand a lax approach from the Czech state to prostitution as a sign of gender inequality in general. There are mostly women working in prostitution, their motives are mainly a lack of funds for living, low education and consequently difficult employability (that is even intensified for single mothers) which consist a large group in the Czech Republic.<sup>129</sup> The stigmatized status of women in prostitution often causes feelings of humiliation and shame to them and it comes hand in hand with a desire for being financially independent and self sufficient. That is why, for instance, Rozkoš bez rizika approaches women in prostitution as commercial sexual workers and fights for legalization to make them more self confident, improve their position in society and get for them rights which are often oppressed. One could link the attitude of Rozkoš bez rizika to liberal feminism when they see prostitution as a civil right, try to make conditions for women in prostitution better through education and seek for greater equality between the sexes<sup>130</sup>. Hana Malinová, the head of this NGO, was explaining her point of view in a discussion programme *Máte slovo*<sup>131</sup> and one can identify her words clearly with the liberal feminism approach that: “Prostitution derives from a natural biological urge. The prostitute acts of free choice. That choice can be seen as an ordinary business decision<sup>132</sup>.”

It is hard to say, which type of feminism the Norwegian approach is based on. From my point of view, it is a mixture; there is more than one angle. However, it definitely shows signs of liberal feminism in its pro-legalization attitude on side of women in prostitution. At the same time, customers are criminalized which means there is radical feminism exerted.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Mutlová M. (2011). *Subjektivní vnímání prostituce sexuálními pracovníci*. České Budějovice. Bakalářská práce (Bc.). Jihočeská univerzita v Českých Budějovicích. Zdravotně sociální fakulta

<sup>130</sup> Bromberg S. (1997). *Feminist Issues in Prostitution*. Available at: <http://www.feministissues.com/>

<sup>131</sup> Česká televize (2013). *Máte slovo*. Prostituce jako legální profese. 13 June 2013. Available at: <http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/ivysilani/10175540660-mate-slovo/213411030520015-mate-slovo-s-m-jilkovou/diskuse/>

<sup>132</sup> Bromberg S. (1997). *Feminist Issues in Prostitution*. Available at: <http://www.feministissues.com/>

<sup>133</sup> Bromberg S. (1997). *Feminist Issues in Prostitution*. Available at: <http://www.feministissues.com/>

It took me a long time to develop a clear opinion on prostitution in general. I went through many sources, read many life-stories and experienced work for NGOs linked to this business. In following lines I will summarize my point of view.

When I have been thinking about a situation in the Czech Republic and in Norway, which groups of people are involved in prostitution in both countries, what causes this particular representation and which factors actually lead to it, from my point of view, the common value is “money”, although in each country in a different way. On one hand, in the Czech Republic there is an inefficient system of state support for those (regarding to my paper especially for single mothers) who get into problems and need help at the time, on the other hand Norway, with a flourishing market and the very rich state which attracts many traffickers. Finances are the key point of prostitution markets in both cases.

Another noteworthy thing is that prostitution is in way a “mirror of society”. It says a lot about gender relations, habits, and the pattern how man and women see each other, communicate and deal. In the Czech Republic, although also there is officially claimed gender equality, one can notice a completely opposite approach from customers to women in prostitution. Firstly, women in prostitution are often perceived as “things” or “goods” rather than human beings. Moreover, if I do not take into account emotional aspect which is alike in both countries, the clients frequently demand sexual practices which can be dangerous or in the worst cases even fatal for their partners, girlfriends or wives and subsequently for whole families. One can explain this behaviour as a total disrespect to those who they love or live with. Secondly, the clients are often violent in the Czech Republic. Women in prostitution in the Czech Republic are not protected; they are often pushed to dangerous “invisible” areas. Their clients often misuse this low status of women in prostitution and treat them with irreverence. One can notice a clear personalism from customers as well. It is rare that some girls are beaten or somehow threaten in Norway. It might be because of the “Norwegian prostitution law” which stands there but, in my opinion, it is a matter of normative social behaviour in face of women in Norway supported by those rules. During my field work and research I have gotten this fact proved many times, either thanks to NGO workers and their experience or by women in prostitution. This “violence factor” can predicate of society manners and also of partition of power among men and women.

What is, let us say, the least imperfect approach to prostitution from my point of view? Is there actually something what can be seen as an ideal solution for this problem? Probably not, but in my opinion, it is better to legalize prostitution and at the same time to define it as work. It would mean to create a new system for both the Czech Republic and Norway. For sexual workers, the prostitution considered as a legal work would bring duties as well as advantages which any other job yields. I have chosen this approach in order to maintain surroundings of people coerced to prostitution as bearable as possible.

My suggestion is that the state would issue licences, consequently the prostitution could be considered as trading. For instance, in the Czech Republic the annual income from prostitution was according to the latest research presented in 2005 approximately 8, 7 billion<sup>134</sup>. Rough estimates exist already now, thus after a more detailed study of the prostitution market, I would implement a solution, inspired by the German one<sup>135</sup>. The state would assess the fee which women in prostitution would be supposed to pay (one can see that as an analogy to a trading tax but most important is the income which can be transferred to prevention or social support, staff retraining; and it could be based mainly on a location where prostitution is done as there are more attractive places where possible earnings are higher/lower etc.). This means that sexual workers would be entitled to social benefits such as pension later in their lives (years in the prostitution business would be counted), they would have a chance to be part of a national insurance system as well as it would be easier to enact regular health examinations. At the same time, there would be easier to set areas where one can find sexual workers. As a result, it would be possible to move prostitution from locations where it is highly inappropriate (e.g. close to schools, kindergartens which is happening in the Czech Republic now) but still assure safer working conditions for sexual workers.

I believe this solution can eliminate many negative effects which prostitution causes. I think this business would become much safer and less harming for people in prostitution; it would help to reduce numbers of pimps and victims of human trafficking because it is a way of controls. Also the society would be better prevented from

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<sup>134</sup> Research has been done for the year 2003 by Czech statistical office in conjunction with Rozkoš bez rizika. Information available at: [http://www.czso.cz/csu/tz.nsf/i/nelegalni\\_ekonomika\\_v\\_cr\\_09\\_06\\_2005](http://www.czso.cz/csu/tz.nsf/i/nelegalni_ekonomika_v_cr_09_06_2005)

<sup>135</sup> In Germany, assessing fees as well as quotas for brothels are based on a size of the city. However, this is not applicable in the Czech Republic because the most common prostitution locations are borderlands and trunk-line highways.

sexually transmitted diseases. However, there are also weak points<sup>136</sup>. One of the strongest arguments against this approach could be based on definition of prostitution as serious violations against human rights and a consequence of gender inequality. Thereof, one can take exception why should this attitude be legalized and the state be making money on that? That is definitely a good argument but I still think that this approach would make the situation for women in prostitution better. Moreover, should not the main goal of every state be to protect victims or women in unfortunate circumstances regardless of the actual definition?

Regularization and an endeavour to fix this issue in one country can give rise to a migration wave to another country where conditions for women in prostitution might be potentially even worse. Every country has its own approach to this phenomenon, different conventions implemented, different histories, and society based on different values. In my opinion, global solution is desired although not realistic.

Admittedly, any of the systems in the Czech Republic and in Norway is not ideal; however Norwegian protects women in prostitution much more and supports their human rights. But in both cases, there is still stigmatization of women in prostitution, although many of them did not choose this way of earning and it is degrading for them. I believe that calling prostitution “work” might open space for reconsideration of this stereotypical point of view as well as it could help some women to feel more confident.

Some women in prostitution are still the weakest link in the prostitution business. That is why there is a necessity to find a better approach how to help them in difficult situations when they are forced by circumstances (or by someone) to do prostitution.

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<sup>136</sup> Some of the weak points could be: not registering of all sexual workers as some of them work in secrecy, the approach should be implied globally because otherwise it can cause shift, for instance, of victims of human trafficking or people who do not want to be revealed to another country etc.

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# Appendices

**Appendix 1** .....A Message Sent to Women in Prostitution by Albertine  
**Appendix 2** .....A Field Work Diary

## Appendix 1

### A Message Sent to Women in Prostitution by Albertine

Good morning,

Here is the organization Albertine. We help to women in prostitution. We have a nurse here and a doctor once a week, too. We offer condoms for free and all kinds of health information. If you are interested in getting known more, you are very welcomed to visit us any working day between 9 and 15 in Kongsgaten 48, Stavanger. Feel free to call this number also in case you have some questions. You can also check our webpage [www.albertine-stavanger.no](http://www.albertine-stavanger.no).

Have a nice day,

*the nurse*

Dobrý den,

tady organizace Albertine. Pomáháme ženám, které pracují jako prostitutky. Máme zde zdravotní sestru a jednou týdně také lékaře. Nabízíme kondomy zdarma a veškeré poradenství ohledně zdraví. Pokud máte zájem dozvědět se víc, jste vřele zvána zavítat k nám kdykoli v pracovní dny mezi 9. a 15. hodinou na adresu Kongdsgaten 48, Stavanger. Můžete také zavolat na toto číslo , pokud se nás chcete na cokoli zeptat. Můžete si také prohlédnout naše webové stránky na [www.albertine-stavanger.no](http://www.albertine-stavanger.no).

Hezký den,

*zdravotní sestra*

## Appendix 2

### A Field work diary

*January 20, 2011*

I was very nervous at the beginning because I was not really sure what to expect while going out with Albertine for the first time

21:05

- "Amanda" came to the car (new girl in Stavanger)
- she told us how she had learned about Albertine (friends said that to her)
- she got hot drink and condoms
- then she wanted to say something but other girl was passing so she left

21:10

- "Melissa" came – new girl, asked for condoms

21:16

- "Amanda" came back and told us about an accident with a broken condom
- Albertine worker asked her for the number and promised to call tomorrow and arrange the appointment at doctors' (check-up, pregnancy test)

21:29

- "Alexis" – came and asked for food and condoms

22:35

- "Paris" – asked for condoms and food (in Stavanger already 4 years)

23:19

- "Kim" came – asked for hot drink, food and condoms
- very talkative, interested in Norwegian lessons, talked about her travelling and stay in Spain
- some girl was calling to Albertine because of a health problem, Albertine worker encouraged her to come to our car
- During this evening I was talking with Albertine worker about various topics such as stereotypes in perception of prostitution, relation of Albertine and police and their competency, fake IDs, the ways how girls usually travel to Stavanger and the exact reasons and about prices of sexual services.

*February 8, 2011*

This night out was very interesting for me and we were very busy. We saw 21 girls in streets and I had a chance to talk with some of them even in car where they are (according to Albertine worker) usually more outspoken than if they only call round at us.

The evening started at eight o'clock when I met Albertine worker at Albertine's place. Then we went to the shop where we had to buy everything we needed for making sandwiches and Norwegian version of pancakes. While we were preparing the food and hot drinks we were discussing various topics such as illegal migration or the ways how victims of human trafficking usually get into Norway. Albertine worker also retailed a story about the girls who had been beaten by other women in prostitution a few days before. Later that evening even I had the opportunity to talk to those attacked. They rendered an account of the assault and explained the reasons. It was actually a very appalling experience for me to see these girls with scratches and bruises in their faces. They seemed to be very terrified. I guess, in moments like that, absolutely everyone has to think about, how sad, dangerous and stressful lives victims of trafficking and women in prostitution experience.

*21:27*

- two girls stopped by ("Candy", "Amy")
- they were talking about starving because of too big competition (many new girls)
- both of them asked for hot tea and food

*21: 35*

- "Amanda" and "Lisa" came to the car (the girls who were beaten up the other day)
- they were talking about the situation in the harbour, about the reasons of that fight → the girls, who had come to Stavanger before them, did not want to have any competition so they tried to conuss the new to leave
- after that Albertine worker told me about the hierarchy which works in this business
- I asked for information about the pregnancies of girls in prostitution in Stavanger

*22:28*

- 5 girls came – in a very good mood, talking only to each other, asked for food and hot drinks
- Albertine worker mentioned – this group was just the violent one

*22: 40*

- "Candy" came again and asked for condoms



22: 45

- “Mia” – came to the car and talking about her travelling in last few months

22:54

- “Vivian” stopped by and asked for condoms and food

22:56

- “Liv” came and asked for condoms and food as well

23:18

- some guy was circling round and checking the girls
- Albertine already know him, they think he is a pimp

23:21

- two new girls came – “Camille” and “Lea” – asked for condoms and food

23:23

- one other girl came and asked for condoms

*February 14, 2011*

That evening was very cold and windy, hence many girls wanted to relax and warm up in the car. The atmosphere in the harbour was still very offensive because of the fights in last few days. I was talking with Albertine worker about new Norwegian lessons they were planning to have for women in prostitution, Bulgarian women who work in prostitution in Stavanger and how their situation differs from Nigerians, about policing and checking the papers, the accommodation where girls usually live and how much they pay for that, about sending the money to Nigeria to their children and families, how much work the girls have, about the girls working in the apartments, their nationalities and also about the reason why some of the girls chose just Norway (if they have the choice...). It was very inspiring for me and after this evening I found out many other appreciable topics.

21:24

- Amanda came – hot drink, food
- she was talking about starving and not having enough customers because of a huge publicity in media because of the fights

21:48

- Candy stopped by
- she was really cold, asked for food and tea, complained about lack of work as well

22:03

- "Linda" – asked for food, hot drink and condoms
- another complaint about not enough customers

22:15

- the guy I saw some time ago with was checking the situation in harbour again

22:32

- new girl passed the car but did not stop by
- she seemed to be very young (maybe less than 18)

22:34

- one car stopped and the driver opened the door (customer)
- two girls got in and then they all left

22: 50

- "Maria", "Liv" and "Lea" got on the car, needed to warm up
- we were talking for a long time (where they are from, their children, their stay in Norway etc.)
- they asked for condoms for women which Albertine does not provide