

# Dubai's Answer to the Challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Organised Crime and Prostitution, in Particular of the Police Forces

István KOVÁCS,<sup>1</sup> Adrián CSAJKA-VÁNDOR<sup>2</sup>

*By now Dubai has not only grown into a futuristic, modern tourist paradise but has also become a major economic power, centralising a certain part of the global capital. This has also been realised by organised crime which tries to make use of accumulated dollar billions by the help of different kinds of crimes often even without using violent means. The present paper analyses, on the one hand, the supply system of Dubai, that is its economy, army, police and social system, on the other hand, the system of international organised crime and trafficking. The method used is critical source analysis, basic historical research, as well as case and judgement/verdict analysis. This is not a classic analysis but a criminal analysis of specific cases. Our strategic aim is to create a database which can show the new profile of the organised crime in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.*

**Keywords:** oil market, global economy, organised crime, military strategy, Middle East, Gulf States, the “to Dubai” phenomenon

## Introduction

Flourishing metropolises are being built in this fast, globalised world. This is just what has happened in Dubai, the country that has become an economic power and so it has attracted the attention of organised crime. Oil-crime, money laundering, weapons- drugs- and sex trafficking, to mention just a few common crimes regarding Dubai. [1] The paper describes the military, economic and police system of Dubai, but mostly focuses on the activity of organised crime that is related to the above-mentioned systems. Thus, the so-called “to Dubai” phenomenon—threatening constitutional and human rights—well known in the field of international prostitution has gained ground in Hungary in the past five years.

The first part of the article is based on basic historical research, where the authors collected abstracts and general information. Primer and seconder sources were used to gain reliable data about the state system of Dubai—national and international articles, studies, monographs, police- and defence reports—from archives, museums and online resources.

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<sup>1</sup> Ph.D., Police Major, Assistant Lecturer, National University of Public Service, Department of Law Enforcement Management; e-mail: [kovacs.istvan@uni-nke.hu](mailto:kovacs.istvan@uni-nke.hu); ORCID: 0000-0002-7210-1981

<sup>2</sup> MA, Police Staff Sergeant, law student, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Faculty of Law and Political Sciences; e-mail: [adriancsv@gmail.com](mailto:adriancsv@gmail.com); ORCID: 0000-0001-7968-0042

The second part analyses court judgements in cases of “Dubai-ing”,<sup>3</sup> prostitution and organised crimes to gain new scientific results. Analysis and synthesis are the two pillars of the article; breaking the whole to its components, the paper analyses and evaluates these components, understanding the connections between them, reunite these components to open up a new dimension generating new results.

The strategic aim of the paper is to collect data to show a realistic picture of organised crime in the 21<sup>st</sup> century in a country which due to its leading economic position has become the citadel of the utilisation of the possibilities for criminals.

In this article, we will discuss the work of the international prostitution network from Eastern Europe to the Emirates and the actions or lack thereof of local and international police forces, in addition to introducing the state of armed forces of the Emirates.

## **Bird's-Eye-View of the History of UAE**

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) was formed on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December 1971, with the federation of six Emirates (Abu Dhabi, Ajman, Dubai, Fujairah, Sharjah, Umm al-Quwain). The seventh Emirate (Ras al Khaimah) entered the Union on February 1972, thereby acquiring the UAE's now known federal form and its present borders. [16] The Emirates is an absolute electoral monarchy, in which the Federal Supreme Council, that is the (practically sovereign) rulers of the seven emirates chooses the king from among its members. (The Federal Supreme Council consists of Rulers of the seven emirates constituting the federation or their deputies in their emirates in case of the Ruler's absence or unavailability. Each emirate has one single vote in the council resolutions and deliberations.)

The Emirates is a federal system, each Emirate has autonomous administration, legislation, and internal affairs, however, foreign affairs and defence are dealt with commonly at the federal level, under the direct authority of the ruler. The Emirates is the 7<sup>th</sup> largest oil producer in the world and 3<sup>rd</sup> in the Gulf States; as for oil exporting, it is the 3<sup>rd</sup> largest oil-exporter in the Gulf after Saudi Arabia and Iraq and globally it is the 5<sup>th</sup> largest oil exporter. However, it is increasingly seeking to strengthen its economy through innovation in the money and banking sector, in tourism and services, and to decouple it from the oil market by investing in oil revenues, to remain among the strongest economies in the world in the era of alternative energies. According to the Global Financial Centres Index, in the United Arab Emirates (and the Middle East) the largest financial centre is Dubai, it is the world's 12<sup>th</sup> largest financial investment centre, overtakes Abu Dhabi.

The leadership of the Emirates recognises that the financial sector is closely linked to tourism and service, which has been developed to a professional level, so that every investor, businessman or tourist visiting the Emirates from the middle class to the top ten thousand could find the adequate services and entertainment opportunities, the well-established infrastructure helps providing excellent services like the Emirates, the largest airlines in the Middle East, and the world's 12<sup>th</sup> largest airline in terms of fleet size.

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<sup>3</sup> It is a new Hungarian term, which is used in connection with international prostitution from Hungary to Dubai.

The Emirates—including the emirate of Dubai—of Islamic traditions and largely Sharia-based legislation, has been forced to bargain for business, a good example is the sale of alcoholic drinks which is contrary to the Islamic law. Sharia forbids alcohol consumption, however, non-Islamic foreigners are exempt from this part of the law, thus alcohol can be sold with significant tax charges, while in principle Islamic law is respected. They also have a very flexible approach to dress standards. In addition to the above-mentioned legitimate loopholes, they are tacitly tolerating and, in a sense, building a market for illegal activities such as drug trafficking or world-famous luxury prostitution in Dubai.

## **The Economy of the Emirates and Dubai**

The huge wealth of the Emirates is due to the profits from oil production. Besides, as it was said, being the 7<sup>th</sup> largest oil-producing country in the world, its area is small (83,600 km<sup>2</sup>), has a population of 1.2 million, so unlike Saudi Arabia or Iran, the amount of oil revenue is distributed among a small proportion of the population. The Emirates differs from the aforementioned oil powers in other respects, as well. While Saudi Arabia basically used to build its economy on the oil industry, the Emirates has long term plans, so it invests its oil proceeds in different businesses because, on the one hand, it wants its economy to be multicomponent, on the other hand, it wants to be prepared to the time when the world is moving from fossil fuels to alternative energy sources; for years now the world talks about the Vision 2030, the aim of which is to reduce the country's dependence on oil. So, although about one-third of the GDP comes from oil production, the Emirates has a good chance to maintain their economic stability and quality of life in the future.

Comparing the seven emirates, their economy—as well as their territory or population—is uneven. More than 90% of the oil production is in Abu Dhabi, while Dubai produces less than 5%. However, oil production accounts for less than 1% of Dubai's economy, but Dubai still accounts for 30% of the UAE's economic output. Most of Dubai's economy comes from the financial sector, real estate and tourism. The Emirates has a much more open, investor-friendly market than the other Gulf states with economically more conservative views. The Government of Dubai has not maximised foreign ownership in domestically-owned companies since the 1980s, creating free zones in which foreign investments have been virtually unrestricted. [2] Dubai broke with conservative views in other respects, as well. To transform the financial and banking sector, it wanted to make the city of Dubai more attractive to investors. Marketing was needed to make Dubai more attractive to investors. This is the shiny side of Dubai. Examples of such projects include the construction of the Burj Khalifa or the 7-star Burj al Arab Hotel. Thanks to these innovations, besides the dynamic growth of the banking and financial sector, tourism and services sectors have also developed strong and have now become one of the main pillars of Dubai's economy. For the glamour and luxury of Dubai, the infiltration of Western values is inevitable. Thus, they had to integrate such things into the conservative Arab society and world-order—for example—as the beauty industry, alcohol consumption of foreigner visitors, or, in a sense, legal sexuality, as foreigner women are allowed to wear bikinis on the beach that do not exactly comply with women wearing Islamic clothing. Allowing these types of changes have been partly solved by

liberalising the Islamic legal system, partly by turning a blind eye—to some degree—to some illegal activities such as drugs or prostitution, and partly by informal control over the police.

## **Armed Forces, Geopolitical and Strategic Position of the UAE**

Due to the geopolitical position of the UAE, like all Gulf countries, it is forced to invest large sums in military development. The Persian Gulf has been an area of particular economic and strategic importance since the discovery of oil reserves, and the Middle East has always been a proxy buffer zone for the world-power countries. Each of the Gulf states has a strong economy and has enough resources to finance their forces, so the UAE must face major military and economic challenges. The Gulf War (take the example of Iraq and Kuwait) showed that the potential of a country with a sizeable territory, large population and significant military force could pose a threat to the Gulf's oil-monarchies. In case of the UAE, neighbouring Saudi Arabia is most likely to pose a quasi-threat, and it is no coincidence that the UAE is looking for a partnership with Saudi Arabia and/or with its ally, the USA. The UAE was a member of the Saudi led coalition until 2019, which militarily supports the Yemeni Hadi Government against Iran-backed Houthi rebels. Another critical military point for the UAE is the Strait of Hormuz. It is a gateway to the Gulf with a strong international status, however, according to Ferenc Erdósi, in the light of the events of the last half-century, the Strait of Hormuz has proved to be the hottest spot of global oil logistics in terms of global oil logistics. [3] 21% of the global oil export is transacted through the Strait between Iran and Oman, which, according to 2018 data, is 17.4 million barrels a day. The monitoring of the Strait is a priority issue for Iran, as well as for the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries. Both Iran and Saudi Arabia have naval forces that can block the entrance of the Gulf from world trade. The tensions between the Emirates and Iran are further exacerbated by the unresolved issue of three islands between the two countries: Abu Musa, Tunb and Lesser Tunb. The Tunb Islands were occupied by Iran just two days before the Emirates was proclaimed in 1971. As for Abu Musa, Sharjah and Iran signed an agreement according to which the control of the island together with its resources is shared between Iran and the subsequent UAE, however, Iran in 1992 occupied Abu Musa, too.

The Gulf War had a huge impact on the security policy of the Emirates. As a member of the GCC, along with other Gulf states, it supported Baghdad in the Iraq–Iran War in the 1980s. Saddam's "betrayal" in 1991 when he invaded Kuwait, however, made it clear to the Emirates that it could not rely solely on "external bulwarks", it needs an independent, capable army that guarantees border-protection and the sovereignty of the country. [4] Nonetheless, the Emirates is seeking to secure itself through mutually beneficial arrangements, such as the official military cooperation with the United States in 1994, which allowed the US to use the Al Dhafra Air Base and the strategically vital port of Jebel Ali, a bay deep enough to accommodate aircraft carriers. [17]

## **The UAE Military Force**

Next to Saudi Arabia, the Emirates has the strongest army among the Gulf monarchies. Though in terms of its citizens, it is a small country and the permanent number of its

military force is not more than 59,000, the small number is compensated by technological superiority. In 2015, the UAE was the world's 3<sup>rd</sup> largest military importer. Around 70% of its combat equipment comes from the United States. [4] Most of the remaining 30% is purchased from Russia, Britain and France. In 2016, 22.8 billion USD was spent solely on military development. The two main challenges facing the UAE army are maintaining their technical superiority and increasing their combat capacity. For the latter, the government has developed two solutions. On the one hand, compulsory military service was introduced in 2014 (on completing high school, men between 18–30 are obliged to serve 9 months; those who do not serve in the armed service must perform other forces for 2 years; for women a 9-month military service is optional.) On the other hand, foreign citizens from poorer Sunni countries, from the Far East and Africa can serve in certain army units though they can only perform basic services. Practically, all officers are of UAE nationality. Just for comparison, Hungary with its population of almost 10 million within the framework of “Zrínyi 2026” plans to raise the number of soldiers from 30,000 to 37,650, but because of the abolition of compulsory military service, only the police have mobilisable resources.

## **Law Enforcement in the UAE—the Dubai Police**

Law enforcement is the responsibility of each independent emirate of the United Arab Emirates. The police force of each emirate is responsible for issues within their borders, but they share information. Dubai, as an independent state of the Federation, has an independent, sovereign police force. The Dubai Police is the most advanced police in the region as far as technical equipment is concerned. It was the first police force in the Arab world that used DNA fingerprinting in criminal investigations, the first whose database used electronic fingerprints, and GPS tracking systems to locate stolen vehicles. The police forces aim to provide the highest standards of public security, law enforcement and detection through professional equipment, tools and professional training. However, the Dubai Police tends to apply double standards. In case of immigrant workers, people of lower social status, the police strongly acts when it is about drug use, drug trafficking, which improves the statistics of detected crimes. On the other hand, the police are much lenient or tolerant when dealing with wealthy Emirati citizens and foreign investors, businessmen and tourists. The issue of dealing with sexual crimes deserves special attention. Like in other Arab states, national law on domestic violence does not meet European standards, but the Dubai Police is the first in the Arab world to have a “Human Rights Department”, an administrative body dedicated to protecting women's rights. It is of particular interest that prostitution, as a definition of an independent crime concept, is not recognised by the Arab legal systems, like Dubai. In the United Arab Emirates, there is a lack of legal texts that define prostitution in plain language, thus leaving definitions to be given by courts and testimonies to legally characterise the crime. [5] In the figure below, statistics are shown which were downloaded from the Dubai Police website. The chart shows that although there are statistics related to prostitution crimes, they appear only as related crimes such as human trafficking or rape. At the same time, the number of drug-related offences is high.

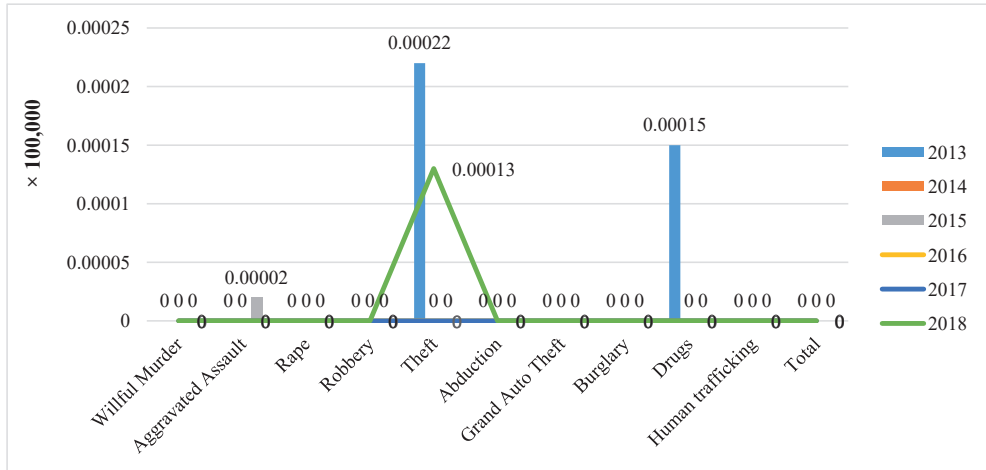


Figure 1. Major Crime Statistics—Per a hundred thousand people.  
(Edited by the author based [18] on the UAE's Police Statistics 2018.)

## The Relation Between Dubai and Organised Crime

The previous part of the paper described that after the Millennium, Dubai has not only grown into a futuristic, modern tourist paradise but has become a major economic power that centralises some of the global capital. This has also been noticed by organised crime groups, which try to get hold of billions of dollars by various crimes, often without turning to violent means. These non-violent yet illegal sources are then used to finance new crimes in the grey and black market of Europe, threatening global security and jeopardising global peace.

We are talking about crimes like drug trafficking, prostitution, corruption, money laundering, etc. [6] The present study does not deal with corruption, money laundering or drug trafficking, but recent researches have shown that they are interrelated and complementary. [7] [8] We must not forget that there is a relevant link between corruption and organised crime. Organised crime often uses corruption tools to operate. This case study research also shows that the accused have committed acts of corruption to keep the organisation running for years. On the other hand, it is very difficult to determine where the boundary of integrity between individuals and bodies lies, which is considered a classic form of corruption. Where does legal become illegal and illegal legal.

With this in mind, an effort is made to introduce the concept known as “Dubai-ing”, to describe accompanying phenomena, and to explore what means are used by the mediators between prostitution and organised crime to gain illegal profit.

## Dubai-ing”, a New Concept of Prostitution in Hungary

In the Hungarian slang, the term “Dubai-ing” has started to gain ground when as a by-product of global thinking, travelling without borders began and an increasing number of Hungarians

went to Dubai, partly for holidays, partly as e.g. singers and dancers to take the opportunity of a booming tourist industry. This was also followed by an unknown number of “others” working on the dark side of tourism, criminals, prostitutes, etc. Of course, the international scene of prostitution was always accessible to participants, only it was not named after the country (Switzerland, Italy), but was called “dancing”. (See the book on prostitution by Kovács, [9] who takes the reader to the international scenes of prostitution.) Or the case of Krisztián Zsolt V. who was prosecuted for the crime of multiple counts of procuring. (The Central District Court of Pest's case number III/ 17.B.32343/2013.)

Nowadays, the name of this city has been interwoven in Hungary with the practice of luxury prostitution. This is not due to the Arab Spring or the *One Thousand and One Nights* collection of tales, but rather to the inexhaustible potential for enjoyment and earning money in the fabulous Middle East. Unfortunately, however, the media misleads ordinary people with news that is far away from reality, instead of focusing on the phenomenon, they concentrate on celebrities and public figures. See for example the criminal case against Lajos R. (The Central District Court of Pest's case number III/10.B. 32089/2014), who, after a lengthy police investigation, was accused before the Pest Central District Court for the crime of multiple counts of procuring. In this case, several models, Hungarian Celebrities and media personalities were affected. This, in turn, was only a side-step to the real process known as the “Dubai lawsuit”, which laid the groundwork for a conceptual definition in 2009. According to the indictment and the investigation, Zoltán K. and his two accomplices proceeded girls as prostitutes to African, Asian, Far Eastern countries to provide sexual services to clients. (The Budapest-Capital Regional Court's case number III/ 3.B.32435/2013). During the prosecution, several celebrities, models, beauty queens, media personalities, members of reality shows, even presenters and anchors who gained a deeper understanding of this kind of world were interrogated. That was the point when information from the media, the facts of the prosecution and the stereotypes of the public blended international prostitution with hostessing, escorting, modelling, thus creating the notion of “Dubai-ing”. (Of course, we cannot claim that there is no connection between these concepts and prostitution, but they do not form a coherent unit. A very good example is the matrix of similarity and difference between pornography and prostitution.) [10] Most of the procedures are still ongoing, and according to the current Hungarian criminal law, perpetrators can only be found guilty by the final judgment which is not available at the time of the study and therefore cannot be analysed. However, there are final court judgments and rulings that completely model this segment of the world and by using scientific methods of analysis and synthesis, we can reach a conclusion, thus guaranteeing new scientific results. Scientific research always seeks to understand reality and truth; therefore, the purpose of this study is not to argue in favour of acquiring and/or convicting those who are prosecuted.

Therefore, a prosecution/case was chosen which relies on a final court ruling, and is focused on international prostitution, solicitation, procuring and corruption. It was also important that there were no “celebrities” involved, but the elements of the cases were well known to the members of organised crime. Therefore, the Budapest-Capital Regional Court 7.B.7/2007/263 and the Budapest-Capital Regional Court of Appeal 3.Bf.12/2011/29 cases were chosen.

## Organising of Prostitution, Mediating of the Illegal Income

It is important to bear in mind that prostitution is a complex, latent phenomenon. It is composed of different layers, different locations, methods, social mapping, individual cases and unique stories. [11] When we look at the phenomenon of “Dubai-ing”, we cannot ignore the fact that the romantic stereotypes of prostitution (for more details see Kovács' latest work) are outdated. [12] In this case, there are no pimps who use psychological and physical violence to exploit and intimidate the prostitutes who become victims. As Kovács writes, as early as 2016, different levels of prostitution can be associated with different behaviours. [13] While on the one hand, in case of street prostitutes pimps clearly use intimidation and violence, threats and coercion, on the other hand, the transforming institution of “rooming (or getting a room)” and the international arena operates on a different level, pimps are the mediators, the business is profit-oriented, the payment is proportional. No violence is used, mediators and girls alike have realised that symbiosis can only work if the reward is proportionate and not based on one-sided exploitation. Collaboration is established between the mediator and the prostitute, and the remuneration is distributed proportionally, more to the prostitute's account than to the mediator's pocket. (Generally speaking, we cannot say that there is a 30–70, or 40–60, or 50–50 ratio of revenue, but we can generally determine  $\frac{1}{3}$ – $\frac{2}{3}$  ratios.) This mutual, work-based collaboration brings in millions of dollars to the organised crime groups and girls, who, on a voluntary basis, benefit in the same way, their earning depends on their choice and willingness.

In the following, this modernised system and its operating mechanism will be shown. (To limit the scope of the study, the evidence process is not fully described, and the focus is on the mechanism of action, structure, and familiarity with organised crime and runner behaviour.)

In this case, the Budapest Investigative Prosecutor's Office submitted to the Budapest-Capital Regional Court on 3 January 2007 the 9/2005 filed indictment no. 16 in which it charged 16 defendants with solicitation, procuring and corruption and bribery. According to the indictment, the lead defendant accused before the charges transferred dancers abroad,<sup>4</sup> organised their employment abroad for a long time. His reason was that on the one hand, there is a great demand to prostitution and on the other hand, there are many women who, for various reasons, are willing to provide sexual services for a fair financial reward. (Nowadays these are called “push and pull” factors in prostitution.) After the accused realised that this activity is worth billions of profit, he started to transfer dancers abroad and organised their employment abroad. To establish a smoothly going, well organised, profitable, long-term and safe venture, the accused founded a criminal organisation, including, but not limited to, his family, relatives, close friends, and their acquaintances. (This phenomenon assumes a high degree of organisation, leadership and management functions, division of labour, responsibility, decision-making mechanism and tailor-made work tasks, which are visible not only in the domestic but also in the international arena.) Here it is important to note how notable is the positive impact of trust when an organisation is being built up. Social environment—family, close relatives, friends—also served as an important scene for the formation of a criminal organisation, it is almost like an educational institution. This is

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<sup>4</sup> Dancers who are connected to prostitution and peep shows.



a typical representation of the Italian mafia, or of Italian criminal organisations that later emigrated from Italy, most notably from Sicily, to the United States, where bloodline was a prerequisite for positions in the hierarchy. (This criminal organisation was in operation for at least 5 years until the accused was captured.)

Initially, the criminal organisation was run by the first-degree accused, who was at the top of the hierarchy, but to run a diverse criminal group, that works across borders and has centres in different cities of different countries, is in regular commercial connection and cooperation with other foreign criminal organisations meant that the accused needed help and partners to accomplish organisational and other executive sub-tasks. (There are countless examples of literature on the rivalry between criminal organisations—see turf wars and violent advocacy—but no cooperation between organisations.) The above is of enormous importance because it contradicts power struggles; for example, they demonstrate the dynamic volatility of organised crime, which is necessarily adapted to its environment, opening a new chapter in the history of organised crime research that has not yet been known to us. It can be assumed in modern law enforcement that globalisation made international organised criminal circles cooperate and work side by side instead of acting against each other. Thus, their future can be secured by working together, in cooperation, complementing each other in a large organisation made up of smaller cells. Change management as a new organisational tool has its effect on organised crime, as well.

The other defendants actively took part in sharing the tasks, they were directly under the lead defendant in the hierarchy. They were men of trust. Their task was to recruit prostitutes who volunteered for sexual work, to keep records of women and income, and to operate flats abroad as brothels. There, in the flats, they had to provide the necessary and appropriate conditions and equipment for prostitution, had to produce a portfolio of photographs of women applying for prostitution and to advertise them on the Internet, and to organise the details of travelling abroad and returning home, arranging specific dates for women traveling abroad, reconciliation, dealing with housing problems and, in some cases, collecting money from prostitutes or other agents. Organisational work included giving detailed information (where to go, how much to ask for, etc.) to the girls, but it was also common to do a “job aptitude test” for the girls, based on testing the girls. (Kovács in his dissertation [13] also proved this, several interviewees saying that they were always “tasted” by the pimps.) The same is reported in studies done abroad. Here it is worth mentioning that the second accused originally was a driver (just like the seventh, eighth, tenth, and fourteenth accused) whose task was to drive the girls from home abroad and then back. In 2004, the first accused had the information that the police opened a criminal investigation against his criminal organisation and at the same time against a foreign partner criminal organisation, therefore he resigned and he pulled the strings from behind the scene. (This is another example of cooperation between international criminal organisations and of gaining illegal information. The notion of corruption and the integrated concept of personnel and organisation just fits this section.) At that point, the second-degree defendant stepped up who, from a footsoldier became a leader. Of course, this was only informal power, since the decision-making was in the hands of the first-degree defendant, the evidence of which is the fact that the second-degree defendant had to report everything to the first-degree defendant. It is rather a way of manual drive, but this study does not deal with the management system of organised crime.

The third- and fourth-degree defendant performed administrative duties, posting photos of the girls at various sex-sites, and it was their responsibility to make portfolios of the girls, although many of the girls already had some kind of a portfolio. For example, the fifth-degree defendant had a model agency through which he could post advertisements on the Internet and recruit girls for prostitution. He received 5–10% of the income of the prostitutes he recruited as a commission from the criminal organisation. A team of photographers was employed to carry out background activities. (This also proves that there is a very precise division of labour, everyone has his task and follows the given instructions. If it is needed, external experts are employed.) The fourth-degree accused did the interpreting job, because he spoke foreign languages, which was part of the recruitment, his task was also to do accounting. This section also links money laundering and prostitution. (See Kovács' study for details. [14])

The girls worked in rented apartments abroad, usually one or two prostitutes per apartment, depending on the size and location of the apartments. As a rule, income was distributed: 50% went to the prostitute, the other 50% was the commission to the organisers. Sometimes this portion was 40:60. The commission was compulsory, however, the recruited girls were informed, as if in a verbal contract and they voluntarily accepted the terms. Collecting the commission had several ways, depending on the relationship of the trust between the recruiter and the prostitute. This clearly shows that recruitment and the behaviour of the recruiter are based on the division of work and on a "fair wage" system. Fairer, at least, than that of the pimp who exploits the prostitutes and takes all her earnings. The fare paid by the customer was collected by service members who also dealt with the telephone calls, and at the end of the day, 50% of the income was redistributed to the girls. Control is an integral part of the criminal organisation's work-sharing principle; however, profit-orientation and profit-sharing can only be ensured through follow-up. This is not different from the control methods used in the private sector or the administration, for example, where the employee's daily activities are monitored by cameras and the income is collected at the end of the day. However, in some cases, prostitutes—primarily and almost exclusively those who have developed a close relationship of trust with the organisers in the long run—collected the income, and they put aside the adequate amount that should be given to the organisers. (This can be traced back to the intimate relationship between the prostitute and the organiser, which was in the focus of another study. This is how the Stockholm Syndrome works.) [15] The system worked well, at the end of the workday either the "receptionist" or the girls themselves informed one of the four organisers (first- to fourth-degree accused) usually by SMS. The girls usually worked in ten-day turns and depending on the number of clients, a prostitute gave the organisers the equal of HUF 500,000 to 1,000,000 in Euro after a ten-day turn. (Just a short calculation: it means 53 crimes, a minimum of 53 girls/flat, 5 turns, that equals at least 26 million HUF/turn for five years, 365 days. And this is only what we know about.)

It is difficult to obtain real numbers about prostitution without the help of records, and this lack of data further enhances latency. However, what is registered and/or proven also generated an incredible amount of illegal profit. We should not forget the fact that the girls had a clean, net profit because the organisers took care of the living expenses of the apartments, settled rents, utility bills, paying the cost of advertising prostitutes on the Internet, securing the apartments, line large quantities of condoms. This is deducted

from the brokerage fee, so the net profit on the brokerage side is reduced. (Supported by a ⅓–⅔ ratio called generic at the beginning of the study.)

In the flats used as brothels, there are the so-called telephone operators, to coordinate the meetings between the prostitute and the client who they also checked before letting him in, also in that way they control prostitutes and register their income. Their activity concerned making the business. This, however, may contradict the notion of the voluntary agreement and free choice of work unless there was a previous agreement between the prostitute and the client. The girls theoretically have the right to free choice, since the first step of recruitment is when the working conditions and tasks are outlined. As it was mentioned earlier, the operators managed the revenue, redistributed the money, and reported the daily income to the leader of the organisation in an SMS. The sixth-, ninth-, eleventh-, twelfth- and thirteenth-degree defendants also served in the telephone support staff. The organisation also had security personnel (the seventh-, eighth- and tenth-degree defendants). Their task was primarily to monitor and manage the revenue. To provide physical security was only a secondary activity. The security staff were on standby and intervened promptly if the first-degree defendant ordered them. This could happen if there was a problem with accounting for example. Typically, it was meant not against the prostitutes but the clients.

Concerning court judgments, given that legal proof and judicial decision are not dealt with in this paper, it is only stated that certain parts of the first instance judgment were upheld and some parts of the second instance reversed. Read more in the judgments.

## Summary

The analysis of the second part of the paper made it clear that “Dubai-ing” is a billion-dollar business involving organised crime both in national and international settings. The transformative nature of organised crime is embodied in the fact that the groups work together, and self-interest has been replaced by the pursuit of maximum profit and co-operation. A system based on a strict hierarchy, levels of the executive and decision-making alternate with each other and each level has its responsibilities. The violent tools of prostitution are replaced by a system of division of labour and assuming proportional pay. There is no coercion or threat, instead, there is prior agreement, “contracting” and disclosure. Hungary is in the 21<sup>st</sup> century concerning prostitution. By the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it has become a transit country, providing various Asian, African, European markets with prostitutes, where the consumers pay millions of dollars thus enriching the illegal profit-making of organised crime, and supporting the illegitimate goals that organised crime has set itself.

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