

## Introduction

This year CIROC has moved from the VU University of Amsterdam to the Willem Pompe Institute of Utrecht. CIROC remains loyal to its mission to build bridges between academic and practical knowledge about organized crime and to inform and update the readers of this newsletter about what is happening in the Netherlands. In the past year, three international seminars have taken place in the old centre of the city of Utrecht, in the historical buildings of its university. You can read more about these seminars below.

This English-language newsletter appears shortly before the ESC congress in Liege/Luik, Belgium and as usual it includes up-to-date information and an overview of recent Dutch research and Dutch publications on organized crime.

Hans Nelen presents the findings of a recent study on the Dutch real estate sector, conducted in collaboration with criminologists and economists. Next is the contribution of Brenda Oude Breuil, Dina Siegel and Linda Roos, who emphasize the importance of ethnographic research on organized crime, particularly on human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Henk van de Bunt and Krista Huisman present the findings of recent empirical research on misleading business practices, also known as 'advertising fraud'. Richard Staring reports on the latest findings concerning human trafficking and unaccompanied minor asylum seekers in the Netherlands.

An overview of CIROC seminars held during the past year is next. Finally, a number of recent Dutch publications (in Dutch and in English) on different aspects of organized crime are presented.

**Dina Siegel** (CIROC/Utrecht University)

## Analysis

### Detecting criminal investments in the real estate sector

*Prof. Dr. Hans Nelen (Maastricht University/CIROC)*

The Dutch real estate sector is large in volume with 8.2 million objects, worth 2 trillion Euros, and a yearly transaction volume of 35 billion Euros in 2008. It includes multiple players, ranging from private consumers to large developers and investors and the government. Features such as the heterogeneity of buildings, non-transparency of the market and possibilities for hiding the true owner make it prone to speculation, as well as to criminal investments and money laundering.

In April 2010, the results were published of a multidisciplinary study that was conducted by Brigitte Unger and Joras Ferwerda of the Utrecht University School of Economics and Hans Nelen and Luuk Ritzen of the department of criminal law and criminology of Maastricht University. This study was aimed at identifying *conspicuous* objects with regard to criminal investments in the Dutch real estate sector in the cities of Maastricht and Utrecht. As the analysis did not allow the researchers to conclude beyond any reasonable doubt that specific objects had been abused for criminal exploitation or speculation, they preferred to use the term 'conspicuous' rather than the term 'suspicious'.

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During the first stage of the research, the economists analyzed all real estate objects in Maastricht and Utrecht that had been traded in the period 2002-2006. The researchers identified seventeen unusual characteristics, mentioned in the criminological literature on criminal investments in the real estate sector. Whenever an object displayed one of these characteristics, it received a red flag.

In total, the economists ended up with 11,895 objects traded between 2002 and 2006, of which 150 displayed a high number of red flags. They handed out a list to the criminologists of 200 objects, including the 150 objects with multiple red flags. The other 50 objects served as a control group.

The second step in this study involved an in-depth analysis by the criminologists of the 200 cases in order to establish the level of conspicuousness. Their central hypothesis was that if the 150 objects with a high number of red flags could be identified as conspicuous, it would make this specific analysis a very reliable, valid and useful tool for scientific and operational purposes.

In order to generate a general picture concerning the transaction history of the selected objects, the related deeds of conveyance and the mortgage deeds were gathered. All deeds were studied and then summarized in a case description for further analysis.

In addition to the information derived from the deeds, information from closed sources was added (Financial Intelligence Unit, Police, and Tax Authorities Office) to these descriptions. The criminologists concluded that 36 of the 200 objects could be labeled as 'conspicuous'. Previously, 31 of these objects had received a high number of red flags during the analysis of the economists. So the hypothesis of the criminologists was confirmed only partially.

During the third and last stage of the research, the economists analyzed the characteristics of these objects by means of frequency, correlation and econometric analysis, in order to establish the most promising indicators for identifying conspicuous objects in the real estate sector. Three indicators seem to be particularly interesting in this respect: objects with an *unusual price fluctuation*, objects owned by a *just-established company*, and

objects with *a foreign owner*. However, it should be noted that these results do not reflect causal relationships.

The research shows that this kind of risk assessment can be a helpful tool to perform strategic analysis for operational purposes in the future. However, it is in need of further refinement and adaptations. The concept of criminal investments is too broad and the indicators are associated with too many different maleficent and/or criminal forms of behavior. Furthermore, the real estate sector is subdivided into too many submarkets and it is impossible to cover the whole market with one analysis. Refinement could be achieved by focusing on specific forms of criminal activity, specific real estate submarkets (e.g. housing or commercial market) and the mere use of behavior specific indicators.

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Unger, B., J. Ferwerda, H. Nelen, L. Ritzen (2010), *Detecting Criminal Investments in the Dutch Real Estate Sector*, Study prepared for the Dutch Ministries of Finance, Justice and Interior Affairs, Utrecht/Maastricht: Utrecht University School of Economics and Maastricht University, Faculty of Law, Department of criminal law and criminology.

### The ethnography of human trafficking

*Dr. Brenda Carina Oude Breuil (Willem Pompe Institute, Utrecht University/ CIROC), Prof. Dr. Dina Siegel (Willem Pompe Institute, Utrecht University/ CIROC) and Linda Roos (Utrecht University).*

Sex work and sex trafficking are hot issues; the topics are widely discussed in the public arena, in government papers, human rights reports and the sociological literature. However, available empirical studies are rarely (thoroughly) consulted. Notwithstanding the lack of verified empirical data, media and government reports tend to picture images of stereotypical victims and perpetrators, and it is on the basis of these images that public opinion is constructed and decisions are made, including legislation.

One example is the flyer with the invitation to the thematic meeting of the “Task Force Human Trafficking” that was held in the Netherlands (Leiden, Holiday Inn Hotel) on October 29, 2009. The task force was established by the Dutch Minister of Justice with the aim of signalling and tackling obstacles in the implementation of anti-trafficking policies. The flyer shows a pretty, young woman with obvious fear in her big, blue eyes and her mouth covered by a dark-skinned male hand, presenting an obvious combination of the stereotypical notions of the powerless, female victim (the blue eyes suggesting that western women may befall this fate?), dominated by a cruel, foreign pimp who will forcefully prevent her from giving voice to the exploitation, violence and misery she is subjected to. The perpetrator is pictured as a person in control who rules the trafficking industry with a strong hand.

In this contribution we examine why such stereotypes of women who have been trafficked to Western European cities for exploitation in street prostitution exist and what ethnographic narratives have to say about them. Taking a closer look at what ethnographic narratives have to bring to the table may allow for a more diversified, “down to earth” – although probably also less clear-cut and stereotypical – picture of human trafficking.

### *Law-enforcement images: an enemy of stature*

In the above-mentioned stereotypical image, victims and perpetrators of sex trafficking are perceived as each other's opposites. This binary image can be recognized in Dutch law enforcement functionaries' imagining of human trafficking, and it is reflected in Dutch policies where a clear division of labour is presumed between law enforcement agencies on the one hand, and NGO's and social welfare institutions on the other hand. Whereas the latter are expected to take care of the victims, the repression

and pursuit of offenders by law enforcement principles is considered to be a task for the government and the police. These two tasks are not seen as contradictory (as they are sometimes presented in the literature, see for example Kempadoo 2005: xiv; O'Connell Davidson 2005: 69; Friman & Reich 2007), but rather as complementary, although law enforcers and policy makers are generally inclined to put repression first.

The Dutch law enforcement narrative is strongly based on imaginaries of perpetrators as being organized in complex, mobile, transnational and well-informed crime groups that are extremely “hard to get”. The Annual Report of the Royal National Police Departments of 2008 (KLPD 2009: 36) pictures the “fight” against “organized crime” – including human trafficking – as a cat-and-mouse hunt, in which it is crucial to always be “one step ahead of criminals”. From the tone of the report, as well as media performances of police functionaries, it is yet to be decided who is the cat and who is the mouse; they picture an enemy that should not be underestimated. We should not be so naïve as to ignore how this image serves law enforcers in some way: the bigger the enemy is supposed to be, the more legitimate the employment of harsh and far-reaching law investigation techniques. Law enforcers thus may also use such narratives, as O'Connell-Davidson (2005: 69, see also Kapur 2005: 34) argues as well:

“The beauty of [human] trafficking, constructed as a problem of organized transnational crime (...) is that it apparently represents a form of forced migration that simultaneously involves the violation of the human rights of the ‘trafficked’ person and a threat to national sovereignty and security. With trafficking understood as such, governments can present more restrictive immigration controls as if they were measures designed to protect and promote human rights (...).”

Notwithstanding their usefulness for law enforcement purposes, do such narratives on human trafficking adequately represent human trafficking cases we encounter in Western European cities? And how are “victims”, as well as “perpetrators”, influenced by such stereotypes?

### *Ethnographic insights: what do perpetrators and victims look like?*

The victim/perpetrator dichotomy presumed in legal and enforcement trafficking narratives does not correspond to the data in empirical studies. According to the latter, the separately constructed categories are, in fact, often intertwined. Victims can become perpetrators or facilitators by taking an active role in the trafficking process (Skilbrei & Tveit 2008; see also: Siegel 2007) and women who started off as victims later became recruiters in an attempt to pay off their debts (Siegel 2007). The merging of the socially constructed categories of “victims” and “perpetrators” is even more reflected in the fact that the women often have love affairs with their pimps or traffickers (Bovenkerk et al 2006); the image of them being each other's opponents is then seriously flawed. Trafficking, moreover, does not only “happen” to women and children, as the stereotype has it; boys can be victims of trafficking as well, just as women may be perpetrators, as Siegel and De Blank (2008) have shown in their study on Nigerian “madams” in the Netherlands (see also Becucci, 2008).

Even though there is evidence that trafficking in some parts of the world is committed by transnational organized crime groups, as of yet there is insufficient data to validate the idea that trafficking is generally organized in large, complex, transnational crime networks (Sanghera 2005: 15; Segrave et al 2009: 10; Siegel 2005). Various studies have shown that the links between migration and prostitution, and /or prostitution and organized crime are not always clear and that there is usually either no evidence of organized crime involvement (Siegel, 2005), or the trafficking takes place in a local, regional context (the so-called ‘loverboy’ phenomenon in the Netherlands, see Bovenkerk et al 2006). Trafficking networks in Bulgaria are often rather small and localized in only about ten Bulgarian cities. They are not necessarily characterized by smooth and rapid lines of communication, as the enforcement narrative suggests.

There are significantly more studies on the victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation than there are on perpetrators (see also: Zhang 2009). Various ethnographic studies on the sex industry (e.g. Agustín 2007; Janssen 2007; Oude Breuil 2008; Roos 2008; Siegel & Yesilgoz 2003; Siegel & De Blank 2008; De Wildt 2007) depict human trafficking for sexual exploitation as an extreme modality, or consequence, of a labour migration strategy. The decisions to “migrate” were often well considered and many women were already working as prostitutes in their home countries (Agustín 2007; Janssen 2007). Many women in these studies reported knowing beforehand what kind of work they would do in the destination country. Those who did feel deceived mainly complained about exploitative working conditions that deviated from the earlier made agreements. The most important reason for engaging in sex work (and, in some cases, continuing the job after having paid off their debts, see: Agustín 2007; Skilbrei & Tveit 2008; Siegel 2007) was the relatively large amounts of money they were able to earn. But other than economic reasons for “migrating” and working in the sex industry were reported as well: aspects like adventure, opportunities and independence played just as important a role (Agustín 2005; Corrin 2005; Europol 2006).

These findings explain the fact that most women in these studies did not identify themselves as victims and felt responsible for their own choices and actions, regardless of the outcome. They did not live up to the popular, one-sided image of innocent, ignorant and helpless victims, seduced by evil, merciless pimps who used violence to force them into prostitution (Siegel & Bovenkerk 2000; Siegel & Yesilgöz 2003; Agustín 2007; Janssen 2007; Brunovskis & Surtees 2008; Siegel & De Blank 2008; Davies 2009), even though aspects of coercion and deceit were relevant in their lived experiences.

Popular law enforcement images of “victims” and “perpetrators” are thus, according to ethnographic narratives, too narrow and do not account for the heterogeneous experiences of those involved in sex trafficking. Moreover, ethnographic studies give examples of popular and stereotypical images being strategically “used” by perpetrators and victims alike. Several authors have shown how existing narratives on “criminals” often serve as examples to criminals, and their obscure images may well serve as a scare tactic (see: Bovenkerk 2001: 46-50; Bovenkerk, Siegel & Zaitch 2003). Prevailing images of victims, used by law enforcers and aid groups, are strategically used by sex workers who are or are not trafficking victims, in order to claim aid and rights in the destination countries (Siegel & Bovenkerk 2000; De Wildt 2007; Brunovskis & Surtees 2008). Sex workers may present themselves as victims and make an effort to live up to the expectations implicit in the victim imagery of the welfare institution, by adapting their clothing, behaviour and demeanour, in order to be eligible for assistance (Brunovskis & Surtees 2008: 59). They will recount “productive life histories” (Barsky 1994 in: De Wildt 2007) rather than tell “true stories”. Stereotypical images of trafficking victims and perpetrators may in this way become self-proclaiming truths.

#### Conclusion and discussion

From ethnographic studies we cannot conclude that trafficking networks are omnipotent, transnational and well-organized, as the law enforcement narrative generally assumes – they may as well be small, rather unorganized, locally embedded networks. Women’s agency plays an important role in the lived experiences of trafficking victims, which is generally ignored in law enforcement accounts. Finally, victims and perpetrators are not just the objects of labelling processes and stereotyping; they strategically deploy prevailing images in order to reach their goals.

The ethnographic finding that not all “victims” are helpless, clueless, uninformed, weak or vulnerable might shift the attention from the repressive obsession with determining whether a trafficked person is really a “victim” of an evil criminal network, to the far more interesting question of what prompted trafficked persons to leave their homes and fall into the

hands of trafficking networks in the first place. Including ethnographic accounts into international policy and law enforcement debate will help to develop a critical stance on global socio-economic and power inequalities. Moreover, recognizing the fact that actual knowledge on perpetrator networks is scarce may prevent one-sided images of these networks as omnipotent, flexible and transnational, well-organized crime groups that are extremely hard to “catch” and encourage law enforcers to investigate complex trafficking cases with an open mind.

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#### Advertising fraud in the Netherlands

Krista Huisman (Erasmus University Rotterdam) and Prof. dr. Henk van de Bunt (Erasmus University Rotterdam/CIROC)

Businesses in the Netherlands are regularly confronted with phantom invoices for services that were never rendered or with misleading offers to advertise in a magazine or have the company name listed on a website. Misleading business practices such as these that are aimed at businesses are known under the general term of 'advertising fraud'. Recently, we conducted empirical research into this type of fraud to answer questions such as: how do the fraudsters operate, who are their victims, and what is the extent of the damage caused by such practices?

##### *What is advertising fraud?*

Advertising fraud involves organisations being duped or misled into entering into a contract without adequate services being rendered in return. Besides bulk mailings of phantom invoices, there is also the targeted approach, which entails approaching selected companies by telephone with a 'lucrative' offer to have the company name listed on a website or advertised in a magazine. The websites are bogus and the advertising magazines will never see print or will only be distributed among the unsuspecting advertisers themselves. According to the *Steunpunt Acquisitiefraude* (SAF), the national support centre for victims of advertising fraud, the Dutch business community annually loses four hundred million euros as a result of misleading business practices. The SAF collects complaints by businesses that were duped and also engages in drawing attention to advertising fraud by alerting the media and policy makers to this phenomenon. At the European level, advertising fraud is receiving increased attention, as these activities have transnational aspects and are hampering the flow of goods within the EU (Alleweldt et al., 2008).

##### *Misleading sales techniques*

Malafide sellers employ certain sales techniques aimed at gaining the customer's trust. For instance, to avoid arousing suspicion, the seller will mention during his telephone conversation with a potential customer that there is a prior business relationship, or he will give the impression that the amount mentioned is the price per year, when it is actually the price per

month. The sellers also attempt to mislead their customers in more subtle ways, by cultivating a respectable image. They deliberately cause confusion by using company names and logos that are almost indistinguishable from those used by well-known and respectable firms.

They also engage in impression management. They are registered with all the relevant government bodies and - to all appearances - have impressive offices, a professional website, and well-designed invoices. Some even sponsor projects or organizations. These appearances are deceptive: in reality, the office is 'virtual' and the company's activities originate from a much less glamorous location; the website contains only hollow phrases and consists almost entirely of links; and the agency's documents are full of spelling mistakes.

##### *Victims and damage*

The assumption that only small or unwary start-up entrepreneurs are being duped has been proven false. Large organisations, such as insurance companies, banks, hospitals, educational institutions, the subsidized sector, and government bodies and institutions also fall victim to these scams. The extents of the damage done varies depending on the service or product: phantom invoices usually involve small amounts, ranging from one to two hundred euros, while customers who sign up for a long-term advertising contract can lose thousands of euros.

Organizations affected by advertising fraud are usually reluctant to file a complaint. Not all victims realize that they have been duped, and those who do often feel too embarrassed or guilty to file a complaint. As a result, the complaints registered by the SAF only represent a fraction of the total number of duped customers.

To gain insight into the scale of the damage, we contacted four large Dutch banks and gained access to 28 bank accounts held by malafide sellers. In the bank statements we traced all payments made by organizations and businesses that fell for the scam. This research method yielded some interesting information: in a year, a malafide seller can earn hundreds of thousands of euros and in some cases even millions of euros. Although the losses per customer may be relatively small, it appears that the total financial damage caused by advertising fraud is considerable.

##### *Organized crime?*

It is not easy to determine how these misleading practices within business-to-business relations should be interpreted from a criminological perspective. Despite the fact that advertising fraud is being committed as part of the business dealings of officially registered agencies with an aura of respectability, it cannot be characterized as white-collar criminality or organizational criminality. These agencies consciously present themselves as professional and reliable, but the sole purpose of their existence is to make money through deception. They hide the location of their activities by using a front man, or by renting virtual office space or by establishing a legal entity abroad. It is relatively easy to set up a small company and make it disappear again, which makes these operators all the more elusive.

The malafide companies named by victims in the Netherlands often turn out to be linked to each other. The SAF has drawn attention to the fact that some of these companies form part of a larger network which is active in several European countries, offering the same 'worthless' services in the same misleading manner. Similar phantom invoices have turned up in different countries. This type of bulk mailings in particular requires substantial starting capital due to the printing and mailing costs. This raises the question as to how these malafide sellers are able to fund their large-scale operations. The SAF suspects - partly on the basis of their own exploratory research - that criminal cooperatives are involved that also engage in other activities besides advertising fraud. The SAF has found clues to this effect in open sources such as postal addresses, company addresses, chamber of

commerce records, account numbers and IP addresses. But such details are only temporarily traceable to a particular malafide company, because once the scam has run its course, the company disappears from the market, to resurface later in a slightly different form. Research from Canada and the United States into *mass-marketing fraud* (comparable with advertising fraud) confirms existing suspicions about the involvement of organized crime. Since little is known as yet about the background and the degree of organization of the dubious agencies active on the Dutch market this issue definitely warrants further investigation.

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### Human trafficking and unaccompanied minor asylum seekers in the Netherlands

Dr. Richard Staring (Erasmus University Rotterdam/CIROC)

#### The issue

In recent years, the Netherlands has seen the disappearance of a large number of unaccompanied minor asylum seekers (UMAs), either during their asylum procedure or shortly after they reached adulthood. Did these vanished youngsters migrate to other countries, did they return to their home country, or did they stay undocumented in the Netherlands? Given these unanswered questions, it was suggested by some that the unaccompanied minor asylum seekers were victims of human traffickers and/or human smugglers who used the reception centres as their public safe houses. After some time the traffickers supposedly picked up these youngsters and exploited them in the European sex industry. In fact, there were some major incidents where for instance 125 minor asylum seekers (boys) from India (2004-2005) as well as 140 girls from Nigeria (2006-2007) disappeared from their reception centres. Numbers presented by the Dutch COA show that during 2005-2007 a total number of 543 UMAs were reported missing from the asylum centres.

#### Different measures

In reaction to these disappearances of unaccompanied minor asylum seekers, the Dutch government recently took several measures. In order to reduce the flow of (potentially) smuggled and trafficked minors from Nigeria, so-called 'fast action teams' were stationed at the international airport of this West African country in early 2008. Working with risk profiles and checking for forged documents, their goal was to prevent trafficked minors from leaving their country. In the Netherlands, measures were devised to prevent minors from disappearing from the UMA reception centres, such as increased surveillance by way of 24-hour guidance and key card systems at the entrance gates. In addition, a criminal investigation – code name 'Koolvis' – was started that focused on solving the disappearance of the Nigerian UMAs. This criminal investigation resulted in the apprehension of 25 suspects in countries all over Europe, in Nigeria, as well as in the United States. However, most of the youngsters who disappeared, stayed out of sight of the officials, and only eleven Nigerian girls were traced by the police. It turned out that the majority of these girls were working as prostitutes in Dutch brothels and one of them was found in an Italian brothel.

In addition to the measures mentioned above, the Minister of Immigration Affairs and Integration launched a pilot project "protected reception for UMAs at risk" that formally started on January 1, 2008. In these small-scale centres, UMAs who are at risk of becoming victims of traffickers are received in a protected environment. The selection of the youngsters is based on risk profiles and the experiences of the Dutch Immigration and Naturalization Service with disappeared UMAs. The selected youngsters in these centres have limited freedom of movement (they are only allowed to go out with permission or with an escort) and receive intensive coaching. The goal of this pilot was to reduce the number of disappearances of UMAs as well as a the number of UMAs belonging to the risk category. A third objective of the pilot was to increase the number of UMAs returning to their home country. Just recently an evaluation study of this pilot was published by the Research and Documentation Centre of the Ministry of Justice under the title "*Between control and support*" (Kromhout, Liefwaard et al. 2010).

#### Evaluation of the pilot

The conclusions of the study, carried out by Kromhout (WODC) and Liefwaard (Utrecht University), are clear as well as manifold, so only some major findings will be summarised here. First of all, the evaluation of the pilot shows how difficult it is to prevent disappearances: 19 of the 170 UMAs who were placed in protected reception during 2008-2009 still disappeared from these centres. The authors conclude that irrespective of the kind of reception the number of disappeared UMAs has decreased and simultaneously the number of returnees among the UMAs has not increased and remains low. The number of reports filed by the trafficked UMAs in the protection centres remains very low, only one large-scale criminal investigation was launched during 2008-2009. The main reasons as stated in the report point at a lack of concrete investigative indications, the fact that the reports are related to events that happened outside of the Netherlands, and an (assumed) lack of priority among the police. The authors criticize the lack of clarity concerning the grounds on which the UMAs are placed in protected reception since these are mainly based on nationality or individual characteristics or combinations of the two. According to the authors, "... far-reaching decisions are subsequently made based on appraisals that sometimes lack empirical foundation" (2010: 165-66). The authors also conclude that the placement and stay of the UMAs in protected reception should be qualified as deprivation of liberty for which there is no foundation in Dutch legislation. There is no judicial review and no legal support for the UMA regarding their stay in the protected reception centres. This means that the pilot in this specific design violates the Dutch constitution as well as international human rights treaties. As a consequence, this forces the Dutch authorities to adapt the existing practice and/or relevant legislation.

In his response to the evaluation study by Kromhout et al., the Minister of Justice, among other things, expressed his intention to continue the pilot 'protected reception' but without the use of "measures involving the deprivation of liberty". (TK 27 062: p.4). The Dutch Fast Action Teams in Nigeria were criticized for their solitary work carried out without close cooperation with other European countries (ACVZ 2009). Kromhout et al. (2010) also suggest that the pilot may have caused an increase in the number of 'risk UMAs' in other European countries where protection and control is less severe. What is needed is a truly European approach towards the protection of vulnerable UMAs. An action plan recently launched by the European Commission for all European countries should protect the rights of UMAs more firmly. In the meantime, the aforementioned criminal case 'Koolvis' came to a provisional end. Due to a lack of evidence, none of the accused suspects were sentenced for human trafficking. However, the court did sentence some of them for human smuggling as well as membership of a criminal organization.

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## Seminars CIROC 2009/2010 - Overview

Prof. Dr. Dina Siegel (Utrecht University/CIROC)

One of the main aims of CIROC is to contribute, both in the Netherlands and internationally, to the exchange of information on current developments and trends in organized crime. One of the ways in which knowledge is transferred from theory to practice and vice versa is by means of seminars and conferences. Every year, CIROC organizes three to four seminars. In the academic year 2009-2010, three international seminars were held in Utrecht.

On October 21, the seminar on corruption focused on the question as to how vulnerable different Western countries are to corrupt activities and what new forms of corruption exist in our globalized world. Professor Hans Nelen from Maastricht University presented an up-to-date picture of corruption as registered in the Netherlands and Professor Maurice Punch from the London School of Economics compared patterns of police corruption in the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States. Olga Pleshkova from the University of Nottingham analyzed a specific case of police corruption in Russia. Other speakers concentrated on concrete means and tools to fight corruption. One of the topics discussed was how countries with a reputation for being corrupt might 'infect' other countries in the process of EU enlargement and in the process of globalization and what theoretical, practical and ethical questions are involved in this issue.

The subject of the next seminar was new forms and manifestation of extremism and terrorism. In his presentation, Professor Frank Bovenkerk from the University of Amsterdam asked why no fatal terrorist attacks have taken place in the Netherlands in the last thirty years, how to explain the huge difference between the manifestation of terrorism in the West and in the East, and what criminological theories can contribute towards explaining this phenomenon. Other speakers focused on various forms of extremism, from ultra-right groups (Dr. Jaap van Donselaar), to animal rights activists (Dr. Janine Janssen), to squatters in Amsterdam (Dr. Frank van Gemert). Dr. Christianne de Poot (WODC/CIROC) presented the findings of a recent empirical research project on groups of Jihadists in the Netherlands, their socio-economic background and their position in Dutch society. Aspects of how the Dutch authorities and law enforcement agencies deal with active extremists and alleged terrorists were also discussed.

The third seminar focused on the harm and damage caused by organized crime, with prominent speakers such as Professor Jan van Dijk (Tilburg University), who presented a general picture of the impact of organized crime on different societies; Professor Tom Vander Beken (University of Gent), who discussed different macro-models on measuring harm caused by organized crime; Mike Levi (Cardiff University), who emphasized the need for cyber audits to improve the fight against the harm of cyber crime; Professor Letizia Paoli (Catholic University of Leuven), who suggested new ways to measure the harm caused by organized crime and, last but not least, Professor Nicholas Dorn (Erasmus University Rotterdam), one of the organizers of this seminar, who presented the case of the UK and also brought his knowledge and expertise on the subject to a successful and interesting discussion.

Next year, three more CIROC seminars will take place in Utrecht (on modern forms of slavery; on the link between organized crime and the legal professions; and on the prevention of organized crime in the Netherlands

and abroad). Hopefully, these seminars will be as fascinating as the ones described above.

## New Dutch publications on organized crime

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