

Gathering Knowledge and Developing New Methods to Identify Victims of Trafficking forced into Escort and Discreet/Private Prostitution

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Glossary of Terms

CMM	Center mod Menneskehandel (Centre against Human Trafficking)
EDPP	Escort and discreet/private prostitution
STD	Sexually transmitted diseases
TiP	Trafficking in persons
TP	Trafficked person

Executive Summary

This report presents the results of a project commissioned and funded by the Danish Ministry of Gender Equality. The overall aim of the project was to gather knowledge on persons trafficked into escort, discreet/private prostitution with the goal of officially identifying a greater number of trafficked persons (TPs) who may not be as accessible through the existing social work and healthcare options. The project was carried out between 2016 and 2018.

The report presents new knowledge about the people and practices that are involved in the trafficking of women into these forms of prostitution in Denmark. It identifies innovative new methods being used by the authorities and social workers in their efforts to give support to and officially identify a greater number of the women as trafficked. Lastly, the working relationships between key governmental and non-governmental actors in the field of human trafficking are given.

Escort, discreet/private prostitution in human trafficking is generally under-studied and only documented to a very limited degree. The nature of the area, i.e. trafficking, organized crime, violence and prostitution, obviously sets the parameters for the exploratory study.

The report shows that an increasing number of women trafficked into prostitution in Denmark who originate primarily from Europe, Asia, Africa and South America are working in escort and discreet/private prostitution (EDPP). While the different forms of prostitution are traditionally thought of as separate fields, in the case of trafficked persons there is a great amount of overlap, as the trafficking networks move trafficked persons from one form of prostitution to another, to and from different locations within and outside of Denmark, and also exchange TPs between networks for different purposes.

The trafficked women forced into EDPP in Denmark have a wide age range from 18 years, and possibly younger, to 45 years, with the younger women and girls being in greater demand and being able to demand higher prices. They are in Denmark on both valid and falsified documents. Others are in the asylum system, and some are entirely without documents. Many of the TPs arrive with valid documents but fall into the trap of becoming undocumented because of the threat and control they live under from their traffickers. They thus become more vulnerable and have less agency.

The levels of seclusion and control that the trafficked persons in EDPP experience are diverse and sometimes extreme, which results in high levels of trauma and mistrust that hinder the identification process because of the amount of time it takes to build trust. Trust building is crucial when working with trafficked persons in general, and the clandestine nature of EDPP requires that social workers find and establish new methods that will allow for the initial contact to be made and then facilitate trust building.

Several new methods for identifying and establishing contact to TPs working in EDPP are being explored in Denmark, some more successful than others. The use of cultural mediation (the practice of mediating linguistic, behavioural and socio-political structural differences during cross-cultural communication) with both a peer worker and a regular social worker is one of the more successful methods. The offer of mobile healthcare to women working in prostitution has been practiced in Denmark for many years, however, until now it was not recognized as a method that social workers could use to identify the different forms of exploitation TPs are subject to and provide them with counselling and support. The use of internet-based technologies, such as social media, web scraping (a statistical method that can

predict the likelihood of locations and telephone numbers being associated with trafficking situations), show mixed results.

Finally, while the communication and exchange of information between actors is positive and happening on a regular basis at and in between network meetings, the opportunities for following the progression of cases and keeping track of women for both statistical and care purposes are lacking.

1. Introduction

This report presents the results of a project commissioned and funded by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Department of Gender Equality. The overall aim of the project was to gather knowledge on persons trafficked into escort, discreet/private prostitution with the goal of officially identifying a greater number of trafficked persons (TP) who may not be as accessible through the existing social work and healthcare options. This introductory chapter outlines the main purpose of the project and report, the methods used and the type of data generated.

Human trafficking, also referred to as trafficking in persons, is a crime that has both local and global implications affecting almost every country in the world. It is now widely recognized as the fastest growing and second most profitable form of transnational crime. It is known for its profitability as a domestic crime, i.e. trafficking within internal national borders – humans can after all be used and re-used again and again unlike drugs for instance.

Over the past twelve years, the profile of detected victims of trafficking has changed with children and men constituting increasing proportions, however the majority of trafficked persons detected is still women, and they are most often trafficked into the sex industry. Considering the prevalence and scale of the crime, little attention has been given by researchers or the authorities worldwide on sexual exploitation through escort, private and discreet prostitution.

Recently, escort and discreet/private prostitution has become more visible largely as a result of advances in networked technologies.¹ According to social workers in Denmark, this form of prostitution is becoming increasingly visible and they find that due attention needs to be given.

1.1 Purpose

The three main goals of the project are:

1. To generate new knowledge about trafficked persons and the field of escort, discreet/private prostitution.
2. To develop new methods to reach, work with and screen people in the target group for indicators of trafficking with the goal of officially identifying them as trafficked.
3. To strengthen collaboration and knowledge sharing with key actors through the establishment of an interdisciplinary dialogue forum where experiences are shared, and formal and informal forms of cooperation are developed.

In addition to the Executive Summary and the Introduction, the report contains the following chapters:

In Chapter 2 the first goal is addressed. It outlines the definitions of the key concepts, the profile of the target group, the challenge of identifying victims of trafficking, and the key statistics and current trends.

In Chapter 3, new knowledge about the target group and the field of escort and discreet/private prostitution (EDPP) is detailed.

In Chapter 4, the second goal is addressed by describing the new methods being used by NGOs and the authorities to gain access to and work with trafficked persons in EDPP.

¹ 'Networked technologies' refers to the internet, mobile phones and social media. See https://ec.europa.eu/anti-trafficking/sites/antitrafficking/files/human_trafficking_and_technology_1.pdf

In Chapter 5, the third goal is addressed. The chapter provides an overview of the way key actors are currently working together and where there is room for improvement.

It is expected that the dissemination of this report will result in better cooperation between key actors in the field, and improved support and help for a greater number of trafficked persons. In addition, it is anticipated that it will lead to an increase in the number of persons officially identified and registered as trafficked, in accordance with the Danish National Action Plan on Human Trafficking (2015-2018). The work for the report was carried out from the beginning of 2016 to end 2018, led by the anti-trafficking NGO HopeNow.²

1.2 Methods & Data

The number of actors working within the field of human trafficking in Denmark is relatively small and prior to 2016 there was no documentation of women being trafficked into escort and discreet/private prostitution.³ As such, the report has been written, using a *mixed method approach*⁴ drawing primarily on qualitative data and to a lesser extent quantitative data (see Table 1).

Some of the social workers interviewed for this report have had closer in-depth interactions with women trafficked into EDPP from Africa, South America and Asia. Ten of these women have been chosen as case studies and their narratives, that is, their experience of being trafficked into EDPP and their interaction with Danish authorities and NGOs have been explored in closer detail. Some of these cases are used throughout the report to exemplify situations and processes related to the most salient issues surrounding EDPP in order to enhance understanding. All the named individuals have been given pseudonyms and details about them have been generalized in order to ensure full anonymity.

Table 1 Data and Data Collection Methods

ACTORS/SOURCE	DATA COLLECTOR	DATA COLLECTION METHOD	TYPE OF DATA GENERATED
79 Trafficked persons working in EDPP	Social Workers Peer Social Worker Documentarian	Formal and informal conversations during prison visits, outreach work, identification interviews (<i>notes taken</i>)	Interview recordings Statistical data (see Table 2) 10 Case study narratives
2 Social Workers working with trafficked persons in EDPP	Project Manager NGO Interns	Open interviews (<i>voice recording narrative transcription</i>)	10 written narratives about individual cases of trafficked persons in EDPP Descriptions of methods used in the social work with Trafficked persons in EDPP Descriptions of challenges faced in locating and identifying Trafficked persons in EDPP Descriptions of the modus operandi of trafficking networks.

² HopeNow is a small Copenhagen-based anti-trafficking NGO. The NGO is an official actor under the Danish National Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking (2015-2018) and has a mandate to identify victims of human trafficking in Denmark. Between 2007 and 2018, the NGO provided support to over 2000 people who are either confirmed as or suspected of being victims of trafficking. COWI has had an advisory role vis-à-vis HopeNow in relation to drafting and presenting the data in the report.

³ Throughout this report, reference shall only be made to women, however, although far fewer in number, men are found to be in similar situations and living under similar conditions in Denmark.

⁴ Creswell (2014)

Danish NGO partners ⁵	Project Manager	Verbal knowledge exchange at NGO network meetings and one-on-one meetings (<i>notes taken</i>) Questionnaire ⁶ Interviews ⁷	Descriptions of methods used in the social work with Trafficked persons in EDPP Descriptions of challenges faced in locating and identifying Trafficked persons in EDPP.
Danish Authorities ⁸	Project Manager Social Worker	Verbal knowledge exchange at key actor network meetings and one-on-one meetings (<i>notes taken</i>) Semi-structured interviews (<i>notes taken</i>) ⁹ Informal meetings (<i>notes taken</i>)	Descriptions of methods used in the social work with Trafficked persons in EDPP Descriptions of ways they come into contact with Trafficked persons in EDPP Descriptions of challenges faced in locating and identifying Trafficked persons in EDPP Description of the challenge of data protection and privacy law in information sharing on EDP.
Norwegian Police Norwegian NGO	Documentarian	Semi-structured interview with Chief Inspector for the Anti-Trafficking Division (<i>videoed and transcribed</i>); semi-structured interview with NGO Pro Senter (<i>transcribed</i>)	Overview of the situation of TiP and EDPP in Norway
Scientific evidence	Project Manager	Attendance and participation in Nordic Migration Research 2018 annual conference	Evidence of methods being used in Finland by social workers working with TPs in EDPP

Table 1 above gives a detailed overview of the actors from whom data has been collected, who collected the data, how they collected it, and the type of data that was generated. The data was collected through a variety of interactions with a cross-section of actors in Denmark. This way of collecting data may be described as a narrative method, and it is seldom used in the field of social work in Europe (Riessman and Quinney 2005). At the core of a narrative study is human interaction in relationships that is fitting to an exploration of social work. That is, in turn, based on talk and interaction with clients, colleagues and other practitioners and officials. To summarize, over three years, knowledge on EDPP has been gathered

- by doing social work with identified and unidentified trafficked persons
- by exploring the tendencies and trends among trafficked persons working in prostitution
- by exploring the tendencies among the transnational crime networks behind the trafficking in human beings
- by being in continual dialogue with the NGOs and authorities working in the field of human trafficking in Denmark.

During the course of this project, only one NGO carried out targeted work in different environments and locations using a variety of methods including cultural mediation and narrative therapy, to locate and build relationships with women they suspected of being trafficked and working in EDPP.¹⁰ A total of 79 women were encountered and *unofficially* identified as trafficked and working in EDPP; their origin, age

⁵ Reden International, Reden Aalborg, Reden Aarhus, Reden Odense, AmiAmi, Red Cross.

⁶ A total of 10 questionnaires were completed by Ami Ami, Centre Against Human Trafficking (CMM) Denmark, CMM Aarhus, Reden International Copenhagen (2), Reden Aarhus, Red Cross Sandholm, Red Cross Women's Center, Night Light Café, HopeNow

⁷ Face-to-face and telephone interviews with AmiAmi, Reden International Copenhagen, HopeNow

⁸ CMM, Copenhagen Police, Nationalt Efterforskningscenter (NEC), and SKAT (the tax authorities).

⁹ Face-to-face and telephone interviews with SKAT, CMM Aarhus, Albertslund Politi, Kompetencecenter Prostitution

¹⁰ HopeNow was commissioned to write this report and carried out the targeted work with trafficked women in EDPP as an integral part of the project. The initiation of this project has resulted in other NGOs and social workers paying closer attention to this area of prostitution among trafficked persons.

and location are presented below. Furthermore, the case stories of some of these women are used in this report.

Table 2 Data from targeted work carried out by social workers to find trafficked women working in EDPP

REGION OF ORIGIN	AGE	LOCATION
East Africa (31)	18-24 yrs (41)	Central Copenhagen (29)
West Africa (38)	25-29 yrs (21)	Greater Copenhagen (6)
South Africa (2)	30-34 yrs (15)	Frederikssund (15)
South America (5)*	35-45 yrs (2)	North Jutland & Aalborg (26)
Romania (2)		Greater Aarhus (3)
South East Asia (1)		
ACTIVITY	LEGAL STATUS (majority obtained illegally by traffickers)	
Forced into sex work (71)	DK au pair with visa (20)	
Previously in sex work (8)	Asylum seeker (15)	
	Other EU documents (20)	
	Non-EU documents (14)	
	Undocumented (10)	
<p><i>Of the women screened above, those who worked in street prostitution also engaged in escort and private forms of prostitution, however, not all the women who engaged in escort and private prostitution did street work as well, particularly those from East Africa and South America.</i></p> <p><i>Five of the women in this data have been identified as trafficked by one NGO in cooperation with CMM, and three of them were officially identified as trafficked by the Immigration Authorities (see Section 2.4). By using cultural mediation with both regular social worker and a peer social worker and narrative therapy, the NGO discovered that the women were trafficked into escort.</i></p> <p><i>*Conditions under which they conduct their sex work vary.</i></p>		

The present project has resulted in the development of social methods which have enabled social workers to *unofficially* identify a large number of women exploited in an area of prostitution which has never been examined previously. As well as exploding the myth that women working in EDPP can only be independent sex workers, the results also highlight the challenge that for various reasons, these women have no incentive to be officially identified as trafficked. Furthermore, the hyper-complexity of the multi-agent, transnational, translocal and transcultural phenomenon of human trafficking bring to the fore the challenge of making generalisations in the area of escort, discrete/private prostitution among trafficked persons.

2. Knowledge on Trafficked Persons in Escort, Discreet/Private Prostitution

In this chapter, definitions accorded to trafficked persons, prostitution, sex work, escort prostitution, discreet prostitution and private prostitution are presented. We also present key data collected from a variety of actors along with the latest trends (2016-2018) that are being witnessed by social workers and public servants. In the third section, the complex dynamics of human trafficking as it pertains to EDPP is unfolded, shedding light on the intra-action between human beings, geographical locations, institutions and power relations. In the last section, the shifting profiles of trafficked persons working in EDPP are also explicated as are the challenges NGOs and authorities face in the identification of the trafficked persons.

2.1 Defining Trafficked Persons

The first-ever agreed definition of trafficking was incorporated into the *Palermo Protocol* (also commonly referred to as the Trafficking Protocol).¹¹ According to the protocol, there are five main conditions that must be met in order for a person to be defined as trafficked: **recruitment, movement** (or transportation, transfer, or restriction of movement), **coercion** or force, **deception** or fraud, and **exploitation**.

The identification of trafficked persons (TPs) is understood both nationally and internationally as a major challenge in the fight against human trafficking.¹² The ILO has compiled sets of indicators of human trafficking that relate to the aforementioned conditions for persons trafficked into forced labour and sexual exploitation¹³ in order to assist with identification. The classification by the ILO of each indicators as weak, medium and strong are to some extent culturally biased and must be approached with caution; *Abuse of cultural/religious beliefs* is for instance cited as a weak indicator of Recruitment by Abuse of Vulnerability, however for many African men and women, juju and the TPs firm belief in its power is recognized by experts as a strong weapon that trafficking networks use with the people they traffic¹⁴, and is used in courts as a defence.

In Denmark, persons may only be *officially* identified as trafficked, and thus receive the legal status of a trafficked person by the Immigration Authorities (*Udlændingestyrelsen*). The vast majority of women in Denmark are only *officially* defined as trafficked after they have been arrested. A 1A form is completed and submitted to the Center Against Human Trafficking (CMM), who then forward the case to the Immigration Authorities for their evaluation and conclusion.

During this pilot project social workers have explored a variety of different methods to find and identify women as trafficked into into escort, discrete/private prostitution (EDPP). They have used the same basic criteria that is used by the immigration department, namely how and whether the individual's personal narrative adheres to the Palermo Protocol, and reached the conclusion that the women are trafficked. It is important to note that a social worker identifying a person as trafficked is not synonymous with that person being *officially* identified as trafficked.

In this report we use the term trafficked person (TP) is used throughout; however, it **does not** refer to the *official* identification by the Immigration Authorities unless otherwise stated. Only three women – from the ten cases that were explored in greater depth for this report – gave social workers permission to write a 1A which was sent to CMM and the Immigration Authorities, and they were subsequently *officially* identified as trafficked into escort, discrete/private prostitution.

2.2 Defining Escort, Discreet and Private Prostitution

The focus of this report is foreign women all of whom show strong indicators of being trafficked¹⁵ into the sex industry and working in escort, discrete/private prostitution (EDPP). Women who are trafficked and forced into EDPP – or are trafficked into street prostitution and end up doing these forms of

¹¹ See <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/protocoltraffickinginpersons.aspx>

¹² See for example, European Commission (2013), ILO

¹³ See Appendix 1 for the full list of indicators

¹⁴ See Section 2.4

¹⁵ See Appendix 1.

prostitution – have little to no agency or autonomy and experience extreme levels of control.¹⁶ It is therefore necessary to supplement the definitions provided by the Danish National Board of Social Services to the social context these women are in and define them as working in **forced** prostitution.¹⁷

The Danish National Board of Social Services differentiates between the various forms of prostitution according to the location and movement of the client and the service provider. **Escort prostitution is defined as when a prostitute is contacted and goes out to a customer's private or 'private-like' accommodation (e.g. a hotel or an apartment)** (Wittrup-Jensen, 2011). In the case of the group in focus, there is a 'madam' (female) or a 'boss' (male) who organizes the EDPP work, and who may or may not be part of the trafficking network.¹⁸ Real and fake profiles of women are posted onto websites and in classified newspapers, and it is often a madam who will respond and make the arrangements. In other instances, where the work is even more discreet, clients contact the madams directly, and they select the appropriate woman who matches the client's needs to the highest degree. A new phenomenon is for trafficked persons to make arrangements for discreet/private work themselves when they are with clients they have met through street or other forms of prostitution.

Private prostitution is defined as prostitution whereby a client visits a prostitute at their own private (or private-like) accommodation where the facilities are only used by one or two prostitutes at a time (ibid.). The term only refers to the type of accommodation and does not encompass the implicit involvement of the owners of the property. The new fluid ways of offering accommodation to travellers (such as Airbnb and couch surfing) have provided an opportunity for trafficking networks to expand the locations used for private prostitution and how they harbour trafficking victims.

A property may be privately owned by a Danish citizen or a foreign national who is consciously involved with the trafficking network. There may be an owner that is aware that prostitution is taking place but turns a blind eye; and there are instances where the property owner is completely oblivious to what is happening and only collects rent.

In spite of the prevalent use of the word, there is no definition given by the Danish National Board of Social Services for **discreet** prostitution. The terms 'discreet' and 'private' are used synonymously by practitioners working in the field and by agencies and websites that offer sexual services. There is no collectively acknowledged term for other forms of prostitution that take place indoors in more discreet surroundings, i.e. in clinics and massage parlours, less private surroundings such as brothels and more public spaces such as nightclubs, clubs, bars and hotel lobbies and bars.

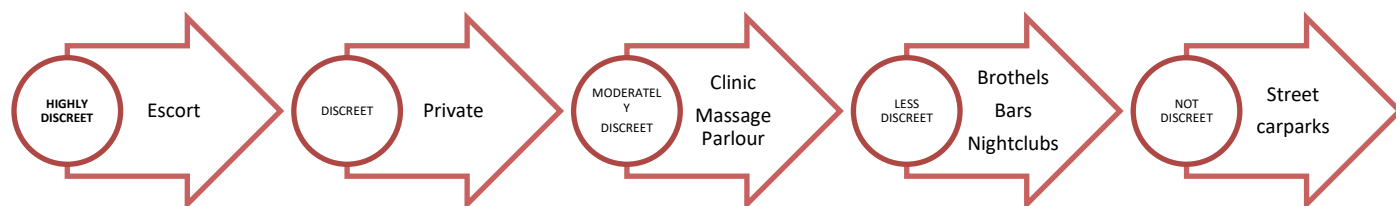
Based on the interviews conducted with social workers for the purposes of this report, we are able to construct the figure below, which shows the different forms of prostitution ranging from escort and private, to brothels and street prostitution, and their varying degree of discreetness.

Figure 1 Different forms of prostitution

¹⁶ See Adriana's story in Chapter 2.5.

¹⁷ In the 2000s, the Danish National Board of Social Services (*Socialstyrelsen*) set out to define key concepts used within the social services. Prostitution was defined as a situation whereby minimum two 'traders' buy and sell prostitution services for money. Furthermore, it is noted that the concept "may not be used" in situations that fall under criminal law, for instance when people are forced by others to sell sex (Wittrup-Jensen, 2011).

¹⁸ Sex workers of Danish origin and foreign women who have not been trafficked and trafficked persons who have paid off their debt but remain in EDPP because of the significant financial gains often organize their own work.



↓
 In cases of forced prostitution in escort and private realm, client contact is usually with the madam or boss.

↓
 Client contact at location usually with a madam

↓
 Client contact with madam or boss or directly with TP

↓
 Client contact directly with TP

Social workers are starting to witness trafficked persons establishing contact and making private arrangements via moderately discreet, less discreet and non-discreet prostitution

The lack of clarity about the difference between escort, discreet and private prostitution among actors working in this field was reflected in the responses to a questionnaire about their experiences with EDPP. Initially, some actors noted high numbers of women that they suspected of working in EDPP. However, in follow-up interviews it was revealed that women working in moderately discreet, less discreet and not-discreet spaces had been included in these estimates. Practitioners felt furthermore that it is more acute and useful to describe the forms of prostitution in terms of whether an address is publicly disclosed or undisclosed.¹⁹

Social workers who carried out healthcare visits, noted that when contacting people through websites and classified ads with the headline “Escort, Discreet/Private”, the majority of the locations they visited were in fact brothels²⁰ and clinics, and it was only during the course of the consultation that they found out that some of the women engaged in escort prostitution. As the majority of the social workers interviewed had no mandate for making the distinction between the types of prostitution the women engaged in, it has never been their goal to uncover this information.

Lastly, there was consensus among social and healthcare workers that it is not always possible to separate the categories and define women as solely working in one area or another as one of the strategies that the traffickers use is to move women around to the spaces where they can earn the most money as fast as possible - hence, the difficulties with establishing valid statistics concerning the number of women in the different categories.

In light of the findings above and the widespread use of the terms escort, discreet and private prostitution, in this report, the phrase escort, discreet/private prostitution (EDPP) refers to what the Danish National Board of Social Services define as **escort** and **private** prostitution.

2.3 Trends and Key Statistics

In general, we are witnessing a rise in the amount of [women working] in the area of escort, discreet/private prostitution (EDPP). Encompassed in this is an increase in the “sugar daddy syndrome” via the internet where girls, women and men carry

¹⁹ The Danish term used was “adressesløs prostitution” which literally translates to “address-less prostitution”.

²⁰

out escort work and exchange gifts rather than money with very few boundaries. Social workers are also experiencing women being picked up by men directly at their drop-in centres as the street prostitution decreases.

In addition, social workers report a significant increase in sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and [forced] use of drugs among foreign women working in prostitution. Women in prostitution are also being confronted with increasingly violent behaviour from clients and traffickers, and social workers in Denmark are also facing abuse for the first time. The violence against the women in prostitution goes largely undocumented because of the cloud of shame that still exists in the field of prostitution, despite not being prohibited by law. Foreign women prostitutes often do not report the crimes for fear of being further marginalized or even deported. Coming from countries where police and public officials are corrupt and are told by their traffickers that they will be arrested for working illegally and some also feel ashamed to admit they are involved in sex work.

Meanwhile the rise in STDs may be attributed to the increased competition – because of the increasing numbers of trafficked people being brought into Denmark – and hence a greater willingness among the women to have unprotected sex²¹, as well as the lack of trust and belief that healthcare is confidential in Denmark. We are also witnessing high levels of traumatization among the women [in EDPP] too. It must, however, be noted that not all women working in EDPP are necessarily trafficked.

There is also evidence that a number of TPs in EDPP not only used alcohol and drugs themselves are used to carry drugs to waiting clients in Denmark and abroad, thereby increasing profits for the traffickers. (Interview with social worker)

The above quote from a social worker summarizes the current trends being witnessed by social workers in Denmark as a whole.²² There is consensus among NGO actors and Centre against Human Trafficking (CMM) that there are major challenges with estimating the numbers of women working in EDPP for four reasons:

- The ever-shifting modus operandi of the traffickers means that women are moved in and out of different forms of prostitution frequently. However, women trafficked specifically to work in EDPP are not moved into different forms of prostitution but *are* moved around geographically.
- The time and skills needed to develop high levels of trust to facilitate conversations where social workers could elicit such detail from vulnerable trafficked women are extensive.
- The NGOs and authorities working in the Copenhagen area are often documenting and speaking to the same women, which results in cumulative estimations that may be exaggerations of the actual numbers.
- There is currently lack of consensus of what constitutes discreet and private prostitution with regard to trafficked persons among NGOs and the authorities, as highlighted in the previous section.²³

Nonetheless, there is general agreement among all actors, both NGOs and authorities, that between 2016 and 2018, the number of women working in EDPP in Denmark increased. There are several reasons for this increase, including:

²¹ And also less money for the trafficked women to put in their own pockets.

²² The statements were backed up by social workers from other organisations during different NGO-GO network meetings as well as during interviews with individual members of staff.

²³ One NGO that works with a mobile and in-house health clinic made an (unqualified) estimation that 80-90% of the women they meet are working in EDPP, however during the course of the interview, it was revealed that the social worker did not make a clear distinction between private prostitution, clinics, and prostitution carried out in brothels run out of houses and apartments.

- Increased police presence on the streets which results in women turning to other forms of prostitution in order to continue to pay off their (fictitious) debt.²⁴
- The higher prices traffickers, madams and bosses can charge clients for escort work, in particular.
- The increase in the numbers of trafficked people in Denmark.
- A general increase in the demand for escort work, in particular.

As Table 2 below shows, trafficked women are working in escort, discreet/private prostitution across Denmark. The participating organisations are located in Copenhagen, Aarhus, Aalborg, Odense, Jelling and Fredericia, and the majority of the women are encountered in these locations. Contact was established with women working in EDPP in Frederikssund and Northern Jutland through targeted outreach work with TPs in EDPP in these locations by one NGO through a peer group social worker.

Trafficked persons working in EDPP are encountered in many different locations, depending on the type of work they do, and on the focus of the organisation for which they work. All actors declared that the collaboration with other actors in the field of human trafficking achieves results in the field of EDPP, with several commenting that the lines and modes of communication could and should be improved if more women working in this area are to be identified.²⁵

Practitioners and civil servants encounter trafficked women in EDPP in different ways as shown in Table 3. Several of the methods used are explained in more detail in Chapter 3, yet it is critical to note here that at the start of this project, none of eight participating organisations registered the type of prostitution the trafficked persons they encountered worked in. At that point they had no mandate to do so, and awareness of the complexities of the phenomenon of EDPP among trafficked women were limited. However, in the final year of the project which has included several group discussions about the subject of EDPP, four out of the eight had begun to register this information. At present, there is no option in the official document social workers use in the identification of trafficked persons²⁶ to stipulate the type of prostitution a trafficked person is being exploited in. All of the NGOs and CMM emphasized that there is an overlap and that women tend not to only be forced into one kind of prostitution.

The countries of origin of the trafficked women working in EDPP in Denmark cover Europe, Asia, Africa, central and South America with significant numbers from each region. In Norway by contrast there are very few women of African origin and EDPP is dominated by Bulgarians, Romanians and Albanians who sometimes live together with their traffickers and are tightly controlled.

The level of control exerted over women in Denmark varies according to region of origin and also depending on the individual traffickers and trafficking networks. Loosely speaking, South American and

²⁴ See Appendix 2 for an explanation of fictitious debt

²⁵ See Chapter 4 for further discussion on knowledge sharing.

²⁶ The 1A is a form that is filled out by social workers and submitted to the Centre Against Human Trafficking who take the case further. CMM then submit the 1a in the case of third country nationals to the Immigration authorities who make a final decision as to whether to define the person is trafficked or not. In the case of EU nationals CMM can independently define the person as trafficked or not.

Asian women tend to have more agency and experience greater autonomy, while African and Eastern European origin women tend to have less agency and experience tighter control.

Table 3 Key findings from key actors: Røde Kors, Reden International, Reden Aalborg, Reden Aarhus, HopeNow, and AmiAmi, Centre against Human Trafficking (CMM), SKAT and Night Light Café

Locations in Denmark where trafficked persons working in EDPP have been encountered	Copenhagen, Frederikssund, Aarhus, Aalborg, Northern Jutland, Fredericia, Odense
Types of places where practitioners meet trafficked persons in general	At their workplaces (e.g. office, health clinic, night café, asylum centre) At the police station On the street In clinics In prisons At private addresses (including apartments, houses, summer houses)
Places and methods used through which contact with women working in EDPP is established	Internet technologies Via classified ads Outreach work Peer worker contact through social activities Social workers doing mobile healthcare Social worker interaction with street workers Police – at border control at airports; at police stations; in prisons Anonymous calls/neighbours Unsolicited contact Through third parties Asylum centres NGOs
Regions/Countries of origin of trafficked women working in EDPP	East and West Africa, Bulgaria, Romania, Colombia, Kenya, Nigeria, Romania, Somalia, Thailand, Uganda, South Africa, South America
Most common age brackets of women working in EDPP	18-24 years (most), 25-29 years, 30-34 years, 35-45 years (fewest)
Legal status of women working in EDPP upon arrival in Denmark	Au pair visa Tourist visa ²⁷ Sports visa Temporary Schengen visas Asylum seeker ²⁸ Undocumented

2.4 Human Trafficking and Escort, Discreet/Private Prostitution.

The escort work is always organized by the traffickers or madams/boss' who may who may also be part of a larger trafficking ring. They have connections all around the country. The one week she'll be in Copenhagen, and the next she'll be in Vejle, Fredericia, Aalborg, constantly moving around and working. Sometimes closer relationships with clients are established by the women which can lead to them becoming more independent and paying traffickers off quicker.

²⁷ Social workers encounter women who reside in one European country and work in another.

²⁸ Since 2015, social workers have recognized that women who arrive in Denmark that immediately apply for asylum or are undocumented are usually not trafficked to Denmark for the purpose of carrying out EDPP, but may have transitioned into doing this type of work after having done or while doing street prostitution.

The madam, boss or middleman uses a website to advertise the trafficked person. There will be pictures, and the madam's telephone number will be on the website. So the contact from the clients will go directly to the madam. Another way of doing it, is that the madam sends pictures directly to her contacts around the country who can find clients.

Sometimes the photos will not be of the girls themselves but be of other similar-looking girls. Many of the photos are explicit showing breasts and genitals, and in others they are dressed in sexy clothes often with heavy make-up on. It is important that the pictures look similar to the actual women, so that the women do not get a bad review in the escort review sites, where men can discuss and rate the women they've been with. This sharing of information between the clients is often how the women get hired, as they [get] recommended by others. Once the website has been set up with pictures etc., there is a rollover process, where the word spreads via recommendations.

The escort work can be done in different ways, for example a girl/woman may get hired for an entire weekend, staying at a hotel with the man, going out to restaurants etc. The man will have agreed on a price with the madam and paid that money up front. He might tip the girl/woman or buy her something, if she is lucky. (Interview with social worker).

Escort, discreet/private prostitution is an intensely understudied field in the realm of human trafficking. As the quote above highlights, three distinct dimensions intersect and interact, making the process of official identification extremely challenging - even if indicators of trafficking are present. These dimensions consist of the multiple actors, the multiple geographic locations and the numerous institutions involved, as laid out in Table 4, combined with the diverse power relations and politics at play.

Table 4 Intersecting dimensions of human trafficking and escort, discreet/private prostitution

ACTORS INVOLVED	INSTITUTIONS INVOLVED	GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS
Trafficked person	The Judiciary	Denmark vs. abroad
Family of the trafficked person	Police	Country/city/town of 'work'
Perpetrators	Government authorities	Country/city/town of official residence
Clients	Non-government organisations	Country/city/town of actual residence
	Religious organisations	Country of origin
		Private space

Among the perpetrators, there can be individual opportunists, male or female, working often with one or two other persons and seldomly alone. They may be part of a much larger more sophisticated transnational trafficking crime network, which may or may not have branches throughout Europe through which they can sell their TPs.

Some of these individuals are previously trafficked and now working for the trafficking networks as madams, and some are working independently in prostitution and/or as madams. Social workers have found that sometimes TPs in EDPP who have far less agency form close relationships with previously trafficked women who are more empowered, however this sometimes results in further exploitation by the person with greater agency.

TPs working in EDPP may also be moonlighting if they have enough agency and are enterprising enough. There are also cases of moonlighting where some women forced into escort work also go out onto the street to earn extra money. The goal of the majority of women TPs in all forms of prostitution is to find steady clients in order to avoid unwanted risks, and whenever possible, support their families; this is the same for trafficked persons who, in addition, have the additional pressing goal of paying off their traffickers.

In the realm of EDPP, the relationships between the client, trafficker and the trafficked person are carried out in the private domain and therefore go largely unseen by social workers. There have been some instances however where the relationships come to light. During their provision of mobile healthcare, social workers are witnessing, for example, that women from Eastern Europe – who they believe are trafficked and working in EDPP – are often tightly controlled by their traffickers who will be present during an appointment. In Norway there are frequent instances of Eastern European women living together with their traffickers.²⁹

Other authorities, for instance the tax office, also bear witness to the relationships when they locate businesses and properties owned by individuals suspected of tax fraud. Here, the control is exercised over the women who are at an address when the tax authorities knock on the door. This is evident when the women explain who they are and why they are there. Tax officials note that the women have clearly been coached as they hear similar stories time and again.

The addresses are located in properties (apartments and houses) that are usually owned by male Danish nationals, some of whom are married to or have had long-term crime-related business relationships with foreign nationals. The need to have a legitimate tax-related reason for inspecting a property denies the tax office the possibility of turning up unannounced.

The 'insider' information that peer workers and social workers obtain from conversations with women suspected of being trafficked regarding the places they work from or are harboured (e.g. residences, clinics and recently also hair salons) is thus only a first step in identifying women involved in EDPP. Officials from the tax office emphasize, nevertheless, that it is a very important first step in uncovering what is going on, and the knowledge sharing may lead to more people who are working in EDPP.³⁰

As with women working in street prostitution, the families of women working in EDPP are used as leverage when the trafficked person causes 'problems' or attempts to flee their debt and trafficking situation. In Norway, this is noted as being a particular challenge for the police regarding trafficked women who originate from Nigeria, as they can offer no protection to the families because of borders and distance. They have, furthermore, been advised not to contact the Nigerian police as the corruption runs so deeply that this contact may further endanger the family in question.

In the in-depth case studies, there is an example of a woman working in EDPP who was struggling to pay off her (fictitious) debt. In order to set an example, the traffickers kidnapped a member of her family and subjected him to severe physical abuse in front of the rest of the family in the home country to give the woman an example of what will happen if she does not pay. Consequently, she stepped up her work in escort out of fear of what might happen to the rest of her family. This woman's experience further highlights the importance of recognizing the transnational nature of the crime of human trafficking and that the crimes happening in multiple locations are related, which presents challenges both for the victims of trafficking and the authorities trying to combat human trafficking.

The land border with Germany and close proximity to Sweden make cross-border 'commuting' a feasible option for sex workers in general in Denmark. The trafficking networks, madams and bosses make use of these possibilities in the field of escort prostitution. Social workers report that there is cross-border

²⁹ Interview with Norwegian police. It was not specified whether the women were in 'romantic' relationships with the traffickers or not, but they were perceived by the police as willingly residing with them.

³⁰ Interview with tax official, June 2018.

movement among both the trafficked persons and the clients. As has been the case for decades, trafficking networks exchange women according to the demands of the client which range from age, body-type and type of sexual service. Just as independent sex workers have done for many years. Trafficked women in EDPP in Denmark are accompanying men on business trips, which sometimes results in cross-border activity. As such, both Danes and foreigners constitute the client base for some of the trafficked persons based in Denmark who are working in EDPP.

Religion and Faith

Many men and women trafficked from African countries very often have strong spiritual and religious faith. Almost 100% of the women from Nigeria undergo a religious ceremony according to a spiritual belief system called “juju”, which involves oath-taking and, in the case of trafficked persons, ensures that the TP complies with the demands of a trafficker. If they do not, they will break the juju oath, and they believe that they will become cursed and get sick or die. The spiritual belief systems have serious consequences for the women working in EDPP.

In March 2018, the Oba of Benin summoned Benin chiefs and “native doctors of different spiritual manifestations” and other traditional religious groups to a meeting which ended with him placing a curse on those who aid and abet human trafficking in the state. This means that the religious leaders who charge the traffickers for carrying out the ceremonies will, “suffer consequences” if they continue to carry out the ceremonies for taking a juju oath or continue to profit from ceremonies passed. The Oba furthermore declared that all juju oaths taken under trafficking conditions were hereby revoked. This was generally perceived as good news, however the curse only applies to Edo State, so traffickers will move the oath-taking to outside of Edo State.

A peer group worker and cultural mediator social worker asked three TPs exploited in a combination of street work, brothels and EDPP about the impact of this decree for them personally. One refused to pay her madame anymore, while the other two negotiated with their madame that they would only pay an amount both parties thought was fair.

The belief systems – and the fact that they are being challenged – is one of the reasons why social workers fear that more clandestine forms of prostitution such as EDPP may become more prevalent. As the traffickers can no longer use the juju oath as a coercion method, there are indications that the use of physical force will remain and possibly escalate.

2.5 Identifying Trafficked Persons in Escort, Discreet/Private Prostitution

As the modus operandi of trafficking networks change, and the power dynamics between the criminal networks who run prostitution shift, the ethnic profiles of trafficked persons in EDPP change.

Narissa's Story

Narissa had been working in prostitution in her home by choice for many years. She contacted an agency in good faith who arranged a tourist visa for her to travel to Europe. They also arranged the pick-up in Denmark for her. A white Danish man met her at the airport and took her by train to a town in Jutland. They then continued by car to another small town. Narissa was transferred to a house in a very secluded area with very few neighbours. There was another Asian woman there, the madame, who ran the house which was in fact a brothel. As soon as she arrived, she was put to work and immediately forced her to provide sexual services for clients. She was tired, and this is not how she was used to

working with clients, but she had no choice. During her stay, she was kept indoors. and only went out when the madame had arranged for her to do escort work.

Narissa stayed in this house for approximately 5 months. She was not held by physical force, but there was nowhere to go as there was no local transport and Narissa did not know anybody. There were 3 other women living in the house, all doing sex work. Narissa would do the cleaning each day from 6am and from 9am, she would wait for clients. For a long time, she felt that she could not leave the house and ended up overstaying her visa.

Narissa would receive payment from her clients, and she would give all the money to the madame. They would split the money 40% to the agent, 40% to Amy and the Danish man, and 20% for Narissa. Every day Narissa would write up what she earned but every three days Amy would throw away the paper. Amy claimed to send the money to the agent. Narissa decided to run away and go to Copenhagen. She found a job in a clinic in Copenhagen where she had more freedom and was able to make savings. She had been deceived by the agent in her home country and lived in fear of the agent and the madame and the Danish man from the house in Jutland. Eventually she turned to an NGO for help. After multiple counselling sessions that included trauma therapy, Narissa revealed that she had also been sent out of the house in Jutland to do escort work. Narissa ended up being officially identified as trafficked and accepted a voluntary repatriation.

The profiles of the trafficked women working in EDPP are extremely wide ranging, and there are increasing numbers of transgendered and transsexual women working in this field in Denmark. One example is given in the box above: Narissa was working in her home country as an independent transgendered sex worker. She wanted to earn more, and an acquaintance encouraged and facilitated her coming to Europe through an 'agency' in an Asian country. Even though Narissa came to Europe of her own free will, as her story highlights, she ended up in a trafficking situation.

A significant proportion of the trafficked women in EDPP have different legal *residency* status in Denmark (e.g. au pair, asylum seeker, tourist visa). However, while their residency status may be legal, they are not free to work and therefore risk being criminalized for working in prostitution. The legal status may also only be temporary; in many cases, it was obtained by the traffickers in order for the woman to enter the country where the exploitation is intended to take place. Some of the women on au pair visas, for instance, work during the week as au pairs and then in EDPP at the weekends. Some are here on short-term tourist visas obtained from another European country, while others, such as the East European women, have EU status and therefore ease of mobility. There are also women who are brought in from another country in Europe, specifically to do one or a series of jobs in escort with particular clients. Women are also sent out of Denmark if they are mobile, that is, if they have suitable travel documents.

Similar to the situation in Denmark, it is very challenging to reach women working in EDPP in Norway. In contrast to the findings in Denmark, social workers report that the women who work in escort do not stay in the country for longer periods and that they can suspect there is a trafficking situation if, for example, they come across a Spanish speaking Russian woman who is in Norway for a very short time, yet resides in an "organised" apartment. One Norwegian social worker states, "The women will rarely admit to being in a trafficking situation. As a rule, they are not really interested in this being known."

Adriana's story

Adriana lived with her mother and child. She worked in the service industry, but the pay was not enough for her to support her family. In 2015, she met a man called Joe, who was African, but lived in Europe. He told her that he wanted to marry her and bring her to Europe. She accepted. In July 2016, they travelled to Denmark.

Upon arrival, Adriana moved in with Joe. He kept her documents. After one month, Joe told her that he had found a job for her as a maid. He took her to an apartment in Copenhagen and introduced her to an African woman who had two children. Adriana ended up living and working for the woman, cleaning and taking care of the children. She never received any payment, and could not send money home to her family.

The African woman threatened her. She told Adriana that since she wasn't living with her husband and didn't have papers, she could be arrested, punished and deported. After two months, Adriana was told that it had cost a lot of money to get her to Denmark, and that she must start paying her debt back. She was never told how much her debt was. Since Adriana didn't have any papers, the only way for her to earn money was through prostitution.

Sometimes her 'madam' would send Adriana directly to the clients by taxi, other times the men would pick her up from the woman's apartment. After being sent to about 10 customers, she ran away. At first, she slept many different places, such as on trains, busses or at men or women's places in the prostitution network. In order to get food, she started doing street prostitution. She was recommended by a friend to make contact to an NGO.

In general, the official identification of trafficked persons is widely recognized as a major challenge in the fight against human trafficking³¹. It is even more challenging when it comes to identifying trafficked persons working in EDPP. For four main reasons:

- The first is the hidden nature of the crime compared to those working in other forms of prostitution such as street and brothels. As both Narissa and Adriana's stories highlight, the exploitation takes place in the private domain and is thus far less accessible to NGO workers and social workers in general. Persons forced into street work in the cities are able to go to drop-in centres close to where they work and chat and/or talk about their situation. For persons working in EDPP, this possibility is non-existent.
- Secondly, the field of escort, discreet/private prostitution is in constant flux. New communication technologies are developing fast (e.g. instant messaging, Snap Chat and WhatsApp), and the modern use of volatile media and non-standard ways of renting and sharing accommodation that are emerging (e.g. Airbnb and couch surfing) also enable traffickers to stay under the radar. The evolution of these new modalities and the nature of the work itself make it extremely challenging to identify and come into contact with trafficked persons.
- Thirdly, it is rare for trafficked persons to self-report that they are victims of a crime, partly because many are not even aware that the 'business arrangement' is defined as a crime under national and international law.³² As such, it is extremely difficult to get even rough estimates of the numbers of women working in EDPP.³³ Highly trained social workers who have worked for many years with human trafficking and some previously trafficked peer social workers may be able to unofficially or informally identify a person as trafficked by having general conversation with that person and observing their interactions with others. Usually however, there are numerous stages before a person is officially identified, particularly when they are working in EDPP where the frequency and mode of contact is quite different, and the incentive of potential high earnings which can eventually give them independence.

³¹ See for example, European Commission (2013), ILO

³² There are however women working in EDPP may become aware that a crime is being committed during interactions with a social worker, however they do not define themselves as victims, but rather regard their situation as rather a difficult and unbalanced "business arrangement" that requires that they honour an agreement after which they will be able to work independently earning high salary if compared to any job they would be able to get in their country of origin.

³³ See Section 2.2 Key Statistics

- Lastly, the lucrative nature of EDPP compared to other forms of prostitution enables TPs to pay off their (fictitious) debt to traffickers faster. If women are officially identified as trafficked, in most cases their debt remains and they and their families are then put at risk of violence from the traffickers.

The majority of NGOs and some authorities enquire about the type of work carried out by the women they come into contact with.³⁴ At present, however, official national statistics have no record of the types of prostitution in which TPs are involved. Consequently, alternative methods to reach and identify trafficked persons in EDPP have to be identified. Some such methods are presented in Chapter 3.

For monitoring purposes, it is recommended that clearer distinctions between and definitions of discreet and private prostitution be made, and that the official document used in the identification process, the 1A, be amended to include the possibility to register the type(s) of prostitution TPs are trafficked into.

3. New methods for identifying and reaching out to people working in Escort, Discreet/Private Prostitution

In light of the findings presented in the previous chapters and the increasing levels of violence and occurrence of sexually transmitted diseases the need to gather more knowledge and develop new methods to reach women trafficked into escort, discreet/private prostitution is evident. In this chapter, new methods of identifying and reaching out to trafficked persons are presented. Some of them may be viewed as adaptations or extensions of traditional methods, for instance moving from peer group work to cultural mediation, from the offer of in-house healthcare to the offer of mobile healthcare, and from (landline) hotlines to mobile 24-hour hotlines and text messaging. Other new methods such as using social media and web scraping, make use of the rapid and ongoing advances in internet-based technologies.

3.1 Cultural Mediation & Narrative Therapy

In 2014 in Denmark, five main issues were identified by social workers as the greatest challenges in their work with people from different cultures.³⁵ These were:

1. Communication problems caused by the lack of a common language.
2. Communication problems caused by different codes of behaviour, in interactions with professional services.
3. Cultural differences in parent–child relations.
4. Health problems without adequate medical help available.
5. Structural barriers which made it difficult to adapt the social service system to the needs of the minority clients

This list is applicable to social work with trafficked persons who are working in EDPP and migrant women in prostitution in general. In a social work context, cultural mediation may thus be defined as **the practice of mediating (i.e. acting as an intermediary between two parties to help bring clarity and**

³⁴ Source: Results from partner questionnaire

³⁵ B P Bø, (2014) p. 563, Social work in a multicultural society: New challenges and needs for competence. *International Social Work* 58(4), pp. 562-574.

understanding on both sides) linguistic, behavioural and socio-political structural differences during cross-cultural communication. As other studies within the same field have found, the mediator's sensitivity to similarity, difference, identity and alterity is key even if they are skilled in cultural awareness.³⁶

Angela's Story

Angela is a trafficked person. She was brought to Denmark on an au pair visa. A peer social worker met Angela in early 2017. Angela had told a friend that she wanted to go home and wondered if the peer worker could help. Angela explained to the peer worker that she came to Denmark as an au pair. This was the second time she had been trafficked to Europe on an au pair visa. Angela explained that for her to come to Europe, the family had sold a lot of their belongings and so she needed to pay back both the trafficker and the family.

The peer worker explained to Angela that if she wanted to accept a voluntary return, she must come with her to Copenhagen where she could meet another social worker and be introduced to the NGO that would be able to help her. She stayed in Copenhagen for two months trying to figure out how to get home. She had regular counselling/cultural mediation with the social worker and the peer worker. While she was in Copenhagen, Angela – through the counselling sessions - began to realize that she would not be able to return in the way she had imagined. She realized that she had to take the strategy that would not lead to her or her family being in danger. She thus decided to go back to forced escort work and finish paying off her debt which was at that point 'only' less than one fifth of the initial debt.

In the story relayed above about Angela, cultural mediation was applied by the NGO in question. The first social worker was a peer and thus was more accessible to Angela in terms of seeking help because of their similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds and life experience. The peer worker was able to communicate the initial actions the TP should take in the process of self-empowerment. The second social worker was equipped with the skills to manage and communicate scenarios and details about basic rights to a person like Angela who was experiencing high levels of trauma. Both were also able to transfer different information about the Danish social and legal system in a manner that Angela could comprehend so that she could fully understand it. The tandem of support created a safe environment for Angela to be able to carefully consider her options and make an informed decision about her next steps.

Social workers experience that cultural mediation and the approach of using peers, that is women who themselves have experienced a trafficking situation and/or who come from similar ethnic and language backgrounds, allows them to get in closer contact with the client more rapidly.

Working with a cultural mediator who has been trafficked, who has gained respect from men and women within the network and is able to move around freely, means that we get information and can support people in a different way.

When we have deeper cultural knowledge about trafficked person, and about the Danish society at large, it means that we have a different starting point, and we can work in a supportive and understanding way with the client. There will be things that we understand and do not even need to ask questions about. We will not need to ask classic open-ended questions for example. Open-ended questions are so important in police and academic work, but it is difficult to interview vulnerable groups where the cultural distance is wide. You need to understand the context you are probing into.

³⁶ See Ajtony, Z. (2015). Dilemmas of Cultural Mediation. A Case Study of Tourism. Acta Universitatis Sapientiae Philologica 7, 2, pp. 47-58.

It is a question of what is being done, at which point and why. It depends very much on the individual. Unless a way of speaking and talking really brings the person into the dialogue, an open-ended question may lead to an open-ended answer that is "no answer at all". A Western interviewer may end up wondering, 'Why is my question not being answered?' (excerpts from an interview with a social worker).

While the practice of cultural mediation is this not common in Denmark, NGOs in Finland (and many other countries) are actively employing the method to identify trafficked persons. However there is resistance, skepticism and apprehension about the training and usage of peer workers who are themselves survivors/victims of trafficking by some who believe that the ethical challenges are too great.³⁷ As such, taking a peer worker who has previously been trafficked to employ cultural mediation in their work should be done with due diligence. Of the key organisational actors interviewed, only one was actively and systematically using cultural mediation with a peer worker in its work with trafficked persons working in EDPP.

Several of the 79 women referred to in Table 2 were facilitated in sharing their story eventually revealing that they were in escort through narrative therapy, which involves particular ways of talking with people about their lives and problems they may be experiencing. According to White and Epston (1990) narrative therapy is based on the assumption that the misrepresentation of people's lived experience causes them to experience problems because the 'invented' stories about their lives do not sufficiently represent their lived experience. Through therapy, the individuals have the possibility to positively reconstruct the narrative of their lives and experiences.

When using narrative therapy, practitioners should have "a respectful, non-blaming approach [...] which centres people as the experts in their own lives. It views problems as separate from people and assumes people have many skills, competencies, beliefs, values, commitments and abilities that will assist them to reduce the influence of problems in their lives."³⁸ Key to this approach is for the practitioner to always be curious and willing to ask questions that they genuinely do not know the answers to, and that the person who is consulting the practitioner plays a significant role in determining the subsequent actions taken, as exemplified by Angela's case outlined previously.

Narrative therapy is not a new method used in social work, however it is a method that is extremely effective when working with vulnerable and stigmatized groups such as trafficked women working in escort, discreet and private prostitution, particularly if the goal is to officially identify women as trafficked without re-traumatizing them and get behind a cover story or a story with gaps in it in order to be able to use it within the legal framework.

The story that TPs are expected to give should be linear and fit into the cultural and political context of the culture they find themselves in. People in Escort, by the nature of what escort is, have been involved in a complex psychological game and play a 'role' e.g. a dominant, a little girl etc. As a trafficked person their sexuality has become a commodity and will naturally change the narrative of their lives. With narrative therapy the aim is for the narrative to come from the TP and bring out the other positive layers in their life so as to empower them. When a TP meets with the authorities, the TP is most often in a situation where the 'other' is steering the narrative and becomes the dominant as there are questions that they need answered – depending on the institution, there are different vested interest. (Interview with a social worker).

³⁷ Research findings from a Finnish post-doctoral researcher presenting at the Nordic Migration Research annual conference in 2018.

³⁸ Morgan, A. (2000). *What is Narrative Therapy?* London: Dulwich Center Publications

In light of the above quote from a social worker who uses narrative therapy, the presence of a peer cultural mediator who understands the multiple levels of their narratives (as different narratives or stories are often occurring simultaneously for the TP) during contact with authorities is recommended. Cultural mediators present an opportunity to act as bridge-builders between TPs and key actors working within the field of human trafficking in general. This triangulation would be beneficial for the further empowerment of the TP and also their general wellbeing, and to the authorities with regard to identifying a greater number of women as trafficked, potentially gaining more knowledge about how trafficking networks operate.

3.2 Mobile Healthcare Provision

In the case of foreign women working in prostitution, NGOs (and authorities) have traditionally established contact to clinics by telephone to offer women to visit a healthcare clinic for a check-up. Social workers have lists of addresses of brothels, etc. They also screen websites that advertise EDPP. Based on this knowledge, the same organizations have in relatively recent years started to offer mobile healthcare services in the sense that they pay unannounced visits to the premises where the women work. Usually both a nurse and a social worker visit the premises. The purpose is both to inform owners and women working there of the services offered and to provide treatment and counselling.

For the madams, bosses and traffickers, the services are often welcomed, as the physical health of the women is critical for earnings: it is in their best interests that the women receive appropriate healthcare. Furthermore, if that healthcare is provided in a controlled environment, the women have less opportunity to seek other forms of support and contact that may inhibit their 'work' and obedience. In the Eastern European networks, one social worker reported that the bosses sometimes insist on being present in the room when the treatment is taking place. Such levels of control indicate that there may be a trafficking situation at hand.

While social workers emphasize that not all women working in clinics and brothels of foreign origin are necessarily trafficked, the interviews reveal that many of the women working in brothels and clinics engage in EDPP and that there is indeed a suspicion of trafficking. Mobile healthcare is thus an effective method to reach trafficked persons working in EDPP, particularly because it is often welcomed by traffickers and trafficked persons alike, albeit to varying extents.

Even though NGOs have been offering mobile healthcare services to people working in prostitution for several years,³⁹ it was only during the course of this project that it became evident that mobile healthcare could be used as a method to get in touch with a greater number of trafficked women working in escort, discreet/private prostitution. One social worker noted that when she is delivering the healthcare, she has a focus on health. Prior to the initiation of this project she not was paying particular attention to whether the women were engaged in one form of prostitution or another. It was only through participation in network meetings with other key actors that she became more aware of the different situations of the women. Now, she pays more attention to the type of prostitution in which the women are engaged.

³⁹ Examples include the CMM project with a hospital in Northern Jutland providing mobile healthcare to foreign women working in prostitution in clinics in 2010. The NGO AmiAmi started their mobile clinic for women working in prostitution in the Fredericia area. In 2017, Reden International began a similar project in the Copenhagen area.

The social workers interviewed who provide mobile healthcare and regular guidance counselling stated that they do not ask directly about “prostitution” or “escort”. They tended rather towards eliciting this information through general conversation, paying close attention to how the women speak about their work. Others who have long-standing relationships with the trafficked person used other methods such as trauma therapy, attaining knowledge through building trust to such an extent that the women speak freely and openly about their work to the social worker directly during counselling or during small talk.

One NGO has a brochure that social workers use when counselling trafficked persons about the options they have for their life course in Denmark (healthcare, legal status, etc.) which has a section on escort prostitution. The social workers talk generally about it to the women and wait for them to respond or react. The responses tend to vary depending on the levels of trust that have been established.

To summarize, mobile healthcare is an effective method to reach trafficked women working in EDPP, however if a greater number of people are to be identified as trafficked, both social workers and healthcare workers need to use other relational methods that facilitate dialogue and trust with the TPs, and attention should be paid to the geographic locations that are covered.

3.3 Social Media

The internet has given transnational crime networks a new means to advertise and recruit and, in conjunction with the prolific use of and developments in mobile technologies, the trafficking landscape is being fundamentally transformed. In short, human traffickers and criminal networks are taking advantage of technology to reach larger audiences and to do illicit business more quickly and efficiently across greater distances.⁴⁰

Denmark is known as one of the most digitalized countries in the world. At the same time, how the internet and mobile technologies facilitate trafficking in persons are remarkably understudied. Among the key actors contributing to the present project, only two report that they use social media as a tool to reach and communicate with trafficked persons in EDPP. In one of them, the peer worker maintains relationships and communicates with trafficked persons through social media, thus building more and more trust. In the other organisation, social media is used both as a means to be in touch with women directly through chat, and indirectly through the advertisement of services that they provide, to which some women respond over chat. This is, however, a relatively recent practice, which is why the NGO was not yet able to share concrete results.

The police and the tax authorities in Denmark both use different Internet related methods when investigating criminals and criminal offences. The authorities are – for obvious reasons – not able to disclose in any detail about how they are working with these methods.

Latonero et al (2012, v) highlight that “[d]ata gleaned from cell phones and mobile networks constitute a trail of information and evidence that can be a powerful tool in identifying, tracking, and prosecuting traffickers.” Indeed, social workers in Denmark report that they can get a lot of information through

⁴⁰ M. Latonero (2012). The Rise of Mobile and the Diffusion of Technology-Facilitated Trafficking. USC Annenberg, Center on Communication Leadership and Policy Research Series on Technology and Human Trafficking. <https://technologyandtrafficking.usc.edu/files/2011/08/HumanTrafficking2012.pdf>

Facebook and different chat groups not least because some trafficking networks hold social events and gatherings “like any other business”.⁴¹

All of the NGOs have Facebook profiles for their organizations, and social workers at one NGO use alias Facebook profiles to keep in touch with the clients they work with. Several social workers commented that Facebook Messenger was an effective channel for sharing information, and that trafficked women also use messenger to share information among themselves, which sometimes results in social workers being contacted by women working in EDPP who they have not met previously.⁴²

3.3 (Mobile) Telephone

Trafficked persons in EDPP are located by social workers through websites selling sex and through classified ads in newspapers. While this is done on a regular basis by some of the NGOs, other have taken a target approach over a particular time period, responding to ads on websites selling sex. Social workers note that where there is no address stated, the service on offer is usually escort, while what is advertised as escort can often turn out to be moderately discreet or less discreet prostitution.⁴³ They note furthermore that since mid-2017, a lot of new addresses have appeared, addresses now appear and then disappear, which indicates that women are being moved around to a greater extent than before. Lastly, social workers note that when they use a peer group worker who speaks the language of the target group, they manage to reach a far greater number of women in EDPP and other forms of discreet prostitution than when they only use English.

Social workers in Norway report that it is very difficult to find out about the situation women are in via classified ads and that contacting them this way it yields little result. “If we asked whether they have experienced violence, threats, trafficking and such, they most often answer no.” They state furthermore, that they are dependent on the women coming to them at their drop-in centers.

In 2016 and 2017 a journalist and a South American peer group worker called 40 phone numbers sourced from classified ads in newspapers and websites where sex was being sold and asked about the possibilities of getting work as an escort. The feedback they received was that escort work was regarded as dangerous, unless security measures were in place that meant it was an expensive way to work that one had to invest in. Nearly all the telephone ladies who took the phone had extensive knowledge of escort work and they had experience of combining this form of prostitution with prostitution in clinics which they found less hazardous.

All of the NGOs working with victims of trafficking have a number that victims of trafficking can call during offices hours. One small NGO has opened their lines up 24 hours. This together with there being only two social workers who answer the calls has led to the social workers being able to establish good relationships with TPs working in all forms of prostitution. NGOs are also using WhatsApp to maintain relationships with trafficked women working in prostitution in general. Several social workers from these NGOs relayed that both WhatsApp and Messenger were useful tools, particularly for TPs in EDPP, as they do not have the same access to social services as women who are in street prostitution.⁴⁴ The

⁴¹ Interview with social worker.

⁴² See Appendix 3.

⁴³ See Figure 2.

⁴⁴ For further discussion on the usefulness of different secret messaging services (sms) in initiating outreach with victims of trafficking, see G. A. Gow (2015). Project Backpage: Using Text Messaging to Initiate Outreach Support for Victims of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation. *Journal of Human Trafficking*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2015.1016769>

disadvantage of WhatsApp is that traffickers often exert control over the TPs telephones and frequently change the sim cards, swapping them around among different people in order to not be traced.

3.5 Web scraping

Web scraping is a term for various methods used to collect information from across the Internet. In the context of human trafficking, it is essentially a form of data mining that presents an opportunity to extract content from online sex advertisements and identify locations, addresses and even persons that may be associated with human trafficking.

During the course of the present project, a researcher in the US with expertise and skilled in using web scraping to identify trafficking situations was given a list of websites that sell sex that were selected by searching the keyword 'escort' and websites that were known to social workers, social media platforms; he was also given a list of keywords used by people who use these sites⁴⁵ and 43 phone numbers from NGOs in Denmark to analyze.

As part of the present assignment, he conducted a web scraping exercise, the result of which is presented below.

I extracted information from 1000 HTML files, drawn from the "escort5" and "escortsides" websites. The files fall into two broad categories: "Provider-specific" pages that feature detailed information about a specific provider, and "category" pages that list abbreviated summaries about dozens of providers on a single page. I established two initial extractors for these pages: Location and phone.

Location: *I also aimed to extract town and city names. There are 136 unique locations mentioned in the extracted dataset, of which 26 appear only a single time. I tested the location names and found 99% to be accurate. The most frequently-mentioned location names are Aarhus, Rødovre, and Odense. We are not – within the parameters of this limited search – able to explain why the most populous area of Copenhagen is not mentioned more frequently, nor why the relatively small area of Rødovre is mentioned frequently.*

Phone: *I only tried to extract European phone numbers. I found 8430 phone numbers, with an average of 8.43 per document in the sample. We tested the phone-numbers and found 100% to be accurate. There are 928 unique phone numbers in the extracted dataset, of which 223 appear only a single time.*

77 documents in the sample contain a reference to both a phone number and a location.

I received a list of 43 phone numbers linked to human trafficking incidents. I found that five of these numbers occurred in the webpage collection. Two of these numbers match up to 10 different pages. Three of them match more than 320 pages.

The fact that all of the 43 phone numbers received pointed to a great number of web-pages, some of which have addresses of actual locations of brothels or clinics, is testimony to the potential of the method as a supplement to identifying trafficked persons working in those same locations. The researcher reported that the amount of data he was supplied with was insufficient to claim conclusively

⁴⁵ See Appendix 4.

that particular places and numbers were linked to human trafficking.⁴⁶ Web scraping is a relatively new method which is being explored and improved.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Funding was allocated to the Metropolitan Police Force in the UK to carry out a pilot project in which web scraping was tested as a tool for helping to identify trafficking situations with no significant results in spite of using a large amount of data. Research suggests, however, that web scraping could be used to identify indicators of trafficking and offer the potential of filling a void in relation to the operandi of traffickers. (See <http://uir.ulster.ac.uk/34229/1/Poster%20with%20permission.pdf>)

⁴⁷ See Appendix 3 for recommendations for future technological human trafficking interventions.

4. Knowledge Sharing on Escort, Discreet/Private Prostitution among Authorities and NGOs

This chapter addresses the third aim of the project, namely strengthening collaboration and knowledge sharing with key actors through the establishment of an interdisciplinary dialogue forum where experiences are shared and formal and informal forms of cooperation are developed.

4.1 Key Actors and Organisations

There are numerous actors working with trafficked persons in EDPP in Denmark:

National authorities. These include:

- The tax department (who encounters people from the target group through investigation of cases of tax fraud)
- The police (encounters through arrests on suspicion of illegal activity, e.g. illegal immigration)
- The prison service (imprisonment because of illegal activity)
- The Centre against Human Trafficking (social policy, social work)
- Ministries (the Department of Gender Equality, located in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry for Children and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Immigration and Integration)
- Governmental departments (e.g. the National Board of Social Services, Danish Immigration Service)
- The judiciary.⁴⁸

Asylum centres (Trafficked persons who have been identified as such and are in their waiting period; asylum seekers who are in trafficking situations in the asylum centres).

Academic researchers (research on human trafficking, forced labour and/or migration).

Civil society organisations (including church-based organisations that focus on human trafficking, migrant workers, homeless, sex work and prostitution).

There are two main modes of ensuring knowledge sharing among the different actors: Knowledge sharing which is case based and linked to a particular person in the target group (see section 4.2), and knowledge sharing which is at a general strategic and policy level (see section 4.3).

4.2 Case based: Organisation-to-Organisation Model for Knowledge Sharing

Aside from the academics, several of the key actors are in regular contact regarding specific cases via email and telephone. However, there is no formal structure in place so that actors can follow what happens with cases that are passed on from one organisation to another at different stages in a process.

⁴⁸ See the Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings pp. 38-39 for a comprehensive list of Authorities involved in the fight against human trafficking in general.

Sophie's story

Sophie was defined as trafficked into street prostitution by a Copenhagen-based NGO. She was admitted to the NGO and then moved to an asylum center. During her stay, she was put under so much pressure from her trafficker that she fled the asylum center, thus breaking the conditions of her legal temporary stay in Denmark. She was hiding from both the traffickers and the authorities and lived on the streets for a few weeks.

She then met a man who offered her a place to live. She stayed in touch with the women working on the street. Some of them were also engaged in escort work. Eventually she left the man and moved in with the women she knew from the street who lived in Jutland. They lived in the basement of a big house and she eventually decided to start working in prostitution again and pay off her fictitious debt. Sometimes clients came to the house and sometimes they were driven out to clients.

As a result of the co-operation between a Copenhagen-based NGO and the tax office regarding EDPP, the authorities were alert to the possibility of a trafficking situation in this area.

A year later, when suspicious activity was reported by neighbours who noticed the flow of Danish men and ethnic women in and out of the house, Sophie was picked up by the police together with another woman and arrested on suspicion of being an illegal immigrant as she had violated the conditions of her temporary stay.

The police contacted CMM, as she was in the system as a trafficked person, and CMM then contacted a local NGO. The social worker who had made the original identification visited her in prison. Sophia remained in prison for five months until it was no longer possible to detain her. She was released to the Red Cross asylum system and continues to receive support from the NGO and CMM.

The case described above illustrates how cooperative practice is currently being achieved. In Sophie's case, there was cooperation between the tax office and an NGO, the police and CMM, CMM and NGO, NGO to NGO, and finally the case was passed on from CMM to the immigration authorities. The case also highlights the challenges faced by both trafficked persons and the actors who are working to combat trafficking. Even though all of the actors are aware of her trafficking situation and story, the law prevents them from offering her support as a trafficked person.

4.3 Strategy and policy: Network Meeting Model for Knowledge Sharing

The model adopted by CMM has been developed to create opportunities for knowledge sharing through network meetings. Under the Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking, CMM has the main responsibility for the organisation of different fora where human trafficking as a whole and thus also EDPP can be discussed.

Currently, there are quarterly **Regional Reference Group Meetings** - one reference group for actors in Mid and North Jutland, and one reference group for actors in Zealand and Southern Denmark. Representatives that are required to attend come from the Equality Department, located in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, CMM, Ami Ami, Reden, the Red Cross and HopeNow. Representatives from the police and the Danish tax office are always invited to attend.

Once a year, a **National Reference Group Meeting** is held where all actors are brought together from across Denmark. Depending on the focus of the meetings, other actors may be invited to attend reference group meetings, for example representatives from social services, the state department, healthcare workers, and/or other NGOs workers.

There is a quarterly **NGO Network Meeting**, which includes the NGOs under the Danish Action Plan to Combat Human Trafficking 2015 – 2018 and other organisations not included in the Action Plan, such as Gadejuristen.

There is a biannual **Scientific Knowledge Network Meeting**, which focuses on evidence-based research in the field of human trafficking, and to which representatives from the reference groups and academics working in the field of human trafficking are invited.

Lastly, there is a biannual **Meeting of Healthcare and Social Workers**, which focuses on the overlap between the two fields within human trafficking. This is attended by the relevant outreach workers from the reference group organisations.

During the course of this three-year project, with the exception of the Scientific Knowledge Network Meeting, EDPP has been a topic of discussion at all of the aforementioned network meetings at least once per year. Meeting minutes are taken and distributed among the attendees. Topics discussed include:

- Representatives descriptions their individual experiences.
- How one can identify that a person is working in EDPP.
- EDPP as a growing phenomenon among women trafficked into prostitution.
- The methods being used to reach women working in EDPP.
- Where trafficked women working in EDPP are encountered.
- The resource challenges for the police in dealing with the prostitution side of human trafficking.
- The challenge for the Danish tax office of training staff in this area and so forth.

Moving beyond the general discussion at face-to-face meetings, there is room for improving knowledge sharing on EDPP (see section 4.4).

4.4 Improvements to Knowledge Sharing

A first step in improving knowledge sharing is to develop a clearer and more concise definition of the categories escort, discreet and private prostitution. Even though there are many exceptions to the rule and overlapping areas, the nuances of EDPP should be highlighted as they relate to and differ among categories of people working in the sex industry, for instance men vs. women; adults vs. adolescents; country nationals vs. foreign nationals; independent sex work vs. forced prostitution vs. trafficked persons.

This section continues by highlighting the current challenges faced with the existing methods of knowledge sharing and gives tentative suggestions for how they may be resolved, based on the data collected from the actors who contributed their knowledge and experiences in this project.

4.4.1 Improving the Organisation-to-Organisation Model

NGO workers have in many cases established relationships to the persons working in prostitution through their regular outreach work. They have thus often established long-standing relationships with trafficked persons. Hence, there is a considerable pool of knowledge and experience among the NGOs working in the field.

One of the challenges is to make the best use of this knowledge in the cooperation with the authorities. Making contact to NGOs is, however, not obligatory for the authorities. Further discussion is needed on

whether and how to formally include NGO workers at critical points during the process of identifying trafficked persons working in EDPP. This could for example be by introducing obligatory police-NGO contact when women of foreign origin are arrested in prostitution environments.

Related to the above challenge is the fact that when arrests happen, the trafficked person is entirely dependent on the skills of the individual police officer(s) in being able to recognize a trafficking situation. The same goes for professionals working with the tax authorities who come across prostitutes who are potentially trafficked. The current situation relies heavily on the individual employee's depth of knowledge and interest in combatting human trafficking, and both their positive and negative attitudes towards, and interest in, migration issues.

In an interview with a representative from the tax office, for instance, the collaboration with CMM and a Copenhagen-based NGO was described as smooth, easy and well-functioning. However, in one instance, the tax office had supplied information about a number of cases that may be linked to trafficking. Some months later, the tax office received the statistics on the number that CMM had officially identified as trafficked and what happened in those cases. For the interests of the broader work of the tax office, the representative stated that it would have been equally relevant to be informed about what happened to the remaining cases so that they could continue working on them.

The systematic mainstreaming of training of staff in governmental organizations on linkages between criminal activities, trafficking and EDPP is lacking, as is training on how international criminal networks operate. Training could be in the form of seminars delivered by experts in the field, or via online learning platforms. The knowledge pool available among the NGOs could be of key importance in this respect.

Systematic training and mainstreaming activities could be targeted to ensure that:

- In addition to email and telephone correspondence among the different actors on specific individual person cases, training will facilitate learnings from the individual cases being synthesized to a more general level in order to uncover the general methods used by the criminal networks involved in trafficking and EDPP.
- Systematic and unison training can take place for instance via secure web-based technologies, in order to identify and reach out to trafficked persons in EDPP.
- Common general guidelines on the identification of and doing outreach with trafficked persons in EDPP are developed and applied in practice across the different actors involved.

4.4.2 Improving the Networking Meeting Model

While the Networking Meeting Model is effective in nurturing relationships between different actors, it only provides for first-stage knowledge sharing across multiple organisations.

As the focus on EDPP is relatively new, it would be timely to establish new ways to share knowledge at subsequent stages across multiple organisations. There is currently a healthy exchange of information at the meetings. There is, however, no common platform to which all participants have access; follow-up and/or reporting on follow-up does not necessarily happen on an ongoing basis; there is a significant time-lag between meetings; and the sharing of knowledge relies heavily on the spoken word and staff continuity.

Thus, the situation can be improved. For instance, more regular meetings – and virtual meetings through Skype – would allow for better follow-up, consistency and would also allow for the participation of NGOs who often face staff and financial (for travelling to meeting) shortages.

Appendix 1: ILO indicators of trafficking of adults for sexual exploitation

Source: ILO (2009) Operational Indicators of Human Trafficking. Results from the Delphi survey implemented by the ILO and the European Commission.

INDICATORS OF DECEPTIVE RECRUITMENT

Strong Indicator

Deceived about the nature of the job or location

Medium Indicators

Deceived about conditions of prostitution
Deceived about content or legality of work contract
Deceived about family reunification
Deceived about housing and living conditions
Deceived about legal documentation or obtaining legal migration status
Deceived about travel and recruitment conditions
Deceived about wages/earnings
Deceived through promises of marriage or adoption

Weak Indicator

Deceived about access to education opportunities

INDICATORS OF COERCIVE RECRUITMENT

Strong Indicators

Abduction, forced marriage, forced adoption or selling of victim
Debt bondage
Threats of violence against victim
Violence on victims

Medium Indicators

Confiscation of documents Isolation, confinement or surveillance
Threat of denunciation to authorities
Threats to inform family, community or public
Violence on family (threats or effective)
Withholding of money

INDICATORS OF RECRUITMENT BY ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY

Medium Indicators

Abuse of difficult family situation
Abuse of illegal status
Abuse of lack of education (language)
Abuse of lack of information
Control of exploiters
Difficulties in the past
Difficulty to organise the travel
Economic reasons
False information about law, attitude of authorities
False information about successful migration
Family situation
General context
Personal situation

Psychological and emotional dependency
Relationship with authorities/legal status

Weak Indicator

Abuse of cultural/religious beliefs

INDICATORS OF EXPLOITATION

Medium Indicators

Bad living conditions
Excessive working days or hours
Hazardous work
Low or no salary
No respect of labour laws or contract signed
No social protection (contract, social insurance, etc.)
Very bad working conditions
Wage manipulation

INDICATORS OF COERCION AT DESTINATION

Strong Indicators

Confiscation of documents
Debt bondage
Forced tasks or clients Isolation, confinement or surveillance
Threats of violence against victim
Violence on victims

Medium Indicators

Forced into illicit/criminal activities
Forced to act against peers
Forced to lie to authorities, family, etc.
Threat of denunciation to authorities
Threat to impose even worse working conditions
Threats to inform family, community or public
Under strong influence
Violence on family (threats or effective)
Withholding of wages

INDICATORS OF ABUSE OF VULNERABILITY AT DESTINATION

Medium Indicators

Dependency on exploiters
Difficulty to live in an unknown area
Economic reasons
Family situation
Personal characteristics
Relationship with authorities/legal status

Weak Indicator

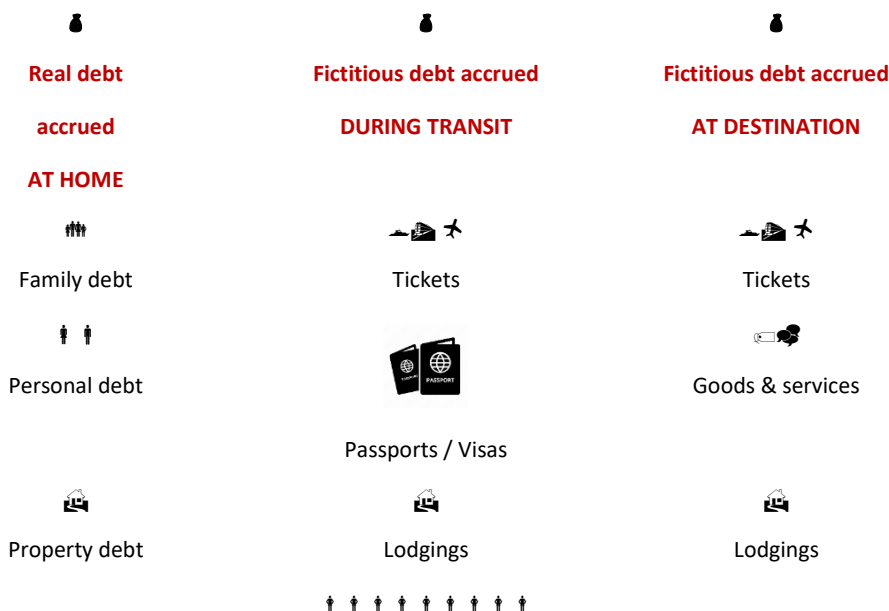
Difficulties in the past

Appendix 2: Fictitious Debt

99.9% of the people working in EDP (and also on the street) that HopeNow have encountered have migrated from their home country as a result of their own or their family's wish for a better life or to improve their/their family's financial situation. The family or the individual decide that moving abroad to a country where there are better opportunities for work could be a solution. Intervention from third parties (middlemen/women who are part of or work with a trafficking network) is then either imposed, or sought after (*recruitment*) and this is when the accrual of **fictitious debt** begins. The women leave their home countries (*movement*) believing they are going to get decent, legal work. While the majority who work in EDP do indeed get valid visas and several do actually work as au pairs, they are also forced into doing sex work as it pays more (*deception, force, exploitation*) which will result in a faster pay off of the debt, and ultimately greater profits for the trafficking network.

The table below is an example of how much of the debt is accumulated. At different points on the journey from their home countries, which may involve several states and numerous corrupt middlemen/women who are all recognized as traffickers, the traffickers hike the price of each and every 'service' which creates extremely large fictitious debts⁴⁹ for the trafficked person. The large debts that are accrued take the trafficked person years to pay off.

Debt Accumulation and Fictitious Debt



All along the journey there are middlemen/women who organize different aspects of the movement for a **fee** which is vastly higher than the actual cost. This debt accrued is referred to as a **fictitious debt**.

The fictitious debts can be very high and take many years to pay off. As long as the debt remains, the person continues to be recognized as **trafficked** because the nature of the debt is exploitative, and the only way out of trafficking is for the person to pay off the debt. The women working in forced prostitution know only this profession and do not have the agency or social capital to find work or educate themselves differently. Trafficking is an ongoing process that does not end until a TP no longer has any direct or indirect ties to his/her trafficker and the trafficking network.

In the case of EDP, trafficked persons who are working to pay off a debt, thus *remain trafficked* as long as they are paying off their debt because the debt is fictitious and therefore classed as an exploitative situation.

⁴⁹ The debt is 'fictitious' because the debt is not real, i.e. it does not equate even remotely to the real cost of the 'services'

Appendix 3: Guiding Principles for Future Technological Human Trafficking Interventions.

The Center on Communication and leadership Policy in the US has provided five guiding principles for future technological interventions in human trafficking which should be considered in the Danish context:⁵⁰

1. The ultimate beneficiaries of any technological intervention should be the victims and survivors of human trafficking.
2. Successful implementation of anti-trafficking technologies requires cooperation among actors across government, nongovernmental, and private sectors, sharing information and communicating in a coordinated manner.
3. Private-sector technology firms should recognize that their services and networks are being exploited by traffickers and take steps to innovate and develop anti-trafficking initiatives through their technologies and policies.
4. Continuous involvement and research is necessary to ensure that tools are user-centric and refined over time to most effectively respond to shifts in technology and trafficking.
5. Technological interventions should account for the range of human rights potentially impacted by the use of advanced technologies.

⁵⁰ M. Latonero (2012). The Rise of Mobile and the Diffusion of Technology-Facilitated Trafficking. USC Anneberg, Center on Communication, Leadership and Policy. <https://technologyandtrafficking.usc.edu/files/2011/08/HumanTrafficking2012.pdf>

Appendix 4: Websites and Keywords for Web Scraping

The pages marked with * were also known to contacts in the TAX anti-trafficking department

*Eroguide: www.eroguide.dk

- Content: review of prostitutes + adds with pictures. One of the biggest international sites.
- Access: You have access to profiles and to read reviews without subscription.
- Comment: one of the most comprehensive guides on prostitutes. There are only a few reviews of foreign women. The African women often write that they are Carribean. There are many brothels listed on the website incl. prices.

* Escort Guide: www.escortguide.dk

- Content: Add site with personal profiles with pictures/prices/numbers. There are many adds. A mix of Danish/Eastern European/African/South American women.
- Access: No subscription needed + easy access.

* X Sugarpapa: www.sugarpappa.dk

- Content: sugardating
- Access: you need subscription to get acces to most info.
- Comment: mainly men looking for sugardates. It is less transparent how much money is involved. Most profiles are in Danish.

*Sugardating.dk: www.sugardating.dk

*Escort-side: www.escort-side.dk

- Content: ca. 1137 ads for escort/massage with pictures, text and prices.
- Access: you can see the profiles without subscription
- Comment: It seems that there are a more women using the label Caribbean than on Euroguide.

*Annoncelight: <https://annoncelight.dk/>

- Content: Platform with pictures
- Access: you can see the adds/profiles without subscription
- Comment: Annoncelight say they are the most visited independent site for escort, massage and they sell other erotic material

Craigslist: <https://copenhagen.craigslist.dk/search/cas?s=1>

- Content: sex adds – no photos (discrete)
- Access: you can log in to see adds and phone numbers
- Comment: American studies also mention Craigslist as a leading place for adds where trafficking can be involved We don't know the scale of this in the Danish context.

Massagelisten: <https://massageplus.dk/liste/massage>

- Content: overview of massages parlors in DK
- Access: n/a
- Comment: focus seem to be especially on Thai women
- *(Katja did not find this page)*

* Voksenbasen: www.voksenbasen.dk

- Content: An "erotic advertisement portal". One of the categories is "escort", where there are 80 adds. You can see pictures/prices/telephone numbers.
- Access: No subscription needed + easy access.
- Comment: Most adds are for Danish or Eastern European women, but there's also for African and South American. There is an "escort forum", where you can chat and discuss the escort adds and possibly review the women. A subscription is required.

District1Copenhagen: www.district1copenhagen.com

- Content: "Escort and massage site". There are personal profiles for around 30 women, where you can see pictures/prices/numbers. There are quick a few women from South America, but also some from Africa.
- Access: No subscription needed + easy access.
- Comment: The site advertises that they have Whatsapp.

Sex Debat: www.sex-debat.dk

- Content: Forum where you can discuss/rate escortgirls and 'clinics'. On the front page they distinguish between forums about girls in Jylland, Fyn, Sjælland and København. It seems like it's regularly used.
- Access: Open access.

Venuslogen: www.venuslogen.dk

- Content: "Denmark's largest gentlemen forum". Escort adds and forum for discussion. It directs you further to www.dream-girl.dk, but the page opens up empty, when you try to access it.
- Access: Subscription needed to see adds and forums.

Escorthimlen: www.escorthimlen.dk

- Content: Escort add site. Personal profiles, where you can see pictures/prices etc. Women from Africa and South America.
- Access: Open access.

Copenhagen Escort: www.copenhagen-escort.dk

- Content: Escort add site. Personal profiles, where you can see pictures/prices etc. Women from Africa and South America.
- Access: Open access.

* Escort: www.xescort.dk

- Content: Escort add site. Many, personal profiles, where you can see pictures/prices/numbers etc. Women from Africa and South America.
- Access: Open access.
- Comment: There are also escort men on this site.

Sexpiger: www.sexpiger.dk

- Content: Escort add site. Many, personal profiles, where you can see pictures/prices/numbers etc. Women from Africa and South America.
- Access: Open access.

Massage 24/7: www.massage24-7.dk

- Content: Escort add site. Personal profiles, where you can see pictures/prices/numbers etc. Not that many women from Africa and South America.
- Access: Open access.

* Badoo: <https://badoo.com/da/>

- Content: Social media, there can also be used to find sex partners– 150 mio users worldwide (according to the website)
- Access: subscription (and connection via facebook)

*Escort5: <http://www.escort5.dk/>

- Content: adds with sex for sale
- Access:
- Comment: Search field where specific key words can be entered

*Escort 6: www.escort6.dk

- Content: Portal that collects links for other webpages with titles as "Escort Sites", "Free Escort" and "Thai Massage Spa".
- Access: Easy access, but the page doesn't have content itself, but simply refers to other sites.
- Comment: Can be used as a platform to find other webpages, but not ideal for webscraping.

Escort4: <https://www.escort4.dk/>

- Contents: adds with sex for sale
- Access: ads with phonenumbers
- Comment: over 4000 adds, cannot see faces etc.

*Backpage: <http://danmark.backpage.com/FemaleEscorts/>

- Content: adds with sex for sale
- Access: no subscription needed to see adds
- Comment: Search field where specific key words can be entered

Rich Meet Beautiful: www.richmeetbeautiful.com

- Content: Sugardating-side
- Access: Subscription needed

*Diskretudlejning: <https://diskretudlejning.dk/>

- Content: subletting of places to do prostitution

Escort Fantasy: <http://escortfantasy.dk/>

- Content: adds with sex for sale
- Access: easy
- Comment: primarily Danish

Massage og escort – side6: <http://side6.dk/>

- Search: escort
- Content: Escort add site. Personal profiles, where you can see pictures/prices/numbers etc
- Access: no subscription needed
- Comment: women from Latin and South America, Asica, and perhaps Africa

Min Escort Guide: www.minescortguide.dk

- Search: escort
- Content: sex adds
- Access: no subscription needed
- Comment: women from Denmark but also women from other countries in Europe, Latin and South America

Realescort: <http://www.realescort.dk/>

- Search: escort massage
- Content: Sex adds
- Access: no subscription needed
- Women primarily from DK but also women from Thailand

Escortnord.dk: <http://escortnord.dk/>

- Search: escort massage
- Content: sex add and map
- Access: no subscription needed
- Women from Denmark, Brazil, latin/south America

Social Media

- Facebook
- Twitter
- Tinder
- WhatsApp (several websites write that they have Whatsapp)

Keywords women in Denmark write:

- Hookups
- Not much question
- Money must be made
- Fun/hookups only
- "independent"
- The African women say they are: "Carribien"/"Caribien", "Dominican", from Panama, Italien etc.
- Screen names; eg. Sex doll, generally exotic names
- Ny i Danmark

Keywords that men in Denmark write:

- Johns
- Hobbyists
- Mongers (whoremonger)
- Punters
- Clients
- Customers

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