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CRISIS CENTRES AND
VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

DIALOGUE IN THE BARENTS REGION

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This anthology is a contribution to an ongoing process of activism and dialogue across the former East-West divide in the Barents region in the northernmost parts of NW Russia, Finland, Sweden and Norway. It grew out of a collection of presentations given at the closing seminar of the Nordic-Russian development project entitled NCRB – A Network for Crisis Centres for Women in the Barents Region (1999 – 2002; 2002 – 2005) held at Oulu and Rovaniemi (Finland) in November 2001. The seminar convened close to one hundred participants from women's movements, crisis centres, educational institutions and universities in the Barents region, and in Groningen (the Netherlands) and Milan (Italy) affiliated to development and research networks and sharing an interest in all-European dialogue. As the seminar was open toward participation of those having special interest and experience in the subject under study, some of the presentations came from outside Europe, namely from Pakistan, Japan and North America. Consequently, the perspective became globalised in new and challenging ways. The two main themes in the report, combating gendered violence against women in the context of everyday living and combating prostitution and trafficking in persons are both global issues in the sense that they are, directly or indirectly, part of women's life in all parts of the globe and have the potential to mobilise them in significant numbers for joint and world-wide actions.

Multiple dialogue has been an ongoing process, deepening into joint research projects. The following volumes will report on comparative studies now being carried out and planned within the NCRB-related research network and other affiliated communities – crisis centres in the Barents region and some parts of Central and Southern Europe; social work done in crisis centres in Norway, NW Russia, the US, Canada and Australia; Russian women as immigrants in Finland, Norway and Sweden; prostitution policies in Northern, Central and Southern Europe, to mention just a few.

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May 2004

Aino Saarinen and Elaine Carey-Bélanger

PRESCRIPT

AINO SAARINEN

GLOBALISATION AND TRAFFIC IN FEMINISM
– THE BARENTS CASE AROUND
VIOLENCE AND PROSTITUTION¹

In 2002, the European Journal of Women' Studies published a special issue titled Traffic in Feminism. The issue is of great relevance to analyses of the developments in Northern Europe. At the turn of the 20th – 21st centuries, a decade after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and, along with it, the socialist regime and the East-West divide in Europe, we urgently need critical reflections on both the circulation of ideas across the global divides and the ongoing globalisation as a whole in gender terms.

Violence against women – or gendered violence, gender-based violence – in its multiple modes offers us a prism, through which we can approach the ongoing fundamental changes from the perspective of women on the move against injustice and wrongdoing. It is one of the best examples of the phenomena that the “new women’s movements” – the “Second Wave” – identified and “named” from the gender point of view. The subsequent developments proceeded in three phases. By the mid-1970s, consciousness-raising groups in the West, i.e. in North America, Australia, the United Kingdom and Central Europe, had been transformed into mobilisation and institution building for immediate help and support and for long-term

¹ This article (and Saarinen 2004, in this volume) and edition work is part of the project on the crisis centre movement in Barents funded by the Academy of Finland.

In Saarinen, Aino & Carey-Bélanger, Elaine (eds.): Crisis Centres and Violence Against Women. Dialogue in the Barents Region. Femina Borealis, Vol. 9; Gender Research: Methodology and Practice, Vol. 7. Centre for Women’s Studies and Gender Research. Arkhangelsk: Pomor State University, 9 – 16.

changes in society. By the mid-1980s, gender-based violence had been put onto agendas in the Third World, in the former colonial countries. By the mid-1990s, finally, the issue had become one of the key themes that pushed women forward in Eastern Europe, including the former socialist countries.

Today, mobilisation is worldwide thanks to these grassroots activists and, in addition, the progress made within and through the United Nations, especially the UN conferences on women in North America (1975), Europe (1980), Africa (1985) and Asia (1995). All in all, there are good grounds for posing a thesis on the existence of a globalised civil society around the UN and other multilateral political bodies. Possibly, we are entitled to ponder upon the prospects of a qualitatively new phase in the history of women's movements, a "Third Wave", as it may well be that the majority of women currently on combat against gendered violence are found outside the West.

Does this mean that we are dealing with global feminism as predicted in the 1970-80s? Not necessarily – we are in the midst of heated debates here. Kathy Davis (2002), one of the authors addressing the "traffic in feminism" issue, presents the following two alternative frameworks. The assumptions underlying the idea of global feminism were, firstly, that there exists a common world of women, secondly, that the strategies for women's empowerment can be shared, and thirdly, that the problems and strategies are first identified in the centre, in the advanced West, and then transferred into the backward peripheries, the rest of the world.

All these assumptions have been challenged since the late 1980s. An alternative basis for reflections on today's movement dynamics can be found in transnational feminism. It highlights variations in women's situations, meaning that strategies, too, must be varied and that, consequently, the basis for collaboration is not hierarchic but built on dialogue and alliances between women on all sides of global divides. In other words, we are dealing with the politics of solidarity, the essence of which is respect for differences, multi-directional learning and, due to evident gaps in economic conditions, support from the well-to-do to those who are struggling for survival in their everyday lives.

Women speaking from post-colonial positions were the first to challenge the idea of Westocentric global feminism. In the late 1990s, Western-feminism-as-cultural-imperialism has become a popular theme all over the transitional areas as well; in fact, it is one of the key themes of the present

debates in European contexts (Nash 2002). The Nordic-NW Russian development project titled NCRB – A Network for Crisis Centres for Women in the Barents Region (1999 – 2002; 2002 – 2005) and the related research network – and the Femina Borealis network (1993 onwards) at their background – are all part of these processes and work in the last mentioned, i.e. transnational, framework (Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003; <http://www.wedu.uulu.fi/ktl/NCRB>; <http://www.feminaborealis.net>; see also Yukina, Saarinen and Kudriashova 2003). Therefore, one of the main aims of networking has been to question regional hierarchies of all kinds (East/West, periphery/centre) in order to create space for multiple and critical voices and genuine dialogue across territorial borders and institutional boundaries.

Interestingly, Davis (2002) claims that, within traffic of ideas, the most important thing is not the content but the activism itself precisely because of the variations in women's situations and in their overall social, cultural and political environments and traditions. Other authors on the "traffic issue", Abigail Saguy (2002) and Judith Ezekiel (2002), for their part show that simple transmission of ideas has proved to be difficult even within the West, let alone across global divides. The anthology at hand validates all this. Or, to put it more cautiously, it may be that the themes and issues "travel" well and have an important part to play in the dynamics of women's movements, but as far as scope, frame, perspective and solutions are concerned, it is fruitful to approach this traffic more as diffusion (Saarinen 2004, in this volume).

From this perspective, we must deconstruct the "West" to see, for example, how differently gendered the views of violence and the relationships between women, men and children are even in the neighbouring Nordic countries, namely Finland, Norway and Sweden (Saarinen 2004, in this volume). The most interesting issues are, however, the adaptations and culturally and politically sensitive inspired versions of Western institutions – in our case Nordic crisis centres – in the transitional countries (Liapounova and Drachova 2004; Pashina 2004, both in this volume). All in all, when approaching women at the "receiving" end as actors on their own right, it is necessary to explore and make visible local innovations and strengths. In the NCRB project report (Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003), there are many individual examples of such strengths from the twelve Russian units involved in the first project period. The analyses included into this publication have been made on a more general basis, but they also confirm the message. In slightly polemic terms – yes, some key ideas have been

transferred from the West to the East, but right now Western actors should forget their missionary project of “teaching” feminism and consent to start listening to their Eastern “daughter units” and, why not, learning from them.

At the same time, it cannot be denied that in one respect the one-way traffic must continue. Financial support across the global divides is still a key element in transnational feminism. For the same reason, we must be on our guard and conscious of how urgently criticism is needed here as well. Even more – we must pose questions as to what damage can be done through one-way help given, as sometimes seems to be the case, in order to channel the developments in the receiving areas into the direction advocated by the supporting institutions (Pashina 2004, in this volume).

Aid on the terms and conditions of those giving it will doubtless increase suspicions concerning feminism. By now, we should have agreed that it is not a Western export product into the transitional East, but something open that will be defined anew in these new contexts and by these new actors (Liapounova and Drachova 2004, in this volume). This will help the aid receivers to become truly empowered agents themselves. In the final instance, ready-made definitions and hierarchic relationships become severe hindrances to transnational dialogue and learning from others’ experiences and analyses (Carey-Bélanger 2004, in this volume).

The long-term effects of this would be problematic to the Western actors, too. There is no way back – the situations of women do vary, but the developments are definitely interrelated. Through globalisation, the fates of women on different sides of borders and even across the globe are closely linked together. For the past ten years, there have been multiple debates revolving around globalisation – some see it as a new phenomenon, while many others argue that it is a process that has been going on since the dawn of the new age. Equally varied are the evaluations of its nature and effects, ranging naturally from positive to negative, something to be opposed fiercely. From the gender perspective, prostitution is one of the most central and problematic aspects of globalisation, at least from the end of the 20th century onwards. It is evident that gaps in welfare are preconditions for all traffic in persons. Prostitution is “fuelled” by extreme poverty and disempowerment of women, especially those with dependent children (Ihamäki 2004, in this

volume). In the most extreme cases, children themselves become commodities to be sold and bought (Pyshkina et al. 2004, in this volume).

Since the dissolution of the socialist regime, the Eastern European transitional countries have come up to the level of the Third World countries in sending women for prostitution and sex business to the affluent West, not only to the neighbouring areas but also further away. The Nordic-NW Russian border marks the deepest gap in welfare in the whole world. Inevitably, women in this northernmost East-West transregion are on the move daily for the purpose of prostitution, too (Ihamäki 2004, in this volume). In addition, streams of Nordic and other Western men cross borders in search for paid sex, even from minors (Pyshkina et al. 2004, in this volume).

Between other parts of the globe, mass traffic in persons, mostly women, has been going on much longer. At present, however, some fundamental transformations are taking place, as the ongoing globalisation has changed the status of many former Third World countries. Throughout the 1970-80s, Thailand, for example, was one of the main countries supplying prostitutes and other sex workers to Europe and, on the other hand, a destination for sex tourists from here. Since the 1990s, due to the increased affluence, it has had a dual role as both a sending and a receiving country (Kiyosue 2004, in this volume). Global re-organisation of the markets between North America, Western Europe and Asia has certainly led to a situation where women are already travelling from impoverished Eastern Europe to economic centres even in Asia.

How to cope with these changing, complex and multi-level developments? Numerous multilateral and national political bodies have been forced to seek for solutions and to formulate norms, principles, policies and programmes to address the problems regarding trafficking in persons (Kiyosue 2004; Pyshkina et al., both in this volume). As all women are, in a sense, stakeholders here, it is no wonder that combating prostitution and all related evils has been one of the high-priority issues on women's agendas throughout the world. At the same time, it has become evident that women actors do not agree either on the problems or on the solutions (Beukema 2004, in this volume). In fact, they go into opposite directions even within Western Europe. The Netherlands and Sweden represent the extremes of the continuum. The former has legalised prostitution in order to improve the position of prostitutes. For the same purpose, Sweden has criminalised the

buying of sex. Again, we must confront the issue of feminism(s). Without doubt, we all agree that we need precise definitions not to make the victims guilty (Kiyosue 2004, in this volume).

Self-evidently, dialogue is needed to help women actors with different and even mutually opposite analyses and solutions to understand each other and to be able, at best, to formulate some common strategies despite the differences. Most urgently, shared or at least communicated frameworks are needed for joint actions across the global divides. It is difficult and even impossible to imagine that progress could be made without respect to the starting points and principles of transnational feminism discussed above.

On the whole, the present situation is characterised by many contradictory tendencies. On the one hand, the 1990s can, from women's perspective, be called the decennium of human rights, as both everyday violence against women and prostitution and trafficking have become issues of critical concern in numerous formal multi-lateral institutions. On the other hand, the reports on present and future developments are gloomy. As exposure to violence and prostitution is closely linked with social and economic disparities, the increasing global inequalities lead to a situation where women living in poor countries or in the midst of economic deprivation are often left without any fair choice. At worst, violence in everyday life and prostitution make a vicious circle. Experiences of violence increase the risk of prostitution as a way out and, vice versa, women and children selling sex are often subjected to the most extreme forms of gendered psychological, physical and sexual violence (Pyshkina et al. 2004, in this volume). No wonder that many crisis centres for women in NW Russia have responded by integrating the issue of prostitution and trafficking into their action programmes.

Our hopes lie very much in our own actions: in continual institution building, critical reflections and dialogue across borders and institutional boundaries, between practitioners and scholars in Women's Studies and gender research. The whole "traffic in feminism" team (Ezekiel and Verloo 2002) unanimously agreed that we need to know more about how feminist projects actually cross borders, how encounters between western/northern and eastern/southern actors take shape, and how to promote, in both theory and practice, multidirectional and, at best, reciprocal interactions between

actors in unequal positions. Finally, to be able to be locally sensitive and yet generalised enough to eliminate gendered violence and to combat the evils regarding prostitution, we must be conscious of their historic and male-defined cultural roots both in specific contexts and on an all-European level – that is, committed to ideological and scholarly dialogue and political collaboration (Calloni 2004, in this volume).

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DEVELOPMENTS AROUND
CRISIS CENTRES

ALBINA PASHINA

THE CRISIS CENTRE MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA:
CHARACTERISTICS, SUCCESSES AND PROBLEMS

Abstract

The paper focuses on the problem of violence against women in Russian society and women's organizational response to it. It will describe and analyse the typical models of crisis centres, their networking as well as the development or relevant legislation and State policies in Russia. Furthermore, it discusses in detail the short-term and long-term development perspectives and as the obstacles and difficulties on the way.

Biographical note

Albina Pashina has dissertated from the Department of Biology, Moscow State University. At present, she works as senior researcher at the Institute of Psychology, Russian Academy of Sciences. Her research interest lies in emotional sphere and subjective experience of personality. She initiated one of the first crisis centres for women in Russia in the beginning of the 1990s. She is the director of Yaroslavna (Moscow), responsible for supervising the hot line and leader of the psychological support groups for women surviving from gendered violence. Albina Pashina has been trained for these tasks both abroad (USA) and in Moscow from 1994 on. Her relevant publications include:

Pashina, Albina. 2003. The Movement of Crisis Centres in Russia: Features, Success and Problems. *In* Saarinen, Aino & Liapounova, Olga & Drachova, Irina (eds.): *NCRB – A Network for Crisis Centres for Women in the Barents Region. Report of the Nordic-Russian*

In Saarinen, Aino & Carey-Bélanger, Elaine (eds.): *Crisis Centres and Violence Against Women. Dialogue in the Barents Region*. Femina Borealis, Vol. 9; Gender Research: Methodology and Practice, Vol. 7. Centre for Women's Studies and Gender Research. Arkhangelsk: Pomor State University, 19 – 38.

Development Project, 1999-2002. Gender Research: Methodology and Practice, Vol. 5. Centre for Women's Studies and Gender Research. Arkhangelsk: Pomor State University, 77 – 86.

Introduction

Ten years have now past since the beginning of the development of crisis centres in Russia, and it seems important at this time to describe and analyse the experience. What has been achieved and what problems are seen in perspective? This article has a special quality as the author actually has worked within the movement from the very beginning accompanying the process through its joys and disappointments in her own organization and through the evolution of the movement in general.

It is hoped that looking at the current situation from this critical perspective will help the leaders and volunteers of other centres to evaluate the work done in their own organizations. Evaluation is necessary to consolidate the gains, improve the work to be accomplished, to avoid or correct errors and to prevent failures during the different stages of development. Moreover, there is presently a new challenge coming from the State Crisis Branches that are being developed in accordance with the National Plan of the Government of the Russian Federation.

The paper will describe and discuss the issue of violence against women in the economic and social context of Russia during the transition period, the women's movement during the post-Perestroika period of crisis centres, and the history and geography of crisis centres and their National Association. We shall then look at the commonalities and differences among the different centres with illustrations from case examples, describing their achievements, problems and limitations. Finally, we shall consider the impact of the recent efforts of the State to set up "crisis branches" from the point of view of both policy and outcomes.

The Issue of "Violence against Women" in View of Economic and Social Situation in Russia during the Transition Period

According to the latest publications on demography and statistics, 77 million (53%) of the total population of 146 million people in Russia are women

(Materialy regionalnoy kampanii 2001). Most of social institutions are strongly connected with the participation of women and that is why most of the social achievements and the quality of life depend on how women feel. However, from the beginning of the 1980s women were forced out of labour market when the main tendency of the State policy in relation to women became pushing women to return to the home "to fulfil their natural mission". The general political and economic crisis together with women's artificially created economic dependency upon men caused high stress levels, anxiety states and depressive disorders among Russian women and members of their families.

By 1991 many women had been suspended from the labour market and their status within the family had decreased to a great extent. In a situation of so-called market economy women were in a position with no rights and protection, with no State institutions of real social and juridical defence, actually the losers in competition with men.

The latest research shows that the politics have changed during the last 10 – 15 years. Women represent 75% of the total number of unemployed, and they are discriminated against both in wages and in possibilities for occupying high-level jobs and positions (Babaeva 1996; Aivazova 2001; Kampanija za dostizhenie ravenstva mezhdru muzhchinami i zhenschinami i uluchshenie polozhenija zhenschin 2000).

At the same time, the criminal situation in the society caused by the redistribution of property, the developing market economy and internal military conflicts became the reason for permanent stress among the masculine population in the post-Soviet space.

All the above-mentioned factors together with the patriarchal gender culture resurgence and its traditional celebration of male dominance, glorification coupled with the lack of a culture to seek help from psychological services to solve conflicts at the early stages contributed to an abrupt rise of domestic violence.

However, in general the problem of violence is not something new. In any society crisis periods as a rule give rise to violence and cruelty, and contemporary Russia was no exception. The increase in domestic violence cases has recorded in many studies (Materialy po problemam domashnego nasilija 1999; Liborakina and Rusanov 1999; Violence against women 1999; Ostanovim nasilije 2000).

Violence against women is demonstrated by statistics. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in average 250 000 crimes are committed against

women annually within the territory of the Russian Federation. About 30 – 40% of dreadful crime takes place in the family. The cases with lethal outcomes or severe bodily injuries as a result of family conflicts are in the first place among the different categories of violent crimes. 70% of the victims of heinous violent crimes are women and children (Explanatory comments to the draft bill of a Federal Law “On the fundamentals of the social-judicial defence from violence within the family”). Female mortality due to violence and murders, for example, increased by 17,4% in 1999 in comparison to 1998. Moreover, as it was mentioned at the 3rd International Conference on preventing domestic violence in Russia “Security in the Family. Time for action” about two million children leave their homes annually because of violence against them in their families and as a rule against their mothers (Abubikiriva and Regentova 2003).

These statistics are startling but the real facts are no doubt much more numerous. Specialists on the issue stress that statistics considerably underestimate the real numbers of violent cases. Victims of violence having serious psychological and physical traumas do not report to the police about the cases of violence committed against them and do not appeal to the law-enforcement bodies. That is why the majority of the facts lie hidden from society (Pisklakova and Sinelnikov 2000).

Since in Russia violence against women was not considered to be a real *problem* no studies have been conducted on the issue until recently. The authors of earlier publications did not view the problem from a broad perspective such as the spread of violence, surviving it, etc. Rather they treated violence in a narrow sense – as a kind of violation of constitutional norms, only namely the Penal and Civil Codes (Nyet nasiliju 1997; Prava zhenschin v Rossii 1998; Kampanija... 2000).

Only recently a number of new research projects have been carried out and publications have been printed. These have shown that as a rule 80% of women who appeal for psychological help for the first time either have anxiety states and depressive disorders or they are at high risk of getting these diseases (Garanjan and Kholmogorova 1996). 70% of them suffer from a chronic family stress caused mainly by the experience of a violent situation. The results of the first large-scale all-Russia sociological study of domestic violence against women in 2000 showed that on an average 79 out of every 100 wives were subjected to at least one kind of psychological violence from their husbands –

for example, 50 wives were subjected to physical violence and 23 fell victims to at least one variant of sexual violence from their husbands; 5 wives were subjected to economic violence in its different forms (Gorshkova and Shurygina 2003, 9 – 12). In Moscow, according to their own testimony, two out of every three women (65,6%), irrespective of their age, the presence or absence of family, and/or children, employment situation and profession have experienced some kind of violence (Pashina 2002, 98 – 105).

Thus, the peculiarities of Russian cultural dynamics, namely long historical traditions of a large rural family with power distributed according to gender and age, transformed during the Soviet-period into formal gender equality with a double burden for women and the absence of an independent women's movement, significantly influenced the current situation of the Russian woman who became one of the main objects of violence. And it is evident that nowadays in Russian society violence against women is not something mythical but a widespread phenomenon. This indeed makes it a grave social problem demanding serious attention and urgent actions on the part of professionals and the State.

The Women's Movement during post-Perestroika Period and the Rise of Crisis Centres in Russia

Crisis centres in the West developed from the grassroots women's movement (Saarinen 2000; Carey-Bélanger 2004, in this volume). The UN World Conferences on Women in Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995) became landmarks for women's movement in the West, which in turn influenced to the initial stage of the "new" women's movement in Russia. The first Independent Women's Forum was held in Dubna, a city near Moscow, in 1991. Both activists of a new wave of the rising women's movement in Russia and feminists from the West took part in it. The Forum had a significant meaning since it played an important role in changing the social consciousness about the status of women in Russia in general and the issue of violence against women in particular.

It was there and then that the problem of violence against women in our country was articulated for the first time openly. Through contacts with the activists from the West and learning about the women's projects in Germany (Fund Frauen-Anstiftung), the USA (Winrock International), Canada (Vancouver Rape Crisis Centre), a new understanding of violence was developed. This

new understanding implied that violence was not something abstract but something that concerned everybody as it hampered women from living in the way every woman would choose to live. Violence is caused by women's unequal status in the society. At the same time, it is a tool to keep her in this unequal position. Violence is a violation of human/women's rights but eradicating violence is not to be expected from Governments and power structures. It depends on each of us. It should be emphasised that while in the West the crisis centre movement grew from the women's movements of the 1970s and became linked to the human rights movement in the 1990s, in Russia one of the main tasks of crisis centres is to give information about women's rights as human rights and about human rights in general. It is connected with women's extremely low level of knowledge about their rights and with their low level of their social activity.

The "new" women's movement was the framework where understanding of the need to give various types of practical assistance and support to women experiencing violence was reached and, even more important, where possibilities to do so were discussed. In fact the idea of creating crisis centre organisations in Russia was articulated in Dubna. Thus, the first centres that emerged in the Russian Federation in 1993 – 1994 were Sisters to the victims of sexual violence, Anna for those suffering from domestic violence, Yaroslavna for giving psychological assistance to women. All of these appeared in Moscow. At the same time some other centres were started like the Psychological Crisis Centre for Women in St. Petersburg, Lana in Nizhny Tagil in the Urals and the Independent Women's Centre in Pskov.

An Outline of the History and Geography of Crisis Centres in Russia and their National Association

From the end of the 1990s the crisis centre movement covered the territories of Russia from the North-West (Leningradskaja region and Petrozavodsk, Murmansk and Arkhangelsk) to the East (Vladyvostok, Tomsk, Tyumen, Novosibirsk) and from the North (Norilsk and the town of Mirniy) to the South (Saratov, Taganrog and Astrakhan). As a rule, the first crisis centres emerged in big cities. That does not mean that violence against women did not exist in rural areas. It revealed itself there to a no less important extent (Gorshkova and Shurygina 2003, 9 – 12). However, the orientation in the urban areas was determined by willingness and readiness for action and the will to put the

ideas of solving the problems of violence into practice there. These were mainly the cities with a high concentration of high school institutions and specialists of professions such as lawyers, psychologists, sociologists, doctors and teachers.

Following this initial stage, the crisis centre foundation process began to move to the regions step by step. The main figures behind the idea about the urgency of this advancement to the regions were the representatives of the western feminist movements. They initiated trips for the already functioning crisis centres' leaders to small peripheral towns arranging training sessions for local activists there. The topics were How to start and manage women's crisis centres, How to work with victims of violence, What are human/women's rights and how to defend them, and many others. The support was mainly given to the persons or groups of persons in the administrative centres at the regional level who were devoted and highly active. Another no less important factor was connected to the support from local authorities (for example, in the cases of Elista in Calmykija, Syktyvkar, Murmansk and Arkhangelsk in the North-West Russia among others). It is important to mention that in the end of the 1990s the Nordic countries also made an outstanding contribution to setting up crisis centres in the North-West of Russia as it is shown in many articles of the NCRB-project volume (Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003a).

As for the history of the first crisis centres three books edited by E.V. Israeljan and T.Y. Zabelina (1995; 1998 and 1999) are very informative. Designed as manuals for the first activists, they played an important role in the movement in Russia. The authors told about the principles of the crisis centres' organising process and their first experiences of intervention. Since Canadian organisations were considered to be among the most successful initiators in the movement abroad they were given an extensive coverage in the books.

By 1999 about thirty crisis centres had been founded in twenty regions of Russia. The next stage in the Russian crisis centre movement aimed at consolidation of the efforts of separate organisations. The Russian Association of Crisis Centres Stop Violence (RACC) was registered in 1999. The basic documents and regulations including the rhetoric of the Russian crisis centre movement were adopted at the Constituent assembly. The Co-ordinating Council, the ruling body, consists of directors of crisis centres (now 13 persons), the President and the Executive Director. Today, in 2003, the Association unites 47 organisations from different regions of the country, among them Moscow, the North-West region, the Urals, West and East Siberia,

Central Russia, the Volga region, Tatarstan, Buryatiya and the Far East. There are, however, many organisations in different regions that have claimed their existence but are not members of the Association.

The aim of the Association is to raise the status of women in society through promoting the principle of equal rights and equal opportunities in all spheres of life and to raising public awareness of the problem of gender violence. More precisely, the organisation develops a system of preventive, protection and assistance measures and a network of services for giving support to women suffering from any form of violence (domestic, sexual, psychological, trafficking). The RACC members believe that their efforts will lead to better results. However, the relationship between the Council of the RACC and its members is not really easy. We are apt to think that the Association like any other organisation goes through some difficulties due to its early stage of development.

Commonalities and Differences among the Russian Crisis Centres

The majority of crisis centres were established as *women's* organisations. Their members were only women, and their help was offered to women only, although today they also work with children and families. The representatives of the crisis centres function both in the capacity of defenders of women's rights and as a positively oriented and constructive force determined to transform and influence the society and the authorities. Making men aware of the problem of violence against women can make them allies of the women's movement in its fight to eradicate the evil. But, at the same time, this awareness can actualise men's internal resistance, which, perhaps, is connected with their fear of losing the power in the family and in the society.

As elsewhere, crisis centres have two main goals that they try to solve through the use of different methods and resources. First, they give professional help to those who have suffered or are suffering from violence. And second, they aim at changing the attitude of society and the State towards the problem of violence against women. The basic principles of their work are confidence, anonymity and the majority of services free of charge. The attitude toward a woman who has suffered from violence is based on the principles of equality and mutual high respect regardless of the social status of the woman appealing for help.

As NGOs crisis centres have freedom and self-determination. It is due to this that the centres differ from each other in the directions and priorities of

their programmes (See also Liapounova and Drachova 2004, in this volume). Their choice of direction is often determined by whether they have specialists for urgent or systematic and long-term help or the resources to pay for such services. As a rule, the majority of crisis centres offer victims of violence psychological help. Its form depends on the possibilities of the centre. Most often, especially in small towns, it is mainly the hot line where volunteers work. For more special and systematic help there are no specialists available. Some organisations provide only enlightenment activities because they lack specialists able to give psychological and other help; in some other units the priority is juridical help because they have succeeded in attracting professionals from the local Bar Association.

Apart from the differences in the resources available, differences can be determined by the stage of development of the organization. The majority of the centres start their work by setting up a hot line service, and then they “accumulate” other services and programmes since there is a demand from the population and there are specialists and professionals available or they manage to get financial support.

Illustration through Case Examples

In order to show in detail the typical pattern of how help is given to women, who have experienced or are suffering from violence in Russia, the example of Yaroslavna, Ekaterina and Alexandra centres are introduced.

Yaroslavna

The Moscow centre Yaroslavna was registered as a regional NGO in the Ministry of Justice in February 1995. The main activity is psychological help. The first contact with a psychologist for a woman suffering from violence is made through a hot line, which functions four days a week, ten hours a day. The women working on the hotline are all professional psychologists. They have all gone through a selection procedure, taken a 42-hours training on telephone consulting and they practice in the Centre under the supervision of experienced specialists. The hot line gives information, support and reference through telephone numbers of other organisations that might be of help to the client (medical, juridical, social help, etc.). If hot line psychological consultation is not enough, they can get *tete-a-tete* consultation, individual or family consultation. In addition, two or three groups of psychological support are held for them annually. Each group works for three months.

In 2002, 2276 persons called the hot line, 38 women took part in the psychological support groups, 128 women received individual consultations, and 26 women suffering from anxiety or depressive disorders appealed for help in connection with domestic violence cases and obtained free psychotherapeutic help gratis. 200 persons were given psychological help on-line through the web page Yaroslavna (<http://www.pomogi.org.ru>). On the whole, during a one-year period Yaroslavna gives help in various psychological forms to approximately 3000 persons. In addition, a lawyer is available for consultation five hours a week. During 2002, 134 persons received juridical advice. In cases when women cannot uphold their rights and state law-enforcement structures do not fulfil their duties, a lawyer helps them make plans, write requests, collect documents and sometimes accompanying them to appropriate institutions. The Centre also holds trainings session for women to help them become self-sufficient and socially active (Annual report of the Centre of psychological assistance to women Yaroslavna for 2002).

When it comes to the personnel, the Centre pays special attention to the care of the consultants working with persons suffered from violence. Rehabilitation sessions for psychological support groups, regular supervision, training and seminars for improving professional competence are offered periodically. Beginning in 2001, consultants from other crisis centres of Moscow and nearby districts that work with victims of violence, refugees, forced migrants and with social orphans have been invited to participate in these activities.

Within the framework of educational programmes professional psychologists and social workers as well as students of these disciplines are trained to develop telephone-counselling skills. Students' diploma and course papers and projects on the issue of violence against women are also supervised. From time to time actions, discussions and training sessions for students of schools and universities are held and actions are undertaken. The main idea of these activities is to sensitise the participants to what is happening around us, to appeal to young people and to help them to recognise violence, to then teach them how to prevent it and to learn what everybody can do to eradicate it. Research is undertaken in a gender perspective to document the spreading of violence and to study the causes and consequences of domestic and other types of violence.

In 2002 the work of Yaroslavna was based on support from the European Union (European Initiative in the Field of Democracy and Human Rights programme), the Global Fund for Women, the Russian Scientific Foundation

for the Humanities, and the Italian AIDOS Foundation. The funding was granted for several projects: Emergency Help for Women Surviving Domestic Violence, Psycho-Social Care for Abused Women in Development, Involvement of Health Care Services into Solving Gendered Violence Problems in Russia and for a research project Social and Psycho-physiological Peculiarities of Women Surviving Violence.

Ekaterina

The crisis centre for women and children Ekaterina in Ekaterinburg in the Urals region has elaborated an innovative activity of joint actions with law-enforcement structures. In collaboration with members of the militia the Centre carries out inspection visits to the abusers' homes and educational programmes on the theory of violence for militia staff and inspectors working with adolescents with deviant behaviour. Moreover, it has published a manual for militia staff, physicians and pedagogues on how to work with victims of violence. In addition, joint consultations with psychologists, lawyers and district militiamen are held in the municipality.

During the transition period from a totalitarian society to democracy many of those engaged in the protection of human rights claim that the weakest chain linking the fighting violence in Russia are the law-courts, judges and prosecutor's offices. They are unaware of the gender violence issue and the only role they play is that of mediators. While executing their duties mediators seek to reconcile between the "abuser" and "victim". In this connection the enlightenment and education promoted by Ekaterina is timely, fruitful, and future oriented.

It should be stressed, that as of now the priority in the juridical activities of the crisis centres is still given to immediate help, valid for one occasion only. Without underestimating the significance of this kind of work it must be emphasised that educational and enlightenment components are no less important. Intensive information campaigns about human rights, respect for laws and knowledge about how to use them would supply many women with a tool that would enable them to prevent and withstand violence and defend themselves in situations of violence.

Alexandra

This work orientation is illustrated by the activities of Alexandra, a social and juridical service assisting survivors of violence in St. Petersburg. The major achievement of this centre is a wide range of educational and enlightenment programmes on violence and human rights issues. The service also collaborates

with law enforcement and state structures to prevent violence in the family and to work with survivors of violence. Furthermore, it carries out permanent teaching of graduating students in St. Petersburg high schools and universities to prepare volunteers for juridical and psychological help service on the hot line. Alexandra also gives consultations and trainings on how to create, manage and educate personnel for crisis centres and promotes exchange of information and expertise between professionals on family violence (seminars, training sessions, round tables and conferences).

As mentioned above the crisis centres give juridical help to those who suffer from domestic and other kind of violence. The lawyers of the crisis centres consciously aim to avoid speculation, manipulation, double standards, trusting their own opinion about how to solve the problems. This unbiased human approach and care in protecting human/women's rights are the basic principles of their activities. Thus juridical help, too, differs from what is usually given in the State or private consultations. This is very important because in Russia there is no specific law on domestic violence, which can defend a victim of violence and to hold an aggressor responsible. The present criminal, civil and administrative laws have a sufficient quantity of articles that could be applied to solve the cases regarding domestic violence and violence against women. However, practice shows that on a basis of these norms our law-enforcement structures do not meddle in the family's internal affairs until there is a murder or severe bodily injuries. That is why women do not trust militia and courts. Their common experience shows that whatever happens to a woman, even when the case is evident, the law-enforcement structures take the side of the man and accuse the woman of provoking the violence.

The Achievements of Crisis Centres

The Russian crisis centre movement has existed for a decade, and we can acknowledge the fact that crisis centres have become a noticeable phenomenon in the social landscape of Russia in transition. The crisis centres do work directly with thousands and thousands of women suffering from violence. We hope that after receiving help they develop self-respect and that their consciousness of themselves and their worth, their perception of the world and their role in this world changing becomes clearer. When becoming socially active again they bring new knowledge to their children, friends, and surroundings, knowledge directed toward the prevention of violence.

The report of the Russian Association of Crisis Centres for 2002 reveals that 96 009 persons appealed for help to its member organisations (Bezopasnost 2003). Help through the hot lines was given to 73 958 persons, and help through a peer psychological counselling to 10 389 persons. Juridical help through peer counselling was given to 11 655 persons. 16 133 persons were educated at 675 seminars and training sessions. 262 public campaigns with 29 635 participants were held. Unfortunately, not all the crisis centres have a regular account of requests for help, nor do they provide the information about their statistics to the Association. Hence, in reality the figures are no doubt much higher.

Among the most recent achievements are the interregional and international campaigns with educational and enlightenment goals. The centres that possess more work experience teach their colleagues how to work with victims of violence, militiamen, and nurses and how to organize actions or carry out research on issues of violence. Today a lot of crisis centres work successfully with the mass media. As a result of the co-operation mass media has improved the level and quantity of the coverage of the problem of violence, and abandoned the scabrous style when publishing facts about violence against women.

The Problems of the Crisis Centres

The problems have more similarities than differences. To overcome them it is important to recognise the core problems, the most typical of which are the following: *First, there is lack of a necessary organisational culture of management.* Proficiency in managing the organisation would allow the centres to do more with fewer moral and time losses. Unfortunately, as a rule, the crisis centres have no money to invite experts in management, fundraising and strategic planning. Management education during the training sessions is not enough without follow-up of practical work through the guidance/supervision of an experienced manager. A practical working experience in a well-funded organisation, including ones from abroad, would be of critical value for any crisis centre director.

Second, there is lack of adequate criteria to evaluate the results of the activities of the crisis centres. Definite and agreed upon criteria would enable the crisis centres managers to review their mission, goals, plans, directions of activity, quality of work and to evaluate results in a given time frame. For example, the leaders may think that the hot line is the most simple and accessible way to give mass psychological help from the point of view of management efforts. Only volunteers who should be a kind of soft hearted, well-meaning,

tolerant people with a desire and time to listen to the others are required to launch such a service. But since the education is not sufficient and adequate for the level of responsibility for the work with a person in the state of crisis, this might lead to serious troubles for both clients and consultants. The former, after a non-professional consultation, might have more problems and their state might worsen. The latter, without special knowledge, experience and supervision might face emotional exhaustion, cynicism or lose the value of the importance of the work they do.

Third, financing is indeed a fundamental problem. From the first phases of its existence each crisis centre faces the problem of finding money for implementing the programmes and projects. Thinking of quick help, the leaders at the initial stage do not realise that if they want the work to be done systematically and adequately it should be paid for. When this becomes evident to them, they realise that they do not actually know where to get money, how to write a project, where to look for the application proposals and how to work with those who award grants. They do not have skills in making contacts with the public authorities and business people in order to convince them of the benefits of mutual collaboration.

Unfortunately, many of Russian crisis centres have grants as their only sources of financing which leads to serious difficulties. It is well known that those who award grants do not support the current programmes, that is, giving psychological and/or juridical help to persons suffering from violence on the permanent basis. Therefore, due to the changes in grant policies, the crisis centres must constantly make changes in their basic orientations. As soon as the crisis centres become proficient in working with persons suffering from sexual violence, the financial support for such programmes is finished. First, the funds support the projects helping the victims of severe violence in families only; a couple of years later, the support is given to the organisations dealing with juridical and educational activities; then it goes to those who help victims of trafficking, etc. Thus, in order to survive crisis centres must either change their target groups or become sophisticated in receiving and using any available means for new development and management programmes in order to be able to make some payments to professionals for the activities that have existed for so long time but are still necessary.

This kind of “grant hunting” leads to the situation where experienced organisations stop giving urgent help to victims of violence. In the last three

years two of the three crisis centres in Moscow, for example, have started to work on educational programmes only. Moreover, their work is conducted in and for the regions because the support is now given only to the projects aimed at exchanges of experience with the newly established crisis centres in the regions.

Local authorities have not yet come to realise the necessity of financing crisis centres that have a NGO status and give immediate help to women-victims of violence at least partially. The government of Russia does not finance crisis centres as autonomous units either. Moreover, it now enforces a new tax policy on non-governmental organisations (Johnson 2002). All in all, in spite of a lot of talk about social partnership and social order the culture of interaction has not yet been cultivated although in principle the authorities could provide all crisis centres and other non-governmental organisations with the necessary resources, thus assuming excellent results in solving many social problems.

Finally, crisis centres have few opportunities to earn money from commercial activity. The citizens have not yet recognized yet that the work of a specialist giving this kind of help must be paid for just like any other kind of work. Moreover, a lot of women suffering from violence simply cannot pay. Good contacts and relations with Russian business have not been established yet. Such issues as “women – victims of violence” or such social endeavours as “elimination of violence against women” are rejected by potential benefactors from business.

These factors lead to serious problems. In many cases in the climate of scarce resources the relations between the crisis centres turn into rivalry rather than co-operation.

Crisis Centre Movement in Russia and the State – Setting up “Crisis Branches”

The National Plan of the Government to improve the social position of women in the Russian Federation for 2001 – 2005 and to raise their status in society was published on June 28, 2001. It was one of the first steps of the State to recognise the importance of the Russian women’s movement and the crisis centres’ movement and to see them as helpful tools in the eradication and prevention of violence against women.

Chapter IV of the Plan describes different activities concerning “the development of a social services system for women and rendering assistance

to women who have survived violence". Item 23 of the Chapter prescribes that "crisis branches for women in the institutions of social services for family and children" are to be established. The Ministry of Labour and Social Defence together with the executive bodies of the subjects of the Russian Federation has been made responsible for the implementation of the item. Item 25 envisages a number of additional "measures to provide for the defence of family violence sufferers through the creation of crisis centres and other services to family violence sufferers". Item 6 of Chapter I states, that "women's social movements and women's non-commercial organisations are partners of the State bodies" (National Plan of Activities... 2002).

However, while recognising the merits of the NGOs representatives of the State authorities have a tendency to consider that the so-called third sector, including crisis centre organisations as full of unskilled workers who are involved in some minor activities within the social sphere. NGOs' resources are not taken into account in the decision-making process when it comes to elaborating the overall social and economic politics of the State. Their role in building a civil society in Russia, in creating social technologies and decreasing social tensions as well as in protecting human rights and the rule of the law is underestimated. Nevertheless, it is obvious that more and more activities organized by the crisis centres aimed at enlarging the discussions of violence against women and the ways and means of solving it have started to attract and engage state functionaries of different ranks. Thus, in some regions crisis centres have succeeded in involving local governments in their boards of directors. It should be pointed out that the authorities of small towns are much more interested in the work of the crisis centres and, as a result, give more resources and moral support.

In 2001 there were 71 crisis branches for women that existed as substructures of different kinds of the State social services. In the first months of 2003 the number had risen to 142. In Moscow in accordance with the National Plan and by the Decree of the Russian Ministry of Labour and Social Defence "crisis branches" were added to the municipal services of social defence. Those services were to co-operate in solving problems of violence at the local level. Unfortunately, the working meetings with the staff of these municipal services organized by Yaroslavna have revealed that the personnel of the State "crisis branches" lack the necessary experience of working with "social trauma" such as domestic and gender violence and they do not have any knowledge or understanding of the nature of these

phenomena¹. This competence deficiency causes the aggravation of problems both for the clients from personal, family or social perspectives and for the professionals working with those clients. It causes wide spread symptoms of “burn out”. The absence of co-operation reduces the opportunities for the authorities to take advantage of the resources available in the city of Moscow. Both the crisis centres and society on the whole lose because the policy directed at the consolidation of efforts, co-operation and mutual support is not being implemented at the present time.

Conclusion – Work at All Levels Necessary

In this paper we have spoken of the organisation, the problems and the limits of crisis centres. In conclusion it should be emphasised that talking about the problems of Russian crisis centres should not detract attention from their merits and importance. We have made important strides toward our goals. We must admit that we all still lack the experience that our foreign colleagues in this field have already accumulated. They have succeeded in building up constructive co-operation based on common interests and not rivalry. This has helped them to move further in solving the issue of how to set things going in arranging help to survivors of violence and implementing the Law on domestic violence (See Carey-Bélanger 2004, in this volume). The Russian centres in a climate of scarcity have entered into a competition for limited resources, instead of realising that through co-operation they could do more with the resources.

We hope that we shall also succeed in it in due time ahead in creating a “culture of co-operation”. Alas, in Russia today further escalation of violence caused by the next turn of the “transition” period is under way and it would be too simplistic and naive to believe that the problem of violence against women can be resolved in the near future. Meanwhile, the active position and the stubborn efforts of the majority of the crisis centres and their growing numbers, combined with the fact that the State sector will, at least in principle, collaborate with NGOs in eradicating this “social evil” gives the feeling that sooner or later we shall advance in this direction.

¹ There are some positive examples of crisis centres within public administration for example among the NCRB member units in NW-Russia. It must be emphasised that they were set up “independently”, before the above mentioned reforms at the State level (See Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003a).

It has become common knowledge in Russia that the problem of violence against women can only be solved through, first, improving legislation (statutes and laws) bringing up them to the world standards and through, second, co-ordinated activities of various services for preventive work and adequate aid to survivors. All in all, crisis centres must be strengthened and an overall social support system for women must be developed. The latter need was discussed at the inter-regional conference “Violence in the family. Not a minute more!” for scholars and practitioners in Barnaul in the Altay region in September, 2002.

Summing up, strategies for developing crisis centres in Russia in order to change the situation with regard to domestic violence have been put forward. To achieve the desired results, good connections and co-operation between organisations and professionals working with survivors of violence are of vital importance. This will facilitate productive exchange of information and experiences that are needed for a comprehensive approach. Mutual support is necessary for mastering effective strategies and new principles and methods of working with survivors of violence and in developing and improving prevention services. Finally, psychosocial rehabilitation of professionals and volunteers must also be on the agenda.

In order to attain these goals a continuous dialogue among women-activists who have initiated the crisis centres and between NGO organisations who have over a long period and development expertise rendered help in practice and, the state structures obliged and empowered to deal with the same problem as their official duty by promoting progressive legislation and action is to be established. Continuing the East-West dialogue is a must as well (see Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003b). Such an all-embracing dialogue along vertical lines and across horizontal lines would be a pre-condition to solving the problem of violence against women and constituting and reinforcing the mechanisms of civil society in Russia.

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OLGA LIAPOUNOVA AND IRINA DRACHOVA

CRISIS CENTRES FOR WOMEN IN NORTH WEST RUSSIA:
IDEOLOGY, MANAGEMENT AND PRACTICE

Abstract

The activity of crisis centres in Russia is an innovative practice, carried out in various forms by the organisations of different legal status. The purpose of this paper is to analyse work of the twelve units in NW Russia, namely their organisation, peculiarities of their management and financing, ideological standpoints, personnel and practices of help provision to women. These characteristics are studied in comparison to the Nordic crisis centres that make it possible to investigate the Russian model of a crisis centre. The research is mainly based on the results of the questionnaires, filled in by the NCRB project participants in 2000.

Biographical notes

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Irina Drachova (MA) holds the position of leading specialist at the Department of Information Development at the Pomor State University, which works out the electronic library for the university. She took part in the Nordic-international ITDG – Information Technology, Transnational Democracy and Gender network in 1999 – 2003. Since 2000 she has been engaged in the NCRB – A Network for Crisis Centres for Women in the Barents Region project as an IT specialist.

In Saarinen, Aino & Carey-Bélanger, Elaine (eds.): Crisis Centres and Violence Against Women. Dialogue in the Barents Region. Femina Borealis, Vol. 9; Gender Research: Methodology and Practice, Vol. 7. Centre for Women's Studies and Gender Research. Arkhangelsk: Pomor State University, 39 – 68.

Their relevant publications include:

Liapounova, Olga & Danilova, Raisa & Novikova, Maria 2002. Violence against women and responses to it in the Russian Federation. *Women Against Violence. An Australian Feminist Journal* 12, 29 – 45.

Liapounova, Olga. 2000. Investigation of the situation of domestic violence in Arkhangelsk. *Women's Worlds – 99: Western experience and gender research in Russia*. Ivanovo: Ivanovo State University.

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Introduction

The goal of this paper is to consider the specificity of ideology, management and organisation of work in crisis centres in the North West of Russia.

At present, there are a few publications that reflect various aspects of crisis centres' activity for the 10-years history of their movement in Russia (Danilova 2001, Deinega 2002, Israelyan and Zabelina 1998, Lanevskaia 2002, Pashina 2004, Yangalycheva 2002, Zabadykina 2000). These investigations were mainly oriented toward studying clients of such organisations and practices of rendering help to them. However, researchers paid little attention to the organisation and management of crisis centres¹, or to the specificity of the Russian model of the crisis centre in contrast to the western models. It became possible to undertake research on this problem thanks to the project NCRB – A Network for Crisis Centres for Women in the Russian Barents Region (and in the Barents region as a whole) (1999 – 2002; 2002 – 2005), within the framework of which a comparative cross-cultural investigation of crisis centres, mainly located in the Barents region of the four neighbouring countries – the northernmost parts of Sweden, Norway, Finland and NW Russia, was conducted.

This article focuses on crisis centres in NW Russia: the history of their foundation, the types of crisis centres, the peculiarities of their management

¹ The issues of management are particularly examined in the article by Pashina 2004, in this volume.

and financing, ideological standpoints, staffing and practices of help to clients. The characteristics of the recently born North West Russian crisis centres are analysed in comparison with the Nordic ones. This makes it possible to reveal the specificity of the development of crisis centres in Russia in connection with its economic and social conditions. The article is thus linked to the comparative report of the crisis centres by the NCRB staff, which was published as part of the NCRB project report in December 2003 (Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003). Another relevant new analysis has been done by Albina Pashina (2004, in this volume), who makes reflections from an all-Russian perspective.

Data

The article is based on the questionnaires, formulated within the framework of the NCRB project to study crisis centres. The questionnaire was designed by the project staff in Oulu and Arkhangelsk: Riikka Pötsönen, Aino Saarinen, Leena Teräs, Olga Liapounova and Maria Novikova. Aino Saarinen and Irina Drachova carried out the final coding and computer processing of the results¹. The questionnaire concerned the structure and management of crisis centres, the staff and clients, attitudes and working practices, contacts and campaigning, financial and other resources, which revealed the social, economic and ideological position of crisis centres in the four target countries. The questionnaire was sent in 2000 to 43 crisis centres in the Barents region and St. Petersburg and (due to a contract with the Finnish Federation of Crisis Centres) to 26 units in other parts of Finland. Out of the 71 units 55 (77,5%) returned the form, 34 of them belonged to the Barents region.

Table 1. Number of Crisis Centres (that returned the form)

Country	Number of centres
NW Russia	12
Finland	24
Sweden	8
Norway	11
Total	55

¹ In more detail, see Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003. We also want to thank NARP – the Nordic Arctic Research Programme for financial support to the analysis of the NCRB questionnaire.

Among the NW Russian crisis centres were the ones from Murmansk, Severomorsk, Apatity, Polyarnye Zori, Arkhangelsk, Petrozavodsk and St. Petersburg.

From the History of the Foundation of Crisis Centres in Russia

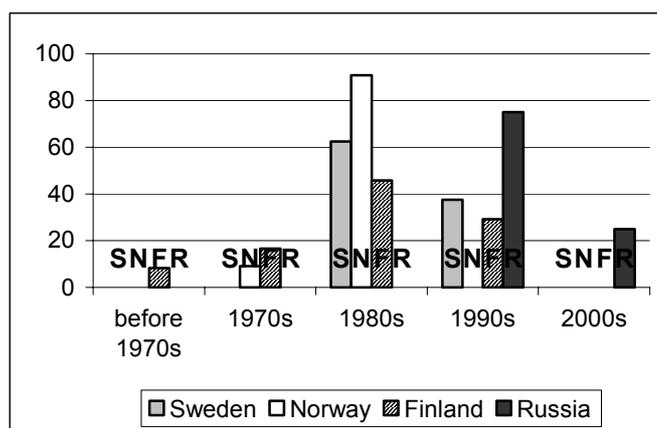
The first crisis centres for women in Russia started to appear at the beginning of the 1990s within the framework of the women's movement and were connected with the ideology of feminism (Yukina 2003; Pashina 2004, in this volume). At first, such centres were established in the largest cities of the country – Moscow and St. Petersburg in 1992 – 1994. It is difficult to specify the exact dates of their foundation since activists of the centres started to help women, suffering from domestic and sexual violence long before their organisations were officially registered as women crisis centres. For instance, before the first crisis centre for women exposed to sexual violence, was established in Moscow in 1994, its director had been engaged in the hotline service for victims of rape at the organisation called Human Soul. As for the first St. Petersburg crisis centre for women, before it was registered in May 1994 as the Psychological Crisis Centre for Women¹, it began its existence in the winter of 1991 as a centre for victims of sexual violence at the Crisis Service for Adolescence. And the idea to create it had been first discussed in 1987-88 by women-activists. Later crisis centres started spreading to other cities of Russia² (see also Pashina 2004, in this volume).

The NCRB questionnaire (Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003) gives the following picture of foundation of crisis centres in the Barents region (see Figure 1).

Most of the Nordic centres appeared in the 1980s within the framework of the women's movement. Some units had been established earlier. For example in Finland they were based on the already existing homes for single mothers and their children, originating in the 1940s (e.g. Saarinen 2000).

¹ Its present name is Institute of Non-discriminative Gender Interrelations (INGI)/ Crisis Centre for Women. This centre is an active participant of the NCRB project and plays the role of the expert centre.

² These data are from the correspondence with the representatives of crisis centres.

Figure 1. Foundation Decade¹

In contrast to the local way of foundation of the Nordic crisis centres, many Russian units were created thanks to international support and collaboration. Establishment of crisis centres in NW Russia was greatly influenced by the neighbouring Nordic countries. For example, financial support and training from Tromsø (Norway) helped to establish the autonomous (or NGO) centre Prijut in Murmansk in 1996. The public centres in Apatity and Polyarnye Zori received support from Luleå (Sweden) in 1997. The NGO centre Bridges of Mercy in Arkhangelsk was financially supported by the Finnish social ministry through NCRB in 1999 to train the first group of volunteers. Besides, many crisis centres in NW Russia received financial support from American and a number of European foundations.

As a rule, in the big cities of Russia there are several crisis centres for women, which differ in their legal status (NGOs or public centres) and in the range of services provided (special centres for victims of sexual violence, domestic violence, etc.). For instance, in Moscow there are located several crisis centres: Anna, Sisters, Yaroslavna. In St. Petersburg one finds the Centre for Help for Women, INGI – the Crisis Centre for Women and the

¹ Here and further the number of responded centres in Finland, Sweden, Norway and NW Russia see in Table 1. The figures on financing make an exception and they are specified separately.

crisis centre Alexandra¹, in Murmansk Prijut, Skanna and Gylania. In 1999 the Russian Association of Crisis Centres for Women was established and gathered together NGO crisis centres. Public centres cannot join the Association.

The table below represents the information about the NW Russian crisis centres that took part in the research. There were seven autonomous, and five public² organisations.

Table 2. Crisis Centres in NW Russia, their Foundation Year and Legal Status

Title of the centre	Type of organisation	Membership in the Russian Association of CCs for Women	Date of the official establishment ³
Crisis centre Prijut, Murmansk	NGO (independent)	Yes	1997
Crisis centre Skanna, Murmansk	NGO (independent)	Yes	1999
Crisis centre Gylania, Murmansk	NGO (part of another organisation)	No	2000
Crisis centre of the town of Apatity, Murmansk region	Public (part of municipal organisation)	No	1997
Crisis centre of the town of Polyarnye Zori, Murmansk region	Public (part of municipal organisation)	No	1997
Crisis centre Severyanka, Severomorsk, Murmansk region	NGO (independent)	No	2000

¹ Alexandra was exceptionally not included into NCRB and not in the questionnaire either since we got to know this crisis centre much later. Only two crisis centres in St. Petersburg, which were the first in NW Russia, became the NCRB participants.

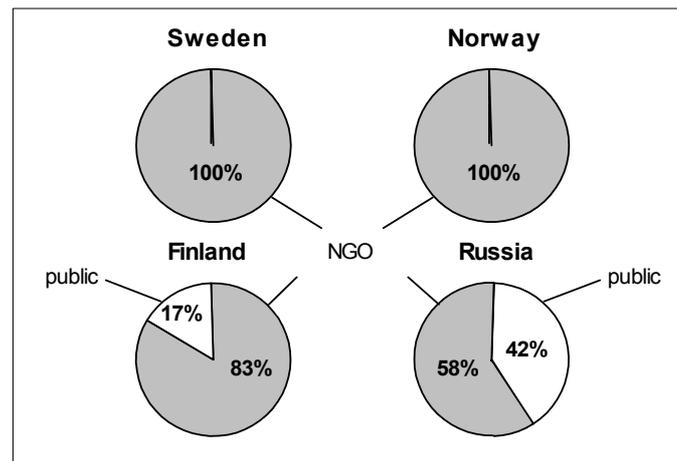
² By public we mean municipal and governmental centres, which make part of the system of social services.

³ The year of official establishment of a centre (registration) does not always match the starting year of its actual work. Many NGO crisis centres tend to be registered after the beginning of their activity, and this period can last for one – three years or more.

Crisis centre Bridges of Mercy, Arkhangelsk	NGO (independent)	No	2000
Public crisis centre, Arkhangelsk	Public (part of municipal organisation)	No	1999
Crisis centre Maja, Petrozavodsk	NGO (independent)	Yes	1999
Shelter for women with children, who have suffered from domestic violence, Petrozavodsk	Public (part of municipal organisation)	No	1998
Institute of Non-discriminative Gender Interrelations / Crisis centre for women, St. Petersburg	NGO (independent)	Yes	1994
Centre for Help for Women, St. Petersburg	Public (governmental independent)	No	1995

Structure and Management

Figure 2. Type of Organisation



Most of the Nordic crisis centres included in the survey are non-governmental organisations (see Figure 2). All the Norwegian and Swedish crisis centres in the Nordic Barents region are autonomous units. The majority of the Finnish units, for their part, are either autonomous or units affiliated with another organisation and only 17% are public units¹. In Russia there are two types of organisations – NGO and public. These differ in their legal status, management style and financing.

It is remarkable that the first crisis centres in Russia were non-governmental and they were founded earlier than public ones due to their close ties to the women's movement (Yukina 2003; Pashina 2004, in this volume). Autonomous centres saw their mission as the defence of women from all forms of violence. Public crisis centres appeared later, after the reconstruction of the governmental system of social welfare under new economic conditions. Among public crisis centres in NW Russia there is one independent governmental unit and four municipal ones, based on the existing public organisations of social welfare as part of their structure.

Non-governmental organisations are quite a new phenomenon for Russia and have been intensively developed during the last years. Autonomous crisis centres can be created by groups, founding boards or other organisations. As a rule, the head of this type of crisis centre is an executive director, elected by the board or by all the personnel of the centre. Many problems of managing and financing of the centre can be resolved at staff meetings. However, the method of resolving of such problems differs from centre to centre. The strength of the NGO status lies in its independence. NGOs can carry out their own policy and independently resolve problems on the scheduling and prospects of their further work. They have more opportunities for training in Russian educational programmes organised by the Russian Association of Crisis Centres, and more contacts with other analogous organisations. A number of crisis centres were created by women-activists, and many NGO units have close links with other autonomous centres and the women's movement abroad.

A strong regulation of the organisational activity, typical in the state sector, gives way to more flexible and various working methods and

¹ A more detailed picture of the organisation of the Finnish centres see Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003.

decision-making and to more democratic relations inside the NGO centre (Nikiforov 2002). Nevertheless, it is hardly possible to speak about the absolute absence of hierarchy and the complete equality of all the members of such organisations (Lipovskaya 1996; Khodyreva 1996). The investigation of one of the autonomous Russian crisis centres outside the Barents region has shown that the democratic management in this organisation is combined with some hierarchy in the access to resources. The information about competitions, conferences, training courses, summer schools reaches the “managerial level” in the first place, then it is sent vertically downwards until it finally reaches the volunteers (Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov 2002, 298). The hierarchy in the access to resources may lead to tension and problems inside the NGO organisation. From conversations with the NCRB participants at the project seminars it is known that such problems exist in a number of crisis centres in NW Russia, too. And the question about the distribution of resources (including financial ones, received from different foundations) is one of the most complicated.

The serious problems for NGO crisis centres (as well as for the third sector on the whole) are the problems of how to manage the organisation without stable financing and the necessity of constant fundraising, the problem of attracting and training of volunteers, as well as motivating the personnel and volunteers in the centre (Alekseeva and Kozlov et al 1995).

A great deal depends on the director (or directors) and her competence in the solving of many problems. As a rule, NGO organisations are headed by women with professional experience, wide social ties and the experience of writing applications for grants. However, the stable work of the centres demands not only the “social competence” of the heads but also their managerial skills, necessary for working in the third sector, which is new for the social structure of the Russian society. The issues of effective management in such organisations under the conditions of Russia have not been sufficiently studied yet. Lack of a necessary organisational culture of management is also seen as a basic problem of autonomous crisis centres by Pashina (2004, in this volume).

And the last but not least problem of NGO crisis centres is that they are not free from internal conflicts. The fact, that leaders or active members of some NGOs leave the centres and establish their own, is the evidence of these conflicts. Such situations occurred, for instance, in Murmansk and

St. Petersburg. Unfortunately, relations between some crisis centres are not free from rivalry, which hinders from the consolidation of efforts in solving common problems (Pashina 2004, in this volume). However, such relations are also typical for NGO organisations in other spheres of activity. Between organisations of the same type relations of cooperation are possible as well as relations of competition, the latter been first of all connected with the lack of adequate resources (Zdravomyslova 1993). Thus, public movement of crisis centres is not an exception in this sense.

It is obvious that since governmental and municipal crisis centres are established and administered “from above” by higher organs, they have other managerial problems. These public centres are characterised by the following peculiarities. They can have their own director or be headed by a director from the higher organisation to which they belong. A director is not elected by the staff but is appointed by a higher authority. The strength of public crisis centres consists in the following: financing from the city budget, availability of permanent premises and telephone. The staff receives regular wages, and has close connections with other services for social protection. Public centres have more opportunities for opening and maintaining shelters for women. The weakness of such centres is their dependence on the head organisation. They cannot carry out their own policy or choose their own ideological priorities, and the success of their activities depends on the attitude of the head from the higher organisation (from the district or city departments for social welfare). The fact also is that in many public crisis centres the staff receive salaries lower than the official minimum living wage in the city (region). Thus, the crisis centre employees themselves are often in need of social assistance.

The personnel’s low level of competence is also a serious problem for many public centres (Pashina 2004, in this volume). As a rule, when city authorities open a public crisis centre, they do not provide special training for its future staff. This leads to difficulties in work and to problems both for the clients and for the personnel. Another practice of opening of crisis centres in NW Russia is worth mentioning. Before the public centres were opened in Apatity and Polyarnye Zori, their staff took part in a special educational programme, organised by the Swedish partners. One of regular sources of training, improvement of qualifications and exchange of experience for NW Russian public centres has also been through seminars and contacts within

the framework of the NCRB project (from 1999 to the present). However, training of personnel is still an acute and urgent problem for most of the public centres in NW Russia.

We can see the picture of managerial decision-making in more detail by comparing the situation in NGO and public crisis centres in NW Russia.

Table 3. Who Makes Decisions in Crisis Centres¹

	Who makes the decisions on issues that concern:									
	crisis centres' annual programme		hiring and recruiting staff		hiring and recruiting volunteers		facilities and equipment		financing	
	NGO	public	NGO	public	NGO	public	NGO	public	NGO	public
Manager	11%	33%	38%	25%	14%	25%	12,5%	25%	33%	17%
Personnel		17%					12,5%			
Both manager and personnel	56%	17%	26%		72%	50%	37,5%	12,5%	22%	
Manager of economics									11%	
Board of directors	22%		12%		14%		37,5%		22%	
Municipal authorities								12,5%		33%
Manager of the parent organisation	11%	33%	12%	75%		25%		50%		50%
Manager of the programme			12%							

*Personnel = both staff and volunteers

Staff = regularly paid personnel (professional or lay people)

Volunteers = professional or lay people, not regularly paid

¹ Here and further seven NGO and five public NW Russian centres gave the answers. The data are taken from the NCRB questionnaire (Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003).

From the table above it is evident that in the most of the NGO crisis centres all the issues are decided by the manager (or director), the board of directors or the manager together with the personnel. Only one centre is an exception, since it is not an independent organisation and the manager of the parent organisation influences its decisions. In no NGO centres has the director a right to take all the managerial decisions. However, the extent of the personnel's influence in decision-making directly depends on the connection of one another issue with the distribution of financial resources. For instance, the personnel's participation is minimal in solving financial issues (22%) and the issues that concern hiring the personnel of the centre who receive or may receive wages (26%). In one of the centres the issues of hiring are solved by the managers of the corresponding programmes when they get grants. And the only one centre with the largest budget has a special position for a manager of economics. In the majority of the NGO centres the role of directors (or executive directors) is higher than the role of boards of directors in financial issues. This presupposes a great responsibility for using the money. The joint solving of problems by the manager and the personnel of NGO units is most typical in determining the current policy of the centre (56%) and in the issue of hiring of volunteers (72%).

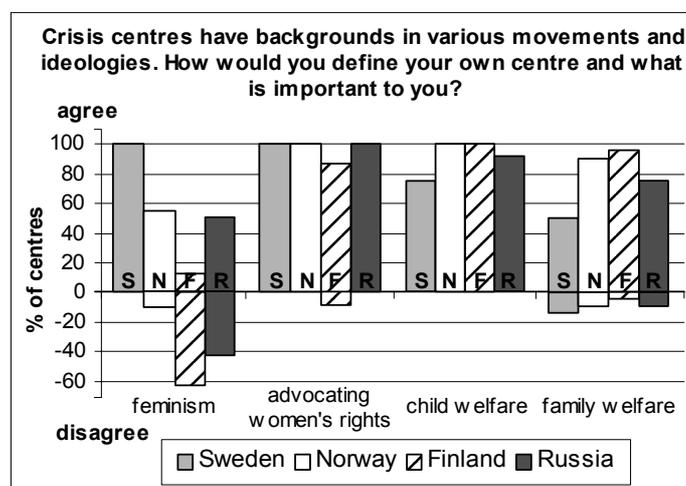
The responses from the public centres draw a totally different picture. Since almost all the centres are subdivisions of other public organisations, the director of higher organs exerts the maximal influence on all decision-making. The director of the only public organisation (which is independent) can influence financial issues. The rest of the directors lack independence in this sphere. The issues of hiring are also mainly solved by the director of the higher organisation. However, not only the director but the personnel, too, can take part in making decisions on the current policy of the centre and on work with volunteers (if their work is used in the centre).

Ideological Background

Crisis centres appeared within the framework of various public movements and adhered to different ideologies (see Figure 3). Such differences are distinctly traced within the whole Barents region. For example, unlike the other Nordic centres only the Finnish ones distance themselves from feminism. And family welfare is least important only for the

Swedish units. The attitude of the Nordic centres and the Russian ones is more or less the same towards advocating women's rights and child welfare (Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003).

Figure 3. The Ideological Starting Points



As for the NW Russian crisis centres they are split into two groups depending on their attitude to feminism. This is connected to both the history of crisis centres and a peculiar attitude of the society to the feminist movement in Russia. Knowing the history of the establishment of crisis centres, we could suppose that the NGO centres share the position of feminism, and the public centres adhere to the ideology of family welfare on the whole. However, the real picture doesn't totally correspond to this supposition. The table below represents the attitude to feminism of the NGO and public centres.

Table 4. Attitude to Feminism

Crisis centres have backgrounds in various movements and ideologies. How would you define your own centre and what is important to you? – Feminism					
	Completely agree	Agree	Do not know	Disagree	Completely disagree
NGO	2	2	1	2	
Public		2		2	1

The above table illustrates that only four out of seven NGO centres share the standpoint of feminism, as do two out of five public centres. Only one centre was not sure about its viewpoint. In fact, some ordinary members of a number of other crisis centres do not know their attitude towards feminism, and do not even realise clearly what feminism is as an ideology and as a definite philosophical trend, let alone knowing about different trends inside feminism¹. In Russia the notion “feminism” as well as the notion “gender” are still new, unusual and not really clear for the most of the population. Gender and feminist research remain marginal in the system of social sciences in Russia today (Zdravomyslova and Temkina 2000). Moreover, the word “feminism” itself has a negative implication for many people (not only men, but also women), and it is often used in the negative context in the mass media. One of the consequences of such a situation is that some workers in crisis centres would not like to call themselves feminists, and at seminars and meetings with the officials they declare: “We are not feminists”. It’s worth mentioning that many women in Russia are not interested in feminism. For example, Patricia Kerig and Russian psychologists Yulia Alyoshina and Alla Volovich (Burn 2002, 261) consider that in contemporary Russia feminism is something like utopia and it is less important than urgent economic problems.

In this context it is important to remind that public crisis centres were usually established “from above” by higher organs. But in some cases foreign partners also took part in foundation of them (e.g. crisis centres in Apatity and Polyarnye Zori). Quite often the employed specialists of the centres did not have a special gender education and were not aware of feminism as a philosophic trend. Therefore in practice the workers intuitively used their own ideas, formed during their lives, or the views of the surrounding society (Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov 2002).

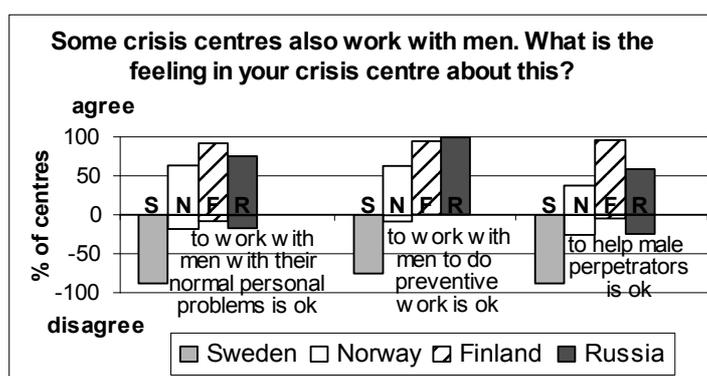
At the same time it is necessary to note that in crisis situations women can be helped not only in the feminist context, but according to the traditional model of help to the family, which is typical for many public organisations in Russia. Affiliated crisis centres in Finland, being part of bigger organisations with a wide variety of social services for the

¹ In particular, a vivid discussion on feminism at the lecture of Natalia Khodyreva in the course of one of the NCRB project seminars in Arkhangelsk in May – June 2001 was the evidence of that.

population, also adhere to this model. Possibly, the public centres in Russia will develop in this way, too. In any case, working at a crisis centre can be considered as an innovative social practice in Russia. It demands special training, which is not offered by traditional education. From this it follows that training of the personnel of the centres and open discussions on all the aspects of the work, including the ideological background, are very important. This is necessary both for the public and for the NGO crisis centres. Some autonomous organisations conduct programmes of gender education for the personnel and volunteers of the centres, which leads to positive results (Shtyleva 2003). For example, the leaders of the Murmansk centre "Prijet" and the INGI/Crisis Centre for Women in St. Petersburg display a great activity in this sphere. Educational programmes are also carried out at the seminars of the Association of Crisis Centres of Russia, which attract specialists from the different regions of the country. The NCRB project also paid constant attention to the training of the personnel, volunteers and to discussion of various ideological viewpoints and helping practices at the seminars in 1999 – 2001 (<http://www.wedu.oulu.fi/ktl/NCRB>).

Work with Men

Figure 4. Work on and with Men



The issue concerning work with men at crisis centres is closely connected with the ideological background (see Figure 4). For example, all the Swedish centres actively support feminism and none of them supports any kind of work with men. And on the contrary, almost all the affiliated and public

Finnish units consider the feminist background unimportant for the work of the centre and are positive to work with men. The majority of the Norwegian and NW Russian centres stand for work with men, especially when it comes to prevention (Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003, Saarinen 2004, in this volume).

The attitude to work with men obviously influences the practice of accepting or not accepting them as clients in the crisis centre (see Figure 5). Hence, it is not surprising that none of the Swedish and Norwegian units accepts men, on the other hand the doors of the most of the Finnish and NW Russian centres are open for them.

Figure 5. Men as Clients in the Crisis Centres



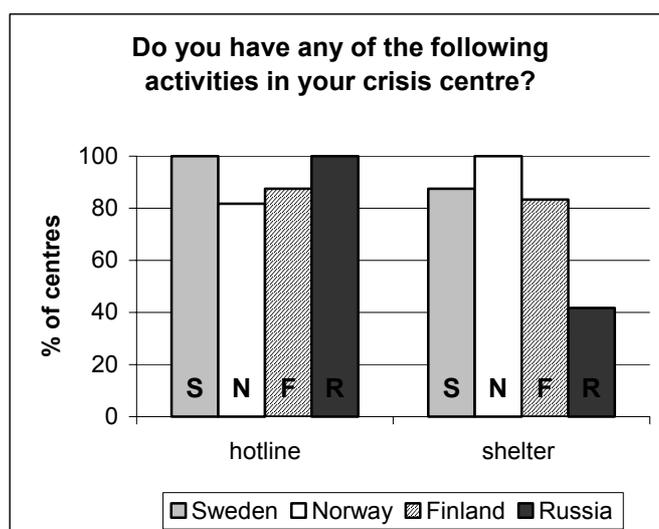
The overwhelming majority of the NW Russian crisis centres are characterised by a positive attitude to work with men. Even the centres, which declare feminism as their standpoint, in fact, accept men as clients. Work with men includes dealing with their everyday problems (family problems, invalidity, loneliness, unemployment, etc.) or working with men who are relatives of women exposed to sexual violence. At the same time a number of centres do not support the idea of work with men-perpetrators. The interviews with the representatives of the centres show that the modern crisis centres are not ready for such work as they have neither trained personnel nor special resources. Many centres believe that it is men who should deal with this issue. Preventive work with men to stop violence is

considered important by 100% of the NW Russian crisis centres and some of them conduct corresponding preventive programmes at schools and other educational institutions. According to the data from the NCRB questionnaire, five NGO and three public centres had men-clients in 1999. The total number of men in all the centres in NW Russia was 370 (from 3 to 219 men in different units).

Practices of Providing Help

Let us consider the concrete kinds of help given to clients of the crisis centres (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. Hotline and Shelter



The hotline is one of the basic kinds of help provided by crisis centres, regardless of their ideological standpoint or institutional type. Therefore it is available within the majority of them. As for the shelter, this is closely connected to the financing of the centres. Its availability strongly differs according to the national characteristic. Though the importance of the shelter as a safe place for women in crisis situations is evident, only the Nordic centres can afford shelters to a significant extent of their significance,

as they have resources for this kind of help (Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003).

Opening shelters in Russia is still a very urgent and complicated problem. It should be particularly noted that in Moscow, the largest city of Russia, where there are several crisis centres for women in operation today, there is no shelters. Even nowadays the number of shelters in Russia is very small. The data about the shelters in NW Russia is presented in the table below.

Table 5. The Shelters in NW Russia

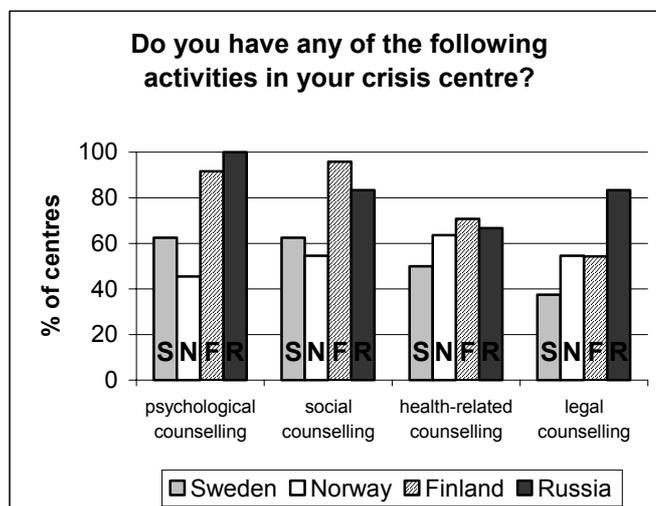
Title of the centre with shelter	Year of establishment	Number of places available for women and children
Public centre for Help for Women, St. Petersburg	1995	17
NGO crisis centre Prijut, Murmansk	1997	8
Public crisis centre of the town of Polyarnye Zori, Murmansk region	1998	4
Public shelter for women with children, who have suffered from domestic violence, Petrozavodsk, Karelia	1998	7
Institute of Non-discriminative Gender Interrelations / NGO crisis centre for women, St. Petersburg	2000	3

The shelters in Russia offer a place to stay to a woman living in critical situation for 2 – 3 months as a rule. By giving legal consultation they can help solving the problem of changing the apartment and collecting the husband's alimony. Because of the extremely limited funding of crisis centres and other social services, they cannot help women financially after they leave the shelter or provide them with housing if necessary. As a rule, there are some limitations for clients, which differ from centre to centre and are connected to age, lack of registration in a certain city or falling ill of some diseases.

For instance, the public shelter in St. Petersburg accepts women from 18 to 49 years of age, registered in St. Petersburg and without any psychiatric or sexually transmitted diseases or tuberculosis. Children from 3 to 7 years old can stay with their mothers. The shelter Prijut in Murmansk does not accept

women suffering from drug and alcohol abuse, psychiatric and sexually transmitted diseases, and the age limits for women are from 18 to 55. Girls from 0 to 18 years old and boys from 0 to 12 are accepted. Women of 15 – 80 years old registered in the city can stay in the Petrozavodsk public shelter together with their daughters of 3 – 18 and sons of 3 – 13. Limitations for children under three are connected to lack of the necessary facilities for babies. Limitations for boys are explained by the necessity of maintaining comfortable living conditions for the stay of other women. The age limitations for women refer to the implicit ideological line of the state to help women of first of all of the “useful” age, when they can give birth to children. Elder women, who are also often exposed to violence in the family as the experience of many crisis centres shows, should be helped by other organisations for elderly people. For example, in St. Petersburg women over 49 years old may not live in the shelter¹. Such limitations seem strange from the standpoint of a woman as a client of the centre. It is common for all the shelters not to provide housing for men.

Figure 7. Counselling



¹ The retirement age for women in St. Petersburg as well as at the greater part of Russia is 55.

Lack of shelters in the majority of the Russian centres has led to the formation of the peculiar model of crisis centre in Russia. The primary role is played through various kinds of consultations for clients, first of all psychological and legal counselling (see Figure 7).

As illustrated in the diagram, crisis centres in all the countries, participating in the research, render various kinds of consultations. Finland excels in providing social and health-related counselling, and NW Russia in psychological and legal counselling. In addition, the NW Russian centres are more active in giving support through self-help groups and group training for clients (see Figure 8) (Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003).

Figure 8. Self-help Groups and Group Training



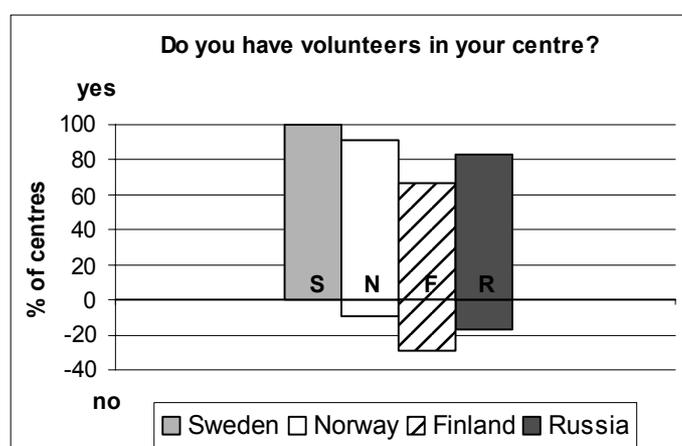
Thus, even in spite of the lack of sufficient financial resources, the crisis centres in NW Russia look for various forms of help provision to clients. Besides the services, mentioned above, the majority of the crisis centres carry out active educational work at schools and higher educational institutions on the prevention of domestic violence. They also give out relevant information through the local media and hold seminars and lectures for the police, schoolteachers and ordinary people on the problem of domestic violence. Some centres provide women with legal support at the court. The services at the crisis centres in NW Russia are free for women. Staying at the shelters is also free.

Personnel of the Crisis Centres

What kind of specialists work at the crisis centres in NW Russia? There are two categories: the staff of the centre and the volunteers. The staff include people working full- or part-time (according to their contracts) and receiving regular wages. Volunteers at the centres are not paid for their work, and as a rule they are employed somewhere else. Volunteers work part-time. They can receive other benefits for their work at the centre.

The crisis centre movement as a whole is very much dependent on volunteers, as proven by our research. The figure below illustrates the situation in the Barents region and demonstrates a high percentage of volunteers' recruitment in the centres. Moreover, work in the Swedish crisis centres is fully based on volunteers (Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003).

Figure 9. *Volunteers in the Centres*



Volunteers' work has already become a traditional element of the activity of NGOs in the West. But it is quite new for Russia. Nevertheless, not only NGOs but also some public units recruit volunteers to work in the crisis centre. It is worth mentioning that in addition to people without special education, just willing to help women, very high professionals (psychologists, lawyers, etc.) can work as volunteers in the Russian crisis centres.

Staff and volunteers are specially trained before they start working at the centre. According to the data of the NCRB questionnaire, in 2000 in 12 NW Russian crisis centres 20 social workers (16 staff and 4 volunteers), 44 psychologists (17 staff and 27 volunteers) and 16 lawyers (11 staff and 5 volunteers), as well as administrators, volunteers of various professions and assistant personnel provided help to women. A comparison of the Nordic countries gives the following picture (see Figure 10) (Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003).

Figure 10. Personnel in Crisis Centres



The number of psychologists and lawyers is the highest in NW Russia, but social workers and medical personnel are maximally represented in Finland. There are no specialists employed in the Swedish and Norwegian crisis centres, except for some legal service available in one of the Norwegian centres. Differences in the personnel of crisis centres, on the one hand, depend on differences in their ideological background and the existing traditions of rendering help to clients. On the other, they are connected to the different economic conditions of the countries. For instance, the basic model of providing help in the Swedish units is given “from sister to sister”. Specially trained volunteers render help to clients and no professionals

(psychologists, lawyers, etc.) are employed¹. If clients need the services of the corresponding specialists, they are sent to other institutions in the public sector. A similar model of service provision is typical for the Norwegian crisis centres.

In Russia attempts to implement the model of rendering help “from sister to sister” without recruiting any specialists were also made by crisis centres. The work of Murmansk shelter Prijut is an example of this. However, the experience of this centre has shown that this model is as effective in Russia as it has been expected. The leader of the centre considers that long special gender education for volunteers is necessary for successful work in the centre (Shtyleva 2003).

In our opinion, the model “from sister to sister” is not easily applicable under the economic conditions of contemporary Russia because of the scarcity of shelters and financial support for women-clients. The results of our research indicate that the model of “professional help” is more characteristic of the crisis centres in NW Russia. Psychologists work in 60% of the centres, social workers in 45%, and lawyers in 40%.

Because of the dearth of necessary financial resources, in many cases crisis centres cannot provide women with real financial assistance (to buy or rent a flat) or even render temporary housing in a shelter. That is why counselling has become the main area of help for many crisis centres for women in Russia. At present telephone consultations and individual counselling are the traditional services in the most of the crisis centres in NW Russia. Many clients ask for psychological and legal consultation as they believe that a specialist would solve all their problems. It is noteworthy that services of professional psychologists and lawyers are free for women in the majority of the centres. This is very important for clients, who cannot afford paid services. As for social counselling, it is more extensive throughout the public crisis centres, where the majority of social workers are employed.

On the whole, there are also other models of crisis centres in Russia. For example, there are centres, which render only educational services (Pashina 2004, in this volume).

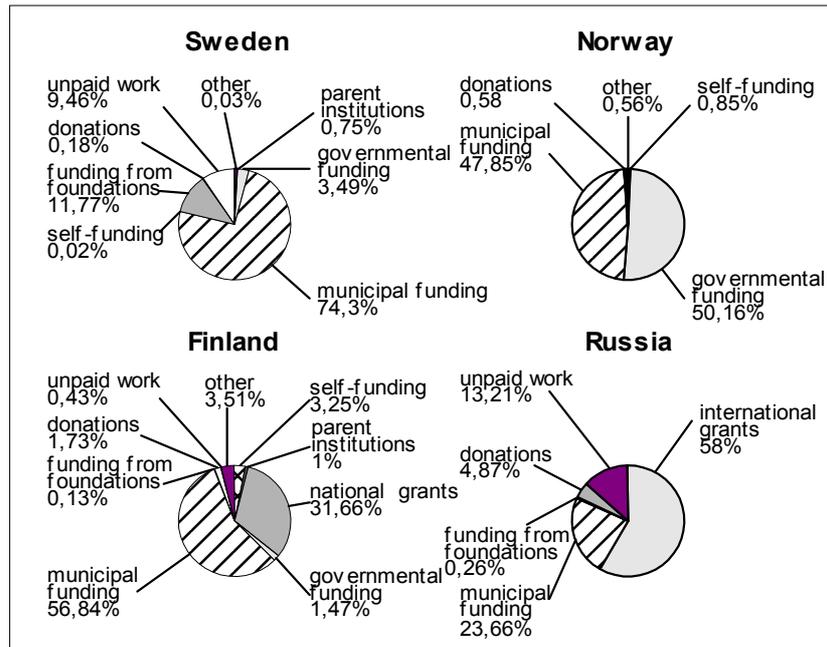
¹ The Umeå crisis centre for women that provides legal service for clients is one of exceptions (see: Wickman and Larsson 2003).

Financing

The financing of the Russian crisis centres differs greatly from financing in the Nordic countries, none of which receives international grants (see Figure 11) (Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003).

Unfortunately, the diagram presents the data for only seven Russian units that gave information about their annual budget for 1999. You can see a more detailed picture of financing in 1999 in the table below (see Table 6), which gives data about the ten crisis centres in NW Russia¹.

Figure 11. Financing²



¹ The data are taken from the NCRB questionnaire.

² Among the respondents there were 21 Finnish, 7 Swedish, 11 Norwegian and 7 Russian centres. The other centres didn't reply to the question about their annual budget in 1999.

Table 6. *The Sources of Funding in the Russian Centres*

	Public crisis centres					NGO crisis centres				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Governmental funding	100%									
Municipal funding		100%	100%	100%	99%			10%		
International grants						90%	90%	80%	20%	
Funding from foundations								3%		
Donations						9%				
Unpaid work					1%	1%	10%	7%	80%	100%

The table presents four public crisis centres based on the municipal funding and one on governmental funding (Centre for Help for Women, St. Petersburg). It is noteworthy that this financing is very scanty and not enough for carrying out different services for clients or for obtaining necessary equipment. As a rule, the salary in public crisis centres is very low. In line with other researchers (Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov 2002, 275, 278), we would like to note, that the social sphere on the whole in Russian society is implicitly treated as the sphere of women's labour, since mainly women are employed there. Women can receive low wages, obviously insufficient for living, because a family should be supported by the husband.

NGO units mainly used international grants. Besides these grants, one of the main sources of funding for autonomous centres was the unpaid work of volunteers. It is remarkable that one NGO unit also used municipal funding which occurs very seldom in Russia. At present the picture of funding is changing. For instance, some NGO crisis centres have started obtaining national grants from local authorities.

The budget of NGO centres varies. It can be up to 35 000 USD each year in large cities like St. Petersburg, while some centres have to survive without any budget as they are based on the free work of activists and volunteers. The most difficult problem for NGO crisis centres is obtaining reliable funding

for payment of the rent for the premises, communication, and the work of specialists. Many NGOs receive grants from different foreign foundations for payment of their activity, but this source is not stable and cannot provide reliable funding for many centres (Pashina 2004, in this volume). That is why the search for funding is a permanent task for an NGO crisis centre.

Conclusions

Activity of crisis centres in NW Russia can be considered as an innovative practice, carried out in different forms and in organisations having different legal statuses. Originally the idea of a crisis centre was taken from the West. However, the imported model of work was adapted by ordinary executors and social institutions to the existing economic conditions and traditions in Russia. Therefore, at present crisis centres in NW Russia differ from those in the West (first of all, the Nordic ones) by their ideological standpoints, the sources of financing and the leading ways of providing help.

From the very beginning the leaders of the first NGO centres in NW Russia shared the ideology of feminism. However, we cannot declare that today feminism is still an ideological starting point for all the personnel working in crisis centres. The theoretical background differs from centre to centre and at the level of the heads of the organisations we can distinguish two main ideological paradigms for work: feminism and family welfare. Nevertheless, in a number of cases the ideological background is not clearly understood by ordinary workers in the centres. In the practice of rendering help women often intuitively proceed from their personal views, experiences and everyday life. Thus, in our opinion it is necessary to conduct educational programmes for the personnel of the centres in order to deepen their understanding of theoretical viewpoints, which could be helpful in the everyday practice in the centres.

In NW Russia there are two main organisational models of a crisis centre for women – an autonomous NGO and a crisis centre as part of the public social service. They are differentiated by their legal status, management and financing. For the NGO units the main sources of funding are grants, mainly from foreign foundations, a source which is quite unstable. There is little financial support from local authorities. For the public centres municipal funding is the main resource but this is insufficient.

Less than a half of the centres in NW Russia have at their disposal shelters, where women (together with their children) can stay in crisis situations in case of domestic violence. However, neither type of crisis centre (with or without a shelter) is able to provide help to women with housing and economic problems at the level of the Nordic countries. This can be explained by economical reasons because the level of social welfare in Russia is far lower than in the Nordic countries.

The practice of rendering help in the most of the units consists of hotline and psychological and legal counselling for clients. The model of giving non-professional help “from sister to sister”, typical for the majority of the Swedish and Norwegian centres (and which presupposes a shelter for women in addition), is not easily applicable in NW Russia. Many NGO and public Russian centres work according to the model of “professional help”, which is characterised by aid from professionals (psychologists, lawyers, social workers). In contrast to the crisis centres from Nordic countries, the number of shelters in NW Russia is minimal and the number of psychologists and lawyers is maximal.

The results indicate, in our opinion, that the most urgent problems of the crisis centres in NW Russia are a lack or insufficiency of financing, the needs for constant training for personnel and volunteers, motivating of the personnel to work for very low wages (in public crisis centres) or under conditions of unstable financing and even lack of it (in NGO units). There is an insufficient legal basis for effective defence of the rights of women who suffer from different forms of violence, and a lack of means to solve housing problems of clients even if the shelter is available.

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AINO SAARINEN

TENSIONS IN COMBATING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
IN THE EAST-WEST TRANSREGION OF BARENTS
– THE “MAN QUESTION”

Abstract

The author, herself the Nordic director of the Nordic-NW Russian NCRB – A Network for Crisis Centres in the Barents Region development project, analyses some grassroots experiences in running the project by making also use of a questionnaire material and individual and focus group interviews in the involved crisis centres. In the centre of attention are the internal network dynamics, which based on both the national and institutional multiplicities, and the project methodology, which encouraged both participation and polyphony and, furthermore, transversal dialogue. In this context the most divisive issue, the “man question” concerning work on male abusers is interpreted to be an example of so-called deliberative disagreements. Discussion finally moves to problems and issues regarding how to create genuine East-West political and professional communities across a former global divide.

Biographical note

Aino Saarinen, Dsoc.Sc, is a docent in Sociology at the University of Oulu and a docent in Women’s Studies at the University of Tampere. In 1999 – 2002, she was a Nordic (NorFA) visiting professor in Women’s Studies at the Nevsky Institute, St. Petersburg. From January 2004, she works at Aleksanteri Institute, a national centre for studies on Russia and Eastern Europe

In Saarinen, Aino & Carey-Bélanger, Elaine (eds.): Crisis Centres and Violence Against Women. Dialogue in the Barents Region. Femina Borealis, Vol. 9; Gender Research: Methodology and Practice, Vol. 7. Centre for Women’s Studies and Gender Research. Arkhangelsk: Pomor State University, 69 – 90.

at University of Helsinki. She has been the director of the NCRB – A Network for Crisis Centres in the Barents Region and the related network for research from 1999 on. At present, she is writing a report on the transregional crisis centre movement in Barents in the context of evolving multilevel democracy and starting (with Russian/Norwegian and Swedish colleagues) a new project titled RWN – Russian Women as Immigrants in “Norden”. Aino Saarinen is one of the founding members of the Femina Borealis – Women and Development in the North network operative in Barents since 1993. Her relevant publications include:

Saarinen, Aino & Liapounova, Olga. 2002. Building up a Trans-Regional East/West Community for Crisis Centres in the Barents Region. In *Taking Wing. Conference Report. Conference on Gender Equality and Women in the Arctic, 3-6 August 2002, Saariselkä, Inari, Finland*. Reports of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2002:12, Helsinki 2002, 245 – 251 (Also published in *Women against Violence, An Australian Journal*, 12, 4 – 8).

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Introduction: Development Invasion to the Transitional East

Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the socialist regime as a whole, it is justified to speak about a development invasion from the West to the transitional East. One of the most important results of grassroots contacts across the former global divide concerns ideas and institutions for combating violence against women. From the turn of the 1980 – 90s onwards, crisis centres – consultation units, hotlines and shelters – have been established all over the post-socialist areas including the so-called East-West transregions reaching from the South to the North, from the Mediterranean, Central Europe and from the Baltic states to the Barents region.

Till these times, this kind of mobilisation has been characterised by enthusiasm and optimism. Surprisingly little has been discussed about problems and obstacles, let alone failures. Now the situation is changing. Critical evaluations are being published showing that asymmetries and dependences across the divides are among the key issues for the post-socialist women's movements. In brief, fears of Western feminism colonising non-Western regions have also become more common in the transitional countries (e.g. Fabián 2002; Nash 2002). In the words spoken in the Russian Barents region by one of the pioneers in East – West institution building, “the euphoria is over” (Shtyleva 2003). Face-to-face meetings and discussions with women activists in crisis centres in the former Yugoslavia repeat this message, perhaps with even more pessimism. Prospects for development and even survival are indeed gloomy in most of these regions. Freedom of action has not been enough – many women of the Eastern Europe feel that they have been left alone to struggle with recessive economics, neo-liberal capitalism and overall aversion to democracy and politics¹ (Jalusic 2002; see also Saarinen, Kudriashova and Yukina 2003).

Study Method

How, then, to restore optimism and political energies for change? In my dual role as the director of the Nordic – North West Russian NCRB – A Network for Crisis Centres in the Barents Region development project around in 1999 – 2002 (I) and 2002 – 2005 (II) and as a scholar with a background in women's

¹ I visited some crisis centres in Croatia and Slovenia in summer 2003 when attending a seminar on East-West relations in Women's Studies.

movements, I believe that critical evaluations of developments are a precondition for any further progress. It is of special importance to see transborder collaboration through the eyes of both recipients and “helpers”.

In this article, I describe and analyse some grassroots experiences in running the project in its first period and reflection the internal network dynamics, the obstacles and lessons learned. In the centre of attention are the tensions that arose from the national and institutional multiplicities. I will start with an analysis of differences between the units involved and then outline our way of working within this complex context. In the following chapters, I discuss the “man question” concerning work with clients and other institutional divisions, to say, our efforts in handling contradictions with transversal dialogue analysed e.g. by Nira Yuval-Davis (1997, 88, 125 – 133). We also used a related method that Elisabeth Porter (1999), inspired by Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson (1996, 73 – 79), calls deliberative disagreements. In the final instance, I will try to shed light on problems and issues regarding how to create genuine political and professional communities across a former global divide.

In the analysis I will proceed through cycles of action and reflection, from another angle, with twofold movements of entering into relations and looking at a distance (Reason 1994a; 1994b). For this, I will make use of various materials and methods, both quantitative and qualitative. Firstly, the material is comprised of participatory action research material, my personal experiences and the joint assessment of the Nordic – NW Russian project team¹ from 1999 – 2002. Secondly, at my disposal are the project evaluations from the network units in 2002 and, moreover, the reports of more than ten network units that are included into the final project documents in 2003 (Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003; Stemland 2003). Thirdly, there are the results of the questionnaire sent to the crisis centres in Barents in 2000 (Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003) and the focus group interviews in the NCRB member units in 2000 – 2003 for my ongoing research on the crisis centre movement in Barents. With these multiple research strategies (Brannen 1992) I will approach the development processes from different perspectives and at different levels of action in order to hear voices from within the

¹ In the final phase, the project team was comprised of Olga Liapounova and Irina Drachova (Arkhangelsk, Russia) and Leena Teräs and myself (Oulu, Finland). The Northern Feminist University (NFU), our main partner in Norway was represented by Marit Stemland.

institutions and, at the same time, question my own views as well – useful and necessary also because the project is now continuing in its second phase.

The Starting Point: Challenging the One-way Flows and Confronting the National and Institutional Variations

Since the mid-1990s, several crisis centres had been set up in NW Russia, either through individual development projects or by initiatives of local actors due to inspiration from Western women's movements (Pashina 2004, in this volume). As most grassroots activities, collaboration around crisis centres was by its nature a bi-local, sporadic and one-way transmission of ideas and institutions from the West to the East (Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003; Saarinen 2000; see also Johnson 2001).

As a result, many of the new NW Russian units were isolated from each other and dependent on continual financial support from abroad. On the whole, funding and training had come from multiple "sister institutions" and local, national and multilateral programmes both from right across the borders and from far away, from the Nordic countries (Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark), Central Europe (the Netherlands) and North America (Canada, USA). On the other hand, Nordic and other Western "sisters-on-the-move", political activists, consultants, trainers and treasurers did not seem to have any contacts with each other. Both ideological views and institutional practices received in Russia were thus in many ways different (Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003; Liapounova and Drachova 2004, in this volume). This is of course not surprising because the crisis centre movement is itself heterogeneous. All over the world it has branched off into several formal or informal umbrella organisations (Weeks and Gilmore 1996; Eduards 1997; Saarinen 2000).

In this complex starting situation, the first step for the three-year NCRB development project in the northernmost parts of NW Russia, Finland, Sweden and Norway was to gather the actors together across the multiple Nordic and Nordic – NW Russian borders. The long-range goals were to change the nature of collaboration and to transform the network through training and exchange programmes and campaigning into a community linked together by reciprocal professional¹ and political ties (Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003; <http://www.wedu oulu.fi/ktl/NCRB>).

¹ The term "professional" is used here broadly – it refers not only to paid professional work but also to contributions from lay volunteers.

For this, NCRB invited all the existing NW Russian units and one unit from each of the Nordic Barents provinces to join the project. As a result, the project network included actors not only from these four national but also from three institutional variants – autonomous centres, centres affiliated with some pre-existing parent or mother institution and centres within the public sector. Along national and institutional lines it is possible to categorise the 19 member units – located at Murmansk, Severomorsk, Apatity, Polyarnye Zori, Arkhangelsk, Petrozavodsk and St. Petersburg¹ in NW Russia, Kirkenes, Tromsø and Bodø in Norway, Luleå and Umeå in Sweden and Rovaniemi and Oulu in Finland – as follows:

Table 1. The NCRB Units, along National and Institutional lines

National/institutional divisions	Autonomous	Affiliated	Public	Sum
Finnish	-	2	-	2
Swedish	2	-	-	2
Norwegian	3	-	-	3
Russian	6	1	5	12
Sum	11	3	5	19

As all over (e.g. Weeks and Gilmore 1996; Johnson 2001), the centres have a dual aim, to give immediate help and support to individual victims of violence and to make long-term changes in society. But as mentioned, across the commonalities, they are also different from each other in multiple ways. It is possible to argue that the differences include both non-significant variation, important divergences and, finally, fundamental divisions or oppositions concerning both work with clients and in society. These can be analysed on the basis of the questionnaire sent to the crisis centres in 2000².

¹ St. Petersburg is not part of the Barents region but of the adjacent areas to the Nordic countries. In the end of the NCRB project it came out that there exists one unit that we had not known about. This of course says something about the local situation.

² The questionnaire was sent to 71 units – all crisis centres in the target region and, in addition, due to a contract with the Finnish Federation of Mother and Child Homes and Shelters, all units in the whole of Finland, out of which in total 55 (77,5%) returned the form. I will use the questionnaire here as a secondary analysis (Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003; an analysis from the Russian perspective, Liapounova and Drachova 2004, in this volume). We owe thanks to the Nordic Arctic Research Programme (NARP) for funding all travel of the project team to prepare the first analysis.

When defining how the key problem – the problem of violence – is framed, what in the centre of attention is, whose point of view it is seen from and, finally, how gender power comes into the picture we can divide the crisis centres in two basic groups. Some centres approach violence as part of gender conflict while some others work along more “gender-neutral” views concerning the relationships of women and men. Across national variations, autonomous units tend to speak about “violence against women” (and children) and point to men as perpetrators whereas affiliated and public units operate within the framework of “family violence”, which may imply assumptions of women’s co-responsibility. A positive or negative stand towards feminism (that can be understood in various ways) is, furthermore, an important dimension in the concept of violence. Together these elements make up a central divisive factor between centres. In addition, there are multiple differences of less importance (See also Weeks and Gilmore 1996; Johnson 2001; Carey-Bélangier 2004 and Liapounova and Drachova 2004, both this volume). From the NCRB questionnaire it is possible to draw an institutional typology of the crisis centres as follows:

Table 2. The NCRB Centres along Institutional Lines: Ideologies, Practices and Structures

Institutional character	Autonomous units	Affiliated & public units
* Key concept	Violence against women	Family violence
Target	Women, children	Women, children, men
Help	“Women-to-women”	Professional
Personnel	Volunteers, only women	Paid, also men
Work in society	Pressure	Information, training
Organisation	Formal or informal, “flat”	Formal
* Divides	Feminism “yes”	Feminism “no”
* Unites	Rights of women and children, “yes”	Rights of women and children, “yes”

The typology shows that the basic ideological division is materialised in daily practises and institutional structures and affects both work with clients and actions within the broader society. Autonomous units arising from women’s movements are inclined to give “women-to-women” help on a voluntary basis, exclude men and be more offensive as pressure groups for changes. Affiliated and public units, for their part, employ professionals, include men

as clients and personnel and prefer information, awareness-raising and training in their outside actions. Irrespective of this there are significant uniting ideological elements, all the units speak for the rights of women and children (In more detail, see Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003).

These institutional variations had a central role to play in the network dynamics. At the same time, it is evident that the NW Russian units do not fit into the typology as neatly as the Nordic units. As my project partners Olga Liapounova and Irina Drachova (2004, in this volume) show, they often represent some kind of mixed models, units that combine by their essence divergent elements into a new type of whole. In other words, crisis centres in NW Russia are both orthodox and unorthodox variants of their Western counterparts and intimate “mother institutions” meaning that transmission of views and practices from the West to the transitional East is by no means a simple process. The end result is very much determined by the institutional context in the third sector/civil society and the public sector. Moreover, we have to keep in mind the many time-bound factors in the receiving localities: overall economic regression, the collapse of the Russian system of social protection (welfare in Western terms) and shortcomings of political democracy and the legal state (See also Pashina 2004, in this volume).

Transversalism as a Practice

In brief, NCRB went upstream in relation to the crisis centre movements. It did not do what Abigail Saguy (2002) calls boundary work, in which the units are divided into “us” and some “others” working along lines that could be considered as politically correct/un-correct (See also Eduards 1997; Johnson 2001). By being an all-inclusive network, it was rather a kind of coalition or alliance (Yuval-Davis 1997, 126) across the multiple different strands of the movement.

In these complex settings, the core principles of the internal development strategy had to be participation and polyphony. Firstly, the project was not about training for people but arranging training and other actions *with* them (Reason 1994a). Secondly, we did not place any of the involved Nordic units as a model for development but set out to spread information and increase understanding of all the institutional models across the both East – West axis and the institutional variations.

A different approach would not even have been possible. Unlike many other East-West development projects, we were not entering the field. We

had been there for many years due to the Femina Borealis network founded for women's transregional grassroots activism in 1993, soon after opening the former cold-war border¹. Within Femina Borealis we already had started a process toward a more balanced, two-way interaction. The project itself was an expression of this aim. The crisis centres were chosen as the target of the first Femina Borealis development project because so many of Russian activists at the time were involved in developing them².

It was understandable that when I sometimes in the early phases got acquainted with debates on Italian women's movements and their collaboration with women actors in the former Yugoslavia, I was excited. Our northern ways seemed to be in congruence with them and, in addition, I felt that we had much to gain as well³. Of special interest were the critical reflections revolving around these interactions, most of all those crystallised into the methodology of transversalism. When discussing transversal dialogue, Nira Yuval-Davis (1997, ix, 88), one of its most well known analysts, has defined it to be about exchange of perspectives. This is done with the technique of rooting and shifting, in which the involved people first openly tell about their own values, experiences and aims and then listen to the other participants.

The methodology is of course adequate regarding the principles of participation and polyphony. In fact, I argue – and not alone but together with the whole Finnish – NW Russian project staff (Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003) – that transversalism was in many ways imbedded in our northern project network from the planning phase, both in structural and functional terms. The project organisation was at all levels Nordic – NW Russian. The staff was located at two universities, at Oulu in Finland and at

¹ Femina Borealis, a Latin term that means “a northern woman”, was considered a culturally neutral, all-inclusive and poetic expression of our common identity. See <http://www.feminaborealis.net>.

² More concretely, the development project was started due to a request from above, the Nordic Council of Ministers. In the late 1990s, the NCM wanted to lay more stress on NW Russia and turned to Femina Borealis that it had been funding earlier (Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003).

³ Since the late 1990s, we have contacts to Southern Europe as well. Due to that I made interviews in Italian crisis centres as well in spring 2002, in Milan, Florence, Bologna, Venice where the Italian “founding mothers” of transversal dialogue have worked.

Arkhangelsk in NW Russia¹ but the key team also included NFU – the Northern Feminist University² from Norway – one of the founding members of Femina Borealis, a crisis centre at Luleå in Sweden and another centre in St. Petersburg in NW Russia. With an extensive IT support programme, we were also able to use Internet as an open forum, for two-way vertical and horizontal communication.

Most crucial however was the fact that the training programme was carried out in rotation of the five courses and the closing seminar across all the borders. This practice had been cultivated already within Femina Borealis thanks to original inspirations from the NFU that became co-responsible with the NCRB staff in carrying out the training programme. Through rotation, the local units had a co-responsibility for determining the contents. Moreover, visits paid to the their partners in civil society and the public sector and meetings with politicians, women's movements and media were of vital importance. By the end of the project, all national groups and institutional variants had hosted a course. In transversal terms, they had a chance to tell about their own starting points and aims, while the others listened, asked questions and commented³. The same principles of rooting-and-shifting were used as the guidelines also when carrying out the sixth course, a web pilot course as part the IT support programme and the campaigning programme⁴.

Limits to Dialogue: the "Man Question" and the Institutional Divisions

But what happens when confronting some basic controversies? To explore the problem, we need to go deeper into the analysis of the network and keep in mind that there were differences of multiple qualities there, among them even oppositions. When I myself came from outside to the crisis centre movement I was most worried about the East – West axis. I did not fully realise the

¹ For a more detailed description on the organisation see Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003.

² The NFU is a non-academic institution arisen from the women's movements (Stemland 2003).

³ For more information, see Stemland 2003; <http://www.wedu oulu.fi/ktl/NCRB/Training>; <http://www.kun.nl.no>.

⁴ I will analyse the web course and the campaigning programme in another context.

significance of the institutional divisions in advance¹. They became clear little by little, during the courses and through working within the planning team. It was evident that there was at the same time space for dialogue and change and obstacles to be met. The “man question” became a kind of exercise for learning by doing about the network dynamics and the limits set up by the divisions in the institutional axis.

The questionnaire helped the project staff to reflect on the tensions and confrontations (Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003; Liapounova and Drachova 2004, in this volume). It revealed the basis of problems and tensions in more detail. In brief, there exists a very sophisticated continuum with two opposite ends within the centres. Swedish autonomous units strictly exclude men from the clientele and personnel and see helping male perpetrators or even doing preventive work among men as extremely problematic. The Norwegian centres for their part may accept men as some kind of “distance clients” meaning that if men call the crisis centre by phone, the personnel can have a discussion with them and direct them to a separate institution for men with problems of violence. In Russia many units let men in for consultation (sometimes in spite of reservations in principle). Finland is the extreme case in the sense that in the Finnish affiliated units men are even allowed to stay in shelters as objects of violence and get help as abusers or as “ordinary men” through male-targeted preventive programmes that are conducted by male co-workers (Saarinen, Drachova and Liapounova 2003).

The issue did not actualise in the opening course that took place in NW Russia, as there were only women present. In Norway, work on abusive men was briefly discussed by a male speaker invited by the Northern Feminist University. In Sweden however men were explicitly excluded both from lecturers and participants by the local unit. In the last of the total three courses in NW Russia a male participant, belonging to the personnel of one the local units did attend. Finally, in the closing conference that was arranged in Finland, men were allowed to have a “room of their own” in the form of a workshop. In addition, visits were paid to the two local units with special services for men. As a side step, the Finnish unit from Lapland and the three Russian units from the Murmansk region nearby arranged a separate bi-local seminar with

¹ I had been on the move since the end of the 1960s but not involved with crisis centres as the Finnish mainstream is based on paid professionals.

the “man question” on its agenda in the mid of the project period (Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003).

Table 3. Men as Clients in the NCRB Units; the Course Practices

The centre	Autonomous, Sweden	Autonomous, Norway	Autonomous, affiliated, public (part), Russia	Affiliated, Finland
Client practice concerning men	non-client	distance client	contact client	full client
Course practice concerning men	- no men as participants and lecturers	- a male lecturer	- a male participant	- a workshop for work on and with men; visits to units doing work on and with men

The course arrangements proceeded thus in full congruence with the local practice concerning the issues. The “man question” was not obscured let alone silenced. Everyone involved was very much aware of it but, at the same time, it was never directly challenged in any internal project plenary session.

From the point of view of the project staff, there would have been good grounds even for making the “man question” a key topic in one of the courses. One of the Finnish units has been awarded by the national council for equality in its pioneering efforts to help abusive men and there was evident interest in work on and with men among Russian centres. In addition, confronting the “man question” would have been supported also by the fact that help to violent men is part of all multi-lateral programmes at global and sub/regional levels¹. However, we soon came to the conclusion that it was important to avoid such internal conflicts and controversies that seemed to threaten not only the cohesion but the very existence of the network². My opinion from that time – which I shared with the other staff (Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova

¹ See Carrillo 2000; Group of Specialists 1995; Nordic Council of Ministers 2000; <http://www.nl.oneworld.nl/ewlobby/en>; Saarinen 2000.

² A turning point was in summer 2000: NCRB made a proposal for a joint EU Interred mini-project between an affiliated unit in Finland and an autonomous unit in Sweden for sharing experiences of their best practices, work on men (Oulu) and young women (Luleå). The Swedish unit rejected the proposal.

2003) – has been that placing the “man question” centre stage could have lead into a situation where at least some of the autonomous units would have stayed away, and perhaps left the network project entirely.

Deliberative Disagreements

No comments on the solution were presented by the involved units in the reference groups meetings taking place during the training courses or in their final project evaluations. The Northern Feminist University however disagreed, at least partly. In its own evaluation included into the project report (Stemland 2003) it claimed that NCRB ought to have confronted the issue more directly. This is an interesting challenge. Would there indeed have been space for the issue already during the first project period? What have we to learn from the solutions made in the first project years?

Nira Yuval-Davis (1997, 130) is of course aware of that in a transversal dialogue there is no guarantee for reaching agreement. To continue together in spite of controversies, she advises us to show empathy and respect to others even if they represent irreconcilable interests and values and to vary the homogenising of the partners because that can easily result in transforming them into the “other” en bloc. As to NCRB, all project evaluations confirm that the participants felt safe and secure during all the courses (Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003; Stemland 2003). Interest and enthusiasm shown, for example, for a mini-course in self-defence in one of the “women-only” centres is in my mind a clear proof that no homogenisation either took place. But what should be done with the divisive issue itself?

Here the use of Elisabeth Porter’s (1999) contribution in another context, the debates on deliberative democracy can be fruitful, both immediately and in the long run. At the general level, the transversal practice within the network meets the requirements of deliberative democracy well as analysed by Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson (1996, 73 – 79). For them, deliberation is a process of discussion and negotiation towards understanding and agreement that must, in order to qualify to be deliberative and reciprocal, characterised by fairness and respect. One critical remark must however be presented. In addition to reciprocity, deliberation calls for publicity (Gutmann and Thompson 1996, 97 – 101) meaning that the feminist university did make a point when making demands for more open confrontation regarding the “man question”.

Is the “man question” then a deliberative disagreement (Gutmann and Thompson 1996, 73), a principal issue in which the actors continue to differ about while at the same time they are committed to seek a solution that is mutually acceptable? To answer this question we have to explore the concept in more detail to see whether there are prospects for mutual agreement. Gutmann and Thompson (1996, 16) offer a way out by saying that deliberative disagreements lie somewhere between simple misunderstanding and immutable irreconcilability. In other words, it is necessary to define the sources of conflicts, whether they are epistemological, caused by limited information and understanding, or metaphysical, rooted in the values themselves.

In the first place, based on our experiences in running courses and the analysis of the questionnaire, it seemed that the conflict around the “man question” would be metaphysical and as such irresolvable. However, when turning to a new type of material, it is possible to find alternative evidence. The qualitative focus group interviews in the member units and their national associations displaced me from the position of project director (see also Reason 1994a; 1994b). In non-structured interviews the interviewees make specifications and reservations and justify choices and preferences. Through them it is possible to evaluate the issue from the outside as well and get a chance to look at the project process from a distance, through a kind of reflection-after-action. Moreover, as Jenny Kitzinger (1999) has stressed, the focus group interviews give voice to multiple views and opinions within groups and institutions. To give space for intra-unit differences I invited several members with varying organisational and movement backgrounds, and holding varying positions to join each focus group and posed questions also on the issues that – as I by then already had learned – were divisive, among them the “man question”.

The results are what were to be expected in the sense that the interviews gave a varied and even cracked picture of everyday life in the centres. As to the “man question”, the results are of a dual type. In all Nordic autonomous units the focus groups confirmed practically taken unanimously what was stated in the questionnaire¹. In Finland however some interesting intra-unit differences arose. It was evident that within the affiliated units there were several ideological

¹ The focus group interviews in the Norwegian and Swedish crisis centres were done at Bodø, 15 February, 2000; Tromsø, 17 February, 2000; Kirkenes, 10 September, 2000; Luleå, 20 October, 2000; Umeå, 21 March, 2000.

discontinuities at the background. At the turn of the 1970 – 80s, when the originally one-functional institution for lone mothers was transformed into a multi-functional one by opening shelters, critical reflections on the values and practices started to flourish. From then on, divergent, and at deeper level opponent views emerged from these units. It is not surprising that the interviews brought into the open feminist commitments both at the grassroots and the national level. Most interesting, at least one unit's work on and with men proved out to be from its roots pro-feminist as a result of long-term involvement in men's movements with links to simultaneous women's movements¹. The same elements can be found in national development programmes run by the respected federation (<http://www.ensijaturvakotienliitto.fi>).

From this angle then the controversies concerning the "man question" were epistemic and as such less fatal than we believed, meaning that the "man question" could be classified as a deliberative disagreement. The pro-feminist ideological basis of work on and with men could form a kind of bridge, through which the autonomous units should be able to enter into a discussion on the issue, and become ready for deliberation instead of repression.

But what about changes in the everyday life of crisis centres? How far can we come with this? Here, we must go back to the institutional typology to keep in mind that the values and views are not ideal only but are grounded in material reality. As the dominant ideologies and institutional structures are in crisis centres interwoven with each other into relatively coherent wholes, putting new ideas into practice would presuppose that all the other and related practices and structures should be scrutinised. Finally, we also need to pay attention to different levels of action and the boundary work (Saguy 2003) discussed above. Most of the autonomous crisis centres do not act independently but as parts of their national organisations. Both the Swedish and Norwegian organisations have a long history with various internal controversies around the heritage from autonomous feminist movements, which has resulted in two competing associations for crisis centres (Eduards 1997)². Even today, the

¹ The focus group interviews in the Finnish crisis centres were done at Rovaniemi, 14 November, 2000; Oulu, February 1, 2002; an interview in the Finnish Federation of Mother and Child Homes and Shelters at Helsinki, 16 October, 2000. See also Säävälä 2002; Pohjoisvirta 2003.

² An interview in the National Organisation for Battered Women's Shelters in Sweden at Stockholm, 30 January, 2001.

hands of grassroots actors are in many ways tied by the umbrella organisations. Most probably, active involvement of the member units in Norway and Sweden in a mere discussion on help to abusive men would have caused a lot of tensions and resulted in disputes between them and their national organisation¹. This helps to explain why repression against the “man question” was so persistent.

In conclusion, within a stressed three-year project period it would have been hard indeed to confront and solve all of this at all relevant levels of action, in individual units, within NCRB and the national organisations. Fortunately, both Yuval-Davis (1997, 130 – 131) and Gutmann and Thompson (1996, 3 – 5) “forgive” us by recognising the gap between pure normative theories and “dirty” practice in real life. To say the least, we would have needed more ideal conditions than we had. Throughout the project period we had to struggle with external funding, which caused so much extra stress that it seemed impossible to cope with internal disputes any more than we already did. Moreover, we had very little time at our disposal for discussions due to the fact that all talk had to be consequently interpreted from/to English and Russian (Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003; Stemland 2003). In conclusion, there is an option for re-opening the divisive issue in the future, but it was advisable to be cautious with the issue during the first years of networking and collaboration.

Toward a Transitional Space in the East-West Relations?

Why have I used so much space for discussing problems and issues that in the first place were rooted in the institutional axis instead of the East – West axis? The answer is simple – because the lesson to be learned is by no means trivial. The intra-Nordic institutional divisions did have fundamental effects on the network dynamics and content of the main agenda. From the NW Russian perspective this meant that although many of them were interested in work on and with men, they did not get much food for thought. This is without a doubt the situation that characterises most of the development invasion as so many of the crisis centres in the transitional areas get funding from so many sources. At a more general level, it is not always easy for our partners in Eastern Europe to navigate in-between Western controversies.

¹ Within NCRB there is an example of a Norwegian unit that had leave for another association in conjunction with some fundamental institutional reorientation (Eriksson 2003).

At the same time, the internal tensions were beneficial, which confirms the thesis of Ruth Lister (1997, 80) claiming that valuing genuine dialogue and building on differences enables new positions to emerge. Building on the differences through institutional all-inclusiveness created new positions in the sense that the “man question” freed the NW Russian units – hopefully for good – from an idea that there exist some authorised Western models for crisis centres. Finally, the project constellation as a whole contributed to placing the NW Russian units in objective terms in a new position in relation to the Nordic units as they could consider themselves not merely receivers but also co-arrangers of training and other actions. In other words, the NW Russian units were recognised (e.g. Yuval-Davis 1997, 126; Lister 1997, 80 – 83) as subjects and agents by the very same Nordic units that earlier had been giving them financial support and training (Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003; the focus group and director interviews, Tromsø, 17 February, 2000; Luleå, 20 October, 2000). In normative terms, it is justified to refer again to Lister (1997, 80), who speaks about solidarity in difference, giving voice to all, especially those in unfavourable positions.

As a result, one-way transmission of ideas and practices was thus about to be transformed into a more multi-directional, at best reciprocal traffic across the former East – West divide (Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003). Without wanting to boast especially I would like to claim that NCRB contributed, to a small extent at least, to tearing down the biased bi-partition, of which women activists and scholars in the transition countries now speak with a bitter tone – that of the advanced feminists in the West vs. the downtrodden and backward sisters in the East (Nash 2002).

Maybe we have entered a transitional space (Porter 1999), a turning point in the East-West collaboration? During the second period of the NCRB, the Russian units can look forward to what we from the first training course called “Russian models” in the sense that we encouraged the NW Russian participants to ponder upon what is applicable in their own contexts (see also Liapounova and Drachova 2004, in this volume). As the second period concentrates on the NW Russian units only, they have been free to decide on the agenda without any Nordic “veto”. As a result, they have placed the “man question” onto their training agenda (Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova 2003). Another opportunity for the NW Russian units to get acquainted with work on men and with men will be offered by the Finnish – NW Russian exchange programme in 2004. In the future NCRB closing conference in 2005, this heated issue will probably be confronted

together, openly and across all institutional disputes and controversies. This will be especially important for the first unit for men now evolving in NW Russia (Drembach 2003). From the point of view of the network as a whole, it will take us further on our way toward practicing transversalism and deliberation.

To encourage the post-socialist actors to proceed toward their own models, we will need more analyses like those by Olga Liapounova and Irina Drachova and Albina Pashina (2004, both in this volume)¹. Theoretically and conceptually, it is necessary to approach the development invasion to the transitional East not so much as transmission of ideas, practices and institutions but more as their diffusion. This leaves greater scope for local opportunities and constraints. As Sidney Tarrow (1998, 186 – 187), one of the social movements theorists with an interest in global phenomena claims, within the framework of movement theories it is central to evaluate how challenges are transformed in their new trans-border settings. In other words, it will be fruitful to see changes and adaptations made in NW Russia – and in other parts of the post-socialist regions – not only negatively, as resulting from lack of resources and/or information but positively, as local innovations as well. This is also in congruence with the basic principles of transnational feminism as defined by Kathy Davis (2002), in which there is space for differences and alternative strategies and, moreover, demand for alliances instead of hierarchic forerunner/ imitator constellations.

In these optimistic terms, the developments in collaboration across the East – West borders can be condensed as follows:

*Table 4. The East – West – Collaboration:
Periodisation, NCRB and the Crisis Centre Movement*

Time period	Early and mid-1990s	Late 1990s	2000s
Character of collaboration	Sporadic beginning	Network-like transition period	Community-like end state
	One-way flows	Challenging one-way flows	Multi-directional
Angle	Transmission	Diffusion	Interaction
	Western units as norms	Attention to local factors	Local “models” or adaptations accepted

¹ See also the nine Russian local reports in the NCRB project documents in Saarinen, Liapounova and Drachova (2003).

To proceed towards multi-directional exchange of ideas, views and practices, Western and Eastern actors must gather information and critical evaluations of collaboration across the post-socialist transregions and even all over the world, across the multiple global divides. Here, practically oriented theoretical debates – transversal dialogue and, at a more general level, deliberative democracy – will be of great relevance. It will also be fruitful to put onto the agenda the issue of a community or communities. Transversalism and genuine deliberation are preconditions for building up professional and political communities that are open and multiple (Lister 1997, 84; Yuval-Davis 1997, 126) or, as Deborah Fitzmaurice (1997) formulates it, communities that sustain both discursive flexibility and diverse modes of life guarantee both participation and autonomy to the involved actors.

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ELAINE CAREY-BÉLANGER

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN:
A MULTI-FACETED PROBLEM IN NEED OF
MULTI-LEVEL INTERVENTIONS AND GLOBAL STRATEGY

Abstract

Literature and research document violence against women as far-reaching and widespread. In this presentation the author gives a broad overview of the problem and reflects on the need to undertake multi-level actions to combat it. Building mainly from the Canadian experience, she first establishes the need for psycho-social and structural interventions at the individual, group and community levels. The social patterns that maintain oppression and give rise to violence must be uncovered, and used as a basis for liberation. A societal framework must also promote and implement a global strategy with collaborative actions, evaluation and research to clarify and enhance the impact of the different elements of this global approach. The author concludes with a reflection on the importance of this global strategy not only at the local and national levels but also cross national endeavours to help create safe places to deconstruct separateness and construct communities based on values shared by women across territorial borders in their struggle for change.

Biographical Note

Elaine Carey-Bélanger is a full professor at the Laval University, Quebec, Canada, and former coordinator of the Women's Multidisciplinary Feminist Research and Study Group at Laval (GREMF). Her teaching is in the areas of Social Policy, Women's Movements and Social Work,

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Social Work Intervention in a Structural and Feminist Perspective (Individual, Group, and Community), Supervision, Consultation and Leadership, and Applied Social Research. Former director of the School of Social Work, and president of the Corporation of Social Workers of Quebec, she later concentrated her efforts on International Development Projects to improve the level of Social Work Education and research capacity in Lebanon, Senegal and the Ivory Coast. She has been a visiting scholar at NIKK, the Nordic Institute for Women's Studies and Gender Research in Oslo, Norway, and visiting professor at the University of Warsaw, Poland, University St-Joseph, Beirut, Lebanon, the Institute National de Travail Social Dakar, Senegal and the Institute National de Formation Social, Ivory Coast. Since 1996 she has developed the Institutional Cooperation between Laval University and the University of Concepcion, Chile, which led to the accreditation of the Interamerican Masters in Social Work and Social Policy at that institution in July 2003. Presently she is collaborating with Aino Saarinen in the activities surrounding the NCRB project and with Bodø Regional University in Norway in the research concerning The Legitimization of Social Work in Five Countries: Australia, Canada, Norway, Russia and the U.S.A. This research places special emphasis upon how Social Work deals with the problems of single mothers living in poverty in the different contexts. Her relevant publications include:

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Introduction: a Multi-Faceted Problem

Literature and research reveal that violence is a far-reaching and widespread phenomenon. Around the world, as many as one woman in every four is physically or sexually abused during pregnancy, usually by her partner (Heise, Ellsberg and Gottenmoeller 1999). In Canada, 21% of women abused by a partner were assaulted during pregnancy, and 40% reported that the abuse began during that time (Statistics Canada 1999). Abuse often begins or worsens during pregnancy, when a woman is most vulnerable, and most dependent on her partner's support (Lent 1992).

Young women and female children are highly vulnerable to sexual assault. In 1997, persons under 18 were 24% of the population but represented 60% of all sexual assault victims and one fifth (19%) of physical assault victims (Statistics Canada 1999). Of sexual offences against children under 12, the ages at which boys are most likely to be sexually assaulted, girl victims outnumber boys by two to one (Statistics Canada 1999). Women under 25 are also at greatest risk of being killed by their male partners (Statistics Canada 1999).

A Disabled Women's Network survey found that 40% of women with disabilities have been raped, abused or assaulted. More than half (53%) of women who had been disabled from birth or early childhood had been abused (Ridington 1989). Women with disabilities may also be physically, sexually or financially abused by people who aid in their care. Less than two-thirds of shelters for abused women report being accessible to women with disabilities

(Trainor 1999). However, women with disabilities report that only one in ten who sought help from women's shelters were accommodated (Ridington 1989).

Research repeatedly shows that a vast majority of aboriginal women have been assaulted, and that the chances of an aboriginal child growing up without a single first-hand experience of abuse or alcoholism is tiny. Violence may have begun while at residential school or by parents whose souls were damaged by the residential school experience of rape, physical abuse and cultural genocide. Violence continues into adulthood, ranging from 48% to up to 90% of aboriginal women being assaulted at the hands of their partners, depending on the community in which they live. Aboriginal women also experience racially-motivated attacks and are harassed on the streets by the public and police more so than non-aboriginal women (Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women 1993).

Violence against women crosses socio-economic lines (Statistics Canada 1999). However, low-income women may be more often trapped in abusive relationships because of a lack of financial resources for housing and income support. For Inuit women and others, "The virtual absence of alternative housing arrangements often forces women and children to stay in dangerous and potentially deadly situations" (Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association 1995).

In addition to racist violence, women who are of minority racial, ethno-cultural or linguistic groups also suffer violence at the hands of their intimate partners. However, their access to the justice system and to services is not the same. Only 57% of Canadian shelters offered services that were sensitive to cultural differences (Trainor 1999). Women who have difficulty speaking the official language where they live face enormous barriers in accessing services and dealing with the justice system. When services and the justice system fail, women find it even more difficult to escape abuse.

Women working in certain occupations are also more vulnerable to violence. For example, foreign domestic workers work for low wages isolated in private homes and are vulnerable to threats of deportation if they complain of physical or sexual abuse. They are often unaware of their legal rights or of services. Other occupations in which women are very vulnerable to workplace violence are health care workers and women in the military. All women in subordinate positions are vulnerable to sexual harassment in the workplace, and women in male-dominated occupations may be subject to workplaces that are hostile toward women. Women working in the sex trade

are at enormous risk of sexual and physical assault, ongoing abuse, and murder. They receive the least amount of support due to the stigma surrounding prostitution, and the belief that prostitution is a “lifestyle” decision. This ignores the fact that almost all young women who end up in the sex trade are fleeing abusive homes, and that economic options for young women on their own are minimal (Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women 1993).

The effects of violence in pain, suffering, lost potential and loss of life to women and their families are immense. The loss of self-esteem, isolation, fear and shame, physical and psychological scars are impossible to measure. The financial costs to society in care, treatment, services and lost productivity have been estimated to exceed \$4 billion annually in Canada (Selected Estimates of the Costs of Violence Against Women, The Centre for Research on Violence against Women and Children, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, 1995).

In the face of this multi-determined and multifaceted problem, there is a need for multi-level interventions within nations and, in the last instance, a global strategy among nations. Some of the best-known authors contend that one of the main factors contributing to maintaining violence is the fragmented approach looking at violence through a narrow slice of the problem. There is a lack of an inclusive vision of what must be done in policy, intervention and social action dimensions (MacLeod 1989). There must also be evaluation and research if we hope to have an impact on the situation, to reclaim the rights and increase the power of women caught in this web of violence to help them find the strength to mobilize their resources and join the movement of action for change. This must be the ultimate finality towards which we work.

In this paper, I will – by building mainly on the Canadian experience and my own long-term involvement in the issue as a professional worker and a scholar in social work and social policy – reflect on a broad overview of the problems of violence and the many levels on which we need to be knowledgeable in order to define this multi-faceted problem, establish national and global strategies and undertake the necessary multi-level interventions to control the phenomenon and increase the power of women to overcome. There is a need to work with women’s experiences, with partners and structures in the milieu, the different official sectors concerned with the problem, as well as in the research milieu. Efforts will cut across multidisciplinary perspectives: political, legal, sociological, psychological and community.

Placing women in the centre, we shall present some considerations that must accompany this global strategy. First, there is the need to uncover the social patterns associated with oppression that give rise to violence, the areas of personal and collective functioning affected and the conditions necessary for the processes and practice of liberation to occur. Then, there is a need for a framework to support this exercise and establish key strategies to end the violence, and control the situation. These strategies must have a vision, principles and goals to guide actions. Finally, we shall discuss the need for evaluation and research and the role they must play in analyzing the process. Finally, we have to move to the global level, to analyze the possibility of combining national endeavours in the spirit of the Beijing Declaration (Platform of Action and the Beijing Declaration, 1995).

Social Patterns Associated with Oppression and the Psychosocial Reality of the Individual

As crisis intervention workers and social workers confronted with the problem of violence, we can point to past and current theories, policies and practices which perpetuate abuse, but such criticism can also bog us down in defeatist thinking. We must become “learners” shaped by and shaping our involvement. It is necessary to question conventional beliefs in gender roles and families to become conscious of the structural elements which contribute to the problem and social patterns associated with oppression. Among these, some of the most important are political exclusion, economic exploitation, sexual exploitation, control of culture and the fragmentation that leads to a “divide and conquer” approach.

Adoption of a critical stance permits us in the first place to recognize the patterns associated with oppression in order to redress women abuse. Without this basic consciousness and understanding, workers treat the situation as an “encounter” or an incident, rather than an occasion to “counter” women abuse, which is to stop the violence (Pennell 1996).

As a basis and starting point for any intervention, particular attention must be given to the psychosocial reality of the woman in the situation with a focus on points where she can be helped to identify contradictions and think through her positions in areas of psychological functioning including self and identity, gender and sexuality, emotions, mental health, creativity, spirituality and context.

For heuristic purposes, interventions into women abuse can be divided into those that “encounter” and those that “counter”, as illustrated in the following figure formulated by Joan Pennell (Pennell 1996).

Figure 1. The Impact of Conventional and Feminist Teaching on Women Abuse Interventions

Conventional teachings	Encountering women abuse	Feminist teaching	Countering women abuse
Keeping secrets	➔ Individualize and isolate	Sharing stories	➔ Identify affinities
Uncritical thinking	➔ Minimize and normalize	Consciousness raising	➔ Uncover systemic oppression
Reaction	➔ Fragment strategy	Reflective Action	➔ Unify strategy

Her research, and the testimony of 150 women victims of violence, revealed that relating experiences is the first step toward building a collective effort to stop violence, the second to analyze these experiences. We need to move from “uncritical” thinking where we do not question the causes and functions of the problem to recognizing patterns of oppression across society. This is the beginning of liberation, reflexive action and a unified strategy (Pennell 1996).

Process and Practice of Liberation Identifies in Interviews and Action

Through the intervention process in a “countering perspective”, a woman becomes aware of injustice. She reframes the notion of personal development and worth to include such elements as assertiveness, sexuality, creativity. She then begins to build on her strengths.

Joining a group cultivates a broader sense of membership where one finds solidarity, support, and finally empowerment. It is by this participation that an interest in social change develops through education, community development and political engagement. At this point “countering” women abuse integrates understanding with actions to stop it, on the part of the woman victim, the social workers, the group and the community. Without such an integration, we simply react to incidents of abuse and attend to certain aspects of the violence but not to its totality. The result is often a fragmented system of services, and a range of programs with a narrow focus, where it is easy to slip through the cracks.

It is important to see people as individuals embedded in their families and communities and work to build understanding and strategies which address human lives as a whole, learning through open discussion, consciousness raising and reflecting on what we are doing together.

The expanded awareness of the social basis of abuse requires an explicit framework of reflexive action, and efforts to build practices associated with liberation as captured in the following schema, which emerged from the research of Geraldine Moan from the University of Dublin.

Figure 2. Psychological Processes and Practices Associated with Liberation

Process	Practice
Developing awareness	Demystification Critical education
Building strengths (the personal level)	Increasing self confidence Positive messages Developing a sense of history Exploring sexuality Cultivating creativity Developing spirituality Valuing unpaid labour
Making connections (the interpersonal level)	Supportive relationships Empowering groups Solidarity Community
Taking action (the political level)	Analysis Support Broadening understanding of political and social change Developing agency and influence Vision

These highlights illustrate the process through which a person demystifies the myths surrounding the situation and denounces them, becoming aware of the structural elements that maintain the problem and taking action to eliminate them (Moan 1999). Through developing a sense of history and increasing self-confidence and positive messages, a space is created where a woman can explore her sexuality, cultivate her creativity and value her unpaid labour.

There is then the possibility of developing spirituality to maintain these gains and strengthen her sense of self in relation to the universe.

At the interpersonal level, the process of making connections leads to the creation of safe and supportive spaces and relationships with those who share the values of security, respect and credibility. This will contribute to fulfilling a woman's need for support and help her to develop the power to take control over her life, through networks of solidarity and building a sense of community (Damant and Paquet 2001). From this collective strength, the analysis and support permit a vision in which broadening understanding of political and social change leads to the development of agency, influence and socio-political action (Weeks 1999). This agency, and socio-political action is not an answer in itself, but must lead to an effective structure and institutional support.

Elements of Solutions – the Shelter Movement

Over the years many efforts in this direction were undertaken, to make the multi-level strategy into a living practice.

The shelter movement shows how progress was initially achieved at all these levels through efforts of women's organizations and how they exerted pressure to involve state institutions. Shelters for abused women did not come from the government level. They began informally with groups of women running a type of "underground" network sheltering abused women in their own homes because they knew women were being assaulted and had nowhere to go. Women in the Shelter Movement endured scepticism and often ridicule when they argued for the need for shelters.

The women's movement pushed law enforcement, social services, health institutions and, increasingly, the corporate sector to take action. Shelter activists soon realized though that they alone could not protect abused women and their children. They needed 'to move beyond the shelter doors' and to make connections with other organizations in order to engage in social change work (Gelles 1997).

The movement felt that law enforcement could be an answer but soon found out that laws and legal systems are much a product of male influence. The experience with the legal system revealed that responsibility for controlling perpetrators must not heavily rely on the police and the courts. It

is a formal way of holding offenders accountable but is not designed to attend to the needs and hopes of those who have been victimized.

Canada was among the first countries where a movement from grassroots help towards professional support took place. The first shelters emerged in the early 1970s. The initial responsibility came from the women's movement and the commitment of women helping women and establishing a network of safe homes. Today there are 420 shelters across Canada, 248 transition houses, 22 second-stage houses and 48 safe home networks (Health and Welfare Canada, National Clearing House for Family Violence 1999; Lundy and Eliasson 1999).

Since the 1970s women have mobilized on a world scale. The ever-widening circles have been described as the "largest consciousness-raising endeavour" (Pietilä 2002). As we each bring the contribution of our experience to the table we shall strengthen not only our understanding, but outcomes that will be crucial to the lives of women everywhere. These efforts reveal however that the responsibility cannot be left in the hands of the law enforcement agencies, as it cannot be left within the shelter movement alone. A more broad-based collaborative effort and unified action is needed to successfully address the common concern (Walker 1990).

The government: Strategic Framework for Multilevel Action and Research, Common Principles, Directions and Goals

Despite all these efforts, a lack of concentration with resulting gaps and shortcomings was noted among Canadian Ministries of Health and Social Services, the Justice system, and Community Agencies by the end of the 1990s.

In an attempt to answer this need for an overall strategy, the Federal, Provincial and Territorial Status of Women Ministers in Canada brought forward a Framework for Global Action and Research, some elements of which I would like to share with you (Federal, Provincial and Territorial Ministers Responsible for Women 2001).

The framework first set out common principles and directions, based on a vision of equality of women and men which would guide policy and program development. It then defined goals in line with these principles. Strategies were established around three pillars: Prevention, Crisis Intervention, and the Justice System Response. Each of these strategies would be accompanied by evaluation and research.

Common Principles and Goals

Common principles presented a vision that underlies the process. Living free of violence must be considered a right and not a privilege and violence against women is a violation of human rights. Equality between women and men is important to eliminating violence against women. It must be recognized that violence against women is a crime and must be dealt with accordingly. To this end perpetrators must be punished. They are accountable for their acts, and there must be appropriate interventions to ensure that this responsibility is assumed.

Prevention is the long-term solution, but there must also be short and long term interventions and supports. An important aspect of prevention is the socialization of boys and girls from an early age emphasizing equality and respect. In the long term it must be recognized that the elimination of violence against women requires change in societal attitudes and solutions can be best achieved through partnerships among individuals, groups and government.

The advantage of having such a reflection and action framework is to guide and provide a context in which government and community efforts can be collected, evaluated and from which future research efforts can develop.

Common goals in line with these principles were:

- 1) to prevent all forms of violence against women in society;
- 2) to provide safety and prevent re-victimization when violence does occur;
- 3) to hold perpetrators accountable and prevent recidivism.

The Strategies: Prevention, Crisis Intervention and Support and the Justice System Response

Key strategies were formulated for each of these three pillars – Prevention, Crisis Intervention, and the Justice System Response.

In order to promote prevention there should be a consistent focus and adequate resources allocated to public education, training and raising awareness. Some examples could be school-based services for children who have witnessed domestic violence, public education and prevention initiatives in local communities and in the work place, training on violence prevention issues for police, legal professionals, probation, parole and correctional officers, and health, education and social services professionals. There would also be a need for multi-media public education campaigns, and activities promoting healthy and balanced relationships based on the equality of boys and girls.

Readily accessible crisis intervention services responsive to the needs of victims are essential and should be established. These services would cover a broad range of help, and have a coordinated structure. There would be crisis lines, emergency shelter and transportation, and medical treatment. There is also an important need for counselling and support to help deal with trauma and increase women's safety and self-reliance. This safety and self-reliance will depend on enforceable follow-up supports for women and their children.

In order to enforce these supports effective justice programmes must be designed to support victims, and at the same time prosecute perpetrators and hold them accountable for their acts. This would imply victim crisis assistance and referral, victim/witness support in court, and emergency legal aid for victims of domestic violence. Cultural/language assistance should be available for all citizens. Specialized domestic violence courts would be widely established (some already exist with considerable success) and could be affiliated with counselling programs for abusive men.

As illustrated in figure 3, these strategies would include precise measures and have expected outcomes.

Figure 3. Strategies, Expected Outcomes, Measures

Key Strategies	Expected Outcomes	Measures
Prevention	Heightened awareness of violence against women	Public education materials disseminated; retention of key messages
Crisis Intervention	Increased safety of women in crisis	Safety plans and protocols in place
Justice System Response	Enhanced accountability of perpetrators Improved justice system response to abused women	Reduced recidivism of male batterers Effective support services for victims in place within the justice system

These key programme elements should be flexible service models to take into consideration individual and community needs and perspectives. There should be cross-sectorial coordination and partnerships should be established with the private, public and voluntary sectors to raise both corporate responsibility and community awareness and to maximize resources. At the same time, the projected outcomes foreseen by these elements could serve as

the baseline for Evaluation and Research (Strategic Framework to Prevent Violence against Women, 2001).

Evaluation and Research

Evaluation and research are of great importance. There should be a commitment to performance measurement and evaluation of publicly and privately funded violence prevention programmes and initiatives. Evaluation allows governments and community agencies to understand and measure the effectiveness of their services and how to best improve them. This enables governments and communities to look at what is being done, what works and what does not. It identifies duplication and gaps in services, and how services might be refocused and coordinated. Given the complexity and pervasiveness of violence against women, and the reality of finite resources, it is important to ensure that programmes and services are efficient and effective, that gaps in services are addressed, and duplication avoided, and complementarity established.

The role of evaluation would not only be to collect information on evaluation and share “best practice models”; it would also include input from all stakeholders, who would have a significant role throughout the process. The evaluation process could ensure accountability of systems to monitor and assess the use of services by different groups involved in the problem (men, women and children). It could conduct systematic, ongoing collection of qualitative and quantitative data, establish short and long term goals, and establish performance indicators, service definitions, and expected outputs and outcomes with corresponding measures for further research.

Research and particularly participative research is a final essential element. Presently, in Canada, there are five university-based research centres across the country whose mission is to conduct research on violence in collaboration with community groups. In evaluation as well as research, efficiency as well as empowerment must accompany the process. The principal actors, the women who live this drama, must be centre-stage. Their experience of powerlessness must be replaced with empowerment and a sense of personal competence. Questions must be asked concerning questions of power and how the participants are empowered. There is a further need to develop new and innovative approaches to research in order to expand on existing knowledge with original conceptualisation and application.

Conclusion – Towards a Global Framework

As a result of our reflection on this multi-faceted and multi-level problem it would seem that the potential answer to the conundrum of eliminating women abuse lies not only in strategic action, but over and above this in a vision of a society where it is possible for people to have a place, a safe place to tell their stories, to develop critical analysis, and to join together and participate in the development of this unified and multilevel strategy (Weeks 1999).

To be effective, principles and strategies should be applied in unison and complementarity rather than separately. This unity must involve all the actors, the battered women's movement, alliances across progressive social movements and partnerships with families, communities and the government.

There is no one route for achieving this. Women's groups, intellectuals and professionals, women's activists and social workers have been able not only to make a place for themselves, promote legislation and policy frameworks, design and experiment with empowering interventions at the national level, but also to create spaces for themselves within the intergovernmental UN body, where violence against women has been defined as one of the twelve critical areas of concern since the Platform of Action and the Beijing Declaration (1995) (Pietilä 2002). This strategy has opened up the possibility of combining national endeavours, with horizontal cross-national collaboration across borders. This includes organizations, projects, networks and movements that are active below, above and across nation states. More than ever, there is a need to act locally and think globally, for sources of inspiration and strength (Saarinen 2001).

It is essential to create a system of mutual caring in which people have a voice over their affairs and the resources and protection to make caring possible. This implies building supportive networks that nurture and safeguard. Communal supports will not emerge spontaneously. Each one should be fashioned within the culture of the particular family, organization or community. Supports can be built by reconnecting people with their kin, neighbours, co-workers, and by severing or monitoring connections that threaten the person's well-being. This should be undertaken with people's consent, participation and with particular attention to the wishes of those who have been abused.

Within such a context, participants will be able to engage in full and honest discussion and draw upon the insights and inventiveness of the group.

Informed decisions on how to work together to end the violence will emerge. As we strive to end women abuse, we collectively reflect on the merits of the efforts of each and every country and to value and reshape them as understanding grows. We deconstruct separateness, to create new types of communities built on respect for difference and reinforcement of similarities. These will be based on specific experiences and values shared by women across territorial borders in their struggle for change.

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PROSTITUTION
AS A GLOBAL PHENOMENON

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MAIA RUSAKOVA AND ANNA YAKOVLEVA

THE COMMERCIAL SEXUAL EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN
IN ST. PETERSBURG AND NORTH WEST RUSSIA:
RUSSIAN LEGISLATION
AND ACTIVITY OF LAW-ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES

Abstract

This presentation is based on data from several empirical studies of commercial sexual exploitation of children in the North West region of Russia, carried out during 1998 – 2003. The methods of statistical analysis, secondary data analysis and interviews were also used.

The historical tendencies of commercial sexual exploitation of children on the territory of Russia are shown. The different forms of commercial sexual exploitation of children (prostitution, pornography, trafficking) and the Russian legislation and activity of law-enforcement authorities in the sphere of commercial sexual exploitation of children are described.

Biographical note

Tatiana Pyshkina is the project manager of the St. Petersburg non-governmental organization of social projects “Stellit”. She is also a candidate at the Sociological Faculty of the St. Petersburg State University. Her research topic is commercial sexual exploitation of children (research on child prostitution, child trafficking and pornography). She is also interested in sociology of deviance and social control and sociology of health. – The co-authors, Iosif Gurvich and Maia Rusakova are senior members of the “Stellit” team, Anna Yakovleva is a PhD student. Her relevant publications include:

In Saarinén, Aino & Carey-Bélanger, Elaine (eds.): Crisis Centres and Violence Against Women. Dialogue in the Barents Region. Femina Borealis, Vol. 9; Gender Research: Methodology and Practice, Vol. 7. Centre for Women’s Studies and Gender Research. Arkhangelsk: Pomor State University, 109 – 126.

Pyshkina, Tatiana & Rusakova, Maia & Yakovleva, Anna. 2001. Prostitution where the minors are involved. St. Petersburg situation / Minors in the sex trade. Finland, 139 – 149.

Gurvich, Iosif & Pyshkina, Tatiana & Rusakova, Maia & Yakovleva, Anna. 2002. The Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in St. Petersburg and Northwest Russia. Stockholm: Save the Children Sweden.

This article describes the situation of commercial sexual exploitation of children in St. Petersburg and the North West region of Russia. The article is based on material from investigations, which are undertaken by collaborators of the St. Petersburg non-governmental organization of social projects “Stellit” during last five years¹. It aims to provide an insight into the phenomenon of commercial sexual exploitation of children in the region by presenting the historical tendencies of commercial and sexual exploitation of children and describing the Russian legislation and activity of law-enforcement authorities in this sphere.

¹ “Child’s prostitution in St. Petersburg” (Autumn 1999). A pilot study involved interviews with 32 drug addicted minors involved in prostitution, and two pimps. Research manager – M.M. Rusakova.

“Child’s prostitution with foreigners as clients in the North-West Russia” (April – June 2000). The project was elaborated on the base of pilot research data of 1999 and supported by the Information Office of Nordic Council of Ministers in St. Petersburg. It involved interviews with 81 experts; 41 minors, involved in prostitution. Research managers – I.N. Gurvich, M.M. Rusakova.

“Prostitution with involvement of minors in St. Petersburg” (September – October 2000). The research was realized within the framework of the project STOP-2. The research subject is the minors, living in St. Petersburg. The research included interviews with 15 experts and 15 minors, involved in prostitution. Research manager – M.M. Rusakova.

“Research of Russian women, who became the victims of trafficking in USA” (April – May 2000). The research was carried out by request and with financial support of Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW). The research subject are the Russian women, who became the victims of trafficking in USA (that were transported to USA, involved in prostitution there and later deported or came back on their own to Russia) – 28 people. Research manager – M.M. Rusakova.

“Trafficking of Russian children in European countries”. (March – December 2003). In the framework of international project “Joint East West research project on trafficking” and by request of Defence for Children International ECPAT, Netherlands. It included interviews with 17 experts. Research managers – M.M. Rusakova, T.V. Pyshkina.

Introduction: a Historical Perspective of the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children Phenomenon in Russia

The commercial sexual exploitation of children is not a new phenomenon for Russia. From a historical perspective it is possible to define several periods of sharp increase of the level of the children's commercial sexual exploitation in Russia. As a rule, this tendency has been traced during wars, and in times of worsening socio-economical and political context.

Thus the First World War and Civil War (1914 – 1920), the revolution of 1917 and the collapse and famine that followed them became the reason that thousands of children lost their parents. Some of them were forced to occupy themselves with mendicancy and theft, others with unskilled work. One of the sources of income was prostitution.

The 1930s were characterized by strong politics in all spheres of life of the new Soviet state. The problems of children's homelessness and their participation in the sexual industry were solved in a no less manner. All homeless children were placed by force in children's homes that were organized in accordance with half-military and half-prison principles. After that child sexual commercial exploitation, violence concerning children, child criminality and drug abuse were not discussed in official sources until the end of 1980s. Officially these social phenomena didn't exist in the Soviet society.

However the problem, undoubtedly, existed. During our work we found facts confirming existence of child prostitution in the Soviet times on territories of North West Russia. Apparently, the problem of minor prostitution in orphanages and boarding schools was the most urgent. For instance, there is a small settlement in the region, where a boarding school for mentally retarded children is situated. In this settlement, for many years it has been the practice for pupils of the boarding schools to render sexual services to the inhabitants of the settlement in exchange for cigarettes, food, and clothes.

The period of Perestrojka, and the later switch to market economics became the next stage of increase in level of commercial sexual exploitation of children in Russia. The change over to market economics lead to the growth of unemployment and poverty. During the years of reform the real incomes of the population were reduced more than a half and they are still reducing now. In the developments of market economics all groups of the population experienced a fall in living standards. According to official statistics in the

beginning of the 21st century 30% of Russian citizens were considered as poor. Single parent families and single pensioners of older ages are marked by an especially high risk of poverty. Women prevail in both of these household categories. The situation is complicated by the difficult position of women in the labor market and ineffective system of social support for the poor families. The financial capabilities of social protection authorities can provide social support for only 8 – 10% of population.

Destruction of the systems of governmental regulation that followed the economic recession in Russia and affected all spheres of life of the country caused serious changes in the social sphere. First of all it affected the position of the family and childhood on the whole. In Russia the number of families with low level of incomes, not complete families, antisocial families, where parents are alcohol or drug addicts, or where the occurrence of violent actions against members of the family grows constantly.

For last decade the number of families that can't provide necessary conditions for upbringing and maintenance of children has been increasing steadily. There were 48 200 of secured claims about deprivation of parental rights in 2001 against 24 400 in 1997. In 2001, 59 800 of children¹ that were taken from their parents, who were deprived of parental rights or not deprived of parental rights were cases of threat of violence, cruel treatment or improper care (Periodical report about the convention on the rights of the child of Russian Federation in 1998 – 2002, 2003).

In Russia there are more and more orphans and children who were taken from their parents: 658 200 in 1999, 662 200 in 2000, 682 200 in 2001, 700 000 in 2002 (Periodical report about the convention on the rights of the child realized by Russian Federation in 1998 – 2002, 2003).

Homeless children became an integral part of everyday life and a peculiar symbol of post-Soviet Russia. According to official data there were 1 million homeless children in the beginning of 2002. At the same time, according to data of the General Office of Public Prosecutor, that were also published and covered on TV there were 2 – 2,5 million homeless children, and 3 – 4 million according to estimates of the Federation Council and independent specialists.

¹ In the beginning of 2002 the number of children under 18 in Russia was 31,6 million or 22% of the whole population. The number of children in St. Petersburg on the beginning of 2002 was 878 700.

The main reasons that children leave their families are a difficult financial situation, or alcohol abuse of parents, violent actions concerning the children. Cruel treatment concerning children and adolescents lead to despair, depression and, as a consequence, to their leaving home or educational institution. In 2001, local or federal investigations were announced concerning more than 43 900 children and adolescents, that is, 11,2% more than in 2000. 41 200 minors (93,8% of those investigated) were found. 29 900 of them had left home, 12 800 had left governmental institutions without permission (Periodical report about the convention on the rights of the child realized by the Russian Federation in 1998 – 2002, 2003).

In the conditions of the street the children begin to use drugs, and became involved in different kinds of criminal activity, including the prostitution. During last five years 3007 criminal actions involving antisocial actions of minors were registered, in 2001 418 such cases were registered.

Together with child prostitution, sexual tourism, child pornography and trafficking have become widespread forms of sexual exploitation in Russia.

Those who work for children's NGOs and other organizations providing support to children report that children are increasingly involved in the commercial sex trade, and yet there is little reliable data on the extent or nature of commercial sexual exploitation of children in Russia. Even in a single area, such as St. Petersburg, there are no official statistics or even estimates of the numbers of minors involved in the sex trade available. Researchers and other experts in the field believe that this is due to the following reasons.

First of all, child prostitution and trafficking in children, are not officially recognized. In most cases the involvement of minors in prostitution is not generally viewed by the public as a cause for concern. Even when reported by the media, instances of child prostitution are treated as "hot and spicy" stories, rather than examples of a socially significant problem. State agencies and NGOs that work with minors in the city are reluctant to openly acknowledge cases in which minors trade sex for money. The concealment of cases of prostitution among the pupils of various children's establishments is a well-known phenomenon in Russia, and this is because administrators of such institutions have no incentive to reveal such cases, rather the reverse. If a pupil of an orphanage were involved in prostitution and it became known outside of the institution, the administration would face serious penalties (up to and including dismissal from work criminal prosecution). The problem is redoubled because the lack

of data on the incidence of commercial sexual exploitation of children is the major barrier to independent academic research on the subject.

The Starting Point: the Definitions of the Forms of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

The Declaration and Action for Agenda of the World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (1996) provides this definition of the practice in general:

“The commercial sexual exploitation of children is a fundamental violation of children’s rights. It comprises sexual abuse by the adult and remuneration in cash or kind to the child or a third person or persons. The child is treated as a sexual object and as a commercial object. The commercial sexual exploitation of children constitutes a form of coercion and violence against children, and amounts to forced labor and a contemporary form of slavery”.

There are three primary and interrelated forms of commercial sexual exploitation of children: prostitution, pornography, and trafficking for sexual purposes. Other forms of sexual exploitation of children include child sex tourism and early marriages.

According to the Convention of the Rights of the Child (Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 2000) child prostitution is:

[t]he use of a child in sexual activities for remuneration or any other form of consideration...

and child pornography:

[a]ny representation, by whatever means, of a child engaged in real or simulated explicit sexual activities or any representation of the sexual parts of a child for primarily sexual purposes...

The protocol to the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000) defines trafficking in person and trafficking in children particularly as follows:

(a) ‘Trafficking in persons’ shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.

Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.

(b) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purposes of exploitation shall be considered 'trafficking in persons' even if it does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article.

(c) 'Child' means any person under eighteen years of age.

The Forms of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in St. Petersburg and North West Russia

In modern Russia there are all forms of commercial sexual exploitation of children – child prostitution, pornography, child sexual tourism and trafficking in children. The existence of the child sexual tourism and trafficking is connected with the collapse of the iron curtain, the opening of the Russian borders, and with globalization of the sexual industry throughout the world.

Children in Prostitution

The majority of children in prostitution in St. Petersburg are "street children", homeless and neglected. Among child prostitutes there are also victims of violence in the home, who can be traded by their parents or relatives, and even children from successful families, who can prostitute themselves at school, in the schoolyard, in the small companies. A separate group at risk is pupils from the orphanages. Children, especially teenagers, involved in modeling and show business are also in a vulnerable position.

The social organization of prostitution varies. Prostitutes can work from many different settings, and solicit customers in a variety of ways. While some work independently, others enter into some form of direct or indirect employment relation with a third party, and still others are directly forced into prostitution and controlled by a third party. Children are involved in all the principal kinds of prostitution that exist today on the territory of St. Petersburg: street, railroad station, road, club, hotel, apartment (brothel) prostitution, and prostitution in saunas and baths. There is also a market for "all prostitution", whereby the client arranges for the prostitute to visit him in his hotel room, home or some other setting (Gurvich, Rusakova, Yakovleva and Pyshkina 2002, 15 – 17).

The majority of the children we interviewed use drugs or alcohol while selling sex. This, especially where boy children are involved, may happen at the client's wish, and it is the client who pays for the drugs. It is also important to note that minors are sometimes paid for sex services in kind, rather than cash. Payment may take the form of food and/or alcohol, less often drugs (In-depth analysis of the situation of working street children in St. Petersburg 2003, 41), as well as presents, payment for education, or in some cases, a client may fully financially support the child.

As in most countries of the world, there is a hierarchy within prostitution in terms of earnings and conditions in Russia. Children are generally at the cheaper, more vulnerable end of the prostitution hierarchy. The findings of the research also suggest that the market for prostitution in the St. Petersburg area, and hierarchies within it, are highly gendered. A girl child's involvement in prostitution often resembles a form of "survival sex", a low paid activity, usually undertaken independently and to meet basic needs, while prostitution involving boys is generally better organized and more profitable. The earnings of boy children, as well as their third party exploiters, are generally higher than those of girl children (Gurvich, Pyshkina, Rusakova and Yakovleva 2002, 28).

Most of the girls involved in prostitution in the St. Petersburg area work by themselves, rarely with a pimp. These girls are, as a rule, "street children". They come to the streets as a result of their life situation (usually family conflicts, and/or their parents being drug addicts or alcoholics). Living in the streets, or spending most of their time there, they meet up with people who introduce them to the sex trade, typically a sexual partner or a peer who has experience of prostitution.

The market for male prostitution in St. Petersburg has a rather different profile. A small number of the male minors involved in the sex trade in St. Petersburg are "street children" working as prostitutes in order to survive. Some are around 12 – 13 years old and have been living in the streets for several years. Most come to the city from the Leningrad Oblast region. They can be divided into several groups.

The first group includes children who come to the city for day-trips, to walk, beg or render sexual services. They may be children from relatively affluent families who are skipping school for a day, or children from poor and socially marginalized families, some of whom do not attend school at all. They may be pupils from boarding schools and orphanages. These children come home or to the school for the night.

The next group is children who run away from the house, the boarding school or the orphanage because of scandals, physical and sexual violence, problems at school or with children of the same age. Among them are children who are on the run all the time, and these who appear to be in such situation for the first time. Usually they spend some time in St. Petersburg, then come back by themselves, or are arrested by militia and brought back to the parents or the orphanages.

In the final group, there may be children who come with the family as a rule from poor and empty settlements and small towns. Their parents prefer the status of homeless in St. Petersburg rather than life in such settlements. Such children try to survive, steal and beg either with parents, by themselves, or with a group of children of the same age. Such children roam the streets and form groups with others like themselves, or with runaway children who have been living in St. Petersburg for several years, and have lost all social connections with their families, relatives, former friends (Gurvich, Pyshkina, Rusakova and Yakovleva 2002, 19).

To survive on the streets, they engage in petty crimes, such as stealing or fraud, and sell sex usually in exchange for a small sum of money or food, or for a place to sleep overnight. Most such boys work near metro or railway stations. On the whole, however, boy prostitutes are able to command much higher rates of pay than their female counterparts. This helps to explain the fact that many young boys in the St. Petersburg sex trade are local children who prostitute because they know that they can obtain good money from doing so.

Child Pornography

The use of minors in child pornography is the least studied sphere of the commercial sex trade, but there is reason to believe that child pornography is a highly profitable, though well-concealed, business. In St. Petersburg there have been several well-published scandals surrounding cases of child pornography. Such cases are usually investigated by the Vice Department of St. Petersburg. The street children are the most vulnerable to exploitation as models in pornographic videos and other materials. The individuals involved in the production of pornography seek out such children in the streets, marketplaces, and near metro and railway stations and other places of the city. After feeding them, they ask the children whether they would like to “make good money”. The minors, who are in an extremely difficult economic situation believe that it will be an easy way to make money, obtain food, clothes, or sometimes drugs, alcohol, and cigarettes (Erohina and Burjak 2001, 111).

Homosexual porno-production is widely spread. According to the information from researchers, cadets of military boarding schools of St. Petersburg are often used for the shooting of homosexual porno-materials. It is natural that in these cases boys that participate in shootings do not get any reward for that. They are forced to obey the orders of their commanders, who are paid by the interested party for the possibility take a photo and to shoot a film (Gurvich, Pyshkina, Rusakova and Yakovleva 2002, 27).

Apart from the rigid discipline-centered organizational system in the army there exists an informal social phenomenon, the so-called "dedovschina" (dangerous hazing by senior personnel). The relationships between the junior and the senior are regulated by this dedovschina. Thus, most of the commanding officers tend to use non-statutory or illegal measures towards the subordinates and violence is not excepted. Under such circumstances when producing pornography can be immensely benefited from, those officers who have a lot of young men under them, are likely to get them into the pornography. In fact it is material benefits that incite officers to organize and produce pornography with children as actors.

Officers in the Vice Department in St. Petersburg state that the bulk of pornographic materials involving children are produced for sale abroad. There are also Internet-sites that feature child pornography, and websites dedicated to child pornography increasingly feature Russian-made photographs and film. (The material is readily identifiable as Russian by the apartment interiors, which are of typical Russian style and furnishing).

The militia departments in St. Petersburg and in Russia more generally have little opportunity (and sometimes little inclination) to analyze the content of such sites. Indeed, child pornography usually only comes to light when and if pornographic materials are confiscated during raids on video-salons by the tax police. When this happens, criminal cases may be opened and sometimes lead to successful prosecutions.

During recent years mass media has shed the light on some notorious criminal cases that were connected to the use of minors for porno-shootings. The organizers of such shootings are often people who directly work with the children: teachers from public schools and boarding schools, and teachers from the orphanages.

Trafficking for Sexual Purposes

The specificity of trafficking as one of the forms of commercial sexual exploitation of children is that the group at risk is the children from different families that were brought up in different social and economical conditions.

Among the potential victims of trafficking (Research of Russian women, who became the victims of trafficking in USA, 2000; Trafficking of Russian children in European countries, 2003) are, first of all, children from disadvantaged families that leave home and become independent. Very often the parents in such families are alcohol addicts, children can experience physical and sexual violence. Due to their poor living conditions, children living and working in the street can be involved in prostitution. Disappearance of such children passes unnoticed, as a rule.

Also at risk are female minors, who work as models, participate in beauty contests and want to work in show business. The system of involvement in the model-business is well developed in Russia. The profession of model is seen as a prestige and high-paid position. Modelling schools of models and schools of acting open in cities and invite children of different ages. Often these agencies promise a job-placement, participation in fashion shows, etc. In most of cases these promises are not kept. Some agencies suggest work abroad.

In addition, potential victims are also those minor girls, who want to change their financial situation by leaving for other country, marrying a foreigner etc. This category stands very close to the group at risk. In this case the girls can apply to marriage agencies (Erohina and Burjak 2001, 143).

Finally, a high risk group are orphans, living in children's homes, of whom many are invalids with limited possibilities, and graduates of children's homes that are not adapted to the conditions of independent life (Repeckaya 2002, 77).

It is important to note that Russia is a sending, as well as receiving country. As a rule, children are sent to Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries. Internal trafficking of children is also highly developed in Russia.

All forms of child commercial sexual exploitation are different in organization. Trafficking of children also has its modifications. Trafficking of the children abroad is a part of the highly remunerative and well organized international sexual industry. Internal traffic and child trafficking from the countries of CIS to Russia are less organized and less profitable.

There are multiple ways of recruiting children with the purpose of trafficking to the western countries. Suggestions come from known/little known people to go to work abroad or to Russia as dancer, servant, nurse and so on. Sometimes the woman who suggests the work can be the victim of trafficking herself ("second wave") (Erohina and Burjak 2001, 145). A child can receive suggestions from little known people on the street and also from people that a child trusts. In St. Petersburg there was an incident, when a woman – a teacher at a trade school suggested that her pupils go abroad to work as dancers (the fact is taken from report *Trafficking of Russian children in European countries, 2003*). Such arrangements as beauty contests, and recruitment to modelling schools can also be used for trafficking. The same is true for marriage announcements or suggestions of acquaintances to go abroad for the purpose of marriage or acquaintance with potential husband, and announcements, suggesting work in the sphere of services abroad. Parents, too, can come to an agreement with purchasers and sell their child to the organizers of trafficking. For example, the agreement about the delivery of a child to the tutor is signed in cases where the removal abroad is supposed. Finally, suggestions concerning the programs of exchange and education of pupils sometimes conceal the purpose of trafficking.

Most experts describe the system of trafficking as a criminal structure, where the representatives of organized crime and also the staff of law-enforcement authorities, immigration services and customs are involved. Certain networks of minor removal are formed with the participation of these structures. There is a direct connection with weapon and drug trafficking. If a channel for removal of these people is open too so can drugs and weapons be removed in the same way (Research of Russian women, who became the victims of trafficking in USA, 2000; *Trafficking of Russian children in European countries, 2003*).

In addition there is a direct connection between local sexual industry, covering child pornography, sexual tourism and trafficking. Firstly, the same people are occupied with such kinds of activity. The children can be involved in all the forms of commercial sexual exploitation that have been mentioned.

Recruiters, sellers, purchasers in western countries and those, who conceal trafficking, are involved in system of trafficking. As a rule, recruiter and seller work in pair. There are often a man, who is a foreigner and his wife, who is Russian. She recruits the children and her husband sells them (this fact was noted by experts during the project *Trafficking of Russian children in European countries, 2003*). Often women who are victims of trafficking themselves are occupied with recruitment.

As for removal by means of model agencies, the labor registry offices of the trafficking system look like the following example. Russian men and women recruit the children independently or as staff of some agencies. On arrival, the girls are met by Russian representatives. The impresario (foreigner) who is directly connected with Russia, has the data base of the girls and their photos. He distributes this data to owners of brothels and cabarets. After the girl has arrived abroad she is placed in some establishment, most often not of the kind that she was promised in Russia (the facts are taken from report Trafficking of Russian children in European countries, 2003).

Those participating in trafficking, who recruit and sell the children abroad do not have big incomes as a rule, in contrast to purchaser. The purchaser runs brothels in a foreign country, where the children are placed. Usually he sends a request to purchase a child.

The pimp controls minors and searches for clients. Besides that, he watches over the children's health and provides them with food and clothes. Intimidation by means of physical and psychological violence is used among other control mechanisms. Drug and alcohol addiction are commonly used to ensure compliant behaviour. Also the minor can be kept by "kind" or "strict" treatment. If a child was brought up in conditions of violence, when he is taken care of somehow, it gives him feeling of being protected. Organizers can play with this, manipulating his feelings.

Legislation of the Russian Federation in the Sphere of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

The Russian Legislation in the Sphere of Child Prostitution and Pornography

According to the Russian legislation a child (or a minor) is a person under 18 years old.

Prostitution both for adults and minors is illegal in the Russian Federation, and in theory, various articles of the Criminal Code protect children from commercial sexual exploitation. Third party involvement in the organization of prostitution is punishable by imprisonment for up to 5 years (Article 241), and those who force another person into sexual actions are also criminalized (Article 133). Where the individual thus forced is under the age of 14, the punishment for the third party is up to 4 years imprisonment (Article 134). Meanwhile,

Article 151 of the Russian Federation Criminal Code states that those who involve minors in anti-social actions (including prostitution) may be punished by up to 4 years imprisonment. Third party involvement in the organization of pornography is punishable by imprisonment for up to 2 years (Article 242).

In practice, however, the above-mentioned articles are rarely enforced. In St. Petersburg, the number of criminal cases brought against people for violating such articles over the past few years can be counted on the fingers of one hand. This partly reflects the fact that it is extremely difficult to successfully prosecute individuals under many of these articles. For instance, to implement Article 151, it is necessary for the prosecution to produce video evidence of the actual transfer of money, or have eyewitnesses to the exchange. In order to carry it out a long and laborious work has to be undertaken. Only then will the investigator be able to appear at the right moment in the right place and to fix all documents in order to gather the needed evidence. Since that process is quite long and complex, the exposition of such crimes is very low.

The unwillingness of law enforcement bodies to work in the given direction is connected to several reasons. First, it is very hard to gather all the evidence according to the requirements of the legislative specifications. Secondly, if there is no applicant (for example, parents of the minor, representatives of school or NGOs) – a person or organization that is really interested in building a criminal case for the protection of the minor and punishment for the client, the police will not engage in such complex and laborious work. The majority of children involved in prostitution are street children; there is nobody interested in their destiny. Thirdly, it is rather easy for the client to avoid responsibility with the help of the lawyer (it is difficult to collect the evidence) or with the help of a bribe. Finally, the attitude towards prostitution in Russian society is rather ambiguous. The moral condemnation of the prostitutes as people “of another grade” is widely distributed. It is shown especially in the attitude towards the girl-teenagers. Boys who are involved in homosexual prostitution are exposed to a double stigmatization (as homosexuals and as prostitutes). Thus, the police don't have pressure from the side of public opinion, victims or their superiors in order to increase their efforts in the direction of real disclosure of such crimes.

The Russian Legislation in the Sphere of Child Trafficking

The functioning criminal legislation in Russia is not strong enough to take preventive measures against child trafficking.

In the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation the responsibility for the trade of minors or making other deals concerning them is provided (Article 152). The trade of minors is punished by deprivation of liberty for from 5 till 15 years.

The trade of minors is the purchase and sale of a minor by his/her parents or those, who provide care for him/her to other people for money or other deals in the form of delivery and possession of him/her. The act of purchase and sale is considered to be finished at the moment of delivery of the minor to the purchaser and a certain sums of money.

This article also covers the illegal removal of a minor abroad or the illegal return of him/her. The illegal removal of a minor abroad can be realized in the case of the sale of a child, for example, with fictitious documents or by adoption in accordance with established procedure. The illegal return of a minor from abroad supposes that the removal of a child by parents or adoptive parents was made on legal grounds and then sale and purchase or other deals were made.

The agreement with a pregnant woman that she will deliver a born child to other people and get gratuity is qualified as an attempt to commit a crime.

Unfortunately, the range of application of this article is very limited. It is mentioned in Comments to the Criminal Code that the subject of this crime is “a person, who controls and manipulates a minor. These can be parents, adoptive parents, tutors, workers in medical and child institutions”. In this way the interpretation of those, who are responsible for purchase and sale or other deals concerning minors, is not wide enough. The situation, when a minor is sold by someone, who is not related to him/her, or by a middleman, is not taken into consideration.

Besides that for arrangement in accordance with the article 152 it is necessary to have the fixed act of purchase and sale, i.e. the documentation of the delivery of money to those selling children.

Article 126 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation solves a part of the problem, providing the responsibility for kidnapping of a human being, unlawful deliberate actions connected with secret or open capture of a human being or capture by means of deception, taking him from his natural micro-social surroundings, removal from the place of constant or temporal residence and further keeping somewhere else against his will. The article covers also the kidnapping of minor. The kidnapping of a human being is punished by the deprivation of liberty for from 5 till 15 years.

Article 127 provides the punishment for illegal deprivation of liberty. The examined crime is connected to the kidnapping of a human being. In contrast to the kidnapping of a human being this crime is realized without removal of a person from one place to another against his will. The punishment, provided by this article, is deprivation of liberty for the term of 4 – 8 years.

Articles 126 and 127 concern the capture, both secret and open or connected with deception of the captured person. Most often one agrees of one's own free will to leave a country, if one doesn't suspect anything. Such cases have never been instituted in Russia because these actions do not correspond to the *corpus delicti* parameters, provided by these articles.

In fact most of the mentioned articles do not work. According to statistics 74 crimes, provided under article 152 were discovered in 1997 in the Russian Federation, 35 in 1998, 28 in 1999, 37 in 2000. Correspondingly 45, 49, 30 and 8 people were made answerable for such actions (Kleiminov and Shamkov 2002, 113).

In St. Petersburg beginning with 1995 2 crimes registered were registered under the article 152 (trade of children) in 1998, and also 2 cases under the article 154 (illegal actions concerning the adoption), in 1998 and 2000¹.

The unwillingness and the impossibility of law-enforcement authorities to work in this direction is connected with the following reasons. Firstly, it is the imperfection of the article that covers the problem of trade of minors and also the absence of practice in this field.

The second reason is the opinion formed by the workers of law-enforcement authorities, officials and others about the child's trafficking as unimportant phenomenon. As one interviewee, a former worker in the Governmental Department of Internal Affairs explained (Trafficking of Russian children in European countries, 2003) the problem does not have mass character; these are some isolated instances.

The third reason is the corruption of organized crime and some officials at different levels and in different departments, economically interested in supporting trafficking.

A minor victim of trafficking, after coming back to Russia can apply to the law-enforcement authorities on his own. A legal representative of the

¹ Information is rendered by General department of internal affairs of St. Petersburg and Leningradskaya oblast in August 2003.

child (parents, tutor and others) or a representative of the guardianship authority has the right to apply with a request about such a case to the law-enforcement authorities. But in fact, the experts do not know of any incident of such application. In their opinion, there are no such applications at all or they have simply not been registered by law-enforcement authorities.

In this way there is no adequate legislative base concerning the regulation of child trafficking at present in Russia. The law-enforcement authorities on the whole avoid being occupied with cases, connected with commercial sexual exploitation of children, including child trafficking abroad that are difficult to discover.

Conclusion: Gaps and Needs in the Field of Legislation Concerning Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in Russia

All forms of commercial sexual exploitation of children exist in modern Russia. Together with traditional forms of commercial sexual exploitation of children as child's prostitution, child trafficking and child pornography are also widespread in Russia.

The legislation concerning commercial sexual exploitation of children was formed during the Soviet period. General conceptions, descriptions of crimes, etc. were transferred from the Soviet Criminal Code to the Criminal Code currently in force. At present there is no connection between the legislation that regulates this phenomenon and the modern situation with commercial sexual exploitation of children.

In particular in the present legislation there is no definition of commercial sexual exploitation of children and a form such as child trafficking is not regulated. The reason for the negative attitude towards the phenomenon of trafficking in Russia is the fact that the transnational trade of women and children is a relatively new kind of crime that progresses faster than the legislative base and the law-enforcement activities.

Due to the imperfection of the legislation, the law-enforcement authorities try to avoid cases concerning the commercial sexual exploitation of children that are difficult to investigate.

In sum, one of the primary tasks for Russia concerning sexual exploitation of children and its prevention is the establishment of a governmental legal framework to control this phenomenon. First of all the legislation must be

guided by the international agreements concerning child protection and the prevention of commercial sexual exploitation of children in order to elaborate the definition and regulative mechanisms to achieve this goal.

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ELINA IHAMÄKI

PROSTITUTION AND BORDER.
AT THE MEETING POINT OF RUSSIAN WOMEN AND FINNISH MEN

Abstract

This article tries to piece together what kind of impact border has to prostitution in northwest Russia. How are women who are entering into the business making sense of it? Are they crossing a border to Finland to practice prostitution? Since this area of Russia is pretty poor, people have severe problem with their economical situation. Prostitution has become a sort of survival strategy for some women in that region. The clients are locals as well as tourists mainly from Finland. Cheap sex, alcohol, gasoline and other products are bargains for tourists. But who are those Finnish sex tourists?

Biographical note

Elina Ihämäki is a post-graduate student of the Department of Sociology at the University of St. Petersburg. She also studies at the University of Helsinki. As a member of the NCRB research network she has visited, besides the University of St. Petersburg, the University of Groningen and the Milan University at Bicocca in 2001 – 2002. Her research is in the areas of international prostitution and trafficking in women. Her relevant publications include:

Virmasalo, Elina. 2003. Seksikauppaa kehityksmaissa. In Selin, Tove (ed.): *Filippiinit – myrskyjen ja mahdollisuuksien saaristo*. Helsinki: Like.

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Introduction

This article focuses on heterosexual prostitution in northwest Russia. In the era of globalisation, discussion on trafficking in women for sexual purposes is often thought to be the more important question politically than prostitution. However, I argue that these two phenomena of trafficking and prostitution are inevitably interlinked and it is difficult to have a discussion about one without reference to the other (see Thorbek and Pattanaik 2003).

This descriptive article is based on analysis of five narratives of Russian women who are working as prostitutes¹ in Leningrad's oblast, in Vyborg near Finnish border. In my analysis I have tried to understand how these women experience and understand their situation as prostitutes and how they make sense of it. Is border a possibility? The informants also told me about their clients. Therefore, portraits of the buyers are drawn from the prostitutes' narratives. Since this descriptive article refers to only five informants it has its limitations and therefore no real generalizations can be based on them.

Prostitution is a well-studied subject, especially women's situation in prostitution. However, there exists always information gaps in the local level. Border prostitution and Finnish sex tourism phenomena to border towns is not so much studied in Finland.

Field Process

The empirical material for the research was collected during two field trips.

¹ In this article I use a word prostitute, not a sex worker, because informants identified themselves as prostitutes, not as sex workers.

The town of Vyborg was part of the territory of Finland before the Second World War when the region was lost to the Soviet Union. After the collapse of the Soviet Union the border slowly opened up and free traffic in both directions began. Vyborg is located approximately 59 kilometres from the Finnish border. The town's location in a border area provides many economic possibilities, especially concerning individual livelihoods. Tourism has been one of the main sources of income for the town's inhabitants. The Finns have been keen to travel to Vyborg for cheap shopping or for historical and emotional reasons.

In public places sexual harassment by Finnish male tourists of the local women has been common, with requests being made for paid sex. However, this situation is not as bad as it was a few years ago according to local people. Such behaviour might be the outcome of a stereotypical Finnish way of thinking about Russian women as prostitutes, since Russian women form a large part of the foreign prostitutes in Finland. Furthermore, such attitudes may reveal a feeling of economic superiority, as well as being rooted in fear, a fear that has deep historical roots that have given rise to violent mental maps between the two countries. Furthermore, this border town has recently achieved some publicity in the Finnish press, mainly negative, because it was classified by the Finnish tour agencies as a dangerous place for tourists to travel to, since many petty crimes are committed against tourists. Negative news stories that arise in the Finnish newspapers about the border area are normally constructed either from the point of view of Finnish people or from the point of view Russian people – which tends to create a black and white perspective.

The first time I visited the town it appeared to me a bit rough place to live. The condition of the houses is quite bad also in the centre. The apartments can however be quite cosy from inside when they have been renovated. In the centre you can find basic services, some small shops and groceries, cafes and restaurants. A large marketplace is located in the core of centre that is a popular tourist destination. In the evenings the streets are pretty empty.

In Vyborg there are certain places where you can find paid sex at very low prices. In this article I have used some interviews that were conducted in a nightclub located inside a local hotel. Other forms of prostitution also exist in Vyborg, but it was striking that advertisements for such services are not published in local papers, as they are in other towns in the border area (like

apartment prostitution, sauna prostitution etc.). Street prostitution is the most visible form of prostitution, involving young drug addicts in Vyborg during both summer and winter.

The average income in Leningrad's oblast is 2274¹ roubles a month according to Russian statistics (information got by phone from Finnish – Russian Society's information centre in Helsinki). Usually, border towns are much poorer districts than the city of St. Petersburg, but the living costs in Vyborg are quite high. Therefore, many people earn their living from the black economy, especially women. It is common knowledge that at least part of the salary is paid without taxation – this habit is common throughout the whole country. For ordinary people survival can mean incomes from many different sources, some of those located in the black economy such as peddling.

Prostitution has historically been an industry located in the black economy. There are always people who will exploit this business for their own benefit, whatever the current prostitution legislation might obligate. In Russia prostitution is classified as offence of administrative law, and a woman who practices it can be fined by police. This law recognises only female sex as a prostitute (see Pyshkina et al. 2004, in this volume).

In the hotel where I conducted the fieldwork, the women are picking up their clients from the hotel's nightclub every evening. The sexual act will usually take place in a hotel room. You cannot easily discern that these women are practicing prostitution in the club. They either sit alone or in groups at the bar or at tables just like any other customers in the club. It is obvious that they do not make the first contact – this is the buyer's responsibility. The nightclub in question is of average standard and on weekdays is a popular destination for hotel guests. In the weekends it is also a popular destination for local inhabitants. The interior is very cosy, but not luxurious.

I interviewed the women in the club on two separate occasions during 2001. Both times I had an assistant with me, for reasons of security and because it was necessary to have a man to make the first contact with the women in the club. Whilst this contact took place, I was waiting in the

¹ One euro is about 30 roubles (March, 2004).

hotel room. I did not want my informants to encounter problems after the interview from the hotel's management, which was also a reason for using an assistant to approach these women. Having made contact, my assistant brought potential informants to the hotel room. I would then ask for their permission to interview them and gave some explanation as to my research. All of these women accepted the opportunity to be interviewed. The assistant was not present when I was interviewing my informants. Interviews lasted between 30 to 60 minutes and they were open-ended. It was very important that the situation was comfortable and as natural as it could be for both of us. All informants placed one condition upon being interviewed – they did not want to talk about the organizational structure of the business. All interviews were taped.

To obtain information was not easy, because the place was full of bodyguards. Also it was always unclear if my assistant would get a contact with a possible informant. I ended up spending many hours waiting and sitting in a hotel room. One Saturday evening we did not have any interviews and my assistant had approached a “wrong” lady in the club. She was just spending her night out, so the situation was a bit embarrassing.

During the first field trip we actually ended up in the local police station. Since my assistant was from Cyprus and therefore with a bit darker tan the station police was suspicious of his aims to visit Vyborg. They thought that maybe he was trying to get into Finland – to the West illegally. However, after this first visit in the local police station everything went fine.

Protocols for the Analysis

I have approached the material through narrative analysis. I have filtered out from the material particular episodes. The focus for this article is the point of entry into the business and the encounter with the buyers. Narrative analysis can reveal the values and logic behind their narratives. In the analysis I have focused on the narratives ingredients, not on how the narratives are told. Secondly, the focus is on the main episodes – on the core narrative. Thirdly, I have maintained the individuality of the narratives by telling some of those more closely, choosing not to combine the narratives, so that they can reflect the cultural symbolic order as well as the individual narratives shared by people of the same cultural landscape (Hänninen 2000, 30 – 31).

Defining Trafficking for Sexual Purposes and the Prostitution

Both these terms have been constructed differently according to historical times, places and interests groups. Nowadays, when we discuss trafficking in women for sexual purposes, we try to define the crime that is connected by the term trafficking. But when we are talking about prostitution – the term becomes more difficult to model.

The phenomena of trafficking in women for sexual purposes had already received political attention in the beginning of the last century in Europe when some women's groups were making international statements condemning the phenomena. The moral argument was then at the centre of the battle (see for example Thorbek and Pattanaik 2003). After the Second World War there were more restrictions on information and the economical flow as well as restrictions on the free movement of people between the Eastern and Western blocks in Europe. Conditions after the war were poor in Europe and prostitution was also used during this period as a survival strategy for women. At that time, it was the Americans who had the most money, but during the following decades western Europeans gained more economical resources and their leisure time was extended. This influenced the development of mass tourism along with better and cheaper transportation systems. Nowadays, the negative influences of mass tourism are well know, one of those being sex tourism. In South Asia this phenomenon was getting publicity already in 1980s when some local NGOs began to work with the problem (see Kiyosue 2004, in this volume). In Asia, the sex tourism phenomenon is interconnected with the trafficking in women and minors, since tourist locations are needed for newcomers. The conditions for people who are brought there through trafficking might be very harsh, depending on the way they have entered into the business (Virmasalo 2003).

In Europe the discussion of trafficking began in the 1990s after the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern European countries, when it was obvious that women who were arriving in Western Europe or other parts of the world from Eastern European countries were most likely heading for the international prostitution markets. Of course before the 1990s there already existed trafficking into Europe, with migrations of women to the Eros Centre of Amsterdam and other big European cities from Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, etc. (see Beukema 2004, in this volume). Now there are new nationalities arriving into the markets. The central arguments offered in West European countries

against trafficking have been international crime and human rights. This has led to legal measures being taken against the phenomena, but the legislation is in places inadequate to control the phenomena.

When discussing trafficking in women for sexual purposes the concept is sometimes addressed with phrases such as “modern-day slavery” by tabloids and in speeches. Many NGO workers campaigning against violence towards women like to use such sentences to describe the situation of these women. Moral arguments against sexual bargaining are not so clear anymore, at least not in every country. The term “trafficking” is defined and described in many international agreements, but there does not exist any unified agreement of trafficking, because of different national criminal laws and policies (see Kiyosue 2004, in this volume). However, the term “trafficking” always includes the idea of a victim. If trafficking takes place then there is a violation of human rights and violence against the person in the form of deception, coercion, abuse and fraud. Since trafficking is connected to the human rights discussion there is a demand for creating a universal approach to the issue. This claim has been recognized by the international community.

In 2000 the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Person, Especially Women and Children (which supplements the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime) mandates that State Parties take the necessary measures not only to criminalize the offence of trafficking, but also to take measures to prevent trafficking, protect and assist victims of trafficking and promote international cooperation to combat the problem of trafficking. UN Protocol concerns also trafficking in persons for purposes other than prostitution. The problem still remains – who is a victim of trafficking and who is not? If the woman knew before hand that she is going to work in prostitution, is she really a victim of trafficking? This question has different answers depending on who is answering, whether they are politicians, law enforcement agencies or women’s activists.

Since the town of Vyborg is located so near to the border it is tempting to think that it is a place for recruitment to the Finnish prostitution market. Ironically, all my informants were more than 20 years old and had been told they are already too old for recruiters, who, in general, want young girls to go with them to Finland. It is claimed that younger women are more easily influenced and controlled. However, sometimes recruiters do go to this particular hotel’s nightclub to make proposals. One Finnish informant of a

high position insisted that not all of the women arriving from Leningrad's oblast to Finland to enter into prostitution are going to work under criminal organization structures. There is still private entrepreneurship among women. It is commonly argued that foreign prostitutes arriving mainly from Russia or Estonia to Finland will work within the criminal structures for at least a few weeks. Is this true or not?

According to Finnish law the practice of prostitution is legal only for EU-nationals, but procuring it is illegal. So, for women arriving from Estonia¹ or Russia practicing prostitution has been illegal. All informants knew the Finnish laws on prostitution well. Therefore, they told me that they like to visit Finland, but not to work there. It's true that such answers may have been given to please me – in case I would deliver information to the Finnish officials.

Prostitution and Prostitute

Prostitution is a very complex term. Every nation state has its own laws and policies towards prostitution. In the case of Russia, prostitution was thought to have vanished after the revolution in 1917 since it was considered to be a phenomenon of bourgeois society. However, prostitution did exist in the communist Soviet times in several forms. Nowadays it is found in more complex ways and in more visible and open forms because of greater commercial channels to market services (technology) and change of climate in a society. In Soviet times there were separate prostitutes for foreign and for local people (see Gaddy 1990). The same is also quite typical today and is also true globally, depending on the place where you work. You might specialize towards a buyer group depending on your own situation and skills. Today, prostitution is still illegal in Russia according to administrative law and practicing it can be punished by warning or a fine of up to 200 roubles. This means that women and girls in prostitution need to co-operate with the police either on a personal level or through the care of the organization they are working for.

¹ When Estonia will be a member of European Union in the beginning of May 2004 this law is not anymore relevant for Estonians. Last summer 2003 a special working group gave recommendation for new legislation measurements of procuring and prostitution in Finland. If new laws will be enforced in houses of parliament this means more severe punishments for procuring and criminalizing of buying of sex. There has been suggestion made that practicing of prostitution should be criminalized as well.

The model for defining prostitution has historically been focused around the prostitute, not from the position of the whole phenomena. The main narrative in the history of prostitution research has been how prostitute women differ from other women. According to Phoenix (1999) there have existed four models to define prostitution and a prostitute. The first model is the pathological explanatory model where the logic of explanation lies in individual abnormality or pathology that causes women to become prostitutes. This model has acknowledged also the meanings of social factors that push women into prostitution, but it does not recognize the free will of these women in their lives. The second model is the social dislocation and criminal subculture explanatory model that focuses on women's relationships and the positioning of women in the wider society. Involvement in prostitution is seen in this model as the result of subtle and complex social forces that are viewed as determined. The third model suggests economic position and poverty as explanations. This model explains women's participation in prostitution through lack of economic possibilities in their present environment. Prostitution is seen as a rational act in such situations, as the woman's position in the economic structures as compared to men is seen as lagging far behind, because of the gendered division of labour. In addition, prostitution as employment is considered to have different outcomes compared to any other work. The fourth model used to explain prostitution has been the gender and male violence approach. Women become prostitutes because of general male victimisation. Russian societies have clear gender divisions and the men like to be bosses. Women's assets are beautiness and submissiveness to men.

It is true that some of the women who sell their body have mental disorders, maybe some kind of addictions, but in general their age, education and family background differ from each other. They might be living in surroundings where there is a real lack of economic possibilities; they might have previous experiences of sexual abuse. Every woman has her own personal narrative on how and why she entered into prostitution, but in the end these narratives often have common themes. I argue that the most important thing for the woman involved in prostitution is the fact of how she enters it. If she is forced against her will, she hardly falls into the category of women in prostitution, because this concept does not normally recognize her position as a victim of other people's action. I consider that it is important to notice these forced women as victims, thus recognising that crimes are being

committed against some women involved in prostitution. But it is another thing on a cultural level if the woman sees herself as a victim. In Western countries the idea of autonomy and individuality is taken for granted. We have grown up with the idea. But how is it in an Asia? Maybe the concept of autonomy and individuality is not so much valued in a society where family relations are more important than individuality. Entering into prostitution means fulfilment of other people's expectations and needs – making money for the whole family. And what is the case with Russia? My argument is that people are moving towards individuality, especially younger generations. However, obligations towards family are felt strong. Motivations to enter into prostitution can be highly contradictory.

Narratives of Prostitution

Prostitution might be a temporary solution to financial problems in adulthood, but sometimes the journey into prostitution takes a longer time. Is this a ploy to gain “easy money” as many outsiders argue or are these women too lazy to do proper jobs? A lot of prejudices, myths and blaming still surrounds women in prostitution. Some say that we should not care about these women and their well-being, since they have chosen to enter prostitution. The risks are their own. However, these women were not born into prostitution, something has happened to them during their lives that has made them enter the prostitution market. When I have been reading the narratives of these women I have focused on this turning point in their lives.

When my informants are not working they are living as normal everyday lives as possible with their children and doing their households tasks. It is important to notice that none of the women were forced into prostitution by another person. They have their homes – but they also partake in unusual and unacceptable work. Some would argue that these women are living double lives. Their social status in a society is quite contradictory. Prostitution seems to be tolerated, but not accepted in Russian society (Gilinskiy 2000, 82).

Women in the Club Prostitution

Actually between my first and second field trip there had been a raid by the club's management among these women. The women who had been using drugs were kicked out from the club, as one of my informants framed

it. During the second field trip I was unable to see one of my earlier informants. But this does not necessarily mean that she had been using drugs. It might be that she had some days off. Here are two short narratives of two women in prostitution. One of them practiced prostitution some years ago and the other one at present. On normal evenings there were from six to ten women working in the club. According to my informants it was the woman's decision how often she wanted to be in the service of the club.

Anna

One narrative that I was told was about hotel prostitution before 1991. Anna, who was born in Leningrad oblast in 1965, describes her involvement in prostitution as a consequence of unsuccessful love relationships. Before entering the business she knew a few friends who were doing it as "interdevochki"¹. According to her narrative she was the economic breadwinner in her relationships, whilst her male partners lived off her earnings. She tells how she got more deeply involved because there was not enough income in the household. One of her live-in partners was having a relationship with her friend who was a currency prostitute. This was a turning point in her life. She decided to go into the business herself. She searched for her clients from the hotel's restaurant with the co-operation of a waitress that would sit her beside potential buyers. The waitress would charge both her and the men for her drinks, so that the drinks were paid for twice. That way the waitress made a bit of extra money and the men were usually eager to pay for the drinks of their female company. This was one way to make a contact with a potential buyer.

Nowadays Anna works in a professional field and she has two university diplomas, but argues that her salary is really low. She left prostitution a few years ago and is married. Her son, who was born during her unsuccessful relationship, is living with her parents. According to Anna her current husband is a bit naive, and this is one reason she likes him. She says that sometimes she feels like going with another man, but she struggles against this feeling. She does not feel pity for herself for having had her experiences. If she was young again now, she would try to marry a foreigner.

Natasha

She had been married to a Finnish man for three years, but they divorced after their little daughter died. She returned to Russia and

¹ Interdevochki is a Russian term for currency prostitutes in Soviet times. Buyers were foreigners.

heard that in Vyborg it was possible to make money through tourist prostitution. She speaks almost fluent Finnish. Her profession is that of a seamstress and she practices this during the daytime, but does not make enough money through it.

Other informants were unemployed as well. *Marina* was born in 1975 and has education in music. She is divorced and has a child. *Ira* was 26 years old and her education comprises completing ten grades and she is divorced and has a child. *Alla* was born in 1966 and has worked professionally as a bartender. She is divorced and has three children.

According to police information clubs are normally strict to only have girls over 18 years old, because they do not want to have severe problems with legislation (see for example Pyshkina et al. 2004, in this volume).

Motivations to Enter – Story of Poverty

For all informants it was important for them to explain to me why they had entered prostitution. They worked in the surroundings that could be classified as elite prostitution. However, their economical situation was far away from what to expect in elite prostitution.

In the narratives it was the men who were identified as the core problem for these women and this had led to their current situation. Failed relationships and divorce had placed women in very bad situations economically, especially where children were involved. After a divorce many women might find themselves in a vulnerable situation economically, but in the Russian context it is obvious that the problem is not that these women could not find work, but the problem is the level of salary. They might not get sufficient income from ordinary work to sustain their family as primary breadwinners. Therefore prostitution becomes a real option as a rational strategy to obtain much needed money for the household. It leaves you the daytime to care for your children without the burden of day-care costs. What was peculiar was that these women were not sharing their household with their grandparents, an otherwise often common form of living arrangement, especially in the cases of divorce.

Phoenix (1999, 75) has claimed that, “prostitution is a way forward into the future – when it is placed in specific chronological context, that is, in relation to what comes before in the women’s lives.” Prostitution as a survival strategy does not only mean avoidance of rough poverty now, but also a gain to reach a better social and material future. When problematizing

the question why not all women who are encountering material problems do not enter in prostitution we can probably find several answers to the question. My argument is that the answer can be found from women's previous life experiences and from the social and material support that she might receive in her closest people.

Informants did not identify themselves as victims, but they did not recognise prostitution as a real work. In almost every narrative the message was that they were not doing prostitution for themselves, for individualistic reasons, but for the whole household, for their children and/or parents and younger siblings whom they supplied with money. Their sentiment was one of hope for a better future, for their children and for themselves – this was the time of sacrifice.

Living on social security is quite impossible in Russia, since Russia is far behind as a welfare state. After a divorce the other parent is obligated by law to give monthly compensation for the parent that takes care of the children, but this compensation is really low. The problem is that there exists laws of different social benefits, but the level of benefits does not correspond with the real, actual living costs. Single-parenthood constrains heavily working class women's lives as well as educated women's lives in Russia. If you are working for a foreign company or with foreigners or in top positions your salary might be good enough.

Two of the informants had borrowed money and were now paying back.

I was a victim of scam. My friend offered me a good job in St. Petersburg, to make money fast. But it was an economical scam, a pyramid. I borrowed a lot of money – 3500 dollars. That is a huge amount of money and the interests are running (Alla, aged 35).

Informants were willing to be dependent on their husbands, but the marriages did not work out. They had not rejected dependency in future, hoping that they could be dependent again – in a good relationship – not dependent on men as prostitutes.

Story of the Buyers

Buyers were characterised by the women as belonging to different age groups and nationalities. However, middle aged and older men make up the largest group. Buyers are usually married and they have children. According to informants, young men are still too proud. They won't pay for sex.

In the Finnish press buyers in cross-border prostitution are rarely described as “sex tourists”. They are portrayed often in press more as neighbouring men that are unmarried and who need a woman, because Finnish women are not interested in them. But in reality the Finnish men visiting Vyborg from Finland are often married. They buy cheap consumer goods in Vyborg for their family, but also consume sex services as part of their “shopping trip”. When you live in Eastern Finland the option to travel to Vyborg or any other border city for shopping is an accessible reality. The cheap prices of alcohol, tobaccos, gasoline and other relevant products are a rational reason to cross the border. All informants thought that their Finnish clients did not make much money in Finland. Sometimes these men are travelling with their wives. Then Finnish men can be very rude to prostitutes.

When Finnish men are travelling with their wives they try to insult us, but when the same men are alone, they are buying sex from us (Alla, aged 35).

There still exists less research information about buyers than about sellers. The reasons why men purchase sex are numerous and different models to explain such behaviour has been drawn in academic literature. Häkkinen (1995, 78) claims that prostitution has been part of the collective culture of men – where habits to charm and humiliate women sexually has been inherited and learned from one male generation to another. However, in a Finnish context after illegalising the brothels in the beginning of 20th century there was many decades that prostitution was very a marginal phenomenon in a society. But in the beginning of 1990s commercial sex made it's forthcoming here as in neighbouring post-Soviet countries. Markets started to search actively for new consumers.

The informants generally thought that male sexuality was biologically driven. Women's notion was that it was natural for every man to lust a beautiful female body. This essentialist notion of biologically constructed sexuality made every man a possible buyer. The academic research of sex tourism has concentrated on questions of sexual otherness, where western white men travel abroad to poorer countries to abuse local women. This form of tourism also shapes locality for the needs and pleasure impulses of tourist (see for example Phillips 2003).

However, if the majority of the buyers are married they do not necessarily suffer any contact problems with women – they have their wives. One of my informants suggested that one of the reasons is that older men want to have

sex with young women, because of their young bodies. It is obvious that the age gap between the buyer and the seller might be 30 years or even more. Such a sexual encounter would be quite unusual in normal social circumstances.

Why do men buy sex abroad? It is morally easier? If the majority of the buyers are married they do not necessarily suffer any contact problems with women – they have their wives. But of course marriages can be felt differently. Marriage can be sexless or sexual encounters are rare. Some of the buyers did not want to have sex, only the company of woman, but these types of buyers are rare. Also the prices of sexual services are much cheaper in Russia than in Finland – more sex for less money.

The sexual act with the Finnish buyers was characterized as normal – the buyers do not demand any unusual services. According to informants Russian buyers are normally more demanding. Therefore, Finnish sex tourists do not normally have perverse sexual fantasies and desires that might be a reason for purchasing sexual services. They are satisfied with normal sexual encounter. Only one informant was willing to offer anal sex. Such requests were made mainly by Russians. The price for one intercourse was 50 euros (300 Finnish marks). Out of this money the woman is paying half for the house, so she earns 25 euros herself.

The biggest problem for the women is that the buyers are too drunk and therefore impossible to satisfy. Money problems also arise with drunken buyers when they do not remember if they have paid for the women or if they do not find their wallets. The good buyers are those who respect the woman and pays what they had promised. They don't insult the woman. The bad buyers are described as thinking they owned the woman, because they paid for her. They are not willing to negotiate with the women on a final price. In order to avoid a violent outburst women say they try using diplomatic language to avoid such situations. Many research projects have revealed that women who are selling sexual services on the streets have a high risk of having a violent encounter with a buyer (see Rickhard and Storr 2001). The hotel surroundings are subject to other controlling factors that limit the possibilities for violent behaviour. Finnish buyers hardly speak Russian and this also helps to control their behaviour. None of the informants was physically injured by buyers, but they had encountered some rough handling.

The first sexual encounter with the buyer was said to be really difficult psychologically, because this is when the women are crossing their personal

boundaries. These women thought that pleasing men, which is after all the main point of this work, is mentally really hard, every man needs a different kind of attention. There were no romantic love stories between the buyer and the woman. The buyer – prostitute relationship was nothing more than economic exchange (see also Phoenix 1999).

After a sexual encounter with a buyer I have only a feeling a disgust. Well, if the person is kind I can forget him already on the next day (Ira, aged 26).

Story of Health

Health was a topic that every informant was keen on. The health issue was characterised as the biggest possible hazard for the prostitutes. Even the possible violent buyer was thought to be a more manageable risk for these women than health. For example, if buyers try to seek cheaper sex – it is the drug addicts that are the group that sell the lowest priced sex in Vyborg, and they do it without condoms. Later, men might buy sex from a woman who is not on drugs. Informants were genuinely scared of catching venereal diseases or becoming infected with HIV, because of buyers who were going around between different women in prostitution. Informants said that many Finnish buyers would have preferred to have sex without condoms and if the seller does not respect herself she will do it without a condom.

For the informants it was typical that they attend a doctor only if they have problems. They have an ongoing medical check-up when they begin working in the hotel's nightclub, but not after that. The medical check-up was done in a local hospital. The responsibility for that was put heavily on the buyer's behaviour in general. After opening up the borders there was a short discussion present also in Finnish papers where Russian officials were blaming Finnish sex tourists for having venereal diseases that they then spread in Russia. The truth lies somewhere in-between. I remember when I was sitting in a club, a group of Finnish men was having a conversation about venereal diseases. One guy admitted to have something, but it did not stop him buying sex.

Discussion

On the basis of these informants' narratives, it would seem that the reasons for entering into prostitution are still connected to poverty and the

cultural suppression of women by society. Therefore, an academic discourse that explains women's involvement in prostitution on the bases of this small amount of material is relevant. Prostitution is ultimately a survival strategy – when there is deprivation in economical and social spheres. Prostitution can resolve problems now or/and in the future, but the problems that prostitution might cause are also acknowledged, especially in the field of health. Therefore, entering into prostitution is a risky business. Living life as a prostitute also means living a double life in the Russian context. In the daytime they are participants in mainstream culture but at night they take a dangerous step outside the mainstream. The main reason for practicing prostitution in their home country rather than in Finland was their feeling of autonomy in their own cultural surroundings with smaller risks than abroad, in spite of their closeness to the Finnish border. Global money is eager to visit them – in the form of sex tourism. Maybe it will take time to have a policy or intervention for such a form of tourism that includes risks for both sides. Meanwhile let us hope that sex tourism at the border will not develop into a massive scale. Policies are needed, but in this descriptive article statements over these are not made.

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HINKE BEUKEMA

LEGALISATION OF PROSTITUTION IN THE NETHERLANDS.
A TRIAL TO DECRIMINALISE PROSTITUTION AND TO IMPROVE THE
ECONOMICAL, PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL SITUATION OF PROSTITUTES

Abstract

In October 2000, the prohibition on brothels was lifted. Holland is the first country where running a sex club is a legal business.

In Europe, prostitution has existed for at least as long as written records are available. And the business of prostitution has always gone hand in hand with crime. The Netherlands decided to lift the prohibition on brothels in order to be able to handle the criminal sides of prostitution and to improve the economic, physical and emotional situation of prostitutes. In this chapter the new law is explained and some consequences are described. Now, two years after the introduction of the legalisation, the well being of the prostitutes has not significantly improved. The Dutch Government however thinks that it is too early to determine the real effects of the amendment of the law, especially the long-term ones. In February 2003 the Government decided to maintain the lifting of the prohibition.

Biographical note

Hinke Beukema, PhD, studied Sociology in Groningen in the Netherlands. Since 1971 she has been a teacher at the University of Groningen, Department of Adult Education. She gives lectures in the field of health service and social welfare and supervises postgraduate research in these areas. Her research has looked at women, health

In Saarienen, Aino & Carey-Bélanger, Elaine (eds.): Crisis Centres and Violence Against Women. Dialogue in the Barents Region. Femina Borealis, Vol. 9; Gender Research: Methodology and Practice, Vol. 7. Centre for Women's Studies and Gender Research. Arkhangelsk: Pomor State University, 145 – 160.

services centres, quality of caring and patients' associations. Her dissertation was about patients who seldom consult a general practitioner. A research on male prostitutes is in preparation. Hinke Beukema has represented the University of Groningen within the NCRB research network. Her relevant publications include:

Beukema, Hinke. 1999. To go or not to go. An explorative study on people who seldom consult a general practitioner. Groningen: Wolters Noordhoff (PhD dissertation).

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In October 2000 the prohibition on brothels was lifted by an amendment of the law. With this law the Netherlands is the first country in the world that officially considers prostitution as normal labour and prostitution as an economic sector in its own right.

In this chapter some ins and outs of this law are discussed. What are arguments for changing the existing law, which forbade exploiting a brothel? What are the aims of the Government? What are the reactions in society? I start with a short history of prostitution. Then I consider different forms of prostitution and I will mention some numbers of people working in those settings. I then give an outline of the arguments for the changing and aims of the new law, including some different feminist's viewpoints. In 2002 the Department of Justice produced a first evaluation report. The main results are given. In the last section some consequences are discussed and the prostitution policy in four other European countries is briefly mentioned.

History¹

Prostitution is said to be the oldest occupation of the world. It has always been a controversial job. Society's tolerance of prostitution is like a pendulum

¹ The information in this paragraph is mainly based on an overview written by Marieke van Doorninck on an Internet website www.mrgraaf.nl.

clock, in some periods it almost seems a normal job in other times it is heavily criticised.

In the Middle Ages prostitution was seen as indispensable. Although it was not honourable, it was seen as a necessary evil. Males had to satisfy their sexual needs from time to time and therefore they had to use a female. In those days many Dutch towns permitted prostitution because it was believed it prevented the rape of ordinary women and girls. In the 16th and 17th century the tolerant attitude toward prostitution disappeared. Holland broke away from Catholic Spain. The Calvinistic Church judged prostitution to be a sin and the Government judged prostitution to be a crime.

In the 18th century the Government became more flexible towards prostitution. In the period of Napoleon the health of the army men had a higher priority than public morality. To prevent syphilis Napoleon established a set of rules. For instance a prostitute had to examine herself for venereal diseases twice a week. Prostitution was again seen as a necessary evil. Sexual abstinence would only lead to melancholy and depression. For unmarried men there had to be females.

After Napoleon's period, the rules on prostitution remained intact for the rest of the nineteenth century. But you can see a dichotomy in the world of prostitution: on the one hand there are good organised brothels which are expensive to run, on the other hand more and more girls go working clandestinely for themselves. The brothel keepers lack girls and have to seek them from over the frontiers. That is the beginning of the international trade in women or the so-called white slave trade.

In the last part of the nineteenth century we see anti-prostitution movements all over Europe. In Holland, the protestant church organised groups of volunteers. These people stood by brothels and tried to keep potential clients from going inside. The activities of this movement led to a law that forbade keeping a brothel. That was in 1911. Later in the first half of the 20th century we see prostitution on the sly. It ran on a small scale, in a clandestine fashion. The police of Amsterdam understood that you would never end prostitution. They turned a blind eye to the girls if they did not disturb public order. But after World War II the sex work business increased. Especially in the sixties and seventies of the 20th century the free sexual morality had a big influence on prostitution. It became more open. In the eighties there were calls for the lifting of the prohibition on brothels and the

legalisation of prostitution. Those calls were answered with a bill, number 25 437 that passed the Upper House on the 26th of October 1999; the new law came into effect in October 2000.

Forms and Numbers

The Netherlands has almost 16 million inhabitants. According to an estimation in 1999 there are about 25 000 prostitutes in Holland and about 6000 prostitutes working per day (Visser, Oomens & Boerman 2000; van Mens & Van der Helm 1999). The ratio of female/male prostitute is roughly about 90% to 10% (Wolthuis and Blaak 2001, 95).

Prostitution has different manifestations.

The street girl walks the street. Street prostitution has existed for ages. The estimated number of street girls in Holland is 1250 (Mr. A. De Graaf Stichting 2001).

In these days local authorities have planned special districts where soliciting is permitted. These areas are usually in an industrial region of towns, far away from the centre and residential areas, so there are no neighbours who suffer the nuisance. For the prostitutes however, the area is mostly difficult to reach by public transport in nightly hours and has an unfriendly look. Because of the solitude of the place during the night it gives a feeling of danger.

In several towns you may find near the places where the street girls work, a so-called "sitting room", a kind of shelter, a result of private enterprise. In the beginning these sitting rooms were often run by volunteers, at present mostly by professional healthcare workers. Inside it is warm and the girls may come in for a coffee break, a shower, a set of free condoms, new and clean needles, or a chat. A few times a week the girls can consult a doctor. The consultation is free and especially aimed for a check on venereal diseases. The majority of the street prostitutes are heroin addicted therefore drugs dealers are often found nearby. Drug-dealing is criminal in the Netherlands.

The street girl is her own boss; she can decide by herself to go to work or not to go to work. She needs no investment for a working place but it is one of the most dangerous work settings. From time to time a girl is abused or

even murdered. Many girls have a male protector, who is also an addict and who hangs round the street where his girl is working. He keeps an eye on things, and waits for the money she is earning so that they can buy new drugs.

The window prostitute hires a room on the ground floor with a window on the street side in a special area of the town. The estimated number of window prostitutes in Holland is 5000 (Mr. A. De Graaf Stichting 2001).

Window prostitution is typically Dutch; the Amsterdam red-light district is famous in the world. In Holland such an area is called the “red light district”, because of the red, pink or violet lights in the rooms. The room is mostly very small and very expensive. So the prostitute has already costs to recover before she has earned anything. She sits scarcely dressed in the window and tries to get the attention of a possible client. Like the street girl, she can determine her own working hours and just like street girls window prostitutes are not anonymous, every passer-by can see the women.

Between *sex clubs* and *brothels* there is only a gradual difference. A sex club is a location with bars and dance floors and sometimes striptease shows. A brothel is a private house, which is smaller than a sex club is, and which has less entertainment. The estimated amount of sex club workers and prostitutes working in a brothel in Holland is 11 250 (Mr. A. De Graaf Stichting 2001).

The prostitutes who work in a sex club are mostly employees of the proprietor. A prostitute tries to come in contact with a customer and have a drink and a chat with him. After a while they go upstairs to a room where they can have sex.

Sex club prostitutes are more anonymous than street girls and window prostitutes are. Only potential clients see them. Their working place is also more comfortable and more hygienic. Moreover it is less dangerous. On the other side the prostitute is less free to decide when she works and when she doesn't and the owner of the sex club receives or holds back about 50% of the money the customer pays for the services.

A brothel is frequently run by an ex-prostitute. In the living room the girls are waiting for clients. When a man comes in he is introduced to all the girls one by one. When he has made his choice, the girl takes him to a room elsewhere in the house. Anonymity, hygiene and safety in brothels are usually comparable with the sex clubs. The Madame also receives a percentage of the prostitute's income.

The outworker sees the customer at home. She takes on her clients by advertisements in a newspaper or in shops or other places where many men may come in. She often has regular customers. The estimated amount of outworkers in prostitution in Holland is 1250 (Mr. A. De Graaf Stichting 2001).

Outworkers are very independent; they determine their own working hours. They hardly have running costs, the earned money is for themselves, but the neighbourhood mostly knows what they are doing, so the work is not anonymous. For safety reasons the partner is often present in another room of the house.

In the case of *escort services/06 telephone numbers*, a telephone service bureau brings a customer in contact with a prostitute. The estimated number of prostitutes working for an escort service bureau is 3750 (Mr. A. De Graaf Stichting 2001). A client reads a telephone number of an escort bureau in a journal or somewhere else, e.g. on Internet; calls the number and tells what he wants. The escort service phones a prostitute and arranges a meeting, for instance in a hotel, in a private house or sometimes in a bar. It is not always for having sex; it is also possible that a man needs a female partner for a special occasion.

Remaining are some other forms of prostitution such as prostitution out of bars, out of saunas or out of erotic massage houses. The estimated amount of these other forms is 2500 (Mr. A. De Graaf Stichting 2001).

The following table gives an overview of the forms and numbers.

Table. Estimated Number of Prostitutes on a Yearly Base in the Netherlands in 1999

Sort	Amount	Percentage
Street girls	1250	5
Window prostitution	5000	20
Sex clubs/private houses	11 250	45
Outworkers	1250	5
06 telephone/escort services	3750	15
Bars/massage houses/saunas etc.	2500	10
Total	25 000	100%

We see that the majority of prostitutes work from sex clubs/private houses and window brothels – in other words, from prostitution companies. The new law, in which the prohibition on brothels is lifted is mainly concerned with these forms of prostitution and thus with 65% of all prostitutes. Estimations of the police show that half of the prostitutes come from abroad. Wolthuis and Blaak (2001, 195) estimate that there are between 1000 and 2000 minors who are prostitutes in the Netherlands.

Among the male prostitutes you find a lot of transvestites, transsexuals and transgenders. Transvestites are people dressed in the clothing of the opposite sex. Transsexuals are people believing they are born in the wrong body. Transgenders are people with external sexual organs of different sexes, for instance with breasts and a penis. They are in a process of operations. They often use hormone pills that they buy on the black market (which are often unsafe). In Holland the estimation of the amount of this group is 1000, or 4% of all prostitutes. Compare with the number in Italy this is a few: in Italy nearly half of the prostitutes is transvestites or transsexuals (NRC Webpagina's 15 oktober 1999). The majority of the transvestites and transsexuals are not addicts, but they do live illegally in Holland, because of the tolerant climate for transvestites and the relatively easy way of getting money for an operation. Transvestites and transsexuals look much better than heroin addicted girls. So as streetwalkers they are more popular than the girls are. The customers of transvestites and transsexuals are often homosexuals or bisexuals. They are attracted to so-called she-males (NRC Webpagina's 15 oktober 1999).

Arguments for Changing the Existing Law and Aims of the Amendment

The law that prohibited keeping a brothel dated from 1911. In that law prostitution by adults was not criminal, but to give people the opportunity for prostitution was not allowed. In other words it was forbidden to run a sex club or brothel or escort service bureau.

The last half of the 20th century saw the number of prostitutes growing. Punishable forms of prostitution, such as brothels, sex clubs and window prostitution also increased. In spite of this, the police tended to adopt a laissez-faire attitude to criminal prosecutors, only taken action in extreme situations. Such an approach lacked both consistency and clarity: it was unsatisfactory for all those concerned. For instance it was unclear what the

prostitute's rights and duties were and what the rights and duties were from clients, brothel keepers and neighbours. In what situations could they call upon the police? And when were conflicts better resolved between the individual parties?

In 1983 the first amendment of the law was submitted. In the debate which preceded this legislation the focus was especially on amelioration of the prostitutes' position: greater personal safety and more legal protection of their rights (Wolthuis and Blaak 2001). Furthermore it was hoped that the taboo and the stigmatisation surrounding prostitution would disappear and that it would become socially acceptable.

Both before and after the amendment of the law feminists fiercely discussed prostitution. One group argues that prostitution is a form of slavery, while the other sees prostitution as a profession that has to be practised in full freedom. The first group is of the opinion that prostitution is an attack on the individual woman's body and a degrading phenomenon. These feminists would abolish prostitution and propose that clients get a fine (conforming to current Swedish law, see below). The other group has a more pragmatic view of prostitution. Sex work for money is a given fact. And they wonder what right you have to forbid somebody to do sex work if it is a free choice. Compare Sartre: one of the fundamental human rights is the right of self-determination. That means that everybody is free to dispose of his or her own body and soul as long as he or she does not damage another person. The followers of this idea are of the opinion that it is better to decriminalise sex work and concentrate on fighting for a better position for sex workers. History has demonstrated that you cannot exterminate prostitution. Sexual services for money have always existed and will continue to do so. What you should do is to fight for the emancipation and the empowerment of the prostitutes (van't Zeijl 2003).

Back to the government. In an explanatory memorandum from the Ministry of Justice to the Lower House (Tweede Kamer, vergaderjaar 1996 – 1997, 5 – 6) it was stated that decriminalisation of the exploitation of prostitution will lead on the one hand to normalisation, control, business reorganisation and regulation of the voluntary prostitution. On the other hand it will lead to more possibilities for the police to fight effectively and directly against involuntary prostitution, sexual abuse, violence and prostitution of minors.

The definite amendment of the law has six main goals:

1. Control over the exploitation of prostitution;
2. Improvement in the fight against exploitation of forced prostitution;
3. Protection of people under age against sexual abuse;
4. Improvement of prostitutes' social position;
5. Breaking the crime-world's control of the sex industry (fight against drug dealing and against the trafficking in women);
6. Reducing organised crime's involvement in the sex industry, especially concerning illegal persons.

The following facts are punishable (Criminal Code articles 248 and 250):

- using sex services from sex workers who are under 18 years;
- forcing someone into prostitution, directly or indirectly;
- to bring a person from abroad to prostitution (forced as well as unforced);
- to bring a minor to prostitution (direct as well as indirect);
- to get advantage from the yields of forced prostitution and from prostitution work of minors;
- to force someone to hand over all her/his earnings.

The Evaluation of the New Law by the Department of Justice

Two years after the law came in effect, in October 2002, the Department of Justice produced a first evaluating report, based on six part-studies (Daalder 2002). The studies are mainly based on interviews with some hundreds of prostitutes (natives and non-natives), dozens of licensees, policemen, key informants such as health workers, workers from crisis centres, taxi-drivers, interest group workers, more than 200 commercial-services people (banks, insurance companies, etc.) representatives of local governments and a sample of more than 500 out of the Dutch population.

The effects of the changing of the law are difficult to measure, because of the missing of data referring to the situation before 2000. Subsequent reports will be better able to evaluate and measure further developments and effects. Nevertheless the report gives interesting results about the state of affairs in the year 2002.

During the research period many local authorities are not yet ready with the assignment of licenses. Probably the consequence is that punishable forms of prostitution move to municipalities with less or less severe control.

In the controlled companies the prostitutes say that the hygienic circumstances are good and most of the time they feel safe. This is in spite of the fact that about 20% of the interviewed prostitutes in the controlled companies had suffered aggression from clients in the year before the interview. Moreover it is striking that nearly 12% of the prostitutes in the controlled companies say that they sometimes feel threatened by sayings or the behaviour of the licensee (Daalder 2002, 30).

The part-study among the Dutch population suggests that prostitutes are generally seen as pathetic victims of circumstance. In the sample most females are of that opinion. Men, on the other hand, are much more likely to think that prostitutes fulfil a useful function in society and that prostitution is acceptable. The image of the licensees and the sex industry is much more negative than that of the prostitutes. Prostitution is often connected with the criminal underworld, unreliability and bad conditions of employment. As the majority of the Dutch support the Government's policy for making prostitution a normal part of the social economy, the Government should do something to ameliorate prostitution's negative image. This has consequences for the policy of service institutions such as banks and insurance companies. It is hard for people working in prostitution to borrow money from a bank or to get health insurance. The report mentions that four in ten prostitutes were refused permission to open a bank account.

Mariël Croon (2002) interviewed a prostitute, who has a small paid job beside her job in the prostitution business. For a prostitute it is impossible to take out a life insurance; but she can on the basis of that small job, a job that pays much less than her prostitution job does. The report of the Department of Justice gives some figures about work satisfaction (Daalder 2002, 34 – 35). Although three-quarters of the prostitutes working in legalised situations say in the interview that they have some job satisfaction nevertheless half of the interviewed prostitutes say that they actually would like to stop the work. About 40% claim that they do not like the work, but they try to make the best of it. More than a quarter had to overcome reservations every time they work. In comparison with a control group of female employees working in different sectors and in the health sector the work of a prostitute is not more complicated, according to the prostitutes, but it is emotional draining and physically tiring work. The overall work satisfaction shows a positive correlation with the amount of autonomy and support and a negative correlation with bad experiences with clients. Dutch prostitutes have a significantly

higher rate of job satisfaction when compared with prostitutes from abroad (mostly from Eastern Europe and Latin America). In comparison with the control group prostitutes are less healthy; they mention more tiredness complaints, more stomach troubles and more stress bounded muscular pain. In the last year 16% of prostitutes were treated for a sexually transmitted disease.

Prostitutes and licensees expect an improvement of the social position of the prostitutes due to the amendment of the law. But they are critical about the supposed growing of trafficking in women and the injustice to foreign women. These affairs need a lot of changing for better. Licensees are of the opinion that their position is made worse, because it is more difficult for them to get workers. Employees of licensees had to be registered by the Chamber of Commerce, just like in other companies. Many prostitutes are not willing to register themselves. It might have consequences for the possibility of getting paid work in future and/or to get insurance.

In the controlled companies it is obvious that the number of clients diminished. Based on the study it is not clear whether the total amount of customers is decreasing or it is a question of moving to less visible places.

One of the main goals of the amendment of the law was to decriminalise prostitution. The report of the Department of Justice mentions that it is difficult to get reliable data about forced prostitution, prostitution of minors and about trafficking. In the law (Criminal Code, art. 250a) punishable forced prostitution is described as forcing someone by violence, by threats or in any other way to perform or to be available for the performance of sexual acts. Forced prostitution happens not only to illegal-immigrants and minors but also to adult Dutch women.

Research among minor prostitutes is difficult because minors move often and quickly. Moreover, they often have false passports or other false identity papers, such as births certificates. Minors who work for so called "lover-boys"¹ are hardly approachable for help services and or police, so there are no research data about these girls. The researchers are sure that minor prostitutes are often threatened with force and violence. Among minor prostitutes a lot of boys are found, especially homeless boys. Apart from

¹ A lover-boy is a handsome young man who tries by means of presents and other pampering to get a young girl to fall in love with him. When she loves him, he forces her into prostitution.

having no home, they often are in financial troubles. Therefore they go into the prostitution business. Mostly they are not forced to prostitution by another person, but they are forced by economical and social circumstances. In comparison to other minors the male prostitutes are not working for pimps, they are more independent and are less confronted with violence, pressure and exploitation (Daalder 2002).

Illegal prostitution is when someone does sex work without having a residential and work permit. The researchers found illegals among window prostitutes, street walkers, outworkers, and in clubs. Trafficking in women is mainly seen among women coming from East-Europe. There are many different forms of trafficking and of getting the victims (see also Kiyosue 2004 and Pyshkina et al. 2004, both in this volume). Illegals are very vulnerable for exploitation.

The research of the Department of Justice also concerns criminal affairs that are related to the prostitution business. The interviews with prostitutes and with licensees prove that deprivation of freedom, deception, financial exploitation, blackmailing, sexual violence against prostitutes, arms trafficking, drugs dealing, documents falsification all occur and are often linked. The researchers could not find confirmation for the supposed shift of prostitutes to the illegal circuit. They find an increase in escort activities, but that is ascribed to the increase in the use of mobile phones and Internet; it is hard to say that the grow of the escort activities is a consequence of the legalisation.

Some Reflections and a Short Look at Prostitution Policy in Four Other European Countries

The report about the evaluation studies from the Department of Justice has stimulated again the discussion on prostitution. Many people are of the opinion that the Dutch Government is overly focussed on the control and regulation of the sex industry. Missing is an overall view on prostitution policy for the long term and a reflection on the consequences of the present policy. The well being of the prostitutes has not considerably improved and good and concrete plans for amelioration are not available (Clara Wichmann Instituut & Mr. A. de Graaf Stichting 2003).

An improvement for the prostitutes is that they now have an *own trade union*. “De Rode Draad” is an interest group with a legal status of a

foundation. A foundation has no members, only a board. A trade union has members. The members have influence on the policy of the union. On behalf of the members the trade union can negotiate with other parties for instance about wage increases.

In many discussions is said that the number of female *illegal sex workers* has grown enormously. For those women the practice of the job has become much more difficult. They have to pay a very high price to rent a window. The licensee can rent out them a false passport too, of course for a high price (van't Klooster 2002). Before the legalisation many illegal prostitutes worked on the street in the protected area and made use of the free health checks and other facilities. Since the police more often ask for identification they avoid the protected areas and go to work on other places, places that are not guarded and therefore much more dangerous. Many illegal prostitutes now work for escort services. Escort services are difficult to control and may capitalise on illegal prostitutes. There is also the possibility that clients cheat them or do violence to them and the girl dare not to go to the police, because she is afraid to get ejected out of the country. Moreover some girls don't even trust the police: they believe the police are as corrupt as in their own native country.

The local authorities regularly check if illegal persons or minors are working as prostitutes. Therefore they ask the prostitutes to identify themselves. But, albeit unintentionally, *identification* appears to further stigmatise the prostitutes, for the obvious reason that we live in a world where prostitution is not (yet) accepted as a normal profession. Many prostitutes are barely willing to tell what their job is. The regular identification harms the work satisfaction. The prostitutes interest group, "De Rode Draad", told that some brothel keepers use copies of the identification papers for blackmailing women who do not want their children or husband to know what kind of work they do (Rode Draad 2001). On the other hand it is said that when you consider prostitution as a normal job you have no arguments to stay in anonymity (Thie and Verlaan 2003).

The membership countries of the European Community and the so-called associating countries have a mutual agreement that the inhabitants of each country have the right to establish themselves as *an independent entrepreneur* in the allied countries. They can ask for a residential permit if they can prove that their work is an independent economical activity and if it brings in sufficient income for a self-supporting life.

With appeal to this agreement several prostitutes from East European countries have applied for a residential permit in the course of 2001 because the Netherlands admit prostitution as regular work. At first the Dutch Government refused these women the demanded permission. Their reasons were that it would not have to do with independent entrepreneurs but with women who are in the pay of pimps. In the second place the Government doubt if the women are working of their own free will, they assume the women were victims of trafficking. That being the case, there is a big chance that the women will end up handing over a great part of the earnings to the people that brought them to the Netherlands. In that case the prostitutes would not have enough money for a self-supporting life. Six foreign prostitutes lodged a complaint against the state of the Netherlands with the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg. On May 8th 2001 the Court declared that the prostitutes were right. In none of the EU-member states is prostitution illegal. Prostitution has to be seen as a normal economical activity whereby money is paid for provided services (de Jong 2001). So foreign prostitutes are allowed to settle down as economical independent entrepreneurs in the Netherlands.

When we look at some surrounding countries we see that in Belgium the Government appears to be influenced by the Dutch model but at the moment (2003) the exploitation of prostitution is still forbidden. In Germany the prostitution is not illegal but keeping a brothel is forbidden. According to van't Zeijl (2003) the authorities have recently defined sex work as real work. But for the prostitutes the whole business is very unclear for it is impossible to make a claim to the same rights as other workers. The British situation is comparable to the Belgium (van't Zeijl 2003). Prostitution is not forbidden, but a lot of related affairs are. For instance brothel keepers are punishable. But the sex workers in Britain fight for their rights; they organised the International Union of Sex Workers (IUSW). One of the aims of the IUSW is to free sex work from the criminal atmosphere.

In Sweden the prostitution policy is opposite the Dutch one (van't Zeijl 2003). After a discussion of also some 20 years the Swedish Government accepts an amendment of the law on prostitution. Since January 1st 1999 prostitution is punishable in that way that the customer is in breach of the law when he uses prostitutes services. Sweden is the only country in which paying for sex is punishable; receiving money for sex is not punishable. Sex workers seem unhappy with this rule. Prostitution has gone underground and

that makes the business more dangerous. Besides, you may wonder how much of a deterrent a fine is for a rich customer.

In conclusion, on February 7th 2003 in a press release, the cabinet stated that the Government intend to maintain the lifting of the prohibition on brothels. The evaluation research of the Department of Justice shows a great public support for the amendment of the law. The cabinet further agrees with the researchers that it is too early to determine the effects especially the long-term ones. The research gives sufficient base for the adjusting of the policy according to the cabinet.

My opinion is that we should see this as a positive step towards the emancipation and empowerment of prostitutes.

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AISA KIYOSUE

THE CHANGING PHENOMENA OF TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN AND
FORCED PROSTITUTION IN TIMES OF GLOBALISATION:
CASE STUDIES OF FEMALE MIGRANT WORKERS IN THAILAND AND JAPAN

Abstract

Trafficking in persons has taken place on various occasions and in different forms for various purposes, often linked to economic and labour exploitation. It has been one of the tools used to exploit and control women. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate the process and current situation of the trafficking of women into the sex industry, which is one of the forms of trafficking in persons, and of forced prostitution, by looking at case studies from Thailand and Japan. I obtained the information on the process and current situation through fieldwork in Japan and Thailand.

Biographical note

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Kiyosue, Aisa. 2000. Post-war feminist perspectives on sex work/sex workers in Japan. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 1(2). Carfax Publishing, Taylor and Francis Ltd.

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Introduction

The primary purpose of this paper is to explore the process and the current situation of trafficking in women and forced prostitution amongst female migrant workers in Thailand and Japan. From April to October 2001, I interviewed several Japanese NGOs that had been supporting female migrant workers, and from August to September, I have visited and interviewed some local and international NGOs, which have been dealing with migrant issues in Thailand. My analyses on the key topics of this paper are based on the data from these interviews, and materials that I collected in the fieldwork.

Through the fieldwork, I found out that Japan began to receive many female migrant workers from the so-called “Third World” countries in the 1980s. The early 1980s saw female migrant workers from the Philippines arrive in Japan, followed by those from Thailand towards the end of the decade. From my interviewees, I have learnt that serious human rights violations like forced prostitution and imposition of “false” debt, unrecognised by the female migrant workers, are regular events after they arrive in Japan.

I have heard that similar situations have happened in Thailand. Thailand has been receiving many female migrant workers from its neighbouring countries like Burma, China and Laos. It is not necessarily the case that most of them are engaged in the sex industry. Some of them are working as domestic workers for Thai families, and some of them are working in factories and other jobs. However, these women and girls have tended to be a target of trafficking. These trafficked girls and women are often sent to the sex industry and forced to work as sex workers. Thailand is one of the major sending countries of female migrant labour to Japan, however, it is a receiving country from Burma, China and Laos. In terms of migration Thailand is both a sending and receiving country.

This paper will investigate the situation of trafficking in women into the sex industry taking place all over the world as one of the negative aspects of labour migration under the global economy. The focus will be on the cases of Thailand and Japan as receiving countries. After defining the term “trafficking” we shall present the history of labour migration in Thailand, its Development policy and Sex tourism as the main factors contributing to trafficking, and the process of being trafficked into the Sex Industry in Thailand. We shall then turn our attention to the relationship between the Japanese Economy and migrant worker in Japan, the feminisation of these workers, their current situation within the sex industry in Japan and the human rights violations to which they are subjected. The link between European receiving countries of female Thai migrant workers, such as Germany, Holland and Denmark and Asian receiving countries, such as Japan and Singapore will be discussed at the end of this paper to expose trafficking in women into the sex industry as a global phenomenon.

The Definitions of the Term “Trafficking”

The phrase “trafficking in women” has been repeatedly used to describe one of the forms of violence against women by various international and local NGOs as well as governmental bodies. Radhika Coomaraswamy, who is the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences of the Commission on Human Rights, points out in section 10 of her report on trafficking in women, women’s migration and violence against women that:

[a]t present, there is no internationally agreed definition of trafficking. The term “trafficking” is used by different actors to describe activities that range from voluntary, facilitated migration, to the exploitation of prostitution, to the movement of persons through the threat or use of force, coercion, violence, etc. for certain exploitative purposes. Increasingly, it has been recognized that historical characterizations of trafficking are outdated, ill-defined and non-responsive to the current realities of the movement of and trade in people and to the nature and extent of the abuses inherent in and incidental to trafficking (Commission on Human Rights Fifty-sixth session Agenda item 12 (a) of the provisional agenda, Economic and Social Council, UN. 29 February 2000).

It seems that there has been no agreement on the definition of the term “trafficking” in relation to the current the global economy. The definition of the term needs to be changed in order to include the various aspects and forms, which have developed one after another.

Radhika Coomaraswamy defines the term in the section 13th of the report as follows:

[t]rafficking in persons means the recruitment, transportation, purchase, sale, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons:

(i) by threat or use of violence, abduction, force, fraud, deception or coercion (including the abuse of authority), or debt bondage, for the purpose of;

(ii) placing or holding such as person, whether for pay or not, in forced labour or slavery-like practices, in a community other than the one in which such person lived at the time of the original act described in (i) (Commission on Human Rights Fifty-sixth session Agenda item 12 (a) of the provisional agenda, Economic and Social Council, UN. 29 February 2000).

Global Alliance Traffic in Women (GAATW)¹, which is a Bangkok based international NGO dealing with issues on trafficking in women, says that trafficking is:

[a]ll acts and attempted acts involved in the recruitment, transportation within or across borders, purchase, sale, transfer, receipt or harbouring of a person

(a) involving the use of deception, coercion (including the use or threat of force or the abuse of authority) or debt bondage

(b) for the purpose of placing or holding such person, whether for pay or not, in involuntary servitude (domestic, sexual or reproductive), in forced or bonded labour, or in slavery-like conditions, in a community other than the one in which such person lived at the time of the original deception, coercion or debt bondage (Foundation Against Trafficking in Women, International Human Rights Law Group and Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women, 1999: 5).

Some women's organisations or governmental bodies tend to conflate trafficking in women solely with prostitution and focus on sexual exploitation only. However, it is not the case that trafficking in women has been related to only the sex industry and accompanying sexual exploitation. It has taken place on various occasions and in different forms, often linked to economic and labour exploitation of women. Radhika Coomaraswamy emphasises in the section 17th of the report that:

¹ GAATW was established at the International Workshop on Migration and Traffic in Women which was held in Chiang Mai, Thailand in October 1994.

the definition of trafficking focuses on “forced labour or slavery-like practices”, rather than narrowly focusing on prostitution or sexual exploitation. Documentation on trafficking patterns reveal that trafficking is undertaken for numerous purposes, including but not limited to prostitution or other sex work, domestic, manual or industrial labour, and marriage, adoptive or other intimate relationships... (Commission on Human Rights Fifty-sixth session Agenda item 12 (a) of the provisional agenda, Economic and Social Council, UN. 29 February 2000).

The different elements that constitute trafficking can be seen from these definitions. There are “recruitment”, “transportation”, “sale”, “transfer”, “receipt”, “harbouring”, “threat or use of violence”, “deception”, “coercion”, “debt bondage”, “forced labour” and “slavery-like practices (conditions)”. When looking at these elements, it becomes apparent that trafficking in persons has been used not only for prostitution but for various other purposes. These include prostitution involving children, domestic labour, marriage (forced marriage and mail order bride), begging and factory labour (Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women 1999, 13 – 17). For example, mail order bride is getting more and more popular in Japan. It is hard for Japanese farmers living in the countryside, especially for the eldest sons in farming families to find their partners by themselves. This is because Japanese women tend to avoid or dislike getting married to them because of hard work and little less income. It is often said in Japanese society that agricultural villages are in lack of brides. Therefore, so-called “foreign wives” have come to Japan to meet the demand as order brides. Many Filipinos and Chinese women have been the main target as mail order brides in Japan. The main role of the brides is to give birth to heirs of the farm families so that the families can maintain their farms for the next generation. These “foreign wives” have faced varied problems caused by different culture, food and languages in Japan.

In cases when persons consent to be trafficked, is it possible to define it as trafficking? For example, if the persons consent to be sold to the sex industry as a result of coercion, it is clearly described as trafficking in persons. This is because coercion is used to get the agreement from the trafficked persons. The term “consent” has contradictions as GAATW also points out that “[t]rafficking with consent is a contradiction in terms” (Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women 1999, 9). There is an example of girls from the ethnic minorities living around the border between Thailand and Burma who often become a target of trafficking. If they agree to be sold to the sex industry because their parents hope to get some money by selling them, this may happen against

their will. Does this case constitute trafficking? It should be regarded as trafficking, and it is forced prostitution because they are forced into consent.

Trafficking in persons has various forms and patterns as illustrated above. This paper will focus on the trafficking of female migrant workers into the sex industry of Thailand and Japan.

The History of the Labour Migration in Thailand

It is often described that Thailand is “a land of sex tourism” (Vanaspong 2002, 139) by the Western mass media. This description became one of the general images of Thailand. On the other hand, Thailand is often described as one of the main sending countries of migrant workers in the world, and it is also often said that many female Thai migrant workers are engaged in the sex industry in receiving countries, such as Germany, Denmark, Holland and Japan. However, in fact Thailand has another face as a receiving country of migrant workers from neighbouring countries, which is not widely known in the West.

Thailand began to receive migrant workers from neighbouring countries Burma, Laos, Cambodia and the Southern part of China in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The biggest reason why Thailand has become a receiving country in the region is that “economic development” came earlier to Thailand than these neighbouring countries. This was due to economic globalisation, which promotes free and unregulated markets, and its economic “prosperity” has created disparity between Thailand and the neighbouring countries (Beesey 2001, 142; Chantavanich and Risser 2000, 18). The globalisation of the market economy is one of the factors which determines the flow of international migration (Chantavanich and Risser 2000, 12) and, as a result, many migrant workers from neighbouring countries have travelled into Thailand. Because of the strict policies forced upon migrant workers by the Thai government, many of them are undocumented and illegal workers (Chantavanich and Risser 2000, 18).

Female migrant workers from the neighbouring countries have been working as domestic workers for Thai families, as factory workers, restaurant waitresses, hostesses and sex workers. For example, many of those from the Karen state of Burma are working at Thai houses as domestic workers, and most of them do not have employment visas. This is according to an interview with one of the Karen staff of the Migrant Assistance Programme

(M.A.P) which is a Chiang Mai based NGO supporting migrant workers¹. It is not true that most of female migrant workers in Thailand are engaged in the sex industry. They are engaged in various jobs.

“Development Policy” and Sex Tourism: the Main Factor of Trafficking Girls and Women into the Sex Industry

What is the primary factor that has made women work in the sex industry in Thailand? Sinith Sittirak, who is a feminist environmentalist in Thailand, argues that: “the increasing problem of prostitution in Thailand also needs to be understood as the result of a more global phenomenon” (Sittirak 1996, 87). Tourism was highlighted as one of the important development policies in “Third World” countries during the 1970s. International aid agencies also propagated tourism as a development strategy, and the tourism industry was designed and supported by the World Bank, the IMF and USAID (Mies 1989, 137). Sittirak impressively describes this situation: “Third World governments act as ‘national pimps’, working cooperatively with ‘global pimps’, such as the World Bank, the IMF and USAID, to offer their women to foreign men” (Sittirak 1996, 87). Responding to these policies and strategies, the entertainment or sex industries in countries including Thailand have come to be promoted as one of the major tourist sights by travel agencies of the tourist sending countries and receiving countries. For example, Japanese male tourists started to visit the sex industry in Asian countries in the 1970s. They turned first to Taiwan and then to Korea (Barry 1995, 138). Later on, the Philippines and Thailand became well known destinations for these Japanese men. Thus, sex tourism has played a predominant role in leading many women into work at the sex industry in Thailand.

Whilst the sex industry has mushroomed through the “development” policies, the problem of trafficking women into the sex industry has risen as well. It is said that trafficking women into the sex industry in Thailand began in the 1960s, and the main target at that time were Thai women from poor areas of Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai which were located in the Northern part of Thailand. Following this trend, many girls from hill tribe groups including Akha, Lahu and Nagu who live in the border areas and women from the Shan

¹ The interview was undertaken on 27th August 2001 at the office of M.A.P in Chiang Mai. I interviewed one of the Karen staff and one of the Shan staff.

state of Burma started to be trafficked into the sex industry in Thailand. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, girls from ethnic minority groups in the mountains of Laos, Burma and Yunnan which is located in the Southern part of China started to be a target of trafficking into the sex industry (Beesey 2001, 143). The Development and Education Programme for Daughters and Communities (DEPDC) is a Chiang Rai based NGO doing several activities to prevent children from being sold into the sex industry by their parents. One of the staff members said in the interview that whilst the number of daughters sold amongst Thais has been decreasing, the number of them has been increasing among Burmese, ethnic minorities who live on the border between Thailand and Burma or in Thailand, Chinese and Lao¹. The low supply of young female Thais into the sex industry combined with an increasing demand for young sex workers has resulted in traffickers looking for new resources to supply the demand. Consequently girls and women from neighbouring countries have become a target of trafficking (Chantavanich and Risser 2000, 17).

The Process of Being Trafficked into the Sex Industry in Thailand

How is trafficking in girls and women into the sex industry taking place in the border area? In the interviews with staff members of M.A.P and DEPDC, the main process of being trafficked into the sex industry became clear. Normally Thai traffickers do not directly go to ethnic minority groups' villages to recruit women and girls. They have some connections with some village people, and use them to find women and girls in the villages.

Regarding trafficking girls into the sex industry, the village people who have connections with traffickers go to targeted poor families who have daughters, saying that "if your daughters work in the big cities like Bangkok, they can earn a lot of money", and give money to parents. Instead of receiving money, the parents sell their daughters to brokers through the village people. When the parents know that their first daughters can earn money in the sex industry, some of them want to sell the rest of their daughters to the sex industry as well. Some parents do not know their daughters' actual job after being sold, and they believe that their daughters will work in the restaurants as waitresses etc. It is not necessarily true that all poor parents want to sell

¹ The interview was undertaken on 28th August 2001 at the main office of DEPDC in Mae Sai.

their daughters to the sex industry. Regarding trafficking women into the sex industry, they are told by the village people that they can earn a lot of money by working in Thailand and are sent to the Thai side. Those women are told that they will work in Thailand as domestic workers or factory workers, and do not know what kind of job they will actually do.

The Thai police force has some connections with Thai traffickers, which means that trafficked women and girls can pass the checkpoints on the way to the cities. Some of the final buyers (= owners of various sex industries, such as massage parlours, tea houses and Go Go bars) of those women and girls also have connections with the Thai police force. In cases when women and girls run away from the sex industry, they will be caught by the police and sent back. The women have a large amount of debt (a price that their final buyers paid to traffickers to buy trafficked women and girls) imposed upon them which they do not recognise and are forced to work as sex workers to pay off the debt. After paying the false debt, these women and girls are released from the buyers, but some of them are sold to other sex industries again and are forced to pay off the false debt to the buyers. Some of the released women and girls do not go back to their hometowns, but go abroad for work to places like Japan, Singapore and Germany. There are also some cases where trafficked women and girls become traffickers after working in the sex industry. Because they know the situation of their hometowns well, they can easily recruit the daughters and women to be victims of trafficking.

The Relationship between the Japanese Economy and Migrant Workers in Japan

The relationship between post-war Japanese “economic growth” and labour migration will be briefly examined in this section. In the mid-1960s, Japanese companies actively started to establish factories outside Japan, and by the 1970s the number had greatly increased (Hiroki 1999, 19 – 20). The Japanese multinational corporations expanded and maintained factories in many Asian countries, which belong to the “Third World”. The global economy has spread the free market system to every corner of the world, using people in these countries as cheap labour, whilst gaining huge profit throughout the 1970s and the 1980s. This trend has promoted internal migration in these countries. For example it is often said that young women who live in poor farming villages in these countries tended to leave their homeland and go to big cities

so that they could find jobs there in the 1970s (Ito 1993, 302 – 309), and many of them became factory workers in factories that were built by the multinational corporation in the 1970s.

They started to go abroad to work in the 1980s. Against this background, the so-called “bubble economic growth” started in the later half of 1980s and the economic disparity between Japan and these countries has greatly increased. As a result, Japan has become one of the main destinations for migrants. In the “bubble economy”, many industries, especially the construction industry, needed a labour force, and male migrant workers were given the role to fill the shortage although they were “illegal” workers. They were mainly engaged in the so called “3K job”¹ which Japanese workers would not do. However, when the “bubble economy” ended in 1990, their existence was “problematized” in Japanese society.

Feminisation of Migrant Workers in Japan

As a female journalist Yayori Matsui, who often reports topics on female migrant workers in Japan, points out, “[o]ne of the recent trends of world migration is the increased ‘feminisation of migration’ which started in the 1980s” (Matsui 1998, 1). “Feminisation of migrant workers” means that the number of women amongst migrant workers started to increase greatly in the 1980s, and that the type of jobs (in which female migrant workers are engaged) mostly concentrates on domestic workers or entertainers, which, namely, have been regarded as “women’s jobs” (Matsui 2000, 125) in many society.

Keiko Otsu, who is a director of HELP (House in Emergency of Love and Peace)², mentioned in the interview³ that in the early 1980s female migrant workers, particularly Filipinas, started to come to the Kyofukai-Japan Christian

¹ “3K job” means “kitanai” (dirty), “kitsui” (hard) and “kiken” (dangerous) in Japanese.

² HELP was established in Tokyo in 1986 by the Japan Women’s Christian Temperance Union to support women who were suffering from various problems. It provides telephone counselling for women in Japanese, Thai, Tagalog and English and the safe accommodation as a shelter.

³ The interview was undertaken on 15th June 2001 at the office of the The Kyofukai-Japan Christian Women’s Organization.

Women's Organization¹ to ask for help, and in the late 1980s the number of Thai women who came to Japan to work started to increase. They were called "Japayuki san"² in Japanese society, and they were not described as workers though actually they were working in Japan (Ito 1993, 294). Calling them not "female migrant workers" or just "migrant workers" but "Japayuki san" displays discrimination against "foreign women" in Japanese society. Therefore Japanese NGOs who are supporting migrant workers tend not to use this term, and they use the term "migrant workers" instead of "Japayuki san". 90% of the migrant workers who were arrested as illegal workers by the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Law from the early 1980s until 1987 in Japan were from the Philippines and Thailand, and until the mid 1980s, many of them were women (Ito 1993, 295 – 296). However, the number of male migrant workers who were arrested as illegal workers became higher than that of female migrant workers in 1988, and the issues of migrant workers started to be discussed as "problems of foreign workers" in Japanese society. There is a gender problem in the fact that in Japanese society women were not regarded as *workers*. When the number of the female migrant workers was higher, the term *worker* was not used to describe them. When the presence of male migrant workers became more visible and distinguished from that of female migrant workers on the statistics, then this issue started to be expressed as the discussion on labour or workers.

The Situation of Female Migrant Workers and Trafficking into the Sex Industry in Japan

Although prostitution was prohibited by the Prostitution Prevention Law enacted in 1956, 90% of female migrant workers in Japan had been engaged

¹ The Kyofukai-Japan Christian Women's Organization established in 1886 was formerly named the Japan Women's Christian Temperance Union.

² "Japa" means Japan, and "yuki" means going in Japanese, and "san" means a title for names like Mr., Mrs. and Miss in Japanese. Namely "Japayuki san" means female migrant workers who go to Japan to work. We used to have Japanese female migrant workers who were working in China and South East Asian countries. They were being called "Karayuki san". "Kara" means China in Japanese. Tetsuo Yamatani, who was a documentary film director, got an idea from "Karayuki san", and named the female migrant workers "Japayuki san" (Yamatani 1985, 27 – 28), and this name widely spread in Japanese society to describe female migrant workers in Japan.

in the sex industry until 1987. However, after that the portion of other jobs like domestic work, cleaning, factory work has gradually increased though a lot of them are still engaged in the sex industry (Ito 1993, 296). The nationalities of the female migrant workers in Japan are varied. Apart from Filipinas and Thai women, there are Colombian, South Korean, Chinese and, as a new group from the 1990s on, Russian women. Some Filipinas enter Japan legally with an entertainers' visa, which is provided as an employment visa by the Immigration Control and Refugee Authorisation Law. However, many of them are working not only as entertainers, such as singers and dancers, but also as hostesses or sex workers. In many cases, female migrant workers enter Japan legally with a tourist visa, which prohibits them from working, and from staying in the country after the visa expires.

Though many female migrant workers in Japan are engaged in the sex industry, they are not always trafficked into the sex industry. This is one of the most important factors to consider when looking at the relationship between trafficking women into the sex industry and migration. Migration for sex work should be distinguished from trafficking. However, it seems that many of the female migrant workers who are engaged in the sex industry have been sent to Japan through trafficking agencies. There is some evidence. The Human Right Watch interviewed numerous Thai women who had migrated to Japan to work between 1994 and 1999. Most of the interviewees had worked in "dating" snack bars upon their arrival in the country. Through the interviews, it was discovered that:

"while Thai women's initial decisions to migrate for work were almost always voluntary, women typically were deceived from the time they made their decisions until their arrival in Japan, and most of the women experienced slavery-like abuses, prohibited under international law, during the course of their travel to job placement" (Human Rights Watch/Asia Human Rights Watch Women's Rights Division 2000, 3).

Sartimar¹, who is working as a Thai staff member at HELP, also describes some Thai women's cases that she has dealt with, saying that most of the women who visit HELP were deceived by traffickers in Thailand, sent to Japan and forced into prostitution. Some women themselves requested brokers to prepare the procedure (for example, making false passports etc) to come

¹ The spelling might be wrong. Her name was written in Japanese character, so I just guessed the spelling in English.

over to Japan (Sartimar 2001, 7). Keiko Fukuhara, who is the chief director of MsLA women's shelter in Kanagawa prefecture, also says that MsLA had dealt with about 150 Thai women's cases from 1991 to 1992, and they were taken to Japan, detained, suffered violence and were forced into prostitution in order to pay off the debt which they did not recognise (Fukuhara 1999, 16).

In the interview with Keiko Otsu, it was pointed out that from the late 1980s to the early 1990s there were repeated cases of murders by female migrant workers in Japan. They committed the murder of "Mama san"¹ or owners of the sex industry as a result of controlled and forced prostitution. One of the most famous cases is the Shimodate Case of 1991. In the Shimodate Case, three Thai women murdered a female Thai boss who controlled the three women. They were told that they would work in factories or restaurants in Japan, but on their arrival, they were forced into prostitution, working in a "dating" snack bar without being paid. The money that their customers paid for prostitution was also taken by the boss. Finally they decided to kill the boss to run away (The Group Supporting Three Thai Women of the Shimodate Case 1995, 3 – 4). The murdered woman was not "Mama san" of the bar where three Thai women were forced into prostitution, but a trafficking agent sending female migrant workers to these snack bars. She imposed "fictional debt" on the three Thai women, and totally controlled their lives in Japan so that they could not run away. The murdered "Mama san" in these cases originally came to Japan as female migrant workers in similar circumstances to those who committed the murders, and became "Mama san" after working for several years.

Through these cases, the situation of migrant workers has been more widely revealed in Japanese society. Keiko Otsu also mentioned that many female migrant workers receive a large amount of "fictional debt" which they do not recognise, and are forced to repay to the owners of nightclubs or bars where they are working. She described the debt as "fictional debt", because the debt is not money that female migrant workers borrowed from owners but money which their owners paid to traffickers to buy these female migrant workers. According to her, the sum of the debt is between about 3,5 million (about 26 500 US dollars) to 5,0 million yen (about 37 900 US dollars). This debt could be a big threat for female migrant workers, because they are told by their owners or traffickers that they or their families will get killed if they

¹ "Mama san" means female managers of night clubs or bars. We have two types of "Mama san". One is a employed "Mama san", and another is an owner of clubs or bars.

run away. She said that Yakuza groups (Japanese Mafia), who control the trafficking agencies, began to concentrate in this area since the real estate property business that they had been dealing with to produce finance for their activities started to decline after the “bubble economy” ended in 1990.

The Response by the Japanese Government

How has the Japanese government responded to trafficking women into the sex industry? The Human Right Watch criticises the response by the Japanese government, saying that:

“Japanese officials have publicly acknowledged the slavery-like treatment many of these women endure. However, in policy and practice, their response continues to focus on increased efforts to combat illegal migration, targeting both the migrants themselves and those who facilitate such migration, but entirely failing to address the coercion and deception that is often involved. This response has exacerbated trafficked women’s vulnerability” (Human Rights Watch/Asia Human Rights Watch Women’s Rights Division 2000, 6).

Since the so-called “bubble economy” ended in 1990, migrant workers have been targeted in a crackdown by the Immigration Bureau and police force under the Immigration Control and Refugee Authorisation Law. The law clearly shows the governmental policy on migrant workers. The Japanese government does not issue employment visas to “unskilled foreign workers”. Therefore many migrant workers who have no employment visa have been deported from Japan by the Immigration Bureau. Trafficked women have also been targeted as “illegal workers” and “overstaying workers” as well. Apart from the Immigration Control and Refugee Authorisation Law, the Prostitution Prevention Law has been often used to arrest female migrant sex workers. As Article 5 of the law prohibits the public solicitation of others to become clients of “prostitutes”, it is not customers but sex workers who have been arrested since the enactment of the law. According to the interview with two Women Consultants of the Tokyo Women Consultation Centre¹, most of the women who were arrested recently under Article 5 of the law in Tokyo

¹ The Women’s Consultation Centre was established in each province as a part of the national undertaking on women’s protection, which was provided by the Prostitution Prevention Law, and the Women Consultants are working in these centres.

are migrant workers¹. The police force often uses undercover operations to arrest female migrant sex workers who are looking for their customers on the streets. A white paper, the Situation of Counter Measures on Prostitution, issued by the Prime Minister's Office in 1997 states that the number of female migrant workers who were arrested by the law increased between 1980 to 1993 and the number started to slightly declined in 1994 (the Prime Minister's Office 1997, 10).

Though the law also prohibits pre-loan for the purpose of prostitution (Article 9) and controlled prostitution (Article 12), it seems that these articles are not being used to control traffickers. The Labour Standard Law prohibits forced labour (Article 5) and intermediate exploitation (Article 6). However, as prostitution is not recognised as a kind of job because of the Prostitution Prevention Law, Article 5 and 6 of the Labour Standard Law are not applied as legal remedies to or for women trafficked into the sex industry.

Conclusion

This paper has pursued the situation of trafficking women into the sex industry and forced prostitution, focusing on two case studies of Thailand and Japan. As Lisborg (2002, 100) points out, “[s]ex-tourist-receiving countries, as part of the ongoing process of globalisation, have become out-migration countries for women who migrate to work in prostitution abroad”. Thailand is one example of this phenomenon. Due to the changing economic situation in globalisation, sending countries can be receiving countries whilst they send their own people as migrant workers outside their countries. Receiving countries are being verified. We can see receiving countries in the so-called “developing countries”.

First, in the case of Thailand, Thai women started to go to European countries as migrant workers in the late 1970s. For example, it is assumed that Germany began to receive Thai women in their sex industry at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s (Ruenkaew 2000, 77). In the Nordic countries, where the number of migrant workers engaged in the sex industry is lower than other European countries, Denmark and Finland are considered most affected by female migrant workers engaged in the sex industry (Lisborg

¹ The interview was undertaken on 30th May 2001 at the office of the Tokyo Women Consultation Centre.

2002, 101). Denmark began to receive Thai migrant workers in the 1980s (Lisborg 2002, 102), and the number of Thai female migrant workers engaged in the sex industry became tenfold within less than ten years (Lisborg 2002, 118). In the late 1980s, Thai women started to go to Japan as migrant workers, and it seemed that many of them have been engaged in the sex industry. It means that their destination is not only European countries, but also Asian countries like Japan and Singapore. We can see a link between European and Asian receiving countries here in terms of Thai labour migration. Human right abuses against migrant workers have been happening in both European and Asian countries. On the other hand, Thailand became a main destination for migrant workers from neighbouring countries in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Human rights abuses against these workers are seen in Thailand as well.

Anyone has a right to migrate to any country regardless of the purposes. Migration could be one of the ways to improve workers' lives. However, traffickers have used migration in order to make profit in the receiving countries of Japan and Thailand. Traffickers in both Japan and Thailand have gained profit by linking with each other. This is not happening in only these two countries. In the 1990s, the number of female migrant workers from the post-socialist countries has increased, and they have been targets of being trafficked into the sex industry. Trafficking is a global phenomenon regardless of countries. It has been happening in dozens of countries, and girls and women have been the main target of trafficking, especially into the sex industry.

Trafficking is one of the tools used to exploit and control girls and women. Women and girls who are trafficked into the sex industry are forced into prostitution in order to pay off "fictional debt" to the owners. In order to prevent trafficking of women and girls into the sex industry, both the Japanese government and the Thai government have to take some effective measures to arrest and punish traffickers. This is a governmental responsibility. Japan ratified the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others on 1st May 1958. However, the government has not launched any effective measures even though it has already recognised the problem. Rather, it has focused on deporting female migrant workers from Japan. The Labour Standard Law, the Criminal Code and the Prostitution Prevention Law have to be used more practically to protect trafficked women. The legal information has to be given to trafficked women so that they can gain access to legal remedies.

In order to prevent trafficking of women and girls into the sex industry, the governmental bodies and NGOs have to distribute necessary information to them so that they cannot be deceived by traffickers. The empowerment of women and girls can help them to avoid deception by traffickers. Obtaining correct information will bring empowerment to women and girls who easily become a target of trafficking.

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POSTSCRIPT

MARINA CALLONI

VIOLENCE AND ITS SYMBOLIC ROOTS
IN POLITICS AND EVERYDAY LIFE

Biographical note

Marina Calloni is a full professor of Social and Political Philosophy at the University of Milan-Bicocca, and director of the International Network for Research in Gender. She has PhD in Philosophy and PhD in Social and Political Science. She has been a research fellow at the University of Frankfurt and the Gender Institute of the London School of Economics and a visiting professor at the universities of Bremen, Vienna, Lugano, Hannover, Tirana, Beijing and Fukuoka. She is currently the project manager for the establishment of a Gender Institute at the University of Tirana (supported by UNDP) and a member of the Enwise expert group, which has been appointed by the European Commission to draft a report on the situation of the women scientists in Eastern, Central Europe and the Baltic region. She is also a member of the NCRB network. She has participated in several international researches and cross-borders networks, and has widely published in several languages. Her main research interests are in gender studies; theories of ethics, politics and justice; knowledge and science; European citizenship and mobility; research and international co-operation. Her latest publications include:

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Violence is an aggressive action perpetuated by one or more individuals against other persons. It is the cruel subjection of human beings, expressed in various forms and performed at different times and in different spaces. Indeed, the fact of violence and the reflection upon its roots is a constitutive issue in the history of humanity and the process of "civilisation". Violence has been meant as an intrinsic element of human "nature", at the basis of a forceful anthropological behaviour both of individuals and collectivities. For avoiding destructive violence and arbitrary actions, the polis has been traditionally

understood as a space where people could live together in peace and be protected against the “enemies”.

Violence is, however, a basic element of politics in forms of control and coercion of the State over the lives of citizens. Power is not only a possible aggressive action addressed against “foreigners”, i.e. enemies, but a planned strategy directed towards the members of the community in order to control their lives, as the experience of totalitarianism has indicated. Violence is thus a crucial issue for the understanding of politics and the public space.

In modern thought, violence has also been conceptualised as a political background, as the essence of the human being, who originally lived in a “state of nature”, where individuals were enemies to each other, so that they constantly have to protect their own life. This state of nature anticipated the social contract and the constitution of the State, which since the French revolution has been conceptualised as the search for a democratic institution, based on human rights, a constitutional pact, common roles, shared values and the attempt to guarantee peace and prosperity for all citizens. In modernity, the State has thus been theorised as a political institution, which has the task of protecting citizens and avoiding arbitrary actions. But also, at the same time, it has the right to a monopoly of force through the police and the military system. The State can therefore decide to proclaim war against other States.

Violence has been thus conceptualised over time as a consequence of a “negative”, destructive part of “human nature”, which becomes evident in politics as a matter of power and in society as control of the existing “social order”. Violence and its manifestations have been mainly studied in psychology, anthropology, philosophy, politics, sociology and anthropology as a problem that starts from individuals and continues up to the State. Violence was studied as evidence of both individual behaviours in everyday life and collective actions in the public space. But until recent decades violence was not considered as a matter of the private sphere and intimate relations. Indeed, a cognitive transformation and socio-political revolution about the roots, definition and struggles against violence has been operated by the women’s movement, which has provided evidence of the violent patriarchal dimension of power both within the family and in the State.

Starting from personal experiences in everyday life, women indicated that violence has “private” roots, starting from the subjugation and segregation of individuals – women and children – within the family, and then becoming

“public” in the political domain. This connection between the private sphere and the public domain is thus basic for the understanding of the “essence” of violence and the struggle against its perpetuation. Violence – as an unjust imposition of power – is first and foremost a matter of gender relations. The “sexual contract” (predetermined by men over the lives of women) is the precondition for a consequent “political contract” (stipulated among – male – citizens). Patriarchy is a power and mentality that is initiated in the private/intimate sphere and continues into the public/political domain. But gender-based violence is not a matter of specific cultures. It is a common and cross-border topic, which joins women all over the world regardless of their place of belonging. The private dimension of violence can in fact be generalised at the global level.

The mobilisation of women against both public and private/domestic violence has been one of the key-issues since the 1970s and a cornerstone of the constitution of both national movements and international aggregations. The recognition of gender-based violence as a violation of human rights was one of the main achievements of the international women’s movement in the 1990s. As article 18 of the “Declaration and Program for Action” of the *World Conference on Human Rights*, held in Vienna in June 1993, states:

“The human rights of women and of the girl-child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights. The full and equal participation of women in political, civil, economic, social and cultural life, at the national, regional and international levels, and the eradication of all forms of discrimination on grounds of sex are priority objectives of the international community. Gender-based violence and all forms of sexual harassment and exploitation, including those resulting from cultural prejudice and international trafficking, are incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person, and must be eliminated. This can be achieved by legal measures and through national action and international cooperation in such fields as economic and social development, education, safe maternity and health care, and social support. The human rights of women should form an integral part of the United Nations human rights activities, including the promotion of all human rights instruments relating to women. The World Conference on Human Rights urges Governments, institutions, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to intensify their efforts for the protection and promotion of human rights of women and the girl-child”.

This statement became one of the most relevant issues and areas of concern of the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995

and devoted to the rights of women. In addition a specific reference was made to the girl-child due to the increasing exploitation and violation (from pornography to prostitution and trafficking) of children in a global world. "Discrimination and violence against girls begin at the earliest stages of life and continue unabated throughout their lives". On the basis of this assumption, the *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* affirms that "Violence against women is an obstacle to the achievement of the objectives of equality, development and peace. Violence against women both violates and impairs or nullifies the enjoyment by women of their human rights and fundamental freedoms". Therefore, a precise definition of gender-based violence in its various manifestations (physical, psychological, sexual) is given, in order to combat it both at the grassroots and institutional level:

"The term 'violence against women' means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life. Accordingly, violence against women encompasses but is not limited to the following: (a) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation; (b) Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution; (c) Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State, wherever it occurs".

Yet the critique of violence is not meant as a way of representing women as victims or reducing them to a role of "vulnerable" individuals. The trap of "victimisation" is refused because, on the contrary, women are active individuals, who can be deprived of their basic rights and the possibility of developing their capabilities. The normative ideas chosen for improving the condition of women, living in situations of deprivation or marginalisation, have become the notion of mainstreaming at the institutional level (political entities should adopt special measures and provisions addressed to excluded or vulnerable targeted groups) and empowerment (women should start from their own concrete experiences to avoid forms of self-neglect and self-segregation because they do not believe in their own capabilities and the possibility of breaking the glass-ceiling). Power can be different and not only associated to struggles and violence.

In this case, the critique of violence becomes a new way for re-thinking democracy and gender equality at the global level. That is to say, justice is not only a matter of a fair distribution of resources, but a question related to the psycho-physical respect of individuals. A society cannot be fair if citizens – also in the case that the State can provide collective welfare – are violated and humiliated from infancy. An individual, who is deprived of his/her capabilities, does not have the same opportunities that other people have. From this point of view, violence is a red line that connects the most advanced societies to the countries in transition/ development and is a signal that should indicate a search for “peace, security and people-centred sustainable development”.

But gender-based violence is a wide-spread phenomenon both in time of peace and war, even though it assumes a different and more cruel characters in situations of global transformations or armed conflicts.

The articles presented in this book stress in a paradigmatic way the feminist shift in the conceptualisation of the theory of violence, indicating causes and possibilities of facing this problem in legitimate, democratic and pragmatic ways. The book is pivotal and innovative in its structure, analysis and aims. In fact, the collection shows that science also can be “different”, assuming a gender perspective and establishing a new connection between research, practice, practitioners, activists and institutions. The challenge of the book consists thus in indicating different levels for approaching the problem through: 1) comparative analysis, 2) national cases, 3) good practices, i.e. through global (international institutions and networks), domestic (the state and connected entities) and grassroots (civil society, movements and associations) perspectives.

1) Violence, mainly as domestic violence, is a common issue for countries having the strong social-democratic tradition of the Welfare State (as in the case of the Nordic countries) as well as for post-communist countries (like the case of the former Soviet Union). Diversified forms of collaboration among women’s associations and new forms of cross-border initiatives among women and feminists have been taken into account. This experience can be a micro-example of possible forms of global civil society, over and national borders, the diverse political backgrounds and cultural origins.

2) The case of the former Soviet Union has been taken as an example of a gender-blind society, where formal equality neglected existing forms of private and hidden discrimination. The “discovery” of domestic violence by women was thus due to two different but interrelated factors: discrimination

which already existed during the communist time and new forms of exploitation that increased due to the radical and structural transformation of the socio-political order and the economic system. The Woman Question has thus become a central question in post-communist societies. Equality under communism was an illusion: it was thought to have reached a clear equality between women and men, but concrete facts showed the ideology of this statement. Perhaps the idea of gender equality concerned mainly the question of the full employment of women, which is a quantitative aspect more than the qualitative perspective of an equal treatment of women and men in all spheres of society, starting from the family.

3) The case of the crisis centres in Russia indicates the capability of women to find resources and to mobilise other people when the socio-economic situation is worsening. It is very important to stress this aspect because during the communist time apparently there was neither a women's nor feminist movement. However, the truth is that women's "networks of favour" already existed under communism and were aimed at facing daily problems related to the specific lacuna in the system of production and distribution. This kind of "solidarity" was newly mobilised in the transitional time, when people were disoriented due to the new societal order and the increasing economic inequality among the population. Violence – mainly in the domestic domain – became more and more visible. Yet there was a lack of expertise for approaching the situation (during communism psychology and social work were considered as bourgeois disciplines because they referred to problems, which were not recognised as existing in socialist countries). The experience of the crisis centres – thanks to diverse forms of international cooperation, coming mainly from institutions and women's associations in the Nordic countries – can be considered as a good example, to illustrate the capacity of women to react in a pragmatic and innovative way in a situation of economic difficulty and societal crisis. In this sense, it can be taken as an important case, which indicates the existence of an active civil society and expresses the claim for a diverse concept of political action and democratic policies. Yet the challenge still remains to find a legitimate connection between the needs of the citizens and the State.

The different chapters of the book have indicated different approaches for combating violence at both the domestic and the institutional level. They have pointed out also good practices as well as the deficiencies of the State. Yet the cases taken into account refer to countries, which are apparently at peace (with the exception of the war in Chechnya). Yet gender-based violence

seems to have increased and spread in Russia due to new socio-economic situation, to global factors (from prostitution to trafficking in human beings), international tensions and new forms of neo-tribalism and fundamentalism.

But in war sexual violence amplifies, as the cases of mass rape and sexual abuse in the former Yugoslavia as well as recently in Iraq have shown. That means that sexual violence remains “active” in the collective imaginary also in peacetime and becomes re-established in armed conflict.

As a matter of fact, violence is a constitutive idea of the tradition of politics. Indeed, ancient mythologies indicate the constitution of political entities through the subjugation of women. For example, Europe was a girl, who was raped by Zeus, under the masque of a bull. Rome was founded on the myth of warriors, who raped the women of the pre-existing ethnic group. Therefore, one of the main tasks of a democratic society is to try to deactivate images and forms of *symbolic violence*, existing both in politics and the every day life. It is necessary to avoid the perpetuation of sexual abuses, segregation and discrimination of a consistent part of the humanity, starting from the collective imaginary. But this is a matter of education from the early stage, interpretation of history and the use of cruel pictures. Even though mass media can be abuse in showing images of violence – as has recently happened, – nevertheless citizens should remember a cruel past – even though re-actualised in the present – as a daily and global commitment aimed at neglecting violence expressed under different forms, times and spaces. Due to their history, women must be the principal actors for inducing the change of individual behaviours as well as of collective attitudes, starting from the symbolic violence, indicating its roots and ways to avoid it. “Civilisation” has implied until now forms of barbarity. The challenge consists in thinking of it now and for the future in terms of a global justice, where all individuals are respected and not violated.

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