

TRAFFICKED WOMEN/FRACTURED WOMEN:
RUSSIAN WOMEN SURVIVING IN THE 'NEW GLOBAL ORDER'

by

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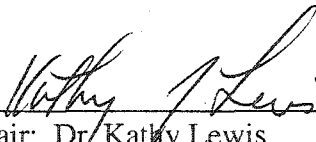
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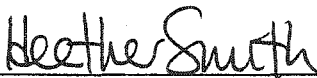
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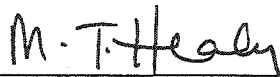
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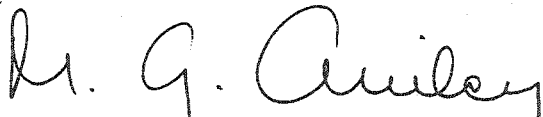
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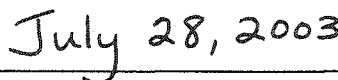

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the emergence of global trafficking as an outcome of economic restructuring. As structural adjustment policies (SAPs) are initiated, consequences negatively accumulate to entrap women in a vicious cycle of impoverishment, marginalization, and social degeneration which make them susceptible to trafficking. Grafting neoliberal capitalism onto societies reinforces patriarchy while it weakens norms and values, and enables an ethic of self-interest to supercede social responsibilities. Liberalization, privatization, and deregulation of domestic economies provide opportunities for the simultaneous exploitation of women, growth of organized crime, and corruption of the state. The Russian case study substantiates how market reforms progressively proletarianize, sexualize, and frequently criminalize women's labour, promoting the globalization of trafficked women. Market reforms are exposed as severely biased policy instruments that subjugate women under the control of interdependent patriarchies, whether states or individual men, for profit. Unless the neoliberal capitalist agenda is subverted, social destabilization will result in increasing exploitation of the vulnerable.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AI	Amnesty International
CATW	Coalition Against Trafficking in Women
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CRG	Centre for Research on Globalisation
CEE	Central East European
EBRD	European Bank of Reconstruction and Development
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council (UN)
EU	European Union
GAATW	Global Alliance Against Trafficking in Women
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSN	Global Survival Network
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IFI	International Financial Institutions
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
ILHR	International League for Human Rights
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPE	International Political Economy
KFOR	Kosovo Force
MNC	Multinational Corporation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NICs	Newly Independent Countries
NIS	Newly Independent States
OCRTEH	Central Office for the Treatment of Human Beings (France)
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

SAPs	Structural Adjustment Policies
SOFAs	Status of Forces Agreements
TANs	Transnational Advocacy Networks
TIPs	Trafficking In Persons Report (U.S. State Department)
TNC	Transnational Corporations
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund For Women
UNODCCP	United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

My interest in trafficking was first developed when I was in India on a Shastri Gender and Development Programme in the summer of 2000. In many trips around the country I met young women and girls who had been rescued by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from brothels and trafficking rings. I will never forget sitting in a communal room in a halfway house in Calcutta talking about Indian music and movie stars with young women and girls who had faced the ultimate terror of trafficking. These lives that had been torn apart and subjected to incredible brutality humbled me by their courage and strength of survival. I could not understand how such violence continued to remain invisible and condoned in the world. However, as I became reflexive about my own life, I remembered discussions with many women I met, both in Canada and abroad, concerning our experiences of violence and sexual terror. I came to realize that the fear of violence touches all women's lives. This thesis is dedicated to the strength and courage of all women who continue to struggle against injustice.

Trafficking in women is not considered a human rights issue on international or domestic agendas and yet it is now considered a worldwide phenomenon. Women in the modern global era still face massive inequalities and discriminations. Newspapers periodically sensationalize the impact of violence on women's lives and yet the structural basis of that violence is never problematized within the media or domestic politics. This thesis is an attempt at identifying women's common struggles against violence in the diverse contexts of trafficking.

I would like to thank my supervising committee for their cooperation on this project. It has proven an interesting task for us all. There were many delays and

upheavals during the writing of this thesis as obligations and responsibilities to family members intervened. My sincere thanks to Dr. Fiona MacPhail for bearing with me through difficult times and offering encouragement when I needed it. I would also like to thank Dr. Heather Smith and Dr. Theresa Healy for their continuous support of this thesis. I owe a special thanks to my daughter Naomi, who managed to break through my frustrated writer's block with her persistence and honesty. Without her insightful editing I might still be found arguing with the computer.

Chapter One –The Conundrum of Trafficking

The ascendancy of free market capitalism and liberal democracy was forever ingrained on international consciousness with the symbolic fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the subsequent dismantling of the Soviet Union in 1991. These momentous events were often described in the press as the capitulation of socialist collectivities to global economic integration “in which the whole world [was] moving towards liberal democracy and capitalism” (Cox 1997: 250). The Cold War was over.

However, the incorporation of the former Soviet Union into the global market required the support of the international financial architecture often referred to as the new world order.¹ Transitions to the free market economy are facilitated through the implementation of structural adjustment policies (SAPs) under the auspices of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and other international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). At the expense of social considerations, “the demands put forward by structural adjustment programs of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank have significantly recast the economic and political environment of nations dependent on multilateral financing” (Feldman 1992: 4). The goal of these economic reforms is to establish an open market for trade through competitive capitalism by deregulating, liberalizing, and privatizing domestic economies.

¹ For the purposes of this thesis the New World Order is represented by global institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) which are supported by International Financial Institutions (IFIs), and a coalition of supra-transnational corporations (TNCs) backed by the G7 (Canada, Britain, the United States, Japan, Germany, France, and Italy). The G8 refers to all the preceding but with the addition of Russia. Five of these states are particularly dominant: the United States, Britain, Germany, France and Japan. The United Nations (UN) Assembly may be seen as belonging to the structure of this group but only in a subordinate and weakened manner. The Security Council and its elite states' members is the real core of power and control. Permanent members with veto power on the Security Council are the United States, Russia, Britain, China, and France.

The resulting pursuit of market integration through economic restructuring policies creates alarming effects leading to disruptions of previous social, economic, and political relations within societies. Because capitalism and liberalism are the underlining ideologies of economic reforms exported worldwide, they affect societal values and norms. These permutations are not gender neutral and as global restructuring progresses, it compromises the security of women and transforms their lives.

The primary research question that grounds this thesis is “how has the transition to a market economy led to trafficking of Russian women?” The emergence of trafficking in Russia after the implementation of economic reforms is significant because “until 1992 there were virtually no known cases of trafficked women from Central and Eastern Europe” (International Organization for Migration (IOM) 1995: 6). However, Russia is now recognized internationally as a ‘fourth wave’ in a pattern of source countries for trafficking in women² (IOM 1995; Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) 1999; Kelly 2002; Derks 2000). Three corollary questions inform this thesis: What effect has economic restructuring had on Russian women? How has capitalist and liberal ideology impacted Russian women? How has corruption of the state and civil society facilitated the trafficking of Russian women? I will argue that outcomes of global restructuring compound negatively for women, and as a result, contribute to conditions that make many women susceptible to trafficking.

Further, as Soviet bloc countries fragmented and came under economic restructuring programs, this led to trafficking in women, accounting for a noticeable increase in trafficked

² These waves are recognized as Asian (for instance Thailand and the Philippines), then South American which includes the Caribbean (for instance the Dominican Republic and Columbia), followed by an African exodus of trafficked women (for instance Nigeria and Ghana). It is interesting to note the gender specific pattern of trafficking worldwide in relation to the implementation of economic restructuring in these regions.

women worldwide³ (Global Survival Network (GSN) 1997; Corrin 1996; Amnesty International (AI) 2000; Bertone 2000; Hughes 2000; International League for Human Rights (ILHR) 2000; IOM 2001a, 2001b, 2000a; Kelly 2002; OSCE 1999, 2001). Indeed the problem of trafficking, as concerns Russia, is rated as an extremely serious one according to the U.S. *Trafficking In Persons Report (TIPs) 2002*, which ranks Russia as a Tier 3 country.⁴ Figures for trafficking in Russia are difficult to estimate but in the U.S. Department of State's *Congressional Research Service Report* (2000: 3) "the former Soviet Union is now believed to be the largest new source of trafficking for prostitution and the sex industry, with over 100,000 trafficked each year from that region. An additional 75,000 or more are trafficked from Eastern Europe." I intend to analyze Russia to determine how economic restructuring is linked to the trafficking in women. The Russian case study should also reveal gender specific relationships to the broader global issues concerning economic restructuring.

This thesis benefits from the scholarship of such notable feminists as: Maria Mies (1998, 1993, 1988); Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1997, 1991); Saskia Sassen (2000, 1996); Diane Elson (2000, 1994ab, 1992); V. Spike Peterson (1999, 1992); Thanh-Dam-Truong (1990); Jan Jindy Pettman (1996ab); and Deborah Steinstra (2000, 1996); amongst many others. These authors highlight how neoliberal capitalism and patriarchy instrumentalize women's labour and sexuality as a means to achieve global social, political, and economic dominance. Mies and Mohanty address the social realities of women in the 'third' world and the dialectics of their agency; Sassen and Elson address economics from a sociological

³ Also these women are more 'visible' because they are white and come from 'European' countries. In short the specter of 'white slavery' brings attention to phenomena that has been developing since the late 1970s.

⁴ A country is ranked at the lowest level of Tier 3 when it is rated as operating below minimal standards in policing the trafficking problem according to definitions set in the U.S. *Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000*. Of interest is the observation that many high demand countries are not ranked in this report.

perspective emphasizing its divergent gendered affects and consequent implications; and Pettman, Peterson, Truong, and Steinstra locate women within international relations and weave in their presence from the local to the global. However the work of Lourdes Beneria, concerning the globalization of women's labour and its social implications for women's well-being, has guided my approach in the thesis. Her essay "Gender and the Global Economy" (1989), which links the proletarianization of women's sexual labour to the emerging global market, inspired this study. The literature on trafficking in women is extensive for the 'third' world,⁵ but the uniqueness of this thesis lies in examining the emergence of trafficking within Russia, a country undergoing transition from a socialist, command economy to a neoliberal, capitalist economy.

The effects of economic restructuring have accumulated over the years leading to worldwide economic insecurity, an increasing gap between those who are rich and poor, a destabilizing of the rule of law by the institutionalization of market rule, a resurgence of identity politics, social disintegration, and a repositioning of state-societal relations. As a consequence of these globalizing tendencies, there is an increase in armed and ethnic conflicts, environmental degradation, poverty, transmigratory populations, and an exponential rise in corruption and crime (Mittelman and Johnston 1999; United Nations Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) 1995; Beneria and Feldman 1992; Mies and Shiva 1993; Silliman and King 1999; Mehmet et al. 1999; Aslanbeigui and Summerfield

⁵ In this thesis references such as: ILO 2001; Taran & Moreno-Fontes 2002; Bandarage 1999; Barry 1979; Chew 1999; Derks 2000; Enloe 1990; Truong 1990; Hall 1994; Human Rights Watch 2000, 1995; Kuo 2000; Jiwani and Brown 1999; Lim 1998; Muecke 1992; Pyne 1995; Sinha 1999; Sturdevant, Pollock and Stotzfus 1992, all discuss trafficking in the 'third' world. Further information on this topic can be accessed on websites belonging to High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), Human Rights Watch (HRW), and United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the Office of Women in Development, Bureau for Global Programs (WIDTech). The WIDTech site http://www.widtech.org/Publications/ANE_Resource.pdf offers an extensive *Resource List on Trafficking in*

2000; Elson 2000; van Duyne et al. 2001). The outcomes of restructuring coalesce to disproportionately impact some women in dangerous ways, particularly women whose livelihoods and status are at risk.

Two key effects of economic restructuring requiring further examination are the development of crime and corruption and the deepening class and racial rifts in societies. Within a transition country the expansion and sophistication of crime and corruption, in relation to the introduction of a free market economy is a key factor in the development of trafficking⁶ networks (Friman and Andreas 1999; Lotspeich 1995; van Duyne et al. 2001). I regard the spread of crime, principally organized crime and corruption, as an outcome of economic restructuring in transition countries.⁷ Richard Lotspeich's (1995: 563) research on former socialist countries undergoing economic transition concluded, "that there has in fact been a significant increase in the level of crimes in the transition countries." The growth of Russian transnational organized crime⁸ and trafficking of women in Russia are inextricably linked (GSN 1997; Richard 1999; Shelley 2001, 1999; Hughes 2000, 2002; ILHR 1997).

Another causal connection to trafficking is the expansion of elite transnational classes. These privileged groups are variously referred to as the trading classes, established labour, or as professional classes - the 'global formation.'⁹ These are the "people with money in their pockets [who] are willing to pay the price asked for the service provided or the

Women and Children compiled by Molly Reilly and Vidya Samarasinghe (July 1999) from Women, Law and Development International.

⁶ Please note that in the body of the thesis the term "trafficking in women" is synonymous with "trafficking." Furthermore, prostitution is often conflated with trafficking, therefore there is overlap in the discussion as prostitution becomes trafficking in some cases. This also extends to discourses on internal trafficking.

⁷ The linkages between increasing class and race cleavages and the expansion of crime and corruption are areas for further research but an in-depth discussion of them is beyond the scope of this thesis.

⁸ Louise I. Shelley (1999: 26) defines "transnational crime groups as organized crime groups (1) that are based in one state, (2) that commit their crimes in at least one but usually several host countries whose market conditions are favorable, and (3) in which the possibility of conducting illicit activity affords low risk of

commodity sold” thus creating the demand for trafficking (Lotspeich 1995: 574). The elite transnational classes are sharply divided from the disadvantaged transnational underclasses who generate the supply of trafficked women. Both classes are products of the polarizing impact of global economic restructuring and “delineate a global society--not a society in the positive sense of an organic organized whole, but in the negative sense of how people in all parts of the world either benefit from or suffer the consequences of forces that affect them all” (Cox 1997: 249). Transnational organized crime operates in the niche between supply and demand within shadow markets¹⁰ and acts as a middleman in trafficking.

Defining trafficking in women is contentious because the degree of exploitation and violence within these networks is variable. For the purposes of this thesis a synthesis of two definitions is used. I draw from Donna M. Hughes’ (2000: para. 5) notion of trafficking, which in turn, is created out of a definition put forward by the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW). I also amalgamate parts of a definition written by the Global Alliance Against the Trafficking of Women (GAATW 1999: para. 4).

- Trafficking is any practice that involves moving people within and across local or national borders for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Trafficking may be the result of force, coercion, manipulation, deception, abuse of authority, initial consent, family pressure, past and present family and community violence, economic deprivation, or other conditions of inequality (CATW).
- It includes all acts and attempted acts involved in the recruitment, transportation within or across borders, purchase, sale, transfer, receipt or harbouring of a woman, man, or child involving the use of

apprehension. Transnational organized crime groups, like legitimate multinational companies, gravitate to areas where they can make significant profit.” These organizations are patriarchal/fraternal regimes.

⁹ Robert W. Cox (1995, 1997) coined the term.

¹⁰ There is not any set definition of this term as it varies according to researcher. Other terms such as “black markets” or “shadow markets” seem to be used interchangeably as places where illegal transactions and goods are traded. See H. Richard Friman and Peter Andreas (1999). One point that draws consensus is that the illegality of the activities in shadow markets and black markets support the illicit global economy. But the “underground economy” or “hidden economy” is viewed as an unregulated labour market and “local market” - part of the informal economy. It is cash based, no taxes are paid and there are no employment records but it is not ‘criminally’ associative.

deception, coercion (including the use or threat of force or the use of authority) or debt bondage for the purpose of placing or holding such woman, man, or child, whether for pay or not, in involuntary servitude, in forced or bonded labour, or in slavery-like conditions (GAATW).

These two definitions illustrate the different positions taken between two non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on the trafficking issue. I think it is important to take into account the sociological and psychological pressures that can be brought to bear on women within families and communities. The first definition accounts for economic deprivation and inequality, thereby addressing systemic structural gender biases. It spotlights the trafficked individual. The second definition highlights the abusive economic situation that trafficking entails and focuses on the actions of the trafficker. These are all part of the trafficking paradigm. I do not believe debates over a definition of trafficking are beneficial; to the contrary, they work to women's detriment because trafficking becomes co-opted under law enforcement and new interpretations of legality and illegality are applied to what women do and the decisions they make.

Internationally, definitions of trafficking in women are problematic because they concentrate on smuggling and migration as threats to national security. Intervention becomes focused on criminality and comes under the purview of state authorities or male-dominated international committees such as the Lyon Group.¹¹ The trafficking issue remains state-centric and becomes a concern of policing. Narrowing the definition of trafficking serves to obscure what trafficking really is by shifting the focus away from the state and the economy.¹² Civilian actors defined as operating legally within the system are not considered

¹¹ The Lyon Group was established as a Senior Experts Group on Transnational Crime in 1995 at the Halifax Summit by the G8 Heads to combat organized criminal activity. The group is known as the 'Lyon Group' because they presented their first report to the G8 Heads at the Lyon Summit in France, 1996.

¹² A new international definition has been recognized, the *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* (2000), supplementing the *UN Convention Against*

as complicit in establishing the trafficking trade, yet these agents¹³ act along with state policies to mainstream women's labour into service sector employment as domestic labourers and sex industry (tourism and entertainment) workers¹⁴ (Wichterich 2000; Peterson and Runyan 1999; Beneria 1989; Pettman 1996ab; Truong 1990; Pollock and Stoltzfus 1993; Lim 1998; Enloe 2000, 1993, 1990).

Viewing trafficking within a broader global context while acknowledging women's diversities is useful because "as the globalization of economic relations proceeds, the need to understand the role of gender from a global perspective emerges with greater intensity" (Beneria 1989: 242). James H. Mittelman (2000: 6-7) puts forward a definition of globalization I believe portrays some women's experiences of displacement in the world economy as their knowledge and labour are devalued and their social and human capital eroded.¹⁵

As experienced from below, the dominant form of globalization means a historical transformation: in the economy, of the livelihoods and modes of existence; in politics, a loss in the degree of control exercised locally...and in

Transnational Organized Crime. The Convention and the Protocols were opened for signature in Palermo, Italy, during the weekend of 15-17 December 2000. The Convention can be accessed on the United Nations website. See United Nations General Assembly, 55th session, Agenda Item 105, Crime prevention and criminal justice or the UNODCCP website. Within the Convention, the gender neutral terminology once again marginalizes the subject and leaves the door open for individual state judgments and actions that neutralize the issue of sexual exploitation and the trafficking of women by linking it to states' regulation of prostitution. This organization's mandate is to address international crime and it is concerned with the criminal aspects of illegal migrants and smuggling activities in the interests of state security. The organization has no investment in the circumstances or the well being of trafficking victims as it ultimately categorizes them as criminals and aliens.

¹³ Agents/actors are considered as corporations with entertainment and tourism investments, the powerful pornography industry, a cadre of businessmen and third party owners of nightclubs and bars, state run gambling casinos and tourist facilities, the hospitality industry - to mention a few parties with vested interests.

¹⁴ The entertainment category is a catchall term - dancers, various aspects of the pornography industry such as films and magazines, strippers, peepshows, masseuses, hostesses, bar girls, amongst many other related sex entertainments.

¹⁵ "Human capital includes investments in education, health and the nutrition of individuals...Where the need for such services is not acknowledged, or provided, this has serious implications for the capacity of both women and men to work (their human capital) as well as their participation in local community organizations" (Moser 2001: 42). The generally accepted definition of social capital is "the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures and a society's institutional arrangements that enable its members to achieve their individual and community objectives" (Moser 2001: 43).

culture, a devaluation of a collectivity's achievements...Globalization is emerging as a political response to the expansion of market power.

Transformations taking place in the world today, through interdependent networks of power and authority (such as global institutions), are a progression of classical liberal and capitalist ideologies. Globalization is part of an ongoing process with roots extending along a continuum of historical capitalist practices, spanning mercantilism, colonialism, and industrialization (Wallerstein 1999; Petras and Veltmeyer 2001; Bauman 1998; Korten 1995; MacEwan and Tabb 1989). States have manipulated gender relations in various ways, during each historic period, in relation to their economic and political interests (Alexander and Mohanty 1997; Bell and Klein 1996; Cooper 1999; Lie 1997; Werth 1994; McClintock 1995; Stoler 1995; Strobel 1993).

Gender relations refer to "the series of socially constructed patterns of behaviour between women and men that profoundly affect the way individuals and societal institutions are developed and structured. These relations are unequal and may manifest in varying ways in different cultures and at different times in history" (Steinstra 1994: 2). In addition, this thesis regards the encoding and performance of sex and sexuality within gender relations as a contested terrain of power. In this regard, sexuality is pivotal in conceptualizing femininities and masculinities. Gender relations do not apply only to interactions between men and women, but also shape the interfaces between members of the same sex. The complexity of gender relations is thus multidimensional and perceptions of it cannot be divorced from history or from embodiment. Female sexuality is increasingly globalized as women's images and identities become part of the capitalist tool kit in marketing consumerism. An unbridled consumerism creating demand for trafficked women is the dark underside of marketing women's sexuality and labour as a tradeable commodity.

Trafficking networks cover the globe, transporting women “from Asia, Southeast Asia, the former Soviet Union, Latin America, and Africa to Western Europe, North America, Australia, and Japan” (Bertone 2000: para. 9). Although it is difficult to amass statistics and information on trafficking because of its elusive nature, the predominant destination of trafficked women is to industrialized and wealthy nations. Donna M. Hughes refers to trafficking as a transnational shadow market where “women are trafficked to, from, and through every region in the world using methods that have become the new form of slavery” (Hughes 2000: para. 7). However, trafficking is not a new phenomenon but is taking new forms in different places under globalization.

Some attempts have been made to bring the scope of trafficking into perspective despite the difficulties in gauging its extensive depth and the numbers involved. During the Clinton administration, Frank Loy, undersecretary of state for global affairs in the United States, testifying before the *Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee* stated, “the number of victims involved in sexual and other forms of trafficking began to grow in the early 1990s and now totals about 700,000 yearly across borders and from 1 million to 2 million overall” (Christian Century 2000: para. 6). Subsequent information brought forward in these proceedings “made the trafficking problem even more massive” (Christian Century 2000: para. 6-10). Similarly, a report presented to the *United Nations Commission on Human Rights* in 2000 specified, “a number of recent studies show that the trafficking in women is a problem in all countries all over the world” (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs and Statistics Division 2000: 158). Statistics related to increases of trafficking in women are not comprehensive.

The need for reliable data is mentioned in all reports including those of the IOM as well as various nationally and internationally sponsored projects. For instance, a report on Southeast Asia prepared for the IOM by Annuska Derks begins, “during the past decade, trafficking has become an issue of growing concern in Southeast Asia. It has been conservatively estimated that at least 200-225,000 women and children from Southeast Asia are trafficked annually, a figure representing nearly one-third of the global trafficking trade” (Derks 2000: 5). However, figures in Lin Lean Lim’s (1998: 7-8) study of the sex sector in Southeast Asia lists a high estimate of 800,000.¹⁶ All in all, the reports are not consistent. Furthermore, these estimates usually fail to account for internal trafficking and it is difficult to distinguish legitimate female migration. When estimates are given for larger regional areas, as in Southeast Asia or Central and Eastern Europe, the overall movement of women into trafficking is startling. The lack of concrete disaggregated gender statistics on the emergence of such global trends as trafficking and female migration are an indictment of the continuing low priority given to women in international and national politics. This blatant disregard of women reflects their subordinate status globally, making gross violence against women invisible.

It is encouraging to note that both regional organizations, such as DAPHNE and STOP¹⁷ in the European Union (EU), and international organizations are mobilizing in response to substantive increases in trafficked women. The IOM, the International Labour

¹⁶ Many of these estimates are from surveys that are trying to calculate an overall annual figure. EPCAT International (NGO - Global Child Rights Network) conducted some of the surveys that Lin Lean Lim (1998) uses.

¹⁷ In order to understand and intervene in the full scope of the problem of violence and trafficking in women, children, and young people into and within the European Union, the European Commission set up two programs - DAPHNE and STOP - under the Department of Justice and Internal Affairs. The full scope of the crisis is magnified by the fact that one initiative, in one region, funded approximately 50 projects annually from 1998-2000 and they expanded the programs to include 2000-2003. These programs are based on the recognition of

Organization (ILO), the United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention (UNODCCP), United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), among others, have all initiated projects. It should be unsettling that these international organizations are responding in such critical mass and the deafening silence on this issue in public forums should be setting off alarms.

Within the thesis, chapter one provides the groundwork of the issues surrounding the trafficking crisis. Chapter two establishes a framework around the trafficking issue by drawing upon women's experiences of adjusting to economic restructuring in the 'third' world. An overview of the existing literature on the developing world reveals how women's previous socioeconomic situations undergo gender specific changes as economic restructuring policies are implemented. Female poverty, marginalization, and the circumscription of women's survival strategies emerge as primary aspects that contribute to women's socioeconomic deterioration and eventually to trafficking. In contrast to women's experiences, economic restructuring provides opportunities for the expansion of organized crime. As criminal syndicates become responsive to market opportunities and capital mobility, their capacity to build networks into the international political economy (IPE) solidifies crime's political and economic power. Previous studies of the IPE, concerning the sexual exploitation of women in the developing world were integrated with the economic adjustment literature, providing a basis for assessing the trafficking of Russian women. The magnitude of women's subordination is made visible by exposing trafficking as a link in a

violence as a crime and are mandated to support NGOs and community work to raise public awareness and develop strategies for prevention.

chain of complicit processes within the state and civil society that proletarianize, sexualize, and frequently criminalize women's labour for profit.

To guide the analysis, the framework developed in chapter two will be applied in the Russian case study of chapter three. Women's labour and its implementation within the domestic economy, as well as the environment in which gender relations in the labour market were structured, are examined. Further evaluated are Russian women's responses to the impact of impoverishment and marginalization and the corresponding development of corruption and organized crime as a result of market transition. Unlike most of the 'third' world, Russia was a centrally planned, communist economy operating under Soviet socialist principles and therefore, one may expect to find variations in the responses that surface as a result of economic reforms. The legacy of communism in Russia has arisen within specific cultural and historical experiences that differentiate it from the colonial heritage of many developing countries.

Russia provides a unique environment for the study of the gendered consequences of economic restructuring because the emergence of trafficking occurred so rapidly after the implementation of market reforms. Russia offers "a rich source for the study of the interplay between gender and the emergence of markets; in particular for exploring how external regional and global market forces interact with local identities such as gender" (True 2000: 75). The Angel Coalition¹⁸ has projected an estimate of 50,000 women as annually trafficked out of Russia. But the OSCE believes these are conservative estimates and specified "more than 500,000 women from the former Soviet Union have been trafficked abroad in the past five years" (Stolyarova 2001: 1). The trafficking problem is perceived as being so severe in

¹⁸ The Angel Coalition is a consortium of 43 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Russia and 7 in Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries.

Europe that OSCE and IOM together with the European Commission are developing joint initiatives to design regional outreach programs. In 2001, these parties hosted the 'Europe Against Trafficking in Persons' convention in Berlin. Women of the former Soviet Union are suffering under the weight of Soviet dissolution and market transition in innumerable ways.

Chapter four will briefly restate the argument presented in the thesis, summarize findings indicating new directions for future research, and most importantly highlight policy implications.

Chapter Two - Diminishing Opportunities, Increasing Vulnerabilities

2.1 Introduction

In order to guide the Russian case study's examination of trafficking in women, this chapter builds an analytic framework from existing literature based on linkages between economic restructuring and trafficking in the 'third' world. The trajectory of trafficking in the 'third' world can be mapped by following patterns of market reform implementation. Because Russia's recognition as a fourth wave for trafficked women followed the implementation of economic restructuring, this chapter utilizes 'third' world assessments as a reference to chart the impacts of market transition on women that led to trafficking. This blueprint will then be applied to the Russian case study.

An increasing number of states are proletarianizing and sexualizing women's labour as the global market economy shifts its focus from labour intensive production to an emphasis on service related sectors and the growing demands of the sex and tourism industries. As women's labour is central to economic transitions, they are relocated according to production trends and needs within changing domestic economies. However, as increasing numbers of women are disenfranchised from the world economy, the imbalanced application of market reforms worldwide has precipitated women's impoverishment and marginalization, leading to the decline of women's overall socioeconomic status. As states come under the influence of neoliberal capitalism, many states abrogate their social responsibilities and women's labour is exploited and commodified to meet the demands of market transition. The state prioritizes market reform policies over its social policies and civic obligations, thus it begins to take on the characteristics of a courtesan state.¹ Therefore, as an integrating world

¹ For a more detailed explanation of the courtesan state, see section 2.7 within this chapter.

economy gives precedence to market rule, it has segregated economies from their social foundations, undermining the values and norms that stabilized them.

This chapter examines the role that criminal organizations and third parties play in the trafficking of women, which ultimately benefits states, corporations, and entrepreneurs within the IPE. The liberalization, privatization, and deregulation of domestic economies provide new openings for the growth of criminal organizations and civil corruption as populations become marginalized from the world economy (Taran and Moreno-Fontes 2002; Kelly 2002; ILO 2001; UNRISD 1995; van Duyne et al. 2001). As a result, the state and civil society are increasingly induced into crime and corruption and common interests develop in sex and tourism industries that are dependent upon the exploitation of women. The chapter addresses this emerging trend and examines the operations of trafficking networks by highlighting their strategies and methods of recruitment. Examining trafficking reveals patriarchal interdependencies within the world economy that are built upon the exploitation of women for profit.

The framework I develop has six key analytical points: (1) the globalization of liberal and capitalist ideologies perpetuates and promotes patriarchal gender relationships and justifies women's marginalization and subordination within market driven economies (see Section 2.3); (2) under the rubric of neoliberal market reforms, women's productive and reproductive labour is devalued, deskilled, and made easily exploitable for the benefit of states, corporations and individuals (see Section 2.4); (3) as some women's disadvantages increase, impoverishment and limited access to resources often induces them into proletarianized, sexualized and criminalized labour (see Section 2.5); (4) because market rule subsumes both social ethics and the rule of law while eroding women's socioeconomic

status, crime and the corruption of civil society expand and are enabled to promote and profit from trafficking (see Section 2.6); (5) the policies and practices of courtesan states, directed by the agenda of a neoliberal market economy become complicit in and dependent upon the exploitation and subjugation of women² (see Section 2.7); and finally, (6) as some women become squeezed between the micro and macro pressures initiated by economic reforms, limiting their survival strategies, it is often through migration and the search for employment that women are recruited by traffickers (see Section 2.8). The IPE, as a larger reflection of the tenants of neoliberal globalism and courtesan states, makes invisible the centrality of women's labour, ultimately endorsing and profiting from trafficking. The case study of Russia, which follows in chapter three, is central to this thesis and will build upon these elements.

I believe the gendered biases built into SAPs take a devastating toll on women and as outcomes negatively accumulate, many women become locked into a vicious cycle of poverty and marginalization making them desperate and vulnerable. At such times, women must make choices to ensure survival and often their severely limited options entrap them in trafficking. A review of the critical feminist approach taken in this thesis and an assessment of the embedded gender biases of capitalism and liberalism intrinsic to the processes of market reforms, will frame this chapter's examination of the trafficking paradigm from the exploitation of women's labour, their resulting impoverishment, marginalization, and exposure to the recruitment tactics of traffickers and the duplicity of states.

² It should be understood that women exercise agency even in situations where their options and selection of survival strategies are severely curtailed.

2.2 Critical Theory as a Feminist Approach

Recent changes are occurring worldwide in response to globalization. These changes profoundly alter women's experience in both their everyday lives and in the broader social, economic, and political environment. Critical theory proposes that the world as we know it is a social construction (Hughes 2000). Therefore, critical theory is essential for evaluating diverse responses to internal and external stimuli that alter local, national, and international behaviours because it is perception dependent, allowing myriad worldviews agency to intercede and interpret the dominantly-held worldview. Critical theory provides a means to study the longevity of world orders from different conceptual understandings in a holistic manner, which makes possible "the potential for structural change and the construction of strategies for change" (Cox 1995:32). By understanding how a world order (neoliberal globalism) is constructed and supported by a scaffolding of ideas (such as the ideology of capitalism), institutions (for example the World Bank), and mutual relationships of consensus and benefit (patriarchy), critical theory provides knowledge about hegemonic systems enabling the development of alternatives that counter negative, or biased, policies and practices.

Feminist inquiry analyzes these social, economic, and political networks to identify how localized gendered relationships are constructed and encoded by communities, states, social movements, and international forces such as economic restructuring. As Saskia Sassen (1996: para. 9) notes, "the purpose is to specify sites for the strategic instantiation of gendering and the new forms of women's presence." A critical feminist analysis does this by addressing structures of patriarchy³ and sex/gender regimes.⁴ In so doing, "gendered power

³ Carole Pateman (1988) describes patriarchy as a system of male authority or structures of dominant 'fraternities' that subordinate women through their control of social, political, and economic institutions based

relations and social inequities [are revealed to] be sources of conflict and mutation in all cultures” (Cox 1995: 44). Critical theory and feminism both question the premises of knowledge, the ideologies that underlie world systems, and their representation as normative designs. However, by grounding critical theory in feminist thought, the phenomenological world of everyday life becomes prioritized making possible the “theorization [of] sexuality and the household as important venues in their own right” in differing contexts and from diverse locations (Agger 1993: 2). The politics of inclusion and exclusion arising from dominant ideologies are generally manifested through social constructions of race, class, and gender and intimately linked to the construction of knowledge and power. The institutionalization of knowledge and power are key fields of analysis for critical theory and feminism. Both approaches seek to reveal alternatives to dominant models of experiencing the world⁵ in order to subvert mainstream/malestream discourses and dismantle their hegemony. In the context of feminist international relations, critical theory and the feminist approach have been integrated to expose the notion of gender-neutrality, to reveal that “numerous phenomena which fundamentally affect the lives of men and women throughout the world,” such as trafficking, have been silenced “and it is this attitude which may make feminist struggle even more problematic in the new world order” (Whitworth 1994: xi).

upon androcentric principles that take the male as the normative subject. V. Spike Peterson’s (1997: 38-39) conceptions of patriarchy are significant in this regard. She delineates and describes patriarchy in terms of the private (female) and public (male) domains of social structuring. “Public patriarchy is publicly-centred monopolization of jobs, law, property, knowledge, and so on by men and private/family patriarchy is power and authority of individual males over female family members.” This divide has kept women subordinated and in her opinion, is the most tenacious to overcome.

⁴ Jill Vickers (1994: 190) defines sex/gender regimes as “technologies of social organization and control which vary historically and contextually within the territory of the same state,” such as roles of occupational segregation in the division of labour according to the sex of the person. However, Gayle Rubin (1975) who introduced the term to feminist literature views sex/gender regimes as an asymmetrical exchange between women and men, privileging the needs of men. More recently some of R. W. Connell’s (1987, 1994) work has explored the importance of this regime to male privileges.

⁵ For example patriarchy, capitalism and neoliberalism are dominant models.

Additionally, both paradigms acknowledge the diversity of subjectivities within historical and cultural realities, and extend this subjectivity to those who study them.

Introducing a feminist approach to critical theory makes visible “the feminine subjects [who] have disappeared behind their social and communal persona” (Benhabib and Cornell 1987: 12). A key strategy in feminist research to make women visible, hinges on “exposing the centrality of male power in the social construction of knowledge” in order to subvert world systems, such as neoliberal globalism, that maintain patriarchal structures (Truman et al. 2000: 8). Let us now turn to a brief review of the ideologies of capitalism and liberalism that underline SAPs.

2.3 SAPs Legacies of Capitalism and Liberalism

Economic restructuring policies are designed and implemented from a macro-level, top-down approach. SAPs are based upon ideas of political economy that promote a laissez-faire market, individualism, and free enterprise as the foundation of a world economy centered on production, competition, efficiency, and consumption. SAPs take measures to increase economic growth by redirecting expenditures and resources towards establishing an export led economy. Public services and welfare mechanisms are cut back to save unnecessary costs. Incentives are instituted that create jobs through foreign direct investment and encourage a liberalized market through the export of natural resources, manufactured goods, and cash crops. SAPs are generic templates and “go by different names - the Washington Consensus is one, neo-liberalism is another, but the package of policies is the same everywhere. These policies are not just economic, but have political, social and cultural consequences” (Antrobus 2001: para. 6). SAPs are deeply gender biased and are entrenching

structural inequalities worldwide (Beneria and Feldman 1992; Bakker 1994; Bandarage 1999; Harrison 1997, 1991; Tinker 1990; Sparr 1994; Visvanathan et al. 1997).

Economic restructuring replicates western industrialization by integrating capitalist relations of production and neoliberal social politics.⁶ These norms and values can modify societies through the implementation of economic reforms. Capitalism and liberalism are male-biased ideologies that have historically excluded women. Today's gender discriminations trace their roots to "early liberal and capitalist discourse [which] constituted men as sovereign individuals and women as dependants of fathers and husbands" (Brodie 1994: 49). Women, according to liberalism, were second-class citizens not seen as public individuals and legally categorized as minors within their husband's household. Women's reproductive and productive labour came under the authority of male heads of households, resulting in socially identifying women as sexual beings by emphasizing their reproductive roles. Liberalism divided society into public (male) and private (female) spheres as "the family image came to figure hierarchy within unity as an organic element of historical progress and this became indispensable for legitimizing exclusion, liberal individualism and imperialism" (McClintock 1995: 45). Thus patriarchy circumscribed women, effectively barring them from economic, political, and social power in their own right. Power was legitimized as the prerogative of male privilege. Hierarchical sex/gender regimes are attributable to patriarchy's social mapping which naturalized and devalued women's work. Remarkably, this classical liberal model of the nuclear family is still used as the primary economic unit in neoliberal economics.

⁶ It should be noted that in some states where a Keynesian welfare system was in place, previous social policies and protections were changed to reflect neoliberal principles.

Closely allied to these liberal principles is the ideology of capitalism which is responsible for the emergence of class divisions and the contemporary sexual division of labour. Capitalist ideology suggests that wealth and private property are achieved through individualism and are therefore distributed according to a 'meritocratic system.'⁷ However, the individual is universally male. The meritocratic system accounts for the unequal distribution of social and human capital, thereby determining who has power and who has status. The ascribed status of powerful elites is not questioned when concealed behind this myth of individualism. Capitalism produces class divisions that only benefit a minority due to a "pattern of growth that systematically generates acute class differences and social hierarchies" (Beneria and Roldan 1987: 7). Because patriarchy is embedded in the ideologies of liberalism and both influence the practices and ideology of capitalism, women's status and class became dependent upon these mutually reinforcing relationships that subjugate them.

Although the nature of capitalist-patriarchal systems varies across contexts, sex/gender regimes in labour generally tend to exclude women from jobs that confer autonomy, status, and authority.

Only with the development of capitalism and the category of abstract labour did a sexual division of labour based on the allocation of particular forms of work - work relations - become possible. In other words, although pre-capitalist work relations encompass a sexual division of labour, no particular work relation was characterized as specifically male or female on the basis of sex itself. The implication was not of a division according to types of work relation but according to the content of activities (Mies et al. 1988: 120).

Women's work is linked to their social identities and therefore labour that is menial, domestic or service related is delegated to women. The devaluation of women's work is tied to socially constructed notions of both gender and skill embedded in the hierarchy of labour

⁷ Immanuel Wallerstein introduced this concept.

(Dunk 2000). Devaluing women's abilities excludes them from advancement, keeping the majority of women ghettoized in low wage, atomized, and non-unionized employment.

While women's inferior social status became a basis for job segregation and low pay, it did not preclude the use of female labour at lower levels of production in the interests of the state and capitalism. For example, selective usage of women's labour is apparent in historical periods such as the Depression when women were shifted out of the regulated workforce into the household and in the Second World War when women were required to produce military supplies for the war economy. Women became a reserve army of labour that can be tapped during selective periods of labour intensive need, when male manpower is unavailable, or when women's significantly cheaper labour is in demand. In the era of globalization women's place in the world economy is increasingly segregated as more women are shifted into service related or flexible, assembly line employment. Economic restructuring is an imbalanced process as "in some parts of the world, restructuring is taking place through an acceleration of accumulation and rapid growth, whereas in other parts of the world it is taking place through recession and stagnation" (Elson 1994b: 7). As a result, stages of economic development have profound bearing on women's labour locations within a domestic economy.

2.4 Exploiting Female Labour

Foreign direct investment and the interests of rent seeking corporations determine patterns of world economic growth (Custer 1997; Feldman 1992; Elson 1994ab). Corporations will establish themselves where they can most easily maximize profits by using a cheap and undemanding workforce unimpeded by regulations concerning health and safety standards, social benefits, or labour rights.

Gender wage inequality is a stimulus to growth, not only across countries but overtime within countries. The data clearly indicate the positive relations between investment and gender wage inequality...capital accumulation is positively affected by a wider gender wage gap. This suggests that just *who* bears the inequality in capitalist growth matters (Seguino 2000: 45).

Not surprisingly, in many parts of the world, the preferred labour force is women.

The increasing “feminization” of industrial workers in the developing world has significant implications for women’s labour participation in the global economy. The rise in wage labour reflects “first, a progressive process of proletarianization at a world scale and, second, a shift in the productive location of women workers” (Beneria 1989: 245). Therefore, while “the growth in the number of informal-sector workers and women’s paid work is one of the centerpieces of global restructuring,” it is also an indication of further devaluation of women’s work and their alienation from traditional sources of income and supplementary subsistence (Bakker 1994: 2). An element of insecurity enters women’s lives as the local control and autonomy they once exercised within communities is dismantled and replaced by waged labour.⁸

Labour feminization is the exploitation of women’s paid labour by states, corporations, and entrepreneurs. These agents strategize their competitive edge in the global market by deploying gender discriminations. On one hand, companies take advantage of female labour to keep costs down with flexible work schedules, low wages, and sub-standard work conditions. Social responsibility is a liability for corporations because competitive prices in the global market are increasingly dependant on both the exploitation of cheap, unprotected labour and unpaid domestic work (Elson 1994b). On the other hand, states attract

⁸ Although it has been suggested that there are positive effects resulting from women’s inclusion in waged labour, this argument often masks the severity of negative consequences for women. However, in some cases waged labour has enabled women to collectively organize based on their shared experiences (Custer 1997; Pearson 1998; Visvanathan et al. 1997).

foreign investment by brokering the advantages of their cheap and readily available female workforce. It is commonplace to label women workers as 'passive,' 'unskilled,' 'flexible' and consequently, as an easily controlled workforce. Compliance of female workers is managed in several ways, ranging from coercive sexual intimidation to intrusive company rules concerning marital status and family planning. Another powerful form of gender subordination in the workplace occurs when multinational corporations "deliberately [try] to preserve and utilize traditional forms of patriarchal power" (Elson and Pearson 1997: 199). However, the feminization of labour appears to be a trend associated with the rigorous start-up phase of international production (Beneria et al. 2000; Fussell 2000; Nisonoff 2001).

As international production becomes established in numerous countries around the world, women from urban and rural economies are pushed out of agricultural and assembly line employment and replaced by male labour and machinery. As international production becomes established, "some countries move away from labor-intensive products [and] male workers often emerge as the more desirable" (Beneria et al. 2000: xi). Changes in the workforce narrow women's job options and account for their increasing presence in informal sector work where "men and women tend to be involved in different types or scaled activities even within the same trade" (Carr et al. 2000: 127). Thus, the capitalist sexual division of labour subordinates women in all economic sectors as "there is a clear separation between informal sector workers and informal sector employers in terms of both individual characteristics and the economic effects of their respective positions. And it is sex which most clearly differentiates between these employment situations" (Prugl 1999: 88). Consequently, women enter both formal and informal labour markets with gender disadvantages based upon biases of class, sexism, and racism, which diminish their

opportunities while increasing their vulnerabilities (Moser 1993; Jackson and Pearson 1998; Elson 2000, 1994ab, 1992; Elson and Pearson 1997; Sparr 1994; Waring 1999, 1997).

2.5 Female Poverty and Marginalization

As macro-economic impacts progress, negatively influencing women's particular circumstances in the workforce, socioeconomic crisis deepens. This effect is compounded as women are pushed from traditional occupations in the rural economy and purged from the urban economy, "putting even greater pressure on those already struggling to make a living in the overcrowded informal sector" (UNRISD 1995: 45). Consequently, women's work becomes marginalized in the global economy as their economic contributions in both urban and rural economies are devalued and made invisible. Lay-offs and downsizing are disastrous for women who migrate because "if a woman loses her job after she has reshaped her life on the basis of a wage income, the only way she may have of surviving is by selling her body" (Elson and Pearson 1997: 201). Women become caught in a cycle of poverty characterized by conditions of alienation and exploitation.

As community safety nets shrink or kinship systems collapse, women's circumstances worsen leaving them defenselessness (Kerr 1994; Duggan 1997; Elson 2000; Farrior 1997; Muecke 1992). Migration commonly contracts community safety nets by breaking family ties as relatives move away in search of work. In some cases migration becomes abandonment of families by men, increasing the number of female-headed households that are left to cope caring for children and often the elderly (Elson 1992; Peterson and Runyan 1999). Also, some women find themselves cast-out of the family if they are unable to continue financially supporting them (Muecke 1992; Corrin 1996). Thus, a woman's value can become dependent

upon her monetary contributions to the family and any instability in the workplace can jeopardize her social security.

In cases where communities are under siege as a result of economic and social disruptions to their traditional ways of life, the barriers to corruption are considerably weakened (UNRISD 1995). Households may come under pressure from criminal elements and be lured into crime to acquire money. In these circumstances “families often sell their daughters for the promise of immediate payment” (Johnson 2001: 4). Impoverished communities cannot sustain membership and households strained to capacity, become more vulnerable if there is no community support.

When people have to live from hand to mouth, human energies and morale are weakened; ‘contingent labour’ is conducive to ‘contingent households’ which fragment and disintegrate, with costs for the people from these households and for the wider society. It is hard to sustain social norms of ethical behaviour in the demoralization that comes from realizing that you are no more than a dispensable, interchangeable unit of labour from the point of view of the private sector, and from realizing that the public sector will do little to mitigate or contest this (Elson 2000: 94).

Households acting as buffer zones in difficult times rely on women’s labour to bridge the income gap. Tensions within families under conditions of poverty can lead to domestic violence and other maladaptive behaviors that create social degeneration within households (Beneria 1992; Safa and Antrobus 1992; Aslanbeigui and Summerfield 2000; Elson 2000). Stressful circumstances induce some women into prostitution as a means to channel income into the household (Elson and Pearson 1997; Bandarage 1999; Steinstra 1996; BRIDGE 1992; Mies 1998). For as Hilary Standing notes, “the absence of viable employment opportunities for women and the deepening crises in social provision as a consequence of structural adjustment...are among the probable factors determining the extent to which sexual services operate as a conduit through which resources reach poorer households”

(BRIDGE 1992: 12). As the struggle for survival intensifies, families become divided in their daily efforts to stave-off the hopelessness of their situation and “changes in personal and family relationships are less a cause of social and economic changes than a response to them” (UNRISD 1995: 143).

As the outcomes of SAPs accumulate, many women are left in bleak conditions without work or means of assistance. In the niches of poverty on the fringes of the informal sector, organized crime can act as a surrogate employer or a helping hand to the underclass “reaching down and out to the lower rungs of social structures - the impoverished” (Mittelman and Johnston 1999: 110). In the press of poverty many marginalized and disadvantaged people are drawn into crime for survival.⁹ Powerful crime groups legitimate their authority at local levels by tapping into labour supply within underclass circuits and providing alternatives to the needy, thereby undermining the state.

2.6 The Trafficking Profiteers

Dialogues surrounding trafficking and transnational crime are often based upon media and political hype promoting criminal stereotyping which masks the complexity of organized crime. The ambiguous nature of criminal organizations makes it difficult to empirically substantiate many of the claims that are made about crime syndicates. The character of organized crime is misrepresented in popular images of thugs with guns, “conveying the notion that those engaged are full-time criminal entrepreneurs” and not legal enterprises or ‘decent’ individuals who “derive their skills from the licit arena of business in which they

⁹ The cumulative effects of global restructuring have resulted in the development of underclass populations within countries and global cities around the world. The underclass world is a mixture of legal and illegal migrants, trafficked workers, the working poor and the impoverished. It is home to those whose livelihoods are in the margins of the global economy; a new form of global transient labour, a labour force caught in limbo and surviving in poverty. It exists much like Marx’s lumpen-proletariat, a reserve army of labour at the beck and call of capitalism and states. It is “a slave labour force, existing on the margins and ‘fenced in’ by society” (Psimmenos 2000: 8 [Anthias and Lazaridis 2000]).

operate” (Ruggiero 2001: 234-235). But more importantly, this illusion hides the systemic nature of corruption that sustains crime. It also draws attention away from the criminal complicity of states by depicting them as victims of organized crime (ILHR 1997; OSCE 2001; Derks 2000; van Duyne et al. 2001; Taran and Moreno-Fontes 2002; GSN 1997). As economic restructuring encompasses more countries within the ambit of neoliberal globalism, it has enabled organized crime groups to spread beyond the confines of their domestic economies and to merge with “‘white’ or legitimate counterparts” in an “interesting pattern of criminal market behaviour of an unbridled buccaneer criminal capitalism”¹⁰ (van Duyne et al. 2001: 2).

Trafficking profiteers can operate in many guises including legal enterprises, small loosely knit groups and increasingly, as well-organized networks involving respectable businesses and people in trusted positions of authority, such as politicians and law enforcement (Andreas and Friman 1999; Shelley 1999, 2001; Ruggerio 2001; ILO 2001). By operating as corporate entities and participating in the competitive nature of the market, organized crime has become a transnational economic, social, and political powerhouse within the world economy.

Like global firms, transnational organized crime groups operate both above and below the state. Above the state, they capitalize on the globalizing tendencies of borderlessness and deregulation. Embracing the processes of globalization, these groups create demand for their services. They become actors in their own right in the global division of labour and power...At the same time, transnational organized crime groups operate below and beside the state by offering incentives to marginalized segments of the population trying to cope with the adjustment costs of globalization (Mittelman and Johnston 1999: 110).

¹⁰ This suggests that the “era of globalization” is very much like 1800s colonialism when the great merchant houses (traders and bankers) made their fortunes trading in drugs (opium), illegal merchandise and slaves.

Criminal syndicates operate by building client-patronage relationships with politicians, the rich, corporations, and other criminals, while simultaneously building strongholds within the world of the underclass. From this pivotal position, corruption flows upward into influential circles and outward as more people join the ranks of the underclass. Indeed, as transnational crime groups become embedded within states, they become important actors in the IPE and as “law enforcement personnel and government officials become more corrupt and members of prime crime groups gain more influence, the line between state and the criminal networks starts to blur” (Hughes 2000: para. 28). Consequently, corruption becomes an acceptable means to an end. As injustices and inequalities increase, civil institutions lose legitimacy and powers of public protection.

Market rule is eroding the rule of law causing extensive corruption of civil society and the state. Capitalist market values which prioritize profit are compromising principles of accountability and transparency in government and business practices (Wang and Rosenau 2001; Mehmet et al. 1999; Hettne 1995; Korten 1995). As a result, there is a ‘trickle-down’ effect within societies as norms of behaviour change to accommodate a meaner, more aggressive environment that measures worth and success by money rather than social integrity (Faulks 2000; Teeple 2000; Bauman 1998; Chossudovsky 1997; UNRISD 1995). Richard Lotspeich draws upon sociological research that reveals “connections between rising crime and the rapid pace of change in social structures and values” when “the role of social morality¹¹ is [displaced] in regulating economic activity” and concludes that a shift from a command economy to a capitalist economy results in increasing crime (1995: 556). In fact,

¹¹ Social morality may refer to informal and formal standards of behavior or conduct which is generally acknowledged by society and binds them together in a communal understanding of accepted values and norms.

he suggests that one of the costs of capitalist economies is crime.¹² Thus the growth of organized crime is also underpinned by a set of value changes as market norms become embedded in mainstream populations.

Andrea Di Nicola refers to circuits of induced crime, which in the case of trafficking and human smuggling,¹³ “leads to exploitation which leads to induced criminality” as “some criminal organizations exploit illegal immigrants by introducing them into the drug market, prostitution, begging or theft” (2001: 65). It is important to pay attention to those who profit by trafficking and not only to those who are trafficked. Corporations, sweatshop factories, and pornography industries for instance, profit substantially from trafficking, but are seldom held publicly accountable for their practices (ILHR 1997; ILO 2001; OSCE 1999; 2001; Taran and Moreno-Fontes 2002; Richard 1999).

Investor interest in higher capital returns from informal activity not subject to employment standards or regulation has encouraged shifts of capital and employment creation towards informal sector activity, where employment itself is clandestine or ‘illegal,’ and largely invisible or practically unreachable by current labour standards inspection and enforcement. Irregular migrants are preferred due to their vulnerability and their inability to protest, denounce or call in regulatory inspection (Taran and Moreno-Fontes 2002: 10).

On the one hand, trafficking is facilitated by the neoliberal doctrine of privatization, deregulation, and liberalization that allows and encourages new forms of entrepreneurship such as those that market and sell sex and domestic labour as commodities on a global scale.

¹² Lotspeich (1995) does not suggest that crime was non-existent before market transition; it is the degree, character, rate and level of crime that increases and changes culturally.

¹³ Often human smuggling and trafficking are used interchangeably but the circumstances of people who are transported across borders may be different from others (for instance gender, race, and class create different reasons for seeking to move illegally across borders, as do push factors such as political instability and high unemployment), also the intent of traffickers sharply differs from smugglers though both seek to make substantial profits without incurring high risks. Further, punitive measures are minimal if traffickers or smugglers are caught and generally it is illegal aliens that face the brunt of enforcement. Trafficking usually involves coercion, trickery, various forms of deception not agreed upon or understood by an individual, which ultimately leads to long-term exploitation. Those smuggled pay to move across borders illegally but once across

On the other hand, the inequalities that develop within countries undergoing reforms, particularly when unemployment is high and wages are low, provide powerful incentives for corruption and employment in the illicit sectors of economies. The promotion of the international sex industry and sex tourism is intricately part of this process because it provides the opportunity for huge profits with limited risk, while offering needed employment for underprivileged people circumscribed by limited options. Powerful actors such as states, corporations, and organized crime have created windows of opportunity to benefit from the desperation of others.

Organized crime operates in the elusive nexus of shadow markets between the legitimate and illegitimate foundations of the world economy. This is the 'covert world.'¹⁴ Criminal syndicates form intermediary exchange networks with established businesses such as banks and brokerage houses that crisscross the global economy, taking advantage of capital mobility and tapping into states' need for currency and investment (Shelley 1999, 2001; Richard 1999; Kelly 2002; Lotspeich 1995; Hughes 2002; Friman and Andreas 1999). Global technology and capital flexibility provide a means for organized crime to launder money and invest in such legitimate enterprises as the tourism and hospitality industries. Further, criminal groups build up the market for sex industries and develop a clientele for these services by expanding into businesses such as nightclubs, bars, and tourist resorts. To a certain extent then, sex industry demand is manufactured by organized crime through the establishment of their business enterprises which "create new [markets] and [also] expand existing sex markets [thereby] boosting demand" and creating access to women locally and internationally (Kelly 2002: 32). Trafficking is essential for sex industries, as well as for

the border and into the host country the control of smugglers usually ends. When the control continues into debt bondage and other forms of physical, economic or social subjugation this becomes trafficking.

other enterprises, to ensure a steady supply of women whose sexual and domestic labour can be appropriated and industrialized for profit.

As economic restructuring is implemented, weakening state-societal relationships, the social contract between the state and its citizenry is redrawn to favour capital centered initiatives instead of public welfare. Consequently, the state jeopardizes its legitimacy with the majority population by “provid[ing] security for the holders of state power and its beneficiaries, [and] not for the citizenry at large” (Mittelman and Johnston 1999: 117). Discontent is generated as a result of the state prioritizing the desires of the privileged above the needs of the underprivileged. Organized crime positions itself within this cleavage and establishes links both above and below the state, impinging on its authority and threatening the stability of institutions as corruption seeps into administration and enforcement. As the state recedes from its social responsibilities, most citizens are left to manage on their own. Society becomes subordinate to the global economy and the law of market rule subsumes the rule of law. The state “delinks economic reform and social policy [and] global organized crime nests in the void” taking advantage of the societal weaknesses the separation renders (Mittelman and Johnston 1999: 118). Due to the pressures of polarizing class divisions, the extension of capital markets and competitive capitalism, economies disengage from their social foundations, releasing organized crime from the restraints of its domestic borders. As the state ceases to honour its social contract and rescinds social protections, a rift develops within impoverished local populations who turn to organized crime groups as a replacement for the state.¹⁵

¹⁴ This is a term used by Robert W. Cox in *The New Realism* (1997).

¹⁵ An excellent resource for references covering all aspects of the effects of crime on women and children is the ‘*Bibliography on the Effects of Organized Crime on Women and Children*’ (April 1995) written by The International Centre for Criminal Law Reform & Criminal Justice Policy, the University of British Columbia,

As domestic economies falter and employment crises loom, “marginalized people are further driven into underground economies” or induced to seek employment through migration strategies (Mittelman and Johnston 1999: 114). On the one hand, organized crime provides a supply of illegal, cheap migrant labour for corrupt subcontractors, expands the sex industry to meet the demands of consumers with expendable capital, and distributes goods and services not readily available in regulated markets. On the other hand, organized crime establishes conduits that tap into disadvantaged peoples desperation for jobs, migration services, and income. The trade in women has become the third largest moneymaker for organized crime groups after drugs and guns.¹⁶ The threshold of risk and prosecution for traffickers is low and women are easily moved into trafficking streams “ranging from prostitution at the street level and/or confinement in ‘bawdy houses,’ to enforced importation and abuse of domestic workers and ‘mail-order’ brides” (Jiwani and Brown 1999: 1).

There are substantial interdependencies between states and civil sectors within the IPE that are reliant on the exploitation of female labour in sex industries, sex tourism, and domestic work (Pettman 1996ab; Enloe 1993, 1990; Chang and Ling 2000; Hall 1994; Zatz 1997; Wichterich 2000). These industries are tied into diverse enterprises that support international and domestic revenues. As the boundaries of legality and illegality are crossed, corruption takes hold within these merging permutations of profit accumulation involving labour and business (Sassen 2000; Hughes 2000, 2002; Kelly 2002; ILO 2001; Mehmet et al. 1999; Davis 1993). The growth of the sex industry, sex tourism, and the export of domestic labour are never acknowledged as economic building blocks of the IPE and their “ basis in

Faculty of Law, Vancouver, BC. There are also numerous other references and papers available. The site can be accessed at: <http://www.icclr.law.ubc.ca/Publications/Reports>

economic policy and international relations has been somehow silenced” (Truong 1990: 2). Further concealing endemic violence and abuse of women are state centric policies and laws, implemented and interpreted to the exclusion of women’s interests (Pettman 1996ab; Truong 1990; Peterson and Runyan 1999; Narayan 1995; Connell 1987, 1994; Steinstra 1996, 1994). All these elements reflect a courtesan state subsumed by market rule under neoliberal globalism.

2.7 Courtesan States and the Inside/Outside of Trafficking¹⁷

Mittelman and Johnston (1999: 104) refer to the state’s descent into corruption and crime as “the rise of the courtesan state [and view it as] a policy orientation characteristic of various forms of government that serve the interests embodied in neoliberal globalization.” Further, they link the corruption of civil society to the “inability of the state to carry out some of its key functions” and assert that “some countries are cast literally in this role, offering or promoting a sex industry...[and] not offering social protection for its young women and men

¹⁶ This statement (or similar versions) appears in many reports concerning trafficking in women. For instance: GAATW 1998; Trafficking in Persons Report (TIPs) 2002; US Department of State: CRS Report 98-649 C 2000; Christian Century 2000; and Jiwani and Brown 1999.

¹⁷ The superficial inside/outside dichotomy of international relations divides domestic politics and practices from international politics thereby making invisible the continuity of politics between them. Trafficking results in the worldwide flow of women between states and within states, drawing no distinction whether women are inside/outside the state when serving the interests of states except of course when apprehended. The conceptual/ideological construction of sovereignty is similar to the public/private divide which ensures that power stays in the hands of elite males within a patriarchal state, which is a reflection of ‘inter-states’ relations, thereby ensuring the liberal sovereign subject “the universalized man-that informs the privileged principle of modern political life and not least the principle of state sovereignty” is protected and dominant (Walker 1993: 181). There is no separation - domestic politics are international politics and consequently women as secondary citizens have no voice in either field and their political and economic rights are curtailed while their social and cultural identities are tied to the private household and controlled by the public state. The significance of women’s roles in reproduction and production as central to the politics and economics of states is made invisible. Further, I would like to draw attention to the feminine symbology of the ‘courtesan state’ in this academic theorizing of states’ decline into corruption. Interestingly, it is the feminine that is linked to contamination, ‘polluting’ processes, and loss of power. Once again it is those who are acted upon or victimized that bear the burden of the consequences. This is often characterized as the ‘feminization’ of states in international studies. It is an illustration of the continuing denigration of women even in academics, which perpetuates knowledge by reinforcing women’s socially constructed identities. Thus, women’s bodies become a tool for scripting diverse discourses. But since this theory develops from the premise of market transformation

(or children) but rather tacitly forsak[ing] [the] safeguarding [of] the local culture in favor of global market forces” (Mittelman and Johnston 1999: 116). The courtesan state is pivotal in trafficking because it is the middle ground through which both organized crime and civil society operate and without the state’s duplicity, trafficking could not occur. The state becomes corrupted on one hand by organized crime and on the other hand is elemental in corrupting civil society due to its social negligence. Mittelman and Johnston (1999) suggest that every state has been infiltrated in some way by globalization, and therefore all, are to different degrees, courtesan. Trafficking is a melting pot of self-interests between the state, civil society, and organized crime, which reveals their dependency on the subordination and exploitation of women for capital accumulation and continuity. I support this view by mapping a path of crime and corruption that addresses the military, forced labour and sexual slavery, mail-order bride brokering, the Internet sex trade, the exportation of female domestics, sex tourism, and the sex industry.

Courtesan states turn a blind eye in order to profit from the exploitation and commodification of women’s labour. Christine Sylvester (1998: 50) describes the ambiguous nature of women’s citizenship as one of ‘homelessness’¹⁸ because “women’s places are required to maintain equivalences of men, heads-of-households, citizens, states, and wars” causing feminine subjectivities to be subsumed, and ultimately allowing women to be traded between men. Trafficking in women can thus be written off as a domestic problem of prostitution which can then be controlled by the state while international trafficking is written

and links the state and its activities to crime and corruption, such as trafficking, it was used. The state should be considered as a pimp as in Lie (1997).

¹⁸ Sylvester’s analysis has resonance with Virginia Woolf’s often quoted lines “As woman, I have no country. As a woman I want no country. As a woman my country is the whole world” (1938, 1966: 109). Women are ‘placed’ they do not have a space of their own and are not recognized as being part of a space. Therefore, women can be moved around - traded - as they are not acknowledged as giving meaning to space. It is only their placement in relation to a location that has significance.

off as illegal immigration, positing the state as victim. Such state duplicity completely hides the subordination and abuse of women while profiting upon their labour and sexuality. Women's labour is exploited through policies of out-migration as domestic workers and mail-order brides, or in sex tourism and sex industries, and as illegal migrants working in begging networks and sweatshops, or as home workers and assembly line workforces. States, overburdened with heavy debt loads and high unemployment, manipulate female labour as a strategy to earn foreign exchange. These practices slide into trafficking and criminal negligence on the part of a state, "such as the Philippines, whose national economy relies on labor export and the hard currency sent home by migrant women, without assuming any responsibility for the conditions under which they work" (ILHR 1997: 11).¹⁹ However, western nations like Germany and the Netherlands are also enriching state revenues through the exploitation of women in sex industries. Tourism and sexual entertainment industries are massive service sectors catering to a variety of clientele from businessmen to military personnel and as a result, "the international division of labour requires sex work and domestic work, and the state has supported the institutionalization of both" (GAATW 1998: 190).²⁰ Therefore, when states and international organizations frame trafficking in strictly criminal rhetoric it obfuscates the "multiple power relations that have developed and have linked sexual labor to a wide range of vested interests at national and international levels" (Davis 1993: 2).

The hypocrisy of courtesan states and the depths to which civil society participates in trafficking are clearly illustrated in bilateral agreements that provide entertainment facilities

¹⁹ Part of the opening remarks prepared by Gillian Caldwell, Co-Director, Global Survival Network, for the 'Trafficking of NIS Women Abroad' conference (ILHR1997).

²⁰ Comment by Yamila Azize-Vargas at the 'Whores, Maids & Wives: Making Links' forum held by GAATW (1998) on trafficking in women.

for military bases,²¹ as well as in practices of forced sexual labour for conscripted workers. Yasmin Jiwani and Susan M. Brown observe from their research “the presence of military and peacekeeping bases in different parts of the world have resulted in increased sex trade and exploitation” (1999: 5). Recently, UN Peacekeeping initiatives have come under strong criticisms for their behaviours in Cambodia, Kosovo, and Mozambique.²² Similarly, a case in point is the recent DynCorp incident involving two whistle blowers who reported US military contractors and UN troops for sex trafficking in Bosnia. Those involved in trafficking were immune to prosecution and the two DynCorp employees were fired for coming forward and had to pursue wrongful dismissal charges in court (Off Our Backs 2002; Centre for Research on Globalisation (CRG) 2002; OSCE 2001). Therefore, not only are military enclaves a source of demand for sexual services, it also appears that individuals within military ranks form business partnerships with organized crime groups to profit from trafficking. It is a sordid illustration of international corruption by those who are in a position of humanitarian authority over civilian populations.

The use of industrial, slave-like labour outposts is another example of criminal involvement in trafficking by states and their agents. Kevin Bales (1999) highlights an odious form of forced labour and sexual slavery associated with isolated resource-based camps and cash crop enterprises in such countries as Brazil and the Dominican Republic. Women and girl-children are abducted and forced into sexual slavery for conscripted labourers in a particularly brutal environment. This is an old practice with strong colonial overtones;

²¹ These agreements are called Status of Forces Agreements (SOFAs), for further details see Enloe 2000; Truong 1990; Lim 1998; Sturdevant and Stoltzfus 1992.

²² A recent report released by UNHCR (2002) also documents sexual violence and sexual exploitation in African refugee camps by UN Peacekeeping Forces and humanitarian aid workers. The report is *'Sexual Violence and Exploitation: The Experience of Refugee Children in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone (2002).'* Girl-children had to perform sexual favours for food and families were frightened to report it, as they feared their rations would be cut. For further information see the UNHCR and UNICEF website.

however, it is still an ongoing basis for capital accumulation. Until recently the Dutch Antilles was well known for this practice.²³ Lin Lean Lim (1998) documents the continuing use of women's sexual labour to service migrant workers in Malaysia, Indonesia, and elsewhere during the boom years of economic transition before the Asian crisis of 1997. Similarly, women's forced sexual labour is documented in connection with illegal migrant labour in agricultural enterprises, such as the fruit industry in the United States (Christian Century 2000; Human Rights Watch (HRW) 1995; Richard 2000).²⁴ However, there are additional ways states become implicated in corruption and trafficking, revealing further dependencies of the IPE on the exploitation of women's labour.

The prolific expansion of 'mail-order bride' brokerages is due to the enormous demand generated by men searching for wives. An examination of the marriage market reveals a "patriarchal (and racist) desire for subservient wives [that] constitutes the "pull factor," and the economic desperation of women in the South and East produces the "push factor," making this highly exploitative and lucrative industry possible (Peterson and Runyan 1999: 140). To secure a chance at a better life some women tap into this market, choosing marriages to foreign partners as a migration strategy. For other women, these international marriages become a way to provide for their families. The outcomes for women are volatile; "compounding male domestic power with being out-of-place and isolated makes these

²³ For instance in 1949 the Dutch governor of Curacao institutionalized prostitution and established 'amusement parks' for Dutch and other immigrant men who were working in the oil and fishing industries and also in the military. One such notorious brothel complex was called Campo Alegre (see GAATW 1998: 18-20). Red light districts of the Netherlands are but an extension of Dutch sex industry investments that have historical linkages to colonial times. Further, in 1985, 28 women died in a ship container in St. Thomas that was carrying equipment destined for an amusement park called Caribbean Amusement, but the incident was written off as a tragedy of illegal immigration.

²⁴ See also Testimony of Theresa Loar, Director, President's Interagency Council On Women and Senior Coordinator For International Women's Issues at the House of Representatives, before Representative Christopher Smith, House Sub-Committee International Operations and Human Rights, September 14, 1999. US Department of State website: <http://usinfo.state.gov>.

marriages deadly for some women and difficult for others” (Pettman 1996a: 194). Nevertheless, international marriage does enable a woman to legally migrate and enter a country. Currently, the international marriage market moves from “Thailand and the Philippines to Australia, Northern Europe and North America but there are many others. More sinister motives can easily be imagined, as the traffic in wives slides into traffic in women, in sex workers and ‘entertainers’” (Bjeren 1997: 230). Unfortunately this is often the case, as some agencies turn out to be traffickers. These companies operate behind a facade of legitimacy in tandem with a counterpart in the receiving country, to move trafficked women through the sex industry in a form of bonded servitude (GSN 1997; HRW 1995, 2000; ILHR 1997).²⁵ The tremendous scope of this trade has mushroomed with the introduction of the Internet.

The Internet has facilitated the development of a global cyberspace trafficking network. Today on the worldwide web, mail-order bride, pornography, and sex tourism sites are thriving hubs of commerce for the sex industry, for example, “consumers spent \$137 million on US websites in 1997, and it is estimated that this figure will treble by 2001” (Gillespie 2000: 43). Women’s gender identities are reconstructed and deconstructed as racialized, hyper-sexualized, subservient, and available fantasies for men.

Domestic and sexual services have also reached new heights of commodification through the multimillion-dollar transnational mail-order bride industry. It is estimated that there are now up to 250 companies in the United States that specialize in marketing women primarily from Asia, Latin America, and, more recently, Russia and Eastern Europe as potential wives for American men, who pay up to \$15,000 for these companies’ services. One

²⁵ Other organizations to access: Asia Watch, now HRWAsia can be found at <http://www.hrw.org/>; the Feminist Majority Foundation at <http://www.feminist.org> and La Strada at <http://www.ecn.cz/lastrada> have also reported on these marriage movements as a form of trafficking in women. There are several other good sites such as <http://www.zmag.org/asiawatch/asiawatch.htm>, its South Asian counterpart, and GABRIELLA at <http://www.gabnet.org/> or The Population Council at www.popcouncil.org/publications/popbriefs/html and The Asia Foundation at www.asiafoundation.org/. These are just a few sites out of many that critically report on trafficking issues.

such company advertises 3,500 women on its web-site and portrays "Russian women as 'traditional' and 'family-oriented,' untainted by Western feminism," thus playing to men's desires for women who are white-yet exotic" (Peterson and Runyan 1999: 140).

Another very popular site on the Internet is *The World Sex Guide to Women* which devalues and dehumanizes women on a country-by-country basis (Hughes 1997; Bishop and Robinson 1999). Through the Internet as an international medium people are applying market rhetoric and using market values to portray women's bodies and identities.

The information highway of global technology is becoming the preferred means for marketing and accessing women. A dangerous precedent is being established that transforms women into commodities according to international market trends of supply and demand. Contrary to the set of meanings implied by human rights, personhood becomes alienable and in purest abstract form, this means that freedom becomes a discretionary relinquishment and there is precedence for voluntary enslavement (Radin 1996). In other words the person - the individual personality - can be separated from embodiment and the body becomes a usable and saleable item. Therefore a person can give up control of his/her body because the person and the body are separate, thus undermining human rights, which applies to the integrity of a whole person as being the body and the individual and not separable. A case in point is the following, "in Germany, for instance, mail-order-bride agencies offer two freebies; the discovery²⁶ clause and the thirty-day guarantee. Discovery means you can have sex with a woman to see if you are compatible and the thirty day guarantee means you can return the woman if she does not suit you" (GAATW 1998: 95).²⁷ This is the liberal market contract

²⁶ Instead of mapping continents and 'new worlds,' women's bodies are being explored, territory claimed and mapped. Legally an examination of discovery examines all the facts to determine if there is a basis for trial or in this case 'possible' marriage.

²⁷ From Ninotchka Rosca's keynote address at the 'Whores, Maids & Wives: Making Links' forum held by GAATW (1998) on trafficking in women.

taken to extremes, but as Radin (1996: 59) points out “given our market culture and social structure, these characteristics of fungibility - interchangeability and money value - mean that fungible items are socially constructed as commodities. They are understood instrumentally as means to satisfy the owner’s needs and desires. They are valued in market terms, in terms of exchange.” Thus, women are being socially constructed as fungible commodities. This is the merger of mercenary patriarchy and capitalism; it is parallel to the slavery practices of colonialism. Women’s bodies, identities, and sexuality are being marketed, traded and ‘put under warranty.’ A woman’s identity is therefore abstracted to a ‘thing-like’ article to be bought and sold, or returned if the customer is not satisfied. It is difficult to comprehend the magnitude of the problem, but when one considers that as recently as 1991, there were “reports of mass suicides in rural China among women forced or sold into unwanted (and often violent) marriages,” there is a sense of pressing danger for all women, all over the world (Heise 1994: 19).

The domestic service industry is the mass exportation of women’s labour as nannies and maids abroad. It is often referred to as the ‘maid trade,’ or the remittance economy. Many of the women are highly educated nurses and trained professionals yet, cannot secure employment within their country.²⁸ This is an indication of the extensive deskilling and devaluing of women’s work and status worldwide. Although this type of migration has not commonly been seen as a form of trafficking, it has recently come under scrutiny as a trafficking conduit. Domestic employment offers are very often used as a ploy for deceiving women (IOM 2001b; GSN 1997). Reports from “journalistic accounts point out that the

²⁸ Concomitantly, they are also barred from securing employment in their professions abroad because their credentials are not recognized. Therefore highly trained female workers are accessed but grossly underpaid. Additionally, this allows privileged women in the west and elsewhere (such as Kuwait) to develop careers and

trafficking of young girls and women from the South to the North is continuing at a rapid rate through the purchase of mail order brides and migrant domestic workers” (Jiwani and Brown 1999: 7). Domestic employment often leads to tragic outcomes for women and many have fled their employers to escape abuse, resulting in their criminalization as illegal aliens (GSN 1998; HRW 1995; IOM 2001b).²⁹ States fail to intervene on behalf of workers because they fear jeopardizing the significant cash flows that remittance revenues provide. Numerous companies and private entrepreneurs act as liaisons to arrange documents and employment abroad for women as domestics. These unregulated enterprises are a source of women for traffickers.

Mail-order brides and the trade in domestics are forms of female out-migration with roots in economic restructuring policies that shift women’s work into specific labour occupations as “economic development has always involved gendered processes, pushing women into low-paid and insecure job categories, often as providers of sexualized services” (Piper 2000: 209). There are no bilateral labour policies in place between sending and receiving states to monitor and regulate these labour movements in order to ensure protection of workers and their conditions of employment. Therefore, it is the contract of employment and immigration laws that constitute the framework for regulating this type of migrant labour. In other words, while workers are controlled through separate state mechanisms on either end of the emigration-immigration chain, employers are not regulated and monitored.

leisure time that would otherwise be unavailable to them by being complicit in the subordination of other women. This is a terrain where class, gender, and race are noticeably interplayed.

²⁹ It is believed that these women have been subsumed into the sex industry and the informal economy in the US. Further, HRW (1995) notes the number of Filipino mortalities and IOM (2001b: 2) reports, “from 1997 to 1999, 67 bodies of Ethiopian women were returned from the Middle East and Gulf countries.” It must be kept in mind that these are the known, reported cases.

In these circumstances women's domestic labour is inclusive of sexual labour because women embody both forms and therefore both become equally exploitable.

For a male worker it is possible to draw a reasonably clear line between the man as an individual and the labour power which he is compelled to sell. For women this separation is not possible: the use of women's labour power, includes her female bodily character, sensitivity and sexuality. Depending on what is centrally at issue, these can be more or less wrested away from her...In the case of men, labour power becomes a commodity; in the case of women, the whole person becomes a commodity (Mies et al. 1988: 120-121).

This form of trafficking, involving diverse layers of civil society ranging from executives of the IMF and World Bank to households in the suburbs of Europe and North America, traverses the boundaries of sexual labour, forced labour, and domestic labour (GSN 1998; Bales 1999; HRW 1995; Jordan 2001; Kelly 2002).

The linkages between trafficking, the sex industry, militarization, and sex tourism within the IPE are well-established, as are women's growing presence as sexual labourers within these areas, resulting from impacts generated by economic restructuring (Enloe 2000, 1993, 1990; Truong 1990; Pettman 1996ab; Sturdevant and Stoltzfus 1992; Lim 1998; Beneria 1989; Stienstra 1996; Peterson and Runyan 1999; Upadhyay 2000). The sex industry and sex tourism are links in a chain of survival strategies for women, a market for organized crime, and a commanding revenue earner for states. Centers of sex tourism are dispersed worldwide and nation-states such as Germany and the Netherlands are renowned for their 'red light districts,' which attract tourists from around the world.

The World Bank and the IMF promote tourism as a primary means to earn foreign exchange and stimulate economic growth. A vast service sector builds up around the tourist industry, filling the pockets of various supplementary industries such as airlines, hotels, and entertainment outlets.

Tourism...received massive World Bank funding, through a special department set up in 1970, known as the Tourism Projects department. The growth of tourism was not something initiated by the countries of the South; they were persuaded by economic arguments: tourism as a foreign exchange earner, tourism as a job creator and booster of national income...‘sun, sea, sand, and sex’ into commodities (Mosse 1993: 73-74).

Along with the sale of geographical location comes the sale of women. Special sex market niches develop for customers that are sponsored over the Internet and sold as packaged tours to men all over the world (Lim 1998; Hughes 1997; Peterson and Runyan 1999; Bishop and Robinson 1999). Tourist development areas pandering to travelers’ tropical fantasies are sanitized and segregated to keep the sight of poverty out of view. There are deep divisions of racialization and sexualization in these gendered terrains. Tourism development maps itself onto countries because “sex tourism reenacts colonial and contemporary power relations, which are ‘raced’ as well as gendered. Sex tourism becomes a metaphor for relations between men and women under capitalism, and in colonization and racism” (Pettman 1996a: 196). When women’s images are used to market travel destinations in advertising by nuanced, suggestive dialogue and imagery, a reverse metaphor is often found that markets women as workers to entice foreign direct investment into the country. Women “take on many of the attributes of the competing commodities, while it is men who exercise the choice” (Elson and Pearson 1997: 199). Moreover, women are commodities of exchange in the globalizing, neoliberal capitalist marketplace.

As states, corporations, entrepreneurs, and organized crime blend together in the new world order within the IPE, they are pimping women and “whether legalized or not, the sex industry has become a major pillar of the global economy, erected literally on the bodies of women” (Peterson and Runyan 1999: 139). In order to support its massive worldwide

markets, the sex industry requires women as sex workers and consequently trafficking has become a lucrative enterprise for organized crime groups supplying this commerce.

2.8 Women's Migration and Recruitment

Traffickers use the disadvantages and vulnerabilities women face in migration to specifically target women strongly motivated to migrate, but lacking the resources to do so. Recruiters provide the means some women need in order to migrate. Traffickers manipulate gender discriminations within countries and communities to both access and channel recruited women into the sex industry and prostitution. Traffickers entrap many women by taking advantage of their dependency and powerlessness at various stages of migration and recruitment. The following section explores the different methods traffickers employ to exploit women's susceptibility in migration and recruitment.

Worldwide, women are engaging in migration as a labour strategy to mitigate the conditions of poverty and social deprivation in their home countries (Deere et al. 1997; Safa and Antrobus 1992; Morokvasic 1993; Lim 1998; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1998; Beneria 1989; Derks 2000; IOM 2001a, 2000ab, 1995). Migration takes many forms and can include movements within a country, international travel to a foreign state, or transnational migration between states within regions, such as the EU and Southeast Asia. UN estimates in the World's Women: Trends and Statistics (2000) shows an increasing rate of female migration in most regions of the world and "evidence from countries where data are available suggests that increasingly women are moving as autonomous migrants looking for work" (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs and Statistics Division 2000: 10-12). Migration studies commonly view women as dependants of men and therefore do not recognize them as independent agents in migration movements (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1998, Bertone 2000; Bjerén

1997; Piper 2000; Anthias and Lazaridis 2000). Many women in these migration flows are displaced persons or forced ethnic refugees, such as those from the satellite states of the former Soviet Union.

Refugee and migration streams intertwine across the landscape and separating refugees from immigrants is difficult. As the UN only recognizes refugees according to the *1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees* and its *1967 Protocol*, it excludes the growing populations of asylum seekers, displaced persons, and economic refugees. Traffickers utilize traditional and newly emerging migration patterns as a means of accessing women. Women in refugee migration are at risk and as Judith Bruce (1995) notes, many women are disappearing from within these flows (OSCE 1999; IOM 2001a, 2000a; Khodyreva 1996; Taran and Moreno-Fontes 2002).³⁰

Refugee streams from all sources are dominated by women and children, who represent 80 percent of the 18 million refugees awaiting resettlement. This figure may even be low, given the disturbing fact that younger women are proportionately underrepresented in refugee populations, suggesting that substantial members are being abducted or detained (Bruce 1995: 46).

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), these figures have increased to 21.5 million persons. The implications for women are chilling. Criminal networks and their recruiters are targeting women migrating in search of work and asylum.

In the nexus of women's limited migration and employment possibilities, the potential for criminal opportunities and male biased state policies dovetail and the transnational trafficking of women ensues. Trafficking, from a woman's perspective, must "be seen as part of the worldwide feminization of poverty and of labour migration. Women

³⁰ Internet sites for further information are Women's Asylum News @ <http://www.asylumaid.org> or <http://www.refugees.org>. Two other sources mentioned for reference are Asoka Bandarage (1997) *Women, Population and Global Crisis*. London: Zed Books and Susan Forbes Martin (1991) *Refugee Women*. London: Zed Books.

are structurally denied access to the formal and regulated markets and pushed into unprotected or criminalized labor markets, such as sexual and exploitative domestic work” (ILHR 1997: 10).³¹ Gender discriminations narrow women’s employment options to informal or casual work, and in turn, hinder their legal migration possibilities. As a result, many women are compelled to migrate covertly, using services of criminal organizations to gain entry into a country and secure employment. In addition, restrictions are placed upon women as migrants through the use of discriminatory immigration policies, which streamline women into sex industry employment. Countries such as Canada and Switzerland are taking part in the trafficking of women by issuing visas for sex work under such categories as ‘dancer visas,’ ‘entertainment visas,’ and ‘artists visas.’³² Visas also become mechanisms for trafficking in Europe which allow “thousands of women [to be] trafficked into the EU to support the burgeoning prostitution industry. Thus, the free movement of women into and within the EU is heavily restricted, while the forced movement of women is highly facilitated” (Runyan 1996: 245). The demand for sexual and domestic services, in the West and elsewhere, coupled with the dynamic growth of sex industries, provides the impetus for trafficking (IOM 2001b, 2000ac, 1995;³³ Derks 2000; HRW 1999, 1995; GSN 1997; Pettman

³¹ Part of opening remarks prepared by Gillian Caldwell, Co-Director, Global Survival Network, for the ‘Trafficking of NIS Women Abroad’ conference (ILHR1997).

³² These ‘visas’ once again put women under the control of men who own and manage the establishments where women work, further these men also dictate the terms of the contract. This becomes a powerful mechanism for enforcing compliance of women. As these businesses are not regulated, the actions of these entrepreneurs are not monitored, resulting in many of these women being forced into prostitution. As many states criminalize prostitutes this compounds control with fear of being reported to authorities. Should these women be arrested they will be deported, should they overstay their visas, they are criminalized as illegal aliens. For a study of these practices in Canada see Lynn McDonald, Brooke Moore, and Natalya Timoshkina, Migrant Sex Workers from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union: the Canadian Case (2000). Ottawa: Status of Women Canada.

³³ There are numerous reports of trafficking in women on the IOM website <http://www.iom.int/iom/publications/> and some of those reports, as well as others, are listed in the United Nations: Department of Economic and Social Affairs publication, the World’s Women 2000: 169-170.

1996; Truong 1990; Enloe 1990, 1993; AI 2000; Peterson and Runyan 1999; OSCE 1999; Kelly 2002).

Recruiters are key actors in trafficking networks and are recognized worldwide by different names. For instance, in Africa they are called 'connection men' and in India, 'dalats.' Recently, field operatives of the IOM are noticing an increase in female recruiters.

An increasing phenomenon is called the "second wave," in which trafficked women return home to recruit other women. Once a woman has been trafficked and trapped in the sex industry, she has few options. Escape may be difficult. Since women get to keep little of the money they earn, they often have little to show for their experiences abroad. Also, because of the stigma attached to women in prostitution, they often face discrimination at home (Hughes 2000: para. 18).

As a result of compounding gender discriminations, an insidious cycle of abuse is propagated whereby former trafficked women, to escape their own exploitation and society's condemnation, become traffickers themselves. Older women also enter into recruiting or brothel keeping when they become too mature to attract customers because "sex industries use up women, physically and emotionally, necessitating fresh supplies of women on a regular basis, which keeps the recruitment and trafficking of women so profitable" (Hughes 2000: para. 16). Lin Lean Lim (1998) refers to this as a woman's 'shelf life.' Traffickers are therefore constantly looking for new and more sophisticated ways to entrap vulnerable women.

Women are highly exposed in migration as 'women out of place'³⁴ and traffickers target this vulnerability. Recruiters commonly abduct, deceive, and trick women into trafficking using mechanisms such as false job offers, deception as to the conditions and content of work, or coercion (GSN 1997; Sinha 1999; Pyne 1995; Hughes 2000; ILHR 1997; Leuchtag 1995; Jiwani and Brown 1999). Traffickers manipulate women's circumstances by

“taking advantage of poverty, unemployment and a desire to emigrate to recruit and traffic women into sex industries” (Hughes 2000: para. 34). Frequently, employment agencies and companies offering immigration services are trafficking fronts. Once within a trafficking network, women are caught in a vicious cycle of abuse and exploitation.

Women become channeled into sexual slavery and hard labour through a system of debt bondage and forced labour controlled by a web of third party connections that buy, sell, and trade women. Women are held in slavery-like conditions and made to work off their ‘debt.’ But women never know the amount owed as the expenses continue increasing due to their ‘maintenance’ costs, which are compounded with their previous transportation debts. Disorientation, constant surveillance, restrictive mobility, and threats of violence are key methods of controlling women in these circumstances. It is the virtual ‘panoptic eye,’³⁵ a prison of debt and despair from which there is usually no escape (Pyne 1995; Lin 1998; Sinha 1999; Bales 1999; AI 2000; HRW 2000, 1995; GSN 1997; ILHR 1997; IOM 2000a; Jiwani and Brown 1999).

The ease with which men and states are able to subjugate women through a ‘body politics,’³⁶ is brought to the forefront by the severity of violence and sexual terror that underpin the trafficking of women. Why is it that men can treat women as chattel, consume and sell them like commodities on a global scale and do so with impunity? As Marjorie Muecke (1992: 892) observed in Southeast Asia, “predominately men, sell family members,

³⁴ A phrase used by Jan Jindy Pettman (1996a).

³⁵ A term from Michel Foucault signifying that one is constantly under surveillance and subject to disciplining mechanisms as if in a prison.

³⁶ This is a term used and developed by R. W. Connell (1994, 1987) and also Jan Jindy Pettman (1996b). Pettman sees body politics as an elite male construction of gender relations that flows from the local to the global, encompassing nation, race, class, and community politics because the script is written on the bodies of women, “so the politics of identities of centers and margins, of borderline conflicts can be revisioned as a body politics, in which the sexed body is central” (1996b: 276). Both authors contend that women must reclaim their

particularly daughters for economic gain” however, this is not a ‘third’ world trait nor is it restricted to localized situations because women and children are traded for profit worldwide (Taran and Moreno-Fontes 2002; OSCE 1999, 2001; ILO 2001; Hughes 2002; Kelly 2002; IOM 1995, 2000ab, 2001ab).³⁷ As Anna Diamantopoulou, the EU Commissioner for Employment and Social Affairs remarked at the *Europe Against Trafficking in Persons Conference (2001)*, “The scale and scope of trafficking in human beings makes it a global tragedy” (OSCE 2001: 21). And Marion Boker, General Secretary of International Affairs, KOK³⁸ Germany, specified, “men have defined women in terms of a monetary and trade value. Men can trade women’s bodies and their labour as merchandise around the world without coming into conflict with the basic principles of their societies” (OSCE 2001: 24). Trafficking could not prosper if courtesan states did not participate in the proletarianization, sexualization, and criminalization of women’s labour. Indeed, states pursue their own self-interest and as market rule has come to dominate economies, states have engaged in trafficking. By trading the bodies of women to acquire foreign exchange and accumulate profit, both directly and indirectly, states have promoted military prostitution, sex tourism, provided prostitution for migrant labourers, and developed emigration policies that cash in on female domestic labour and mail order brides. The establishment of sex industries as viable enterprises has further endangered women both inside and outside the state. Trafficking is

bodies and write their own scripts in order to incorporate women’s embodied experiences into politics and international relations and thereby gain autonomy and freedom from violence.

³⁷ An extensive reference that includes plenary speeches from Kevin Bales, Vitit Muntarbhorn and Noeleen Heyzer can be accessed from the conference on *The Human Rights Challenge of Globalization in Asia-Pacific-US: The Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children* Nov. 13-15, 2002, in Honolulu, co-sponsored by the East-West Center and the University of Hawaii Globalization Research Center at www.globalhawaii.org/PDF/trafficking.htm.

³⁸ Marian Boker is also associated with the Federal Association Against Trafficking in Women and Violence Against Women in the Migration Process Department of the German government.

globalization's euphemism for slavery and it plainly reveals that women are indeed the last colony.³⁹

2.9 Puzzling Out Trafficking

As some women become increasingly disadvantaged within societies, their status and autonomy erodes, drawing them into conditions of impoverishment and powerlessness that in turn expose them to targeting by traffickers.⁴⁰ In order to sustain competitiveness and maximize profit, neoliberal capitalism has become dependent upon the commodification of women's bodies and labour.

Globalization not only marginalizes [women] but also produces the possibility for international prostitution...whereby their bodies become a means for exchange. This can be seen as a form of structural violence taking place in a situation of impoverishment and unemployment [where] women are 'forced to choose' their own sexual exploitation. This commodification of individual bodies for the use of consumer capitalism can be seen as an effect of the operation of globalization (Penttinen 2000: 2).

As neoliberal globalism has called for the deregulation, privatization, and liberalization of economies, it has weakened state institutions, undermining the rule of law in favour of market rule. Quite unpredictably the forces of globalization detached local crime groups from their socio-cultural settings, permitting crime to organize and expand. The courtesan state, shirking its social responsibilities, allowed corruption a foothold within civil society and the state. These factors have contributed to the rise of crime and corruption as a global trend.

³⁹ This reference to women as the last colony comes from the collaborative volume WOMEN: The Last Colony (1988), written by Maria Mies, Veronica Bennholdt-Thomsen, and Claudia Von Werlhof.

⁴⁰ DAPHNE an intergovernmental organization within the EU, was formed to address issues of violence and trafficking against women and children. DAPHNE conducted a survey within the countries of Greece, Germany and the United Kingdom involving women's organizations and women refugees titled "*Women Refugees - Stop Women's Sexual Exploitation and Trafficking (1998)*." The survey is useful as an insight into trafficking because it brings together key elements of the trafficking paradigm as experienced by trafficked women. The top five reasons given for sexual exploitation and trafficking were: coercion from third parties because of their victims' poverty, dependence and/or debt, inability of women to find employment, abuse of the victim's vulnerable state, and national unrest and political strife. For information on DAPHNE their website is http://europa.eu.int/comm/justice_home/project/daphne/en/index.htm.

States as participants in all these agendas, which transit both national politics and international relations, profit from the exploitation of women's labour by designing policies of inclusion and exclusion, based upon gender, class, and race. As gender discriminations negatively accumulate, "women's economic and social position is undermined in unregulatory and illicit markets, as power and control in the legitimate and illegitimate sectors is increasingly concentrated in male hands," reinforcing women's subordination and leading to profiteering by trafficking women (Kelly 2002: 24). Women working in the informal sector are subject to gross inequities that determine the conditions of work and the income received. The patriarchal control of women is further intensified for home-based workers. Compounding these inequities, are state policies that ensure women are constrained under state laws such as those applied to trafficking, prostitution, and immigration, which prosecute women by excluding them from judicial redress because "enforcement policies focus on the women who are trafficked rather than the men who usually operate and profit from their exploitation" (OSCE 1999: 14). Therefore a great portion of women's work is proletarianized, sexualized, and criminalized because it takes place in unregulated, informal, or illegal labour markets.

Chapter two has shown how global restructuring has reshaped women's status within societies by changing the social, political, and economic realities of their lives. SAPs are heavily weighted with gender biases that negatively accrue for women as market reforms are implemented. Because liberalism and capitalism underscore SAPs, patriarchy and capitalist relations of production reinforce gender discriminations and inequalities, promoting intensive exploitation of women's labour. As a result, as economic restructuring deepens, women are marginalized and impoverished and their labour is devalued and deskilled in the workforce.

Women are forced to migrate, to engage in sexual or illegal labour to earn income as their options narrow and as the unemployment crisis intensifies and social degeneration presses in upon women, increasing their burdens, they become susceptible to traffickers. These factors, coupled with consumer demand, the rise of transnational criminal organizations, and the corruption of the state and civil society, lead to increased trafficking of women.

Chapter three analyzes the key analytical points discussed in this chapter. In the following chapter, the analytical framework developed in this chapter is applied to examine the rise of trafficking in Russia since the introduction of SAPs in 1992 which were intended to speed the transition from a communist, planned economic system to a capitalist economic system.

Chapter Three - Trading Natasha in the 'Free' Market

3.1 Introduction

The popular saying in Russia that “unemployment has a woman’s face, but power has a man’s”¹ is a fitting euphemism for describing the impact of economic reforms. Russian women are bearing the brunt of transition and their socioeconomic position within society has altered considerably in conjunction with a precipitous decline in living standards. Russian women’s relationship with the state is seriously fractured and many are experiencing a deep sense of betrayal in the changing social, economic, and political climate. Women are left in limbo as socialist welfare mechanisms and assurances of work for life are dismantled in keeping with the cost reduction strategies of economic reforms. The transition to a market economy, coupled with deregulation and privatization of state enterprises and public services, dislodged the female workforce. Economic restructuring led to mass female unemployment and catapulted a substantial number of women into impoverishment and marginalization. Two distinctive features since the implementation of market reforms in Russia are the rise of opportunists and criminal organizations and the dramatic decline of women’s status. An examination of how transition to a market economy led to the trafficking of Russian women is undertaken in the following case study. Utilizing the framework highlighted in chapter two, the consequences of economic restructuring, the influences of capitalism and liberalism, and the effects of escalating crime and corruption are evaluated in relation to the experiences of Russian women.

In Russia, the transition from a command economy to a market economy triggered the surfacing of a privileged entrepreneurial class that in turn, precipitated a volatile growth of

¹ El’vira Novikova, cited in *Vestnik*, no. 2-3, 1995, Appendix, p. 2.

privatization in the domestic economy (Klein and Pomer 2001; Medvedev 2000; Gustafson 1999; Klugman and Braithwaite 1998). Within Russia, the destabilizing effects of globalization displaced underground factions within the 'second economy' from their socio-cultural foundations and undermined the countervailing hand of the state apparatus, thus facilitating Russian organized crime's transformation into powerful criminal networks. The result is a hybrid form of Russian capitalism termed 'wild East' gangsterism². Crime is endemic within Russian society because "the unofficial economy is not a faraway place somewhere over the next hill; it is right in the midst of the official economy. Even in the Soviet era many Russians lived with one foot 'on the left.' Nearly all do today. The underground economy is present everywhere" (Gustafson 1999: 203).³ Moreover, the 'shock' of reforms created massive political confusion within Russian institutions, providing opportunities for agents within the military, the bureaucracy, and criminal elements within the second economy to embed themselves within the Russian government.

Women's radically declining socioeconomic status coupled with the simultaneous growth of Russian organized crime, is pivotal to understanding how trafficking emerged in Russia during market transition. This chapter builds upon concepts discussed in the second chapter, to reconstruct the dynamics of responses that took place within Russia as economic restructuring was implemented. The chapter begins with a brief background on economic restructuring and then proceeds to depict the exclusion of Russian women from the labour force and their progressive impoverishment and marginalization. As women become

²This term was coined by Stephen Handleman (1995). See article on website: Analysis and Commentary, No. 7, March 2002 on Russia Watch site. <http://www.ciaonet.org>. Also Thane Gustafson (1999), Petrus C. van Duyne et al. (2001), Marta Bruno (1996), and ILHR (1997) use similar terminology.

³ The unofficial economy is unregulated, cash based, and not a barter system within the mainstream population. Many of the activities and exchanges that take place here are illegal while others verge on the borders of

displaced and their work devalued, options for maintaining their livelihoods narrowed, pushing some women into sexual labour and migration where they became susceptible to recruitment by organized crime. As Russian organized crime has expanded its scope, both within Russia and beyond, trafficking in Russian women has become a lucrative enterprise. In adjusting to economic restructuring, Russia has taken on aspects of a full-blown courtesan state pervaded by corruption and complicity as it turns a blind eye to the fate of Russian women. This chapter brings the trafficking paradigm full circle. It traces the path of trafficking in Russian women to arrest and detention abroad, revealing the nature of justice which reproduces the vicious cycle of trafficking. However, before undertaking a closer examination of specific gendered impacts from economic restructuring in Russia, let us turn momentarily to a discussion of reform policy implementation and an overview of subsequent effects.

3.2 Restructuring Russia

In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev began the first tentative steps towards economic restructuring within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). This change of economic, political, and social direction was largely a response to the failing ability of the socialist command economy to sustain itself. Prior to 1985 there had been a succession of failed harvests in rural areas of the Soviet Republic and famine was threatening the countryside. This crisis was coupled with increasing social unrest within the satellite provinces, a growing internal public agitation over the war in Afghanistan, and worsening conditions at home. The Soviet economy was stagnating, causing a slowdown in production quotas, which in turn reduced the availability of goods for public consumption.

illegality. Russia loses massive tax revenue due to the scope and participation rate of its citizens in this practice.

Dissatisfaction concerning the ability of Soviet institutions to provide for its citizens was growing. Urgent problems were beginning to surface that demanded an alternative outlook.

Following a first year in power in which he moved slowly on the economy, Gorbachev undertook experiments and reforms in the economic and political spheres designed to return some incentive and decision making to the people. This was the period - the winter of 1986-87 - when the word *perestroika*, a word that would later be heard around the world, began coming into everyday Soviet usage (Martin 1989: 115).

Gorbachev used the word *perestroika* to refer to new restructuring incentives being initiated to revitalize a languishing Soviet economy. *Perestroika* was followed by the concept of *glasnost*, the freedom of the media to openly critique and respond to Soviet issues, albeit in carefully worded terms. Gorbachev hoped that these changes would boost Russia out of its economic, social, and political lethargy.

Gorbachev favored a gradualist approach to integrate the Soviet Union into the global market. Therefore, guidelines to promote small forays into private enterprise were established with the law 'On Individual Labor Activity' (1986), which allowed *chastniks*, small time Soviet capitalists, the right to provide goods and services. These entrepreneurial actors were well positioned to respond to reforms because their expertise in the second economy (black market) had matured while providing goods and services during the final years of the failing socialist economy. Additionally, the new law 'On Cooperatives' created the potential formation of companies to channel funds and assets. Thus, in order to move towards a liberalization of the economy, joint venture capability, along with other small measures, were opened up for various manufacturing enterprises.

However, it was necessary to secure financial support and advice from the West to continue the transition process. The Soviets required financial funding and advice for economic reconstruction because after years of Soviet socialism their reserves were depleted

and their knowledge of market strategy was limited. A welfare system based upon support from the cradle to the grave had taken a toll on the Russian treasury as the economy became stagnant. In the G-7 Houston Summit of July 9-11, 1990, the plans for a gradual Soviet integration were flatly refused by the financial and political powers of the West.⁴ “The International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) criticized the gradualist Soviet plan and declared their unwillingness to extend support” to Gorbachev’s incrementalist plan for Russian transition (Klein and Pomer 2001: 3). The search for remedies concerning the failing Soviet economy was polarizing politburo members between the Communist Party conservatives and the radical neo-liberalists advocating for rapid transition, represented by Boris Yeltsin. The situation quickly deteriorated and led to the resignation of President Mikhail Gorbachev, followed by the dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on December 25, 1991.

Boris Yeltsin, elected President of the Russian Federation on June 12, 1991, initiated ‘shock therapy’ reforms in accordance with the neoclassical liberal model stipulated by the West.

During the years 1991-1999 the new rulers of the Russian Federation introduced a political program that amounted to a “new revolution from above,” whose aim was to transform the so-called socialist system of former Soviet Russia into a liberal capitalist system. The reform scenario was based on recommendations by Western economic experts and advisors, and the financial means for carrying out these reforms were guaranteed by credits and loans from Western banks, governments, and international financial

⁴ Gorbachev tried to open a dialogue with G-7 summit leaders in 1989 through the graces of France’s former President Mitterrand, who acted as an intermediary on Gorbachev’s behalf. Gorbachev then appealed to former U.S. President George W. Bush, through a series of communiqués which became dubbed the Gorbachev-Bush exchange. Although the topic of Soviet economic reforms and Soviet aid were discussed at the summit, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Japan were staunchly opposed; as a result, no tangible support was forthcoming at that time. However Boris Yeltsin was later able to acquire sums of financial support withheld from Gorbachev (Klein and Pomer 2001).

institutions, above all the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Medvedev 2000: 4-5).

The rigorous reforms stipulated by “the IMF’s policies in the economics of the Former Soviet Union have, over the last decade, contributed to one of the worst economic disasters in the history of the world – with Russia losing more than 40 percent of its national income” (Weisbrot et al. 2000: para. 8). The first shock for Russians came as a series of economic reforms that dismantled the previous socialist infrastructure. This led to closure of factories, the attrition of state provided welfare mechanisms, price liberalization, and extreme inflation. In preparation for transition to a market economy, the government needed to reduce the workforce quickly and implement new wage scales. For many workers, notably women, this resulted in the downgrading of their occupational skills and the downsizing of the workforce. As unemployment skyrocketed, savings were quickly depleted and the situation for many Russians plummeted. Furthermore, because Russia became dependant on natural resources for export, it was vulnerable to commodity price fluctuations in the market. Russia’s attempts to meet its debt repayment schedule through primary resource extraction resulted in an imbalanced pattern of regional development that disadvantaged some districts over others.

Regional instability and civil unrest were created due to narrow sighted development planning and implementation in the economic restructuring process and was compounded by a corrupt and unregulated distribution system. Massive capital flight took place and there was a grab for assets into the hands of a minority of bureaucrats in both industrial and agricultural sectors.

The resulting program of transferring assets to the private sector without regulatory safeguards (“depolitization”) has only succeeded in putting the “grabbing hand” into the “velvet glove” of privatization. The rapid liberalization of capital accounts allowed tens of billions of dollars to be spirited out of Russia each year while the architects of capital account liberalization negotiated more billions of international debt to be repaid by the

taxpayers (Stiglitz 2001: xviii-xix).

Petty bureaucrats and former farm managers manipulated land reforms to their personal advantage and as a consequence, lands that were to benefit tenants on collective farms were misappropriated. The distribution of land was initially to be divided between farm collective personnel in one of three ways: joint stock companies, private farms, or cooperatives (Bridger 1997). While many rural people are still facing the potential of becoming homeless as privatization intensifies, there has also “been a marked slowing down of growth accompanied by bankruptcies and the abandonment of land by unsuccessful private farmers in the increasingly difficult economic climate” (Bridger 1997: 39). Consequently, both rural and urban areas are suffering from high unemployment.

As a result, mass abandonment of disadvantaged areas is taking place as people migrate to either core centers of production or into cities such as Moscow in search of employment and housing. Indeed, the problem has become so severe that the government has stepped in and tried to curtail the movement of people within Russia.⁵

There are restrictions, both official and unofficial. Large concentrations of skilled workers are stuck in places with no future, especially in the European north, the industrial Urals, and the villages of the ‘Non-Black Earth Zone’ north and west of Moscow. In the North Caucasus birthrates are high but jobs are scarce. Yet the surplus populations of these regions cannot move readily to the more prosperous areas. The prime location for new jobs, Moscow, still requires residence permits (ignoring court rulings that such permits are unconstitutional), and housing in the capital is short (Gustafson 1999: 188).

The capacity of the state continues to be overtaxed by the influx of Russian ethnic refugees still arriving from the satellite states of the former Soviet Union. In an effort to mitigate the

⁵ The development of regional disparities, landlessness due to privatization, internal migration, devaluation of currencies, price liberalization, and the dismantling of public welfare systems are all hallmarks of economic restructuring when market reforms are instituted (Stalker 2000; Vickers and Pietila 1996; Harrison 1997, 1991; Hettne 1995; Mies 1998, Mies and Shiva 1993; Petras and Veltmeyer 2001).

pressures caused by internal migrations, motivated by unemployment and increasing poverty, many of the restrictions on out-migration were lifted.

The incidence of poverty since economic transition increased alarmingly after the currency collapsed in 1998,⁶ sending the economy into another downward tailspin and driving the unemployment crisis deeper into the fabric of Russian society. The constant shortfall of currency reserves and the mismanagement of funds resulted in unpaid wages and pensions. The Russian population was subject to an unprecedented “scale of non-payments of pensions, wages and salaries...[due to] financial misuse and corruption in banking [which was] overwhelming throughout the 1990’s” (Ledeneva 1998: 194). These snowballing impacts created a polarization between a minority elite⁷ and a mass underclass of destitute people, as is illustrated by the fact that “in 2000, almost 60 million Russians, over 40 per cent of the population, lived below the poverty line or subsistence level⁸ and some 80 million adults spent half their income on basic food staples⁹” (Hughes 2002: 8). Manifestation of such sharp class divisions has not been a part of Russian society since Tsarist regimes.

Russian society has been torn in two by a revolution in property ownership, distribution of wealth, status, and moral values. For the rest the price has been horrendous. Most Russians have told pollsters all through the decade that they are worse off than when market reforms began, and since the August crash the polls have sunk to new lows. Russian cities are plagued by organized crime. There are beggars in the streets and prostitutes in the hotels, and in the railway

⁶ Currency collapse refers to the devaluation of the ruble causing its buying power to be greatly reduced. In Russia the ruble was floated and as a result capital flight took place in Russia. The resulting depreciation of the ruble resulted in severe inflation. The government defaulted on loans and its bond sureties and could not pay its debts. See Medvedev (2000), Klugman and Braithwaite (1998), Gustafson (1999), Klein and Pomer (2001).

⁷ The minority elite in Russia is comprised of a bureaucratic core (*nomenklatura*), a group of entrepreneurial opportunists referred to as the ‘New Russians’ and members of the second economy.

⁸ This is an indication of those suffering from absolute poverty, which is a level of poverty (below the poverty line) where only the barest levels of food, clothing, and shelter are sometimes met.

⁹ Relative poverty is the level of poverty in a country expressed in terms of income in relation to the poverty line. In Russia the poverty line per capita is about half the average wage (Klugman and Braithwaite 1998). Many women are often characterized as the working poor because they are unable to save income and all income they do earn is expended to acquire basic needs.

stations, where refugees arrive from the periphery, the misery is beyond description (Gustafson 1999: 5).

As Russian women endeavor to adapt to this changing environment, they are experiencing a resurgence of past patriarchal traditions and a reinforcement of previously subsumed gender discriminations kept in check during the Soviet era. Although some regions weathered the disruptive effects of economic restructuring better than others, the overall impact throughout Russia was severe and women from both urban and rural districts experienced the full force of reform changes. With the advent of reforms, Russian women were “increasingly marginalized into disadvantaged positions, especially in the labour market” and continue to be displaced from the workforce (Rhein 1998: 351).

3.3 The Exploitation of Russian Women’s Labour

Soviet socialism was supposed to guarantee equality for Russian women, instead women found themselves overburdened with work responsibilities that encompassed the industrial workplace and the household. Women’s dual obligations to the state and household were carefully orchestrated by a set of policies that enabled women to combine the roles of mother and worker. However, there were bittersweet gains for women in this compromise because women did “enjoy increased access to education, basic medical care, and child-care services, and guaranteed employment, all of which supported a degree of economic independence and equality” (Meurs 1997: 333). Inequalities in the Soviet labour force can be traced to traditional forms of gender discrimination found in patriarchal societies. Gender inequalities such as occupational segregation, the sexual division of labour, discriminatory promotion practices, and unequal pay were suppressed to some degree, but surfaced in such policy tools as the List of Jobs Banned for Women. Therefore, while there was high labour force participation, Russian women were still subject to systemic inequalities.

Russian women were compelled to fulfill their duty by labouring as workers for the Soviet Union. Women were brought into the labour force in all sectors from agriculture to industry in order to keep the engines of Soviet production turning. Female workers were necessary to boost labour capacity in the Soviet Union because high male mortalities during the Russian Revolution and World War Two reduced the male workforce. But Russian women's integration into the labour force was never on an equal footing. The premise of equality for Soviet women according to Communist doctrine was always more rhetoric than actuality. The Soviet regime developed several official techniques during its seventy-five years in power that reinforced sex/gender hierarchies and excluded women from certain occupations.

The 'Lists of Jobs Banned for Women' was meant to prevent women from engaging in physically demanding or hazardous duties. In reality, it appears that such legislation prevented women from obtaining positions which often included training in technical equipment and which usually came with higher pay. It often did not protect or prevent women from working in dangerous conditions (McMahon 1994: 66).

Women entered the Russian labour market labeled as supplementary, inferior laborers and were assigned into a "narrow band of sectors such as light industry, education, commerce and the health fields" (McMahon 1994: 63). Despite compulsory integration into the workforce, the responsibility for reproductive labour remained designated as women's work, and therefore, Russian women were subject to strenuous double burdens.

The gender division of the labour-market is as strong in Soviet society as it is in other industrialized and industrializing societies. Although Soviet women's experiences have differed in as much as they have been wholeheartedly encouraged to participate in social production, nonetheless they share the experience of women elsewhere in the world in seeing the transposition of the supposed 'natural' sexual division of labour from the private to the public sphere (Pilkington 1992: 193).

Women were systemically barred from advancement at all levels of employment due to

embedded gender discriminations. Indeed, women who were highly educated as engineers, doctors, or scientists, also experienced vertical and horizontal exclusions from advancement and wage equality. This resulted in a “bottom-heavy pyramid structure of the female workforce” with women filling a larger proportion of minor bureaucratic positions in public institutions at the lower end of the administrative chain of command (McMahon 1994: 65).

Built-in labour hierarchies based upon socially constructed notions of skilled labour were customary strategies for excluding women from status bearing jobs.¹⁰ Female education was necessary to place women in certain occupational sectors of the economy, but was never a guarantee for upward mobility “due to the fact that in the former Soviet Union career advancement was often linked to skills rather than education” (McMahon 1994: 67). Women were usually excluded from working with technical and mechanical machinery however; a minority of women did operate equipment. Typically, machine operation was dominated by men and viewed as a man’s area of expertise. Collectively, in the Soviet era, women entered the labour market disadvantaged by a set of gender inequalities already in place by virtue of their double burden in productive and reproductive labour. Nevertheless, women were valued as workers and to enable their participation in the workforce were given subsidies and benefits in childcare and healthcare. And even though there was a wage differential between men and women, in most cases, the disparities were not overly magnified.

Russian women began to experience the gendered biases of economic restructuring during the interregnum between *perestroika* initiatives and the application of ‘shock therapy’ reforms. During the early years of *perestroika*, the state began propagandizing a reinvented version of the Russian woman; she was no longer required as a valued proletarian worker,

¹⁰ This appears to be a common tactic utilized by patriarchal societies in constructing sex/gender regimes.

but was to resume her proper role as a fulltime housewife and mother. In order to encourage women to leave the workforce, amendments were made to the Labour Law expanding the scope of women's maternity leave and childcare benefits. In part, this was a strategy to circumvent the zero population growth Russia was experiencing at the time, but it was also a pre-emptive tactic to shift women back into the household before reforms proceeded with massive job cutbacks. Politicians claimed that a precondition to democratization was the creation of new citizens with new social responsibilities, "*perestroika*, therefore, meant not only a redefinition of citizenship, it also meant a redefinition of equality" (Pilkington 1992: 218). Today, women's previous participation in the socialist economy is viewed as an aberration of the communist era that distorted gender relations (Pilkington 1992; Zabelina 1996). Reforms were to greatly alter the context of the Russian labour market for women.

During the period just before shock therapy reforms "it is estimated that about 60 percent of labour shed between 1989 and 1991 has been female labour, and where jobs have been lost as a result of the contraction of the administrative apparatus the figure rises to 80 percent" (Pilkington 1992: 204). Discriminatory labour practices toward women became extensive in 1991 when unemployment was made legal. However, the need for women to work became crucial as economic conditions worsened due to increasing unemployment and high inflation. It was difficult for women to find work because they were hampered by state policies requiring employers to provide benefits such as childcare. As it was not cost effective for employers, this became a basis for gender discrimination in hiring, particularly "for enterprises dealing with uncomfortable new economic realities, the result was to mark out women as a potentially expensive and troublesome workforce" (Bridger and Kay 1996: 22). With the implementation of full-blown shock therapy reforms in 1992 the burdens for

women increased exponentially.

Women's employment crisis intensified with the reinforcement in 1996, of the defunct Lists of Jobs Banned for Women, which allowed enterprises to release women from current jobs, while effectively excluding them from others. As a result, women began taking any kind of work that was available, in fact, the elimination of benefits and guaranteed employment made low paid and dangerous work women's only option. Conversely, while women were seen as costly employees at the outset of reform implementation, as men left to take advantage of private sector opportunities, women were needed to work those positions at the lower end of the wage scale.¹¹ Furthermore, men displaced women in service sector jobs such as banking, as these positions became prestigious (McMahon 1994; Ashwin and Bowers 1997). Some women have adapted to this labour squeeze in regulated work by taking on night shifts and so-called 3D jobs, which are dirty, degrading and dangerous. A far greater percentage of women than men work in substandard conditions that contravene labour standards and health and safety regulations (Pilkington 1992).

Women are...notoriously ready to accept lower wages and to work in worse conditions than men – in fact bad working conditions are often actively sought, by women since 'danger money' is a welcome supplement to low wages. They do the job that men would refuse to do for the pay on offer, and they are also seen as well disciplined and easy to control. The gendering of jobs in Russia is a complex issue, but there is one iron law: almost regardless of the physical strength required for a job, if it is low paid and low status it will become a 'woman's job' (Ashwin and Bowers 1997: 30-32).

Therefore, the state has exploited women's labour in order to fill gaps in the workforce discounted by men and at the same time, has pushed women out of the workforce to meet

¹¹ It is interesting to note "As the percentages of women in the lowest-paying sectors of the economy grew, so did a marked discrepancy between the average salaries of men and women. In March of 1994, women's pay went from 70 percent of men's to as low as 40 percent" (*The Russia Journal* 1999a: 4).

economic restructuring conditions while protecting men's labour.¹²

Added to women's burden, has been the rollback of state welfare mechanisms that once provided childcare and healthcare. Often women seek work with flexible schedules such as night shifts in order to sustain paid work without incurring conflict with domestic responsibilities. Some women take more than one job to cover the costs of ordinary household expenses, especially given the prohibitive costs of basic staples and healthcare; a situation which is further exacerbated by the fact that "the provision of public healthcare is at frightfully low levels, and basic survival issues are at stake" (Sperling 1998: 268). At the same time as inflation increased, entitlements to housing subsidies, healthcare, and childcare were dismantled; user fees imposed, and women's access to jobs curtailed. Throughout all regions the situation is severe, although conditions may be harshest at a rural level where women's access to resources is more dependent upon the provision of government employment and services. Often, the disparity between regions is related to the disbanding of collective farms and the pressures incurred from relocating refugees to these abandoned rural communities.

A significant number of women are employed in the agricultural workforce. In Russia, farming has always been perceived as a masculine occupation despite the fact that women farm labourers predominate.

Soviet agricultural labourers are almost exclusively female: in arable farming market gardening and fruit farming 98% of manual labourers are women. Field workers are employed for long hours in monotonous, arduous jobs and at the lowest wages. In addition, the poor provision of basic amenities and services makes housework considerably more complicated and time consuming than in the towns (Pilkington 1992: 197-198).

Women's work is consistently regulated to tiresome and repetitive tasks with a great

¹² This is reminiscent of the manipulation of women's labour during the Depression era in North America.

percentage of the work involving heavy, manual labour or shift work. Contrary to the media images of women as combine and tractor operators, “women have never formed more than 1% of Soviet agricultural machine operators and so dairying remains the archetypal form of women’s work on Soviet farms” (Pilkington 1992: 197). A young woman, recently returned from the city after a job search, described her life with her mother on the farm as follows:

And do you imagine that anything on that unit had changed? Not a thing. We just went on carting the feed on our backs as we’d always done, and mucking out with pitchforks and shovels. When you get home after work like that you’re fit to drop. Then you have to go out milking again before lunch, and then again in the evening...There isn’t anywhere civilized to get washed...They did put a shower in on the unit. That was when there was a fashion for building things like saunas and showers and restrooms. But once they stopped having to put on a show these things were all permanently ‘closed for repairs.’ So that’s how I live, and it’s like a nightmare (Bridger 1997: 42).

Rural women have been subject to the same discriminatory practices in job hiring and selection as women in the cities. In order to cut costs on farming enterprises, older women and women with young children are targeted for redundancy (Bridger 1997; Pilkington 1997; Ashwin and Bowers 1997; *The Russia Journal* 1999ab).¹³

High unemployment, sub-standard living conditions, and a harsh environment have all led to younger generations abandoning the countryside. Young women in particular are leaving rural areas to seek opportunities in the cities (Pilkington 1996). As the management of farms devolves into the hands of private landowners or regional authorities, it increases women’s vulnerability. Women are left susceptible to the whims of landlords because “farms have ceased to see social welfare as part of their function” (Bridger 1997: 48). As one

¹³ *The Russia Journal* specifies that since August 1998 after the crisis 80 percent of women were laid off. Unemployed women form “a social category termed the weakly protected: single mothers, mothers of three or more children, or women with dependents (such as their own parents: a common occurrence in Russia)” (*The Russia Journal* 1999a: 2).

woman explained, "No one says anything at work. Everyone's afraid of losing their job" (Bridger 1997: 44). While some women migrate to urban centers, others continue to attach themselves to farming communities, since by growing produce on their small allotments they have access to a means of subsistence. In Russia's current economic situation, this is an important consideration as oftentimes women are left to survive on their own resources.

Women are developing survival strategies in both the urban and rural informal sectors as they are squeezed out of paid labour. Women are mediating the impacts of economic restructuring through informal strategies to ensure survival. For rural women, the garden plot allows them to supplement their subsistence base by selling any excess produce in the local markets. In fact, rural women have increased the productivity of their plots to a substantial degree, "figures from 1994, meanwhile, showed the plot producing 46% per cent of gross agricultural product on 3.8 per cent of the land" (Bridger 1997: 52). Women are not only becoming the social shock absorbers for their families, but for the nation as well. Even urban women are working on land plots outside the city, growing produce to raise income and food for their families (Bruno 1997). The shuttle trade is another popular alternative for female employment within the informal economy, as it enables women as petty traders (*chelnoki*)¹⁴ to earn income.

As far back as "the late 1980s, the shuttle trade had already made its appearance in the USSR and is now firmly embedded as a survival strategy. Tens of thousands of Soviet citizens went streaming into 'socialist' Poland, Hungary, or China. They brought home not

¹⁴ "Of the ten million *chelnoki* in Russia (the merchants who people Russia's countless outdoor markets), 70 percent are women. Many of them work upwards of ten hours a day, on their feet, in inclement weather, and are solely responsible for the transport of their heavy goods to and from market. The work is long, demanding, brutal, and often black market" (*The Russia Journal* 1999a: 2). This is a common trait shared by many women working in informal sectors. In local, informal markets around the world women can be found selling produce

only computers and faxes, but also clothing and cosmetics” (Medvedev 2000: 171). In this system, Russian goods such as needlework, produce specialties, and craftwork are traded for foreign items, which are then traded in local Russian markets. Women keep a low profile in this trade dealing only in smaller, personal items as “entrepreneurialism tends to be not an informed choice but a survival strategy” emerging out of women’s responses to economic transition (Bruno 1997: 57). Women’s struggle to keep poverty at bay is a juggling act of collecting just enough money to make ends meet.

The majority of women cannot afford to leave employment and, if they are made redundant or their job no longer guarantees enough to live on, then they resort to survival strategies. These may include cottage industry work and street vending, working as domestics for foreigners or the new rich, sub-letting flats and renting somewhere else to live off the difference (Bruno 1996: 45).

Russian women’s efforts to stave off impoverishment and overcome marginalization are taking a toll on their psychological and physical well-being.

In both rural and urban environments women form the majority of Russia’s working poor and unemployed. Analogous to the framework developed in the preceding chapter, Russian women are experiencing transition to a market economy as a process that increases discriminatory labour practices, which lead to mass female unemployment reinforced by a deskilling and devaluing of their abilities. Due to low wages and the escalating costs of living, some women are being forced into the informal sector or into flexible labour in order to supplement their incomes and strategize their time for domestic responsibilities. Thus, “in an attempt to make enough money to keep their families afloat, many women are leaving the professional jobs that they were trained for to take up positions as street traders and other female-dominated low-prestige occupations that arose with the advent of a market-oriented

and wares to support themselves and their families.

economy” (Sperling 1998: 268). Russian women’s double burdens and the pressures of economic reforms have strained households to capacity, increasing tensions within the family. The unstable nature of the domestic economy and changing state policies, further alienate women and for female-headed households and the elderly, this leads to destitution. Consequently, “as in other regions, poverty in Russia is experiencing a feminization” as women confront impoverishment and social collapse (Rhein 1998: 351).

3.4 The Marginalization and Impoverishment of Russian Women

Russian women’s conditions have deteriorated steadily and in specific ways since the introduction of market reforms. The social repercussions have had serious outcomes within Russian society, affecting all ages and genders from children to old-age pensioners. The dismantling of the healthcare system has resulted in irreparable damage, leaving a large portion of the population facing malnutrition, virulent disease, and death from any number of causes from violence to alcoholism. Within this depressed atmosphere women must also contend with their feelings of identity loss, exclusion, and abandonment. As a result, the ability of households to maintain their traditional networks of support has been undermined and women, in their struggle to survive, have been forced into marginalized and often illegal survival strategies.¹⁵

Families and extended community networks are breaking apart in both rural and

¹⁵ According to economist Zoya Khotkina “Russian women were pushed out of the professional sector and forced to accept low-pay, unskilled, labour-intensive and often illegal work...largely black market...We fought for the democratization of our society and won its criminalisation...Women’s work is getting more and more illegal and even criminal” (*The Russia Journal* 1999a: 2). An example of the inductive coercion criminal elements can utilize to lure women into criminal activity is the observation that “in other regions [of Russia] women in the countryside are increasingly growing poppy and hemp, and drug traders often offer children’s clothes and schoolbooks as payment for crops” (Hughes 2002: 10). This is also an example of how women’s social reproductive roles can be manipulated, not only to exclude them from economic and political equivalence but also as a means to exploit them for profit, which is another commonality shared by some women around the world.

urban areas due to the social and economic pressures exerted upon individuals and households.¹⁶ Communities often disintegrate as people leave their villages and migrate in search of employment. Despite the restrictions curtailing internal migration, people are deserting their homes to seek work in regions that are more financially stable, which in turn threatens rural village life in Russia. Sue Bridger (1997: 47) observed in her field research that “in the Russian country side as a whole there were three times more women than men of pensionable age; taken together, these statistics produced the phenomenon of thousands of dying villages in which virtually all inhabitants were female pensioners.” In many cases, old age pensioners are being abandoned to survive on their own, leaving them dependent upon pensions that are frequently unpaid. Circumstances such as these are placed into stark reality considering the following comments from an elderly rural woman Sue Bridger (1997: 48) interviewed.

When I first retired I got 103 roubles and that was plenty. I could buy everything I wanted with 50 and then put 50 aside. Now I get 14,000 and I can't do anything. I need medicine but it costs 22,500 just one packet so I can't buy it. I just have to make do with the things I've got. Everyone used to be the same. It didn't matter if you were a dairywoman or a doctor, you could buy the same clothes, and live the same- there weren't these big differences between people. Life for women here now is unbearable; it's very, very hard.

In these harsh economic times, elderly members become added burdens on Russian families who are desperately trying to minimize risks. Consequently, large numbers of pensioners are deserted as the costs of supporting them are beyond the means of many families. Further, with the erosion of public welfare systems, all of Russian society is seriously jeopardized by

¹⁶ In Russia and elsewhere in some parts of the world, the importance of family networks and community safety nets as primary mechanisms of support for many women is reaffirmed. Once these networks start to unravel the burdens on women can compound exponentially, increasing women's defenselessness and vulnerability. As most women have responsibility for the care economy of the household, they are often left to bear the burdens of providing for the family in times of crisis. As women become undermined in their capabilities, other

increasing medical expenses and severely curtailed access to healthcare.¹⁷

Poor health is systemic among both urban and rural women as nutritional requirements are often not met and personal health issues are left unattended.¹⁸ Russian women have generally suffered from poor health due to environmental pollution, poor working conditions, and by using abortion as a contraceptive measure. Russian children have high rates of illness and “up to 8% of all children are born with serious birth defects, and only one child in five is born free of problems. According to school authorities, only one-tenth of all schoolchildren are fully healthy” (Gustafson 1999: 185). Also, in the early years of economic restructuring between 1992-1993, Russian men suffered a substantial increase in their mortality rates, linked to the stresses and uncertainty brought about by market transition (Brainerd 1998).¹⁹ As a result, the number of female-headed households increased in Russia during a period of severe economic recession. Additionally, with the contraction of healthcare in the 1990s, Russia faced high infant mortality rates and childbirth deaths. The state of the nation’s health was further compromised by the return of virulent diseases such as diphtheria, syphilis, dysentery, hepatitis, and tuberculosis (Gustafson 1999). These factors

members who depend upon them also become defenseless and vulnerable.

¹⁷ The outcomes resulting from economic reforms in Russia have been described as ‘genocide’ especially in relation to the high mortality rates and lowered life expectancies registered throughout the Russian population. In relation to the horrendous destruction of the healthcare system “the WHO, which along with the EU and the World Bank recommended Russia jettison its state health service in favor of an insurance model, acknowledges it may have made a mistake” (Moore 1999: 1).

¹⁸ This appears to be a shared strategy amongst some women, in that they sacrifice their nutritional intake to increase the allotment to other family members in times of great hardship. Often girl-children’s rations are also reduced. However, women worsen their health by trying to make ends meet in various ways, such as exposing themselves to unsafe and dangerous working conditions. Further, women’s health can be compromised by such desperate strategies as “selling their blood to blood banks to earn small amounts of money to support their families” (Hughes 2002: 10). In some parts of the world this has led to the selling of organs for transplants and it is a very lucrative business in the black market. The donors however receive inadequate medical care (in some circumstances it is outright butchery) and little money, compared to the profits of third parties.

¹⁹ Wendy Moore (1999: 1) views the cause of some men’s deaths as a result of “poverty, political upheaval and binge-drinking [and writes that] many victims—who were mainly young men literally drank themselves to death.”

have all considerably weakened the capacity for social regeneration in Russian society.

Abandonment by men of their families is commonplace and “the frequency with which sick or disabled women, or those with children in a similar condition” are being deserted is increasing (Bridger 1997: 47).²⁰ Sue Bridger highlights the following letter sent to *Krest’ianka* magazine as just one in thousands of appeals being sent out by women, old age pensioners, and the disabled.

My daughter has suffered a dreadful tragedy. She lost both hands in an accident at work and her husband immediately left her with the four children. We are desperately fighting for survival but we don’t have the strength to go on. The children aren’t going to school this year because we have no money for clothes. We scarcely have enough for food. Perhaps some kind people would help us clothe the children (Bridger 1997: 48).

The difficulties of trying to bridge the poverty gap is especially debilitating for female-headed households, but in cases where women bear a disproportionate responsibility for the care of children and household expenses it is equally onerous. Russian women may experience “economic violence, when the husband [or partner] exact[s] irrational control over the woman’s finances” and consequently income allocated for children’s education and medical care is diminished. (*The Russia Journal* 1999a: 3).²¹ With the breakdown of kinship systems and networks of mutual aid, this situation leads to intolerable misery.

Alena Ledeneva (1998) discusses the breakdown of a mutual support system of favours (*blat*) that was collectively developed by Russian society to cope with the rigors of the Soviet lifestyle. It was through this system of networking, that aid and access to goods

²⁰ The abandonment of families by men was noted beforehand as a male strategy in times of economic hardship.

²¹ Psychologist Albina Pashina has made note of this behaviour towards women by Russian men (*The Russia Journal* 1999a). Furthermore, this proprietary attitude concerning women’s income by men has been noted as a common occurrence elsewhere, as noted by Aslanbeigui et al. (1994: 3), that “in times of economic crisis, men intensify their demands on women’s cash income.”

and services was often provided on a communal, personal basis.²² However, with the introduction of the market economy, this process underwent a hybridization whereby relationships have become monetized.

Tendencies towards a decrease in mutual help, the narrowing of circles and the break-up of personal networks, should not be understood to imply that connections no longer function. They are necessary and maintained, but their 'social' charge (implied by *blat*) seems to be overtaken by their 'functional' (calculated) one. In other words, connections in the socialist economy were predominately 'value-oriented' (rhetoric of friendship, requests for others), while now they are driven by considerations of self-interest and mutual profit (Ledeneva 1998: 199-200).

Consequently, disintegration of mutual support systems within Russian society can be linked to ideological features of the market economy. As informal welfare networks shrink, those who are most economically disadvantaged become further marginalized. Community networks are important for both rural and urban women as a means of obtaining goods and services otherwise out of reach. For most people in Russia, "networks of mutual obligations were something that could be tapped into over the years, when a specific need arose. The introduction of notions of value expressed through monetary prices came as a shock to many Russians" (Bruno 1997: 68). Therefore on one hand, in the Russian world of 'business,' the '*blat* network' has undergone significant change with the advent of marketization, but on the other hand, women have attempted to maintain traditional social networks of informal exchange on the margins of society.²³

Although there is a diversity of responses and reactions to economic restructuring

²² The *blat* system under the Soviet regime was often technically illegal, but so entrenched as a means to access goods and services that even bureaucrats participated in it and so 'turned a blind eye' to its illegalities. In some cases, dependent upon the nature of exchange it was more or less a system of barter and mutual social aid. It was the nature of the goods exchanged or the services rendered that could construe it as illegal in some cases.

²³ The development of surrogate kinship systems or attempting to maintain traditional networks of exchange is a common strategy employed by many women.

amongst women in Russia, overall, a sense of collective betrayal by the state and an urgency to survive prevails (Pilkington 1997; Corrin 1996; Ashwin and Bowers 1997; Sperling 1998, 1999). Initially some women felt a sense of relief from mandatory participation in the workforce, but this quickly dissipated as women began to identify a sense of estrangement related to their social exclusion in the household. The so-called liberation from the double burden of work has resulted in women's isolation and an increase in their domestic and unpaid labour in the home. Some women report being deeply psychologically and emotionally affected by unemployment and "the impact on women's sense of self-worth is immense and signs of serious depression [are] evident" (Pilkington 1997: 129). Women in Russia are feeling a loss of identity and a sense of uselessness in their lives. For forced migrant women from the Newly Independent Countries (NICs), these feelings are magnified as they struggle with the trauma of dislocation and the new realities within Russia. As one woman said, "Now I am at home. I cannot feel myself to be a complete citizen of Russia. I must interact, I must work" (Pilkington 1997: 129). The difficulties of adjusting for forced migrant women are overwhelming considering the range of prejudices they face not only as women, but also as refugees.²⁴ In interviews conducted by Sarah Ashwin and Elain Bowers (1997) these feelings of exclusion were recurring themes in many women's experiences. Clearly, many Russian women are not experiencing a sense of freedom from their previous double burdens as workers and mothers.

There was a remarkable consistency in the terms in which women talked about the place of work in their lives; all of them saw their status as workers and members of 'labour collectives' as crucial to their sense of identity. Work provided a release from the monotony of home life, was a source of

²⁴ Most of the refugees are of Russian ethnicity from the former satellite states. However, some migrants come from persecuted minority populations within those states, such as the Romany. Also, Khodyreva (1996) mentions the sexual exploitation of female Chechyna refugees.

companionship and support, and participation in social production was seen as inherently valuable. Moreover, women workers often consider their domestic burden to be at least as onerous as their duties at work (Ashwin and Bowers 1997: 27).

Thus, important networks of mutual support are also eroded from the loss of work where many women established extended kinship systems. The loss of social association with others in the work environment has atomized women in households and further increased their sense of powerlessness.

As women in the transition period have receded into the household and into poverty the incidences of violence and domestic abuse have escalated dramatically.²⁵

14,400 cases of rape were recorded in the Russian Federation in the year 1993, a figure which is thought to represent, at most, 10 percent of the total. In the same year, 14,500 women were reported to have been murdered by their husbands (or male partners). This constituted more than half of the total number of recorded murders in the country, and far exceeded the widely publicized mafia killings (Attwood 1997: 99).

Since domestic violence is considered a private matter, there is little recourse for women.²⁶

The courts are notoriously unresponsive to violent crimes towards women and without redress mechanisms or social support, many must contend with their fate. Additionally, because of housing shortages, "there is no law which requires police to remove a violent man from the apartment he shares with his wife or ex-wife if this is where he is registered to live; nor are there any hostels or shelters in Russia for battered women," it is a situation that offers women no means of escape (Attwood 1997: 102). Also, youth gang rape is a common

²⁵ Albina Pashina specifies that in 1998 "domestic violence in Russia nearly doubled after the crisis," she further notes that the number of targeted women at this time who called into the abuse hotline amounted to the total callers recorded in 1997 (*The Russia Journal* 1999a: 3). Violence against women is systemic and encompasses physical, psychological and economic manifestations.

²⁶ Greater numbers of women are experiencing increasing endemic violence and it has been noted in several regions as an outcome of economic restructuring, due to employment insecurity or where reliance on a male-breadwinner (neoliberal economic model of the household utilized in SAPs) puts many women in vulnerable and dependent positions. It is generally viewed as a private matter (private sphere) not requiring public intervention (public sphere). There is little protection for most women anywhere on issues of domestic violence

occurrence and has become a means of establishing territory and dominance in both rural and urban areas, thereby intensifying safety and security issues in communities. However, the rising incidence of street children (social orphans) contributes to this escalating trend.²⁷

Most violence against women goes unreported because there is a lack of confidence and trust in enforcement or judicial systems. Speaking out against violence against women is considered taboo and therefore “the culture of non-reporting in Russia is partly due to fear of publicity and revenge, but is associated also with the sympathy with which the rape offenders are treated” (Pilkington 1996: 11). Women are left unprotected and vulnerable as there are no institutional welfare mechanisms they can turn to for help. As a whole, there appears to be a widespread social malaise within Russian society that surfaced with a vengeance in the 1990s.

[T]here is a deeper current of chronic social disease that is continuing to build. Rising rates of suicide and alcoholism, to mention only two, show more clearly than public opinion surveys the depth of popular demoralization. Consumption of alcohol, especially vodka, skyrocketed in the 1990s. Alcohol is the special curse of the Russian male, but in recent years alcoholism has been growing fastest among women and children (Gustafson 1999: 184).

Russian women are suffering intensely from economic poverty, social degeneration, and marginalization. Equivalent to the framework outlined beforehand, with the implementation

(Beneria 1992; Safa and Antrobus 1992; UNRISD 1995; Aslanbeigui and Summerfield 2000; Cook et al 2000).

²⁷ An example of this problem is illustrated by the following instance for one region in Russia, “in Archangelsk Oblast in 1998, police picked up 9,000 teenagers for sleeping on the streets. There is a significant problem of sexual exploitation of these children, as evidenced by criminal proceedings against 319 people for using children in unlawful activities, with 18 people being sentenced for sex with minors” (Hughes 2002: 25). Further, many younger children are also being abandoned (social orphans) as families become subsumed by poverty and as MiraMed Institute, an NGO working in Russia reports, many children are being sold out of orphanages for sexual purposes. See MiraMed site: <http://www.miramedinstitute.org/traffic/htm>. Many youths who have lost parents through high mortality rates in the last decade live on the streets and “according to UNICEF, more than 500,000 Russian children lost a parent prematurely between 1990 and 1995” (Hughes 2002: 35). Additionally, after the 1998 crisis a further spike in civilian deaths occurred. Youth gangs have started street prostituting but when their profits grow high Russian organized crime steps in and absorbs the operation or else demands protection money (Hughes 2002; Kelly 2002; Zabelina 1996). This too, is common in other parts of the world where children live in the streets and are subject to massive abuse, sexual exploitation

of market reforms in Russia, women's social capital and physical security are being systemically eroded.²⁸

Russian women are experiencing a feminization of poverty and marginalization as they are excluded from social production and shifted back into the household. As social deterioration is deepening, they are confronted with an increasingly inaccessible state that has endangered their well being and security "by allowing a number of unofficial, and often illegal, practices to develop, the Soviet state let women drift towards survival strategies, unable to create any better alternatives to help them survive the transition" (Bruno 1997: 59). In the transition to a liberalized market economy, organized crime has taken hold and developed strong foundations within Russian society and government. As Russian organized crime has flourished, it has responded to the elite business class demands for sexual services within Russia and to the expanding opportunities in the sex industry transnationally. Consistent with the framework of the previous chapter, many women in Russia pushed to their limits with few if any options have taken up work in the informal sector, in sex industry employment, or sought means to migrate abroad. These survival strategies in conjunction with women's vulnerable socioeconomic status and a corrupt courtesan state are enabling Russian organized crime to traffic Russian women worldwide.

and enslavement as labourers.

²⁸ Many women subject to impacts of economic restructuring share these gendered effects. The generic template causes serial, gendered repercussions within all societies because of the severe gender biases built into SAPs. This process has been ongoing on a global scale since the early 1980s (Steinstra 1994). As UNRISD (1995: 42) noted, "the adjustment model was fundamentally flawed precisely because it failed to take into account real social circumstances, let alone ways in which adjustment measures caused social relations to mutate in new and uncertain directions." The Commonwealth Secretariat (1989) also noted the disproportionate gendered consequences in its publication, Engendering Adjustment For the 1990s: Report of a Commonwealth Expert Group on Women and Structural Adjustment.

3.5 Russian Mafiya²⁹ Profiteers

The power of Russian organized crime has far reaching influence; it covers all of Russia and the former Soviet Union with major footholds established across the globe in such regions as North America and Southeast Asia. In the TIPs 2002 report, Russia is listed as one of the foremost corrupt countries in the world and as such is regarded as a threat to world order.³⁰ As organized crime moves to consolidate its position by installing criminal representatives throughout bureaucracies, political parties, businesses, and law enforcement agencies, it becomes an impediment to democratic transformation for transition countries in Central and Eastern Europe. As a result, it is important to grasp an understanding of Russian organized crime's scope by briefly examining its structure and operation in order to perceive the depth of its power and control, illustrated in this thesis by its ability to globalize the trafficking trade of Russian women.

In Russia, the informal world of 'business' emerged out of black market enterprises in the Soviet era and is commonly referred to as the second economy or *mafiya*. The presence of a second economy has been part of Russian society throughout the Soviet era and has roots extending into the Tsarist past. But with the introduction of liberalization and market reforms, "the Russian economy has been transformed into a highly corrupt and criminalized economic system" (Glinkina et al. 2001: 233). The second economy is highly evolved and is

²⁹ Please note that *Mafiya* is the Russian equivalent of the Italian-American Mafioso or Mafia, a term signifying organized crime. In Russian organized crime "unlike the Italian mafia, which is organized hierarchically and often within families around a single 'godfather,' the Russian '*mafiya*,' or '*organizatsiya*,' is generally divided into networks arranged along regional or ethnic lines," however, some of these networks exert more power and control than others (GSN 1997: 32).

³⁰ The rhetoric concerning transnational crime versus the fight against transnational crime between the US and Russia often takes on the characteristics of the Cold War relationship. Though the superpower status of Russia has waned the 'othering' continues in a different context. Therefore, the hypocrisy of this western position must be critically engaged, as the new world order and its financial architecture are accountable, to a large degree, for the rise of transnational crime and its increasing scope. Further, it continues to mask the criminality and

controlled by powerful crime groups³¹ that interact through a chain of command that is determined by their relative power and position within the Russian criminal network. The *blat* system of informal networking has transformed into a sophisticated method of operation that connects to every ministry of the government and sector of the market. “Pervasive bribery, corruption, the so-called ‘*nomenclatura* businesses,’ a criminal ‘second’ society and active interpenetration of big business with politics are all part of the criminalized legacy of the economy of favours” infused throughout Russian society (Ledeneva 1998: 213). International linkages have expanded by incorporating members from the Russian diaspora and various ethnic groups, creating a “society in which loyalty to one’s connections means more than loyalty to the state and where unwritten codes and social conventions dominate the law” (Ledeneva 1998: 214). The Russian *mafia* is such a powerful presence that it rivals the state apparatus and has authority throughout all segments of the population. In fact, it may be said that in Russia, it is difficult to separate the state from the *mafia* (Handleman 1995; Lindberg and Markovic 2001; Lintner 1996; Medvedev 2000; Klein and Pomer 2001).

With liberalization, deregulation, and privatization of the Russian domestic economy, the *mafia* was able to penetrate banking and industry and by taking advantage of capital mobility was able to establish itself transnationally. “Those active in the shadow economy lived not just by the laws of the market but by those of the criminal world. The legalization of private enterprise opened up major possibilities for them,” allowing organized crime to

complicity of powerful states and their agents.

³¹ Some powerful Russian crime groups are *Kazanskaya*, *Izmailovskaya*, *Dagestantsy*, *Dolgopruadnanskaya* and *Solntsensskaya*. These groups may cover certain regions or districts and have particular specialties or services that they offer. But it is difficult to be certain of the hierarchy of organized crime groups due to the nature of the network and the deep protection of the most influential players, or bosses, called *pakhans*. However, they appear to be run by a strict code of conduct, *Vorovskoy Zakom*, and are referred to as Thieves in Law, *Vory y Zakone* in a network termed *Vorovskoi*, Thieve’s World. The history of underworld society in Russia has roots extending to the 16th century (Richard 1999; Shelley 2001; Hughes 2002; Lindberg and

operate within the regulated economy and the shadow economy (Medvedev 2000: 170).³²

It is estimated that the *mafiya* is comprised of 200,000 active criminal groups and 5,500 large organizations (Glinkina 2001 et al.). In a report presented in 1993 to the Supreme Soviet on crime and corruption, “numerous cases of connections between organized crime and highly placed government figures, including military officers, especially in the Western Group of the Russian army” were cited (Medvedev 2000: 100). Further, because market transition called for the shedding of labour and the dismantling of state enterprises and industrial-military complexes, the Russian *mafiya* was able to enlarge upon the expertise within its ranks by assimilating redundant KGB³³ operatives and decommissioned military personnel, as well as an array of academicians such as engineers, technicians, and scientists. The assimilation of this expertise has allowed the Russian *mafiya* to expand by developing specialized operations such as “selling private protection services both for Russian and international companies, often in cooperation with various state agencies” (Vayrynen 2002: 13). Indeed, the Russian *mafiya* benefited from the unemployment crisis initiated by economic reforms in a two-fold manner: first, through assimilating expertise and second, through exploiting the burgeoning pool of disenfranchised and vulnerable Russian women. The opportunity presented by the presence of a population of impoverished women adjusting to the harsh conditions precipitated by market reforms, enabled the Russian *mafiya* to develop the trafficking of women as a key enterprise.

In fact, the trade in trafficked Russian and former Soviet women is referred to as the Natasha Trade because “in some parts of the world, such as Israel and Turkey, women from

Markovic 2001; Handleman 1995).

³² The second economy is also referred to as the shadow economy.

³³ This was the acronym for the secret security branch during the Soviet era, before the break-up of the USSR.

Russia and other republics of the Former Union are so prevalent, that prostitutes are called 'Natashas'" (Hughes 2000: para. 8). Another term used by organized crime to refer to trafficked Russian women under its control is '*matryoshka*,' which is a reference to the traditional Russian nested dolls sold worldwide (Shelley 2001).

The collapse of the former Soviet opened up a pool of millions of women from which traffickers can recruit. Now, former Soviet republics, such as Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia and Russia, have become major sending countries for women trafficked into sex industries all over the world. In the sex industry markets today, the most popular and valuable women are from Ukraine and Russia (Hughes 2000: para. 2).

Russian organized crime has well-established methods of recruitment and a powerful shadow market infrastructure to facilitate trafficking in women. Due to well-developed patterns of informal trading and linkages to previous migration circuits, established routes are in place for the transportation of migrants and trafficked women. Most importantly, markets of demand for trafficked women exist in the protectorate of Kosovo, and in such countries as Belgium, Japan, the Netherlands, China, Germany, France, Israel, the United Arab Emirates, and the United States.

To cover the extensive markets that these countries represent, the Russian *mafiya* has worldwide interconnections with other criminal syndicates and "crime groups are creating global strategic alliances, often with co-ethnic groups across several countries" in order to effectively extend their networking capabilities (Sassen 2000: para. 36). Traffickers operate to make profit and are usually highly organized.

Even in instances, where they are not directly responsible for trafficking women overseas, Russian criminal groups provide a '*krisha*' ('roof'), or security and protection, for the operations, and they have incorporated the trafficking of women as an increasingly profitable part of their activities inside and outside the country (GSN 1997: 32).

This administrative arm has now been renamed the Federal Security Service (FSB) in Federated Russia.

There are several strands in the trafficking web: recruiters, transport and delivery operators, middlemen, and buyers or pimps, and clients. The distribution system follows a trajectory that starts at the source countries, with movements through transit countries, which culminate in the target or final destination country. However, with the increasing movement of women between countries, it becomes difficult to determine paths of trafficking. As in the case of Russia, it is a source country, a transit country that also moves women from elsewhere onward to Europe, and a destination country. Traffickers often move women from one destination to another in order to elude detection.

Although there is small scale traffic involving few individuals, there are, more importantly, large enterprises and international networks creating sophisticated and well organized 'industry' with political support and economic resources in countries of origin, transit, and destination. Cases of corruption of officials have also been reported. There seems also to be links with other forms of criminality. Trafficking in women is becoming a major source of income for some organized criminal groups. High profits gained by these criminal organizations often imply the creation of front companies involved in legitimate activities. Profits are also laundered and fed into other illicit activities, including narcotics and arms trafficking (The European Commission 2001: para. 6).

Profits from trafficking in Russian and other former Soviet Union women, are a source of funds for Central and East European co-ethnic groups to finance the purchase of arms for regional conflicts. Trafficking in drugs operates in a parallel manner for some of these gangs. The Russian *mafia*, as a major illegal arms trader and drug distributor, thus creates a feedback loop - arms and sex, for drugs and money.

Three cities in Russia appear to be primary sites for coordinating trafficking activities within Russia: Moscow, St. Petersburg and Vladivostok. These cities are strategically located, key transportation hubs supporting diverse infrastructures. For instance, St. Petersburg is near the European Union, a demand market for trafficked women, and close to

the Baltic countries, a supply source for trafficked women. The IOM (2000a) has confirmed that Baltic women, particularly Lithuanian women, form a disproportionate number of former Soviet women trafficked by the Russian mafiya. Vladivostok is near the Japanese and Chinese markets and is strategically located for eastern out-bound trafficking. The former eastern satellite countries are also a source for trafficked women who are entrapped while attempting to migrate out of unstable regions. Kiev, in the Ukraine, is another distribution focal point for trafficking activities. Moscow is centrally located and is a "key recruiting center, which supplies German, Polish and Asian markets. According to Eleonora Loutchnikova, a spokesperson for Moscow's city hall, some 330 Russian companies do prostitution-related business, sending 50,000 women abroad every year" (Loncle 2001: 2). However, it is believed that numbers are substantially higher than those given out by Russian authorities. Cities within Russia are linked through the network to cosmopolitan cities such as New York, Berlin, and Tokyo. And Russian diasporas have added to organized crime linkages around the world, enlarging the network.

By 1994, at least 30,000 Russian émigrés lived in Berlin, 20,000 of whom were thought to have links to criminal syndicates known as the 'Bratva,' or brotherhood. In Germany, members of the Russian mafiya control the traffic of Russian women and children for prostitution, together with pimps from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia (GSN 1997: 35-36).

Profits are dispersed to agents throughout the network and payment is determined by specific functions within the operation and "criminal gangs smuggling them earn about US \$500 to US\$ 1000 per woman delivered" (Sassen 2000: para. 34). Women are treated as chattel and profits from trading in them support other forms of illegal and legal trading. Ethnic crime factions such as Kurds, Serbians, Albanians, Romanians, Turks, and Bosnians are all implicated in trafficking activities. The entire system is supported by a proliferation of

regional and local black markets throughout Central and Eastern Europe where “right next to sellers of used jeans, assault rifles and stolen Mercedes are women and girls whose main income is selling sexual services” (Dickinson 1998: 100). Tragically, some women have become recruited by traffickers while fleeing war-torn regions and now, are being exploited as a source of revenue to sustain those conflicts. It is an insidious cycle that preys upon women.³⁴

In transit countries, women may be put up for sale on one of the auction blocks, such as in the ‘Arizona Market’³⁵ in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where women from Moldavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, and Russia are sold. Many of these women will go to Kosovo to be put into prostitution. “In Kosovo, according to Pasquale Lupoli, head of the local office of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), brothels have mushroomed with the influx of KFOR soldiers, employees of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo and personnel from various NGOs” and the conditions women are reportedly held in are similar to slavery (Loncle 2001: 2). Other women are dispersed through Central European countries to work on the main traffic arteries to and from the European Union where “these women can expect to service on average 15 [or more] clients a day, and each can be expected to make about US\$215,000 per month for the gang controlling them” (Sassen 2000: para. 34). Women can be traded and sold several times between owners, or through flesh markets. There are also

³⁴ The cycle metaphor is born out when we follow a pattern of economic restructuring and the dangerous, precipitous effects that arise for many women. For instance, in the former Yugoslavia Allen (1999: 2) traces the conflict to the 1980s when “the International Fund (IMF) and the World Bank imposed various macro economic reforms and structural adjustment programs on the country that first checked economic expansion and after 1990 led to widespread collapse and unemployment.” Now throughout this region women are trafficked or fleeing, seeking asylum. Yet, interestingly factions such as the Kosovo Serbs and Albanians cooperate in the trafficking trade, which garners income for arms. See William G. O’Neill (2002) *Kosovo: An Unfinished Peace* and Noam Chomsky (2000) *A New Generation Draws The Line: Kosovo, East Timor And The Standards of the West*

³⁵ The Arizona Market is one of the biggest black markets in Europe at Brcko in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

reports of slave camps where women are indoctrinated and then shipped out.³⁶ The price of resistance can be fatal, bringing retributions such as public beheadings, beatings, torture, mutilation, and death. The capability of this network is immense and it is responsible for developing the scaffolding of terror and inhumanity under which the global trafficking of Russian and Eastern European women takes place (Richard 1999; Shelley 1999; GSN 1997; Hughes 2002; OSCE 1999, 2001).

3.6 Russian Trafficking Under the Shadow of the Mafiya and the State

As Russia has come under economic restructuring, it has taken on all the characteristics of a courtesan state. In order to meet the obligations of structural adjustment and move toward a free market economy, the workforce was drastically reduced, state enterprises dismantled, and public services eliminated. Due to the severity of changes Russia was thrown into economic, social, and political turmoil. Two significant features arising in response to economic restructuring in Russia are the rise of powerful criminal organizations and the radical decline in Russian women's status. This section charts the sexual objectification and exploitation of Russian women in the workforce with the advent of marketization, the increasing presence of women in the sex industry, and the movement of women into trafficking by criminal enterprises. The increasing power of organized crime within Russia is mapped in relation to trafficking, revealing the methods used to recruit and entrap women. The complete disregard of the Russian state for the well-being and security of Russian women is revealed in spotlighting the treatment of trafficked Russian women in detainment, bringing the cycle of trafficking to a conclusion from recruitment to arrest.

In Russia, women are forced to compromise their social and physical integrity in

³⁶ Reported in *Le Monde Diplomatique* as told by Christian Amiard, head of France's Central Office for the

order to secure employment. For Russian women in a discriminatory labour market the only way “they can guarantee their economic independence [is] by selling sex to men. Either way, sex is their only marketable commodity” (Attwood 1996: 118).³⁷ Women work within service industry occupations throughout both formal and informal circuits of the economy where an “overtly sexual element [has been introduced] into the new labour market” (Bridger and Kay 1996: 32). Advertisements for job opportunities are very specific about the qualifications of applicants: specifying age, physical characteristics, and family status. Both foreign and domestic companies are posting “job advertisements seeking ‘young and pretty girls’ to become secretaries and personal assistants, and on occasion sexual relations with the boss are implied” (Pankova 1992: 6 [cited in McMahon 1994: 70]). Many advertisements flatly state that only men should apply or that women with children will not be considered. In the formal economy, men’s sexual prerogative to women “has become a common element in mainstream employment” and is customary practice (Bridger and Kay 1996: 32). The popular phrase in ads that acknowledge the nature of these job offers is *bez kompleksov*, ‘without complexes.’³⁸

Those who still work are, for the most part, in the poorly paid state sector: only 25 per cent of workers in the private sector are female, and they are generally confined to relatively low-paid traditional female service posts such as secretary, assistant and receptionist. The increasing competition for work means that women can be more easily exploited by their bosses, and sexual harassment and sexual abuse are now rife. Job advertisements routinely ask female applicants for details of their physical appearance, and some managers expect their secretaries to provide sexual services either for themselves or their clients (Bruno 1997: 103).

Treatment of Human Beings (OCRTEH).

³⁷ Sadly, Martina Vandenberg, the American coordinator of the Women’s Consortium CIS-USA, which supports women’s NGOs in Russia and the Ukraine, reiterated this statement more recently when she said, “the only thing Russian women have of value in the market is sex.” From an article titled “Women are the dissidents of the 1990s” (*The Russia Journal* 2002: 2). See <http://therussiajournal.com/index>. This site has interesting articles on all aspects of Russian issues and lifestyle.

³⁸ Also from article on electronic journal-*The Russia Journal* (2001)- “Working Girls, Working Women.”

Negotiations in the business world are carried out through the exchange of Russian women's sexuality. Both national and international clients have come to expect this as part of the ritualistic process of establishing business relationships.

For many women, the exchange of sex for employment is a bargain made to escape the drudgery of village life and poverty. Further, a longer-term private relationship can provide a means to mediate the harsh conditions of existence when salaries are not enough to pay for food and accommodation.

When so many doors remain closed to women in Russia today it is not surprising if those who are young and attractive see the option of what might be termed 'undercover' prostitution as a career move. Although women may well embark on a relationship such as this through an acquaintance made in the normal way, the business element of the deal is underlined by the many personal ads in which men offer financial security in return for a full-time sexual relationship, or a more casual affair in the case of those who are already married or simply wanting to brighten up a regular business trip (Bridger and Kay 1996: 34).

These types of arrangements also become a conduit that can provide for distressed family members.³⁹ But it does put women in danger, as these situations can slide into violent abuse. Sexual exploitation in the labour market is a condition that Russian women are facing everyday and the "key to this disturbing situation is, of course, the catastrophic fall in living standards which has accompanied the drop in employment" (Bridger and Kay 1996: 32). Due to the competition and the number of women dependent on an income, male employers can manipulate women's circumstances to demand sexual favours.

Sex related enterprises⁴⁰ are prolific throughout the former Soviet Union and steady streams of young, unemployed women from both urban and rural regions are channeled into

³⁹ As noted previously, this is a shared strategy amongst many women to access much needed income for the household.

⁴⁰ The market terminology is used as it is commonly applied to women's sexual labour in mainstream writing.

“the domestic sex industry in Central and Eastern Europe [which] has been booming since the fall of communist regimes” (IOM 1995: 11). Russian organized crime has expanded the sex industry to such an extent within Russia that women from former satellite countries are trafficked into large urban centers such as Moscow. Many Russian women tend to be trafficked abroad because their potential for profit is higher. Therefore, while Russian organized crime traffics “Russian women into prostitution rings abroad, women from Moldova, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan are being sold into slavery rings within Russia” (Stolyarova 2001: 2). Some of these women are forced into marriages to rural farmers, as young Russian women have left the countryside, and many end up in the local sex trade.⁴¹

One area of the new Russian economy which clearly does have use for female workers is the sex industry. A full range of sexual services is now on offer to ‘new Russians’ - pornography, prostitution, erotic massage, striptease shows, ‘telephone sex’ - which have a clear significance for gender relations. It has been portrayed both as a result and a symbol of Russia’s rampant new consumer orientation, a side-effect of the ‘shady’ business dealings which characterize the Russian market (Attwood 1996: 113-114).

Fictitious advertisements for job opportunities are placed in newspapers by bogus employment agencies that recruit women into the sex industry. One of the largest growing sex entertainments within Russia is telephone sex. Telephone sex became legal in 1992 and since then, numerous businesses have sprung up catering to this market. This is one area of

⁴¹ Sue Bridger (1997) draws attention to advertisements in newspaper ads searching for rural wives. She points out that the need for wives is underscored by the need for their labour on farms. As farming communities decollectivize, some male agricultural labourers leave to find work in urban centers while others that are kept on in private or regionally operated farms remain. These men find themselves in need of wives, but due to the out-migration of local younger women, the ratio of ‘marriageable’ women to men is low, resulting in the demand for trafficked wives. This is a phenomenon that is seen worldwide following transformation to a market economy in many areas as women vacate the countryside and migrate to cities or industrial centers to find employment (Stalker 2000; Sassen 2000, 1998; Custers 1997; Beneria and Feldman 1992; Mies 1998; Waring 1999, 1997; Folbre 1995, 1997). It is a key contributor to forced marriages and trafficking of women. Further, it also illustrates a regional ethnic and racial hierarchy of how some women are trafficked. For instance, a similar

the sex industry where it is possible for older women and women with children to find work.

But the work is stressful and debilitating to women's health.

The work was extremely hard, with twelve hour shifts not uncommon. More than forty calls could be taken in one shift, 65 percent of which required the simulation of sex. Most of the women were soon complaining of exhaustion and several of deteriorating health. Male administrators listened in on the conversations periodically to make sure that the women achieved a sufficiently high 'professional level' (Attwood 1996: 116 [Zotova 1994]).

There are so few employment options open to women that sex industry jobs become coveted as competition intensifies. Despite the demands made on a women's health and well-being, 'telephone sex' employment provides a source of necessary income for women that cannot work in other sex industry areas due to age, disability or appearance.⁴²

Open prostitution is a relatively new phenomenon in Russia. Though there may have been underground remnants of prostitution, "officially prostitution did not exist in the Soviet Union, since its causes-private property and female poverty-had been eradicated. In the new Russia however, at least according to the press, it has become one of the biggest growth industries" (Attwood 1996: 114). Prostitution is stratified into categories spanning the 'undercover prostitute,' the high-end call girl that works the *Intourist Hotels*, the brothel and massage parlor circuit, and street prostitutes. At local levels and in outlying districts, pimps and corrupt police officers normally control street prostitution; however, they are all members within the mafiya organization. As one pimp interviewed by GSN (1997: 53) indicated, "the police are the same as the mafiya, but with epaulets."

Russian criminal organizations set up operational fronts under the guise of modeling

pattern is notable in China (Heise 1994; Zhuang 1998).

⁴² However, it should be noted that increasing numbers of women are subject to sexual exploitation, abuse and trafficking. At times women's added difficulties and challenges are used against them to coerce or trick them, as Zabelina (1996) reported for mentally challenged young women.

and employment agencies to access a wide range of women seeking employment. Sponsoring beauty contests is another ploy that is frequently used. Women participate in these events desperate to believe in the opportunities on offer.

That some modeling agencies are indeed, thinly disguised prostitution rackets, is made clear by reports in both the Russian and foreign press about Russian women trapped in prostitution after accepting modeling contracts. The most highly publicized cases have inevitably involved a traffic in women, controlled by Russian criminal groups across Europe (Bridger and Kay 1996: 33).

Another covert means of accessing young women is through the establishment of job training programs such as striptease schools. Through programs such as these, women are recruited into the sex industry where they are moved into prostitution, pornography, and sex entertainment work. One school in Moscow, called Aphrodite, became the subject of a public media report.

According to the director of the school, 'graduates' are to be sent to Germany, France, Norway, Sweden, and Singapore, where they will be guaranteed up to \$120 a night for three to six months, with the director getting 15 percent of their earnings. The director predicted that many of the women will stay abroad to work as prostitutes, thus acknowledging that Aphrodite serves as a front and procurer for international organized prostitution (Leuchtag 1995: 16).

A pernicious deception takes place within employment and modeling agencies. The women employed by these enterprises must sign an agreement, a contract of employment, specifying the terms and conditions of their work. As ILHR (1997) specifies, the contract acts to oblige women because they believe that it is legal and binding.

The contract becomes the mechanism of a woman's entrapment into debt-bondage. Women are transported to their place of employment once the visas and the passports have been arranged. Upon arrival at the destination of employment, women are confronted with the so-called terms of the contract and the reality of their situation. Traffickers use these

contracts to entrap women “in a financial arrangement that leaves them in debt and obligated indefinitely to their employers...disguised under the rubric of ‘service provider’...monetary penalties are added to the debt to traffickers that most women incur even before they start working in a sex-oriented business” (GSN 1997: 44-46). Thus begins the descent into enslavement. In a strange environment, with no money or documentation, the women are held hostage, completely under the control of traffickers. The following statements from ‘Lola,’ a trafficked Russian woman who is a sex worker in a Berlin nightclub, were recorded from an interview by a GSN investigator:

I’m like a machine now. I don’t think anything anymore. I only work. There’s no happiness in life. I know what it is to live when you can’t smile, or laugh, when you can’t live freely. Yesterday they simply put me in a car, and took me to an apartment. They wanted to beat me up. And you see, I can go home, but I’ll have problems in Russia. I have to pay them back this money, and they’ll leave me alone (GSN 1997: 49-50).

The profits from prostitution and various sex entertainment facilities are substantial and are protected by specific mafiya groups in designated cities and regions. The protection racket covers every aspect of Russian economic activity and extortion from marriage brokerages is commonplace.

Russian women have turned to the mail-order bride market as a survival strategy and currently, “the Philippines and Russia are the two largest sources of the foreign brides of U.S. men” (GSN 1997: 31). There are numerous advertisements in the Russian press and on the Internet, of men seeking out Russian women as wives. Also, there is a proliferation of marriage brokerages in Russia.

Another option...are the advertisements placed by Westerners in the Russian press. Mail order brides, a well-established feature of the traffic in women between South East Asia and the West, has come to Russia as a growing indicator of the new poverty. Russian women in search of security, especially those with young children, for whom prospects are bleak, are in demand as

accommodating non-feminist wives to predominately ageing divorced Western men (Bridger and Kay 1996: 34).

Western businessmen have established marriage brokerages in Russia and are acting as middlemen for their overseas clients. These enterprises arrange travel documentation, provide information, and hold conventions in Russia so the prospective partners can meet each other. However, foreign businesses must be careful not to offend criminal organizations and confrontations are usually avoided by paying protection fees to crime groups (GSN 1997; Hughes 2000, 2002; Kelly 2002; van Duyne et al. 2001; Lintner 1996). Another popular form of trafficking women as potential marriage partners, is the establishment of 'marriage camps' such as those reported along the borders of Scandinavian countries. Women are brought in by bus and men come to the camp to select a partner for trial marriages (Hughes 2002; Kelly 2002).

The fact that Mr. Average from an uninspiring provincial town feels he can aspire to a partner such as this, especially when so many of these potential Russian brides are highly educated, says a great deal about the buying power of Western currencies in Russia and gives the lie to all the talk of romance which surrounds this issue (Bridger and Kay 1996: 35).

A substantial number of women enter into these marriage arrangements to provide security for their children, but the background of male clients are not investigated and therefore, these unions may have a deleterious effect on women and children should the partner turn out to be abusive, a pedophile, or a pimp (Bridger and Kay 1996).

Uma Narayan (1995: 108) notes that Soviet mail-order-brides "are frequently subject to violent assault and abandonment" according to western press reports. Nevertheless, brokered marriages remain a viable means for women to strategize their options when opportunities for women are so seriously diminished.

An estimated 200 mail-order bride companies arrange 2,000-5,000 marriages in the United States each year. Many of these businesses are U.S. based firms with Russian liaisons which offer a range of services, depending on how much the bridegroom-to-be is willing to pay. For example, a \$1,850 membership fee for one marriage agency which specializes in Russian women buys the right to view photos and videos of 400 women (GSN 1997: 30-31).

Legitimate offers of marriage may provide Russian women with a paid passage out of Russia which circumvents becoming indebted to a *mafiya* moneylender. Therefore, for Russian women, "when conventional employment prospects are so poor, ordinary jobs are by no means risk-free and the spectre of poverty haunts millions, they may feel that they have very little to lose" (Bridger and Kay 1996: 35). Unfortunately, this vulnerability has been targeted by organized crime and other corrupt elements in the business world as a means to profit from Russian women's adverse circumstances.

Labour migration is a survival strategy that people have employed for generations, whether state sanctioned or not, as a means to mitigate unfavorable conditions at home and to seek new opportunities. However, the expenses involved in purchasing documentation and transportation hamper most Russian women. At this stage, many women turn to the services of *mafiya* middlemen in Russia. Consequently, the gendered disadvantages Russian women are facing in the domestic labour market follows them into labour migration.

There are few legal and independent ways for women to migrate within this informal labor sector. Owing to the nature of the work and for the forms of migration open to them, they are forced to make use of the services of dubious organizations and middlemen. This places migrating women in an extremely vulnerable situation, liable for misuse by procurers, employment agencies, artist agencies, marriage agencies, and all other kinds of middlemen, whether in the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the process...[also] the European Union, [has] put in place more restrictive immigration policies, thereby further decreasing the opportunities for legal migration even when there is a demand for labor in the informal sector. The result is a growing gap between official policies in destination countries and day-to-day practices. This is where organized crime comes in, filling the gap that official policies

leave (ILHR 1997: 31).⁴³

This is also the gap through which many younger Russian women are disappearing. Not all women who use the services of these middlemen become channeled into sex-oriented work. Some women and men may be put to work in sweatshop labour in ghettoized inner city areas and subject to the repayment of compounding debt obligations for the services rendered (IOM 1995; Richard 1999; OSCE 1999, 2001; ILHR 1997; ILO 2001). In the final analysis, people are being enslaved through the re-emergence of contract labour by these *mafia* organizations working in collaboration with their clients, whether those clients are brothel owners or quasi-legal subcontracting enterprises. Both the sending and receiving states turn a blind eye to accommodate their own self-interest. Exploiting women through biased state policies and state oversight provides a supply of labour for the sex industry and sweatshop manufacturing, ultimately filling the coffers of states, corporations, and private businesses (Shelley 1999, 2001; OSCE 2001; Friman and Andreas 1999; Mehmet et al 1999; UNRISD 1995; Hughes 2002). The demand for exploitable female labour keeps the vicious cycle of trafficking in play.

Trafficking is a set of complex, exploitive relationships that follow a continuum beginning at the local level of the household to international market exchanges in the world economy. States suppress issues of violence and exploitation against women through scaffolding discriminatory judicial and political practices, both inside and outside of states. Inside the state, “patterns of legal regulation and enforcement operate to create the very phenomenon of prostitution” and outside the state, immigration laws and domestic policies

⁴³ Part of remarks made by Marjan Wijers of the Foundation Against Trafficking in Women (Netherlands), at the ‘Trafficking of NIS Women Abroad’ conference (ILHR1997).

operate to create the phenomenon of trafficking (Zatz 1997: 283). Women's experiences are marginalized and compressed into national security and sovereignty concerns of migration, refugees, trafficking, prostitution, and criminality. The women disappear. The state shifts its culpability by criminalizing the trafficked women who are caught in a double bind between the world of crime and the world of civil society. Neither of these worlds extends trafficked women the right to human dignity or social justice.⁴⁴ The state characterizes itself as a victim of crime and posits trafficking as an organized criminal activity. As a consequence, these issues are subsumed beneath the state's paternal role as a protector of civil order. It is these deep-seated patriarchal systems of structural violence shared between states that facilitate worldwide abuses of women and permits their global trafficking.

Testaments of trafficked Russian women's experiences of arrest and detainment in Israel provide an example of how trafficked women are treated as 'disposable people.'⁴⁵ Israel is a principal destination country for trafficked Russian women due to the demand created by an active, Israeli military force and the ease of acquiring state tourist visas. It is also an émigré destination for many Russians through which the movement of trafficked women is cloaked. Organized Russian crime is well-established in Israel, where "a Russian or Ukrainian woman earns the pimp who controls her between US \$50,000 and \$100,000 per year"(Hughes 2000: para. 14). In April and May of 1999, Amnesty International conducted interviews of women held in Neve Tirza Prison in Israel, who were awaiting deportation as illegal aliens. From the report, it is clear that traffickers used diverse methods of recruitment

⁴⁴ An excellent book specifically related to Canadian Law, revealing embedded prejudices and male biases in the legal system is Locating Law: Race/Class/Gender Connections by Elizabeth Comack, ed. (1999). For an international context see Rethinking Rape: Gender Justice and the Proposed International Criminal Court by Laurie A. Goldbach (1998).

⁴⁵ This is a term used by Kevin Bales (1999).

ranging from: abduction, deception by fictitious employment offers, and full knowledge of employment as sex workers, but deception concerning working conditions. All of the women were kept in slavery-like conditions and many of them were severely abused. Upon being arrested and incarcerated these women were again subjected to abusive treatment by state authorities who withheld their basic human rights. It is standard procedure for trafficked women to be considered 'stateless persons' in the destination countries where they are apprehended. Further, the home countries of women reinforce this attitude by disavowing knowledge of them, leaving these women defenseless. On one hand, the circumstances of 'Anna' highlight the political and judicial inequities that confront trafficked women who are arrested, and on the other hand, the actions of states reveal corruption and duplicity in silently condoning the trafficking trade

In the case of Anna, the Russian consulate denied knowledge of her while also ignoring the submissions from AI on her behalf. Anna was being detained in Neve Tirza Prison for involvement in the sex industry.

The reason for her detention was apparently that the authorities wanted her to testify against the pimp. But the authorities never told Anna this or asked her consent to act as a witness. In court the police alleged that Anna had signed statements admitting to involvement in prostitution. But all the documents were in Hebrew, a language Anna neither reads nor writes (AI 2000: 5).

Anna, a thirty-one year old physics teacher from St. Petersburg, had accepted a job offer as a sex worker and traveled to Israel on a tourist visa. In an interview with the trafficker, she was guaranteed excellent working conditions and a good salary. Upon arrival in Israel the circumstances quickly changed. Anna was kept in slavery-like conditions in a room with barred windows, under constant surveillance. Her passport was confiscated and most of the money she earned was taken on the pretext of payment for 'fines.' Anna was auctioned twice

and at the second auction the bidder paid \$US10, 000. Upon her arrest after a raid she was put in prison. Many of these raids are arranged as scams between authorities and pimps so that “pimps, working in collaboration with officials, tip-off police on the whereabouts of women just about the time the women have earned enough money to leave, resulting in the women being deported and the pimps keeping all the money”⁴⁶ (Hughes 2000: para. 14). Anna was not seen as a victim of a crime but as a criminal. At the time AI interviewed Anna she was extremely distressed and afraid, explaining to AI “Arthur [the pimp] knows my address in St. Petersburg and my telephone number because he kept my passport. I have a small daughter, eight years old there. He threatened that he would find me in Russia, at home, if I did not do what he wanted me to” (AI 2000: 5). Anna was trapped and powerless between her fear of the criminals and of the authorities who were intimidating and coercing her.

During the pre-trial proceedings, Anna and the other women were informed that they were to be held as witnesses for charges against the traffickers, and further, they were compelled to testify.

We did not know that we would be witnesses. We never agreed to it. We were taken to the courtroom in handcuffs. They only told us in the courtroom. ‘Now you are witnesses. You have to tell the truth. We have immediately enrolled you as witnesses for the police. We don’t really have to ask your permission for this.’ We did not say anything in court (AI 2000: 14).

Considering the scope of trafficking networks and the power they can bring to bear on women it is not surprising that women are fearful. Ironically, Anna was in prison while the trafficker was at large. Some women have a great fear of deportation due to the expectation of stigmatization and punishment. Also, the humiliation of arriving home empty handed

⁴⁶ Donna M. Hughes cites information from Israel Women’s Network, “Trafficking in women to Israel and

keeps many women from returning to their families.

Expulsion means returning home with empty hands, with no money and very often with debts she will never be able to pay off. If it gets known she has worked as a prostitute she may risk rejection by her family or by society for having worked as a prostitute. At the same time, there is no guarantee that return will avoid reprisals from the criminal network. Moreover, most women have little or no confidence in the police or in the legal system being aware that the law and law-officials worldwide do not respect the person or the human rights of prostitutes. In addition, all women share the same fear of being blamed for the abuse committed against her, which acts as a powerful mechanism to silence them (ILHR 1997: 27).⁴⁷

Upon return to their home country, women may fall back into the hands of traffickers or back into prostitution because it becomes their only means of support. This was the case of a woman named 'Tatiana,' who was pressured into testifying and following the trial, immediately deported. The state denied her protection and as a result, Tatiana was met by a male 'relative' at the airport and never seen again.

Deportation can be a death sentence for some women and to use them as pawns in criminal proceedings replicates the crime that has already been committed against them. 'Valentina,' a twenty-seven year old psychologist and social worker believed she had been hired as a representative for an Israeli company. She recounted the following from her experiences: "The conditions were terrible. One girl was kept to work in the basement for eight months. It was damp there and she got tuberculosis as a result. Most of the girls had different diseases-venereal and others related to their reproductive organs. I do not wish even my enemies to go through what we went through" (AI 2000: 6). These women, having overstayed their tourist visas and lacking residence and work permits, were considered criminals for violating immigration laws.

forced prostitution," Refuge 17 (November 1988): 26-32. Scams such as these are common at border crossings.

⁴⁷ Part of remarks made by Marjan Wijers of the Foundation Against Trafficking in Women (Netherlands), at

These testaments of Russian women confirm what many women have always known to be true - social justice for most women is as lacking in the public sphere as it is in the private sphere. The violent and criminal acts that had been perpetrated against these women were never considered nor were the circumstances of their situation held to be relevant. Reflection on the consequences of deportation or the current well-being of these women was completely absent. The following statement from Moshe Nissan, a spokesperson of the Haifa Police, summarizes the approach taken with trafficked women when they are arrested and held in detention: "She is a criminal. She resided in Israel without a permit. It was obvious that she would not testify if she was not detained" (AI 2000: 7). Trafficked women's identities are constructed as criminal and thus they are treated as participants of crime rather than its victims.

States mask the international significance of women's location in the world economy by circumscribing women's labour, capabilities, and mobility through policies and laws. The issue of social justice for women is crucially tied to the control of women's sexuality by states because worldwide, the socio-cultural identities of nations are pegged to the nation's discourses of its women and internationally the location of a nation's women are barometers of states' global economic and political power. Further, the trafficking of women exposes "overarching systems of male violence against women [that] operate on a global scale and have implications for women everywhere" because it reveals the fragility of women's position within society when poised in relation to states' self-interest that can lead to the exchange of women between states (Corrin 1996: 3). Certainly, this has been illustrated in the case of Russian women as the state transformed from a command economy to a market

the 'Trafficking of NIS Women Abroad' conference (ILHR1997).

economy. Examining trafficking through the lens of Russian organized crime has illustrated how those who become subject to impoverishment and marginalization are determined by biases within economic restructuring policies that reveal the process to be extremely gendered and dangerous to many women.

3.7 Confronting the Russian Courtesan State

A Russian activist summing up the Russian state's disregard for women since transition, described it as a situation where "women suffer from vulnerability: it's their main problem. The state leaves them to their fates" (Sperling 1998: 268). The influences of capitalism and liberalism are striking within Russia and are empirically evident when compared to previous conditions under a socialist, command economy. Two profound outcomes of economic reforms in relation to the previous socialist system are the re-emergence of poverty and class within Russian society. The transition from a socialist, command economy to a neoliberal, capitalist economy "has been marked by the polarization of a previously egalitarian society and a dramatic increase in the scale of poverty and deprivation" (Klugman and Braithwaite 1998: 37). As market reforms were implemented, the Soviet edifice underwent a transformation whereby the social contract was rescripted to encompass principles of laissez-faire capitalism and liberalism.

Prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, that country's economic and social system worked in a practical sense - meaning most people had a place to live and food to eat. Although standards of living were below those of the West, particularly in housing, daily life was predictable. The Soviet leadership was legitimately able to say that their form of socialism had succeeded in virtually eliminating the kind of poverty that existed in Czarist Russia (Census Brief 1998: para. 1).⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Though the US may have a high standard of living, it also has incredibly disadvantaged and poverty stricken peoples. By averaging income over the whole population it masks poverty within the population. See A League Table of Child Poverty in Rich Nations <http://www.unicefcdc.org>. Also studies by the European Commission reveal the bias towards poverty in families with children, and particularly affected are single parent households.

In the Russian instance, as economic reforms were applied, there was a continuing reinforcement of gender biases that resulted in increasing exclusion from social production, accompanied by discriminatory hiring practices and wage scales. Women bear the inequality within capitalist growth and liberal social practices, leading to instrumental discriminations that benefit patriarchal institutions.⁴⁹ Although gender discriminations were previously embedded in the Soviet labour hierarchy, women had the right to work and were respected workers. With the implementation of economic restructuring, Russian women lost guaranteed healthcare, childcare and employment, which in a changing economy, further alienates them from economic, social and political legitimacy. The new opportunities that are to be gained from marketization and liberalization are specifically intended for the benefit of Russian men.

Market reforms have undermined many aspects of Russian cultural values by seeping into the social institutions that sustained Russian society in the Soviet era. Although life under the Soviet regime from many perspectives was oppressive, it fostered mutual traditions of community that collectively rebuffed the intrusion of the state. Extended social networks were an integral component of everyday survival, which through the principles of reciprocity, allowed access to goods and services not provided by the state. These local economies were based upon social values that are now superseded by monetary considerations. The interpenetration of market rule criminalized⁵⁰ a social system and in the hands of the Russian

⁴⁹ Many other feminist scholars cited in this thesis address these and similar issues, for example see Seguino 2000; Elson 2000, 1999, 1994ab; Beneria and Sen 1982; Brodie 1994; Mies 1988, 1998.

⁵⁰ Although the *blat* system had been technically illegal under the Soviet regime it had been a widely accepted practice to which the administration turned a blind eye. Furthermore it is often proposed that the ease of mafiya entrenchment has been facilitated by the previous government's subtle participation in this black marketing of goods and services (van Duyne et al. 2001; Lotspeich 1995).

mafiya it became a capitalist tool. For women, this created a contraction of the social safety net that had given them agency in their socioeconomic exchanges. The state's new orientation toward global market integration and the concomitant glorification of masculine individualism necessitated the dismantling of collective socialist principles.

The first step in dismantling the socialist system was the reconstruction of Soviet women's identities. To achieve this objective, it was necessary to shift women out of the labour force and into domesticity, excluding them from formal economic and political participation. Once removed into the private sphere of the household and newly characterized as "willing, tender and passionate according to male desire [Russian women]...fit the masculinist needs of authority, control and sexual aggressiveness" (Penttinen 2000: 10). The transmission of these values to women within Russia affects women in very specific socioeconomic ways because many women cannot fit into this new market rescripting of gender identities. Therefore in Russia, "women who are widowed, divorced, or single mothers cannot fit the description of the real woman, since they do not have men to attend for. In all the hype of the ideal housewife, it is forgotten that one in four women are sole breadwinners for the family and in the majority of single parent households, women have provided the whole income" (Penttinen 2000: 9). These women do not suit the nation's new discourse and they are left struggling for survival in a climate of diminishing opportunities and increasing vulnerabilities. As capitalism commodifies women's sexuality, Russian women's sexual objectification in the newly forming market society becomes a reinforcement and extension of traditional patriarchal norms.

Consistent with the framework underscored in the earlier chapter, liberal and capitalist values are redefining women in the western tradition by creating a "Russian ideal

woman defined by femininity and juxtaposed against the asexual Soviet woman. The woman-comrade is now portrayed in highly negative terms” (Penttinen 2000: 9).⁵¹ In counterpoint, the newly elite, capitalist Russian male, achieves ascendancy through “the demise of state socialism [which] has been accompanied by a celebration of masculinity” and simultaneous denigration of the socialist woman (Attwood 1996: 112). Therefore, now sexualized and unemployed, Russian women with their socialist rights revoked, are pushed into the often criminalized informal sector where their vulnerabilities are magnified. Consequently, many of these women become susceptible to recruitment into the sex industry by Russian organized crime operating from behind the protection of the state. Russian women are thereby circumscribed by a courtesan state that has “created human capital specific to illegality and a social morality supportive of these activities” (Lotspeich 1995: 571). The socially, politically, and economically bankrupt Russian Federation has thus committed itself to the global commodification of women, normalized by shared patriarchal systems of structural inequality rooted in the home and embedded in the policies of the state.

If we are to speak comparatively amongst countries subject to economic restructuring, the primary difference is grounded in history and culture.⁵² The difference between Russia and other countries are mainly attributable to legacies of colonialism compared to a heritage of socialism. The Russian case study is unique because since the dismantling of Soviet

⁵¹ Elina Penttinen draws attention to the Russian slang word ‘*Sovok*’ which is a pejorative that intends insult to women and Soviet socialist culture. For instance a woman could be called a *Sovok* if thought to exhibit attributes of ‘asexuality or masculinity’ (such as autonomy) or supportive of previous socialist values. This suggests that women are inferior when their identity is not determined by men, these women become something ‘other’ than what is acceptable because they are outside the purview of men, therefore they become subject to the predatory economic and sex right of men. “Since the period of *Perestroika* the image of the ideal women has been defined in terms of ‘madonna’ and ‘whore’ opposition...both of these images are defined in terms of domesticized women and their relation to men in the household” (Penttinen 2000: 9). This is the Janus-like designation of women’s embodiment that becomes madonna or whore dependent upon men’s qualification.

⁵² When history and culture are referred to in this instance it should be read to include the important diversities

socialism, the processes of market reform leading to the degradation of women's socioeconomic status and their subsequent trafficking are remarkably transparent. The reason changes appear so dramatic within Russia is because it was a state with a comprehensive welfare system that protected its citizenry. Russians were severely impacted from economic restructuring, almost immediately, because of their dependency on the Soviet socialist system. When Soviet institutionalized protections were wiped out with the implementation of market reforms, the responses were catastrophic. Further, as communism collapsed, a chain reaction was set off in the former satellite states that saw a loss of markets and industry previously under Soviet control. This chain of events, coupled with the forced return of Russian ethnic refugees, put incredible pressure on the Soviet State as it was attempting transition to a neoliberal, capitalist economy.

The upheaval allowed elements of Russian organized crime to dislodge themselves from their previous socio-cultural roots and attain ascendancy by establishing themselves deeper within government and society, causing crime and corruption to thrive. Because of organized crime's swift rise to power within Russia and its assimilation of professionals, its primacy was more noticeable than in other countries where crime and corruption has developed less visibly. But, the tactics and mechanisms employed by organized crime groups are remarkably similar worldwide, as are the survival strategies of variously situated women, which has made them vulnerable to exploitation by traffickers. Because many Russian women's socioeconomic status deteriorated, leaving them marginalized, impoverished, and powerless, organized crime was provided a window of opportunity, resulting in the full scale trafficking of Russian women.

which include for example, ethnicity and class.

The Russian case study reveals the astonishing centrality of women's labour to the economic processes of neoliberal globalism and further, highlights the common means employed to exploit that labour. The neoliberal agenda is exposed as an affirmation of patriarchy. Increasingly more women are experiencing the proletarianization, sexualization, and often, the criminalization of their labour within a globalizing market economy. The Russian courtesan state, intent on entering the global market, has traded on the well-being of Russian women. What has effectively taken place since market transition in Russia is the 'third worlding'⁵³ of Russian women.

⁵³ Jan Jindy Pettman (1996a) coined this term.

Chapter Four – Conclusions

Survival is not an academic skill...it is learning how to take our differences and make them strengths. For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change.¹

Global economic restructuring policies are based on capitalist and liberal ideologies arising out of an economic, political, and social template with historical roots in western imperialism and colonialism of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Globalization has reproduced those sets of asymmetrical relationships in the contemporary world, albeit with some new differences. Unlike past colonial practices, the privileged groups in the new 'global formation' are more transnational in character and are assisted by new technological and financial knowledge, which allows them to engage and disengage in various domestic economies without becoming embedded (Bauman.1998; Custer 1997; Hettne 1995; Petras and Veltmeyer 2001). Globally, the international financial architecture promotes market reforms, transferring power and wealth into the hands of male elites through capital mobility and economic restructuring policies.

This thesis has examined how transition to a market economy led to trafficking in Russian women. It has analyzed economic restructuring, the influence of capitalist and liberal ideologies, and the corruption of the state and civil society as factors that facilitate trafficking. The degree to which market rule eroded the rule of law caused significant alterations within Russian society, permitting the ascendancy of criminal organizations. As in other weakened and transitional societies, Russian organized crime is provided leverage because corruption is normalized by the "collaboration between public officials and private

¹ Audre Lorde (1983: 99). In This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women Of Color. Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua, eds. New York: KITCHEN TABLE: Women of Color Press, 1983.

actors for private financial gains in contravention of the public interest” (Wang and Rosenau 2001: para. 4). On one hand, policies of privatization, deregulation, and liberalization provided the means for Russian organized crime to expand transnationally, and on the other hand, as large segments of Russian women and others become disenfranchised from the domestic economy, a cheap, unprotected labour supply was created. The implementation of gender biased market reforms in Russia contributed to women’s declining socioeconomic security within communities across Russia, decreasing their capacities to strategize and sustain themselves, thus drawing them into forms of employment that were proletarianized, sexualized, and criminalized, often leading to their trafficking. The Russian case study clearly demonstrates that contemporary forms and patterns of global trafficking arise from negatively accumulating effects of economic restructuring.

Because global restructuring was underpinned by liberal and capitalist ideologies, Russian patriarchy was reinforced and emerged in full force. Additionally, as aggressive capitalist market values permeated Russian society, women became sexually objectified and their gender inequalities intensified. Women are no longer active participants in social production and have been marginalized socially, politically, and economically. The gender biased policies of global restructuring are directly linked to Russian women’s impoverishment, marginalization, and social attrition. In Russia certainly, “the return to the market has... [seen] the re-emergence of old male privileges by eliminating mechanisms that decreased gender inequalities” (Beneria 1997b: 332). Russian women are caught in a race to the bottom through marginalization and impoverishment which has led to their trafficking.

With the growth and expansion of Russian organized crime, Russian “women themselves [become]...treated as material resources whose bodies are free or as cheap labour

that can be exploited to amass wealth” for the state, organized crime, and individual men” (Peterson and Runyan 1999: 114-115). Devaluing and deskilling Russian women into a ghettoized workforce, shifting them into service and informal sectors of the Russian economy, where their labour is sexualized and criminalized, has transformed Russian women’s productive and reproductive labour. Russian women are facing strenuous hardship in an extremely hostile environment that also endangers their families. As the effects of global restructuring continue in Russia, poverty and marginalization are deepening.

The significance of this thesis lies in demonstrating that economic restructuring has a direct causal link to increases in crime and corruption and trafficking in Russia. The polarizing impact of globalization has deepened structural and social inequalities on an unprecedented scale spreading into countries once considered privileged, such as Russia. Incorporating the adjustment literature of the developing world into the Russian case study has proven theoretically and practically valuable because it illustrates how economic restructuring is mediated through women’s labour and draws attention to the escalating, but variable, consequences for women across countries from north to south. This thesis is also notable because it exposes the regressive nature of forces that have marshaled behind economic restructuring, rolling back the gains women had previously made towards economic, social, and political equivalence.

While the framework was helpful in establishing linkages to global restructuring, the analysis remains generalized and would benefit from a more detailed and micro level application. For instance, future research incorporating a more in-depth analysis of specific communities in crisis, such as rural settlements of forced Russian ethnic refugees, would be valuable to clearly understand the differences that occur within local sub-groups, in direct

relation to their circumstances. The material on post-communist countries is difficult to access and is spread across various academic areas of expertise. Further, the emerging studies on post-communism are relatively gender blind, indicating a need for critical gender research in this field (True 2000; Sperling 1999, 1998; Corrin 1992).

Six key findings stand out in general as significant areas for practical and theoretical evaluation and intervention which have special relevance for the Russian context: (1) practices that normalize women's sexuality as labour; (2) the importance of women's labour for economic development; (3) gender biases of judicial and welfare policies; (4) the exploitation of women by the state; (5) the masculine appropriation of 'skilled' labour and; (6) the collective strategies used by capitalism and patriarchy to maintain dominance. The first four points relate to policy implications emerging from the analysis in this thesis, while the final two points relate to areas requiring further research.

First, the language of market terminology must cease to be applied to women and their labour. Permitting the use of market values in relation to women's sexuality and identities feeds into the countless ways that sexual objectification of women has led to perceptions that normalize sex as work, and more pointedly, its designation as women's labour. For instance, some policy initiatives and reports related to women's labour issued by the ILO use market vocabulary such as sex industry, sex sector, sexual labour, and the sex trade. Further, advertising and hospitality industries operating within states use markets to promote the legitimization of sex as women's labour. Sex is neither an industry nor a commodity and women must act to decommodify these unregulated capitalist practices. Women positioned within organizations such as the ILO and other international agencies should be enjoined to lobby their departments to seek alternative discourses and those within

the concerned industries should be approached and petitioned by women's groups to bring attention to the matter.

Second, NGOs must continue to pressure the World Bank, IMF, and states through the UN to replace male biased models that recognize women as only secondary actors and not agents in their own right, as within SAPS and immigration policies. These issues were brought up in the Beijing Women's Conference (1995) by numerous NGOs and continue to evade resolution. Women's responsibility for the care economy has prevented them from equal access to the marketplace and the workplace, thus denying them political and economic legitimacy. In fact, it has been used against them in highly discriminatory ways by excluding them from equal participation in all aspects of social, political, and economic decision-making and participation. Women's decreasing opportunities within regulated labour increases their vulnerability and ultimately channels many women into the hands of traffickers. The 19th century liberal conceptualization of the private and public spheres, based upon the idea of a nuclear family, dominated by an altruistic male head of household supporting a dependent spouse and children, must be eliminated from economics. The usage of the neoliberal household model actually functions to increase women's dependency and responsibilities, because it operates to marginalize women from the labour force as supplementary workers, isolating them in the home (Elson 1994a, 1994b, 2000; Folbre 1995; Deere 1995).

An alternative macro-economic model must be based on development according to non-biased gender principles that reflect the realities of women's lives. The inclusion of all aspects of women's labour into policy design would promote an holistic economic model that would reduce women's marginalization, acknowledge the importance and value of women's

work, and account for variations in household composition. This approach would substantially alleviate marginalization and poverty resulting from policy development that excludes women and contributes to women's disadvantages, leading to trafficking. The nominal changes that were instituted in the UN in 1993 are a half-hearted attempt to account for women's work (Waring 1999). Many women are left out of these statistics, such as women in subsistence agriculture and home-based workers (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs and Statistics Division 2000). It is vital that women's reproductive and productive labour be accounted for and that statistics be properly developed to reflect the scope and important contributions of women's labour. Again, women within the UN organization could play a primary role in developing projects and designing delivery programs around this issue. Statistical bias, has to a great degree, prevented the collation of gender specific information necessary to influence policy design. Therefore, gender specific policies never reach fruition, because women's labour is not recognized as contributing to the market economy when it is unregulated, informal, and unpaid.

Third, policies must be created which enable the improvement of women's economic status in the workplace and the marketplace, their equal access to migration, and the elimination of policies victimizing trafficked women. State judicial policies and domestic laws, such as those of enforcement and immigration, protect and privilege men while constraining and criminalizing women. These mechanisms are based upon male-centered interests that serve to control women and their sexuality. Judicial and enforcement practices disadvantage women and increase their vulnerabilities, thereby assisting underground networks of criminal organizations that engage in trafficking. Women must work together to overcome the "lack of political will [which] work[s] against effective enforcement. Anti-

trafficking measures are aimed at protecting one of the most marginalized populations in the world, a population from which many individuals and national economies profit” (Farrior 1997: 214). Proactive plans of intervention and activism targeting the state are required to address the concerns of women affected by trafficking in an empowering manner. Community based action groups could network with local women involved at the grassroots level to assist in lobbying for change or offer their services as needed. A preliminary step toward this goal would be the decriminalization of trafficked and prostituted women within judicial policies. This can be accomplished through policy reviews incorporating issues of female migration, poverty, and employment from a judicial and social justice perspective that accounts for both supply and demand motivations of the trafficking paradigm.

There are three different phenomena linked to women in the literature examined: the global phenomenon of women’s migration, the global phenomenon of the increase in trafficking of women, and the global phenomenon of increasing female poverty. These conditions or actions that are labeled as phenomena have always been present in many women’s lives, however, what is new is the mass materialization of these elements on a global scale and the categorization of them as ‘phenomena’ or ‘feminizations.’ The consequences of these manifestations have far reaching implications that must be addressed immediately. Women and children’s health is dangerously compromised worldwide and has become a world health crisis. The increasing demand for sexualized services in the global economy, lack of proper social and public provisions such as healthcare, has led to accelerating transmissions of sexual and other diseases (Heise 1994; Upadhyay 2000). Further, as women are unjustly depicted as responsible for escalating disease,² the insidious

²Again, we witness the unjust reversal of the problem as women are blamed for the practices of others, making invisible the severe biases and structural violence that endanger women and children, while privileging and

cycle of sexual exploitation deepens and children become targets for sexual exploitation. These critical outcomes can be linked to state judicial policies and domestic laws supporting global economic restructuring which deliberately exploit women's labour and social inequalities while dismantling crucial services of assistance. Health and welfare policies are necessary to the continuing health of populations for generations to come. Until women's well-being and contributions are acknowledged as being interconnected to economic, social, and political sustainability, there will be increasing impoverishment and social degeneration throughout all societies and the 'morbid symptoms' of these economic and social distortions will multiply. Therefore, women must begin to work together to promote gender sensitive legislation and enforcement policies that monitor and regulate businesses, employers, and activities of traffickers, ensuring that women are protected.

Fourth, even though global forces are pressuring states to adopt market reforms and liberalize their domestic economies "the state remains important in socio-sexual and cultural relations and policies. We should not misconstrue the impact of the state to regulate, mediate and shape social relations simply because it has been opened up economically" (Kofman 1996: 217). Indeed, states have continuously shaped the socio-sexual identities of women according to the needs of domestic, capitalist economies. The state is still a key actor in the global economic transformations that are taking place and therefore, women's organizations should concentrate on applying pressure on the state before "the locus of power...[shifts] from the public world of politics to the privatizing and thus, depolitizing world of economics [as] this further problematizes issues of accountability" (Tickner 2001: 74). On one hand, strategic efforts must provide practical services and interventions for women who are subject

protecting men. However, disease knows no boundaries therefore, men are susceptible, but this has in turn driven the increasing sexual exploitation of children as they are categorized as disease free. This ultimately has

to trafficking within communities where structural gender biases first emerge. This is best handled by local grassroots organizations that have intimate knowledge of the community and culture. On the other hand, women must mobilize collectively to pressure and shame states into changing policies that support and facilitate the trafficking process. Well-placed professional women with administrative skills already developed and with less domestic responsibilities would probably be efficient campaigners. In order to be effective, women's groups and local NGOs must be independent, self-sufficient, self-funded and utilize methods of organization that represent women's diversities in a non-hierarchical, non-privileging manner. There is no doubt that women must strategize fund raising efforts and search out impartial donors, canvas for donations and seek contributions in order to safeguard the autonomy of their organization. But states are accountable for the UN conventions they ratify and it can be politically embarrassing for them to be exposed on human rights in international forums. The *Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW), which is a comprehensive package of rights and protections for women, should be kept in the forefront of any discussions between states and women's organizations when advocating for change.

Many states are indifferent to women's issues and approach them as supplemental concerns of special interest groups. Therefore a key strategy must be for women to politicize their concerns and use the ballot box as incentive by marshaling women around specific issues during elections. If women can motivate the state's self-interest on their behalf, more positive support would be forthcoming. The state needs concrete inducements, and an organized block of women voters has currency. States and other international organizations such as the United Nations cannot feign ignorance on issues such as women's need for social

resulted in growing numbers of children who are ill and suffering from sexual diseases.

justice and economic equality because “UNICEF [had] already noted in 1983 that women and children in particular were paying a huge social price for structural adjustment programmes” (Wichterich 2000: 111). Deborah Stienstra (1994: 141) also underscored the ambivalence to similar findings on global restructuring policies by governments and international organizations at the review of the Nairobi Conference’s Forward Looking Strategies (FLS) in 1990, which clearly revealed “the unwillingness of governments to seek fundamental transformation of the existing economic systems in order to advance the status of women.” Further, a year previously the Commonwealth Secretariat released a report, *Engendering Adjustment For The 1990s* (1989), which tabled the negative consequences and unjustified burdens that were placed upon women due to economic restructuring.

Fifth, “analyzing and transforming the masculine definition of labour, which is the mainstay of capitalist patriarchal cultures, is one of the most significant challenges we face” underscoring all of this thesis’ findings and indicating the crucial need for further research about how labour is constructed and defined (Mohanty 1997: 13). This research should have practical application that can be transposed to the workplace concerning labour codes and rights, union organizing, contract negotiating, and skills training. This research should examine development programs and policies that profess the empowerment of women through education and evaluate each program legitimacy and merit, for although education is important, this thesis has shown that the value of education for women can be made immaterial when subordinated to definitions of skill within the labour hierarchy. As Mohanty (1997) illustrates, it has reinforced structural inequalities and gender discriminations with far-reaching effects that have placed women in positions of vulnerability and dependency, diminishing their opportunities and denying them full agency. However, this specific issue

may provide the basis for building bridges between women's diversities because it has immediate and practical value for many women, and thus could be used to galvanize women's solidarity and mobilization.

Sixth, the liberal myth of individualism must be explored critically. For patriarchy and capitalism operate collectively to ensure dominance through such vehicles as international organizations, political party control in government, and military management. Men are characterized as attaining power and wealth through individual merit or effort, however this is a fallacy. Men act collectively through the privileges of patriarchy and institutions such as the UN, the WTO, and the IMF in order to maintain the status quo. It is women who are the true individualistic agents, fractured from each other within households and atomized in their strategies for survival. As women have entered into the regulated and unregulated sectors of the economy, the collective advantages of men, reinforced by the practices of capitalism have instrumentalized women's inequalities for men's benefit. The myth perpetuated by liberalism is nothing more than a grand illusion drawing attention away from the real means by which patriarchal power is consolidated.

Women have the capacity for collaborative networking, which is rooted in their more egalitarian, informal systems of socioeconomic exchange. However, key ideological tensions have atomized women around issues of race and class creating divisions amongst women and producing impasses between them, impeding the sharing of knowledge and women's ability to organize around global issues in transnational solidarity. These divisions between women reveal that capitalist relations and patriarchy "need women themselves to nurture the boundaries that separate them from one another" and it has isolated women (Enloe 2000: xiii). It is imperative for women to recognize that each others multiple and diversified

identities have bearing on their relationships with one another. In order to subvert the neoliberal capitalist agenda that continues reproducing itself in cycles of economic expansion, now referred to as globalization, women may be better served by acting collectively around gendered, issue-specific concerns and organizing transnationally to undermine the existing power base that operates to subjugate those excluded from political, social, and economic power and privilege.

The findings of this thesis suggest that further information is needed on local NGOs in order to develop platforms of action at the community level, which could in turn be tied to Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs). Policy work and further community research need to be developed out of the context of trafficked women's lives, including mandating relevant enforcement training procedures, deportation interventions and legal aid, immigration policy reviews, designing and implementing a regulatory system for tourism and entertainment enterprises, trauma counseling, and social programs that are specifically tailored to the experiences and realities of trafficked women. Although "grounding analyses in particular, local feminist praxis is necessary...we also need to understand the local in relation to larger, cross-national processes," therefore, it is essential to develop research concerning the effective incorporation of community organizations into overarching TANs (Alexander and Mohanty 1997: xix). Women could then utilize research developed at community levels to reinforce TANs as a mechanism to promote change and influence policy by pressuring the state from above and below. In this way a representational front of transnational scope, built upon strategic alliance, could be initiated against the global processes impacting women in diverse contexts. There is an urgent need to build women's solidarity behind a platform of action utilizing TANs to develop coalitions promoting the

Beijing Declaration, particularly the agenda under Violence Against Women.³ Building women's solidarity behind an agenda of Violence Against Women has resonance in all women's lives.⁴

Finally, each of us carries a piece of knowledge gained in our location and experience that has significance in the puzzle of what constitutes a woman's space. If we remain focused on our piece of the puzzle it will remain fragmented, a piece in place, never as a piece within a space that reveals the whole commanding presence of women and the power that waits to materialize if we work in political unison. The histories, knowledge, and experiences that women share will never be written or spoken until these walls of separation are reconciled. For as "Nawal El Saadawi⁵ has pointed out...thinking in terms of separation and division dates back to the times of slavery" and it is time for women to demand their freedom (Corrin 1996: 205). A first step in the process of building bridges between marginalized and privileged women may lie in "foreground[ing] a particular history that third-and first-world women seem to have in common: the logic and operation of capital in the contemporary global arena" (Mohanty 1997: 28). And as Angela Davis remarked at the Nairobi World Conference for Women (1985),⁶ women will not move forward "until the most oppressed of women are lifted up" and empowered, which entails the cooperation of women worldwide.

³ The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995) has prioritized the elimination of trafficking in women as a strategic objective under Violence Against Women. The declaration, declares that states must ratify conventions on trafficking and on slavery. The strategic objective D. 3, paragraph 130, calls for states to assist victims of violence due to prostitution and trafficking, and it has included forced marriage and forced labour as factors of the trafficking crisis.

⁴ In a Joint Declaration of the Special Rapporteurs on Women's Rights issued at Montreal, Canada, February 28-March 1, 2002, they declared, "Violence against women is a manifestation of discrimination based on gender. Violence against women and girls is perpetrated in every country in the world. However, the state agents and private actors responsible are not held to account. This climate of impunity encourages the persistence of such violations."

⁵ Chris Corrin lists the source as Nawal El Saadawi (1990), Interview in *Spare Rib*, London, Spare Rib Collective p. 23.

⁶ See Angela Davis' discussion in the documentary film, "Speaking About Nairobi" released 1986.

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