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## **Discourse on prostitution and human trafficking in the context of UEFA EURO 2012**

Academic study of discourse and campaigns in the run-up to the  
2012 European Football Championship finals as the basis for advising decision-makers

First report, December 2010

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*Commissioned and funded by UEFA*

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## Introduction

This study focuses on the themes of sex work, sex tourism and human trafficking in the UEFA EURO 2012 host countries, Poland and Ukraine. It is designed to provide UEFA and local stakeholders with an academic basis for their preparations for the event and to serve as a starting point for networking, media work, activities and campaigns linked to these themes.

The study expressly aims to help prevent sensationalist media reporting that might lead to a deterioration of the working and living conditions of sex workers. It also opposes the portrayal of UEFA EURO 2012 as a cause of violations of women's rights, such as abduction, trafficking and rape. Analysis of previous international sports events, such as the 2006 World Cup in Germany<sup>1</sup> and the 2010 World Cup in South Africa does not suggest that major football events lead to a rise in human rights violations of this nature. Nor is there any evidence that demand for sexual services increases as a result of such events. An international academic study of discourse in the run-up to the 2010 World Cup in South Africa and of what actually transpired during the tournament, for example, showed that the predicted sharp increase in the offer of sexual services failed to materialise, as did the feared rise in human trafficking (see Delva et al. 2010). The study's author(s) concluded their report with the following recommendation for future major sports events:

*“Future campaigns and programmes that focus on sex work, trafficking and international sporting events should be based on systematic research – not sensationalism that leads to further stigmatisation and discrimination against sex workers while increasing their vulnerability to violence.” (Delva et al. 2010)*

This document is the first of two reports. It covers the period from 2007 until 2010 and is based on the results of interviews and research conducted on the ground, as well as online questionnaires. Questions were put to 15 experts in Poland and 24 in Ukraine: outreach workers, security authority representatives, police experts on human trafficking, representatives of non-governmental organisations (linked to HIV, sex work and human trafficking), sex workers<sup>2</sup>, sociologists, UEFA partners involved in organising UEFA EURO 2012, ministry representatives (ministries of internal affairs, health and sport), employees of international foundations that financially support NGOs, a project worker from the German Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), an employee of a church-run aid agency and the spokeswoman of the Ukrainian activists' group FEMEN. Another key element of the investigation is a detailed analysis of discourse in media reporting in both countries in the aforementioned time period. On the basis of the results of our research, we have prepared some recommendations for UEFA and local stakeholders, which we set out in the final section of the report.

## Definitions: sex work and human trafficking

Before talking and writing about the themes of sex work and human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, it is necessary to define both concepts. If the two phenomena are mixed up, the discussion will not do justice to either sex workers on the one hand or victims of abduction, rape and exploitation on the other.

**Sex work or prostitution** is defined as a service carried out voluntarily and by mutual agreement between adults in return for agreed payment.

A standard international definition of **human trafficking** was included in the so-called Palermo protocol<sup>3</sup>, which was adopted by the United Nations in 2000:

*“Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.”<sup>4</sup>*

Trafficking in women for the purpose of sexual exploitation is an extreme form of sexual violence against women, usually in the context of migration, which has nothing in common with prostitution as a consensual service. Its victims should be clearly distinguished from migrants who work in the sex industry.

(1) The events linked to the 2006 World Cup are described in detail and analysed in: Martina Schuster/Almut Sülzle (2006): *Zwangsprostitution, Sexarbeit, Menschenhandel und die WM 2006. Gutachten zu Kampagnen zu Prostitution und Menschenhandel in Deutschland im Umfeld der Fußballweltmeisterschaft der Männer 2006*, commissioned by the Wiener Institut für Entwicklungsfragen und Zusammenarbeit (vide).

(2) Both male and female sex workers are covered by this term. Male sex work has increased in recent years, although it is virtually invisible in society and, due to the lack of relevant data, is not dealt with in this report.

(3) “Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime”.

(4) The Palermo protocol was developed in the context of the fight against crime and criminal justice. It therefore only contains a few provisions on victim protection. In view of this weakness of the Palermo protocol, the Council of Europe adopted the Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings in order to strengthen the protection of victims' rights. The Convention entered into force on 1 February 2008.

## Current situation in Ukraine

### HIV/AIDS

At the 2010 International AIDS Conference in Vienna, the World Health Organisation (WHO) published some alarming figures: Ukraine has the highest rate of AIDS infection in Europe and the world's highest HIV growth rate. Drug addicts are the group at greatest risk. Infection rates among prostitutes and their clients are particularly high. The number of newly infected women under the age of 25 is rising particularly fast. Most of them are being infected as a result of unprotected sex (see TAMPEP 2007).

### Employment market situation

The Ukrainian employment market is characterised by a high unemployment rate, particularly among women. It is therefore natural for young women to look for (short-term, seasonal) sources of income, including abroad, often far beneath their level of qualification and academic education. Many are prepared to get involved in precarious and very flexible types of work.

### Prostitution

Since prostitution was decriminalised in 2006, sex work is no longer prohibited under criminal law. Prostitution is now treated as a regulatory offence. Sex work therefore takes place in a legal grey area and prostitutes enjoy no form of civil law protection. It is still a criminal offence to pimp or to run a brothel. Decriminalisation has barely changed prostitutes' everyday situation. The police still treat prostitutes violently, intimidating and blackmailing them. Sex workers remain extremely stigmatised and excluded from society. Ukraine has around 60,000 sex workers (TAMPEP 2007). Approximately 90% of prostitutes are Ukrainian and most have at least an intermediate level of academic qualifications. Some students, who move from rural areas into the cities, fund their studies through occasional sex work. 25% of prostitutes would like to quit, but cannot find any other work. According to the NGOs we spoke to, a confusing, rapidly growing internet-based market is developing and becoming less and less visible in society. Aid agencies are therefore finding it more difficult to reach the women concerned in order to offer them information and prevention advice. Around 10% of sex workers in Ukraine are migrants, mainly from Moldova and Belarus.

### HIV prevention in the sex industry

The NGOs that work with prostitutes focus particularly on AIDS prevention and health care measures, such as sex education and (anonymous) testing. A 2006 investigation into HIV and the sex industry concluded that the infection rate is closely related to drug use, although the situation

varies considerably from region to region.<sup>5</sup> Generally speaking, prostitutes have a broad knowledge of AIDS and HIV, how they are spread, and the related symptoms, testing and treatment methods. Nevertheless, simple standards such as the regular use of condoms have not yet been fully achieved, while testing and treatment are inadequate.

### HIV prevention among clients

A study on HIV/AIDS and prostitution conducted at Kyiv University in 2009 shows that prostitutes' clients are, in the main, well informed about AIDS. However, the figures on condom use are alarming: 92% of those questioned had used a condom the last time they had intercourse with a sex worker whom they did not know personally. But only 47% had used a condom the last time they had sex with their regular prostitute. 7% of the clients questioned were HIV-positive.<sup>6</sup>

The increasing level of awareness of the high-risk groups of prostitutes and their clients suggests that the NGOs' educational work has been successful, and it can be assumed that knowledge is greater in areas where intensive campaigns and wide-ranging groundwork are carried out. Although both prostitutes and their clients are very knowledgeable about prevention through the use of condoms, sexual intercourse without a condom is common.

### Sex tourism

In a sociological investigation carried out in cooperation with the FEMEN group, 70% of the students questioned said they had been offered money for sex by foreigners (Kyiv Sociological Institute).

### Human trafficking

Ukraine ratified the Palermo protocol in 2004.<sup>7</sup> Under criminal law, human trafficking is a punishable offence, with penalties ranging from six months to three years' imprisonment, or up to 15 years in serious cases, if the victims are minors or if those responsible belong to an organised group. Even though combating human trafficking is an important objective for the Ukrainian government, it is fre-

(5) According to this study, only 8% of sex workers in Kyiv were HIV-positive in 2006, whereas the rate was one in four in Odessa and Donetsk and one in three in Mykolaiv (National Report on HIV/AIDS; see TAMPEP 2007).

(6) The survey was carried out from July to September 2009 in five major cities: Kyiv, Cherkasy, Simferopol, Kharkiv and Iwano-Frankivsk. 100 prostitutes' clients were questioned in each city (Aids Alliance Ukraine report 2010).

(7) Drawn up to supplement the UN Convention against International Organized Crime, the protocol contains recommendations on the prevention, suppression and punishment of human trafficking.

quently reported that structures exist through which individual police officers and politicians either traffic in human beings themselves or profit from such activities.<sup>8</sup>

Ukraine is a country of origin in the context of international human trafficking. The main destination countries are Russia, Poland, Turkey, Italy, Portugal and Spain. It is also a transit country for the trafficking of people from Central

Asia, Belarus and Moldova, mainly to countries in the Middle East. According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), 58% of the victims are subjected to sexual violence, 37% are exploited workers and 2% are forced to beg. The largest group of victims comprises women under 30 who are subjected to sexual violence.

## **Media discourse on prostitution and human trafficking in the context of UEFA EURO 2012 in Ukraine**

The Ukrainian media regularly tackle the themes of human trafficking and prostitution, which are both also discussed in the context of the European Football Championship final round. UEFA EURO 2012 is generating huge excitement in the press and is producing both positive reporting on a major football event to be held in Ukraine and negative headlines linked to an anticipated rise in prostitution and sex tourism.

### **Fear of the supposedly unavoidable side effects of football**

Reports on the themes of prostitution and human trafficking were particularly commonplace in Ukraine in the run-up to the 2010 World Cup in South Africa. There was a general suspicion that the 2010 World Cup and UEFA EURO 2012 would throw up similar questions and problems linked to prostitution, AIDS and human trafficking.

The media are currently predicting an influx of prostitutes in the host cities of Kyiv, Lviv, Kharkiv and Donetsk. Sex tourism and web-based prostitution are also frequently discussed and it is anticipated that many tourists will come to Ukraine for sex rather than for the European Championship.<sup>9</sup>

### **The legalisation of prostitution**

The legalisation of prostitution is often discussed in the Ukrainian media in connection with UEFA EURO 2012. The Ministry of Health and a number of politicians are in favour of legalisation, arguing that it would help to contain the spread of AIDS and improve prostitutes' working conditions. It would also create a new source of tax revenue. The only people who publicly oppose legalisation are the members of the FEMEN activists' group.

### **FEMEN: "Ukraine is not a brothel"**

Public and media debate on the themes of prostitution and sex tourism is repeatedly sparked by the activities of the FEMEN organisation. FEMEN is a women's organisation

dedicated to a broad spectrum of subjects. It attracts international attention by organising spectacular protest events, usually involving topless women. Under the motto "Ukraine is not a brothel", FEMEN has campaigned against the legalisation of prostitution, sex tourism and UEFA EURO 2012. However, the Ukrainian media do not consider FEMEN to be a serious dialogue partner in relation to human trafficking and prostitution. Representatives of the NGO La Strada are usually quoted on these subjects.

### **Reporting on human trafficking**

Human trafficking is seen as a serious problem by the Ukrainian media, which often equates it with sex work. Reporting of this issue tends to be rather restrained, since famous personalities, including politicians and military personnel, may be involved. Press reports on human trafficking often consist of sensation-seeking accounts of individuals' stories. They usually describe how women or girls, unable to find adequate work in Ukraine, became victims of human traffickers abroad. Many articles on this subject refer to a report published by the UN at the end of 2008, which states that Ukraine is among the ten countries whose citizens are most frequently the victims of human trafficking. Only a few isolated press reports claim that UEFA EURO 2012 will lead to a significant increase in human trafficking in Ukraine. In general, there is hardly any suggestion that football is linked to human trafficking.

(8) The 2009 Human Rights Report states that: "Corruption in the judiciary and police continued to impede the government's ability to combat trafficking. NGOs asserted that police and border guards took bribes to ignore trafficking and that judges took bribes in return for lighter sentences. The low number of prosecutions of officials for trafficking related corruption raised questions about the government's willingness to address the problem of official complicity in human trafficking", <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2009/eur/136063.htm>.

(9) See "Vorbereitung für EURO: Kiew mit Prostituierten versorgt", [http://www.utro.ua/ua/comment/news/zhizn/podgotovka\\_k\\_evro\\_2012\\_kiev\\_obespechat\\_prostitutkami\\_4a07d916bdb](http://www.utro.ua/ua/comment/news/zhizn/podgotovka_k_evro_2012_kiev_obespechat_prostitutkami_4a07d916bdb) 28, downloaded 19 April 2010.



## **UEFA EURO 2012 and EU integration**

A large proportion of the media debate is focused on the hope that UEFA EURO 2012 will bring Ukraine closer to the EU. Visa-free travel to and from EU countries is one objective, for example. However, one of the EU requirements for this is that the Ukrainian government should step up its battle against illegal migration and human trafficking. Although a link is made here between UEFA EURO 2012 and human trafficking, there is no suggestion that human trafficking will increase as a result of the sports event. Rather, UEFA EURO 2012 is portrayed as an opportunity to intensify the fight against human trafficking with EU support.

## ***Current expert evaluations of the situation of prostitution and human trafficking in the context of UEFA EURO 2012 in Ukraine***

### **Developments concerning UEFA EURO 2012**

Most of the experts questioned predict a moderate increase in demand for sexual services during UEFA EURO 2012. They expect prices to rise slightly. Sex workers are hoping to earn more and the NGOs hope that their clients will receive greater attention and recognition. At the same time, they fear that working conditions will deteriorate as a result of city-centre clean-up operations, suppression of street prostitution and an increase in blackmailing of sex workers by police officers. They think that sex workers, particularly those who are young, poor and inexperienced, will be more exposed to violence and arbitrary acts by pimps, people traffickers and police officers. Clean-up operations would also result in prostitution being moved into hotels and clubs, which would make it harder to control and lead to the NGOs losing contact with their clients. Experts also fear a rise in the rate of AIDS infection as a result of unprotected sex in the context of UEFA EURO 2012.

### **AIDS education and health care**

All NGOs complain about a lack of state health care for AIDS high-risk groups. People's lives depend on the use of condoms becoming an indispensable part of sex work. To achieve this, intensive efforts are required to educate both prostitutes and their clients.

### **Legalisation of prostitution**

The NGOs do not all share the same views on legalisation. However, all the experts agree that prostitution is highly stigmatised in Ukrainian society. This often leads to self-stigmatisation among sex workers, who rarely have a positive self-image. This results in isolation and susceptibility to blackmail. However, legalisation would require sex

## **Summary of media reporting in Ukraine**

In summary, media discourse in Ukraine in the context of UEFA EURO 2012 shows a number of differences in the expectations linked to human trafficking and prostitution. As far as prostitution is concerned, there is a common assumption that sex work and sex tourism will increase significantly in the context of UEFA EURO 2012. Many of these reports have been triggered by the activities of the FEMEN group. In contrast, although a lot is written about human trafficking, most of this reporting makes no direct reference to UEFA EURO 2012, and there is very little suggestion that human trafficking will increase dramatically as a result of UEFA EURO 2012.

workers to have a certain level of self-confidence. The experts also think that legalisation would create problems linked to the official employment and health certificates that every employee must obtain. Sex workers would have to include their profession on these certificates and would therefore be identified as prostitutes for the rest of their lives. Some experts suspect that this "outing", an inevitable consequence of legalisation, could lead to prostitutes withdrawing even further underground. The experts disagree on whether legalisation would be a way of obtaining greater social recognition, which in turn would be a key to improved self-confidence.

### **Stigmatisation of sex workers**

The experts questioned view the stigmatisation and poor image of sex workers among the public, media and most state authorities as an enormous obstacle to effective awareness-raising. They believe there is an urgent need to organise campaigns in order to improve the image of sex workers. It is also important to educate people in general about the situation of prostitutes and the dangers and realities of the sex industry.

### **Activities of the FEMEN group**

The NGOs we spoke to, which work in the fields of prostitution, human trafficking and HIV, do not cooperate with FEMEN. They consider FEMEN's position to be strongly abolitionist, and their views on prostitution and AIDS prevention unfounded and simplistic. Thanks to its topless campaigns, FEMEN nevertheless manages to dominate the international media landscape where UEFA EURO 2012 and prostitution are concerned. FEMEN representatives openly admit that they see themselves primarily as "public relations workers". Their main concern is that, as Ukrainian

women, they should not be stereotyped as potential prostitutes.

### Human trafficking

Experts believe that, although it is only very rarely expressed in the press, the suggestion that human trafficking will increase in the run-up to UEFA EURO 2012 is designed to incite panic. Although human trafficking is an important issue in Ukraine, it is not significant in the context of UEFA EURO 2012, especially since people tend to be trafficked out of rather than into Ukraine. Human trafficking experts are observing increasing numbers of victims of human trafficking for the purposes of exploitation in the construction industry, whereas sexual exploitation is de-

clining.

### Summary of expert interviews

In summary, it can be noted that experts are particularly worried that the HIV infection rate will increase through unprotected sex and suggest that more intensive HIV education is necessary. At the same time, they warn against clean-up operations in the host cities, as these would expose sex workers to serious danger and take them out of the reach of aid agencies. Demand for sexual services is expected to rise during UEFA EURO 2012, although no increase in human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation is anticipated.

## Current situation in Poland

### Sexuality in Poland

Sexuality is a very taboo subject in Poland. Many young people receive inadequate sex education and have no access to objective information about safe sex and contraception. Abstinence is the only recommended form of AIDS prevention, while the Catholic Church has stopped schools providing sex education, replacing it with teaching on “preparation for family life”, which describes sex outside marriage as dirty and homosexuality as a sin. Abortion has been outlawed since 1993. Contraceptives are freely available to all women at health centres and condoms are easy to obtain (from pharmacies, petrol stations, machines in bars and restaurants, etc.). However, the use of condoms is frowned upon in many circles, particularly among young people. Women who insist on using condoms are immediately suspected of being HIV-positive or sexually promiscuous (see TAMPEP 2007).

### Sex work

Sex work is neither punishable nor legal in Poland. Prostitution is the only profession in which earnings are officially exempt from tax. Prostitutes cannot enter any form of legal employment that would enable them to take out life insurance or draw a pension. Pimping, prostitution of minors and procuring of prostitutes are expressly prohibited. There is a fundamental shortage of reliable surveys on the sex industry in Poland. According to the 2009 Human Rights Report, between 18,000 and 20,000 women work in the sex industry. The TAMPEP report, also published in 2009, indicates that there are currently around 10,000 prostitutes in the country, but that the number of sex workers (both Polish and migrant) has been falling since 2006. 70% of female prostitutes are Polish, while 30% are migrants, mainly from Ukraine and Belarus. The proportion

of migrants is rising. Most migrant sex workers do not have a work permit because they tend to arrive with a three-month tourist visa and are able to find jobs legally as “exotic dancers”. Around 60% of prostitutes work for agencies, 30% on the streets (mostly motorways) and 19% in apartments (see TAMPEP 2007). Migrant sex workers often work for agencies, with fewer working independently. In Poland’s border regions, both its western border with Germany and its borders with its poorer eastern neighbours, which also represent the external border of the Schengen area, a cross-border sex industry has developed. In recent years, the sex industry has experienced an increase in competition due to falling demand. The biggest market for sexual services is now found on the internet. This is largely dominated by escort agencies, but also independent sex workers, known as “prywatki”. Since there is no law on no-go areas in Poland, many sex workers also operate in well-known clubs. There is a growing number of young, well educated, career-conscious women who fund their studies or next career move through “sponsorship”. They do not see themselves as prostitutes, but are paid by their partners, who are happy to pay for their attention and affection (see Zimowska 2006). Both Polish and foreign sex workers report that they have to pay “protection money” to organised criminals and corrupt police officers. Sex work is highly taboo in Poland; sex workers are discriminated against and excluded from society. However, Polish academics also observe general approval of escort agencies in society and conclude from this that the legalisation of prostitution would be socially acceptable. However, the law-makers and politicians are still a long way from taking such a step. One motivating factor for the state which should not be underestimated is the idea of a tax on prostitution. Currently, however, this is categorised by law as procuring (ibid.).

## HIV prevention in the sex industry

The HIV rate in Poland is 0.16%, with homosexual men by far the most at-risk group. The number of people who inject themselves with drugs has been gradually falling for years because popular drugs nowadays are no longer taken intravenously. The use of condoms is criticised by the Catholic Church in Poland. Condoms are more commonly used in the sex industry than in society as a whole and sex workers are more knowledgeable about safe sex than the rest of the population (TAMPEP 2009). This is undoubtedly a result of the successful educational work carried out by the NGOs in recent years. The experts also suspect that women who only want to work temporarily in the sex industry are particularly careful to protect their (future) families. We do not have any figures for the current HIV infection rate among sex workers. Several experts estimate that almost all sex workers use condoms.

## Human trafficking

Human trafficking is prohibited in Poland and punishable with up to three years in prison (up to ten years if the

victims are minors). The offence of human trafficking, as defined in the Palermo protocol, which Poland had ratified a long time previously, was not incorporated in national criminal legislation until September 2010, with the result that harsher criminal penalties can now be imposed on offenders. The Ministry of the Interior is paying considerable attention to the issue of human trafficking and a special human trafficking department has been created in each regional police force. The Polish state has entrusted the task of implementing programmes and aid for human trafficking victims to the NGO La Strada.

Poland is a country of origin, transit country and country of destination for human trafficking. Since it joined the EU and with living standards steadily improving, Poland is increasingly becoming a destination country for such organised rights violations. Ukrainian women are thought to be most vulnerable to sexual violence if they work for escort agencies. It is also apparent that Romanian EU citizens are often forced into begging. In both cases, the people responsible are mainly compatriots of the victims. Many Bangladeshi men are exploited on construction sites.

## *Media discourse on prostitution and human trafficking in the context of UEFA EURO 2012 in Ukraine*

### General discourse concerning the 2012 European Football Championship finals

In the debate on the acceptance of UEFA EURO 2012, two main groups can be distinguished: the “enthusiasts” and the “sceptics”. The first category sees UEFA EURO 2012 as an opportunity and a panacea for many of the current structural and social problems in Polish society. Activities aimed at combating prostitution and racism at UEFA EURO 2008 in Austria and Switzerland are mentioned as examples of best practice. On the other hand, criticism is aimed at the fact that the country is putting its money on football, even though its fans are mainly associated with hooliganism.

### Prostitution

Discourse on prostitution in the Polish media is taking place against the background of changing social values, in which morality plays a central role. Distinctive phenomena such as “sponsorship” or sexual favours given by young people in return for money are being linked to a supposed decline in values caused by sweeping social and economic changes over the last two decades. Prostitution is classified as a social reality and a danger to social order. Women who offer sexual services are often viewed as medically abnormal, an opinion supported remarkably frequently by scientific experts. However, there is virtually no corresponding

assessment of prostitutes’ clients in the discourse on prostitution.

In Poland also, media coverage of UEFA EURO 2012 is dominated by the Ukrainian FEMEN organisation’s protest activities directed against UEFA EURO 2012 and prostitution. Even in sensationalist press reports, aid organisations with a high media profile, such as La Strada or Parasol, are managing to convey important information on the prevention of human rights abuses.

On the whole, reporting on the themes of prostitution and human trafficking in relation to UEFA EURO 2012 has, so far, been rather restrained and can be divided into two phases. The first phase (2007-2009) was dominated by a message of danger.<sup>10</sup> Several articles predicted that the number of prostitutes in the country would rise by 40,000 as a result of UEFA EURO 2012. As authors of previous studies on prostitution and human trafficking in the context of major football events, we can note that exactly the same unconfirmed figure caused uproar in the discourse on the 2006 World Cup in Germany.

The media debate changed dramatically during 2010. In this second phase, articles about sex work in the context of UEFA EURO 2012 focused almost exclusively on the ac-

(10) See “Warszawskie prostytutki już zarabiają na Euro”, available at: [www.euroraport.pl](http://www.euroraport.pl), 16.10.2007, downloaded on 29.4.09.



tivities of the Ukrainian women's group FEMEN. FEMEN's attempts to scandalise and draw attention to the relationship between a major football event, sex tourism and prostitution in the context of UEFA EURO 2012 have attracted widespread attention. However, they make hardly any reference to Poland and the problems are largely located in Ukraine. The aforementioned discourse concerning the fear of an increase in prostitution in connection with UEFA EURO 2012 in Poland has since died down.

## FEMEN

FEMEN receives a high level of media coverage in Poland and its activities shape public opinion. Its activists are taken seriously as important experts on prostitution and sex tourism in Ukraine. All media consistently work with unverified figures relating to prostitution in Ukraine, which they have taken from FEMEN press releases. It is rare for broader social issues to be mentioned as part of the cause of this phenomenon. Rather, the depiction of prostitutes is based on FEMEN's moralising rhetoric. Alongside this is a lecherous and ridiculing discourse that derives its justification precisely from the stage-managed demonstration of the contrast between FEMEN's serious feminist message and the sexualised manner in which it is conveyed. It is interesting to note that the Polish press hardly ever publishes photographs of naked FEMEN activists, but reports on their nudity. The sensationalising effect therefore remains.

## The World Cup in South Africa: references to other major sports events

Reporting in the run-up to the 2010 men's football World Cup, held in the fast-developing nation of South Africa, was very lively in the Polish media. Links between the event and prostitution had already been discussed as far back as 2008. Polish foreign correspondents drew parallels between the challenges facing Poland in 2012 and the problems that would have to be tackled in South Africa: first and foremost, the spread of AIDS and organised crime. It was implied that there was a link between football fans, as potential prostitute's clients who might become infected,

and criminal activities. The debate on the legalisation of prostitution and its pros and cons was particularly prominent in these reports.

Apart from a very detailed, carefully researched article by journalist Katarzyna Pruszkowska that was published on the internet platform *interia.pl* during the 2010 World Cup<sup>11</sup>, all reports on the tournament suggested that Poland would be faced with problems linked to prostitution at UEFA EURO 2012. Katarzyna Pruszkowska described how the figure of 40,000 had repeatedly been mentioned since the Olympic Games in Athens, including in relation to the World Cup in Germany, and showed that it made no sense whatsoever.

## Human trafficking

One outcome of our analysis that we have found particularly astounding – compared with the analysis of discourse in the Ukrainian media – is the fact that human trafficking has barely been mentioned in relation to UEFA EURO 2012 in Poland. Only one article mentions the threat of human trafficking, referring to a report published in 2009 by the central investigation bureau (CBS) of the Polish police headquarters. The report supposedly suggests that human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, which is currently in decline, is bound to increase again in the run-up to UEFA EURO 2012.<sup>12</sup>

Human trafficking is certainly a subject that receives wide coverage in the Polish media, regardless of UEFA EURO 2012. In her analysis of Polish media, the academic Koss-Goryszewska considers it alarming that human trafficking is not viewed as a violation of rights, but rather as a sensation and curiosity. Media reports, which are often stereotyped, create a public image of human trafficking which totally misrepresents the real situation of its victims. Victims are portrayed as goods and little attention is paid to their individual stories (see Koss-Goryszewska 2010, p. 12-13). Her analysis matches the results of our own investigation, which show that victims are rarely treated with respect and tend to be derided instead.

## **Current expert evaluations of the situation of prostitution and human trafficking in the context of UEFA EURO 2012 in Poland**

### Developments concerning UEFA EURO 2012

Everyone who was interviewed agreed that it was impossible to predict whether demand for sexual services will increase and what impact UEFA EURO 2012 will have on the sex industry. Although many sex workers are hoping to earn more money during the tournament, whether demand for sexual services will rise is debatable. Many experts fear

(11) "Prostytutki na mundialu", at: *interia.pl* 17.6.10, <http://facet.interia.pl/wiadomosci/news/prostytutki-na-mundialu,1493525>, downloaded on 5.7.10

(12) See "Ze stadionu do mafii. Azjatyckie gangi szykują się na Euro", at: *TVP.info*, 9.3.2010, <http://www.tvp.info/magazyn/kryminalny-paszet/azjatyckie-gangi-szykuja-sie-na-euro/1444848>, downloaded on 24.8.10

that negative reporting will lead to a drop in demand (at least among Polish clients). Some suspect that men (Polish and foreign) will prefer to watch football than visit prostitutes. Others expect a noticeable increase in demand because more tourists will visit the country and sexual services are cheap compared with other parts of Europe. They argue that the experiences of previous major football events in the expensive countries of Germany, Austria and Switzerland cannot be applied to Poland. Even the deterrent of a high HIV infection rate, as was the case at the World Cup in South Africa, does not exist in Poland.

All the experts expect the media to pay greater attention to the theme of prostitution in the context of UEFA EURO 2012. At the same time, they all hope to use this media coverage for positive ends by means of educational and prevention work.

### **AIDS education and health care**

The experts claim that previous HIV campaigns in Poland have tended to stigmatise sex workers. They therefore suggest that experts on sex work and safe sex should assist advertising agencies with campaign planning. All the experts note a lack of education on how HIV is contracted, safe sex and the use of condoms. They are calling for safe sex campaigns targeting the general public, particularly young people, such as in schools. The experts recommend that the debate be directed away from moral criteria and towards prevention, with a view to protecting the health of the public, prostitutes' clients, sex workers, their children, etc. Interviewees who work with prostitutes point out that prostitutes are very interested in safe sex and in taking responsibility for their own health and for that of their clients.

### **Legalisation of prostitution**

The experts we interviewed all reported that prostitutes are treated with contempt and discrimination by the police, courts, press, state authorities, church and media. However, there are differing opinions on whether the legalisation of prostitution could improve this situation. Conversely, they thought that a change in the public attitude towards prostitutes and prostitution, which might be achieved by means of educational and image campaigns, for example, was necessary before legalisation could take place. All in all, the NGOs have observed a form of "double stigmatisation" – by the sex workers themselves, who devalue their work, and by society.

### **Human trafficking**

Experts believe that there may have been and may continue to be an increase in worker exploitation in the construction industry in the run-up to UEFA EURO 2012.

They think it is very difficult to foresee whether UEFA EURO 2012 will result in a rise in human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Some are convinced that there will not be such an increase, while others stress that they cannot tell. However, there is no concrete evidence that relevant preparations are under way. The experts all expect media interest in this issue to increase in the context of UEFA EURO 2012 and believe it is important to take steps to prevent sensationalist reporting.

At the same time, many experts said they intended to use media interest in this subject to support their own wide-reaching campaigns. However, several think it is dangerous to focus on human trafficking in the context of UEFA EURO 2012. They fear that this could have a scandalising effect, which would be counterproductive from the victims' point of view. They all agree that, rather than creating panic, it is important to disseminate information about self-protection. A joint discussion should be held to consider how society can deal with these issues. Experts, NGOs and state security authorities need to be informed and vigilant. International cooperation with partner organisations in Ukraine is being considered. Some experts stress that UEFA's involvement as an official partner in such a campaign is important. There is a general consensus that, even though it is impossible to predict what effects UEFA EURO 2012 will have on human trafficking, it is necessary to be prepared for potentially sensationalist press coverage.

### **Dealing with the media**

The experts stress that interviews always represent a major challenge because it is difficult to convey an opinion accurately when there is a public demand for voyeurism. In this respect, radio debates are better than interviews for print media. The experts have also had good experiences with television spots and internet campaigns, although a round table discussion with journalists was only moderately successful. It is therefore important to find ways of ensuring that, as far as possible, experts can determine content themselves rather than be reliant on journalists accurately reporting what they say. Some experts believe that it is vital to work directly at grassroots level rather than become too involved with the media.

### **The image of football fans**

In general, it is assumed that fans are primarily interested in football. There is no expectation that they will be particularly violent clients of prostitutes. Prostitution is not a major issue in the Polish fan scene. The hardcore fans are busy enough with football and visiting different stadiums. Furthermore, macho young men who "have" to buy sex would tend to be considered failures. Nevertheless, the ex-

perts think that clever, amusing campaigns on the subject of prostitution could be well received by fans, since the atmosphere among supporters is open, uninhibited and humorous. International football attracts different, wealthier spectators than domestic football and is more likely to appeal to tourists with an interest in football than hooligans.

For both Polish fans and tourists, football is about having a good time, not getting involved in complicated arguments before or during a match. If campaigns are to be effective, they should be low threshold and generate interest with amusing slogans.

## Summary and recommended actions

This report is intended to help ensure that media coverage is as objective as possible and that, as far as the themes of prostitution and human trafficking are concerned, facts are published rather than sexualised stereotypes. This hope is based on the conviction that factual awareness can improve both the working and living conditions of sex workers, and represents an important building block for the prevention of human trafficking.

### *Ill-founded mixing of themes*

At present, it is impossible to tell whether demand for sexual services will increase as a result of UEFA EURO 2012. In principle, although it is considered unlikely, it is possible, since sexual services are cheap in both Poland and Ukraine compared with other parts of Europe, which could make both countries an attractive destination for sex tourists interested in football. As a result, the sex industry in both host countries is hoping for an upturn in business during UEFA EURO 2012. However, fans attending previous major football events have shown little interest in sexual services. We recommend that steps are taken to prevent football fans being portrayed as sex tourists.

As in our previous analysis of major football events, we suggest that the topic of human trafficking should not be

On the basis of our media analysis and interviews with experts, we have drawn up recommendations in four main areas. These can now be used to develop a joint concept in cooperation with as many of the different stakeholders as possible. The NGOs working on the ground have expert knowledge of the situation in their respective specialist areas and countries. Without their collaboration, knowledge and experience, meaningful public relations work is impossible.

brought up in connection with such events, since this is detrimental to efforts to help victims. Before the 2006 World Cup in Germany, for example, various campaigns predicted an increase in human trafficking, which did not materialise. As a result, the organisations concerned were no longer taken seriously by the public because their predictions had been so inaccurate.

#### **1. Counteract implied connections**

Since there has previously been no evidence of a link between major sports events and human trafficking, prostitution and sex tourism, we recommend that UEFA EURO 2012 is not discussed in public in connection with these subjects.

### *Media work*

Strategically thought-out media work can significantly help to prevent sensationalist reporting and, in its place, make positive use of the attention drawn to the themes of sex work, sex tourism and human trafficking in the context of UEFA EURO 2012. First of all, it is vitally important to involve as many interest groups as possible in the discussion. They should exchange and strategically channel their ideas, and agree on particular lines of action. There are already networks and working groups in both host countries. Cooperation is also necessary to ensure that experts do not allow their work to be taken over by groups that only jump onto the bandwagon of media interest because of its connection with the football event. Experts have already developed local strategies for dealing sensibly with sensation-seeking press. NGOs working with the sex industry and human trafficking experts are used to answering questions from the press, regardless of major football events. One strategy for combating the sensationalist wishes of the press is to ignore any speculation about the number of human trafficking victims and, instead, to emphasise that any breach of human rights is unacceptable. This, for example,

might stop the police, in its concern to provide the tightest possible security, giving the press ammunition (possibly unintentionally) in the form of information about the potential threat of human trafficking. In our experience, particularly in Poland, the security authorities were very open to the sharing of information and joint action strategies during the preparation of this report. To date, there has been hardly any suggestion in the press of a link between football and human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Isolated sensationalist reports in both countries were effectively countered at an early stage by means of excellent press relations work on the part of NGOs. On the basis of our press analysis, we make the following recommendations:

#### **2. Support experts**

NGO experts must be given (financial) support to help them seriously address the themes of prostitution and human trafficking in the media in the run-up to UEFA EURO 2012. They must be able to react to media sensationalism in order to ensure that sex work and human trafficking are not mixed up and that

major football events are not linked to human rights violations. They must agree on lines of argument and information, particularly statistics, among themselves, with the police and state authorities and, if possible, with FEMEN in Ukraine.

### **3. Correct fan image**

A sociological study of the composition of fan groups at major international football events can be used to dispel the image of football fans as hooligans or potential prostitutes' clients. Even simple statistics about age, profession and gender can show that football fans are a heterogeneous, mixed-gender, international community.

### **4. Cooperation between neighbouring countries**

The image portrayed in the Polish press of UEFA EURO 2012 in neighbouring Ukraine is highly problematic. All football fans travelling to Ukraine are depicted as sex tourists, and all Ukrainian women as potential sex objects. The Ukrainian people are described as poor, criminal, corrupt, HIV-positive and undemocratic. We recommend that the derogatory image of neighbouring Ukraine in the Polish press in the context of UEFA EURO 2012 should be changed by means of exchange programmes for volunteers, school classes, fan groups and journalists.

## **The situation of sex workers**

Prostitution is not a criminal offence in Poland and Ukraine, but neither is there any kind of civil law protection for sex workers. The stigmatisation and exclusion of sex workers is a serious problem in both countries.

## **Campaign focus: health and safety**

Experts in both host countries are particularly worried about the health and safety of the whole population. Ukraine has the highest AIDS infection rate in Europe (1.6%) and the highest HIV growth rate in the world. Prostitutes and their clients are among the groups most at risk of contracting AIDS in the country. Sex workers now have a broad knowledge of AIDS and HIV, mainly thanks to the intensive activities of various NGOs and programmes. Nevertheless, testing and treatment systems are inadequate. Simple standards such as the regular use of condoms have not yet been fully achieved. Health and safety are also a ma-

### **5. Include vital stakeholders**

As our discourse analysis has shown, the activities of FEMEN frequently give the media in both Ukraine and Poland an opportunity to suggest that UEFA EURO 2012 will cause an increase in sex tourism. In our opinion, FEMEN has been taken in by media hype that has developed over the years around the figure of 30,000 or 40,000 ("forced") prostitutes that are reported to descend on major football events. FEMEN openly admits that it has no contact with sex workers or NGOs that work with them. FEMEN has no in-depth knowledge about the sex industry, but displays, unchallenged, an extremely disapproving and disparaging attitude towards prostitutes. Even so, FEMEN representatives are important figures in the public debate. FEMEN's professional ability to attract media attention should not be underestimated. Rather, attempts could be made to find ways of including FEMEN in a meaningful debate of the issues discussed here. FEMEN representatives, for example, could be involved as experts on the situation of female university students, since they are particularly concerned about the situation of young women who are unwillingly taken for prostitutes, as well as those who finance their studies through sex work: a phenomenon that is attracting a high level of media attention. Sociologists among them could possibly be persuaded to look in more detail at sex tourism, about which very little research has been carried out to date, and thus discover (and accept) the sex workers' point of view. We also believe it makes sense to invite FEMEN activists to learn about and value the groundwork being carried out by organisations in the sex work and HIV fields.<sup>13</sup>

### **6. Stop the repression of sex workers**

The safety of sex workers is particularly threatened if they are forced into dangerous suburbs by efforts to "clean up" city centres in order to separate tourist fan miles from existing prostitution zones. We therefore recommend that firm steps are taken to oppose the expulsion and repression of sex workers before and during UEFA EURO 2012.

major challenge in Poland, where sexuality is generally taboo. There is no objective information on safe sex and contraception for young people.

### **7. International health and safe sex campaigns**

Media analysis and experts' comments suggest that UEFA EURO 2012 has enormous potential to exert a positive effect on

(13) The *Deutsche Frauenrat*, which launched an abolitionist campaign at the World Cup in Germany, changed its opinion after entering discussions with NGOs working with sex workers and gaining an insight into the real-life situation of prostitutes by talking to them.



society and to trigger changes that would otherwise appear unthinkable. Experience also suggests that international sports events such as UEFA EURO 2012 help to create an extremely cosmopolitan, positive atmosphere in the host countries, a one-off opportunity that should be grabbed with both hands. Experts in both countries are proposing that a safe sex awareness campaign should be carried out, targeting both international fans

and the population of the host countries. We recommend a campaign with the motto "Healthy and safe with a condom". Information about the campaign can be distributed through fan organisations and fan embassies. It would be sensible to cooperate with FARE, Football Supporters Europe (FSE) and the health projects supported by UEFA in both countries.

## Dialogue Partners

### Poland

Actors in the field of sexwork, HIV-prevention and human trafficking

International Organization for Migration (IOM), Mission Poland

General Police Commissariat, Criminal Department, Scope of Action: Human Trafficking

La Strada Polska

Ministry of the Interior and Administration, Department Human Trafficking

Parasol – Centre for Social Education and Preventive Measures

POMOC: Stowarzyszenie im. Marii Niepokalanej Na Rzecz Pomocy Dziewczętom I Kobiętom

SKA – Social Committee for AIDS-related Issues

TADA "Alliance for Health Promotion and Prevention of Health Threats"

Further actors in the context of UEFA EURO 2012 and the research in Poland

Feminist Women's Association KONSOLA Stowarzyszenie Kobiet Konsola, Poznan

FARE Poland

Spółka 2012.pl (Monika Chabior und Dariusz Łapinski)

### Ukraine

Actors in the field of sexwork, HIV-prevention and human trafficking

Lega Life – Sexworkers Self-Organisation

Harm Reduction Asociacion Ukraine UHRA (46 member organisations)

SWAN – sexworkers Rights Advocacy Network in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia

La Strada Ukraine

International Organization for Migration (IOM) Mission Ukraine

Convictus Kiev

AIDS Alliance Ukraine

Soros Stiftung (US-American foundation)

GIZ Kiev, Partnership Initiative (German International Cooperation)

Foundation AIDS Ost-West (Dutch foundation)

„Victoria“ Khmelnyzker Association for the Support of Solutions of Problems with Drugs and AIDS

New Family

Charitable Foundation Salus

Health Ministry of Ukraine

„Quellen“, centre for mental and psychological help

The Vinnitsker regional congress „Stalist“

Charitable foundation «Health of Society» (Gromadske Zdorovja)

Charitable foundation «Advice of Life» (Rada zhyttja)

Charitable foundation «Wellbeing» (Blago)

Charitable foundation «Step Forward»

Charitable foundation «Hope and Rescue» (Nadija ta porjatumok)

Further actors in the context of UEFA EURO 2012 and the research in Ukraine

FEMEN

Organisation „Youth Centre of Women's Initiatives“

Heinrich-Boell-Foundation, Ukraine office

FAN-coordination Ukraine (Andriy Bantser and Anna Dobko)

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